

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL



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Czechoslovakia and World Peace

THE WAR unloosed by Hitler, Mussolini, and the Japanese militarists in Spain and China can no longer be "localized" by the spells and magic incantations of European diplomacy. The fascist beast of war is not concerned with the frontiers which subdued democrats have generously granted it. It stretches its claws across the Pyrenees; it is not satisfied with Ethiopia, Spain, China. The more that is thrown into its maw, the greater its appetite becomes. The more one retreats before it, the further it ventures forward. In recent weeks, German and Italian airplanes attacked French and British merchant ships and bombarded them until they sank with all on board. German and Italian planes have flown across the French border and dropped bombs on French towns.

Even the reactionary *Temps* had to admit that these attacks "assume the character of aggression which can in no way be justified." This newspaper adds that it can scarcely be doubted "that the unknown fliers have definite military objectives in view." It was more than a symbol that a German or Italian bomb killed a British observer of the legendary "Non-Intervention Committee" who was on board the attacked steamer *Brisbane*. The wounds of the dead observer speak louder than could the mouth of the living observer about the character of so-called non-intervention. The murdered man becomes a silent and formidable witness against the "gentlemen's agreement" between Messrs. Chamberlain and Mussolini.

The war of the fascist dictatorship not only leaps over the Pyrenees in bloody mockery at the British and French governments; it also hurls itself upon Central Europe in order to attack France's

ally, Czechoslovakia. During the night of May 21, German troops were supposed to cross the Czechoslovak border. *Literally at the last minute, the outbreak of a new world war was prevented and Hitler was forced to retreat.* This has not banished the danger of war. Hitler Germany has called up new military classes. German army corps are stationed at the borders of Czechoslovakia prepared to march. German airplanes fly over Czechoslovak territory. The war incitement of German newspapers, which are under a unified command, has assumed unparalleled forms. The treasonable Henlein Party provokes "incidents" in order to conjure up a war pretext. In the Sudeten area, leaflets are distributed which say that on the day war breaks out Hitler Germany considers the Sudeten Germans citizens of the German Reich, and orders them to desert from the Czechoslovak army. Henlein's supporters are waiting, watch in hand, for the German troops to march in.

The war plans of Hitler Germany against Czechoslovakia are not new. However, since Hitler's speech of February 20, they have passed from the stage of preparation to the stage of an undertaking definitely settled on. In this speech, Hitler said:

"Two states alone on our borders embrace a mass of over ten million Germans. . . . Just as England represents its interests over the entire globe, so present-day Germany will know how to represent and safeguard its interests even if they are more limited."

Hitler added: "To these interests of the German Reich belongs also the protection of its 'fellow countrymen' on the borders of Germany."

It was openly stated that Hitler Ger-

many considers Austria and Czechoslovakia as its "dominions." The threat was followed by the deed: the military attack upon Austria. It was clear from the beginning that Hitler was no less serious in his threat against Czechoslovakia than in his threat against Austria. Even the common soldiers of the Reichswehr army of occupation which invaded Austria said in their conversations: "Czechoslovakia is next!" Only the sophisticated statesmen of the western democracies refused to hear what even the little birds knew. They placated the aroused masses with the ridiculous assertion that Hitler would now be satisfied. That was the height of their wisdom: the fascist beast must not be provoked. It has eaten its fill and will now relax in a long sleep of digestion.

The fascist beast by no means sank into a sleep of digestion. It crouched immediately for the leap at Czechoslovakia.

At the beginning, the German loudspeakers and newspapers assured everyone that Hitler Germany was concerned "only" with the condition of the Sudeten Germans. They told the world public a touching story about the "oppressed" Sudeten Germans who were deprived of their democratic right of self-determination. However, that was only the beginning: In the course of a war-incitement increasing daily against Czechoslovakia, the German loudspeakers and newspapers became more and more presumptuous.

Finally, they did not leave the slightest doubt that *Hitler Germany not only laid claim to the Sudeten districts but to all Czechoslovakia*. On June 8, the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* published a leading article which stated that it was too late for a reconstruction of Czechoslovakia, that this "hyphenated" state was an "anachronism." Another paper recalled the famous window crashing in Prague which ushered in the Thirty Years War, and characterized Bohemia's historical struggle for freedom as a mutiny against the German emperor.

At that time, in the year 1618, two Hapsburg bureaucrats were thrown out

of a window of the Hradshin and landed safe and sound on a dungheap. Hitherto, the Nazi historians were drilled to glorify the Protestant opponents of the German emperors from the House of Hapsburg; but now they are suddenly degraded to "mutineers." Hitler suddenly feels himself to be the heir of these German emperors—and it is no accident that a British Hitler agent asked the Czechoslovak prime minister Hodza whether he did not consider it possible to unite Czechoslovakia with Germany. Bohemia, you see, was once an electorate of the Holy Roman Empire and Hodza, so the British agent thought, could therefore become, as it were, the "Electorate District Leader" in Hitler Germany.

All of these constructions appear fantastic; nevertheless, behind them stands the determination of German imperialism to subjugate Czechoslovakia and to transform the Czechoslovak people into a nation of slaves.

According to the plan of the German robbers, the communal elections in the Czechoslovak Republic were to be the pretext for invasion. Henlein was supposed to assume the role which Seyss-Inquart played in Austria. A barrage of German propaganda was laid down over the Sudeten districts. Great quantities of arms were smuggled over the border; Reich German instructors prepared a putsch of the Henleinists. The excitement of the German-Bohemian people was raised to the boiling point. A vicious reign of terror was launched against all anti-fascists in the Sudeten district.

Anti-fascist workers were fired from the factories and left destitute, anti-fascist meetings were attacked, anti-fascist representatives were often threatened with murder. In the schools, the children of anti-fascists received bloody beatings. By instruction of the Hitler party, bloody clashes were provoked. The German propagandists screamed incessantly that Henlein would receive 90 per cent of the Sudeten German votes. Unabashed, the Henleinists announced the entry of German troops.

On May 22, elections were to take place

in part of the Czechoslovak municipalities. On the night of May 21, German troops began moving preparatory to marching into Czechoslovakia. Evidently, Hitler concluded that Czechoslovakia, like Austria, would capitulate at the last moment. His calculations were false.

In the hour of greatest danger, Czechoslovakia showed its determination to defend its independence by every means. The disunity and uncertainty produced by the Right wing of the agrarians, the strongest government party, in retreating before Hitler and coming to terms with Henlein, were temporarily overcome. A partial mobilization was effected; Czechoslovak troops took over the protection of the border. A sigh of relief swept the country. The Czechoslovak people unanimously supported the government's measures; the Sudeten German anti-fascists also joyfully proclaimed their determination to defend home and liberty against Hitler. Together with the soldiers, the Sudeten German workers barricaded all border highways. Unemployed Sudeten Germans who had worked from early in the morning till late at night setting up barricades refused the remuneration offered them, saying, "We have been waiting a long time for this job! We won't accept any pay for it." A Sudeten German unemployed worker showed a Henleinist the tree which he had cut down and laid across the street: "You said you would hang us from this tree. I think it's better for the tree to block the road to Hitler." Thus, German fascism encountered the powerful resistance of a people which, weapons in hand, stood up for its country and freedom.

Gnashing its teeth, Hitler Germany had to withdraw. *The firmness of the Czechoslovak government and the Czechoslovak people's determination to fight prevented Hitler's invasion on the night of May 21.* In face of the firm demeanor of the Czechoslovaks, the French government stepped in and made it clear to the aggressor that France intended to abide by its obligations to its attacked ally. The world knows that the Soviet Union steadfastly abides by its international

obligations. The Czechoslovak-Soviet Pact states:

"Both governments simultaneously recognize that the obligation between these two for mutual aid shall take effect only if, in the presence of those conditions foreseen in this pact, France shall come to the aid of the victim of the aggression."

The fulfillment of the pact, therefore, signified that Hitler would see himself confronting the Soviet Union as well. This clarification of the situation compelled the Conservative British government, contrary to its custom, to come to the aid of peace. It turned out that the moment France ceased to yield, England could become a serious force for peace. English diplomacy, as the *Neue Züricher Zeitung* expressed it, was compelled to "let Berlin know that a conflict could no more be confined to the country of its origin than in 1914 when Austria and Hungary delivered its ultimatum to Serbia."

For twenty-four hours, there was a united peace front—and the fascist beast drew back growling. The howl of rage of the German press against the "peacemakers" proved how hard it was for the war incendiaries to bear peace and how uncertain they become when they are confronted by a united peace front.

No less revealing was the bewailing of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, which involuntarily blabbed out how frightened the German rulers were when they perceived Czechoslovakia's splendid border defense. This newspaper wrote, somewhat dejectedly: "We do not doubt that the generals of the Republic know their business and that they can rely on their Czech soldiers." These words sound quite different from the previously disseminated lying fairy tales about the inner disruption of Czechoslovakia; from these words it can be clearly seen that the fascists certainly do not respect treaties, compromises and gentlemen's agreements but that they do have great respect, however, for force and determined resistance.

The determination of the Czechoslovak

government also made a deep impression on the Henleinists. At a single stroke, the white stockings, symbol of the Henlein party, disappeared and together with them the vain hope of the misled Sudeten Germans that Hitler would march in without a fight. The realization also began to dawn on them that Hitler means war and that this war would begin, not at Prague but rather at Teplitz-Schönau and Reichenberg. The Nazis had lied to them that Czechoslovakia would not defend its frontiers and that Hitler would move into the Sudeten district as in Austria. Now, they had to acknowledge that the bomb Henlein was playing with would explode first in their own neighborhood and would endanger their own homes. For many of the misled Henlein supporters, that was a new and startling revelation.

The elections did not give Henlein the 90 per cent which he and the Hitler press boastfully predicted. He received approximately 70 per cent of the votes in the German-Bohemian areas and cannot claim therefore to be recognized as the sole spokesman of the Sudeten Germans. All parties standing for the defense of the republic have gained votes, first of all the Communist and Benes Parties. The Communists have become the second strongest party in Prague, formerly having occupied fourth place. In Slovakia, the election results were not as favorable as in the Czech areas but, on the whole, the democratic front came out of the elections strengthened. The masses drew closer around their democratic republic in order to defend their liberty and the peace of Europe.

The danger has not been dispelled. To be sure, at the last moment, Hitler had to recall the order to strike but he has not renounced his war plans. He is now attempting, with the help of the reactionary British government and reactionary French circles, to increase the pressure against Czechoslovakia in order to compel it to capitulate "peacefully."

With the help of reactionary sections of the Czech and Slovak bourgeoisie, with the help of bribed elements in the

ranks of the Hlinka Party and other counter-revolutionary organizations, with the help of treasonable capitalists and large landowners, he is trying to crush the republic's power of resistance and to bring about the so-called "autonomy" of the Sudeten Germans. With the help of the same people, he is trying, moreover, to launch a campaign of incitement against the Czecho-Soviet Pact and to put over measures against the Communists and other true defenders of Czechoslovak democracy and independence under the pretext of a struggle against Bolshevism.

The efforts of German imperialism are directed toward disrupting Czechoslovakia internally and isolating it internationally so that it can thereby achieve more favorable conditions for military attack. The firmness of the Czechoslovak government and the unity of the Czechoslovak people averted war in Czechoslovakia on May 21. Hesitations of the government, concessions to Hitler Germany, reactionary decrees against the unity of the people and the free development of the democratic forces of the people must bring on new grave dangers and encourage Hitler to make new encroachments. The more Hitler gets, the more he will demand. Neither the fulfillment of Henlein's wishes nor suppression of the democratic people's movement nor a change in Czechoslovakian foreign policy will satisfy him. On the contrary, all that would be a springboard for him from which to lunge at a weakened Czechoslovakia, only a prelude to the subjugation of the Czechoslovak people.

Not only the further development of Czechoslovakia but also the further development of Europe will depend upon the firmness of the Czechoslovak government, the unity of the Czechoslovak people, the determination of all democratic forces and parties. All the forces of peace and democracy in Europe must draw serious lessons from these latest events.

The prevention of the planned military attack on May 21 has shown that it is possible to defend peace effectively against the fascist aggressors.

The capitulation of the Schuschnigg

government, the surrender of Austria without a struggle, have increased the danger of war in Europe.

The determined attitude of the Czechoslovak government, the power of resistance of the democratic republic, have deterred the fascist aggressors and consolidated the forces for peace.

The yielding of French and English democracies before the fascist aggressors who attacked Republican Spain has brought on war in Spain which not only imposes frightful sacrifices on the Spanish people but also menaces the security and peace of Europe.

The firm attitude of the French government, which promised its help to Czechoslovakia and thereby compelled the British government to show its colors, overawed the fascist aggressors and prevented war at the last moment.

The fascist aggressors stride toward war when the democratic forces give way; they yield snarlingly to peace when they see themselves confronted by a strong peace front. That is the most important lesson of the latest events.

From this it follows that for all the friends of peace and above all for the international labor movement it is necessary to close their ranks more tightly so as to establish a firm and enduring peace front of the peoples and to compel the governments of France and England to defend world peace together with the Soviet Union against the fascist aggressors.

In the face of this situation, the Com-

munist International has recently appealed to the Socialist International to establish unity of action of all proletarian forces in defense of Czechoslovakia and peace. The Socialist International has rejected the proposed united action in defense of Czechoslovakia and peace and thereby has given aid and comfort to the fascist aggressors. Likewise the majority of the leadership of the International Trade Union Federation, despite the imminent threat to Czechoslovakia and peace, sabotaged international trade union unity and thereby rendered service only to the fascist aggressors and their accomplices.

This attitude of a small clique of leaders of the Socialist International and of the International Trade Union Federation is not in accord with the wishes and demands of the great majority of the Social-Democratic organizations. Powerful organizations of Social-Democracy take a stand for unity and come out more or less openly against the splitters. The will to unity of the French, Spanish, and other trade unions and parties, the growing desire for unity, not only of the masses of workers but also tens of thousands of Social-Democratic functionaries and many Social-Democratic leaders in all countries, justifies the hope that the welding together of all peace forces will be achieved.

This welding together is the demand of the hour. Determination, firmness, unity are the tested means which tame the fascist beast and preserve peace!

To the Success of Science

"To the success of science, that science which does not separate itself from the people, which does not hold itself aloof from the people, but is prepared to serve the people, is ready to transmit to the people all the acquisitions of science, which serves the people not because it is compelled to but willingly." (Stalin, Toast at the Kremlin reception for the Higher School Staffs.)

IN THE entire history of mankind, there has never been a country that put science so completely in the service of the people, that so intimately combined the scientists with the people, and recruited its scientists from the mass of people, from the workers and peasants, that achieved so many grand results of research in such a short span of time, as the country of socialism, as the Soviet Union.

These features of Soviet science were also manifested at the first all-Union conference of the staffs of the higher schools, held in May of this year. This gathering did not occupy itself with great scientific problems, but with the simple question: What is necessary to train still more and still better scientists, what is required by a science "that knows how to create new traditions, new standards and new adjustments"? (Stalin.) These questions were dealt with jointly by professors and higher school leaders, by professional scientists and practical workers, by the greatest men in the state and by students.

Old scientists, who have long since placed themselves in the service of the people, still remember how science was "looked after" in tsarist Russia. Lenin wrote in 1901:

"... Schools. All of three schools were

built. And what is more, what kind of schools! An elementary school for cowherds on the estate of his Royal Highness, the Grandduke Peter Nikolaievitch, in the village of Blagodatnoye. . . . Furthermore: the statutes of the Rural Artisan Schools in the village of Deryatshovo and of the agricultural elementary school in Assonowo have been confirmed."

These few words of Lenin throw a glaring light upon the conditions in tsarist Russia. It must be added that it was customary to designate as "disturbers" students who advocated the right to organize and rebelled against tsarist autocracy, and to punish them for this offense with imprisonment, compulsory military service or exile to Siberia. Tsarism endeavored by all possible means to prevent any contact between the students, teachers and educators, and the mass of the people. Nevertheless, even then, there existed a feeling of solidarity between the opposition-minded students and the advanced section of the working class. In February, 1902, Lenin wrote:

"Why does not our society support the students at least as much as the workers have already supported them? After all, those who study in the higher schools are not sons and brothers of the proletarians; nevertheless, the workers have already openly demonstrated their sympathy with the protesting students. . . ." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. V.)

Lenin concerned himself a great deal with the study of the youth, just as he repeatedly advocated drawing the youth into responsible work and training them for new cadres, for reserves for the Party and later, also, for the administration of the state.

This Leninist care of the youth was continued and developed by Comrade Stalin, by the Party of Bolsheviks and by the Soviet state. Today, after twenty years of Soviet power, Comrade Molotov was able to say, in his speech at the all-Union conference:

"The reorganization of the higher schools is, in the main, completed, completed in the sense that they are established in accord with the requirements of the state which is building socialism."

These few simple words attest to the tremendous advancement that Soviet science has been able to make through the care and support of the Soviet state. Today, the Soviet Union has 550,000 undergraduates and students. Germany, Italy, England, France and Japan, together, have a little over 400,000. In a number of bourgeois states the number of higher schools and students was considerably curtailed during the last few years. Therefore, the increase in the number of scientists is slight. Despite that, unemployment among specialists with higher education is increasing in the capitalist world. "If any one finds an unemployed scholar in our midst we'll give him a prize," thus spoke Comrade Molotov, and thereby he expressed the enormous difference between the world of socialism and that of capitalism.

The decline of science and culture is even more striking in the fascist countries, and especially in Germany, than in the bourgeois-democratic countries. In Germany, Hitler's rise to power was followed by a catastrophic decline in the number of students. A large part of the women students and all the Jewish students were removed from the universities; many students thought they could make their fortune in the S.A. and S.S. troops and gave up their studies; besides, to study became much more difficult from a material standpoint. The sword raised against science by fascism is now pointed at fascism itself. There is not only a lack of students in Germany today, but there is also a dearth of

teachers. Fascism compelled the best teachers to leave their places of work and their native country. Only by fleeing from the fascist hell were they able to escape the reprisals and persecutions of the Brown executioners.

The deficiency of educated forces manifests itself in all branches of fascist economy. German engineers living abroad are compelled to return and work in Germany or lose their citizenship. Not so long ago, the youth educator of the Third Reich, Baldur von Schirach, proclaimed: "Heretofore, it was thought that one required knowledge to educate the youth. National-Socialist society is the living proof to the contrary." As a result, in all branches of fascist economy today, you can hear entreaties and exhortations, urging the youth to return to their studies. Nevertheless, even these appeals are useless. Hitler fascism has gone too far in estranging science and art from the people. Before Hitler's time, also, the scientists did not come from the working class and peasantry, but for the most part from the middle class. But today the middle class, too, is no longer in a position to allow its children a costly education. In addition, for five years the thirst for knowledge of the entire German people has remained unsatisfied and has not been promoted. On the contrary. The masses are prohibited from thinking. The "Fuehrer" thinks for them. Even more than Tsarism in its time, fascism watches most closely to see that science is separated from the people, that the achievements of science shall not benefit the people, but simply and solely war economy.

It sees to it that science remains enslaved to its old traditions, thereby becoming a brake upon the further development of the people and the state. Until a few years ago, German technique was internationally esteemed and recognized. Under Hitler's rule, it is losing its leading international significance at a rapid rate. Before Hitler, the German universities had celebrities of worldwide renown. Under Hitler, they were replaced by ignorant National-Socialist "party

members." Before Hitler, students from all parts of the world filled the lecture halls of the German universities. Under Hitler, the number of foreign students has shriveled to a minimum. The few German students are given a dose primarily of the "teachings of National-Socialism," and a "military" and "patriotic" education. Hence the Reichswehr, as well as all branches of business, is complaining about the higher school graduates because they have only a slight notion of their specialty.

Under Hitler, German science has become a pseudo-science, a caricature of science. He who does not join in the racist insanity, skull measuring and blood examinations to determine the "ruling race," he who does not join in the healing methods of a Dr. Eisenbart, and affect the "jagged" speech and "military spirit," is branded as a "traitor," "whiner," "fault-finder" and "Bolshevik infected sub-human." He may be glad if for these "offenses" against the Brown libertines he does not have to

pay with years of imprisonment and the loss of his life.

When fascism is overthrown and uprooted, the road will be free again for the development of the German people and German science. Then it will frequently happen in Germany too "that not generally known scientists, men of science completely unknown in the scientific world, plain people, practical workers, inventors, will open up new paths." Then in Germany, too, "the existing standards which were established in the industrial fields by well-known people of science and technique [will be] shoved aside as antiquated and new standards [will be] introduced in accord with the requirements of real science and technique." (Stalin.)

Then the people will participate in science and its achievements; then the German people too will produce new scientists who serve the people; then, in Germany too, science will become a progressive science.

"To the Success of Science!"

A So-Called National Government

THE Chamberlain government still calls itself the National Government. It considers itself to be not the government of a handful of reactionary elements, but of the British nation as a whole.

Actually this so-called National Government is prepared to swallow all sorts of insults and indignities at the hands of the fascist aggressors and warmongers and to see the prestige of Britain damaged.

Take the Anglo-Italian agreement arrived at in the middle of April. Was Chamberlain defending the interests of the British people—of the tens of millions of working people of town and country—when he accepted this monstrous agreement with Mussolini?

Was it in the interests of the British people that Chamberlain agreed to respect Italian influence and interests in the Mediterranean and Red Seas, or the North African coast, and in Arabia, that is, precisely in those regions so vital for British communications?

Was it in the interests of the British people that Chamberlain undertook to hawk the wares of Mussolini before world public opinion, and sought to secure League of Nations recognition for Mussolini's conquest of Ethiopia?

Was it in the interests of the British people that Chamberlain so easily agreed to give up the demand for the immediate withdrawal from Spain of the more than 100,000 Italian "volunteer" troops carrying on a war of aggression there, and to await the victory of the fascist interventionists when he based his entire policy on a speedy victory by the fascist interventionists until the heroic Republican Army of Spain convinced him otherwise?

It is clear that the "National" govern-

ment in concluding this pact had least of all the interests of the British nation at heart, but was engaged in fulfilling the wishes of a small, reactionary, exploiting minority of the British people.

This reactionary policy was continued a month later at the 101st Session of the League of Nations Council by Chamberlain's lieutenant, Lord Halifax.

Two years ago Britain came forward as the defender of Ethiopia and supported sanctions against the fascist aggressor. At this session Lord Halifax did everything possible to stab the Ethiopian people in the back—to force the League of Nations Council to recognize annexation of Ethiopia by the fascist aggressor. He can report that Britain's line was supported by Rumania, Peru, Ecuador, and Latvia!

The mass of the British people demand an end to the humiliating and criminal farce of "non-intervention" in Spain. But Lord Halifax fought tooth and nail in the League of Nations Council for the comedy called "non-intervention" and, as the representative of Franco and Mussolini, opposed the resolution proposed by the Spanish delegate, Del Vayo.

And what a triumph for the prestige of Britain that Lord Halifax was able in the Council to rally three votes in all in support of his line, those of France, Poland, and Rumania!

Having won little glory at Geneva, the Chamberlain government looked around for laurels elsewhere, and thought it found an opportunity in distant Mexico. A decision had been taken by the Mexican government to expropriate *with full compensation* the properties of the Mexican Eagle Oil Company (a British concern), and of the American Standard Oil Company in Mexico. The immediate

reason for this step was their refusal to grant increased wages and tolerable working conditions to the oil workers of Mexico.

The National government sent an insulting note to the Mexican government demanding the immediate payment of the paltry sum of 375,000 pesos (£36,000)—arrears on account of damages done to British-owned property during the Mexican revolutions of 1910 and 1920.

The Mexican government, however, replied briefly by sending a check for the money and withdrawing its ambassador from London, thus compelling the British ambassador in Mexico to pack his traps and leave for home. The Mexican government has a far finer sense of national dignity and honor than the National government of Great Britain.

How rapidly Chamberlain reacted when it was a question of defending the financial interests of the Deterdings in Mexico, and how hard of hearing he is when it is a question of the interests of the common people. As is well known, British ships engaged in legitimate trade with Republican Spain have repeatedly been bombed by Italian and German planes. On May 18 an official statement in the House of Commons stated that twenty-seven men serving on British ships had been killed and thirty-seven wounded as a result of such bombardments.

The murder of British citizens, the absence of respect for the British flag displayed by the fascist pirates, are of far less importance to the National government than oil-reeking money of British capitalists. The National government has contented itself with a few paper protests. No claim for compensation has been

put in by the British government. On the contrary. When in the first days of May a deliberate attack by fascist bombing planes was made on British ships in the port of Barcelona, the British government publicly attempted by general statements to explain away the real facts. So that four British ship captains in Barcelona port indignantly wired a protest

“... against the apparent betrayal of British interests and disregard of the lives of British seamen by the British government. . . .”

Since that time there have been additional bombings, and British merchant ships have been hit, resulting in six sailors being killed and fifteen wounded. Chamberlain himself admitted in the House of Commons on June 14 that since the beginning of April, twenty-two British ships had been bombed, of which eleven were either sunk or severely damaged. But he continues imperturbably to look on. This is how Chamberlain understands the meaning of the defense of the interests of the British nation.

The mass of the British people, however—the real British nation—will apparently not rest content while the British government fails in its duty to defend their interests. They are increasingly realizing that what is necessary is for all the progressive elements in the country to join forces to compel it to put an end to the betrayal of British interests or to replace it by a democratic government that really will represent and defend the interests and honor of the British people against the fascist aggressors, and against their supporters in Britain.

On Guard for Freedom Against Hitler Germany

THE war-baiting of German fascism against Czechoslovakia has assumed unprecedented forms. According to Hitler's plans, the terror of the Henleinists, combined with the open threats of war of the Hitler press and the concentration of German troops on the border, are supposed to break down Czechoslovakia. But the Czechoslovakian people are on guard and are determined to defend their liberty and their country. We publish the letter of a Czechoslovak Communist who expresses this sentiment of the people. In his letter, dated June 1, our comrade writes:

"... I work in five frontier districts right at the foot of the Riesen-Gebirge Mountains and in the Riesen-Gebirge Mountains themselves. The work here is very interesting and difficult. There are mixed communities of Czechs and Germans. The Henleinists have great economic and political power, due partly to their allies, the reactionary agrarians and the 'Sjednoceni' (Czech fascists). The terror of the Henleinists attains enormous proportions. They use their economic power to exert pressure on the workers with the connivance of the authorities, the constabulary and the Minister of Interior.

"Our functionaries working in the shops are the first to be exposed to the terror. One morning a comrade entered the shop and found three papers on his bench. One was an application card to join the Sudeten German Party (Henlein); the second, a warning against his activity; and the third, a death-notice. On it was written: 'Make your own choice!'

"Our comrade left the papers where he had found them and in the evening after work, he calmly went home. But he

had barely got to bed when someone began to rap at the window and hollered: 'Well, what is it, have you thought it over?' This was repeated several times during the course of the night. And in the morning he found on his bench a rope and a note saying: 'Think it over or hang yourself.' Our comrade thought it over in his own way: he went to the foreman, who was also a fascist, and declared that he preferred death to living under fascist rule, but that he had no right to commit suicide, that he had the duty of preserving his life for the decisive struggle for democracy and freedom. The following night, the Henleinists broke all the windows of his home and the following day, the manufacturer, a Henleinist, dismissed him.

"Another comrade, a functionary of the Red trade unions, and member of the District Committee, has three children who attend the German school. He, himself, is of German nationality. The other children going to this school were so incited by their parents and their teacher that they torment the three children of the Communist every time they enter or leave the school. They beat them so badly that they are afraid to go to school. Each time, their father must accompany them to school and fetch them from school. The police know this but they have done nothing about it.

"But not only this. When they get a notion, the Henleinists also carry on quite open provocations. For example, they shoot at the national flag and besmirch it, but nothing is done about it. They smash the monument of President Masaryk and nothing is done about it. They carry on quite open 'exercises of their society,' to whose statutes and activity the Minister of Interior consented, though it is quite clear that this society is a part of the Hitler army.

"Should you meet a Henlein storm trooper anywhere, it would be just like meeting a murderer. If your eyes had the power to x-ray, you would see that he has a Browning in one pocket and brass knuckles in the other. When you regard him superficially, you see white stockings and a short cudgel made either of wood, rubber or iron. The 'Fuehrer' and 'sub-fuehrer' proceed in the gathering in the following manner: first, there are two or three files of storm troopers on motorcycles, three in a row; behind them comes the automobile of the 'Fuehrer' or one of the 'sub-fuehrers'; and at the sides and toward the rear, again motorcyclists. Banners everywhere, of course, Henlein banners, and in their rear an auto full of police, not to deter them from provocations but to protect this fascist society in possible clashes with anti-fascists. It is clear that, with such tolerance, these fascist bands become bolder and bolder.

"It is really an act of heroism on the part of our comrades merely to acknowledge that they are members of the Communist Party. Naturally, they are the ones that suffer most from this terror but they are the very ones to occupy the foremost positions against the assault of the opponent, the ones who are ready to stick to their posts under all circumstances. No matter whom of our people I speak to, every one says the same thing: *we'll hold out and won't yield.*

"When, Friday night, Hitler troop movements were observable along the Czechoslovakian borders, it was the Communists of the frontier territory who showed the greatest determination and courage in defense of democracy and the republic. About one o'clock at night, the reserves were equipped at their posts to protect the frontier. The majority were Communists. They went quite calmly and resolutely. They went as Communists should. And the Communists were also the first ones to report themselves for voluntary work for the rapid completion of the frontier fortifications. Our frontiers are now excellently fortified. All that is needed now is a people behind these frontiers like that personified by the Communists.

"In these critical days, our people have revealed a really admirable calmness and determination for the defense

of democracy and the republic. Panic or chaos is nowhere to be seen. Our soldiers calmly perform their duty and the civil population helps them liberally. Military and civil patrols guard the railway and highway bridges, the viaducts and railways, the post offices, the railway tracks and the streets. In a few hours, such a state of preparedness was created of both the military and civilian population that they were capable of withstanding the most furious assault of Hitler. Hitler, too, saw this and that is why he postponed his attack.

"German fascism, which was able to commit its crimes unpunished till now and before whom great states retreated for many years, has lost the first open battle with little Czechoslovakia. Yes, this is a real and concrete defeat of Hitler. He struck a people who were in a position to defend their frontiers—and without a shot, only through its determination, through its will and its courage. Here in the frontier district, notwithstanding the fascist terror of the Henleinists, the toiling people calmly await coming events and declare openly and without equivocation: We are not afraid and we'll stand our ground.

"We Czechoslovakian Communists are conscious of our international responsibilities. The world's working class is watching us today. All the anti-fascists are watching us today and are hoping that the Czechoslovakian working class, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and all Czechoslovakian anti-fascists will prepare a reception such as Hitler will never forget. The attack upon Czechoslovakia will be the end of Hitler.

"While traveling through Jablonce today (June 1), the large numbers of white stockings and Henlein badges were no longer visible. The Henlein hyenas have withdrawn into their lairs. I have not heard again the tramp of the storm troop divisions, nor of the new fascist greeting: 'Heil war with victory!' as was the case only last week. 'The day is coming' did not come. Neither did 'He'; hence all the flags, standards and uniforms that were prepared had to be packed away again. . . ."

The spirit emanating from this letter is the strongest bulwark of Czechoslovakia.

The Beginning of War-Weariness in Japan

THE ruling military-fascist clique of Japan is displaying growing nervousness in face of the desire for peace agitating the Japanese people. Several recent events indicate this. The Japanese Domei Press Agency reported that the Yokohama police searched an incoming ship from Honolulu in a drive against . . . chewing gum. A firm in the United States, so it says, is smuggling chewing gum into Japan with anti-war statements and drawings on its wrappers. One of these drawings shows Japanese soldiers slaughtering the Chinese. When Chinese fliers flew over Japan for the first time, dropping leaflets instead of bombs, the Japanese authorities began a zealous search for these carriers of "dangerous thoughts." Each find was separately reported and the entire official apparatus was set into motion to destroy every last copy. Now and then, anti-war ideas find expression in Japanese publications. Thus, an important Japanese periodical printed a novel, *Living Soldiers*, which described the life of the Japanese soldiers and whose entire contents could only contribute to the strengthening of anti-war sentiment. The censorship noticed this only after a number of copies had been circulated.

In a report from Tokio the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, another witness beyond suspicion, confirms the existence of "peace sentiments among large circles of the population."

A fear of the war-weariness and the yearning for peace of the mass of the people also explains the mass arrests which have occurred in recent months. Among the thousands of prisoners are intellectuals, Buddhist priests and numerous students. War-weariness is even

spreading into the army. This is shown best by a speech of the Attorney General in Tokio, who, among other things, declared: "It happens occasionally that imprudent comments in letters from the front or remarks of returned soldiers cause wild rumors. In a situation like the present, anti-war movements must be prosecuted with the utmost severity."

It speaks volumes when the Attorney General, in person, complains of the contents of the letters of Japanese soldiers. The Japanese soldiers are drilled into mummy-like obedience by every means of physical and psychical pressure. Nevertheless, in spite of this, the Japanese soldiers now stationed in China form their own ideas concerning the war. The utter senselessness and brutality of the war were expressed in an original manner by a Japanese soldier in the following words addressed to a louse which made the rounds among the Japanese soldiers:

"Here, sitting by the campfire, I think of you,
I know you think of me. You told me so;
This whole broad land is in ruins and grows ever more bare
Only you wax fat therefrom,
lucky Louse."

These words are an expression of the gloomy mood of the Japanese soldiers in face of the hopelessness and the uselessness of the bloody adventure. At the same time, there is an increase in the excesses perpetrated by the demoralized Japanese officers and soldiers: rapacious plundering, rape of Chinese women and mass execution of prisoners. Even a Japanese propagandist, the journalist Kawakami, after reporting these ex-

cesses, was compelled to declare hypocritically, in a book which appeared in London: "We are ashamed of these things." But only because they make a bad impression on the world, as this gentleman, who wishes to explain Japanese policy to the English public, has us understand later on.

The appearance of war-weariness is likewise connected with the growing deterioration of Japan's economic conditions. The enormous cost of financing the war weighs heavily upon the working masses, especially the peasants. There are about 750,000 peasants in the army; in numerous peasant families there is a shortage of labor power for the cultivation of the soil. "Voluntary contributions" for farewell ceremonies for the soldiers going to the front are extorted from those who remain at home. The requirements of war have led to a shortage and to a sharp increase in the cost of chemical fertilizer and the prices for all kinds of articles of consumption

have risen sharply. The consumption of goods satisfying daily needs diminishes continuously. A government commission has already worked out standards for articles of clothing by which shirts and collars are rendered superfluous.

Speeches of leading representatives of the present regime likewise betray a growing nervousness. The Minister of Interior declared a few weeks ago: "The People's Front movement, one of the cloaks under which the Comintern operates, will inevitably penetrate the mass of people when its high moral calibre suffers a certain amount of weakening. Its influence on the opinion of the people is too terrible to imagine."

The gentlemen need not "imagine" the influence of the People's Front on the mass of people. This idea will prevail more and more because it shows the masses the way out of the terrors of war, because the People's Front and peace, in Japan as well, belong inextricably together.

The Opposition of the Austrian Nazis

THE "union" of Austria with Hitler Germany means the exclusion of all Austrians from the administration of the fatherland. In Austria, brown imperialism has set up a foreign rule that assumes more and more the character of colonial rule. During the course of a few weeks, the living standard of the Austrian people has taken an incredible drop. The most important articles of consumption have either disappeared or have risen to prohibitive prices. Tens of thousands of officials, physicians, teachers, lawyers, and workers were thrown upon the street; tens of thousands of business people and tradesmen were plundered and expropriated, tens of thousands of pensioners and recipients of old-age annuities were robbed of their modest subsistence. The enormous animosity of the people is exploding in hunger demonstrations, street demonstrations, and passionate outbreaks against the Prussian conquerors.

Many Austrian National-Socialists participate in these actions against foreign domination. Those petty-bourgeois, peasant and semi-proletarian strata that expected an improvement in their conditions of life at the hands of Hitler now face the destruction of their hopes in bewilderment. Those sons of the peasants and petty bourgeoisie, whose leaders had incited them to the July, 1934, putsch and who had built illegal organizations, were rudely shoved aside by the German conquerors. To be sure they are Nazis, but in the eyes of their "brothers from the Reich" they have a serious defect of birth—they are Austrians and therefore notoriously "people of a lower order." They were good enough to stick out their necks for Hitler; now, however, they must keep their mouths shut

and be satisfied to be humble stirrup-holders for the fine gentlemen who so expertly subjugated Austria.

The enormous disillusionment of the Austrian National-Socialists rises to growing resistance to the German commissioners and their hirelings.

By means of illegal leaflets and newspapers, the Austrian Nazis are demanding Buerckel's recall and the administration of Austria by the Austrians. Illegal National-Socialist conferences are called, illegal activities are carried out and in the prisons and concentration camps, Austrian National-Socialists sit side by side with revolutionary workers and Catholic toilers.

A "reorganization" of the Nazi Party was instituted, *i.e.*, the party was actually dissolved and its rebuilding entrusted to German commissioners and the Gestapo. On May 25, Herr Buerckel stated:

"The Fuehrer has arrived at a decision concerning the appointment of district leaders. . . . I don't hesitate to declare that I consider every one injurious to the community who sees his daily task in negative, malicious criticism, especially since most of such critics are for the most part confirmed job-hunters and idlers. In any case, I am determined that, in the future, such people shall not only be kept out of the party but be rendered harmless by every available means."

But more exasperating than Herr Buerckel's threats were the simultaneous adjurations of the *Voelkischer Beobachter* which, on May 26, polemized against the "false views of actual conditions" among many circles of "old party members." The *Voelkischer Beobachter* addressed itself to those Austrian National-Socialists who had worked

illegally and who now noted with rancor and revolt that they had been passed over and that Messrs. Seyss-Inquart, Neubacher, and so forth, who had never undergone the least risk, were now assigned to the German conquerors as political aides. In order to placate them, the *Voelkischer Beobachter* wrote:

"In these cases, the result then was that people here and there believed that they knew more deserving or capable persons for the positions to be filled. It was finally as in the trenches. The common soldier in the trench, who saw only the sacrifices of the non-commissioned officers or lieutenants, could not judge the much greater performances demanded of the battalion or regimental commanders. He saw only his section of the trench, not the whole front. With the decision arrived at today by the Fuehrer, this discussion ends."

The discussion has by no means ended. The National-Socialist "trench-fighters" have little understanding for the argumentation of the *Voelkischer Beobachter*. During the war, the front line soldiers directed their greatest hate against those gentlemen whom popular terminology called *Ettapenschweine*, the parasites and political job-seekers who led a pleasant existence far from battle. The rank-and-file members of the Austrian Nazi Party now see the *Ettapenschweine* of the swastika in office and would rise in wrath, while Buerckel threatens that he will use every means to render them harmless. The fight against the National-Socialist *Ettapenschweine* with whom the rank-and-file party member had come face to face during the division of the booty, supports the fight against foreign rule. To be sure, Hitler has named Austrians as district leaders but, at the same time, he has placed a Reich German adviser by the side of every district leader. These "advisers" not only supervise every step of their Austrian pupils, but they also have command of Austria.

The foreign rule proves to be still more ruthless in its establishment of the "German Labor Front" in Austria. All rights of members of former trade

unions were declared null and void. The workers' payments, made for decades past, have been simply stolen by the conquerors. All duly acquired titles to trade union support in sick benefits, accident cases, and so forth count as expired. The leadership of the Labor Front in Austria was transferred exclusively to the hands of Reich Germans. Not less than seven district chairmen and 76 section chairmen of the Labor Front were ordered to Austria from Germany to "instill discipline and order" in the Austrian workers. In a short time, the last of the Austrians will have disappeared from the administration also. The *Frankfurter Zeitung* wrote on June 2:

"Thus Austria is today but a legal transition concept. When this, and with it the Austrian government, will disappear, has not yet been pronounced, perhaps not finally determined. By the speed with which measures are taken to realize the incorporation of Austria all along the line, one must assume, however, that this will occur within a comparatively short time. . . . The entire new structure will be under the leadership of the National-Socialist Party. By the character of their claims to leadership, they have gone a step further in Austria than in the old territory of the Reich, in that the district leaders have not only taken over the leadership of state in their territory but also, as district chairmen of the German Labor Front, they personally direct the foremost instrument of human leadership."

Yes, in Austria they "went a step further" than in Germany. Even the seeming independence of the German Labor Front is not tolerated in Austria. State, party, Labor Front, all are being intertwined into a frightful whip in the hands of the German conquerors. The Austrian National-Socialists have realized too late that they betrayed not only their country and their people to Hitler Germany, but also their own most personal interests. Today, they can report to their German Bohemian friends from their own experience what fate awaits the Henleinists if they fall under the heel of the German conqueror.

Attention, "Danger to Peace!"

NO, THE phrase "Danger to Peace" is no slip of the pen. But it is a misleading, significant phrase dropped by the German short-wave radio announcer in Rome on May 29 at 10:45 p.m., when he gave a report on the course and the halting of German fascist aggression against Czechoslovakia. The "danger to peace" resulted from the firm stand taken by Czechoslovakia against the Brown annexationists and from the support received by the Czechoslovakian republic from public opinion of Europe and from decisive peace forces.

"Danger to Peace" might also be the headline in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* of May 26, which recorded with repressed rage that, under the pressure of the will of the peoples of Europe, even the large bourgeois papers were compelled to take a stand against the Nazi aggressors, those papers which heretofore, in the spirit of "non-intervention," had always been inclined to pass over the explosive dangers created by the German fascists and their friends of the axis.

Readers of the Goebbels-directed press have at least learned from the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* of the above date that the force and determination of the peace factors in Europe are strong enough to command the Brown barbarians to halt their advance. Well-known bourgeois papers from Latvia, Denmark, Hungary, Sweden, Holland, Norway, Poland, England and France were quoted by the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*. This paper was compelled to include the *Osservatore Romano* among the papers that took a "stand for Prague." And it is particularly intriguing that the *D.A.Z.* was compelled to close its statement with the following words: "The only sensible voice in the French press which . . . may be found in the forest of Parisian papers

is that of Deputy Doriot who writes the following in the certainly not very influential *Liberté*. . ."

Through the praise given Doriot by Goebbels, the German reader has now discovered just how important is this *Liberté* which the Nazi German radio quotes on every occasion as the authoritative voice of the foreign press. And notwithstanding the distortions of the actual occurrences on May 21 by the Nazi press, the reader has been able to form some idea of the excitement and powerful sympathy for Czechoslovakia with which the peoples of Europe participate in defense of Central European peace against the fascist aggressors. When fascist speakers talk of "danger to peace" because of the success in stopping Hitler's panther-like leap into war and when the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* denounces the salvation of peace as the "result of Entente propaganda," these are striking indications of the Nazi regime's war intentions and activities.

But the German people can be satisfied when Goebbels' propaganda is dissatisfied. Every week wrenched from the fascist aggressors during which they cannot advance increases the possibilities of the German people to weaken the enemy at home who now endangers Europe and harms the German people most of all. Contrary to their oppressors, the German people see no danger in the maintenance of peace but an outstanding service to Germany and the world. If any notice has been taken of the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* of May 26, this is because it shows clearly where German imperialism is vulnerable and how much it must retreat when faced by the determined opposition of the real force of the friends of peace.

The Brown Bureaucrats

THE *Angriff*, Herr Goebbels' paper, asks in its leading article of May 19, "What are the earmarks of a bureaucrat?"

"What are the earmarks of a bureaucrat? The auto, the villa, the party book? In that case we would have a whole bunch of bureaucrats among our people and little right to cavil at the former big-wigs."

It is indicative of the temper of the German people that the *Angriff* deems it necessary to oppose their intense hatred of the bureaucrats of auto, villa and party book. These bureaucrats rule in Germany today. In the name of the "community" Goering, Goebbels, Ley, Darre, Kaufmann, Mutschmann, Himmler, Buerckel and tens of thousands of sub-leaders have amassed fantastic fortunes. They ride in the most expensive autos, they live in the most beautiful castles and country houses, they have picked up strange bank accounts and dividends with the aid of party books.

All control by the people has been eliminated. Only a small clique of leaders has any knowledge of the secrets of German financial procedure. The money is frittered away, squandered in debauchery and stolen. High walls with signs "no admittance" shelter the morasses of corruption from the plundered masses. The Third Reich was born in a swamp and will perish in a swamp. Its origin was closely interwoven with the notorious East-Aid scandal. When General von Schleicher cautiously began to direct attention to the unprecedented dissipation of the state grants by the East Elbe Junkers, these Junkers joined with Hitler and the Third Reich arose. The Brown gang is

more expert in plundering and squandering than the tribe of East Elbe Junkers. With ape-like speed, the Brown leaders and sub-leaders have risen to a state of luxury and snobbery; in a few years they fattened up on the body of the German people with piggish greed.

We shall illustrate the character of the Brown bureaucracy with one of thousands of examples. A few years ago, District Inspector Baur was a small businessman in the impoverished little Saxon town of Marienburg. He and his wife occupied a small two-room dwelling and lived in the most modest circumstances. A few years later, he was the possessor of a ten-room house in Dresden, with an auto, garage and servants. In spite of this, he and his wife complained that they were "people without room." One day, S.S. men crowded into one of Dresden's most beautiful villas whose owner intended to sell his house. As they entered, they examined all the living rooms, the garden, the garage and reported to the District Inspector that the villa would satisfy his requirements. The District Inspector appeared, turned up his nose and declared the villa too old-fashioned and not comfortable enough. With the greatest trouble, a villa was found that satisfied his demands. It goes without saying that Herr Bauer looks down haughtily upon his own comrades and that his wife declines to receive old acquaintances from Marienberg. One mixes now only with the fine gentlemen, against whom, prior to the seizure of power, one made demagogic speeches and wrote demagogic articles.

Today, when anyone in Germany wants to sell a villa, a palace, or any

kind of valuables, he turns to the lords of the "National-Socialist German Workers Party." He knows that the Brown bureaucrats are the best buyers. In many cases, these transactions go through the hands of the unavoidable State Secretary, Meissner, who has wormed his way into all parties and has covered the road from Ebert to Hitler. This Meissner, always a bureaucrat, sees to it that the Brown bureaucrats buy up the most beautiful homes and castles. Besides, there are public auctions in Germany to which only leaders and sub-leaders with a party book are admitted. Here the goods and valuables stolen from those deprived of their citizenship are given to the Brown bureaucrats for a song.

The stench of this corruption pollutes the air of the Third Reich. The fantastic castles of Herr Goering, the diamond diadems of his wife, the luxurious villas of Goebbels, Himmler, Ley and associates, the mad pleasures of the Brown possessors of power, cannot be kept secret indefinitely. The hatred of the people against the brood of Brown parasites grows by leaps and bounds.

In face of this mass temper, the *Angriff* now attempts to conjure up the past in a series of articles entitled: "Bureaucrats of the Weimar Republic." Certainly, there were bureaucrats at that time too—but compared with the bureaucrats of the Third Reich, they looked like novices. From a little truth and a pile of dirty lies, arises a series of articles which finally yield only one thing: that it was incomparably better in the Weimar Republic than in the Third Reich. When these articles maliciously reproach the former Reichsbanner leader Hoersing because he was fat and

sweated, the reader says to himself: "Goering has a bigger belly, and for his belly the people must sweat." And when the former Prussian Premier, Braun, is reproached because he liked to go hunting, every reader thinks of the Reich's headmaster of the chase, Goering, who is satisfied only when the chase becomes a frightful slaughter. Evidently the writer of these articles thought likewise and therefore added: "When Hermann Goering went hunting in the Lobau yesterday, it was something worth seeing—but when Herr Braun had a stag fixed for him to shoot at in the Prussian state forest even the valets laughed disrespectfully." Everyone knows that Goering has dozens of stags driven in front of his rifle, that hundreds of peasants are forcibly expropriated to increase the hunting grounds of the Herr Reich's headmaster of the chase, that hunters most thoroughly detest the Brown head bureaucrat's lust for useless killing—and the *Angriff* knows it even better than anyone else. To answer the question: "What are the earmarks of a bureaucrat" by saying: when Herr Goering lives in a palace, "it is something worth seeing"—when Herr Braun went hunting, it was bureaucracy, is no answer at all and they won't get away with it.

The articles of the *Angriff* have a different effect from that which Herr Goebbels' journalists expect. When anyone speaks of bureaucrats in Germany today, no one thinks of the past but everyone thinks of the present. As in the case of all the other vices and abominations of the capitalist world, fascism has developed bureaucracy to the height of monstrosity.

A Defect in His Uniform

PRUSSIAN GERMANY of pre-war days created the comical "Captain von Koepenik," a shoemaker who paraded around in officer's uniform. By force of his spiked helmet and uniform, he swindled considerable sums and with the snarling tone of an officer, he cheated officials and dignitaries. Like the magic "open sesame" in the oriental fairy tale, a captain's uniform was at that time all-powerful and served as a key to both private and public cash boxes. "Captain von Koepenik" became a symbol for military omnipotence in pre-war Germany.

In the matter of uniforms, present-day Nazi Germany has gone much further than the era of Kaiser Wilhelm II. With brutal earnestness and stupid zeal, every aspirant to the position of "fuehrer" in the Third Reich studies the voluminous regulations regarding Brown and other shirts, black and yellow ties, pressed trousers or breeches. In the theoretical periodicals of Nazism, there is a section devoted to the question of uniforms. Recently, this question was complicated by the fact that the official dress for leaders of the Girls League and the underwear to match were subjected to rules which a very busy "Reichsfuehrer" with somnambulistic certainty has prescribed for his followers.

It is therefore quite natural that every swindler and tramp who wants to get anywhere in the Reich must, above all, take care that he wear the most effective uniform. A glance at the local section of the "Official Party" paper, *Westfaelische Landeszeitung*, reveals that swindlers and thieves today prefer the uniforms of policemen or storm troop leaders because in these uniforms they are able to make

the most lucrative onslaught on the pockets of the people who are intimidated by the police and other Nazi troops.

If we take three issues of the paper that appeared at the end of May, four characteristic examples present themselves at once. A dabbler in matchmaking got business without difficulty in Solingen and Ohligs by covering "himself with the halo of a highly meritorious, heroic fighter for the movement," and by utilizing the "gold party badge" which he is supposed to have earned in the secret service of the Duesseldorf district leadership. A blackmailer found victims in Paderborn by rigging himself up as a policeman. In Koeln, a swindler who also wore a police uniform developed his special activity against women whom he intimidated after the fashion of the Nazi authorities: he would appear in the home of a married woman, declaring that her husband had been arrested, either on the way to or at work, and ordering her to go immediately to this or that authority for interrogation. He would then seal up the house, take over the keys and plunder the house in the woman's absence.

The adventures of a man named Hoelzer from Remscheid are instructive; he appeared as a member of the National-Socialist Labor Party, as a storm troop leader or as a lieutenant. In these capacities, he raped girls, dabbled in matchmaking, and worked as a successful dead-beat and swindler. When the uniform alone did not have the desired effect, he made use of a revolver as a means of persuasion. But he was particularly expert in conveying his determination with the "dagger of honor" that is part of the

outfit of a storm troop leader. When, at Remscheid a hotelkeeper reminded him that he had imbibing liberally for three months without paying, he threw a beer mug at her and brandished his dagger, in the course of which he wounded a guest in the back. When another guest remonstrated with him about his "carelessness," Hoelzer plunged the dagger into his upper thigh. The wounded man could not work for eight weeks (*Westfaelische Landeszeitung*, May 25.)

Until this "carelessness," Hoelzer acted true to form. Hence, it was not his swindling and his crimes that finally brought him to trial. The jailer caught up with our hero when he bumped into a group of drinkers in an inn who were specialists on uniforms and who noticed a little defect in his uniform. They therefore requested proof of identity because a storm troop leader is permitted to behave in such fashion only when his uniform is faultless and his proof of identity is in order. Hoelzer appeared in court and was sentenced for violation of the "Law Against Impersonation."

The "Law Against Impersonation" assures a monopoly to the real Nazi Black shirt and Brown shirt leaders in defrauding the toiling masses, in brandishing a dagger and in behaving like this Hoelzer who, from exalted examples, got the idea to put on a uniform too and to act like the "Bearers of the National-Socialist Idea of the State." The defect in his uniform put a premature end to his career. Had his uniform been faultless, he might even have attained an official position and he would have been able to fleece to his heart's content like the Esch city tax collector and swindler of millions, and "first National-Socialist of Duesseldorf."

And what is the moral of these stories from Brown life? In the swamps of fascist rule, the poisonous plants of crime thrive luxuriantly. Their growth is promoted by the absolute lack of rights of the great mass of the people who are exposed to the arbitrariness of the booted and spurred despots and for whom it is difficult to distinguish the legalized blackmailers from the illegitimate ones by small defects in uniforms.

Spaak Reforms Democracy

PAUL HENRI SPAAK, the Belgian "Socialist" whom the King has entrusted with the premiership, has stated before the General Council of his Party, the Belgian Labor Party, and in his government declaration in parliament, that one must "reform" democracy to defend it.

With his receipt of the King's mandate to form a government, Spaak "reformed" democracy. He consulted none of the parties from whose midst he chose his fellow-cabinet members; he did not even consult his own party. He played the "Fuehrer" and confronted the democratic parties with an accomplished fact: here, "my" government, kindly swallow this bitter pill and make the best of a bad bargain. To justify his behavior he set up a theory, to put it respectfully: under democracy, the "chief" acts exclusively on his own responsibility; only afterward have the constituents the right to approve or reject his actions. This "reformed democracy" smells suspiciously of the fascist leader principle.

And the government formed by him looks like it, too. The Paris *Temps* justly asserts that it represents "an indisputable success of the Catholic conservatives and a definite failure of the Socialists." The two key ministries, of finance and economy, are in the hands of "individuals whose anti-Socialist and conservative tendencies are well-known," as the *Temps* expresses it.

Spaak boasted: "That is my way, to be a Christian on my own account. I frequently have deviating and heretical ideas; I don't believe in the class struggle."

The "reformed democrat," who is still a member of the Labor Party, hastened

to repudiate Marxism and to ban and excommunicate the class struggle. As a real careerist, Mr. Spaak proclaims his disbelief in the principles of Marxism when it involves the attainment of the premiership.

The youngest functionary of his party could explain to him how the *capitalists* wage the class struggle, how, when the climax comes, they do not hesitate to resort to powder and lead against the masses, to throw thousands and tens of thousands of workers into prisons and concentration camps and to unleash open civil war. Spaak could learn from his arch-bourgeois uncle, the former premier Janson, how he came to be overthrown. The "disbelieving" Spaak would learn edifying things which might perhaps be suitable to re-establish his "belief" in the class struggle—if he ever had such belief. Janson was overthrown when he proposed a finance and tax program that, in the opinion of the spokesmen of finance capital, had insufficiently burdened the Belgian masses.

Spaak "does not believe in the class struggle." His disbelief could not be driven out of him even when reactionary parliamentarians demanded the recognition of Franco, which is certainly not in the interest of the Belgian workers, peasant artisans, and small shopkeepers, but entirely in the interests of the big sharks. Is not insinuation into Franco's good graces a class question?

Spaak did not say outright that he would not recognize Franco. He merely requested that less be said on this question and proposed that it be dealt with in the Committee on Foreign Affairs. A Rexist Deputy interjected, saying that he was going to Canossa, to which Spaak replied ambiguously: "To Canossa, Se-

ville or Burgos—it's all the same to me."

He did not mention Valencia or Madrid for fear that he might hurt the class feeling of the finance magnates. It is clear that one cannot "settle" the class struggle with a gesture; one is compelled to participate in it, the question being merely on the side of which class, that of the exploiters or exploited!

Spaak was once a noisy follower of "Left-wing" Socialism. He walked in Otto Bauer's shadow, acted extremely "revolutionary" and frightened the reformist grandfathers. His dignified big-bourgeois relatives followed the young man's development full of worry and uneasiness. When they opened a copy of his paper, *Action Socialiste*, they anxiously shook their heads and almost abandoned all hope of ever seeing him take the road to the King and of receiving office and honor at his hands.

Their anxiety was unfounded. Spaak did not degenerate, he did not sacrifice his career. His radicalism was not even an infantile disease, but only a well-calculated method for advancement. His road led back to the family traditions, back to the court, back to his class. He became, if you please, a practical politician and put "national" water in his "Socialist" wine. The prodigal returned. From Otto Bauer to Burgos and Franco, from incendiary articles in *Action Socialiste* to the recognition of predatory Italian rule of Ethiopia—he has covered this distance in short order.

If the workers had more leisure they would occupy themselves with an analysis of the "spiritual impulses and transformations" of Spaak and similar celebrities, in order to delve below the surface and "get to the bottom" of their transition from "Left" to Right. But the workers are engaged in the most difficult

struggle against fascism, against the open and disguised enemies of labor unity, of democracy, of peace and socialism. Since they have no time for observations of Spaak's "inner life," they simply decide that it is the class struggle—whether one believes in it or not—the logic of the class struggle. In situations when things come to a head, the people who either strayed or wormed their way into the labor movement must confess their color, and this color is not red!

Vandervelde and de Brouckère are somewhat embarrassed. They gently admonish their "comrade" to reflect and not to cut such capers. In vain! Spaak sneers at the old Social-Democrats; he'll stick to the young crusaders of finance capital.

When the Soviet Union seized the enemies of the working class and of socialism, the Trotskyite-Bukharinite wreckers who wormed themselves into the ranks of the Party and are in the service of foreign states, the Gestapo and the Intelligence Service, de Brouckère is immediately at hand with a telegram of "protest." He cannot believe that such "revolutionaries" have become traitors. He might think over the case of Spaak, who has gone over from "revolutionary" socialism to anti-Marxism, and whose future is not under the Sign of the Red Flag, but under an entirely different sign. Perhaps Spaak's "disbelief" will cure de Brouckère of his own disbelief and sharpen his vigilance.

The workers of Belgium and the international working class learn from the case of Spaak to judge people by their deeds and not by their words. The only question is how long will they tolerate the Spaaks in their ranks.

Henry Ford, Instigator of American Fascism

BY SIDNEY BLOOMFIELD

HENRY FORD, the automobile king and one of the richest men in the world, has come forward in the U.S.A. as leader of the reactionary forces. Roosevelt invited Ford to the White House on April 28 to discuss the question of cooperation between the government and industry in the present crisis, which has already thrown about 15,000,000 workers out of jobs.

As soon as the news appeared that Ford was to visit Roosevelt, letters and telegrams began pouring in to Ford from reactionary sources calling upon him not to be "beguiled into surrender of his individualistic ideas by Roosevelt." Ford, however, did not need all these pleas of the reactionaries, for he is the biggest of them all.

While the utmost secrecy shrouded the Ford-Roosevelt conversations, enough was given to the press of Ford's attitude when he told a reporter: "If government would just get out of the way and give natural American enterprise a free swing, it will do the job." This sentence contains the basic point for the rallying of the forces of reaction to liquidate all social legislation and to return to the dark days of the regime of ex-President Hoover.

To further dramatize the urgency for a united front for big business, Ford did what he has never been known to have done before. He appeared as a "speaker" before a public gathering. The day after his conversation with Roosevelt, he appeared in New York City at a dinner of the Advertising Section (the most influential department) of the American Newspaper Publishers Association.

Though his speech consisted of only two short sentences, the press of the entire country featured this "speech" in front-page headlines, editorials, and feature articles.

"We are all on the spot. Stick to your guns, and I will help you, with the assistance of my son, all I can."

The political significance of this "speech" is not difficult to understand. And for emphasis Henry Ford did a thing that left financial and newspaper circles gasping for breath. Ford had a talk with his former mortal enemy, J. P. Morgan and his partner, Thomas Lamont, having made a special trip to the House of Morgan in Wall Street. Here again is emphasized the serious threat of a united reactionary front in the U.S.

All reactionary circles have been talking about the desirability of having as the President of the United States the present Vice-President, John N. Garner, who has been trying in every way possible to line up the opposition in Congress to defeat the New Deal legislation. Recognizing his services to their cause, the fascist elements have even gone to the extent of openly talking of assassinating, or in other ways getting rid of President Roosevelt.

The reactionaries are plotting for the automatic succession of their tool Garner to the presidency. And Ford, who has usually been non-committal on politics, has now, according to the *New York Times* correspondent, "indicated a keen interest in recent developments at Washington and in one government per-

sonality. . . . He expressed a desire to visit Vice-President John N. Garner." The *New York Times* correspondent, J. G. Hayden, who interviewed Ford after his White House visit, also reported Ford as saying about Garner "that's the fellow I like." Ford's love for Garner only shows the complete endorsement of big capital.

The danger of fascism in the U.S.A. has become greater precisely because of the coming forward of Henry Ford as its open instigator. His coming forward at this time, pledging his full support to reaction, serves to assure his business rivals of his agreement for a reactionary line of action.

This is especially important when we look back to 1933-34. During that period practically the entire capitalist class accepted—at least formally—the National Industrial Recovery Act (N.I.R.A.). Ford openly resisted and defied the government to force him to abide by the N.R.A., which contained provisions for the control of production and prices, the regulation of hours and wages for the workers, and granting to workers the right to organize in unions of their own choice and to bargain collectively with the employers. The answer of the government at that time was given when it ruled the Ford Motor Corporation ineligible to receive government orders for automobiles. But Ford continued successfully to challenge the laws of the land enacted by the Congress which was elected by a popular vote of the people.

In a similar manner, Ford defies the Wagner Act, known as the National Labor Relations Act, which gives the worker the right to organize. An organization campaign conducted by the trade unions is turned into a small civil war by the army of Ford's gangsters and gunmen. Organizers of the United Automobile Workers are shot, clubbed, and crippled by Ford's notorious "Service Department" thugs and gunmen. An instance of

such barbarity is the case of Richard Frankenstein, who was seized by a number of Ford's "servicemen" and clubbed into unconsciousness.

Ford is known to be the chief financial supporter and instigator of the "Black Legion," a hooded gang of assassins who have a long record of murder of militant and progressive workers. Ford has employed as a chemist Fritz Kuhn, whom he has sponsored and supported as the head of the Nazi German American Bund. This same Kuhn has recently returned from a trip to Berlin with new instructions from Hitler for Nazi activities in America.

Ford is a notorious anti-Semite and labor union enemy, and financial supporter of numerous fascist and semi-fascist groups and activities. He extends his sympathies to Father Coughlin, who openly preaches over the radio in favor of fascism. He has joined forces with big finance capital groups against whom he formerly conducted a fierce struggle, as against his competitors. This is all the more reason for the progressive forces to be on their guard and to draw from all this the correct political and organizational conclusions.

In the face of this consolidation of the forces of reaction the broadest and most solid united front to defeat the reactionary and fascist offensive in the coming elections is imperative. One of the basic conditions for victory over reaction is a united trade union movement in the United States.

The alliance of labor, farmers, the various sections of the middle class, the Negro people, and all other forces of democracy and progress is necessary to smash the menace of Ford's fascism, to smash the attacks of the most reactionary forces of America. Ford is at one with his old enemy. This should be a signal for unity of the people against the alliance of the sharks of big business.

We Don't Want to Go to Hitler Germany

LAST year, the leader of the German labor service, Seldte, visited the Dutch Minister of Labor, Romme. Seldte complimented Romme. Romme was flattered and wished to show the German fascist that the Dutch Minister of Labor, too, is competent and knows how to take the bull by the horns. Therefore, he issued an order whereby Dutch unemployed agricultural workers are compelled by the employment agencies to accept agricultural work in fascist Germany. Dutch agricultural workers who refuse to accept work in Germany cannot receive support under any circumstances during the period of the proposed labor agreement.

The results that Mr. Romme and the fascists promised themselves as a consequence of this decree failed to materialize. The answer they got from the Dutch agricultural workers consisted in their almost unanimous refusal to accept work in fascist Germany. In almost all places where Dutch agricultural workers were affected by this scandalous measure, they organized themselves for their common defense against the government-ordered exile to Germany.

In Nieuw-Pekela, early in April, three people, a member and functionary of the Communist Party of The Netherlands, of the Christian Democratic Union and of the Social-Democratic Labor Party, took the initiative in the struggle for the common defense. They issued a proclamation to the people of Nieuw-Pekela and protested against the exile of the unemployed to Germany. This example also roused the unemployed agricultural workers of other places to a common defensive struggle.

The conventions of the Social-Democratic and Communist Parties which

took place in April also considered the question of compulsory exile. At the convention of the Communist Party the delegates, particularly from the Northern provinces, reported on the resistance of the workers of different political tendencies and faiths. In many places joint protest meetings took place. The workers submitted both oral and written protests to the Minister of Labor and demanded also the convocation of the Lower House to decide against the compulsory exile to Germany. In its resolution of protest, the Communist Party Convention says:

“The Congress of the Communist Party of The Netherlands protests . . . above all against the neglect of the objections on principle that were raised by many workers who do not wish to work and live in a country which suppresses freedom of thought and opinion and where the workers have been robbed of all rights.”

That there is a shortage of agricultural workers in fascist Germany is a fact. They endeavor to overcome this shortage in part through the labor service. But with this the “battle of production” of Messrs. Goering and Darré is not yet being won. They are primarily short of skilled workers. But where to get without stealing? A glance at Prussian history showed them the way.

The Prussian King, Frederick Wilhelm I (1713-1740), carried through an important increase in the standing army, somewhat like Hitler's today. Through the many wars that had heretofore ruined the country, there was a shortage of workers for sowing and harvesting. But he needed soldiers and, since the forces of his own country were insuff-

cient, he resorted to "levies" in foreign lands. These "levies" were, as Franz Mehring expresses it, the most dreadful "kidnappings by Prussian recruiting officers in foreign lands," that "produced perpetual conflicts with neighboring states." What they could not obtain peaceably, they took by force.

Why should the present-day lords of fascist Germany act otherwise? Terror and compulsion, demagoguery and lies, are among the most important attributes of the present-day rulers of Germany. Thus they nimbly lie to the Dutch unemployed agricultural workers that they will earn 20 to 30 marks a week beside their room and board; that they can send 85 per cent of this to their relatives in Holland; that in case of disagreements with their German employers, they have the right to file complaints, and so forth.

But in reality things are different. Agricultural workers who have returned from Germany report that they signed a contract by which they were to earn from 16 to 18 Dutch gulden per week. But when they arrived at their appointed places, they were told that the agreement was invalid. They reported further, "instead of ten hours, we had to work from five in the morning till seven in the evening for two marks per day. When we gave notice that we wanted to go back home, we were told that we were making ourselves subject to punishment. We were also visited by storm troopers; and had not one of us spoken German, we would have involuntarily landed with Franco."

All reports from Dutch agricultural workers who have returned from Germany show that they were scandalously exploited and did not even get enough to eat. "Not a warm meal in ten days," "no fat in the soup," "no butter on the bread," that is the refrain of their stories. The work of a milker begins at four o'clock and ends at seven in the evening. There are no free days for a

milker; in any case, the contract does not provide for any; thus he is thrown completely on the mercy of the employer. Accordingly, a milker has a working week of almost ninety hours and for this wretched drudgery he receives 50 marks per month. This starvation wage is not only supposed to cover all his own possible expenses (for example, laundry, etc.) but also feed his family in Holland. Besides, he must save his return fare out of it. May the gallant Mr. Romme and the fascist chieftain, Mussert, explain to them how to solve this arithmetical problem.

The struggle of the Dutch agricultural workers against this monstrous coercion by the government is assuming sharper and broader forms. Many agricultural workers who were and are robbed of their support by reason of their refusal to go to Germany live by virtue of the solidarity of the rural population. Setting aside political and denominational differences, the rural population has achieved a common defensive struggle against the reactionary measures of the government. Moreover, it would be important also for the leadership of the unions and the Social-Democratic Labor Party to support the struggle of the rural population, not only in words and by representations to the Minister of Labor. In common with the Communist Party and all anti-fascist parties and organizations, they could successfully fight that the refusal on principle of the agricultural workers be recognized by the Labor office and that the Dutch agricultural workers who have no work be granted support as in the past.

That results can be obtained when the agricultural workers stand together is shown by the conference of Mayors in Groningen, at which it was decided to disregard the government decree, not to force any Dutch agricultural workers to work in Germany and to continue payments to the unemployed.

The Defeat of Hitler in South America

ON MAY 10 an armed gang in Rio de Janeiro attempted a putsch. The unsuccessful attack upon the President would hardly have caused much of a stir in the world had not the defeat of this putsch cast an especially glaring light on Hitler's activity in South America.

Six employees of the German South American Bank have been arrested for taking part in the putsch; the leader, Plinio Salgado, has fled to the Japanese Legation. The Brazilian government has officially declared that Germany is behind the putsch; besides, stores of arms that are of unmistakably German origin have been found in the possession of the conspirators.

Even had this evidence not existed, the howling of the German press would have been enough to prove that those who burned their fingers at Rio de Janeiro were direct agents of Hitler.

Near the end of his term in office, the Brazilian President, Getulio Vargas, simply canceled the presidential elections on November 10 of last year with the aid of the Brazilian fascists, the so-called Integralists, and proclaimed the "New Brazil." He intended to oppose the growing democratic movement in the country and to consolidate again his shaken power with aid of the fascists. Berlin was not dissatisfied. The Brown imperialists appointed their most reliable people to be received into the Brazilian government. So much greater was their disappointment on May 10 when Getulio Vargas unexpectedly spoiled the game for his aids.

The Integralists are a poor imitation of the European fascist organizations. If you were to dress them up in brown or

black shirts instead of their green ones, and replace the sign on the armband with a swastika or a bundle of fasces, they would look exactly like their prototypes. In their program you don't even have to make this change, because it is a true copy of the National-Socialist product. This organization is not new, but until Hitler's rise to power it was an insignificant group. Only with the blessing of the millions of the German banks was it transformed into a larger organization, into a military shock troop of fascism. Two and a half million marks of the foreign propaganda fund and 25,000 rifles were imported from Germany, according to the statement of the Brazilian newspaper *A Ordem*. Besides this, the Integralists have taken an official loan of \$300,000 from the German Trans-Oceanic Bank.

What is Hitler's purpose in building a shock troop and in developing feverish fascist propaganda in Brazil?

It is known that 800,000 Germans live in Brazil. Most of them are concentrated in the state of Santa Catherina. Hence, Hitler would really have a basis for a Brazilian "Sudeten Germany." But there is a hitch somewhere. The immeasurable wealth of minerals and raw materials which are particularly attractive to German imperialism in Brazil lie in other districts of the country. That is why we see German capital working with all its might to seize upon the great values of Brazilian natural wealth; Germany has crowded the United States out of first place in Brazilian imports and furnishes nearly a quarter of all Brazilian imports. Recently the United States has succeeded in strengthening its position in Brazil. In the future, Bra-

zil will forward its cotton and helium not to Germany but to the United States of America.

German capital has laid its hands on the copper mines of Parahyba, on the nickel of Goyaz and on the oil of Brazil. In the state of Matto Grosso alone there are 1,235,500 acres of oil land concessions in German hands. German capitalists were about to seize upon the iron ore mines in the state of Minas Geraes. The German Luft-Hansa has crowded the American Pan-American Airways out of first place in air transport in Brazil; it possesses thirty-nine air fields of outstanding, strategic importance. A.E.G. and other German concerns play an important role in the economic life of Brazil.

In defense of such positions, one naturally spends some money. Hence, Plinio Salgado, the Brazilian "fuehrer," could not complain about his employer.

But things failed to develop according to plan. Vargas has first unloaded the Integralists from the government and has then openly fought them, not because of any inclination toward democracy, nor because of any special dislike for fascism. Vargas is no democrat. He himself has often enough expressed his sympathies for a fascist regime; everyone remembers the bloody persecutions of the Brazilian movement for freedom in 1935 and the imprisonment of the hero of the Brazilian people, Luis Carlos Prestes.

But Brazil depends to a great extent on foreign states that are the chief customers of its products, in the first place, on the United States of America. It is clear that the U.S.A. could not calmly permit Hitler to seize the richest country of South America and thus nearly solve, at a single stroke, the problem of raw materials and war reserves.

It is not a question here of the defense of democratic ideals; the thing is more simple and tangible. German imperialism tried to transform Brazil into

a fulcrum of its expansion in South America and, as a result, ran smack up against vital interests of the United States.

This first clash of the immediate interests of the U.S.A. and of German imperialist expansion ended woefully for Hitler. But we already hear voices announcing a repetition of Hitler's putsch. The *Frankfurter Zeitung* indicates on May 13—right after the putsch—that it is not out of the question for the movement to take on maybe another form under a different leadership (the Nazis thus are dissatisfied with Mr. Salgado). The *Angriff* is even clearer. It says it would be intolerable in the long run for Germans to be molested and German economic interests to be injured. And, the anti-German press calls upon the Brazilian army to support the plans of Hitler Germany.

This language is clear. The Nazis play with the idea of plotting another putsch in Brazil in order to recoup their losses.

But defeat is a very delicate matter. It shows that not even a South American dictator will leave the field to Hitler without a fight when he finds support for his opposition to German imperialist claims.

Barely three weeks after the unsuccessful putsch in Rio de Janeiro, Hitler let his gangs loose in Mexico. But Cedillo, the general, had no more luck than Salgado, the unsuccessful poet.

Of course, there is a difference: The defeat of Cedillo is a result of a broad, democratic people's movement, while in Brazil there is even to this day a lack of the most elementary democratic liberties.

Brazil will be finally rid of the Brown imperialists and their venal agents only when the people shall have regained their democratic rights. The freedom of the people is the only sure guarantee in the struggle against Brown imperialism.

The Struggle for Unity in Iceland

NEAR the Arctic Circle, but still warmed by the Gulf Stream, lies the island of Iceland. It is as large as Bulgaria but has only 115,000 inhabitants. Large stretches in the interior are eternally covered with ice and snow. The remaining ice-free land is useful only in the summer for sheep pasturage. Almost a third of the population lives in the capital, Reykjavik. The capitalist system did not develop on the island until the end of the nineteenth century, and a modern proletariat arose from the peasants and fishermen.

Hence, the labor movement is also of very recent date. Several labor unions founded the first Icelandic Labor Party in 1916. The Labor Party joined the Second International in 1926 against the opposition of the Left wing, which developed especially after the October Revolution. The antagonism between the Left-wing and Right-wing party leaders became more intense and, in 1930, led to a split in the Labor Party and the establishment of the Communist Party of Iceland. At the time of the split, part of the trade unions went with the Communists.

At its Third Convention in the fall of 1935, the Party changed its policy in accord with the Seventh World Congress. Already, in the course of the following few months, the Party had succeeded in concluding local united front agreements with the Labor Party in a number of towns. When, in 1936, the Communist Party proposed joint May Day demonstrations, they were supported by the largest unions of Reykjavik. Despite this, the May Day Committee of the Labor Party and the trade unions in Reykjavik rejected the joint demonstra-

tion (to be sure by a vote of only 23 to 20).

In the city of Westmannaeyjar, where a united front agreement was already in existence, they succeeded in reuniting the divided trade unions in the fall of 1936. This was the first step toward the re-establishment of trade union unity in Iceland. However, at the National Congress of the Labor Federations (joint convention of the Labor Party and trade union congress) in 1936, the opponents of the united front succeeded, by a vote of 98 to 38, in pushing through a resolution to "reject once for all every offer of united front and joint action by the Communist Party. . . ."

The Party did not allow itself to deviate from its line because of this decision. In several places in the country it was possible to establish trade union unity in spite of all attempts at sabotage by the national leadership.

In the summer of 1937 elections to the Althing (Parliament) took place. The elections resulted in considerable success for the Communist Party, which raised its vote from 3,000 to almost 5,000 while Social-Democracy barely retained its 11,000 votes. In the capital, Reykjavik, the vote for the Communist Party rose from 1,014 to 2,742 while that of the Socialist Party fell from 5,239 to 4,135. The Party's gain was therefore greater than the Socialist Party's loss. Altogether, the workers' parties came out of the elections stronger than before.

Immediately after the elections, the Communist Party again proposed to the Socialist Party joint action in and out of Parliament. When it appeared certain that the Communist Party's proposal would be accepted by the "Dagsbrunn,"

the country's largest trade union whose lead all others follow, the Vice-Chairman of the Labor Party, Waldimarsson, made a counter-proposal to enter into negotiations for the organizational unification of both parties. This proposal was accepted unanimously. Waldimarsson, who had been an opponent of joint action up to that time, is now the head of the pro-unity wing of the Labor Party.

After this decision, the leadership of the Labor Party was compelled to enter into official negotiations with the Communist Party for the unification of both parties.

On the question of program, the commission of the Labor Party insisted on the formulation that the united party stand and work "on the basis of legality and parliamentarism." As against this, the commission of the Communist Party proposed that "while the united party regards the prevailing bourgeois democracy as very inadequate, and does not want merely to improve and perfect it and therefore fights to bring about socialist democracy, nevertheless, under present conditions, the party considers the defense of bourgeois democracy against fascist aggressions as one of its main tasks and duties." On this question, the leadership of the Labor Party caused a rupture.

The breaking off of negotiations under such circumstances produced a storm of indignation in the Labor Party and especially in the trade unions. The leadership of the Labor Party was compelled to call an extraordinary party convention. The champion of the idea of unity, Waldimarsson, was elected leader of the congress. The congress decided immediately upon a new negotiations committee which worked out a platform in collaboration with the Communist Party. The majority of the congress was for this platform. Here the Right-wing anti-unity elements in the leadership came forward and threatened to split the Labor Party. Neither the adherents of unity in the Labor Party nor the Communist Party had any interest in a new split. Unification was once again delayed.

Shortly afterwards, the Fourth Convention of the Communist Party took place. It repeated the offer of unity to the Labor Party and placed in the foreground joint action in the coming municipal elections. The trade unions in almost all parts of the country welcomed these proposals and joint slates of the Communist Party and Socialist Party were drawn up for the municipal elections. In Reykjavik, the offer of the Communist Party was accepted also by the Trade Union Council. The reactionary leaders of the Labor Party were compelled to join in the preparation of a joint municipal program and a joint slate and to conduct a joint election campaign with the Communist Party. In general, the outcome of the elections was a success for the unity slates. In some places, the majority in the Municipal Council was won. The results of the election in Reykjavik were unfavorable. It is true that the unity slate gained several hundred new votes but still it lost a seat to the conservatives because the bourgeois parties gained even more votes. This was due to the sabotage of the anti-unity elements in the Labor Party. Just before the elections, they declared they had no intention of keeping their election promises. The reactionaries used this as an eleventh-hour club in the elections. These anti-unity elements worked deliberately for defeat.

Immediately after the election, the Social-Democratic Deputies broke their written promises, broke up joint work and aided the conservatives to take over the commissions. Again there was a storm in the Labor Party. This time the anti-unity elements in the party leadership resorted to organizational measures. They expelled from the Labor Party the vice-chairman, Waldimarsson, who had only recently received majority support at the extraordinary congress. In reply, "Dagsbrunn," the largest trade union of Iceland, elected Waldimarsson as its chairman and then expelled the chairman of the Labor Party from the union by an almost unanimous vote. In the Social-Democratic organization proper, the

Socialist Society of Reykjavik, Waldimarsson likewise received a majority. Thereupon the Right-wingers split the Socialist Society and founded a new Social-Democratic Society. Most of the trade unions of the country supported Waldimarsson. The Waldimarsson group and the Communists are on very friendly terms and the relations with the trade unions have been further improved.

The regular National Congress of the Labor Federation will take place in the fall of 1938. The way things stand today, the unity supporters can count on a majority, this time, on the basis of an open fight.

The Icelandic working class is in urgent need of unity. Only a unified labor movement can lead to collaboration with the peasant parties and the progressive elements of Iceland. Today this is a question of life and death for the toiling people of Iceland. The English imperialists and the German fascists are making strenuous efforts to rob Iceland of its independence. As yet, their interests clash. England does not wish the establishment of a foreign power in its realm.

On the other hand, it is just this strategic position of Iceland, as a base in the Arctic, in a neighborhood rich in fish, which attracts the German fascists. These "interests" find willing support at the hands of reactionary and fascist forces in Iceland who are playing with the idea of a putsch and the overthrow of the government. The preservation of Iceland's democratic liberties and the independence of the country is possible only through the joint action of the working class, the fishermen and the peasants. That is why the undisguised splitting activities of the Social-Democratic anti-unity elements are so criminal. They are not only a support for Icelandic reaction but a simultaneous support for the German fascists, who threaten the independence of the country.

Small as Iceland is, as out of the way as it is—the striving of the Icelandic workers for the unity of their class, against the splitting policies of the reactionary Social-Democratic leaders, is nevertheless instructive for the entire international working class.

Reaction Delivers a Blow at International Trade Union Unity

BY W. FLORIN

EXPECTANTLY and full of hope, the workers of all countries looked toward Oslo where the delegates of the International Federation of Trade Unions assembled last May for the purpose of arriving at a decision concerning the unification of the international trade union movement. Under the chairmanship of the British knight Citrine, the I.F.T.U. lagged behind the militant needs of the times and the fighting demands of its members. Although reaction continues to close its ranks more tightly, although the reactionary circles of the British and French bourgeoisie are collaborating ever more openly with the fascist aggressors, although Hitler threatens the Czechoslovak republic right after his conquest of Austria, Citrine, Bevins, Mertens and company hitherto had succeeded in completely sabotaging the unification of the powerful Soviet trade union with the I.F.T.U. Now; this unification was finally to be decided in Oslo in accord with the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the working masses united in the I.F.T.U.

The reactionary bourgeoisie followed with the most profound apprehension the development toward an international trade union bloc which would necessarily result in a tremendous increase in the proletarian fighting forces. To the greatest dismay of the workers, the efforts of the capitalists succeeded once more in retarding this development and in preventing international trade union unification through their delegates in Oslo.

Two important questions were before the session of the I.F.T.U., international trade union and the struggle against war and fascism. These two questions are inseparable today. The decision to reject trade union unity entailed, at the same time, the rejection of the second question, the adoption of serious and energetic measures against fascism. Thus the leadership of the I.F.T.U. shattered the hopes of the international proletariat at a critical time while satisfying the expectations of the fascist and reactionary circles.

The leadership of the I.F.T.U. not only refused admission to the Soviet trade unions but also refused to have any further negotiations with the trade unions of the Soviet Union concerning the establishment of international trade union unity.

Let us briefly recall the background of the Oslo I.F.T.U. conference. The last I.F.T.U. Congress in London, in July, 1936, had a motion before it by the Norwegian Trade Union Federation that it start negotiations with Soviet trade unions for the establishment of international trade union unity. The Right-wing elements at that time tried to bury this motion in a committee meeting. However, their intrigue was frustrated by the narrow margin of 39 to 38 votes. Ultimately a decision was adopted to start negotiations with a number of other central trade union bodies outside of the I.F.T.U., including the Soviet trade unions.

The effort to present the central question of the relation of the I.F.T.U. to the Soviet trade unions as a question of secondary importance was of no avail: Unification with the Soviet trade unions was and continued to be the central question for the trade union masses.

Although the putsch of the fascist generals in Spain broke out a few days after the I.F.T.U. congress and was quickly transformed into the intervention of Mussolini and Hitler against the Spanish people, although the international situation became extraordinarily acute, and the Communist International sent urgent appeals for joint action against fascism and war to the Second International and the I.F.T.U., the I.F.T.U. leadership did not take a single step to carry out the mandate of the I.F.T.U. congress.

Nor did it do anything a year later when the Japanese began their intervention against the Chinese people. Only at the end of November, 1937, did the leadership of the I.F.T.U. send a delegation to Moscow to negotiate with the Soviet trade unions. The Soviet trade union delegation submitted a number of proposals to Jouhaux, Schevenels and Stolz, the I.F.T.U. delegates, the acceptance of which would make it possible for the Soviet trade unions to enter the I.F.T.U. All these proposals were directed toward intensifying the activity of the I.F.T.U. against the fascist aggressors for the maintenance of peace. The I.F.T.U. delegation declared itself essentially in agreement on all points and pledged to work for the admission of the Soviet trade unions into the I.F.T.U.

The result of these negotiations justified the hope that this time, despite reaction, and to the satisfaction of the working class, international trade union unity would be forged. However, Schevenels had barely returned before he came out against unity and the Soviet Union, contrary to his signed declaration in Moscow. Reactionary trade union leaders launched a regular anti-Soviet campaign and the Executive Committee of the I.F.T.U. refused to admit the Soviet unions into the I.F.T.U. As the next

higher authority, it was now up to the board meeting (a sort of enlarged plenum) in Oslo to decide.

Since the negotiations in Moscow, the international situation has become increasingly menacing. Hitler fascism annexed Austria, the threat against Czechoslovakia and with it the danger of a new world war stirred the world during the Oslo conference. What tremendous significance the re-establishment of international trade union unity would have had during these days! What a powerful force for peace would have arisen if the 22,000,000 Soviet workers, organized in trade unions, had been united with the approximately 20,000,000 members of the I.F.T.U.! More than 40,000,000 workers prepared to fight and joined together in a united front against war and fascism—what a force this would have been!

In collaboration with the Soviet Union and other liberty-loving countries, these 40,000,000 would have been in a position to curb the fascist aggressors, to repulse reaction and insure peace. And these 40,000,000 would gather around themselves new millions, would sweep along with them all those that were vacillating and hesitating. We have seen what a recruiting, gathering, irresistible force trade union unity was in France. International trade union unity would give the working class an even greater impetus and even greater power of attraction, and add new strata to the trade union movement, new masses to the anti-fascist mass movement and new countries to the peace forces. Finally, the establishment of international trade union unity would be a big step toward overcoming the political split of the world labor movement.

To prevent this was the work of the Citrines, Schevenels and Mertens in Oslo. After the impressive appearance of the pro-unity delegates, Jouhaux, Tolledano (Mexico), Amaro del Rosal (Spain), Frachon (France) and—with limitations—Hindahl (Norway), the reactionary elements in the I.F.T.U. developed a filthy encitement against the Soviet Union and against trade union

unity. Some delegates threatened to split the I.F.T.U. in case the Soviet trade unions were admitted. Under this pressure these reactionary elements secured the rejection of the admission of the Soviet trade unions by a 16-to-4 vote, with Norway abstaining.

Encouraged by this, they whipped through a motion, in contradiction to the I.F.T.U. congress, not to conduct any more negotiations with the Soviet trade unions. However, they met with greater resistance here and they succeeded in carrying the motion by a vote of only 14 to 7. Aside from Jouhaux, the representatives of France, Spain and Mexico who had already voted against the first motion, the Czech Taiserle, a member of the I.F.T.U. leadership, the representatives of Norway and Czechoslovakia voted against the motion. According to the statutes of the I.F.T.U., these ominous decisions can only be corrected by the next congress of the I.F.T.U., which is to be held in Prague in 1939.

However, it is perfectly clear that the question of international trade union unity will not be left buried until then. Citrine and his clique are not the working class; the trade union masses also have something to say in the matter. The decisions of the Oslo I.F.T.U. congress are far from expressing the sentiment of the trade union masses. Numerous trade union organizations in a whole number of countries have come out for the admission of the Soviet trade unions into the I.F.T.U. Those trade union leaders who voted against admission in Oslo were not authorized to speak in the name of their members; their vote is not in accord with the will of the masses of members. The newspaper of the Communist Party of Belgium, *Voix du Peuple*, asked with justification:

"In whose name did Mertens speak? Who gave him the right to speak in the name of 600,000 people whom he did not even consult concerning this question? Our paper has published a series of statements by trade union functionaries subscribing to unity and at the same time Mertens threatens to split the I.F.T.U."

Folkviljan, the Swedish Social-Democratic organ in Finland, expresses profound indignation at the Oslo results:

"The bourgeois states have arrived at the point where a representative of the Soviet Union can also participate in international assemblies and conferences. They understand that the workers' state is a factor with which they must reckon, a country which cannot be ignored just like that. The representatives of the working class lack this understanding and this insight when they assemble at an international conference. What a paradox. . . . But what should be said about conditions with regard to the trade unions? Does the same international fascist danger exist here? Most certainly. Then why don't they want international unity here in order to counteract this danger? Is fascism operating here also with concealed accomplices in order to maintain the disunity of its opponents for its own advantage? We don't want to believe this. . . ."

". . . The question of trade union unity fell this time but we can be certain that it fell forward. . . ."

Events at the congress of the Norwegian trade union federation were characteristic of the sentiment of large masses of trade unionists. The venomous words of Citrine and his clique against the Soviet Union and unity had scarcely faded away, the threats of a split had hardly been expressed and the pernicious decisions of the I.F.T.U. hardly published when the national congress of the Norwegian Trade Union Federation was opened in Oslo.

It had a motion before it to invite a Soviet trade union delegation as guests to the congress. Since, purely from the point of view of time, there was no possibility for such a guest delegation to participate, the demonstrative character of this invitation must have been clear to all delegates. The motion represented an unmistakable condemnation of the decision that had just been made by the I.F.T.U. Naturally, that was perfectly clear to the leaders of the Norwegian trade union federation at the Norwegian Social-Democratic Labor Party. For that

reason, they tried by every means to defeat the motion. The chairman of the Trade Union Federation and the actual leader of the Labor Party, Tranmael, were put forward to kill this motion. With that in view, Tranmael asserted in demagogic fashion that the adoption of the motion would be tantamount to withdrawal from the I.F.T.U. In vain. The congress voted by more than 90 per cent (about 550 to 50 votes) to invite representatives of the Soviet trade unions as guests.

In this connection, it should be noted that nearly all the delegates were members of the Social-Democratic Labor Party. At the last Norwegian trade union congress in 1924, an invitation to the Soviet trade unions had been rejected by a vote of 175 to 169. The present decision is symptomatic of the real sentiment of the masses and their development in recent years. The trade union masses want unity, want friendship with the Soviet Union.

The Norwegian congress was the first reply to the Citrine trade union splitters. The congress of the miners' international held a few days later in Luxemburg decided to conduct further negotiations with the miners' union in the U.S.S.R. Thus, a large trade union international of the I.F.T.U. likewise declared against the Oslo decisions. A second blow against the Citrines. This is certainly convincing evidence that the question of international trade union unity has not been removed from the agenda by the decisions of Oslo as far as the broad masses of workers are concerned. Citrine and his clique can make unity more difficult but they can't prevent it. Indeed, every retardation of unity today means not only that the trade union struggle of the workers is rendered more difficult but it means also a new load of sacrifices and tortures for the proletariat. The Spanish delegate justly stated in Oslo: "It is better to fight for international unity while there is still time so that we avoid fighting for it later in rivers of blood."

The Oslo conference has changed nothing

in the previous passivity and half-measures on the questions of the struggle against war and fascism. The situation at the I.F.T.U. conference was the same on this question as on the question of unity. The supporters of unity demanded determined and effective measures. The enemies of unity proved to be enemies of the strengthening of solidarity and the struggle against war and fascism. The statements of the minority put the leadership of the I.F.T.U. to shame, but they were correct. Jouhaux: "I must say if Spain had figured only on the arms of the trade union organizations it would have been defeated a long time ago." Toledano: "If we continue in this manner, the I.F.T.U. will soon become a sort of political Red Cross organization rather than a fighting organization." Vega: "What will the working class do? Will it continue making decisions? The Second International as well as the I.F.T.U. have already adopted very beautiful resolutions but they have helped very little."

The minority demanded above all a boycott against the fascist aggressors, the very thing contained in the "unacceptable" conditions of the Soviet trade unions. Here Citrine himself interposed in order to prevent any boycott measure:

"Now a boycott is proposed. . . . But I say in the name of the British Trade Union Federation that we cannot carry through a boycott of this kind and I also believe that many other countries are in a similar position. Can France, Holland or Czechoslovakia do anything like that? If they should do it, I think that Hitler would have a suitable pretext for action. It would therefore be a mistake to do it."

Will Hitler find a better attorney to plead for his plans? To characterize the "anti-fascist" Citrine, one need only add that he accused the Soviet Union and Mexico of supporting the fascist aggressor states. Evidently Citrine would gladly recommend a boycott against Mexico in order to defend the "sacred rights" of the English oil magnates against the English people.

It is clear that Citrine and his clique in no way acted at the behest of the working class, that they obviously acted against the interests of the working class, indeed, against the interests of all toilers. Hence the question must be asked: *Whose* interests do they represent, *whose* orders are they carrying out? Is it an accident that Citrine is always finding himself in agreement with the policies of the English imperialist bourgeoisie? Is it an accident that he tries to line up the policies of the I.F.T.U. in harmonious accord with the policies of the British reactionaries? There are no such accidents. King George has not "knighted" Citrine for nothing. "Sir Walter" undoubtedly has his merits—even if he didn't earn them in the service of the working class, he certainly earned them in the service of the British reactionary bourgeoisie.

The Citrines, Mertens and Schevenels represented their governments in Oslo, not the working class. They were the representatives of those governments that are continuously making concessions to the fascist aggressors, who bear responsibility for the "deeds" of the Non-Intervention Committee, who disregard the League of Nations like the British government, who yield to the pressure of Hitler fascism like the Belgian, the Swiss, the Dutch and the Danish governments. These governments have helped to maintain the split in the international proletariat and to prevent the adoption of decisive measures against the fascist aggressors through "their" trade union leaders in Oslo. The voice of the reactionary bourgeoisie has drowned out the voice of the working class in Oslo.

No doubt, not all of the trade union leaders who have permitted themselves to be taken in tow by Citrine and who have spoken out against unity and against decisive militant anti-fascist measures have properly evaluated the effect of their position. Not all of those who voted against unity have realized that they have thereby betrayed the interests of the international as well as their own proletariat and have given aid

and comfort to the reactionary bourgeoisie in face of the present international situation. They reflect the vacillations and confusion which today, in view of events, the members of their unions have largely overcome. But these Citrines do not see what the masses are seeing with ever greater clarity: the period of disunity is past. The labor movement is entering the period of the realization of unity.

Citrine and his clique, these experienced and cunning splitters of the labor movement, now threaten to split the I.F.T.U. in case international trade union unity, long desired by millions of trade unionists, should be realized with the admission of the Soviet trade unions. Now they can't use their favorite trick of blaming the Communists for the split. They stand exposed before the workers of the world as the culprits who want to maintain the split and thereby weaken the proletariat. But what these Citrines do not want to be true is beginning to become a certainty for the masses: that the era of split is past, that we are in the era of unity.

The betrayal of Oslo will hasten the process of clarification among the masses of workers organized in the trade unions. The working class will recognize more and more clearly that they can defeat fascism only when they defeat the agents of the reactionary bourgeoisie in their own ranks, when they rid themselves of the Citrines and company. Trade union unity is an elementary demand of the working class. It is something natural and a matter of course to every class-conscious worker. There is not a single argument *against* while there are hundreds of conclusive arguments *for* trade union unity. If the English nobleman Citrine and his clique nevertheless thwart trade union unity, they openly represent the interests of the class enemy, they openly attempt to transform the trade unions from instruments of the class struggle into instruments of the capitalists. The vital interests of the working class require that this attempt be frustrated.

On the one side, Citrine, Bevin and their employers, on the other side 22,000,000 Soviet workers organized in trade unions—the masses will not find it difficult to choose. On the one side, the voice of the reactionary bourgeoisie, on the other side, the voices of the Spanish, French and Soviet trade unions—there can be no doubt as to which voice echoes louder in the heart of the masses.

The struggle for international trade union unity has entered a new stage. The majority of the leadership of the Amsterdam International has succeeded only with great effort in once again preventing international trade union unity. The splitters in Oslo only won a pyrrhic victory. The overwhelming majority of the trade union movement of the world is now resolutely demanding trade union unity. Not only the trade unions of the U.S.S.R., which have more members than all of the organizations of the Amsterdam International together, but also the largest section of the Amsterdam International—the French General Confederation of Labor—is fighting hand in hand with the trade unions of Mexico and Spain for international unity.

And if, for example, the reactionary leadership of the American Federation of Labor is waging a bitter struggle against trade union unity, there is another still more powerful organization in

America, the Committee for Industrial Organization, which is more resolutely taking the path of unity.

In the trade unions of a number of countries, as for example Norway, Australia, New Zealand and India, the will to establish international unity is already so strong that this will can become decisive in the next period.

Finally, it is well known that even in such countries as England, Sweden, Finland, Denmark, and Holland, where the official leadership of the trade unions is still stubbornly resisting the establishment of international unity, not only the mass of the members but also a whole number of functionaries of the lower organizations and even a part of the leading cadres already understand that the interests of the entire working class, the interests of democracy and universal peace, demand unity of the world trade union movement.

Thus, the supporters of trade union unity in the trade union movement of the world already constitute the preponderant majority. On their activity alone and their determination to struggle for this great cause depends how rapidly we will succeed in effecting a change in the splitting decisions of Oslo and in fully realizing the unity of the international trade union movement.

The Struggle for a People's Front in Great Britain

BY J. R. CAMPBELL

ON MAY 20 the *Daily Express*, the paper of Lord Beaverbrook, made an appeal to Neville Chamberlain, Prime Minister of Great Britain, to "get rid of that fascist legend Mr. Chamberlain." It told the Prime Minister that the government was losing votes "because the country believes that Neville Chamberlain is pro-fascist and the country is overwhelmingly anti-fascist."

The *Daily Express* went on to declare that if the Chamberlain government did not change its policy then in spite of the British Labor leaders the People's Front would come like a tidal wave. This is a clear indication of the great amount of discussion on the People's Front that is taking place in Britain at this moment.

This discussion flared up with dramatic suddenness in March of this year. Chamberlain's dismissal of Eden, his pact with Mussolini, and the Nazi conquest of Austria reveal to hundreds of thousands of people the pro-fascist character of the Chamberlain government and the need for stimulating a great popular movement in order to force the immediate resignation of this government.

The Communist Party appealed to the Labor Party to unite the forces of the working class, and on the basis of a united working class movement to appeal to the Liberal opposition and to the peace organizations to unite in a great popular campaign to secure the immediate defeat of the Chamberlain government. The cooperative weekly organ, *Reynolds News*, called for a union of the Labor, Liberal and Communist Parties in a peace alliance to secure the defeat of

the National government. Many local Labor Parties supported this proposal of the *Reynolds News* which was accepted by the Cooperative Party conference and by the conferences of two foremost trade unions—the Shop Assistants Union and the National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers.

Under the inspiration of the Right-wing leadership of the Labor Party a great campaign was launched against the policy of the People's Front or Peace Alliance. Day after day the *Daily Herald* carried leading articles against this proposal. The Labor Party Executive published a statement declaring that this policy had been rejected by previous conferences of the Labor Party and that the Labor Party alone would be quite able to win a majority at the next general election. It also condemned the policy of cooperation between Labor supporters, Communists and Liberals for objects which they had in common.

Here it is necessary to outline the actual situation of the parties in England in the general elections of 1935. In this election the parties supporting the National government polled 11,810,552 votes; the Labor Party 8,325,500, the Liberals 1,422,120 votes, the Independent Labor Party 139,580 votes (in seven constituencies) and the Communist Party of Great Britain 24,120 votes (in two constituencies). In the House of Commons, however, the opposition only hold 190 out of 615 seats of which 160 are Labor. This great disparity between the voting strength of the opposition and their parliamentary representation is due

to the British system of voting in single member constituencies, with no provision for second ballots. It is perfectly possible under this system for a party to have a majority of votes in the country and yet to have a minority of representatives in the House of Commons.

The large government representation in the House of Commons has been helped by the fact that in many constituencies Liberal and Labor candidates have been in opposition to the government candidates who have succeeded in getting returned by a minority vote. Thus in 36 constituencies, represented in the present Parliament, the government vote was larger than the Labor or the Liberal vote considered separately but less than the Liberal and Labor vote combined. It is calculated that if there was an electoral alliance between the Liberal and Labor Parties and the progressive vote went to one candidate those 36 seats could be won from the government. On the basis of the Liberal and Labor votes in those constituencies voting for the opposition party which had the biggest votes at the last general elections the Labor Party should win 27 of these seats and the Liberal Party nine seats.

Then there are 31 constituencies where in face of a divided opposition the government majority was below 3,000. If there was a united opposition in these constituencies Labor could win 20 seats and the Liberals 11.

Then there are 45 seats where there was only one opposition candidate in 1935 and where the government majority was less than 3,000. Given a united opposition carrying out a united campaign in the country four of those seats could be won for Labor and three for the Liberals.

These are three examples which could be added to if necessary, showing that the unity of the Labor and democratic forces could administer a severe defeat to the government at a by-election. It is calculated by the *Liberal News Chronicle* that given such a People's Front or peace alliance there could be a progressive ma-

majority of over 50 at the next general election. It is necessary to have those facts in mind in order to understand the arguments which the Labor Party Executive brings forward against the People's Front in the manifesto which was published in the British press on May 14. This manifesto differs from the one which the Labor Party issued in April in the sense that it seeks to argue a case against the People's Front and does not merely engage in vague denunciation. Nevertheless the clearer the arguments of the Labor Party Executive, the more evident are the fallacies contained in these arguments.

The manifesto starts with an appreciation of the foreign policy of the Chamberlain government.

"Mr Chamberlain's outlook on foreign affairs is as ignorant as it is dangerous. This government which still presumes to call itself 'national' is betraying both peace and democracy and imperiling the very security of the British commonwealth itself."

Here is indeed a powerful justification for carrying on an intensive struggle against the Chamberlain government.

The effect of the government's policy on sections of the public who do not yet support the Labor Party is described in the manifesto as follows:

"We realize that a number of liberal-minded people, not members of the Labor Party, are gravely concerned at the outlook for peace and democracy."

The situation in the ranks of the Conservative Party is described as follows:

"But while many Conservatives both in Parliament and the country are seriously disturbed by Mr. Chamberlain's policy he continues to command the general support of the Conservative Party and its allies in the House of Commons."

This description of the situation is of the utmost importance. Did the Labor Party, having analyzed the situation in this manner, proceed to discuss how it could win the discontented Liberals and Conservatives to its side in a struggle against the Chamberlain government? It

did not. In its ponderous manifesto against the People's Front the Right wing of the Labor Party was ready to discuss many things and to provide answers of doubtful value to many highly speculative problems but one question the Labor Party Executive did not dare to answer and that was the question of how the Labor Party could cooperate now with those sections of the population of Great Britain which were turning against the pro-fascist policy of Chamberlain. For if "many Conservatives both in Parliament and the country are seriously disturbed by Mr. Chamberlain's policy" then surely a movement of all the democratic and peace forces of the country could force an immediate change in the policy of the Chamberlain government, and the defeat of that government in an early general election. The Labor Party leadership boasts of the growing strength of the Labor Party and tells the world that in the future general election, whenever that may take place, "there is an increasing probability of a Labor Party victory." But whatever the probabilities of the next election the certainty is that the Chamberlain government is now in existence, that it is pursuing a pro-fascist policy that is "imperiling the very security of the British commonwealth itself" and the Labor Party instead of rallying all the progressive forces in a united opposition to this policy is seeking to discover a thousand and one reasons for refusing to do so.

"We are told," says the Labor Party Executive, "that in so grave an international situation the Labor Party should temporarily abandon its traditional policy of political independence. It should likewise abandon its socialist principles and enter into electoral and other arrangements with political parties and persons likely to agree upon a common program. It should take the lead in building a rival combination of that of the 'National' government."

Here is indeed a strange argument.

Chamberlain, according to the Labor Party, is leading the nation headlong into

war. His policy is, however, provoking great discontent in the ranks of his supporters; there are rumblings of mutiny. In the ranks of the Liberals who have hitherto wavered between the government and the Labor Party there is a strong desire to oppose the government and yet the Labor Party Executive declares that to unite with those forces to bar Chamberlain's way to war is to "abandon its socialist principles." What kind of "socialist principle" is it to refuse to weaken the forces of a government bent on war, to refuse to assemble all possible opposition against that government?

This attitude of refusing to unite all the opposition forces has nothing in the world to do with maintaining political independence. Political independence means that a party has its own program around which it seeks to win the maximum number of people, its own independent organization, its own control of policy. No one is suggesting that the Labor Party give up these things; that it abandon its socialist principles. Indeed, it would be an innovation in many districts in Britain for the Labor Party to commence the propagation of socialist principles. It would be a still greater innovation for the Right-wing leaders of the Labor Party to take part in such propaganda. So far from opposing this, we wait with intense curiosity to see them make a beginning in this direction.

What the Executive of the Labor Party is arguing for is not the right to propagate socialist principles, is not the right to maintain political independence, but the right to maintain an attitude of political isolation; the right to refuse to cooperate with other political groups to bring about an immediate change in the policy of the Chamberlain government.

The Labor Party does not deny that circumstances might arise which would justify the formation of a People's Front. "A new situation might arise, of course, if any considerable number of members of Parliament now supporting the government were to rebel against the Prime Minister's authority. At the present time,

however, there is no sign of such a rebellion.”

But the Labor Party has already admitted that “many Conservatives both in Parliament and the country are seriously disturbed by Mr. Chamberlain’s policy.” Under what circumstances are Conservatives in Parliament likely to rebel? Obviously when they feel the pressure of a great popular movement in the country. If every Conservative member of Parliament who is discontented with Chamberlain’s policy feels the weight of a great popular movement then the possibilities of his rebelling will be increased. To reject cooperation in such a popular movement is the surest way of preventing a rebellion of the Conservatives and of confirming the government in its evil courses.

The Labor Party manifesto argues as if it were absolutely certain that Chamberlain would be beaten in a general election, and the only question therefore is whether he shall be replaced by a Labor government or a People’s Front government. Even if we accepted the premise of the Labor Party this is not an argument against the People’s Front. For the Chamberlain government is still in existence, and is steadily carrying out its pro-fascist policy. Unless it is forced out of office by a great popular movement it need not face the country in a general election for another two and one-half years. And in that two and one-half years its encouragement to the fascists may well lead to world war. When one behaves as though there are only two alternatives: a government of the People’s Front and a Labor government, one ignores the terrible possibility—in the absence of a People’s Front—of the continuance of the Chamberlain government in office for the next two and a half years with all the risks of war that this will entail.

“Nor do we believe,” said the Labor Party Executive, “that the proposed combination would afford a better rallying cry or be more effective electorally against the ‘National’ government than the Labor Party itself.”

It will hardly be argued, however, that the pressure of Labor Party supporters alone will be more effective than the united pressure of Labor, Liberal, Communist and Cooperative supporters, who would also be reinforced by masses of peace loving people of no firm political allegiance. The assertion in the manifesto that such an alliance would not be electorally effective flatly contradicts the experience of France and Spain where the People’s Front alliance produced a big change in the relation of political forces.

The argument that the joint struggle of Labor, democratic and peace forces would be less effective than the struggle of the Labor Party alone is based on an argument that is so curious that it is difficult to believe that the Labor Party Executive believes it itself. If there is a People’s Front and there is only one candidate opposing the government candidate at a general election, this, argues the Labor Party Executive, will be to the advantage of the government, because the Liberal voters will vote Conservative rather than vote for the Labor candidate who is being supported by the People’s Front.

This estimate of how the Liberal voters will behave is in complete opposition to its previously expressed estimate that “a number of liberal-minded people not members of the Labor Party are gravely concerned with the outlook for peace and democracy.” No less strange is the second argument of the Labor Party Executive. “In the absence of effective Conservative support the proposed alliance of Liberals and Communists with the Labor Party would have less electoral appeal than a united and independent Labor Party.” So only when a rebel Conservative group declares itself in favor of the People’s Front will the Labor Party consider whether or not a People’s Front is advisable.

Having declared that in the event of a People’s Front being formed the Liberal voters would rush to vote for Chamberlain, the Labor Party Executive declares: “We believe that there is an

increasing probability of a Labor Party victory at the next election." Now such a victory is only possible through the transfer of large numbers of Liberal and Conservative votes to the Labor Party at the next election. It is absolutely crazy for the Labor Party Executive to assert that those elements will rush to vote for the isolated Labor Party at the next election but will refuse to vote for a Labor Party that is allied with Liberal and other democratic forces.

It is impossible to have a manifesto of the Labor Party Executive without the specter of Communism appearing. The last manifesto tells us that the mere presence of the Communists in a People's Front movement would drive millions of votes to the side of Chamberlain. Now no one is suggesting that the program of the People's Front would be a Communist program. It would be a program for a foreign policy based on the co-operation of France, Britain and the Soviet Union for common action against the fascist aggressors. It would be a program for the defense of democracy and the improvement of the conditions of the British people. The electors would be asked to vote for this program and not for the program of the Communist Party.

Nevertheless the Labor leaders argue that the mere fact that the Communists were part of a People's Front movement would drive millions of voters to Chamberlain. This argument is not new. It was used by them in the London County Council elections at the beginning of 1931. The mere fact that the Communists had come out publicly for the support of the Labor Party was regarded by the Labor leaders as certain to cause a serious loss of votes. For weeks the leading London capitalist papers tried to develop a great campaign against the Labor Party because it was receiving Communist support.

On the eve of this election the leader of the London Labor Party, Mr. Herbert Morrison, declared that if Labor lost votes this would be entirely due to the Communists. In actual fact there were

big Labor gains in this election. The Labor Party leadership adopted a similar attitude towards the campaigns on behalf of the Spanish people, arguing that for the Labor Party to make this question a subject for national agitation would lose many votes, particularly the votes of Catholic workers. It was only after the Labor Party conference in 1937 that the Executive decided to run a national campaign for aid to Spain. Far from such a campaign worsening the chances of the Labor Party, there has been a steady improvement in its vote—and the Labor Party Executive is now boasting that it will win the next general election. But the Labor Party Executive is quite capable of bringing forward the most contradictory arguments in the same manifesto, for it argues that the People's Front, because of its moderate character, "would take the heart out of a large number of our most loyal supporters." So on the one hand it is argued that the People's Front would frighten the Liberals because the presence of Communists would lend the People's Front an appearance of extremism and that it would at the same time "take the heart out of large numbers of our most loyal supporters" because its program was not so advanced as that of the Labor Party.

Then the Labor Party Executive strives to scare the British workers with a description of the calamities which would follow the election of a weak People's Front government. "If Britain were to pass through critical times under a weak and indecisive government of the 'Left,' never certain of its internal unity, it is not unlikely that a rapid reaction toward conservatism would take place and a grave risk of fascism might arise."

This statement quite blandly ignores the fact that England is passing through critical times under a government of the Right, and the immediate fascist danger as far as the British people is concerned arises from the pro-fascist policy of this government at home and abroad. To ignore the need for defeating the real fascist danger on the ground that if it

were defeated a weak "Left" government would enable reaction to recover its lost position is surely the most miserable quibbling that is possible.

Why should a "Left" government be weak? If an alliance of the Left parties and groups is formed speedily, if that alliance engages in energetic struggle against the Chamberlain government, if strong local committees of the People's Front movement are formed then the government which is based on that movement will be able to deal with all its enemies. It will not do for the Labor Party to hint at the weakness of the People's Front governments in France. Weak as those governments have been in some respects, they did carry through a comprehensive program of social legislation, they did stop the growth of the fascist movement, they did create conditions favorable to the powerful development of working class organization in France. It ill becomes the British Labor movement to hint at the weakness of People's Front governments in France, when much of that weakness has been due to the pressure of the British government and of British finance and to the absence of a powerful People's Front movement in Great Britain.

A "Left" government would be weak because it would be dependent on the votes of Liberal members of Parliament, argues the Labor Party. But many of the Liberal members would be dependent on the votes of the Labor electors in the constituencies and would not be able to act with the independence of the Liberal members in previous Parliaments who were not dependent on Labor votes.

The strangest of all arguments put forward by the Labor Party Executive is that the creation of a People's Front in Great Britain would be a hindrance to the advance of socialism. For there is nothing in the previous record of the Right-wing Executive to suggest that they are enthusiastic for the advance of socialism. Was it a contribution to socialist advance when the Labor Party and the Trade Union Congress supported the criminal policy of non-intervention in

Spain; when the Labor Party in the first fifteen months of the Spanish War refused to carry out a nationwide campaign for assistance to the Spanish people; when the British trade union delegates, whose votes were decisive, voted to prevent international trade union unity; when the Trade Union Congress went into consultation with Chamberlain on the arms program behind the backs of the trade unions in the arms industries?

The Right wing of British socialism in refusing to build the People's Front is not accelerating the advance of socialism but is upholding the government of Chamberlain. It is telling the British people that rather than risk the worry and responsibility of leading a popular movement against Chamberlain, that would lead to a People's Front, it prefers that the National government remain in office.

An example of this tendency is illustrated by the conduct of the Labor Party in the by-election at Aylesbury. Here is a constituency where the Liberal Party is stronger than the Labor Party, where the combined vote of the Liberal and Labor candidates was greater than that of the Conservative candidate in 1929. It was suggested that both parties combine and support the Liberal candidate who had the best chance of defeating the Tory candidate. The Labor Party violently rejected this proposal and put extraordinary resources at the disposal of the Labor candidate—a Trotskyite called Groves. The Labor Party Executive was quite frank about the situation. It admitted that it could not win the seat. The utmost it could hope for was an increase in the vote of the Labor Party. The result of this by-election was as follows:

Government	21,695
Liberal	10,751
Socialist	7,666

The result of the general election in 1935 was:

Government	24,728
Liberal	13,622
Labor	4,716

Thus at the by-election the total opposition vote was 18,417 as against 18,338 at the general election—an increase of only 79 since the general election. This was the smallest increase in the opposition vote at a by-election since Eden's resignation, in February. On the other hand, the government candidate's vote fell by 3,033 but the disunity among the opposition forces prevented these voters from going to the polls. This sad result was greeted with cheers by the Right-wing Laborites, for the Labor candidate had gained 3,000 votes—not from the government but from the Liberal. "The so-called united, progressive and People's Fronts have been smashed forever," declared the Trotskyite Groves, who was the Labor candidate.

The *Daily Herald* wrote:

"Some time ago we asked for 'brass tacks' in all this People's Front business. The ultimate brass tacks in politics is what the electors think. And what they think they have now said. Congratulations, Mr. Groves, and goodbye People's Front."

"Goodbye, People's Front," cries the *Daily Herald*. But he who approves of a defeat must also approve of the victory. The People's Front policy was rejected by the Labor Party, but Chamberlain was victorious and the *Daily Herald* cheered. The victory for the government was far-reaching, for the chain of government defeats following the forced resignation of Eden was broken. For the first time since the resignation of Eden the anti-government vote did not rise to any great extent.

That the Liberal vote fell and the Labor vote rose is the continuation of a process that was evident in the countryside during the general election of 1935.

It might be possible that at the next general election the vote of the Labor candidate in Aylesbury will equal that of the Liberal and that at the following general election the Labor vote will be greater than the Liberal. But this is a ten-year perspective and if we want to save the peace of the world we must pursue a policy that will immediately in-

crease the strength of the progressive vote at the expense of Chamberlain. If one looks at the results of the by-election in Aylesbury from the point of view of defeating Chamberlain then here is the most complete case for the adoption of a People's Front policy.

For a few hours after the Labor chiefs announced that Aylesbury meant the death of the People's Front the danger of an invasion of Czechoslovakia became acute. While in view of the firm attitude of the Czechoslovakian government, supported by France and the U.S.S.R., Chamberlain had to warn Hitler of the danger of world war if he invaded Czechoslovakia, it is equally true that Chamberlain sought to break the resistance of the Czech government by bringing pressure upon it to make immediate uncalled-for concessions to fascism. This criminal policy of Chamberlain cannot be reversed by the winning of Liberal votes by the Labor Party but only by the unity of all the progressive forces, which forces an immediate change in the policy of the British government and enables all the progressive forces to win votes at the expense of Chamberlain.

The Aylesbury and the West Derbyshire by-elections are a warning to the progressive forces in Great Britain. From both by-elections the government has emerged unscathed. From both by-elections the reactionary wing of conservatism has drawn fresh courage. The electoral division of the progressive forces has not enabled Labor to advance to socialism but has encouraged Chamberlain to advance to renewed support of the fascist aggressors. The defeat of the People's Front today is not the victory of socialism but the victory of fascism and war. The growing realization of this among the workers of Great Britain will enable them to defeat the opponents of unity and allow the British Labor movement to gather round itself all the progressive forces of the country for an immediate change in British policy and for the setting up at an early date of a government of peace and democracy for Great Britain.

The Anti-Japanese National United Front in China

BY CHEN TSIN

CHINA is a semi-colonial country which the imperialist robbers have been striving to conquer and divide up for a long time. In order to reach this goal, the imperialists have maintained a permanent state of disunity and internecine war. They have obstructed the unification of the forces of the entire Chinese people. "To vanquish China through the Chinese themselves," that is the principal tactic of the Japanese imperialists in China. The first great Chinese revolution of 1925-27 suffered defeat because the collaboration of the Kuomintang with the Communist Party (1924-27) was disrupted.

The Japanese imperialists used every means to deepen and extend this split. Even after the unleashing of war, they are attempting to disrupt the national unification and unity of the Chinese people with the help of Trotskyist bandits and other counter-revolutionary elements.

THE HISTORY OF THE ANTI-JAPANESE NATIONAL UNITED FRONT

Back in 1931, after Japan had occupied Manchuria and Japanese imperialism had passed over to a military offensive against Shanghai, the Communist Party of China published an appeal in the name of the Central Chinese Soviet government and the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army in which it proclaimed its readiness for a military agreement with all those bodies of troops who were willing to fight against Japanese impe-

rialism. This invitation met with no sympathy on the part of the Kuomintang and the Kuomintang government. Only a part of the Kuomintang people and a part of the commanding staff of the Kuomintang army was favorably disposed. Nevertheless, this appeal was a forerunner of the Anti-Japanese National United Front.

Japanese aggression continued. It threatened China's national existence. In face of this menace, the Communist Party published the now famous appeal of August 1, 1935, which stated that "resistance to Japan means life, failure to resist means death." The Communist Party proposed to all parties, political groups and armies to unite in struggle against the common enemy. It proposed, first of all, to halt the civil war in order to concentrate all national forces for the salvation of the fatherland from the Japanese aggressor. It proposed the formation of a united government of national defense and a unified anti-Japanese army.

In order to facilitate the formation of the national united front, the Chinese Soviet government instituted a change in its policy already at that time. It granted the small property owner in the Soviet districts the right to vote and changed its agrarian policies on the basis of democratic measures. In February, 1936, the Central Soviet government issued an appeal to the entire Chinese people. In this appeal, it demanded the convocation of an all-Chinese Conference for struggle

against Japan, for the salvation of the fatherland.

In order to unite all anti-Japanese forces in the country, to secure the territorial integrity of China and to satisfy the democratic demands of the broadest masses, the Communist Party came out in September, 1936, for the formation of an All-Chinese Democratic Republic. Its declaration stated:

“When an All-Chinese Democratic Republic is established, the Soviet districts will be an integral part of it. The population of the Soviet Districts will elect their representatives to the all-Chinese Parliament. The same democratic order will be put into effect in the Soviet districts as will prevail throughout the entire domain of the Chinese Democratic Republic.”

At the same time, the Communist Party sent a letter to the Kuomintang criticizing the wrong policy of concessions to Japanese imperialism and pointing out that this policy has led to a situation endangering the national existence of China. The Communist Party demanded that the Kuomintang “restore the spirit of the three principles of Sun Yat-sen, the policy of alliance with the Soviet Union, collaboration of the Kuomintang with the Communist Party, and develop the labor and peasant movement.” It also demanded that “the civil war be stopped immediately and the anti-Japanese united front be organized throughout the country to conduct the holy war of national liberation. . . .”

The Kuomintang and Kuomintang government replied: “In order to resist aggression from without, the country must first of all be subdued internally.” The Kuomintang and the Kuomintang government organized an even more intensive campaign against the Soviet districts and the Chinese Red Armies. The Communist Party was not intimidated. Without let-up, it called upon the Chinese people to form a united front against the foreign enemy. In order to show that the Red Army did not desire a continuation of the fratricidal civil war, it returned the weapons and troops

captured by the Red Army to the Kuomintang troops.

In December, 1936, the Sian events occurred. Grave danger threatened China. The Japanese imperialists, through their Trotskyist agents, provoked the open resistance of the discontented government troops sympathetic to the Red Army, against the Kuomintang government. They arranged the capture of Chiang Kai-shek and wanted to murder him. At the same time, they advised the Kuomintang government to organize a punitive expedition against the troops stationed in Sian who had refused to subordinate themselves to the Central government. By kindling civil war in China, the Japanese wanted to facilitate the conquest of North China and then all of China. The fate of the entire Chinese people depended on the outcome of events in Sian.

The Communist Party of China understood the significance of these events. It exerted its full force and authority to settle the conflict peacefully and to prevent any rash action.

It proposed that a peace conference be called. The Central Soviet government and the Central Committee of the Communist Party proposed that in addition to the representatives of the Nanking government and the representatives of the Sian troops, representatives of other parties and political groups, of other armies and circles should also participate in the conference.

Although Chiang Kai-shek had persecuted the Communists for ten long bloody years, the Communist Party immediately proposed to the organizers of the Sian insurrection that they release him. Chiang Kai-shek was able to return home. The Trotskyist bandits, who attempted to murder him and to kindle civil war, suffered defeat.

Thanks to the extraordinary efforts of the Communist Party, the Sian events were settled peacefully. Since then, the ten-year-old internecine war between the Red Army and the Kuomintang troops has come to an end. The country entered upon the path of unification and thereby

serious preparation for resistance to the Japanese aggressor.

After the Sian events, the Communist Party of China gained a great deal of sympathy. It was supported by the masses of people as well as by the patriotic parties, organizations, and troops. This created favorable conditions for the formation of the Anti-Japanese National United Front on the basis of the renewed collaboration of the Kuomintang and the Communist Party.

In February, 1937, the Communist Party directed the following proposals to the Third Plenum of the Central Committee of the Kuomintang:

1. Cessation of all civil war, concentration of all national forces for the struggle against the external aggressor.

2. Freedom of speech, press, assembly, etc., for the people, liberation of all political prisoners.

3. Convocation of a conference of representatives of the various parties, political groups, bodies of troops, and circles for the unification of all forces in the country in the struggle to save the fatherland.

4. The carrying out of all preparatory work for the armed resistance against the Japanese aggressor in the shortest possible time.

5. Improvement of the living conditions of the masses.

Should these proposals be accepted, the Communist Party guaranteed to the Kuomintang that it would call a halt to the armed struggle for the overthrow of the Kuomintang government in all China, designate the Soviet government in the future as the "Government of the Special District of the Chinese Republic," subordinate the Red Army under the name of "National Revolutionary Army" directly to the Central Nanking government and the leadership of the high command of the war, introduce a consistent democratic order with universal suffrage in the Special District, cease confiscation of the lands of the gentry, and resolutely carry out the program of the Anti-Japanese National United Front.

Since the Third Plenum of the Central Committee, the Kuomintang has changed its policy. It adopted a firmer attitude toward the Japanese aggressor and proclaimed its readiness to cooperate with the Communist Party. Since then, the relations between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party have improved daily.

In July, 1937, the Chinese people's war of national liberation against the Japanese conquerors began. In face of the offensive of Japanese imperialism, the Communist Party immediately fulfilled its promise. The Red Army became the Eighth Route Army, the Soviet District became the Special District of the Chinese Republic. The anti-Japanese national united front was built on this basis.

THE STRENGTHENING AND EXTENSION OF THE ANTI-JAPANESE NATIONAL UNITED FRONT

The government and the entire people united in the struggle against the Japanese aggressor. The antagonisms within the country between the Central government and the local authorities, among others, are gradually disappearing. China's Central Government is beginning to transform itself into a government of national defense. The Chinese army is transforming itself into a unified army of national salvation and rebirth.

The war against Japan imposes the highest demands upon the Chinese people. Great difficulties will unavoidably appear on the road to victory over Japanese imperialism. Based on the forces of its 450,000,000 people, the Chinese nation, whose history is five thousand years old, will undoubtedly vanquish the Japanese robbers and ultimately shake off the yoke of Japanese imperialism. To achieve this goal, the firm and lasting unity of the Chinese nation is necessary.

Japanese imperialism fears the unification of the national forces of China. Through its Trotskyist agents, through pro-Japanese elements, and through special organs, it strives, above all, to disrupt the cooperation between the Kuo-

mintang and the Communist Party. It attempts to create a strained relationship between the national and local governments, between the army of the Central government and the provincial troops, and to undermine the inner unity of the Kuomintang itself. In this manner it seeks to undermine the confidence of the Chinese masses in their own forces and in their victory. It is clear that Japanese imperialism will utilize every difference of opinion within the national camp of China for the purpose of weakening the Anti-Japanese National United Front.

To be sure the Anti-Japanese National United Front has already been formed but it is not yet strong enough. The necessary close connection between the parties participating in the united front does not yet exist. The pro-Japanese counter-revolutionary bandits are still concealed in some organizations and continue their undermining activity secretly and sometimes even openly. In the Right wing circles of the Kuomintang, there are some people who are working to weaken the forces of the Communist Party and to dissolve the Party. They sow all kinds of suspicion which harms the united front. All this is undoubtedly an obstacle on the road to the further development of the Anti-Japanese National United Front.

The Communist Party is of the opinion that the strengthening and extension of the Anti-Japanese National United Front is the precondition for China's ultimate victory over Japanese imperialism. The Communist Party, the Kuomintang, the other anti-Japanese parties, troops and mass organizations must intensify their vigilance against Japanese imperialism and its Trotskyist provocateurs. All these parties have the duty of establishing the closest connection and cooperation without surrendering their political and organizational independence. The collaboration of these parties must rest upon mutual confidence and mutual aid. All of them bear a common responsibility for the salvation of the country. In common, they acknowledge

the principle: "Above all, resistance to Japan!" "Everything subordinate to the interests of resistance to Japan."

The strengthening and extension of the Anti-Japanese National United Front do not merely consist in the collaborating parties coming closer together and establishing closer connections. It is necessary that all political parties bring together the broadest masses, especially the workers, peasants, and all toilers, into various anti-Japanese armed and unarmed mass organizations in order to give the united front a strong mass base.

Only by the organization and mobilization of the broadest masses will the forces of the people grow day by day. Tremendous tasks confront the national united front. The broadest masses of people must be organized for resistance to Japan; the able-bodied adults must be mobilized for the formation of new divisions of troops and for active participation in guerilla warfare. The productivity of labor in the factories and fields must be increased in order to secure an adequate supply of industrial and agricultural products for the armies fighting against Japan. The government has the task of giving the people democratic liberties, of resolutely nullifying the activities of the betrayers of the fatherland, of the Trotskyist bandits and other Japanese spies, of improving the life of the toiling masses, reorganizing the government apparatus and enabling it to lead, to the fullest extent, the war of national liberation.

Since the Extraordinary Congress of the Kuomintang in March of this year, the Central Chinese government has already begun to adapt its policies to the interests of the war of defense. In the sphere of foreign policy, it is making efforts to establish closer ties with those countries and nations that sympathize with the Chinese people struggling with all its might against Japanese aggression. In the sphere of domestic policy, the government adopted a series of decisions which are in accord with the demand for democratic liberties for the

people. It decided to reorganize the government apparatus and formed a political council for the defense industry. It adopted a series of measures for improving the condition of the masses and came out more decisively than before against the betrayers of the fatherland and those officials who do not fulfill their duties. This policy of the government corresponds to the interests of uniting the national forces for the conduct of a long-drawn-out war. All anti-Japanese parties unconditionally support these progressive measures of the Kuomintang and of the government and will fight resolutely for their fulfillment.

THE PERSPECTIVES OF THE ANTI-JAPANESE NATIONAL UNITED FRONT

In China's present situation, there are peculiarities which deserve the greatest attention.

Japanese imperialism has occupied a number of China's most important cities and a considerable part of its territory. It proceeds against the Chinese people with the greatest brutality, plunders it, rapes the Chinese women, and murders hundreds of thousands of peaceful inhabitants. Its aim is the destruction of the Chinese nation. All this intensifies the hatred of the Chinese people for Japanese militarism. The Chinese people arise to the struggle for their life, their property, in defense of their fatherland and their most elementary human rights. In the face of this elementary people's movement, capitulation before Japan and an agreement with Japanese imperialism encounter the decided resistance of the entire Chinese people.

Japan's attempt to transform China into a Japanese colony also affects the interests of England, America, and other countries. Therefore Japanese imperialism becomes involved in growing contradictions with the other countries.

The international isolation of Japan is an aid to the Chinese people.

The Chinese revolution of 1925-27 occurred in a period of the partial stabilization of capitalism. The capitalist states resisted with relative unanimity every revolution. Therefore the international conditions for the Chinese Revolution were unfavorable.

The anti-Japanese struggle today is developing in a world which is filled with the struggle against fascism, for democracy and freedom, a world in which the peace front is strengthening and developing. Thanks to this circumstance, the struggle of the Chinese people against Japanese imperialism calls forth the sympathy and support of the toiling masses in the other countries.

The conditions for the national war of liberation against Japanese imperialism are far more favorable today than those of the first Chinese revolution.

The Chinese nation is confronted with great historical tasks: to smash the occupation forces of Japanese imperialism and to build an independent, free, democratic Chinese republic. In its appeal of December, 1937, the Communist Party declared that it is fighting honestly and hand in hand with the Kuomintang and other parties, not only for the salvation of the fatherland from Japanese imperialism. It is also filled with the determination, after victory in the war of defense against Japan, to build up a new Chinese state together with the Kuomintang. From this it is clear that the Communist Party of China considers its collaboration with the Kuomintang not as a war alliance of short duration but as an alliance for a long period of time. This collaboration will insure the further mobilization of the Chinese people in the struggle for national liberation and the independence of China and will open up new paths for the transformation of China into a great, free, and progressive state.

The British People and Czechoslovakia

BY H. POLLITT

THE situation in Czechoslovakia occupies a foremost place in British politics just now. Political and economic journals are explaining to their readers, according to the policy behind them, the historical, political, social, and economic history of Czechoslovakia.

The net result is undoubtedly to create in the majority of the British people the realization that, after the invasion of Austria, Czechoslovakia now holds the key to the issue of world peace or world war.

At the moment of writing, however, there is a serious danger that people in Britain may be led into thinking that certain modifications of the acute crisis which arose in Czechoslovakia on May 21 were the result of a policy of mediation carried out by the Chamberlain government. Certainly every effort is being made by the press supporting Chamberlain to foster this impression, and unfortunately newspapers like the *Daily Herald* and *News Chronicle* have tended to fall into this trap.

Actually, of course, it was the whole pro-fascist policy of Chamberlain, especially during the last few months, that had encouraged Hitler and Henlein to believe that the invasion of Czechoslovakia could be effected as easily as that of Austria.

The pressure imposed by Chamberlain on Czechoslovakia is one of the most shameful episodes in British history.

The closer the Chamberlain government has drawn to fascist Germany and Italy, the greater the danger that has confronted the democratic countries of Europe.

According to its cold-blooded calculations in March, Austria would be swallowed by Hitler, the Franco offensive would succeed in Spain, and then all would be plain sailing for Britain, Italy, and Germany to apply a stranglehold on France and force her to renounce her pacts, both with the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia.

The invasion of Austria did take place owing to Chamberlain's betrayal, but Negrin saved Spain—a clear example of the effect of surrender to fascism on the one hand and resistance on the other.

Then followed the Rome meeting between Hitler and Mussolini. The press speculated on its results. They have not had to wait long! First came Mussolini's arrogant threats to France, second, Henlein's mission on behalf of Hitler to London—a mission facilitated by Chamberlain to prepare the way in London for the events of May 21.

Imagine Chamberlain giving Gottwald, the leader of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the right to come to London to discuss the best way to bring the people of the two countries into closer bonds of friendship!

The attempts in the course of the recent negotiations to intimidate France and make her renounce her pacts with Czechoslovakia and the U.S.S.R. gave Hitler encouragement to repeat his Austrian experiment in Czechoslovakia.

Does anyone believe that Hitler or Henlein really want to restore the unity of the German-speaking people of Czechoslovakia within the German Reich? Not at all! The aims of Hitler and Henlein are directed at making Czechoslovakia a

vassal state of Germany, to break its peace pact with France and the Soviet Union, and clear the way for Hitler's major war aims in Europe as a whole.

Those aims, summed up, are the conquest of Europe. That means Britain as well as Czechoslovakia and France; the Balkan countries and the Soviet Union.

For this, Hitler and his accomplice Henlein need the Czech coal mines, the steel works, the blast furnaces, the chemical factories, the great Skoda armament combine. They also need Czech conscripts for cannon fodder.

The following analysis of the resources of Czechoslovakia made by the *Economist* on May 14, 1938, will give further weight to the point that Hitler aims at the conquest of Czechoslovakia in order to strengthen the whole military and economic basis of German fascism.

"Economically Czechoslovakia is less bound with Great Germany than any of the other three Danubian states. . . .

"Czechoslovakia alone among Danubian countries enjoys the virtual absence of any foreign indebtedness, an ample and fluid money market, a well-founded banking structure, a national economy almost exactly balanced between agriculture and industry and a foreign trading position which can be made to respond rapidly to sharp variations in world prices.

"Czechoslovakia's mineral ores include lead, silver, gold and magnesite (of which last she has the richest deposits in Europe) and radium, and she has an almost inexhaustible supply of timber. She is highly industrialized, she has a coal and lignite production equal to about 16 per cent of that of Germany, and a pig iron and steel production of about 8 per cent of the German output.

"Her arms works (the Skoda works) are probably the largest in Europe; while the chemical works of Schicht at Aussig are the largest on the Continent outside Germany, and form part of the Unilever combine.

"The industrial part of the country is principally in the west, surrounded on three sides by what is now German territory. In the east are valuable agricultural areas, which produce rye, barley,

and oats for export, and also large quantities of other grains and beet sugar. Since Germany is still dependent on foreign supplies for 20 per cent of her foodstuffs, these products would also be useful in establishing her on a war footing.

"Czechoslovak light industry (textiles, sheet glass, boots and shoes, pottery, light metal production, etc.) is well established in foreign markets. In 1937 Czechoslovakia's exports were some £7,000,000 greater than her imports.

"She would thus be a valuable source of the foreign currency which Hitler so urgently needs for the import of war materials into Germany and to gain which he is now subsidizing 'dumped' exports of German goods (*e.g.*, of Opel mass-produced cars) on the British and Western European markets."

Hitler's plans are clear enough but on the fateful May weekend of the 21st and 22nd, the democratic people of Europe imposed a check.

The force behind the declarations of the political leaders of Czechoslovakia rests upon the indomitable will of the Czechoslovakian people to resist invasion. The people of France are equally determined that their government shall honor to the full its pledge to Czechoslovakia.

It is vitally important that British citizens should be made to realize these facts.

Czechoslovakia is a long way off. It has a foreign sounding name which the Rothermers and the Beaverbrooks, the Chamberlains and the Mosleys are not slow to point out.

But Spain also seemed a very remote place until bonds of solidarity were forged for all time between the British and Spanish people by the British Battalion of the International Brigade, whose members recognized the cause of the Spanish people as their own.

Czechoslovakia's cause is ours equally with that of Spain, for, make no mistake, the fate of Czechoslovakia will determine the future of Britain.

At the present moment there are encouraging signs that the British people are beginning to realize the dangers of Chamberlain's support of fascism; the

government moves from crisis to crisis.

In this situation the continued opposition of British labor and trade union leaders to the People's Front and the United Peace Alliance acts as a fatal hindrance to the growth of anti-fascist forces. Their attitude not only enables Chamberlain to develop his policy to drive a wedge between the Soviet Union and France and Czechoslovakia, but by its effect on international unity, enables Hitler and Mussolini to invade country after country.

The rank and file of the British movement must put an end to this situation by supporting those leaders who, though in a minority on the Labor Party National Executive, represent the growing desire among the masses for unity.

Within Britain, the combined forces of the united labor movement, Liberals and other progressive sections associated with the peace movement and the defense of Republican Spain, could bring overwhelming strength against the Chamberlain government, and reverse his policy. This does not mean war. It is the sole guarantee of peace.

Each unchecked act of aggression leads more and more rapidly to the next. After Ethiopia, Spain. After Manchuria, China. After Austria, Czechoslovakia.

On the other hand, when Italian submarines were torpedoing merchant shipping in the Mediterranean, decisive action by the British and French governments brought Mussolini to heel. And the decisive stand taken by France and the Soviet Union has undoubtedly, at least for the moment, prevented the invasion of Czechoslovakia.

It can be prevented permanently, and that democratic country saved, if Britain will declare unconditional support, along with France and the Soviet Union, for the independence and sovereignty of the Czechoslovakian Republic.

The Communist Party issued the following call on May 21:

"The Communist Party of Great Britain calls upon all labor and democratic organizations to submerge sectional interests to the common interests — the

safeguarding of peace, security, and the integrity and independence of the Czechoslovakian Republic.

"We urge all British democrats to support the complete independence of Czechoslovakia. No surrender to the intolerable demands of Hitler or Henlein, for every such concession only whets the appetites of the fascist tigers, making them stronger for their greater advances against France, the Soviet Union, and Britain.

"Full support to the people of France and the declaration of the French government for the fulfillment of their solemn treaties with the Czech people.

"Solidarity with the people of the Soviet Union in their support of Czechoslovakia.

"The immediate recall of the League Assembly, in spite of the betrayal of the League of Nations by Halifax, the willing accomplice of Hitler.

"The immediate enforcement of economic and financial sanctions against the aggressor states—'deprive them of fire and water'—to use the graphic words of Dimitroff.

"Mass meetings, demonstrations and conferences, welding the cause of Spain, China and Czechoslovakia into one common cause.

"An Emergency Conference of the Labor Party, which has been so insistently demanded during the past weeks by labor and trade union organizations, throughout the country.

"Let it be known that if the Czech people have to resort to arms to defend their independence, British sons of labor will be as ready to join an International Brigade to stand alongside the Czech people as they have done alongside the Spanish people's army.

"If the lamps of peace in Europe are being extinguished by the fascists, let it be known that in Britain there are millions who are resolved to act as torch-bearers of peace. They will light the lamps anew. Europe shall not be made a shambles to make a holiday for Roman and Aryan bullies.

"The President of Czechoslovakia declared on May 21: 'We are afraid of nothing. We are ready for anything.'

"These words must become the watchword of the British people."

We are confident that they will. For in these last few months there have been

great strides toward unity. This mass movement will grow stronger; it will sweep away the last barriers, and we shall see a great change in the whole international situation.

All over the world the stimulating example of China and Spain is having its effect. Without doubt it is this that has encouraged the Czechoslovakians to resist at all costs the arrogant demands of Henlein and Hitler. They rely for support on the democratic masses of every country who have already shown their sympathy with Spain and China.

In these decisive days we turn to the inspiring words of Georgi Dimitroff, the great leader in the fight against fascism:

“The forces of struggle against war and fascism are growing throughout the

world. . . . The working class, master of the fate of millions, has not as yet uttered its final word. . . . United with the working class of the land of the Soviets, the working class of the capitalist countries is invincible. . . .”

We call upon the British people to remember these words of the hero of the Leipzig Trial, whose courage in the dock marked a turning point in the struggle against Hitler. Many times Dimitroff has stated that his own strength is based on his confidence that the power of international solidarity is behind him.

It is the duty of the leaders of the labor movement in this country to demand the united mobilization of these forces. That way, and no other, lies the road to the final defeat of fascism and the advance of socialism.

The Pan-Germanic Program of National Socialism

BY KURT FUNK

THE further German fascism pushes its attacks against Czechoslovakia, the less it is able to conceal the fact that other things are involved in this struggle than the alleged "right of self-determination of the Sudeten Germans." *What are the aims of National-Socialism in its struggle against the Czechoslovak Republic?*

The Henlein Party, directed from Berlin, is the outpost of fascism. Its so-called "Carlsbad Demands" are consciously directed against the integrity of Czechoslovakia. Czechoslovakia is given the alternative either of accepting these demands of the fascist agents, supplying a platform in its own land from which the latter could ultimately terrorize the entire state, or be crushed by direct intervention of Germany's military power.

Recently, German fascism has also been making use of certain Slovak elements in order to lend greater driving force to its attacks and in order to win the reactionary annexationist forces of Hungary and Poland as direct allies against Czechoslovakia. Although the Slovaks are looked down upon with profound contempt by the arrogant Germanic "supermen" as an "inferior race," they are at this moment good enough for cannon-fodder to attack the state created jointly by the Czechs and Slovaks.

For tactical reasons, the Henlein Party, the Hlinka Party and the other agencies of German fascism pretend that it is only a matter of demands for autonomy which are attainable within the

framework of Czechoslovakia. In reality, they increase their demands to the extent that they believe they can figure on the support of international finance circles. The real aim of German fascism can be recognized from the following, which is based upon National-Socialist sources.

The claims which German fascism put forward against Czechoslovakia are composed of the most diverse elements, but in the last analysis all amount to the destruction of this state. The first of these claims promulgated by Hitler in his speech of February 20 is the self-proclaimed "right" to represent the German-speaking sections of the people because they are allegedly a part of the German nation. In order to supply a national basis for its annexationist policy, National-Socialism ignores the actual development of the Sudeten Germans, which for centuries has taken place altogether independently of the development of Germany. Just as, at present, after the annexation of Austria, it is making desperate efforts to uproot and suppress everything reminiscent of Austria, so it is attempting to falsify the history of Czechoslovakia in order to derive from these historical forgeries the "right" to incorporate the major part of Czechoslovakia into the German Reich.

The National-Socialist propaganda literature constantly characterizes Czechoslovakia as an "inorganic state" which is "the nucleus of a state system that has been set up for the express purpose

of maintaining German impotence." (*Der Schulungsbrief*, March, 1938.) German chauvinism is expected to be inflamed at the assertion that the existence of Czechoslovakia is the cause of German impotence and is incompatible with a strong Germany. In order to mislead the German people and thoughtless or ignorant people in the large democratic states, the Nazi agitators are zealously occupied with the creation of legends about the "construction" of this state. The *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* of June 8, 1938, characterized Czechoslovakia as an "anachronism." It let the cat out of the bag, saying "it is too late for a reconstruction of Czechoslovakia in Hodza's sense of the word." A day later, this same paper published an article, "Germans in Bohemia," which asserts that as far back as "the third millenium" B. C., "Nordic tribes coming out of German territory penetrated that country and cultivated it." With the help of such historical claptrap, the paper arrives at the characteristic conclusion: "Historically viewed, the Czechs have, in any case, essentially less of a claim upon Bohemia than the Germans who are undoubtedly lawful and blood descendants of the West Germans."

On the basis of such pseudo-historical creations, there arise proposals such as that of a representative of the reactionary English *Daily Mail* to the Czechoslovak Prime Minister, to model the relationship of Czechoslovakia to the German empire along the lines of the relationship which centuries ago Bohemia and Moravia maintained to the medieval Holy Roman Empire, that is, to incorporate Czechoslovakia into the German Reich.

The attentive observer of the policies of German fascism will easily recognize that the strategic aim of National-Socialism is precisely the destruction of Czechoslovakia and the annexation of its major part by Germany. (Poland and Hungary are to be satisfied with a few smaller crumbs for their vassal service or be forced into the train of Greater Germany.) Predatory German imperial-

ism, which has already seized Austria in order to be able to advance unchecked toward the Balkans and the Orient, wants to take possession of the natural resources, the arable land and the strategic points of Czechoslovakia. It is necessary to examine more closely the so-called Central Europe (Mitteleuropa) plans of fascism in order to become acquainted with the entire scope of the Pan-Germanic program of conquest.

WHAT DOES NATIONAL-SOCIALISM MEAN BY "HEGEMONY IN CENTRAL EUROPE"?

"Germany's hegemony in Central Europe" is at present one of the most frequently used slogans in Nazism's foreign policy. Behind this is concealed a conception which goes far beyond that which the "Pan-Germans" represented during the World War of 1914-18 in their war demands. Nazism operates with this slogan to pacify and win over the English Conservatives, hoping for their support and benevolent neutrality, by feigning that Germany wants to advance claims "only" on the European continent. The "Central Europe" conception plays the deciding role in the alliance of the Nazi regime with Italian fascism; with the well-known toasts which Hitler and Mussolini exchanged during Hitler's visit in Italy, the foundation of the German-Italian war alliance is strengthened: mutual support to make Germany the dominating power in Central Europe and Italy the unrestricted master in the Mediterranean.

In the conception of German fascism, the basis of its domination in Central Europe is a Greater German Reich as the nucleus of a number of vassal states. In this, it is not at all concerned with border regulations on a small scale. Nor is it a question of some territories which were separated from Germany by the peace treaties of 1919 being again joined to the Reich. The Greater German Reich of National-Socialist make transcends all historically developed boundaries and the rights of other European nations. In the National-Socialist propaganda, they refer expressly for this purpose to

the words of Reichschancellor Hitler taken from his book *Mein Kampf*:

"They [that is, the Reich's frontiers from 1871 on] were not the result of a calculated political act but the momentary borders of a political struggle in no way concluded; indeed, in part, the consequence of a mere accident. One could pick out with the same justification any other sample year of German history in order to explain the objectives of foreign affairs in the reproduction of the conditions prevailing then." (Vol. II, p. 736.)

With these words, National-Socialism has severed itself from historically developed Germany. It attempts to give the German nation, which like other nations was formed from many races and stocks, a new interpretation, to erase from history the progressive development toward a unified German national state which took place during the 19th century, in order to hearken back to medieval and—as happened in the above cited article in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*—prehistoric stages of development. Let it not be imagined that this is a question of romantic fantasies. This hearkening back to nebulous race and state structures serves to form the ideological smokescreen behind which there develops a deploying of the armies of German imperialism, which is absolutely set upon conquests. What we should actually understand by the cloak of "European reorganization" or "German hegemony in Central Europe" is the retrogression of Europe to the time before the formation and consolidation of the bourgeois national states for the purpose of constructing a Pan-German Reich out of the wreckage of the subjugated states and nations.

In the past year, the Nazi Party has made strenuous efforts to inculcate its Pan-Germanic program among the widest possible masses. Its efforts grow in proportion to the extent to which the German masses express their discontent with the conditions in Germany and raise concrete inner political and economic demands. The Reich's organization

leader of the National-Socialist Party publishes a periodical, *Der Schulungsbrief*, which systematically disseminates Pan-Germanistic Great German ideas. In recent months, this periodical has been dumped on the country in editions of 2,250,000 to 3,500,000 copies. The functionaries of the Nazi organizations are drilled in accord with the line prescribed by it.

In the January number, which appeared under the title "Deutschland—Werden, Wesen, Wirken" ("Germany—Evolution, Essence, Activity"), it is expressly disputed that Germany is identical with the territory which has been designated by that name ever since the formation of the German national state. "It is an ethnic geographical concept, not a piece cut out by temporary and accidental state borders," this issue on Greater Germany says; and in another place, "When we single out the German people's land, it is not for us a state area of limited time in the Western sense." From the central position of Germany in Central Europe, the fascist expansionist politicians conclude: "Destiny . . . the task of the Germans is the condition of their country in the middle of Europe; its extent is not determined by nature-drawn boundaries." These sentences are supplemented by an interpretation of the expression "German" which advances the claim to be superior and of a higher order than other peoples.

Concerning the extent of the Central European "Germany," the *Schulungsbriefe* contain the following indications among others:

"Bohemia, although it makes use of a Slavic language, finds itself within the German Reich and within the German sphere of culture."

"The Belgian territory, formerly the third part of Gaul . . . in its greater portion joined to Germany by its language and customs . . . Ghent . . . Brugge . . . to be sure, Gallic law . . . nevertheless use the German language and German customs. . . ."

". . . Alsace, Brabant, Zeeland, Flanders, and Holland . . . use the German

language and are therefore . . . counted among the provinces of Germany. . . .”

“What illuminates the fact of the . . . significance of the word ‘Germany’ as against the constitutional concept of ‘Reich’ better than this is that the Swiss Confederacy, even after its withdrawal from the Empire in the peace of Basle (1499) and even after the Westphalian peace (1648), still was considered part of Germany. The Swiss remained ‘Germans’ in contrast to their Italian neighbors and the linguistic tie with the Germans in the Reich caused the Swiss Confederates to continue to be called by others, as in their own word ‘German,’ ‘settlers of the German nation,’ ‘Native Germans.’”

These are a few samples of Great German historical forgeries which were committed for the purpose of manufacturing historical claims to territories which nationally, and as states, are completely independent but whose subjugation German imperialism is pursuing by every means. With the outspoken aim of the “reproduction of the conditions then prevailing” (as Hitler expressed himself) National-Socialism demands: “The geography textbooks, our atlases, our historical works, our law texts of the past must be tested and purged.” (January number of *Schulungsbrief*.)

Nazi propaganda designates the state unification of these territories and of all “Germans” as the ideal, the realization of which is to be striven for by every means. It goes even further than this to demand that even those territories which are settled by people whose ancestors once emigrated from Germany, who were absorbed in other nations or received a new national character, should come under German domination if these territories are at too great a distance from the German Reich. Nazism demands that its “right” in these territories shall prevail “beside the law” of the countries within whose sphere these territories lie. That means the constant interference of German fascist authorities in the life of other states.

Summarizing and stripping the Nazi conception of its mystical racist dis-

guise, we get the following nucleus of the National-Socialist expansion program:

The destruction and subjugation of all independent states in Central Europe. Setting up of a closed “Great German Reich” in which the outraged national minorities would be treated like the Serbs of Lusatia and the Austrians are now. Tying up France by taking part of its territory and by constantly threatening the rest. Establishment of unconditional servitude of the Scandinavian and Baltic states. Interference in the life of the Balkan states and of the Orient.

That would be the basis from which German imperialism could undertake its “drive to the east,” the swastika crusade against the U.S.S.R.

THE LAW OF THE JUNGLE

It does not pay to follow the Nazi theoreticians of expansion further along the devious paths of their proof through the Teutonic forest swamps. Let us imagine for a moment that other nations fabricated, for their own use, theses similar to those represented by the Nazi imperialists.

Lithuanians, for example, might remember that they once were settled on the greater part of present-day Prussia and were subjugated or driven away by the German colonizers.

The Czechoslovaks, if they attached any value to following in the footsteps of their Slavic ancestors, could justifiably point to the fact that Saxony and a part of central Germany were originally settled and cultivated by Slavs.

The Swedes once ruled over Pomerania; the Danes lived up to the very threshold of Hamburg.

The old Romans (whom Italian fascism invokes because Rome is the capital of present-day Italy) laid the foundation of a whole number of Rhenish cities.

There would be little left of Germany should Nazi morality and Nazi law become the common property of other peoples.

Let us test Nazi law by two more examples:

Could the Spaniards and Portuguese today seriously assert, without making themselves ridiculous before the whole world, that inasmuch as the population of South American states are a part of the Spanish and Portuguese nations, Spain and Portugal demand that their laws should prevail side by side with and ultimately over the laws of the South American states themselves?

Or can anyone assume that England would be able to lay claim again to the United States of America on the ground that the Americans are a part of the English nation?

It is quite clear that such a claim would be rejected by the affected nations themselves as well as by all other nations. In the history of the recent period it has remained for German and Italian fascism to introduce again the laws of the jungle which humanity overcame in the course of painful, protracted evolution. German and Italian fascism, which, for example, want to take away by force of arms the right of the Spanish people to be master in its own house, arrogate the right to themselves to appear as the legitimate masters in all other states. Nazism tries to wipe out historical facts and concepts with a wave of the hand. It constructs a "German Nation" out of arbitrarily assembled parts which is to exist unburdened and independent of German territory, unconcerned over extensive linguistic differences, without consideration for the divergent national spirits, in order to become the domain for the realization of the plan of German finance capital.

By what right can it be said that the German-speaking groups in Bohemia, in the Carpathians, in Hungary, Rumania, or in Yugoslavia, are parts of the German nation and come under German law? Aside from the affinity of the languages—and even that is quite conditional—there is no evidence that could justify the designation of the Siebenbuerger peasant and, for example, an Oldenburg peasant as belonging to the

same nation. The national diversity between the Swiss and Germans stems from a centuries-old independent economic, cultural and political development. The unity or affinity of language is, in itself, far from sufficient to establish membership in *one* nation. And still less can the conclusion be drawn that they are a nation from the fact that the ancestors of groups which today live in separated areas centuries ago belonged—even temporarily—to the same state.

The Nazi regime invokes the argument that German-speaking groups in other countries constitute a cultural community with the German nation. Aside from the fact that the Swiss, the Austrians, etc., developed their *own* culture and that the Englishman Shakespeare, the Frenchman Rousseau, the Italian Michaelangelo, the Hollander Rembrandt exercise no less influence on this culture than the German thinkers and poets, in view of the audacity of Nazism the question must be raised: in the name of what culture does Nazism speak? Has it not burned, forged or proscribed the works and thought of Goethe, Schiller, Herder, Lessing, Heine, Kant and the numerous other German thinkers who are dear not only to the Germans but to all civilized peoples? Is there, indeed, anything in common between the "lyricist" Schirach, the "philosopher" Rosenberg, the revolver "dramatist" Johst, the storm troopers' favorite music director Fuhsel and the great German Kant, Bach, Schiller, Hoerderlin? Is not fascism persecuting Heinrich Mann, Thomas Mann, Einstein and the other guardians of the German cultural heritage still in exile?

We need only cast a glance at the conditions and moods in the Austrian National-Socialist camp to see that even they who have helped to crush their own people under the military heel of German fascism are already, after so short a time, disillusioned and indignant at the shameless disregard and violation of the Austrian people by the Berlin Nazi government and their commissars. Similar disillusionment will not be spared the

other devotees or legionnaires of Pan-German imperialism. Of the arguments which the Brown bullies parade, not one remains which can stand the test of a serious investigation. They are nothing but a cloak for German imperialism's plans for world power.

The international working class, which is interested in transcending national antagonisms in the interest of its struggle for emancipation from capitalism, sees in German fascism an enemy who must be struck down before all else, because it wants to bring about conditions which will render the struggle of the working class indescribably more difficult. Against this enemy, it is necessary to assemble the progressive elements present in every nation and to defend the independence of the European nations against Nazism. Nazism can and must be compelled to abide by the principles of international law. That presupposes the strict rejection of its Pan-Germanist claims and theories with which there can be no agreement and no armistice because the price of this would be the disruption of the independence of a number of European nations. It is no accident that Nazism simultaneously liquidates the rights of citizens inside Germany and has made "vassals" of the Germans, and that, in its foreign policy, it attempts to evade, to undermine and to eliminate all norms of law, including the bourgeois standards of law. The preservation of state independence requires that the European nations decisively reject German imperialist demands.

THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE EXPANSION PROGRAM FOR THE GERMAN PEOPLE

If the program of German imperialism signifies a constant menace to the peace of the world and permanent war, then for the German people it further entails the danger of being thrown back to a stage of development more backward than that following the Thirty Years War. An incalculable chain of wars of conquest, in the course of which Ger-

many itself would become the theater of war, is tied up with this program. Everything progressive in the evolution of the last hundred and fifty years would be exterminated, the German people would become the enemy of all the peoples of Europe and would itself be most gravely defeated.

"A nation which oppresses others cannot emancipate itself." (Friedrich Engels.) Today the working class and the toiling masses of Germany already sense the profound truth of this statement. Is not every demand for higher wages, decent working conditions, equitable taxation, the establishment of normal conditions for the existence of artisans, tradesmen and small business men rejected by the Nazi regime while pointing to "the great political aims" for which sacrifices should be made? *The Ruhrarbeiter*, the organ of the German labor front for the Ruhr district, has just recently supplied an example of this in its June 1 number. It published an evasive and involved reply to the letter of a miner who drew comparisons between a miner's income and that of the stockholders and bank directors and criticized the social conditions in present-day Germany. In its reply *The Ruhrarbeiter* does not dare to dispute the fact that the miner "has a hard time of it." But it declares: "National-Socialism . . . has not chiefly concerned itself with the wishes of the individual nor of interested parties but it has turned the entire people toward great political aims, it has tempered the power of unity on these political aims."

The actual status of this unity will be dealt with in a special article but already it should be indicated here that it is a strange and significant contrast to the unity phrases when we recall that those institutions and rights which stood at the threshold of the unity of the German nation were abrogated by National-Socialism and every demand for their restoration is persecuted: Universal suffrage, municipal self-government, the equality of citizens before the law, etc. *Der Schulungsbrief* of February dares

to attempt to condemn as "paper regulations" the reforms of Baron von Stein which began the national liberation movement in Germany in 1808. In reality, there can scarcely be a sharper contrast than that between Stein's communal law (universal suffrage, self-government, control and clean administration) and the "monocratic system of administration" recently proclaimed by Frick in Austria (that is, autocratic, uncontrollable administration by husky Nazi, underhanded practices after the fashion of City Tax Director Esch in Düsseldorf, misuse of communal funds for the Four-Year Plan construction, for the war industry and feasts of the Brown bureaucrats—while no means are available for housing and the maintenance of cultural institutions).

From the fact that National-Socialism replaced those achievements of the German people which are inseparably bound up with the liberation and national development of Germany, by coercive laws during its period of government, the German people can estimate where it would land if the expansion program of

Nazism were carried out. Already, after the annexation of Austria, new measures within the framework of the so-called Reich reform were announced which amount to reducing the communities and states more than ever into unprivileged instruments of the unrestricted war economy of certain monopoly capitalists. For even the most modest communal or regional right of self-administration hinders the complete totalitarian domination of Germany, dictated by the military and war-economy viewpoint.

If the German people want to prevent their becoming a race of Helots who must deny themselves and bleed in the service of a Brown master caste and which in its slavery supplies the chains for binding other peoples, then it must create the unity for the struggle for its immediate political and economic interests. Simultaneously thereby it will erect the foundation for the salvation of Germany from the ruin and destruction threatened by the expansion wars of Nazism and lay the foundation stone for a new upsurge and development of the German nation.

The Struggle Over Oil in Mexico

BY FRANZ LANG

ON MARCH 19, the Mexican government expropriated the foreign oil companies that controlled practically all of Mexico's petroleum production. This expropriation, following the nationalization of the railroads and the gradual completion of the agrarian reform, is one of the most important measures for the liberation of the Mexican people from the yoke of the foreign imperialists, for improving the living conditions of the broad masses of workers and peasants and for strengthening the position of the National Revolutionary Cardenas government.

At the same time, this step is of great international significance. It is a heavy blow against the reactionary British politicians who want to make Mexico a British vassal state; against the Hitler agents who are working feverishly in Mexico as well as against those aggressive American imperialist circles which would like to subjugate Mexico to American capitalism. The struggle which the great oil trusts of England and America have waged on Mexican soil has been going on for thirty years, and, as always in such cases, the sufferers were the masses. The issue in this struggle was not merely the tremendous profits of the oil kings but also the conquest of positions of power by the financial magnates of Great Britain and the United States.

The immediate cause of expropriation was a wage conflict which had been going on since 1934. Eighteen thousand workers are employed in the Mexican petroleum industry. They are most brutally exploited by the foreign oil companies. Whereas

in America a worker handles an average of 600 barrels of oil daily, a Mexican worker's average reaches as high as 2,300 barrels per day.

In 1934, a strike broke out in the British oil company "Engli." The government intervened as arbitrator. Negotiations with all the oil companies for a collective agreement were conducted for years without any results. New strikes broke out but the employers refused to yield. They declared themselves unable to raise the sum of about 26,000,000 dollars which was required for the improvement of the conditions of the oil workers (wage increases, vacations and so forth.) Mexican specialists have established that from 1934 to 1936, the average annual profit of the oil companies amounted to 80,000,000 Mexican dollars.

Since the companies stubbornly refused to recognize the arbitration award of the Labor Department, the government proceeded to expropriate them with compensation. The nationalization of oil resources is not a socialist, but rather a consistently democratic measure. To be sure, even in the process of social revolution, there may be cases where the proletariat "buys out" the exploiters, as Lenin stated in a polemic against the leaders of the Second International. But in Mexico we are dealing this time with an act which fits into *the framework of bourgeois-democratic development*. The working class and the masses of Mexico have understood this quite well. They have organized collections in order to make it possible for the government to compensate the foreign companies. The

entire nation has rallied around the Cardenas government. *El Machete*, the organ of the Communist Party of Mexico, correctly emphasizes in its March 26 issue:

“For the first time in the history of Mexico, the entire people, naturally with the exception of traitors to the country . . . identifies itself with its government.”

The people are aware that their national independence, their liberation from enslavement by foreign capital is at stake.

STANDARD VERSUS SHELL, SHELL VERSUS STANDARD

Mexico occupies seventh place in world petroleum production. In 1924, it was still the second largest oil producer. In 1935, it produced 40,234,902 barrels. 960,000,000 Mexican dollars are invested in the Mexican petroleum industry, preponderantly British and American capital. The three most important foreign companies which practically control the entire production are the Mexican Eagle Oil Company (British Shell group), Huasteca Oil Company (American Standard group), and the Sinclair Oil Company (American Consolidated Oil Corporation).

Until the opening up of the large oil fields, the American Standard Oil group (Rockefeller) had a regular monopoly in the sale of petroleum in Mexico. It imported crude oil, worked it up in its own refineries and dictated the price to the market and to individual consumers. Standard disposed of its products in Mexico at a 600 per cent profit. Various Mexican governments tried in vain to free the land from this noose; Rockefeller triumphed every time. His monopoly sales “rights” could not be broken.

The successful oil drillings in Mexico changed the situation. In 1908 Porfirio Diaz, President of Mexico at the time, granted considerable concessions to the British petroleum firm S. Pearson & Sons for the exploitation of the newly-discovered rich oil fields. Rockefeller saw

his monopoly threatened and a struggle began which stopped at nothing, and was waged by both sides for many years.

Pearson established a large company, the Mexican Eagle Oil Company, whose original capital amounted to 30,000,000 Mexican dollars. In 1911, it was increased to 50,000,000. In 1925, it had already jumped to 243,600,000 Mexican gold dollars. Thereupon, a vehement campaign against President Diaz started in the American press as if at a signal. Standard suddenly became “revolutionary” and began to interest itself in the accumulated discontent of the people with the feudal colonial system. Uprisings broke out in various provinces in Mexico with Standard’s most active support. While England supported Diaz, the Standard group sided with the insurgents led by Madero. Madero concluded an agreement with Standard whereby it was to be granted all available concessions and the concessions granted the English Pearson group were to be withdrawn in case he were elected President. The day on which Madero became President of Mexico, Standard shares rose 50 per cent on the American Stock Exchange.

Madero did not remain in office long. He was murdered in 1913, scarcely two years after his election as President. Everything indicates that he fell victim to British intrigues. The United States did not recognize the new President, Victoriano Huerta. Standard’s attempt to bribe Huerta with 200,000,000 Mexican dollars failed. Huerta did not remain in office long. By 1914 he had to give up the Presidency.

The British and American oil trusts had their hand in all the uprisings, revolts, rebellions and disturbances occurring in Mexico for decades. Thus, many a Mexican President was killed by a bullet which, figuratively speaking, was baptized in oil. If one trust supported the President in office, then the other supported his opponent. Every one of the large petroleum companies maintained its own private bands whose task was to damage its competitors’ pipelines and tanks. They paid bandits to guar-

antee the security of their property, as was the case, for example, in the Tampico District, one of the richest oil districts in Mexico.

The Mexican Eagle Company constantly extended its business: In 1912, it combined with a distributing agency, the Anglo-Mexican Petroleum Company, and a shipping company, the Eagle Oil Transport Co. Besides murder, bribery and extortion of all kinds, the struggle was waged by means of drastic price wars. Bourgeois historians even assert that in 1916, the United States made its entry into the World War on the side of the Entente (France, England, Tsarist Russia) dependant upon England's withdrawal from the Mexican petroleum business. All these attempts to drive the English petroleum group out of Mexico were smashed by Pearson's firm attitude, behind which stood the British Empire. He constantly acquired new areas, primarily on or in the neighborhood of the Gulf of Mexico. In 1922, the Eagle Company's holdings amounted to approximately 2,500,000 acres.

During the World War, there was a pause in the struggle between the petroleum competitors but it flared up again with even greater violence when the war was over. In 1919, Pearson sold the shares of his company to the English Shell group (Deterding). Already at that time, through the cooperation between Eagle and Corona, the daughter company of Shell, which had entered the Mexican field back in 1911, this group controlled approximately a third of Mexico's oil.

Standard's long-drawn-out struggle against the British petroleum group ended in failure. Shell was sitting tightly in the saddle. It conquered important positions for Great Britain. It was not for nothing that Pearson was raised to a peerage by the British government: the common petroleum capitalist Pearson became Lord Cowdray!

The foreign petroleum companies which had grabbed Mexico's treasures constituted, as President Cardenas said, a state within the state. Despite their tremendous profits squeezed out of the

workers, they did not build a single school, a single hospital, a single electric power plant for their workers. They had their own private police and their own press, arms dumps and an army of hired agents. They enjoyed special privileges with regard to duties, taxes, etc.

"OIL POLITICS IS WORLD POLITICS"

The struggle over Mexican oil was not only a struggle for tremendous profits—the Eagle Company, for example, for many years was able to distribute *dividends up to 65 per cent*—but a struggle for power. British oil capital tried to detach the United States from its next door base in order to supplement and extend its own sources of oil. After the World War, the British Lord Curzon said in a speech which became famous that the Entente powers "were carried to victory on a wave of oil." The French front would have collapsed had they not succeeded in getting the necessary troops to the front in automobiles and in crumpling up the enemy's front in the decisive battle of the Marne. However, such reinforcements could be made use of only if a sufficient quantity of fuel were available. The American fleet is almost entirely operated with oil. The British were 95 per cent oil-driven as early as 1921. The use of oil as fuel not only saves human labor but also time, which is of prime importance in war.

In a note to Clemenceau in 1919, Henri Berenger wrote: "He who has petroleum, dominates the world; domination of the seas with crude oil, domination of the air with refined oil and domination on the continents with gasoline and kerosene."

Elliot Alves, of the semi-official English petroleum organization British-controlled Oil Fields, made a similar statement: "The country which will rule through petroleum will at the same time occupy the commanding heights of world trade. The army, navy and money and even the entire population are rendered meaningless when there is no petroleum."

The British Empire can remain mis-

tress of the seas and stay at the height of power only if its source of oil is insured unconditionally and at all cost. There is no villainy which England's ruling class has not committed when it was a matter of getting at petroleum. For the sake of petroleum, the English imperialists supported the subservient Menshevik governments in the Caucasus, sent them troops to be used against the young Soviet power, prolonged the disorders of the Civil War on Soviet territory, enlisted the Judas Trotsky in its service, grabbed Mesopotamia and Palestine, thwarted the fulfilment of sanctions adopted by the League of Nations against Mussolini Italy, and hires South American mercenaries and bandits of all kinds.

Systematically, England built up a petroleum empire. Today, British capital controls about 35 per cent of world petroleum production, which in 1937 amounted to more than 2,000,000,000 barrels (according to the *Times* of April 25, 1938). Not only Deterding's Shell, which works very closely with Hitler, but also the Anglo-Persian Petroleum Company, the Burma Company and the British Controlled Oil Fields (the English government participates in these three companies, which it controls) and a number of other companies work for England.

Today the situation is such that England controls in whole or in part the petroleum of the following countries:

Canada	100	per cent
Algeria, Egypt	50	" "
Persia, Mesopotamia ..	75	" "
Rumania, Poland and		
the rest of Europe..	50	" "
Dutch Indies	50	" "
India	100	" "

The Anglo-Persian operates not only in Persia but also in Newfoundland, New Brunswick and Argentina; Shell in California, Oklahoma, Louisiana, Texas, Trinidad and Venezuela; British Controlled Oil Fields in Central America, Guiana, Brazil, Colombia and Equa-

dor. English companies even control the pipelines and tanks at both ends of the Panama Canal. England has acquired concessions all over Central and South America, *mainly on the coast or in the neighborhood of the Caribbean Sea* and laid its pipelines in these areas. It has built a tremendous fleet of tankers. In this manner, England not only penetrates all of these countries economically and exploits their sources of raw material but offers a direct threat to the United States. Even now, American petroleum production does not meet home consumption so that the United States has to import oil, mainly from Mexico. In case of war, the United States would be surrounded by a British oil ring.

England's struggle over Mexican oil was and is part of its old competitive struggle against the United States which is being carried out on the quiet, to be sure, but with the utmost tenacity and determination. Hence, the expropriation of the English petroleum trust by the Mexican government was a telling blow against English imperialism.

The English lords and capitalists raised a hue and cry when they learned about the expropriation decree. They saw not only their "Holy of Holies," profit, attacked, but they also realized that one of their most advantageous positions against the United States was undermined. The Conservative lords, who show so much patience and benevolence toward all fascist beasts of prey, suddenly forgot their "good manners" toward democratic Mexico. Like real usurers, they immediately presented a note to the Mexican government demanding the payment of debts they had once forced it to acknowledge. With the utmost cynicism, they interfered in Mexico's internal affairs and declared that the Mexican government does not pay its *domestic debts*. Aside from the fact that that is none of the English lords' business, it is well-known that England does not pay its debt to the United States and that it overlooks the suspension of all payments by German fascism.

The Cardenas government gave the im-

perialist cutthroats a reply which took their breath away. Cardenas threw the 18,000 pounds demanded by the usurers in their face. At the same time, the Mexican ambassador to England was recalled. Disconcerted, the Conservative newspapers declare that this is the first time in a hundred years that another state has broken off relations with England rather than England's breaking off relations with the other state. Disquieted, the reactionary circles around Chamberlain and Halifax feel that behind this abrupt severance of relations is not only the will to freedom of the Mexican people but also the power of the United States, which is again beginning to take a more energetic part in world politics under Roosevelt's presidency. This disquietude grew when the United States, in reply to England's request that it mediate in the conflict, replied coolly and politely that it would be unable to do so. Chamberlain's government suffered a serious rebuff in its foreign policy.

Against the extremist elements in America, Roosevelt acknowledged the right of the Mexican government to be master in its own house and expressed the expectation that the Mexican government would compensate the expropriated companies.

The international proletariat has proclaimed its solidarity with the Mexican people. The Communist Party of the United States, as well as John L. Lewis, leader of the powerful industrial unions, sent greetings to the masses of Mexico and promised to help them in their struggle.

Trotsky and his gang, agents of British and Hitler's intelligence service, knew what the hour demanded of them. They rushed to the aid of their distressed master, raged against the expropriation which allegedly benefits the Soviet Union and shed crocodile tears because the workers were voluntarily contributing part of their wages to the government compensation fund. The Trotskyist agents of fascism and English imperialism called upon the workers to stop their collections and, in their appeals, criti-

cized the readiness of the government to ransom itself from the big foreign capitalists. It is clear what Trotsky and his gang are aiming at. By their provocative demands they not only want to encourage England to resort to open armed intervention but also to put great difficulties in Roosevelt's way and to push toward the formation of an Anglo-American "united front" against Mexico. Once again the Trotskyites expose themselves as the accomplices of fascism, of the most wretched reaction and of the war instigators. The workers and masses of Mexico gave them a well-deserved kick in the pants. Cardenas, however, got a new lesson as to where it leads when an enemy is allowed to enter the country and the voice of the organized working class, which unanimously demanded Trotsky's expulsion at its last Trade Union Congress, is not heard.

The English imperialists and international petroleum capital have still another iron in the fire, besides their Trotsky, their threats of boycott and other repressive measures: the fascist clique around General Cedillo. Up until August of last year, General Saturnino Cedillo was Minister of Agriculture and had to be removed from the cabinet because he sabotaged the government's agrarian reform. He withdrew to his estate in San Luis Potosi where he began to organize a fascist movement. The war triangle, Hitler Germany, Italy and Japan, and petroleum capital supplied him with arms which were smuggled in from all sides. Cedillo organized his private army of about 12,000 men. He is in alliance with the governor of the state of Sonora, General Roman Yocupicio and other reactionary elements. It was an open secret that he was preparing a putsch and felt himself called upon to play the role of a Mexican Franco.

After the expropriation of the petroleum trust, Cedillo received the order to strike. His putsch was the English imperialists' reply to the loss of their Mexican positions, an example of "non-intervention" which English reaction, as we know, so vigorously defends.

The Cardenas Government has openly declared that the putsch of the Mexican Franco was plotted by international petroleum capital. Cedillo was opposed to the expropriation of the large Mexican landowners and to the expropriation of the foreign petroleum capitalists. Cardenas' government is supported by the working class, the peasants and the toiling masses, as well as by the army. It is in command of the situation and was able to localize Cedillo's "putsch."

But that does not mean that now the fascist danger is over. Hitler, Mussolini, Japan, the expropriated petroleum capital, the large expropriated landowners, will continue to do everything to prevent the Mexican government from completing the work of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. Trotsky and his

accomplices will give further support to the fascist putschists. But the masses of Mexico and their government have been able to learn from the Spanish events how to put a spoke in the wheel of the Francos and their Trotskyist spies in good time.

The unity of all forces of the Mexican people, the determination of the working class in the front ranks of the People's Front, to fight against fascism, will guarantee the freedom and independence of Mexico. The international proletariat and all democratic elements will support the Mexican people and its government against the fascist agents of Hitler, Mussolini, the Japanese military clique and English reactionaries who, in Mexico as well, are trying to undermine peace and bring on war.

The Crisis in German Agriculture Under the Hitler Dictatorship

BY EDWIN HOERNLE

ON THE occasion of the so-called "Popular Referendum" on April 10, the National-Socialist swindlers of the people delivered blatant orations praising the alleged victory on the fascist economic front in extravagant terms. Hitler himself, Goebbels, and above all the "Reichs peasant leader" Darré outdid themselves in the number of false figures which were supposed to prove the upturn in German agriculture and the "salvation of the peasant" by National-Socialism. But facts proved the opposite!

Generally, the situation has grown considerably worse since the summer of 1937, not only for the German peasant, especially because of the law compelling delivery of the total grain output, but for German agriculture as a whole, even among the village bourgeoisie and middle landowners.

Two phenomena stand out: the growing "scissors" between industry and agriculture and the renewed mounting of the farmers' unproductive indebtedness. Both phenomena have been noticeable to an increasing extent for about a year. The open discussion of these questions in the leading newspapers* and periodicals as well as in the annual reports of the large agricultural banks, reflects the perturbation and the pessimism which

have overtaken not only the peasant press but also the bourgeoisie, which is gradually being affected. All reporters start from the fact that the expenditures of agriculture during the last year have increased faster than the income, the former by 335,000,000 marks, the latter by only 163,000,000 marks.

Already at the end of 1937, a leading trade journal of the German agrarians, the *Deutsche Landwirtschaftliche Presse* (the *German Agricultural Press*), wrote in its annual survey that "most noteworthy" in the last year was that "for the first time since National-Socialism took power, the expenditures of agriculture rose faster than the sales receipts." In 1937 "for the first time" the indebtedness of agriculture no longer declines "and has even begun to mount in East Germany." At the same time "credit possibilities are still limited to a large extent."

A few weeks later, at the beginning of 1938, Secretary Bache, of the Reichs Agricultural Ministry, published an article in the periodical *Die Deutsche Volkswirtschaft* (*Germany Economy*) in which he confirmed the Cassandra cry of the trade press. The gap between agricultural and industrial prices to the disadvantage of agriculture has widened in the single year 1936-37 from 16.3 to 21.3; agricultural indebtedness has increased in Schleswig-Holstein as well as in Wuerttemberg, Hanover, and Westphalia, and in Pomerania, that is, in almost all of the important districts of Germany. If even Nazi officialdom is com-

* Among others, the *Volkischer Beobachter*, the *Essener National Zeitung*, the *Rheinisch-Westfaelische Zeitung*, and the *Muenchener Neueste Nachrichten* carried articles on this subject.

pelled to make such admissions, we can imagine how catastrophic the situation really is. In going on to quote Nazi sources, it must be kept in mind that the official data greatly understate the facts.

Darré's right hand in the Reichs Agricultural Department, staff-leader Hermann Reichle, published at about the same time, in the National-Socialist *Landpost*, a picture of the development of the cash surplus of an average thirty-seven-acre Wuerttemberg peasant farm. These surpluses, according to him, have decreased from the middle of 1935 to the end of 1937 from 1,106 to 784 Reichsmarks. Reichle wrote:

"The curve shows unmistakably that the cash surplus had already begun to fall again in 1935-36 and at approximately the same rate it rose in 1933 so that the further course of decline can be predicted to some extent."

With this, Reichle admits that the smaller farms in South Germany were already in an economic depression in 1935-36. According to his account, the decline in their surpluses proceeds at about the same rate as the increase in the years 1933-1935. According to this account, the same crisis condition of the middle and larger peasant farms will have been reached again by the middle of 1938 which prevailed *before* Hitler's rise to power. Actually, the crisis of German agriculture was never so horrible as in this fifth year of Hitler rule.

This time the fascist government lays the blame for the newly developing agricultural crisis not, as before, on other countries, Bolshevism, or the Jews, but on good old mother earth.

In an examination of the condition of German agriculture, the periodical *Wirtschaftsdienst (Economic Service)*, wrote with cynical bluntness:

"Thus experience drastically leads the German people to the realization that agricultural land cannot simply be forced to produce what we need for existence."

With these words, responsible organs

of German fascism have admitted for the first time the complete bankruptcy of the so highly advertised "battle of production" inaugurated in 1934. German fascism had promised the toiling masses of Germany a real "freedom of livelihood" or "subsistence from their own plot of ground." Triumphant, the fascist advertisers have just proclaimed again that they succeeded in raising "Germany's self-sufficiency" for the necessary means of subsistence from 65 to 81 per cent. In reality, this decrease in the import of means of subsistence was achieved exclusively at the expense of mass consumption. Fascism forced the toiling population to get along on starvation rations.

During the five years of the Hitler regime, German agriculture has in no way essentially increased either its crops or its cattle production. Today, the fascists must admit themselves that an increase is altogether impossible under their regime. But the blame for this is not to be sought in the reactionary theory of the so-called "law of diminishing returns of the soil" which the fascists have resurrected but which has long been refuted.

Just a year ago, at a conference of agricultural implement makers, an important German agronomist, Professor Riess-Potsdam, proved by exact figures that German agriculture under rational management was still in a very good position today adequately to support not only sixty-five but even a hundred million people. For this, he was violently attacked by the fascist press. "Then what's the use of colonies?" cried Agricultural Counsellor Deetjen in the press service of the Reichs agricultural department, and thereby unwittingly revealed the actual cause of their wrath. For he who asserts today that the German soil under rational management, with the full use of prevailing technical and chemico-biological aids, can adequately feed the German people, shows the way to a *peaceful* solution of Germany's food problem, deprives fascism of one of its chief arguments for war, the

notorious catchword of "a people without room."

The blame for the critical situation of present-day German agriculture is solely and exclusively to be laid to the plundering of the German peasantry, enhanced by fascism, including the middle peasants and many large peasants; to the usurious monopoly prices of the big industrial concerns; to the extortionist methods of the large mortgage banks and land sharks as well as to state taxes. The German peasant pays approximately a billion marks in interest and rent alone for the use of the soil that he cultivates. He pays a large part of the gigantic earnings of the chemical industry whose receipts, even according to the fascist sources, increased in 1936-37 alone from 913,320,000 to 1,051,930,000 Reichsmarks, that is, by 15.17 per cent, and whose net profit increased in the same period from 76,300,000 to 83,600,000 Reichsmarks.*

While fascism maintains the price level of agrarian goods with an iron fist at an index of 105.6 (March, 1938), the price index of industrial finished goods in the spring of 1938 stood at no less than 126 (1913 equals 100). Within agriculture itself, the special condition of peasant economy is best characterized by the price index of cattle for slaughter, which in March amounted to 86.8 while the index of industrial consumption goods stood at 135.7. Thus the price for slaughtering cattle was reduced tremendously while the price for agricultural implements, machines, etc., skyrocketed. In this connection, we must also take into account the extraordinary deterioration in the quality of industrial goods that the peasant must buy, which means that they will wear out so much sooner.

On top of all this, there is the constantly growing burden of direct and indirect taxes. In 1937-38 alone, the Reich's receipts in taxes and duties rose from 11,473,000,000 to 13,958,000,000 Reichsmarks. According to the official figures, a larger increase is to be ex-

pected in the future. In addition to taxes of all kinds, there are contributions and forced loans. The peasant credit unions are compelled to invest a considerable part of the peasant savings in Reich loans so that the peasant is compelled to go to the usurer for credit to operate his farm. As a result of these circumstances, the German peasant simply cannot raise the higher costs, imposed upon him by the fascist "production battle," for soil amelioration, machine, plant and animal care, fertilizer, etc.; he succumbs to the coercion of production exercised against his economy; his economy retrogresses rather than progresses.

To what extent the critical situation in German agriculture has become acute is shown with particular clarity in the annual reports of the leading mortgage banks. The report of the Union of German Mortgage Banks asserts that delinquent agricultural interest, representing 21.5 per cent of all interest, is today "considerably greater" than the delinquent interest for all other types of mortgages. Naturally, the blame for the insufficient receipt of interest payments is laid to a "deficient payment-morality" of the peasant debtors.

The report indirectly attacks the government for the prohibition of compulsory auctions of inheritable estates. This prohibition had been included at the time (1933) in the Inherited Farm Law for demagogic purposes in order to placate the peasants and because at that time, at the end of the big agrarian crisis, the banks themselves attached little value to such compulsory auctions. With the greatly deflated land prices at the time, the creditor could hardly realize a fraction of his demands through compulsory auctions. Today, the situation is altogether different for the banks. The big agrarians are well off under fascism. The land-poverty of the small peasants has greatly increased. For both of these reasons, land prices have skyrocketed. The banks now demand restoration of their right to put under the hammer not only small peasant farms but also the estates (middle and large peasant). They

* Communications of the Hamburg *Welt-Wirtschafts-Archiv*, No. 12, 1938.

demand the restoration of their unrestricted right to drive insolvent debtors off the farm whenever and however they see fit.

That the peasant debtor's capacity to produce is, in reality, sinking permanently despite "debt regulations" is admitted by the Bavarian agricultural bank when it writes:*

"The price development, unfavorable also to Bavarian agriculture, led to a decrease of labor income in 1937 whose effects were reflected in the growth of interest delinquencies on the part of already indebted concerns."

It can be seen from this bank also that the creditors are demanding the restoration of the right to enforce foreclosure on estates. "In the case of the smaller estates, the difficulty of collecting begins only after all the other debts have been paid."

In a few words: the situation of German agriculture is coming to a head again. The mass of the peasantry, as well as a considerable section of the small and middle agrarian bourgeoisie, are no longer in a position to bear the burdens imposed upon them by fascism. They are no longer in a position to increase production, in many respects they cannot even maintain their previous level and the stronger the whip which fascism holds over the peasants to work harder in the service of its war economy, the quicker are their energies exhausted.

Here we encounter one of the profoundest contradictions in the system of fascism's economic preparation for war. Modern warfare presupposes, among other things, the existence of an efficient agriculture, and this so much more so in a country like Germany whose ruling class, fully aware of their role as the chief disturber of the peace in Europe, should have good reason to fear the blockade of their coasts and the cutting off of the import of all means of subsistence from abroad.

But the productivity of the peasant and small capitalist agrarian economy prevailing in Germany is highly limited. It is limited still further by the fact that this peasant and small capitalist agrarian economy is exploited most shamelessly by finance capital, large landed property and the military state. But fascism cannot change anything in these foundations of its rule. It finds itself and its "production battle" in a blind alley which closes in on it the more it strains to escape. But thereby it also loses its previous mass support among the peasants against the working class. It drives even the small and middle village bourgeoisie into opposition. Political difficulties are added to those of war economy.

One need only follow the rate of the production upturn in agriculture and industry since the low point of the last crisis up to the present to recognize clearly the utter inability of fascism to change anything in the growing disparity between industry and agriculture in the "hopeless backwardness" (Lenin) of agriculture as compared with industry in the imperialist epoch. According to the figures of the *Institut fuer Konjunkturforschung* (weekly report of January 26, 1938), German industry, thanks to Hitler's feverish war preparations, has not only gone far beyond the level of the last high point but has more than doubled its productive apparatus since the lowest point of the crisis. In agriculture, no visible capital destruction occurred during the crisis as a result of its preponderantly peasant-small capitalist structure. But for that reason, also, there has been no essential upturn after the crisis. The disparity between industry and agriculture has grown by fits and starts since the crisis and even more so today than in 1928. Even according to the words of the *Deutsche Landwirtschaftliche Presse* (German Agricultural Press), a leading trade journal of the Reich's agricultural department (December 3, 1937): "The condition of agriculture as against industry and trade has grown relatively worse."

* Quoted by the *Frankfurter Zeitung* of March 19, 1938.

Not only the German peasant and small farmer is in a bad way but also the agrarian war preparations autarchy of German fascism. Back in March 23, 1937, Goering declared in his speech to the assembled agricultural department functionaries in the Prussian Parliament building that the "battle of production" has produced "unsatisfactory results" up till now.

The means which fascism utilizes today to overcome the weak spot in its "production battle" are either of a purely terrorist nature employed against agricultural workers and peasants for the purpose of increased extortion of unpaid surplus labor, or they are means whose object it is to speed up the tempo of displacing peasant economy to the advantage of big capitalist agriculture. Both means signify the transition of fascism in the countryside also to a pure dictatorship of the Gestapo, the star chamber and torturers.

A number of recent laws and other measures show the stages of this road. Already, the "Regulations Governing Estate Rights" of December 23, 1936, indicated the beginning of harsher methods against the middle and large peasantry who formerly were courted in a demagogic fashion. This regulation subjected the "gentlemen peasants" to diverse disciplinary measures up to the point of expropriation without compensation.

The "Land Regulation" of January 21, 1937, was a blow against the peasant inheritance customs and transfer arrangements even outside of the right of inheritance of estates. It signified the compulsory maintenance of "productive" units at the expense of the peasant children who are being rapidly proletarianized and of the increased distress of the old peasants.

The third blow was the decree of March 23, 1937, for "insuring orderly land management," which provides for the disciplinary compulsory supervision or compulsory expropriation of all farmers, not only of the inherited estates, who do not adequately comply with the in-

structions of the Reich agricultural department. The promulgation of this law was tied up with the introduction of an exact control system for all peasant households, the "farm chart" and the official "farm adviser."

Thus, the German peasant is no longer master in his own home. He was reduced to a "tenant" of the all powerful state bureaucracy. He must cultivate what the state orders. He may not kill his own cattle. He may not make use of the products of his own labor as he sees fit. He is subjected to the coercion of the market. He is delivered up to the mercy and displeasure of the commanding authority of the state and "farm adviser." An additional measure, especially directed against the smaller estates, was the "directives" of the Ministries of Agriculture and Justice of June, 1937, concerning the "execution of debt liquidation on estates," whereby a general revision of the register of estates, a "purging" of the "inefficient" elements among the estate-owning peasants, was begun. Estate land can also be forcibly sold in part on behalf of the creditor. Estate-owning peasants who do not suit the Nazi lords are driven off their farms. Their property is expropriated and turned over to National-Socialist favorites.

The "Law of Apportionment" which came into force on January 1, 1938, was another blow, giving the land authorities the possibility of forcibly placing together and improving the fields in all peasant communities at the expense of the peasants. The peasants must give up an average of 7 per cent of their land to the state to cover expenses. In addition, paragraph 52 of this law gives the apportionment authorities the right to expropriate for cash any "insignificant piece of landed property," indeed even small farms "if, in the course of reapportionment, its vitality cannot be maintained." Since all peasant households under the size of inherited estates (at least eighteen and a half acres of medium soil) are considered to have "no vitality" by fascism, this law actually signifies the

introduction of a mass expropriation of the small peasants in favor of the so-called "rebuilding of the German peasantry," that is, in favor of the creation of the largest possible semi or outright capitalist units. It is customary for the Nazi officials to acquire estates and to supply themselves gratis with fats, meat, butter and so forth as "gentlemen farmers" who never touched a plow.

Besides these measures against the peasantry, a constantly increasing subsidizing and promotion of the East Elbe Junker lands as the chief suppliers of grain and cereals is carried on. If the latter had received large allowances and extenuations already in 1934 and 1935 with the "East aid" and the debt "liquidation law," the Goering program of 1937 brought them a new gigantic subsidy. The East Elbe Junker estates have received an additional capital of at least a billion marks in the course of the last twelve months alone (May 1937-April 1938) in the form of direct state aid for improvements and clearing of uncultivated land, of "building credits," price increases (rye, potatoes), aid for price reductions for fertilizer, barns, places for manure, silos, etc., as well as through premiums for the cultivation of flax, silk culture, sheep raising and so forth, and not the least through the fascist fodder policy which gives them a monopoly on this sector of the market.

In addition to that, there is a new major attack on the wages, the working periods and the labor tempo of the agricultural laborers. This occurs not only indirectly through the importation of nearly 100,000 foreign migratory workers (including 30,000 Italians), the increased use of "Hitler youth," agricultural service, Reich labor service, indeed, even of active members of the army during summer months—but also directly through the introduction of the "family accord" as a form of remuneration as well as the system of hiring out labor and the Italian share-crop system.

The agricultural press in Germany has been full of falsified statistics dur-

ing the past few months concerning the alleged extravagant wage increases which the German agricultural worker has attained under fascism. The most absurd in this connection was supplied by Darré's staff leader, Hermann Reichle, in the National-Socialist *Landpost* in the middle of last January. He managed to assert that the total cash wages of the German agricultural workers have increased annually by 80,000,000 Reichsmarks, or 18 per cent; in peasant districts, there were individual wage increases of 40 to 50 per cent, in individual districts even as high as 70 per cent.

Even the "statistical office" of the Reich does not dare to join in Reichle's lying record. According to the estimate published in *Wirtschaft und Statistik (Economy and Statistics)*; No. 20, 1937, of production expenditures, nominal wages and the employers' share of the social insurance in German agriculture have increased from 1,486 to 1,708 million Reichsmarks, that is, by 15 per cent in four years since the low point of the last crisis in 1932-33 up to 1936-37. But since, during the same period of time, the number of paid workers has increased by at least half a million or 25 per cent through the reinstatement of nearly 300,000 unemployed, as well as through the system of commandeered compulsory labor (land aid, land service, land year, etc.)—not counting the use of Labor Service, Reichswehr and so forth for special harvest labor—then the wage per capita of every single worker has sunk considerably.

Aside from this, all these figures deal only with the nominal wage, but in agriculture wages in kind play the chief role, above all for the so-called help and also for a large part of the field workers. In this respect, the regulation governing the supply of grain of July, 1937, has involved an extremely sharp decline in the living standards of the agricultural workers since their extra allowances of grain were decreased.

The clearest evidence of the understanding of the agricultural workers of

their own conditions under fascism is the "flight from the land" of the agricultural workers, which according to the fascist reports is gradually becoming catastrophic, a flight which no exceptional laws and no measures of terror can stop.

As a result of the sharpening of the crisis in agriculture the German anti-fascists have the increased possibility of clarifying and mobilizing the broadest masses in the countryside. The measures of fascism to create a "productive" agrarian basis for its war preparations lead inevitably to an accelerated capitalist concentration of agriculture which is primarily achieved at the expense of the millions of small agriculturists.

This process begins with the systematic suppression first of the dwarf-scale farms and of the small sliver parcels, but is already reaching over into the estates whose privileged special position is being more and more undermined, who are assuming more and more the character of an estate-in-fee of the fascist state.

But above all is the growth of the

fascists' favoring of the purely capitalist large estates because they supply most per acre for war provisions and are most easily syndicated and "taxed" in the sense of "market control." Here also the question of procuring needed labor supply and the increased extortion of unpaid surplus labor is relatively easier to solve than in the peasant economy.

The German anti-fascists today already have the possibility of presenting to the great majority of peasants, including the smaller agrarian bourgeoisie, their irremediable position within the system of the fascist war preparations. They have the possibility of making it clear to them on the basis of the growing worsening of their own economic condition and the new sharpening of the general agrarian misery that only a democratic policy of peace with other nations, of productive economic construction at home, of increased consuming power of the working classes, will be able to help them; in short, that only a government of the People's Front, which will put an end to the Hitler dictatorship, can and will be of any use to them.

New People at the Work of Socialism

BY A. CLARE

TAKE a Soviet newspaper. Whether the *Pravda*, the *Izvestia*, or the paper of any factory, any department, any rural district, any university. A youthful, unknown face peers out at you from the first page. Today it is a Red Army commander; tomorrow an engineer, a woman weaver or aviatrix, a geologist, a village doctor, an agronomist, a composer, a Stakhanovite, a mathematics professor. Today it is an Uzbek; tomorrow a Russian, a Tadjik, Ukrainian or Georgian.

But despite the various nationalities, professions and fields of work, despite the different pasts and presents—they are all people of the new generation. These are the new leaders of the country, the people who lead the Soviets, industry and agriculture, who are building new cities, advancing science, mastering technique, transforming the face of the country.

The Soviet Union was never so rich in new people. Since the people have overcome the wreckers, since they have eliminated these weeds, the spring of socialist humanity has blossomed forth riotously as never before. True Soviet people have taken the place of those “experienced specialists” whose specialty consisted primarily in trying to wreck the Soviet Union in the service of the enemy. While the capitalist world, and above all its degenerated fascist part, feels most keenly the lack of skilled workers, engineers, intellectuals, the world of socialism is producing an abundance of technical and organizational talent. The inexhaustibility of the human reserves is an essential element in the superiority of socialism.

Chemistry plus electrification—that is the technical basis on which socialism manifests its superiority over capitalism and it will manifest this still more in the future. Chemistry and metal are the foundations of defense. In these concise formulas Kaganovitch, who has been placed at the head of the Soviet Union's heavy industry, expressed the essentials. There was practically no chemical industry in the Soviet Union, in the true sense of the word, before the fulfillment of the First and Second Five-Year Plans. To create this industry, the Bolsheviks had to surmount indescribable difficulties. The wrecking activities of the enemy enhanced the difficulties enormously. Despite this, they succeeded in fulfilling the great plan.

The wrecking activities found expression in “accidents,” deliberate disproportions and systematic disruption of factory arrangements, technological negligence, disorganization of production management, failure to keep up with the plan of work, squandering fuel and raw materials, etc.

Aside from this, the wreckers understood that they could not oppose the principle of the Bolsheviks—“Technique without people is dead”—with the mere destruction of technique. Hence, they set themselves the task of destroying people. The wreckers poisoned the minds of many engineers and workers by slandering Soviet technique, by disbelief in the ability of the plan to be fulfilled. They favored the irresolute; they reduced personal responsibility and mutually covered up irresponsibility.

These people who yearned for a return

of the past, who avoided the light of day and descended to the darkness of fascism, hated more than anything else the clear optimism of the Soviet man, his invincible confidence in his powers as a member of a mighty collective. The most terrible method of wrecking was to instill doubt and disbelief into people, secretly, gradually with insignificant facts; to whisper to them that socialism demands the impossible.

That is why the struggle against the results of wrecking is a struggle for people, for the optimism of the Soviet man, for his self-consciousness, for the complete development of his abilities, his initiative, his eternally striving effort. "The reality of our plans is the living people, is ourselves," said Stalin.

At present, the results of the work in the chemical industry of the U.S.S.R. in the first four months of this year have been summarized. Compared with the same period last year, the State Plan for the most important chemical production was fulfilled by 112.9 per cent. Every worker in the chemical industry supplied, during this year, an average of 110.4 per cent of his production in 1937. This year, the chemical industry is establishing a firmer footing from month to month. From month to month, the curve of the work of the chemical plants rises higher and higher above the red line which signifies 100 per cent fulfillment of the plan. The fever condition has ceased. The wages of the engineers and workers are steadily increasing; the Stakhanov movement spreads more and more. The chemical industry in the Soviet Union is on the road to victory.

Who has accomplished this? Who has produced this? New, for the most part, quite young people. Where did these people come from? They were there before, in the same factories, in the same departments; they worked in the same brigades whose plan they did not fulfill in the past and which now they are surpassing. But these people remained in the background, their energy and abilities were consumed in overcoming end-

less impediments which were created by the wreckers. It was no accident that they were in the background. It was not because no one noticed their training, their initiative, their desire to really work well. No, the enemy deliberately left these people in third-rate positions, deliberately surrounded the exalted art of factory management with clouds of incense and covered up the neglect of young and talented people by pointing to their youth.

How victory is won is evidenced by the Chemical Combinat in Stalinogorsk. After a whole number of wreckers' nests were smoked out, this veritable giant of the chemical industry, erected during the First Five-Year Plan, was turned over to men the oldest of whom was slightly over thirty. Engineer Beresovski was placed at the head of the Combinat. He is 31 years old. He didn't fall down from the sky either. He worked as director of the laboratory in the same factory. How did the new director begin his work?

There are approximately 600 engineers and technicians in the plant. These leaders were at the head of several thousand workers who understood their jobs and loved their factory. This army could win every battle in the struggle for the honor of their plant. But the forces of the collective were paralyzed by confusion, a depressed mood as the result of a number of failures; the poison of skepticism had had its effect. It was a question of imbuing the collective with faith, of re-establishing confidence in technique and in their own powers.

The young director promoted about a hundred people from second-rate to leading positions in decisive departments of the plant. Who are these people? Ordinary Soviet people who graduated from Soviet higher schools a few years ago and come from a worker's, collective peasant or doctor's family. Engineer Govaliev is only 28 years old. His colleagues, Achnazarov, Bondarev, Greshilo, Kister-ski, Shipunov are slightly older or younger.

They began by concentrating the en-

tire attention of the workers on saving steam and fuel. In 1937, the over-consumption of steam entailed a loss of 1,000,000 rubles to the factory. The central electric heating plant—the heart of the factory—was formerly in a state of wild, feverish excitement. The pressure oscillations from 17 to 8 atmospheres produced a large increase in the consumption of steam. The new people tested all sections of the technological process and did not forget the people in the course of it. It turned out that the stokers, for example, received premiums for getting as much steam as possible out of the boilers. This led to the oscillations in the pressure of the boilers, breaking through the normal condition and leading to accidents.

Several months passed—the electric heating plant worked steadily under the same pressure of 17 atmospheres. The stokers received a premium for maintaining the normal condition and saving fuel. The consumption of steam for a ton of ammonia sank by 2.7 tons in April in comparison to 1937. The consumption of current for a ton of production sank by 20 per cent, the consumption of coke by 25 per cent. The new directors did not perform any miracles, they organized planned preventive repair work, tested the work of the measuring instruments, placed technicians before these instruments, utilized as heating material the coke by-products, which contained up to 40 per cent carbon, and which had been thrown away by the wreckers as useless rubbish.

The results were as follows: The chief division of the Combinat produced 98.8 per cent more this year than in December, 1937, with only 7 per cent more fuel being used. The cost of production for ammonia was 14 per cent less in the first quarter of this year than in the previous year and 21 per cent in April. Beresovski, the director of the factory and leader of this intrepid group of young people, summarizes the results of the entire work, not only in figures, not only in these brilliant indices of the quantitative and qualitative increase in pro-

duction. No, he speaks of the fact that when these possibilities were indicated, the skeptical smiles which formerly appeared on the faces of people who otherwise were not bad have now disappeared. The people have rediscovered faith in their own powers. They have become gay, they have raised their heads. And that is the main thing. That guarantees victory.

How did the young cadres get rid of their skeptical smiles? In one department of the factory, the repair of a refrigerator lasted twelve to fourteen hours. The young department foreman, formerly a plain mechanic, assembled the repair workers and gave them the job of shortening the time of repair. The workers were obviously skeptical. . . . The department foreman repaired the refrigerator, together with a group of equally young leaders. The workers replied to this by repairing a similar refrigerator in four hours. At present the brigades are competing with each other to reduce even this time.

Engineer Stolyarov was recently the engineer of a department which undermined the work of the entire Combinat. They watched him. He understood his work and was honest. He was merely infected a little bit by the poison of pessimism because he was constantly tortured by disruptions in the factory. Director Beresovski appointed him director of the chief department of the factory. Responsibility and support are a great thing. Now the chief department has received the Red Banner for its work. "If I had been told at that time that we would achieve such results, I never would have believed it," Stolyarov said candidly. "Then what happened? The important thing was to feel strong."

That is all. The new leaders of the factory knew the secret for the simple reason that they came from a Soviet higher school with a great deal of knowledge, with invincible faith in the powers of honest colleagues in the factory, with burning zeal for work, with that feeling of the honor of labor which is produced in them by the life surrounding them.

Just give a person the possibility of developing—and he will accomplish great things.

* * *

But one must not believe that the director of the Stalinogorsk Chemical Combinat, Beresovski, was a prodigy, a person with any kind of extraordinary abilities or talents. Neither he nor his hundred or two hundred comrades who have put the many-thousand-headed collective of the factory on its feet, nor those 1,600 Stakhanovites who have been trained in the factory, are prodigies or exceptions. The great Russian author Turgenev said: "Talent is not everything." Add to this work, knowledge, mastery of technique, self-confidence and finally, the most important of all—this most important of all is called the Soviet system.

Soviet children and Soviet adults dream of miracles. Perhaps in no other land in the world are there so many dreamers and people full of fantasy. But their dreams and fantasies transform reality.

Only yesterday the North Pole was a riddle but today all of its moods, all of its secrets have been revealed with mathematical precision. Only yesterday children delighted in Jules Verne's fantastic novels. Today these novels are far behind the reality of the two flights from Moscow to America. Only yesterday the blind had been hopelessly robbed of their sight. Today a small piece of the cornea from the eye of a dead person offers the possibility of seeing the whole beauty of the world. Only yesterday bald and barren steppes stretched away from the Ural. Today the Magnitogorsk giant roars and glistens there, a city of 220,000 inhabitants with thousands of lights.

Let it not be thought that the path of the Soviet man is strewn with roses. No, it is by no means a "flowery path." It is a path of indomitable toil, of constant striving forward. "Those that remain behind are beaten," as we are reminded every day and every hour by the heroic struggles against capitalism which never cease and which are still ahead of us. The birthmarks of capitalism still exist.

The young Soviet generation still remembers the odious past. The dead still reach out for the living.

"People who are produced in hothouses are useless," Lenin said derisively. This young generation is being changed likewise, and this change is not easy for everyone to make. In the Soviet Union they not only praise but also reproach. They criticize sharply and mercilessly. Neither former merits, talent nor popularity protect one from this criticism. If a person has erred—he is reproved. If he doesn't repeat his mistake, the old one is not chalked up against him. But arrogance, conceit, separation from the collective, egotism are not tolerated. But capitalism's law of the wolf, according to which the stronger squeezes out the weaker, no longer prevails here.

Not just one in a thousand, but nearly all, find their place in life because it is secured through the respect of all labor and the conviction that there is no labor of a lower or higher order, that all labor is necessary and all roads are open to everyone. That is why the new generation goes so boldly down the road of life.

* * *

Let us examine another sphere of economy particularly involved in wrecking work and no less important—railroad transport. Here, too, the wreckers have done a great deal of damage. Here, too, the hand of the Soviet intelligence service has struck the weapon out of the hand of the enemy in time.

To the uninitiated, railroad transport is a book with seven seals. As we know, Lazar Kaganovitch was appointed, in addition to his work as People's Commissar of Heavy Industry, People's Commissar of Transportation. It is also well known that the curve of labor of the railroads of the U.S.S.R. rose steeply with his appointment just as in the case of the Soviet chemical industry; the time of feverish oscillations is past.

But Kaganovitch is no magician. There is nothing puzzling about those achievements, in the sudden change in the railroads. Kaganovitch has complete

grasp of the art of organization, which consists in putting people in the right place, distinguishing friend from enemy, giving everyone work according to his inclination and the possibility of developing to the fullest extent.

A key to decipher the rapid achievements in the work of railroad transport is the appointment of former locomotive engineers and signalmen as directors of the four largest railway lines: that is the line to the South and the Don Basin, a thick net which unites hundreds of mines and the largest foundries in the Don Basin; this is the Stalin line—the nerve of the smelting industry of the Ukraine, the line of ore and metal; that is the Kirov line, the appetite line, of the regions of the U.S.S.R. situated north of Leningrad; that is the Moscow area line which encircles Moscow and which carries the mighty stream of freight which flows into the capital and leaves it again on eight different lines.

In 1935 the name of Peter Krivonos swept the Soviet Union and then throughout the world. Peter Krivonos, engineer of the Slavyansk line, was the first to break down the wreckers' pernicious theory of the "maximum limit" by which the enemies sought to block the road to the further development of socialist transport. The country absolutely demanded that transport cease to be a so-called narrow pass, that the vast quantities of grain, metal, coal, cotton and masses of goods do not pile up in the factory yards, elevators and stations. We had to strive for a uniform and healthy pulsation of the entire course of the country's blood circulation. At that time, the wreckers set up those theories of "maximum limit" whose entire wisdom consisted in pseudo-scientific assertions that it is impossible to get any more out of the locomotives, coaches, junctions and tracks.

Peter Krivonos was the first to reject the highest norm for slow journeys and achieved a technically unheard-of speed with the locomotive Felix Djerzhinsky. With his fellow workers, he covered approximately 392.5 miles in 24 hours.

That was the beginning of the Stakhanovite movement in transportation. Peter Krivonos, the son of a carpenter, formerly a locksmith and engineer, is now the director of the railway lines going south and to the Don Basin.

Alexander Ognjev, Vassili Bogdanov, Nicolai Sakorko, the directors of the other three railway lines, are men of the same generation in railway transport. Alexander Ognjev, who just celebrated his thirtieth birthday, is persevering and competent; he developed Peter Krivonos' attempt and drove his locomotive a distance of more than 9,375 miles in a month without any repairs or a single accident or mishap. At 28 years of age he was director of one of the largest and best locomotive depots of the U.S.S.R. Nicolai Sakorko, director of the Stalin line, was formerly a plain track-maintenance man and then a common railway shopman. As dispatcher, he followed the initiative of Krivonos and Stakhanov, and disproved by deed the "maximum limit" norms.

Vassili Bogdanov, the son of a rail-roader, was at the age of 20 assistant engineer; at the age of 23, engineer; at 27, unrivaled master in driving heavy trains at great technical speed; at 29, Deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and director of the shunting depot; at the age of 30, director of the Kirov line.

Two years ago Valentin Makarov had already been called the "Krivonos of the Far East." This engineer worked under the most difficult conditions, in the remote Skovorodino depot in the vicinity of Khabarovsk. Two standards of weight were given for the trains: a summer norm of 1,200 tons and a winter norm of 900. When knowledge of Krivonos' exceptional performance penetrated the Far East, engineer Makarov asked that he be given a 1,500-ton train, in the middle of winter at 40 degrees below zero.

In spite of the resistance of Japanese spies who had insinuated themselves into the Far Eastern railways, he drove a 2,000-ton train to Vladivostok the next

time. But engineer Makarov first attained fame throughout the entire Soviet Union when he drove a freight train with the very same locomotive from Skovorodino to Moscow in fourteen days. This journey of 4,675 miles, which had never been known in the history of railway transport, was surpassed by Makarov himself in January, 1937. In a locomotive with a condenser-tender he covered the distance from Moscow to Vladivostok and back. With the same locomotive, he traversed practically the whole country from west to east and east to west, at least 12,500 miles. At present, Makarov directs the locomotive management of the entire Soviet Union in the People's Commissariat for Communications.

Is it clear now where socialist transportation gets its people?

* * *

Recently, in the Charkhov Tractor Plant, 832 workers and engineers were promoted to leading positions in Soviet administration, management and cultural work. Engineer Martschak is a representative of the Chairmen of the Council of People's Commissars in the Ukraine. The head of a department, the former turner Grigorev is chairman of the Kharkov city Soviet. Nikolai Kolesnik came out of the Red Army seven years ago to enter the factory. At one time he was a teamster in a Donetz Basin mine; he became a molder and is now a Deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

Three Korobovs worked in Dnepropetrovsk several years ago—the "Korobov Dynasty" as they were called in the U.S.S.R. All three were blast-furnace workers. The father, head of a large works, taught his sons the trade of blast-furnace worker. And at present, the older son, Pavel Korobov, is Director of the Magnitogorsk Combinat; the younger, Ilya Korobov, at the age of 28, is Director of the Foundry Combinat at Krivorog.

In former years Friedrich Scherer was a chairman of one of the best collective farms in the Republic of the Volga Germans and was elected to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. by the Soviet Germans. His colleague in the Autonomous Chuvashien Republic, S. Korotkov, brought in a rich harvest back in the fall of 1937 on his native collective farm as one of the best combine drivers and leader of the collective farm.

In the Chuvash Republic there is a level stretch of sown area of 1,729,000 acres, 24 machine and tractor stations, 1,816 collective farms, 1,158 tractors, 500 complicated threshing machines, 530 reapers—and this whole economy is directed by Korotkov, only yesterday a collective peasant. Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Chuvash Republic is the former teacher Andreyeva. . . .

* * *

Are these examples enough? The Soviet Union is a rich land, and its greatest riches are its new creative people!

Artists Are Candidates in the Soviet Elections

BY A. WALTER

AN ARTIST is a fool, a jester for the amusement and entertainment of the ruling class”—this viewpoint is old and still prevails in capitalist society today, although in the democratic countries this is not so brutally expressed. Apparently, the great “stars” constitute an exception, but being praised to the skies by high pressure advertising is only the other side of the medal. They must be popular for several years, since the more popular they are the greater are the box-office receipts of the entrepreneurs of art. Thus the artist becomes an object of speculation in the amusement industry, whose value is determined by box-office receipts.

That is why the entrepreneur of art does not like to see “his employee” engage publicly in other than “purely artistic” activities. “Create, artist! Do not speak!” You will find this erroneously understood utterance of Goethe openly and often hiddenly as a watchword in the contracts of all artists.

When the movie actors in Hollywood pledged almost unanimously to support the Spanish struggle for freedom and not only subscribed considerable sums to provide medical supplies and to aid the Spanish children, but also publicly expressed their abhorrence for the fascist atrocities, and when, in face of this closed front, Mussolini Jr. had to fly home again in a hurry without accomplishing his purpose—then the film magnates feared a loss in business from a fascist boycott of their films and threatened the courageous actors with the clause in their contracts which prohibits speech.

This is only a crude manifestation of what is in all capitalist countries a more or less disguised unwritten law for the artist: Don’t talk! If you have your own political opinions, keep still or you won’t get any more engagements!

What happens in the fascist countries, especially in Germany, is known well enough not to require detailed proof. There, the artist is not only prohibited from talking but also from conceiving his own art. What is “real” art is determined by the Nazi commissioners and not by the artists! Criticism is prohibited! Discussions don’t take place! He who does not agree, he who does not obey is “degenerated,” is rushed to a concentration camp or must starve to death because he is deprived of all opportunity to work. At the meetings of the so-called “Reichs Chamber of Culture,” Goebbels and some of his satellites speak; of the artists, only one is allowed to give the “dedication prologue”—and he, too, is induced to wear the Party badge—the rest is silence. At the dedication of the Dessau theater on May 30, 1938, Goebbels said once again, “In our country, people are led and obey.”

That is in plain words the “freedom of art” under fascism. No wonder that the distribution of so-called art prizes runs into difficulties in Germany today, that, for example, they were compelled to give the literature prize for 1938 to the Nazi bureaucrat Baldur von Schirach for poetry pilfered from Austria.

* * *

Only a few months ago, we heard

that, among others, nine artists were elected to the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Socialist Republics. Artists as parliamentarians? Are actors, architects and poets members of the highest legislative body of the land of Soviets? Even women among them?

Yes, it is true! Beside Stakhanovites from the factories, the best farmers from the collective farms and the most prominent men of science, sit the well-known actor and actresses Moskvina, Kotzchergina-Alexandrovskaya and Chorava, the architects Vesnin and Alebyan, the dramatists Kornachuk and Dadiani, the theatrical director Chiaurelli and the world-renowned artist Tolstoi. Elected by the entire people, they have the complete confidence of these people and work for the welfare of their constituents and the entire country.

These nine artists and all of their comrades in the Supreme Soviet receive daily many letters from their constituents with requests, inquiries and instructions: here a street should be paved; there a summer theater is needed; a young working girl wants to study and asks advice. Even children turn confidently to their friends, the Deputies of the Supreme Soviet.

To be a Soviet Deputy means to be in the service of the people. The nine artists of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Socialist Republics have proved already in the short time of their official activities that they make these words of Comrade Stalin their own.

The election of these nine artists was no solitary exception! After the elections to the supreme body of the entire Soviet Union, the elections to the Supreme Soviet of each Republic took place in all eleven Republics on June 26. And again the best artists were candidates put up by mass meetings of electors.

Beside Ilyin, head of the Martin furnaces in the Moscow factory Sickle and Hammer, is the poet Lebedev-Kumach; beside Maslenikova, the weaver from the Djerzhinsky mill, is candidate Barsova, the people's actress; beside Kafanova, the tractor driver, is the well-known com-

poser Dunajevski; and Bluecher, marshal of the Far Eastern Red Army, runs side by side with Mechazhev, a soldier in the tank division. . . . These are the candidates of the Soviet people.

The long list of these really people's deputies is a miniature of Soviet life, a collective portrait of the growing socialist society. The 20-year-old Kolkhoz woman farmer Moshkova or the 92-year-old people's singer Dzambul from Kazakhstan—these are not people who stand above the masses, above the people; they are the real heroes of the people, their real servants.

The Soviet people love their heroes, who give their best for the people and their country. And all those people who mold and reflect their rich life in art, who present them with these splendid films and theatrical works, the many happy songs of the homeland, the Soviet people and the beloved leader Stalin—these are artists closely bound up with the people. They are not isolated, exceptional people; they are part and parcel of Soviet life; they know the people and its wishes—that is why the people also want them as their deputies in the Supreme Soviet.

* * *

"Comrades," the old worker Kamenisky said in the election meeting of his factory, "I nominate as our candidate he who sings songs of the entire Soviet people, whose music so aptly reflects our joyous and prosperous life—the composer Dunajevsky, whom every one of us knows."

And indeed—every one knows Dunajevsky's music; it is known also in capitalist countries through the Soviet films "Circus," "Joyous Youth," "Three Friends," "Fortune Hunter," "The Children of Captain Grant," "Beethoven Concerto," "Volga, Volga," etc.

The songs of this 30-year-old composer, who at the age of five played the piano, and at the age of eight the violin, who at 20 wrote the music for Moliere's "Tartuffe" and "The Hypochondriac," for Lunacharsky's "Lock-

smith and Chancellor" and Lope de Vega's "Sheeps Well"—his songs now sway the Soviet people. Who does not know his song on Stalin, the Volga song, the march of "Joyous Youth" or the song of the "Land of Soviets"?

Even before the elections, Dunajevsky received many letters every day. They send him texts for composition, they ask for new compositions, they make proposals, criticize and even write: "Teach me to blow the trumpet." But all these letters express love and trust and these were also the basic reasons for nominating the composer Dunajevsky.

* * *

The poet Lebedev-Kumach has written most of the lines for Dunajevsky's songs and is now as beloved as the latter. Born in Moscow in 1898, the son of a shoemaker, following upon a joyless youth he had already entered the ranks of the militant proletariat before the October Revolution. His poems echo the joy of life and optimism during the hard times of civil war, as well as the period of struggle for socialist construction. That is why his verses have deeply penetrated the consciousness of the Soviet people.

The weaver Grigoryeva, from the Moscow silk mill Red Rose, knows his verses as every one else does. She has sung them over and over again to Dunajevsky's melodies, at demonstrations, on the First of May or November 7, at sport festivals, on excursions, and at home with the family. Movies and the radio brought new verses of the poet and every word came from his heart. This poet loves our country as we love it. He loves us, the people, the rulers of this land. He should be a candidate in the elections—thought Grigoryeva, the weaver, and at the election meeting of her mill she laid this proposal before her fellow workers, not in her own words, but in the verses of the poet that everyone knew. In these verses, she painted the struggle of the past, construction, and the socialist achievements. And today:

"From Amur to Beresina,
From the Taiga to the Caucasus
Man strides free—countenance bright,
Life becomes prosperous and joyous."

With the words of the poet, she thanks Stalin for the happy life which the Soviet people enjoy, and pledges to defend the country with all her might against every attack.

Seldom has there been such an election speech and such an election meeting. All hands go up and vote for the poet as candidate, and the ten-thousand-headed mass passionately sings the song of Lebedev-Kumach:

"Fatherland, no enemy shall endanger
you!

Dear land that bears our love,
Than which no other land on earth exists
Where heart of man so freely beats!"

* * *

In remote Kazakstan! Many peasants came to the meeting of the collective farm on the slopes of the Gam and Dzambul Mountains. The aged Akyn (People's Singer) Dzambul, who was born in this village ninety-two years ago, is the guest of honor. His father was poor, a shepherd, and since he had nothing, he gave the boy the proud name of the mountain which towered high above the wretched yurtas of the shepherds. Dzambul wanted to become a People's Singer, an Akyn, and at 15 he left his paternal yurt and wandered over the steppes. The old singer Syuyumbai was his teacher and his teachings culminated in the words: "Never dissemble. Always be true in your songs."

These words were imprinted on the mind of the young singer and he faithfully guided himself by them throughout a long life. In many competitions he defeated all other long-famous Akyns, because his songs did not dissemble, because he exposed the Bays and Manaps as exploiters and oppressors. He was a true singer of the people, who loved and honored him for it.

Thus Dzambul reached 70 years of age. "For seventy years my song has la-

mented in riddled tents among the starving people," he sings in his song—"People's Greetings." But now new times began on the Kazak steppes. Old Dzambul heard the names of Lenin and Stalin. He traveled from awl to awl but did not recognize them. He was one of the first to join a collective farm. Misery disappeared and he saw happy people everywhere. Then he took up his *dombra* (Kazak musical instrument) again and sang new songs:

"Kazak steppes from border to border
Are brilliant with flowers—a tapestry
border.

The urjuk blossoms in Uzbek gardens,
Tadjik mountains—tulip bedecked.
Homeland, beloved, filled with song.
Everything in you is a-bloom and alive.
People, what you have dreamed of in
the darkness of night,
Stalin's radiant spring has brought you."

These last weeks the great singer, and together with him the whole Soviet people, celebrated the seventy-fifth anniversary of his creative activity. He received many presents. But his people gave him the most beautiful present of all in the elections. At the election meeting of his village, the peasant Tesikbayev got up and said: "The Kazak people were ruined under the yoke of the tsarist officials and the predatory landlords. It owes its happiness and its free life to the Communist Party and to Comrade Stalin. That is why Stalin should be our first candidate."

Then Dzambul's pupil speaks, the Akyn Krykbayev: "For seventy-five years valiant Dzambul has been serving the Kazak people. In the dark years of disfranchisement, he planted in our hearts the hope of a better life. Today he glorifies and sings of freedom, the happy life of the Kazak people. For that reason Dzambul should be our second candidate."

And so Stalin, the great leader of the Soviet people, and Dzambul, the aged singer of the Kazak people, became candidates in Kazakstan.

* * *

Eighty thousand electors of the Sverdlov district assemble in Pushkin Square in Moscow to nominate their candidates. The crews of the Moscow brake works, the Moscow sewing machine factory, the printshop of the newspaper *Izvestia* nominate the People's Artist of the Soviet Union, the opera singer Valeria Barsova, honored with the Order of Lenin.

School teacher Yamkovskaya, auto worker Pavlenko, the 67-year-old housewife Shurovlevich, the subway worker Koslov, the movie director Protesanov, and many others spoke.

"In no other country in the world," says the worker Gerasimova, "are there such favorable conditions for science and art to thrive, for young talents to grow and be promoted as in the Soviet Union. The success of our musicians in international competitions, the success of the Artists Theater at the world exhibition in Paris, the triumph of our films throughout the world—all prove that our art is the best and most advanced. For that reason I call upon all of you to vote for Valeria Barsova, the worthy daughter of the Soviet people."

And then this singer speaks to the audience of this gigantic meeting. To be sure, it is the first time in her life that she has a public before which she must not sing but must speak:

"I was moved by a great feeling of joy when I heard that I was to be your candidate in the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the R.F.S.R. How could I possibly think that the people would do me such a great honor? I am a singer and the government bestowed upon me its highest and dearest honor for my artistic work, the Order of Lenin and the title of People's Artist of the Soviet Union. In no other country in the world are artists and especially women so highly honored. Only in our happy land where art blossoms fabulously is such a miracle possible."

On this happy day the singer recalled her difficult life under tsarism: From 9 to 11 a.m. she worked as a teacher; from 12 to 3 p.m. she had theater rehearsal;

after 4 p.m. she could finally devote herself to her musical studies; but by 10 o'clock again she was on the stage as a super in "The Bat."

The Soviet government gave her the first opportunity for artistic development and free creation. She brought her extraordinary talent to the great theater in Moscow where, in the years that followed, she has been playing the leading role in the operas "The Barber of Seville," "Traviata," "Madame Butterfly," "Carmen," "Romeo and Juliet," "Sadko," "Lakme," "Ruslan and Ludmilla," etc. She also appeared abroad repeatedly, in England, Poland, Lithuania, Turkey and so on. At the present time she is working on the role of Antonie in the opera "Ivan Sussanin" by Glinka. Can there be anything more beautiful for an artist than the feeling of the complete satisfaction of his desires, his creative powers?

"The attention and care with which the Party, the government and the great Stalin surround us artists obligate us a great deal. I think of this everywhere, whether on the stage of the great theater, in the clubs or in the concert halls. Everywhere I appear, it is with the feeling of great responsibility to the fatherland which helped me to develop my natural talents, which gave me everything that an artist could desire and dream of. To serve the socialist fatherland, the Soviet people—that is the meaning of my life, which is so rich and happy under the sun of the Stalinist Constitution."

* * *

From this burning love of the artist for the Party, the government and the Soviet people, from this close relation between art and life, arise the glorious works of Soviet art, the profound trust of the toiling masses in the artists. Here the artists are no isolated intermediate stratum. The masters of Soviet art are a part of the people, are its beloved sons and daughters.

The actor Cherkasov, also known abroad from the films "The Baltic Dep-

uty" and "Peter the Great," is still young, still young as an actor, too. But the entire country already knows and loves him. "I think," a Leningrad woman elector said, "that the candidacy of the actor Cherkasov is the best for us and nearest our hearts because, in our country, art is close to the people and understood by them."

In the words of this woman worker lies the "secret" of Soviet art which gives it vitality, which we admire in the performances of the theater, in the films and novels. And in these simple words also lies the "marvel" that actors, musicians, sculptors, poets and dramatists are Deputies, for the first time in history sit beside workers, peasants and Red Army men in one Parliament which represents a real representative body of the people.

More than forty artists were on the election ballots. That is no longer an "exceptional phenomenon." That signifies a real people's unity. It cannot be produced by silly "ten commands of art" or threats to destroy the "degenerates" as Herr Goebbels tried to do again at the Reichs Music Day in Duesseldorf.

Nothing of National-Socialism—except starvation—is close to and allied with the German people. Not even art which, with its military marches and films, with its spiritless plays and trashy monuments, is only a caricature of the life of the masses in Germany.

"To be close and understandable to the people means to go with the people, live its life, experience its thoughts and its emotions. To be close to the people means for the artist to give expression to the will of the people in his creation, to call it to new deeds of heroism, to glorify its successes!"

Would this ever be possible in a capitalist country, not to speak of fascist barbarism? Only among free people can art develop, is the artist an equal member of human society. Here not only his artistic but his social talents develop. Here he is not only an elector but also a Deputy.

Decision of the Presidium of the E.C.C.I.

1. The Presidium of the E.C.C.I. declares its wholehearted agreement with the political line of the Communist Party of China and the solidarity of the Communist International with the liberation struggle of the Chinese people against the Japanese invaders.

2. The Presidium confirms the expulsion from the Communist Party of China of Chang Guo-tao, former member of the Central Committee of the Party, who betrayed Communism and the cause of the united anti-Japanese front and sold himself to the enemies of the Chinese people. The Presidium is confident that the treacherous conduct of Chang Guo-tao will meet with utter condemnation and disgust not only in the ranks of the C.P. of China, but also among all sincere adherents of the united anti-Japanese front.

3. The Presidium of the E.C.C.I. declares that:

The heroic struggle of the Chinese people against the Japanese invaders evokes the warm sympathy of the international proletariat and of wide masses of people in all countries. All progressive mankind realizes that the great Chinese people are defending against barbarous violence not only their hearths and homes, not only their liberty and independence, but also the cause of the liberty and peace of all peoples. Should the Japanese fascist militarists succeed in subjugating the Chinese people, this would mean an extraordinary intensification and extension of fascist aggression both in Asia, in the Pacific, as well as in Europe and other parts of the world, whereas China's victory will constitute a severe blow to the plans of conquest of all the fascist aggressors. Thus the war of liberation conducted by the Chinese people is a most important component part of the general

struggle of the world proletariat and of progressive mankind as a whole against the violence of barbarous fascism.

Directly following from this is the need and duty of the international labor movement and of all the forces of democracy and peace to render all possible support to the struggle of the Chinese people, while at the same time developing successful aid for the Spanish people. This international support is as yet insufficiently organized; its extent far from corresponds to the wide scope of the existing mass sympathy for the Chinese people. This sympathy should be directed toward energetic action and matters should be so organized as to achieve:

First, *the rendering of both political and moral as well as material aid and support for China;*

Second, *an increase in all sorts of difficulties and obstacles in the way of the Japanese militarists in the conduct of their aggression in China.*

To this end, the E.C.C.I. addresses itself to the international proletariat, to all sections of the Communist International and to all sincere adherents of democracy and peace, with the call primarily to fulfill the following tasks:

a. To intensify in every possible way the international campaign in aid of China. The international press, as well as the entire campaign, must to a far greater degree than hitherto give reflection to the monstrous brutality of the Japanese invaders in China on the one hand, and all the heroism of the Chinese people fighting for their liberty on the other.

b. To develop a wide movement of protest against the bandit drive of the Japanese fascists in China, by organizing meetings, demonstrations, etc., and di-

recting the indignation of the masses also against bribed pro-Japanese newspapers in the various capitalist countries.

c. To organize and extend mass sanctions against the Japanese aggressor (the movement to boycott Japanese goods, the refusal of workers to unload Japanese goods and to load cargoes of munitions and other materials for Japan, etc.).

d. To increase the collection of funds for China relief, and the dispatch of medicaments and ambulance units.

e. To help the working people of Japan to intensify the development of anti-fascist and anti-war work despite all difficulties.

f. In agreement with the Chinese gov-

ernment to send authoritative delegations to China from various countries so as to employ them for intensifying the international campaign in support of the Chinese people.

Should the international working class and the democratic forces of all countries develop effective support for China, there can be no doubt that the heroism of the united Chinese people will lead it to full victory over the barbarous Japanese militarists and will establish a free, independent, democratic Republic of China, which will serve as one of the most important bulwarks of peace, democracy, and progress throughout the world.

Render All Aid to the Chinese People

Declaration of the Representative of the C.C. of the C.P. of China

1. The Communist Party of China was timely in foreseeing that robber Japanese imperialism would not limit itself merely to the seizure of Manchuria, but would strive to engulf the whole of China. In the interests of rallying all the national forces together for the defense of the fatherland, the Communist Party, on its part, did everything possible to put an end to the ten years of fratricidal war in China and to bring about friendly collaboration with the Kuomintang. These efforts also influenced the Kuomintang, particularly after the Communist Party by its resolute stand for a peaceful solution of the Sian events completely defeated the vile attempt on the life of Chiang Kai-shek prepared by Japanese agents and calculated on provoking a new internecine war in China. From that time on a rapprochement began between the Kuomintang and the C.P. of China, leading later to collaboration between the two parties.

2. In the autumn of 1937, the Japanese fascist militarists set about to seize the vast areas of North and Central China, but they grossly miscalculated in hoping for rapid and easy success, in hoping to compel the National government to capitulate and to subjugate the Chinese people at the hands of the Chinese themselves. The Chiang Kai-shek government and the Kuomintang did not capitulate, as was expected by ruling circles in Tokyo, but came forward in defense of their country against the Japanese plunderers, while the Chinese people undertook a heroic struggle, one worthy of a great people. And very soon the bandit offensive of the Japanese plunderers, armed though they

were to the teeth, met with such stubborn resistance of the Chinese people as inflicted heavy losses on the Japanese and transformed their invasion of China into a protracted war full of difficulties for them. With every day that passes, this war demands of Japan increasingly large armed forces, and the longer the war lasts, the greater are Japan's difficulties and the closer approaches the hour of the complete collapse of its bandit campaign.

3. But in the immediate period the Chinese people have still to overcome enormous difficulties which call for heroic efforts. The war of defense against robber Japanese imperialism is a tremendous test for all the vital forces of our people. *Only the mustering of all its forces for this great struggle will bring the Chinese people victory.* But the experience of recent months has already shown that it is precisely this liberation war which is the mighty force binding together the Chinese people. The age-old barriers that divide the country are being broken down in the heat of the war, and a great process is taking place in which the 400,000,000 of our people are being united into a single force, into really one united nation. It is this that constitutes the basic guarantee of the invincibility of the Chinese people.

4. A *united anti-Japanese national front* has already been established on the basis of collaboration between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party, while the unification of the entire state power and of all the armies of China under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek is already taking place. These points constitute most important achievements of the Chinese national-liberation movement; and are the basis for a close fighting unity of the entire Chinese peo-

ple. But this united front is not yet sufficiently extensive and sufficiently strong. *Its extension and consolidation are the decisive condition for the successful defense of China.* The anti-Japanese national front must embrace all the anti-Japanese parties and political groups of China. And what is needed is a really close rapprochement among all those participating in this front and the carrying out of the correct policy of the National government. We need complete mutual confidence. We need thoroughly smooth joint work and joint responsibility.

5. The poor state of organization of the working masses of China holds up and retards the mobilization of all forces of the people for the anti-Japanese struggle. In order to overcome this weakness it is necessary that the Kuomintang and the Communist Party energetically set about drawing the working people into various organizations, both already existing and newly formed, thus creating a strong mass basis of the united anti-Japanese national front among the masses. First of all, the thing is to organize the workers into trade unions (transforming the existing trade unions into really wide mass organizations which will constitute an especially important and reliable bulwark in the national struggle against Japanese imperialism). In the districts occupied by the Japanese it is advisable to organize a whole number of small bases of the trade union movement, in the appropriate forms.

6. The peasants, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people, are a force of such magnitude as to render it impossible successfully to conduct a protracted war without their active participation in the struggle for the fatherland. In order to increase the harvest and raise the interest of the peasants in playing an active part in the national-liberation war and in various spheres of work for the defense of the country, it is necessary to improve their material and legislative position and also to see to the conduct of political work among the peasant masses. In the districts occupied by the Japanese, the

peasants are organizing into guerrilla detachments for the struggle against the Japanese robbers.

7. At the same time, the task arises of developing the all-round activity of the youth in all spheres of the defense of the country—at the front, in the rear, and in industry; of helping not only the student youth, but also the working class and peasant youth to organize themselves in various leagues participating in the great task of saving the country. Primarily, the Communist Party supports the National Youth League created by the Kuomintang, assisting in developing this organization into a real organization of unity among the Chinese youth, an organization working in the spirit of Sun Yat-sen's three principles and embracing the widest masses of the young generation.

Extensive work is also required to draw the millions of Chinese women into organized participation in the defense of the country, in winning final liberty for the Chinese people, and thereby a free and happy future for Chinese women.

8. There is nothing that the Japanese imperialists fear so much as the unity of the Chinese people. Not only do they conduct an offensive at the fronts, but they also engage in constant disruptive work behind the Chinese lines. Japanese spies and agents provoke the sharpening of relations between the political parties of China and between the Central government and the local authorities. Especially subtle are the efforts of the Trotskyite agents of Japanese imperialism in spreading distrust and arousing hostility anew, both among the members of the Kuomintang as regards the Communists, and among the Communists as regards the Kuomintang and Chiang Kai-shek. Therefore, the C.P. of China is of the opinion that Communists and all honest Chinese patriots must keep a sharp watch on the base intrigues of the Japanese fascists and their Chinese agents, intrigues that are directed toward splitting the national united front in order to ease the position of the Japanese troops at the battlefronts.

All the poison-bearing secret agents of the perfidious enemy must be rapidly disclosed and resolutely wiped out.

At the same time the Communist Party strengthens its own ranks and discards those elements who operate against the united anti-Japanese front. The Party has expelled Chang Guo-tao, former member of the Central Committee, as a deserter and traitor to the cause of the Party and the Chinese people. In the future as well it will act just as ruthlessly toward all those who place their personal interests above the interests of our great people.

* * *

The Communist Party of China is convinced that the policy of strengthening the united anti-Japanese People's Front in all directions will secure the complete victory of our people over the forces of the Japanese invaders. Our Party does not regard its collaboration with the Kuomintang and with Chiang Kai-shek, the head of the National government, as a transitory affair, but is ready after the war as well to continue joint work with them in building a great, free, democratic China.

Chronicle of Events

BY A. K.

THE war provocations of fascism have raised the political temperature in Europe to the boiling point. During the second half of May, the world barely escaped a new war that Hitler was determined to bring on. The strong stand of the Czechoslovakian government and the fact that the war instigators were given to understand that an attack upon the Czechoslovakian government would draw in its wake all the consequences of the pact with the Soviet Union and the Czech-French alliance caused Hitler to draw back at the last moment.

The war was stopped but the war-baiting of the Nazi press against Czechoslovakia leaves the worst to be feared if the democratic governments, the common people and, above all, the international proletarian organizations do not immediately unite to isolate fascism internationally.

The third stage of the municipal elections in Czechoslovakia, on June 12, brought a further advance of the democratic forces in the Czech district and a further withdrawal of the people from the fascist parties. In the Sudeten district, the increased terror of the Henleinites in the days before June 12 was unable to alter the fact that Henlein did not receive the boasted 90 per cent, but only 70 per cent of the German votes! The Communists maintained the positions they had won in the period of the 1935 parliamentary elections and German Social-Democracy registered fewer losses on June 12 than on previous election days. Thus, the totalitarian claims of the Hitler agents in the Sudeten districts were not justified.

Among the Czechoslovakian masses, the instinct of self-defense has been powerfully awakened. It burst forth in a great movement for the unity of the people against fascism. Nothing appears more detestable to the mass of people of this democratic state than the frame of mind of the capitulators in face of Hitler Germany's threat.

When it became apparent that Hitler was preparing to attack Czechoslovakia, Comrades Thorez and Cachin approached the Executive Committee of the Second International with the proposal to establish international unity of working class action to aid the endangered peoples of Czechoslovakia. In their resolution on the Czechoslovakian question, however, the leaders of the Second International limited themselves to reminding the members of the League of Nations of their duty and to proposing "measures for safeguarding European peace." They neglected to propose measures of action for themselves and to reply to the proposal of the Communist International.

There is a great deal of agitation in the ranks of the European working class. They understand that, at this time, any neglect in the organization of resistance against the fascist aggressors, any delay and any weakness can lead to the outbreak of a catastrophe overnight.

The war in Spain has reached a sharper phase. In recent weeks, the fascist invaders have renewed their bombardment of open republican cities, victimizing thousands of defenseless human beings. At the same time, they bombard French cities and sink English merchant ships in Spanish Republican waters.

Hand in hand with the method of open warfare goes the method of bloody extortion.

The invaders are experiencing serious difficulties and wish to compel England and France to blockade Republican Spain completely. The heroic Republican Army has frustrated all the hopes of Hitler, Mussolini and their accomplice Chamberlain for a speedy military victory over the Republicans. Unrest among the officers and rank and file of the rebels is greater than ever before. In the rear of the army of intervention, serious elements of civil war are making their appearance, whole sections of garrisons are in mutiny against Franco because he is selling Spain to Germany and Italy. The national awakening in the territories occupied by Franco threatens the German-Italian invaders. Even the Spanish correspondent of the *Conservative Times* had to admit that *the unification of the Spanish people is possible only on the basis of Negrin's Thirteen-Point Program.*

* * *

Discontent is growing among the masses of Hitler Germany. In the past few weeks, the Gestapo arrested in Silesia, in the Saar, in West Germany, in Berlin, etc., thousands of "unreliable" workers, peasants, intellectuals and middle-class people who are opposed to the Nazi war policy. Ever since the open war provocations of Hitler Germany, numerous German citizens have written to the Czechoslovak Embassy in Germany, expressing their aversion to Hitler's war incitement against the peoples of Czechoslovakia.

In subjugated Austria large demonstrations took place against alien German domination. Nazi opposition groups developed energetic illegal activity and demanded, in leaflets and newspapers, the removal of Buerckel and the German Commissioners.

* * *

In Italy the workers and broad sections of the petty bourgeoisie and intelligentsia displayed their dissatisfaction

with the policy of the "Berlin-Rome Axis." A great many consider Hitler's appearance at the Brenner Pass and Mussolini's policies as a national betrayal. Hunger, scarcity and the hopelessness of the Spanish adventure are increasing the animosity of the masses toward Italian fascism.

The Chamberlain government clings desperately to its method of giving aid and comfort to the aggressors. In face of the demands that measures be taken against the fascist pirates which began to spread in the English press, the circles around Chamberlain hastened to declare that such measures are "impractical." The English masses, aroused by the provocations of the fascist air raids against France and England, are demanding more and more energetically the overthrow of the Chamberlain government, to which they attribute the main responsibility for the present menacing situation. Even in Conservative circles, the consummation of the recent Anglo-Italian agreement is regarded as a utopia. In these circles also, in view of the recent brutal challenges of the "Rome-Berlin axis," the conviction is becoming increasingly audible that Chamberlain's policies are by no means serving "appeasement" but rather are leading Europe to the brink of war. This is indicated not only by the statements of statesmen like Churchill and Eden who reject Chamberlain's views on foreign affairs, but also by the constantly recurring reports from London on differences of opinion inside the government.

Under the pressure of public opinion, the French government has adopted protective measures against pirate air raids. The progressive forces of France, based on the trade unions and People's Front committees, are conducting an energetic campaign to induce the government to take a dignified, self-respecting stand against the aggressors on the Czechoslovak as well as the Spanish questions. They succeeded in securing the rejection of a one-sided control of the Franco-Spanish frontier.

The provocations of Hitler and Musso-

lini have produced a strong movement in France and England for the strengthening or establishment of the unity of action of all democratic forces against the fascist war incendiaries.

A burning desire for unity has taken hold of the masses in England. Ever since the coordination of Austria, English newspaper columns have been filled with impassioned discussions on the People's Front. The liberal press is agitating for the People's Front whose spirit, as the *Manchester Guardian* writes, is spreading very rapidly throughout England. The leadership of the Labor Party is stubbornly resisting the formation of the People's Front regardless of the fact that ever wider circles of the Labor Party's supporters are coming out for it. A number of leading trade union functionaries of the railroad union, machinists, etc., as well as several entire trade union organizations, as for example the clerks' union, have come out for the People's Front. The English Cooperative Party, which controls the political leadership of the cooperatives inside the labor unions, is likewise for the People's Front. Even the Conservative *Daily Express* asserted on May 25 that the People's Front movement is "like a tide which cannot be held back at the command of the trade union heads and the executive of the Labor Party."

In addition to a number of trade union federations and councils and Labor Party organizations, 50 per cent of the members of the national committee of the machinists' union recently came out for admission of the Communist Party to the Labor Party.

* * *

In France the Socialist Party held its congress during Whitsuntide. The most important result of this congress was the decision of the Socialist Party to maintain and strengthen the anti-fascist People's Front. Another significant result of the congress was the cleansing of the Seine Federation of the Socialist Party of Trotskyist-influenced elements

who had been stabbing proletarian unity and the People's Front in the back. Several of these people had been openly active as tools of fascist propaganda against the Franco-Soviet Pact and for capitulation to the fascist aggressors.

The Communist Party of France developed a campaign for a national congress of People's Front committees. The Communist Party proposed that such a congress of People's Front committees elect an authoritative leadership which, serving as the faithful organ of the will of the masses, would exercise a consistently democratic influence on the domestic and foreign policies of the government. The first regional congress of the People's Front committees was held in Paris in the middle of June in preparation for the national congress. Well-known Radical Socialist leaders greeted the idea of such a congress and advised all Left-wing parties to seize the republican initiative.

* * *

The waves of European political events and Japan's predatory war in China are reaching out and lashing ever more strongly against the United States of America. The policy of "neutrality" toward European affairs proclaimed by Roosevelt's reactionary predecessors cannot stand the test of time. Increasing sections of the American public are demanding renunciation of isolationism and government aid to Spain and China. This turn in mass sentiment found expression in the repeated stand of Roosevelt and his closest colleagues for collective security and for political isolation of the fascist aggressors. Secretary of State Hull publicly condemned the position of the isolationists and pointed to the necessity for collective action against the aggressors. Isolationism only promotes insecurity in the world and encourages lawlessness. The United States is duty bound to defend international law, for that is in the interest of the United States itself, Hull said. The American trust magnates, headed by Hoover, resisted the establish-

ment of a democratic foreign policy with all their might. Hull's speech showed that the struggle between the forces of democracy and big capitalist reaction in the United States has entered a new and sharper phase. In this struggle, a large democratic people's movement is developing, involving millions of workers and farmers, broad sections of progressive intellectuals and progressive petty-bourgeoisie, college youth, pacifist-minded churches and many cultural and social organizations.

The Communist Party of the U.S.A. places itself completely at the service of this movement. At the end of May, it held a convention which was of greatest public significance. Twenty-two thousand people attended the opening session of the convention. The biggest radio networks broadcast special descriptions of the convention. The General Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States of America, Comrade Browder, asserted that the Communist Party of the U.S.A. has become a serious political factor "with which one must reckon and which cannot be ignored."

With the help of the armed masses, the popular democratic government of Mexico succeeded in crushing the fascist putsch that was plotted by General Cerdillo, who is in the service of Hitler and

English oil capital. In Brazil, a fascist putsch of Integralists under the leadership of German fascist officers was forestalled in time. In Argentina, the forces of the people are gathering despite all the obstacles put in their way by the reactionary government, in order to prevent the interference of Hitler agents in the country's politics.

* * *

In Poland more than one million toiling peasants marched during Whitsuntide. This tremendous demonstration was so much the more significant considering the fact that the peasant demonstrations were prohibited in a number of districts and could not be held. The peasant turnout revealed the growing influence of the mass party of the peasants, "Stronniectwo Ludowe," whose leaders in many places refused to obey the orders of the authorities concerning the extent of the demonstrations and the content of the speeches at the meetings. It is indicative that workers' delegations were present at the peasant demonstrations and their representatives spoke together with the leaders of the peasant party. The demonstrations were directed against the reactionary domestic and fascist foreign policies of the government.

Speeches and Documents of the Tenth National Communist Party Convention

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