

THE



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HARRY POLLITT ON THE PEOPLE'S FRONT IN BRITAIN

THE PEACE FRONT MUST WIN

THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION IN SPAIN

DOLORES ON THE ENEMIES OF THE PEOPLE

THE GENERAL SITUATION IN FRANCE

PAGES FROM THE LIFE OF WM. GALLACHER

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THE PEACE FRONT MUST WIN!

THE events of the last year and of recent months are once again a striking confirmation of the fact that fascism means a *war of conquest for a new re-division of the globe.*

It was with a feeling of alarm that the friends of peace in all countries learned of the Austro-German Agreement of July 13. The Fascist Government of Germany, as always, has penetrated into Austria with peaceful phrases on its lips and with the lighted torch of war in its hands. This important step on the road to the expansion of German imperialism was taken in agreement, not only with Rome, but also with the Fascists Governments of Hungary and Poland. The Austro-German Agreement is a serious step on the road to the establishment in Europe of a common front of the fascist forces, from Warsaw to Rome.

The Austro-German agreement increases the *immediate* menace of an onslaught by Fascist Germany on the countries bordering on it, and, first and foremost, threatens the independence of Czechoslovakia and Austria.

Hitler Germany is utilising the agreement in order to win a number of key positions in the economic life of Austria, and to increase its *expansion in the Danube and Balkan countries.* In Austria itself, the agreement to all intents and purposes legalises Hitler's agents, the Austrian National Socialists, a state of things which may lead to the loss of Austria's independence.

At the same time Hitler's representative, the fascist Greizer, the president of the Danzig Senate, declared that Danzig had decided to break with the League of Nations. Greizer openly declared that his speech was only the beginning and that further steps would follow. What he had in mind was the linking up of Danzig to Germany, and it should be noted Greizer hinted at an arrangement having been made with the Pilsudski clique in Poland.

The counter-revolutionary fascist putsch in Spain was prepared and begun with the support of the fascists of other countries, and mainly, with the support of German fascism. General Sanjurjo, the inspirer and one of the organisers of the fascist revolt in Spain, was for several months prior to the putsch the guest of the German fascists. The Hitlerites helped the Spanish fascists to set alight the fire of internal war in Spain, so as to create favourable conditions for German Fascism to let loose an imperialist war

for a new division of the globe. Therefore the defeat of the Spanish fascists is a blow at Hitler's plans to set alight the flames of war.

The Spanish people, united in a powerful people's front, are showing in deeds how to fight against and to conquer the fascist executioners in one's own country, how to carry on the fight against the fascist warmongers throughout the world, and how to come out victorious in this struggle.

All these acts, namely, the Austro-German Agreement, the acts of provocation committed by the Hitlerites to seize Danzig, and the fascist putsch in Spain, are serious steps in the preparation by the German fascists of a new blood-bath with a view to establishing its hegemony in Europe. At the same time, in its efforts to obtain complete mastery in Asia, Japanese imperialism is laying its hands on ever new provinces in China, is threatening the Philippines and Australia, is stealthily moving close to India, preparing for war against England and the U.S.A., and is directly menacing the U.S.S.R.

This year, during the aggression of Italy in Abyssinia, and during the provocative act of the Hitlerites in the Rhineland, the friends of peace did not succeed in making use of all the means at hand of carrying on the struggle for peace, in order for the future to deprive the fascists of all desires whatsoever to begin a robber war. And the fact that the fascist aggressors and those who abetted them went unpunished, gave additional hopes to the chief incendiaries of war, and emboldened their allies.

The extreme imperialistic elements, the military parties in other capitalist countries, and first and foremost in England, also attempted to make use of the situation that had arisen, and using the argument that it had not been possible to prevent Italy seizing Abyssinia, come forward with the proposal to do away with the system of collective security, and demand what in actual fact is the liquidation of the League of Nations as an instrument of peace.

The honest friends of peace, while criticising all the waverings and weaknesses of the League of Nations, are most determined in their opposition to the League of Nations being liquidated, and on the contrary are striving to strengthen it as an instrument of peace. They declare for the strengthening and extension of collective security, for the application of all effective measures

directed towards the preservation of peace, and especially of such measures as the complete curtailment of credits, the cessation of trade and the supply of raw materials and arms to the fascist aggressors.

In this connection "the Communist and all the supporters of peace do not forget that the increase of the aggressiveness of German Fascism and the Japanese military clique is the result first of all and above all of the fact that the international proletariat did not succeed in acting together with all the strength of their gigantic forces to rally around themselves all the toilers and all friends of peace in a mighty front against war." (Dimitrov.)

The struggle for peace is a struggle against the fascist instigators of war.

This is why the joint action by the masses of the people on August this year, on the anniversary of the imperialist war of 1914-1918 will take place under the slogan of the intensification of the struggle against the chief fascist warmongers, against German fascism in Europe and the Japanese fascist military clique in Asia, against all those forces which are openly or secretly helping them.

Opposed to the camp of the fascist warmongers stands the camp of the friends of peace.

This camp is composed of the following:

Firstly, the powerful Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The draft of the new Constitution of the U.S.S.R. is a *manifesto of peace*. The Stalinist Constitution makes of the consistent peace policy pursued in the past, and now being pursued by the land of Socialism, the fundamental law of the Soviet State. The Constitution gives permanent form to the well-known fact that the Soviet Union has no intention of attacking anybody, for it is not in need of war to achieve the complete construction of the classless society. The Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R., reads the Constitution, "declares a state of war in case of a military attack on the U.S.S.R."

The entire might, *political, military, economic and cultural, of victorious Socialism serves the preservation of peace*. The new Constitution gives expression to the wise Stalinist policy of peace which has in the recent years *had such a considerable effect on the international situation in the interests of the preservation of peace, i.e., in the interests of all working people, in the interests of the peoples of all countries*.

The new Constitution of the land of the Soviets is a powerful weapon in the hands of all honest supporters of peace, is their militant programme. They will now tell wide sections of the people that fascism with its man-hatred, and with its animal jingoism leads to wars and the dying off of peoples,

but the land of the Soviets has shown that Socialism means the blossoming forth of the material and cultural life of all peoples, is friendship and fraternity between the peoples, that Socialism means peace. *The Land of Socialism is the chief factor of peace.*

Secondly, the gigantic power of the proletariat in the capitalist countries when it comes forward as a single force. The victories of the proletarian united front over fascism and the class enemy in a number of countries *can and must speed up the formation of a united front against the warmongers and for peace.*

Thirdly, the desire of wide masses of people for peace, their burning hatred for war. This desire for peace on the part of the people also exists in those countries where fascist dictatorship prevents it openly manifesting itself. At the recent Parliamentary elections in France, the masses of the people gave the most determined expression of their will to carry on the struggle for peace. The overwhelming majority of the French people voted against any arrangement being arrived at with German Fascism, against the fascist warmongers and their agents in France, for the mutual assistance pact with the Soviet Union, and for close friendship with the people of the land of Socialism. In England where the leading circles of the bourgeoisie are in every way encouraging the Hitler régime and its aggressive moves, 11 million people declared for the maintenance of peace and against the war makers at the plebiscite held last year on the question of war and peace.

Fourthly, the people of the colonial and semi-colonial countries who are fighting for their liberation, and first and foremost, the great Chinese people and their heroic people's Red Army, who are rising to a united struggle against the Japanese marauders.

Fifthly, the governments of those capitalist countries which at the present moment are interested in preventing the outbreak of war.

The peace front is a very wide front. The whole point is to organise the sacred hatred of the people for war and their will to peace, into an *unassailable fighting front of the workers and peasants, of all working people, entire nations, and all supporters of peace against the warmongers.*

This is why the initiative in calling the International Peace Congress in September is meeting with such an unusually wide response and mass support among all supporters of peace irrespective of their political views, religious opinions, and the organisations to which they belong.

The honest supporters of peace have the right to expect that this Congress will give a powerful

stimulus to the movement for peace and that it will draw up a concrete platform of struggle against the war makers, a platform on the basis of which the supporters of peace in all countries will be able to unite their forces.

The organisations of the people's anti-fascist front in those countries where it exists, and the governments of these countries, support the calling together of the Peace Congress. The Communists and all class-conscious workers support the movement for the Congress, for along with all honest supporters of peace they want, at this Congress, to draw up a common platform of struggle against the warmongers and for the preservation of peace.

The National Committee of France for the convening of the International Peace Congress addressed the proposal to all the supporters of peace in France to make August 2 a Peace Day.

The Communists, and honest supporters of peace in all countries will greet and wholeheartedly support the initiative displayed by the Committees of the International Peace Congress for the arrangement of a Day for the Struggle for Peace.

* * *

The international united front can prevent the outbreak of imperialist war.

A most determined struggle must be carried on against those who take the fatalistic line that imperialist war is inevitable. In the recent period Otto Bauer, in his new book, "Between Two World Wars," has brought to life again these old reformist views about the inevitability of wars. Otto Bauer declares for the united front, but at the same time, by his fatalistic line on the question of war, sows passivity in the ranks of the working class, disarms all those prepared to use all their strength to fight against oncoming war. What is more, Otto Bauer, with his "fatalistic" theory plays into the hands of the enemies of the united front. The reactionary elements of Social Democracy make use of this "theory" about the inevitability of war, just as they made use of the theory of the inevitability of the victory of fascism, in order to sabotage the united front.

A year ago, at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, Comrade Dimitrov proved that the way to fascism can be barred, that the capitalist offensive can be beaten off, that imperialist war can be prevented, if the united front is established on a national and international scale. Comrade Dimitrov gave the workers throughout the world the fighting slogan of united action against fascism, against the capitalist offensive, and against the danger of imperialist war.

A year has passed, and the *living practical experience of the masses*, and first and foremost the victories of the united proletarian and people's anti-fascist front in Spain and France, have completely confirmed the correctness of the call launched by the helmsmen of the Comintern, the correctness of the united front policy. The positive experience of the application of the united front tactics is of *international* importance. The splendid example of the People's Front in France and Spain is already exerting tremendous influence over the working people of all countries, including the workers under the heel of fascism. This experience provides the supporters of united action in all countries with an *irresistible weapon*.

They can now say to the working people in their countries that the enemies of the united front asserted in the past and do so now, that the united front cannot bar the way to fascism, that fascism is an inevitable stage in the development of capitalism. But here we have the example of France and Spain, where it *has been proved in practice* that the united working class front and the people's anti-fascist front set up on its basis have compelled the fascists to retreat, have dealt serious blows at the fascists. There can be no doubt that had it not been for the people's front in Spain, the military fascist putsch would have been crowned with a bloody victory over the Spanish people by the fascist cut-throats. And it has also been *proved in practice* that the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, a policy which gave rise to a split in the ranks of the working class, the policy pursued by the leaders of the German Social Democratic Party, not only did not bar the way, but on the contrary paved the way for the fascists to power.

The supporters of the united front can now tell the workers that the reactionary elements in the Social Democratic Parties and trade unions were opposed and are now opposed to trade union unity, and sabotage united action against the capitalist offensive. But it *has been proved in practice* that as a result of the victory of the people's front, as a result of the fact that trade union unity has been brought about, the workers have achieved a marked improvement of their conditions, in joint struggle. And it has also been *proved in practice* that the policy of the leaders of the German Social Democratic Party and of the German trade unions, the policy of coalition with the bourgeoisie and of splitting the trade unions, the policy of concessions and of sabotaging the struggle (when the calls of the Communists for joint strike struggle against the class enemy were denounced as acts of provocation) this policy led to the victory of the Hitler dictatorship

which wants to reduce the German workers to the level of Chinese coolies.

The Communists and all supporters of the united front will now tell the working class that the reactionary leaders of the Citrine type are sabotaging and preventing the establishment of the international fighting united front for peace in the interests of the imperialist bourgeoisie in their respective countries. These leaders rejected the proposals made by the Communist International on the eve of and at the very beginning of the Italo-Abyssinian war, regarding the establishment of the united front on an international scale against the fascist aggressor. And it is just because the international proletariat did not undertake independent and united action (by strike action and the adoption of other anti-war measures) that they did not succeed in crushing the robber war carried on by Italian Fascism. It is time to put a stop on an international scale to the fatal policy of concessions, to the policy of capitulation to the fascist warmongers, the policy which in Germany led to the victory of the National Socialist Party. Let us set up a *powerful united front* on a national and international scale. *And just as the working class in France and Spain are succeeding, thanks to united action, in barring the way to fascism in their countries, so the united peace front will be able to bar the way to the fascist instigators of world war. Fascism will perish as a force hostile to the whole of mankind, under the pressure of the mighty people's front.*

And really, there is no more burning, more important and more urgent task than that of establishing a united international working class front against the fascist warmakers.

And the main thing is *that the Communists and supporters of the united front in all countries should extend the united front on an international scale, and develop it for a united struggle against the specific warmongers, and for peace.*

In May of this year there took place the latest plenary session of the E.C. of the Labour and Socialist International. Torn by international conflicts, it passed over in silence the question of united international action against the danger of war.

Recently in July, there took place the Congress of the Amsterdam Trade Union International. In its resolution, the Congress associated itself with the principle of real collective security, based on the League of Nations. And, of course, the French and Spanish delegations behaved correctly at the Congress when they made a special declaration as an addendum to the resolution, in which they stressed the point that the struggle against

fascism and war requires the unification of all sections of the working class movement and of all sections of the working population.

The refusal to undertake independent united working class action, and the assertion that the League of Nations will take all the necessary measures to maintain the peace, sow harmful illusions among the people, and hinder and weaken the struggle of the workers against war.

The workers and toilers who support the measures of the League of Nations directed towards the maintenance of peace under no circumstances forget that "the *main* thing in securing peace, the chief and decisive thing is independent action by wide sections of the people in defence of peace and against specific instigators of war." (Dimitrov.)

And hitherto in spite of the very urgent necessity for immediately establishing a united front for the struggle for peace, the reactionary leaders of the Labour and Socialist International are doing everything to prevent its being brought into existence. Hitherto it is only in words that the leaders of the leading party in the Second International, namely, the British Labour Party, have altered their line, which found its expression in the shameful position adopted by the "Daily Herald," after March 7th, i.e., after the entry of Hitler's troops into the Rhineland. That was the continuation of the fateful policy of capitulation to fascism pursued by German Social Democracy prior to the advent of Hitler to power, and which is now also paving the way for German fascism to fulfil its criminally aggressive plans. It is true that under the pressure of the dissatisfaction and indignation of the working people with the position taken up by the "Daily Herald," the Labour Party leaders adopted a declaration on May 15 in which they make Germany responsible for the maturing of the war danger, and condemn the violation of the Locarno agreement by Hitler. But in this half-hearted declaration, and especially in all their later activity, the Labour leaders have shown that they are against the united front. Every time when the question of united action for peace has been raised in the Executive Committee of the Second International or in the Amsterdam Trade Union International, the British Labour leaders have undertaken a most determined struggle against unity. They in particular were responsible for the last plenary session of the E.C. of the Labour and Socialist International rejecting a decision to affiliate to the International Peace Congress. But now, especially after the events in France and Spain, when the plot of bloody fascism and international reaction against peace, democracy, and culture and against

the independence of entire peoples has been made clear, it is to be hoped that the resistance to unity of action will be finally broken.

Only the united front of the international working class against imperialist war can become the driving force of a broad people's front of peace, and provide it with the necessary scope and force enabling it to break up all the acts of provocation of the warmongers.

That is why the Communists who are developing a most active campaign on a broad scale for the international day of the struggle for peace, are making the proposal to the Social Democratic Parties and all working class organisations in all capitalist countries that they *participate in united action on this day, without laying down any preliminary conditions other than joint united action in defence of peace.*

* * *

The Struggle for Peace is a Concrete Struggle.

The forms and methods of the struggle against the warmongers will and must vary depending on the concrete conditions in each country, on its internal and world position, and the state of the working class movement. Only in this way is a really *international* struggle for peace possible, and only then will this struggle be a successful one.

“National forms of the proletarian class struggle and of the labour movement in the individual countries,” declared Comrade Dimitrov at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, “are in no contradiction to proletarian internationalism; on the contrary, it is precisely in these forms that the international interests of the proletariat can be successfully defended.”

And if the central slogan now is the struggle to maintain peace and against the chief instigators of a world war and those who help them in each country, then it is clear that this slogan will be specific in relation to the conditions in each country.

In such countries as *England* where the ruling circles of the bourgeois favour and support the fascist warmakers, the Communists and all honest friends of peace fight against this policy of compromise, of arrangements with and support of the fascist régime and its aggression, and demand that support of every kind of the fascist governments be stopped.

In such countries as Fascist Poland, the Communists and all friends of peace are decisively for the cancellation of the arrangement arrived at with Fascist Germany which threatens the independence of the Polish people, and carry on a struggle against their fascist rulers who are ready

to lend the borders of Poland “on credit” to the chief instigators of war.

In France, which is threatened by the aggression of Hitler, the Communists and all the friends of peace, *who are the most determined and consistent fighters against the danger of a military onslaught by Hitler*, concentrate their fire against the agents and supporters of Hitler Fascism in France itself, and carry on a determined struggle against all tendencies at an agreement with the German aggressor at the expense of the interests and independence of the French people, and are the most self sacrificing fighters for the operation of the Franco-Soviet mutual assistance pact.

In such countries as Czechoslovakia, whose independence is directly threatened by the increasing aggression of Hitler Fascism, the Communists and all friends of peace struggle for determined measures to be taken to ward off this menace, and strive to increase the defensive power of the people by extending the democratic rights of the people, by satisfying their immediate needs, by democratising the army, by curbing the agents of Hitler Fascism, and by a merciless struggle against the parties, groups and individuals who are striving to come to an arrangement with Hitler at the cost of losing the independence of the republic of Czechoslovakia. *The Communists are taking the initiative into their hands in the struggle to defend the independence of the people by calling for the establishment of a united front against all those who wish to carry on the struggle to defend the Czechoslovakian Republic against the onslaught of German Fascism.*

The fact that *the Communists come forward as the foremost fighters in defence of the independence of their country against the fascist aggressor* and its internal agents is giving rise to the furious wrath and hatred of the reactionary elements of finance capital. In Switzerland where the menace of the expansion of German Fascism is troubling wide sections of the people, the Communist Party has issued a call for the establishment of a Government of the people's front, and the allocation of funds to such a Government for the defence of the country. The Communist Party has issued the call for August 1 to be made a day for rallying all the forces of the people in defence of the independence of the country, and of the liberty of the people. The Conservative “*Neue Züricher Zeitung*” of July 9, literally lost its self-possession. In its leading article, which abounds in obscene language, it appeals, on the one hand, to the reactionary trade union leaders, and on the other hand, calls on the police: “to adopt the necessary measures.” The hysterical outburst of the “*Neue Züricher Zeitung*” only con-

firmly the point that the Communists in Switzerland have taken the correct road of rallying the people in defence of their country against the German fascists and their Swiss supporters.

What is wanted of the friends of peace is bold initiative, not only in advancing specific slogans, but also in the selection of *the forms of the struggle* for peace in each country to correspond to the particular features of the country and the level of development of the mass movement.

The Communists advance slogans and propose forms of struggle to secure the fulfilment of which the widest section of the people are prepared to undertake the struggle.

Never since the year 1914 has the menace of war which arises out of the sharpening of all the contradictions of imperialism been so great as to-day. *But never has the possibility of establishing a very wide and unassailable front of the peoples against war, and consequently the possibility of saving peace been so great as to-day.*

But the maintenance of peace is a mortal blow at fascism. The maintenance of peace is in the interests of the victory of socialism in all countries.

This is why the united front of the struggle for peace will be established in spite of all obstacles and against all resistance.

And this peace front will be victorious!

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM IS A STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

By V. Florin

I.

THE struggle to maintain peace and the struggle against fascism are inseparable. Fascism, which is the rule of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic, and the most imperialistic elements of finance capital, means war. Fascism is transforming the countries where it is in power into military camps. As a result of frenzied war preparations, it is heading a new armaments race in all the capitalist countries of the world.

German Fascism is the chief force making for war. It is provoking war in Europe, and is setting alight a new world conflagration. The whole of the home and foreign policy of the German government testifies to this.

It was the industrial and financial kings in all the capitalist countries throughout the world who were really to blame for the last world war. The Versailles Treaty which declared Germany to be responsible for the war, provided the other imperialist grouping with a weapon to deceive the people of their respective countries, and at the same time, rendered it possible for the German Fascists to make demagogic use of this lie of the Entente imperialists for their own agitation.

We Communists know that it was not the working people of Germany, but the rich owners of the big factories, banks and estates in Germany as in the other imperialist countries, who wanted the war. By its struggle against the so-called "legend about Germany's guilt," fascism facilitates the ideological preparation of the German people for a new war. To some extent, it is

successful in this regard. The old armament barons and the former propertied princes who constituted the "flower" of the big landlords, are once again masters of the situation. The speculators in Germany of the war years of 1914-1918, and those who piled up wealth out of the inflation of 1922-23, are to-day lining their pockets with profits made on armaments and are ready to make fortunes out of war to-morrow.

We do not forget that 22 years ago, in August, 1914, the instigators of war drove the people to the bloody slaughter, with these same hypocritical phrases on the lips about their love of peace and about the war being "forced on them." Wilhelm II. compelled people to salute him as the emperor-peace-maker so that he could arm himself all the more energetically for the Great War. Hitler calculates that he will be able to deceive not only the German people but the whole world at the present day by putting on the mask of peace. "The people who want war are the French and the English, who do not wish to let the Germans have their place in the sun, who envy us and our success." This is what the warmongers said in 1914. In just the same way, Hitler wants to deceive the German people so that he can drive them to the slaughter at the decisive moment. This is why the fascist organisers of war have made a number of "peace manoeuvres" lately.

"Down with the last chains of the Versailles Treaty!" Millions of the German people still do not know that the real meaning of this slogan in the mouths of the fascists is: "Make a new

Versailles Treaty for other peoples." This is what the German people have to shed their blood for.

"We must first become masters in our own house. The Rhineland belongs to the Germans!" Many working people allow themselves to be caught by such phrases. They do not as yet understand that such "self-evident truths" actually cover up a direct threat to the French and Czechoslovak Republics, as well as to other neighbouring nations.

"Germany needs colonies. Many German working people allow themselves to be hypnotised by such ideas of equality without suspecting that behind all the foreign policy demands of Hitler Fascism there is a striving to organise a plot against the world with a view of securing a new redivision of the world.

"We must not remain defenceless while others are arming." Millions of Germans consider this to be a sound argument. They do not guess that behind this sham defence there is being erected the most terrible machine for aggressive war ever known in world history.

In this way, step by step, fascism is carrying on its preparatory work, never for a moment losing sight of its goal, namely, to make an armed attack on the neighbouring peoples when the right moment arrives. So long as guns cannot "speak," fascism unhesitatingly makes use of every advantage in foreign politics put into its hands by its growing military power as a result of the support of certain imperialist powers. The successes thus achieved simply serve to increase its appetite. The latest events, the open declaration of the National Socialist Greizer on the annexation of Danzig and the Austro-German agreement, are proof of this. Concessions to Hitler Fascism in the sphere of foreign politics have already proved to be just as dangerous as when made in home affairs. The difference is that in foreign politics, these concessions threaten the fate of Europe and of the whole world.

An understanding of this truth brings us again to the conclusion that there is only one way of curbing the fascist aggressor, namely, ". . . the front of peace stretching to all parts of the world, from Tokyo to London, from New York to Berlin, a front of peace which acts unitedly against the instigators of war, against German Fascism in Europe, against the Japanese militarists in the Far East." (Dimitrov.)

II.

In its home policy German Fascism has always used the method of unexpected attacks on its opponents. It has transferred these methods of its home policy to foreign policy. The weapon

it has always tried to use is that of splitting the ranks of its opponents, and of lulling them to sleep with deceptive hopes as to its alleged "loyalty," so as later to defeat them with greater certainty.

Let us call to mind a few facts from the sphere of home policy. After the establishment of the Hitler dictatorship, Hitler's party did not immediately put forward the claim for "totality" in all spheres. It first dissolved the Communist Party, and left possibilities for the legal existence of Social Democracy, the Centre Party and the German Nationalists. Soon after the Social Democrats had, on May 17, 1933, voted in the Reichstag for Hitler's foreign policy, Hitler used the favourable opportunity to drive the Social Democrats underground as well. One after another he scattered all the bourgeois parties, even those towards which he had hypocritically expressed his friendship at the first stage of his rule and with which he had entered into a coalition, such as the German Nationalists and the "Steel Helmets." He defeated them piecemeal. This is one of the most fundamental features of all his tactics.

The second characteristic feature of Hitler's tactics is that he always struck his blows unexpectedly. For example, on May 1, 1933, the fascists promised the German workers, through Dr. Ley, the present leader of the German "Labour Front," that the trade unions would be left untouched. The following day, all trade union buildings in all parts of the country were occupied by the police and the Storm Troops, and the destruction of the trade union movement began. At the very moment, when Dr. Ley was spreading the lie on "Tempelhof Field" (the place where the fascist May Day demonstration was organised) that the trade unions would not be touched, the last preparations were being made for an unexpected attack on them.

The second example is the opposition in the fascist camp itself. On the previous day, Hitler himself had been interested in his supporters striking terror into the hearts of the German Nationalists with the slogan of the "Second Revolution." Goebbels himself had talked of the "Second Revolution." But on June 30, 1934, Hitler astounded the whole world, and above all the opposition itself, by striking an annihilating blow at the supporters of the "Second Revolution."

Lying promises thus form an important part of the tactics of German Fascism, their aim being to creep up on the quiet so as to successfully strike an unexpected blow. This applies not only to its home policy but to its foreign policy as well.

Let us call to mind that when Laval was

negotiating with Hitler on the Saar region, Hitler declared that after the return of the Saar district there would no longer be any territorial conflicts with France. Was not this said to create illusions, and thus make it easier to utilise the correct moment to militarise the Rhineland, thus directly menacing France? The German reply to the English questionnaire, if it is ever given, will undoubtedly be a new sample of trickery and lies. Did not Hitler write with his own hand in his book, "My Struggle," that a lie is one of the chief weapons of struggle? Are not all the peaceful declarations made by Hitler, which are in complete contradiction to all that he does, falsehoods through and through?

Linked up with the method of surprise attacks on opponents is the deliberate use of provocation, the firing of the Reichstag is the clearest example of monstrous provocation at home. The sudden occupation of the Rhineland is an act of provocation in the sphere of foreign affairs, which has intensified the danger of a world war to a greater degree than at any time since 1914.

It is the task of the Communists to arouse the German people and all the peoples of the world to be vigilant in face of the military provocation threatening them from the side of Hitler, and to make them take the line of self-defence, and of the struggle for peace.

III.

It is not the German people but fascism which wants war. German Fascism is interfering in the internal affairs of all its neighbouring countries (Austria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, and the other Scandinavian countries, Lithuania, Poland, Belgium, France, etc.), with the aims of preparing a military attack on peaceful nations. If fascism were to become the leading force in Europe, it would mean the creation of a prison for the peoples, before which all corresponding parallels in history would pale. The fruits of centuries of the movement for liberation, and of democratic development are menaced with destruction. German Fascism is carrying on unconcealed propaganda against the U.S.S.R., the land of Socialism, of freedom and of peace. It would, however, be a fatal mistake if the neighbouring countries were to harbour the illusion that Hitler intends to attack *only* the U.S.S.R.

Hitler Germany left the League of Nations for the purpose of freeing its hands for a preparation for war. The entire attitude of Hitler Germany to the League of Nations is dictated by the effort to sabotage the struggle for peace led by the Soviet Union, and supported in a more or less consistent manner by France, Czechoslovakia and certain other capitalist countries.

The foreign policy of Hitler Germany is directed towards sowing conflict and demoralisation among the people of Europe, inciting them against each other and destroying them one by one. This is shown by everything that is written in the "Voelkischer Beobachter," Hitler's chief organ. Hitler accuses some countries such as Czechoslovakia, Belgium, France of preparing for defence. He encourages others to arm themselves against a non-existent enemy (e.g., Switzerland and Norway against the U.S.S.R., Hungary and Poland against Czechoslovakia and the U.S.S.R., etc.). The Hitler government tries to convert all economic treaties with weak countries into military political treaties which take a definite place in his criminal war plans. The Hitler régime tries to take advantage of any discord between the great powers so as to deepen the existing contradictions as much as possible. But Hitler Fascism is first and foremost pursuing a course aimed at driving a wedge between the capitalist countries at present interested in peace, and the Soviet Union. At the same time, Hitler is trying to intensify the disagreements between France and Great Britain, to make these disagreements insurmountable.

German Fascism is the sworn foe of collective security. Hence its negative attitude towards the League of Nations. The Hitlerites defend the thesis of the localisation of war. This is the thesis of the fascist warmongers, which virtually means that stronger countries are always given the possibility of attacking weaker countries. It is the policy of imperialist aggression. It is the policy of a power which is trying by its manoeuvres to sow dissension between peaceful powers, and to defeat them one by one.

The proposals made by Hitler to a number of countries and which have no other aim than that of the conclusion of military pacts and pacts of "benevolent neutrality" in case of war, are directed against the powers interested in the maintenance of peace. The idea behind all these proposals is to split the front of the peaceful powers and to manoeuvre along with some of them against the League of Nations. Every country which concludes a pact with Hitler should remember that its people are threatened with the same fate as that which overtook the German Social Democrats, the Centre Party and the German Nationalists in the sphere of Germany's home policy.

The result of the Italo-Abyssinian war should not discourage the friends of peace, but serious lessons must be learned from this bitter experience so as to set bounds to fascist aggression. Is there any need to say that the fascists in

Germany very rapidly tried to draw conclusions from the Abyssinian tragedy *in their own spirit?*

The "Frankfurter Zeitung" on May 17, 1936, exclaimed: "Down with this collective automatics," and declared that this slogan was the "chief conclusion" to be drawn from the Abyssinian experience. On June 5, 1936, the "Westphalische Landeszeitung" wrote:

"In less than eight months, all the clouds which threatened to engulf both the military campaign and the public opinion of various countries; all these conclusions of experts, forecasts, problems and statements of prominent people have proved to be humiliated, destroyed or made ridiculous. *The first conclusion from this campaign is that there is only one means against speeches, sentiments and propaganda, and that is—action—action or its expression—the accomplished fact—alone solves the question. The 'fascist empire' is a living proof of this.*"

German finance capital can be seen in Europe in the most varied directions. The striving after German expansion threatens not only Austria and Czechoslovakia, but also all the Balkan countries, etc. They threaten weak Denmark, because it is the key to the strategic domination over the Baltic and is a jumping-off ground for the conquest of the whole of the Scandinavian north. The German Fascists have repeatedly shown their appetites for Latvia and Lithuania. They openly say that the *Ukraine* must become "independent," i.e., a colony of German Fascism. They promise Poland parts of Lithuania and the Ukraine, they promise the Hungarians and Poles parts of Czechoslovakia, and the Finns parts of Norway and the Soviet Union. Then, robber style, they share their booty in advance, as did the groups in Germany who supported the war in 1914.

The imperialist thirst for aggression urges German Fascism to make use of the lie about a "people without territory" for the ideological preparations for war among the masses. It is not a question of the German people having too little territory, but of the fact that the land and its wealth are unjustly distributed. It is the very people who have the most luxurious palaces and castles, and possess the largest amount of land who have invented the slogan of "the fight for territory." Has the Italian peasant obtained a single foot of land more in his own country following on the conquest of Abyssinia? The colonists whom Mussolini has tricked into going to Abyssinia have only jumped out of the frying pan into the fire. A victorious war enriches the rich while the poor become still poorer. A war that is lost throws all the burdens of defeat on to the weak, while the rich can get rid of all the burdens and can even obtain advantages out of defeat. In reply to the statement that the German people require new lands we say: there is enough land in Germany to provide work and bread to

the people, but it must be won by the people. To achieve this, the power of the large industrialists, the munition manufacturers, and big landowners over German economy must be destroyed.

IV.

Hitler is firmly set on war, for the further reason that he sees in it a way out of his growing internal difficulties.

It was not by chance that it is in this situation that the central organ of the fascists conducted a "discussion" on the subject "Socialism or Capitalism." On July 7, 1936, the "Voelkischer Beobachter" published a letter containing the complaint that "some groups are drawing tremendous advantages at the expense of the rest of the population." The writer of the letter says: "If this is not capitalism of the purest water, I would like to know what is meant by capitalism," etc. Of course, the "Voelkischer Beobachter" carried on this discussion to prove that the workers must "make sacrifices" in the interests of German armaments. But the very fact that Hitler Fascism thinks it expedient to conduct a discussion, even a "regulated" discussion, on such a ticklish subject, is extremely important. This shows most clearly how extremely dissatisfied are the masses with the result of Hitler's policy.

So long as peace is maintained in Europe, the difficulties of the Hitler régime will grow and the prerequisites for its overthrow will mature. The struggle for the maintenance of peace is therefore at the same time a struggle for the overthrow of Hitler, and *vice versa*, the struggle to overthrow Hitler is at the same time a struggle for the maintenance of peace in Europe.

The German Fascists know that peace is their greatest enemy. They are therefore doing everything which their régime can do to prevent quiet being established in Europe. They live and thrive on the ascendancy of disquiet and uncertainty.

The maintenance of peace is in the national interests of the German people. The fascist organisers of war defend the interests of an insignificant minority, the interests of the imperialists, thirsting for profits, and against the national interests of the German people.

The future of the German people lies in friendly relations with their immediate and more distant neighbours, especially with the free peoples of the U.S.S.R., and with the French people who, organised in a People's Front, are successfully struggling against fascism and war. Military intrigues against the U.S.S.R. contradict the present and future national interests of the German people.

Our struggle for the maintenance of peace, against Hitler, is a struggle for the future of the German people. Every anti-fascist fighter must deeply realise the tremendous historical significance of the inter-relationships between these things.

There are many working people in Germany who expect the overthrow of the dictatorship of Hitler only as a result of the defeat of Hitler Germany in a war, and therefore consider a war desirable, instead of understanding that it is the preservation of peace which will lead the Hitler régime into the greatest difficulties.

Anyone who supports such views in any way can naturally not carry on a successful struggle for the maintenance of peace. The representatives of such views stand aside from the international movement of the proletariat, who are fighting for peace.

The Social Democrats used unjustly to reproach us with speculating on war so as to facilitate and speed up the advent of revolution. This reproach came from the people who, owing to their disbelief in the forces of the working class, are now placing all their hopes in war, calculating that the military defeat of Germany will rapidly cause a change in the situation.

We have nothing in common with the fatalism which deduces the "inevitability" of a new world war from all the objective factors, and which sometimes wishes to prophesy the time and place of the new wars. No, we are carrying on a most determined struggle to prevent a new military adventure; we do not fatalistically acquiesce in "fate." We appeal with all the strength we have to all the friends of peace, and call on them to create an international united front for peace, strong enough to shackle the instigators of war and save humanity from the horrors of war. The Italo-Abyssinian war and the latest acts of provocation of German Fascism have confirmed us still more in this outlook.

We German Communists represent the national interests of our people. We do not want millions of the best sons of our people to be wiped out as the result of war. In the same way, we German Communists reject the criminal idea held by the muddleheads and political speculators that the fate of fascism will be decided by an aggressive war against fascism. The assertion that the Soviet Union with its Red Army is setting itself the task to carry the revolution into Europe belongs to the foulest inventions of the propagandists of German Fascism. "The export of revolution is nonsense. Every country, if it so desires, will make its own revolution . . ." (Stalin.) All hope of overthrowing the Hitler dictatorship through a war is harmful.

The independent action of the masses in Germany against war remains the decisive task.

In order to fight for the maintenance of peace, a struggle must be carried on in Germany for the overthrow of fascism. But the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship which has created a tremendous apparatus of violence to ensure its domination, is a most difficult task in Germany, and one which no single anti-fascist party and its supporters can solve by itself. This task can only be solved if all the anti-fascist parties and organisations, groups and individuals collaborate, by forming a German People's Front.

It only became possible for the fascist dictatorship to entrench itself in Germany because the German working class parties and all the democratic forces did not unite to drive it back.

After the fascists had established their rule they took advantage of the divisions in the ranks of the opposition, and first and foremost the split which continued in the ranks of the working class. Up to the present time, even among the German political emigres, the united front has not yet been formed. Only now, in June, 1936, have the first welcome steps been taken in this direction.

We Communists openly declare that the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Germany is not an immediate question. The struggle for the overthrow of the Hitler dictatorship is the immediate issue. Possibilities exist for uniting all the oppositional forces on a common political platform, on the basis of a programme of action for the struggle for a democratic Germany. The terrible danger of war demands that this intensification takes place immediately.

We Communists are ready to fight for the establishment after the overthrow of Hitler of a democratic republic, a different type of republic than the weak Weimar republic which fell under the blows of reaction. It will be a republic where the owners of the munition factories will no longer be the dictators of industry, where the Junker landowners will no longer have preferential rights to the land, where the country will be swept clean of the fascist pestilence and where a democratic system will be set up. It will be a republic which guarantees the working class the right to organise and to strike, and which will give the widest freedom of speech and press to its organisations.

The Communists have declared that they are prepared to come to an agreement with all the forces of the German opposition. The overthrow of Hitler, the establishment of a democratic régime will, in any case, be a tremendous step forward.

The overthrow of the Hitler régime will only be possible as the result of a great national uprising in which the alliance of the working class

and the peasants will find expression, and in which all the existing oppositional organisations take common action. The preparations for the organisation of this uprising of the people demands the exertion of all opposition forces in the country and outside it. We must first and foremost intensify the struggle for peace, carry on a better struggle against fascist propaganda, and lead the working people of Germany through the struggle for partial demands to the struggle against the régime itself. The task of breaking away from fascism the strata of the working people who are under its influence is one which must be solved by bringing about the proletarian united front and the anti-fascist People's Front.

VI.

If the fall of Hitler can only be brought about by the victory of a general people's movement, and if there is not a single party in a position to organise this movement single-handed, then all the anti-fascist organisations and parties must close their ranks, and must come to agreement. If the fall of the Hitler dictatorship can only be brought about by a movement of the people—and this is undoubtedly the case—then the masses who take part in this struggle will very reasonably demand guarantees that the People's Front will continue after the overthrow of fascism as well as exist, as a real guarantee of the victory over fascism. We must agree with this. The anti-fascist People's Front must be preserved after the overthrow of Hitler as well, so as to strengthen the new democratic régime in its struggle against the old reaction, to make it capable of operating the programme of action of the People's Front, and provide the people with bread, work and freedom.

We are striving to establish the proletarian united front and the anti-fascist People's Front. The programme of action of a fighting People's Front will be our programme of action as well. We Communists have made our corresponding proposals. In Paris, well-known Social Democrats, Communists and bourgeois politicians and writers have formed a joint committee for the preparation of a German People's Front. Co-operation has been secured among the Social Democrats and Communists, and it is this which has led to the possibility of establishing the above-mentioned committee. If this co-operation were spread to all parts of Germany it would facilitate the establishment of united action between the parties and would make it possible to set up the People's Front in Germany itself. The co-operation between the Social Democrats and Communists at the Paris Conference called to deal

with the right of asylum, the mutual assistance proposed in the struggle against the Gestapo (secret police) and, we hope, collaboration at the conference to deal with the question of amnesty and peace—these are successes from which each side can learn lessons and draw practical conclusions. What is needed is that the collaboration which takes place from case to case should grow into a firm unity of struggle. This is our aim now.

We must fight more energetically to restore the free trade unions. In every factory solid circles of former members of the free trade unions can and must be gathered together. And is not a joint struggle for the youth especially urgent? Is it not clear to everyone who values freedom and peace that the task of winning the youth, our youth, away from the poisonous influence of fascism and the chauvinist warmongers, is of decisive importance? The anti-fascist forces must unite to establish a first class youth movement in Germany.

The members of the former religious trade unions and the forces of the Catholic centre must be drawn into the movement to establish the People's Front in Germany. With our clear prospects of the formation of a democratic republic no serious obstacles remain any longer to prevent their co-operation. It will, therefore, become possible for the Communists to establish new contacts, new relations between the Communists and the Centre organisations, just as these relations are being successfully brought about between the Social Democrats and the Communists. If we take as the point of our departure the progressive traditions of this movement from the time of the struggle against Bismarck, recognise the value of the opposition of the Centre to the Hitler régime, we can use our influence over the masses and rouse even those who have hitherto opposed this co-operation and have fired away more ammunition in the struggle against the Communists than against Hitler. The masses and also the active members of the Christian trade unions regard the Communists as their brothers, and however great their differences of opinion, in one thing they agree, namely, in the great truth—that together they can fight for freedom, rights and a just social order. If these trade union officials use their influence and their rights in the movement, the urge for the People's Front will increase and will draw the Centre Party with it.

Collaboration between the Social Democrats, Communists and supporters of the Centre will not only triple their forces, but increase them tenfold, will hasten the fall of Hitler and will facilitate the maintenance of peace in Europe.

THE WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND AND THE FIGHT FOR PEACE

A STATEMENT of considerable interest entitled "Labour and the Defence of Peace" was published in the "Daily Herald" on May 15, by the National Council of Labour.

The statement adopted shows that the Labour leaders under the pressure of the masses have made a step forward as compared with the position occupied by the "Daily Herald" following on the occupation of the Rhineland by Hitler's troops. At that time the "Daily Herald" day in and out defended the violation of the Locarno Treaty by Hitler, and asserted that Hitler is really prepared to preserve the peace for a period of 25 years as promised by him in his memorandum.

The position of the "Daily Herald" gave rise to tremendous dissatisfaction among the workers. It is characteristic that in its comments to this new declaration of the Labour leaders, the "Daily Herald" wrote that it was being published "in response to numerous requests." The words "numerous requests" must be taken to mean the indignation expressed by the masses in Great Britain at the line conducted by the reactionary section of the Labour leaders, and particularly by the "Daily Herald" itself in connection with the remilitarisation of the Rhineland.

The statement now adopted under the pressure of the workers and evidently under the influence of the successes of the People's Front in France, blames Germany, Japan and Italy for the fact that the world is being menaced by a new war. Dealing in detail with the violation of the Locarno Treaty by Hitler, the statement declares that the "peace plan" proposed by Hitler which aims at separating Western Europe from Central and Eastern Europe is *absolutely unacceptable* to the British working-class movement. The best means of securing peace, in the view of the statement, is the establishment of an international force to guard peace, and to apply effective measures to prevent the outbreak of war.

As regards Italian aggression in Abyssinia, the document states that "it can be done (i.e., "Italy must be prevented from reaping the fruits of a lawless, cowardly and brutal act of violence") if the penalty imposed by the members of the League is maintained and extended until Mussolini is willing that the League and not Italy should make the peace."

After this the document proceeds to deal at great length with the line to be pursued by the Labour movement in relation to Hitler Germany.

The question is put: "Does Hitler recognise the rule of law?" Hitler being quoted as having said in March, 1936, that "we interpret treaties as we think

right, and we do not submit to the judgment of others." The statement draws attention to the fact that "Soviet Russia is left out" of the non-aggression pacts offered by Hitler to other states, that "the other signatories of the Locarno Treaties don't agree" with Hitler "that the Franco-Soviet Treaty is inconsistent with the Locarno Treaty."

The authors of the statement raise the question as to whether the states with which Germany proposes to conclude non-aggression pacts "remain free at the same time, as members of the League to come to the assistance of any other member of the League, if it should be attacked, even by Germany." It is then stated that an honest attempt must be made to find a basis for agreement with Hitler, though Hitler must not be allowed to dictate his own terms.

There can be no doubt that this statement represents a considerable step forward as compared with the position accepted by the "Daily Herald" following March 7, but a close examination of the document reveals a number of negative features which the Communists and other friends of peace in England criticise.

Throughout the whole document, there is no recognition whatsoever of the need for the workers to act independently in defence of peace, and of the need for mass pressure on the government and the League of Nations to compel them to take action against the aggressor.

The warmongering rôle of the National government in making concessions to the armament of Germany is not dealt with. We are told "that in these grave times the British government has a special responsibility as a peacemaker because it is a great power in which the democratic faith and practice have not been subdued."

There is no direct support of the Franco-Soviet pact and of a similar pact between Great Britain and the Soviet Union, but on the contrary, fundamentally the statement opposes the idea of special pacts between governments the purpose of which is to ensure that "other states will come to their immediate assistance if they are attacked." "There is always the danger," continues the statement, "of such pacts developing into old-fashioned military alliances and, therefore, they must conform to certain strict conditions." It is not, however, stated what precisely are these strict conditions. The authors of the statement are quite well aware that the Franco-Soviet pact, like all other regional pacts proposed by the U.S.S.R., is open for all who wish to be associated with it.

The statement ends with the words "labour seeks

co-operation with all in the maintenance of peace, in the defence of peace, and in the enlargement of the sphere of social justice." But how can this statement be squared with the fact that the representatives of the Labour Party at the last Plenary Session of the E.C. of the Labour and Socialist International were against the International joining the movement for the International Peace Congress.

The Communists have on many occasions declared their willingness, and still do so, to co-operate in the defence of peace. How soon, then, will the British Labour leaders put the last sentence to their statement into practice and help to built the united front with the Communists against the warmongers, both on a national and an international scale ?

The moods of the masses in regard to the establishment of the united front may be judged from a memorandum on the struggle against war and fascism issued by the E.C. of the London Trades Council,

and adopted by a meeting of about 200 delegates to the council in the middle of May.

The memorandum declares that "the most effective method of resisting war and fascism is the building up of a powerful and united trade union movement in this country (Great Britain) and throughout the world," a point developed in a speech at this Council meeting by the secretary, A. M. Wall, when he declared that "all points on which we differ must be set aside. The I.F.T.U. and all working-class organisations must unite to face this problem (i.e., that of fascism and the danger of war) which is the most urgent to-day." This sentiment will be heartily supported by all who are really determined to carry on the fight for peace and against the warmongers. The rank and file of the British working-class movement heartily support the initiative of the London Trades Council.

AGITATE FOR PEACE IN A NEW WAY!

(Dealing with certain Anti-War Pamphlets.)

By M. Tamar

COMMUNIST propaganda and agitation, in the struggle to establish a wide peace front, must be adapted to the conditions of each given country. Therefore, it is particularly important that the Communists in each country should be able to find the necessary language, to find new convincing arguments which will penetrate deeply into the consciousness of those who listen to them, and which will enable them to give a simple and correct explanation to the widest possible circles of the working people as to their point of view on the problems of war and peace, to solve all their questions and doubts, and to answer all the arguments of the war-mongers and their various cunningly disguised agents.

In this connection, much good can be done by the issuing of popular anti-war literature, of such mass leaflets or pamphlets as should provide examples of correct argumentation—comprehensible to the masses—on the questions connected with the struggle for peace. Unfortunately, however, very little of such literature is as yet available. The various Communist mass anti-war pamphlets—even those published quite recently—do not fully meet the demands put forward by Comrade Dimitrov at the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern in connection with Communist agitation and propaganda: these pamphlets are to a greater or lesser degree dry, abstract, schematic, and written without the necessary

account being taken of the actual interests and requirements of the masses. But if you wish for a model of the *new* methods of really mass Communist anti-war propaganda, you can find it in the pamphlets which the British Communist Party has recently begun to publish under a general title of the "Peace Library."

The first of this cheap mass "Library" were the pamphlets: "I accuse Baldwin," by Harry Pollitt; "Peace—but How?" a workshop talk by J. R. Campbell; "Colonies, Mandates and Peace," by Ben Bradley; and "War is Terribly Profitable," by Henry Owen. The very fact that the first two pamphlets were written by leading members of the C.P.G.B. deserves attention; it shows what great importance is attributed by the English Communists to the propaganda of the idea of peace among the masses.

The great superiority of the "Peace Library" pamphlets under review, which makes them stand out to advantage as against the numerous pamphlets written on an "international scale" is that they are intended for the English workers, and first and foremost, deal with the questions which interest the English workers most of all. Another point is that the publication of a whole series devoted to questions of the struggle for peace, enables their authors to analyse popularly and in detail in each pamphlet some one question.

Comrade Pollitt's pamphlet: "I Accuse Baldwin"

establishes the responsibility of the British Government for the war preparations of Fascist Germany. Making use of well-known facts, Comrade Pollitt shows that the entire policy of the British Government, which refused to recognise the right of Weimar Germany to equality in armaments, but which in reality recognised this right as far as concerns Hitler Fascist Germany, assisted German Fascism to become the chief incendiary of imperialist war in Europe. He patiently disproves the pro-Hitlerite statements of the "Daily Herald," basing himself on the protests of the local Labour Party organisations and upon a speech of the prominent Labour leader, Morrison, who was forced to repudiate the position of his party organ. In the concluding sections of the pamphlet, headed "Britain, the decisive factor," and "Peace can be preserved," Comrade Pollitt enumerates a number of practical tasks which confront the Communists and all the friends of peace in England, namely, the struggle for unity in the working class movement, the organisation of independent action by the workers against the manufacture and despatch of war materials intended for Fascist Germany, the sending of delegations of international solidarity abroad, and the struggle to prevent any further loans of aid being granted by Britain to Fascist Germany, etc. Finally, Comrade Pollitt appeals to the democratic and peaceful feelings of the majority of the British nation, and calls for a mass campaign for the conclusion of a Peace Treaty between Britain and the Soviet Union, for the inclusion of Britain in the collective security system.

Comrade Campbell's pamphlet—"Peace—but How?"—a workshop talk, is written in an original fashion; it represents a dialogue between workers, belonging to different political camps. It is worth while quoting the author's foreword to the pamphlet:—

"Here are some talks on peace. The people talking are Joe (a Communist), Jimmy (I.L.P.), Bill (ex-serviceman), Tom (Conservative when he bothers to vote, which is seldom), Fred (active in League of Nations Union), Arthur (Labour Party) and Jack, who is not a member of any political party, but does not like 'these dictators.'

"The dialogue does not pretend to imitate the everyday conversation of such workers. It does, however, give real arguments, and answers real difficulties in, let us hope, a clear way. It presupposes a certain knowledge of recent events in Europe, but not too much. I have endeavoured to present the case of each protagonist as fairly as possible. If the Communist case is presented as the best, I believe this to be explained not by the bias of the author, but by the nature of the cause."

And it is a fact that the Communist Joe finds convincing replies to the number of "puzzling" questions given to him by his comrades, questions

which relate to the tasks and prospects of the struggle for peace, the peace policy of the U.S.S.R., the attitude of the Communists to the League of Nations, the army, etc. Joe speaks in a special way with each one of his companions, and takes account of their feelings. He appeals to the pacifism of Fred, the Socialist feelings of Jimmy and Arthur, and Bill's memories as an ex-serviceman, etc. As an illustration, we shall quote, for example, the part of the dialogue wherein the class character of the bourgeois army is shown:

Bill: But the Red Army?

Joe: It is not an army for suppressing the working class, but for defending the new Socialist system which emancipates the working class from poverty and gives them real freedom. It is an army for a different purpose from ours, which is an army dictated by the capitalist class for capitalist purposes.

Bill: Fat lot of capitalists I saw in it in 1914-18.

Joe: Oh, yes, you saw that it was a capitalist army all right. I can prove that from what you told me. You were a sergeant, were you not, Bill? How did you get that post?

Bill: Because I was a corporal in the army before I went on to the reserve in 1912, and when I was called up I soon got my sergeant's stripes.

Joe: Now above you in your platoon there was a second-lieutenant. He was a much more experienced fellow than you, was he not?

Bill: Was he hell! He came straight to us from a public school. I had almost to nurse the blighter, and I kept on nursing blokes like him until I was gassed.

Joe: Why should chaps like that have been shoved above you?

Tom: They were better educated, of course.

Bill: By heavens, they weren't. I had to teach them nearly all they knew about the army.

Joe: Exactly. From the point of view of military experience Bill knew much more. But the army was a class army, and the officers' posts were reserved for members of the upper classes. Now from the standpoint of military efficiency against a foreign enemy this system is completely nonsensical. But from the point of view of the army's function of suppressing the workers at home it is perfectly understandable. I refuse to vote war credits, therefore, because they will be used to maintain and extend the forces which will be used (1) to fight imperialist wars, (2) to maintain colonial domination, and (3) to suppress the workers at home. That's why I oppose the Government's White Paper.

This extract shows the methods of writing and argumentation used by Comrade Campbell in his pamphlet.

The following publication of the series—a pamphlet by Henry Owen, entitled "War is Terribly Profitable," analyses in detail the programme of the increased armaments, contained in the "White Book" of the British Government of March 3, 1936. Comrade Owen uses figures to show that the fulfilment of this programme will cause a colossal increase in profits of the biggest armament firms. He disproves the usual assertion of the adherents of war who allege that arma-

ments improve the conditions of the working class by providing work for the unemployed:

"The re-armament plant," he writes, "is an attack on union conditions, and is coupled with the dilution of labour to provide cheap war materials." (p. 14.)

In conclusion Comrade Owen points out what the friends of peace could do in order to hinder the realisation of the government armaments plan.

First of all—"the fight against war must be a united fight"; if the British workers are to be successful in the struggle against war, they must unite. Comrade Owen formulates the practical tasks of the adversaries of war in their struggle against armaments in the following way:—

"Everything that pushes up the cost of executing the plan—wage cuts, strikes, etc.—everything that takes money away from war—decent gas masks for all, bigger unemployment benefits, better social services—is a fight against war."

Finally, Ben Bradley's pamphlet explains the position of Communists in regard to colonial wars and colonial oppression, shows that the colonial conquests are profitable not for the workers but for the capitalists, tells of the solution of the national question in the U.S.S.R. and popularises the well-known Marxist-Leninist statement that "a people which enslaves another people forges its own chains . . ." The only policy which can really stop war and prepare the way for the "merging of nations" is the unity of the working class here and the alliance of British colonies, is the conclusion made by Comrade Bradley.

There are no grounds for doubting that all the above-mentioned pamphlets will be well circulated, and be very successful among the readers of various political currents, and that they will prompt numerous workers to come closer to the Communist Party, and to join the united front in the struggle for peace. The characteristic,

positive features of these pamphlets which will ensure their success are, in our opinion, the following:—

1. They are intended for a definite circle of readers—workers of *one* country, and all the questions in them are put in a concrete form from the angle of the special conditions of the struggle for peace in the given country, and of the interests of the workers of this country.

2. Each pamphlet is devoted to only *one* question or one group of questions, thus rendering it possible to dwell upon each of them with a certain completeness.

3. Despite the variety of their contents — the pamphlets are united by a few leading ideas which are justified in the pamphlets each in its own way (the need for working class unity, for the struggle for peace).

4. They combine simplicity and popularity of language with accuracy of facts.

5. The authors, who are Communists, come forward in all these pamphlets with, let us say, open visors, in no way concealing their Communist point of view, and do not present the reader with ready-made conclusions, but try to *convince* him.

6. Special attention is paid in the pamphlets to a *businesslike* and concrete analysis of the adversary's arguments.

7. All of them contain positive instructions as to *what should be done*.

Thanks to these distinguishing features, the "Peace Library" will help the active workers of the Communist Party and the anti-war organisations to learn how to agitate in a simple and convincing manner in favour of peace, and to create a wide popular fighting front for peace.

It is to be hoped that the interesting initiative of the British Communists will be studied and taken up by other parties in the Communist International.

THE MOVEMENT FOR THE INTERNATIONAL PEACE CONGRESS

THE month of September will see the opening of the International Congress of the Struggle for Peace against the chief instigators of war on the world arena, against German Fascism and the fascist military junta in Japan, and against all the forces of reaction in every country, which are engaged directly or indirectly in helping the organisers of a new imperialist blood-bath.

With every day that passes, there is an increase in the number of organisations of the most varied sections of the population, the number of statesmen and outstanding men of science, who are joining in the movement to prepare this world congress.

Last year in *England* a plebiscite showed 11½ million votes for collective security. At the present time the League of Nations Union with 400,000 members, a number of pacifist organisations, numerous women's organisations, and prominent party, trade union and co-operative leaders have declared in favour of the Congress. On the National Committee in Great Britain there are, among others, Lord Cecil, Walkden, member of the General Council of the British Trade Unions and Secretary of the Railway Clerks' Association, Noel Baker of the Labour Party, Corbett-Ashby, former representative of Great Britain in the League of Nations, Sir Norman Angell, Miss Jones, representing Teachers' Organisations, and Mrs. Ormerod of the International Association of High School Teachers, and others.

The T.U.C., however, continues as hitherto to stand aloof from the movement for the Peace Congress, and this adds all the more importance to the first decisions of the Scottish trade union organisations (for example, the Glasgow Trades Council, which is next in strength to the London T.C.) to send a delegation to Geneva. The trade unions of Birmingham not long ago adopted a resolution to organise public meetings for peace. At the British National Peace Congress held at Leeds on June 28, there was also in evidence a strong desire for close collaboration with the workers' organisations engaged in struggle against the National Government and against the British "pacifist" politicians, who are supporting Hitler under the guise of peace.

In *France* the movement embraces all the organisations of the People's Front, the youth movement alone accounting for 34 organisations, including those of the Right. Active in the

French National Committee are Jouhaux and Rachamond from the C.G.T., Paul Faure and Grumbach of the Socialist Party, Marcel Cachin of the Communist Party, a radical socialist member of Blum's Cabinet, Pierre Cot, Chairman of the French Committee of the Movement for Peace, Édouard Herriot, speaker of the French Chamber, the deputies Champetier de Rites, Chairman of the Party of People's Democrats, Pastor Jezignuell and others. August 2 has been appointed as a day of struggle for peace, when, by the way, Leon Blum will speak over the wireless. In France this movement has embraced much wider masses than in England, mostly the members of the workers' organisations. Not long ago the Congress of the Paris Metal Workers' Union adopted a decision to take part in the Congress. Mention should be made of the tremendous international meeting in Paris attended by tens of thousands of people, and where Lord Cecil of the Initiatory Committee, and Comrade Schvernik on behalf of the Soviet trade unions spoke about the World Congress. An example of the way the masses are actively participating in the movement for peace is provided by the workers of Clichy, who have decided to hold regular meetings to discuss means of strengthening the struggle for peace. The Central Council of the Consumers' Co-operative Societies has also unanimously agreed to take part in the Congress.

In *Belgium* a committee has been established to prepare the International Peace Congress which has representatives of the Socialist Party among its members (including De Brouckère, President of the Second International, Huysman, Dr. Martaux and others), Liberal leaders like Jaspas, prominent trade union men, officials of the ex-servicemen's association, and of young people's and women's organisations, etc.

In *Czechoslovakia* the manifesto of the National Committee was signed by organisations numbering 3,000,000 members. Of great importance is the participation of all the workers' parties and trade unions of all the big democratic parties, Catholics and Protestant organisations, the peasant youth, etc. Benes, Chairman of the Republic, and Hedza on their part are also supporting the movement. The "sokol" sports society (1,000,000 members) is actively participating in the movement.

In *Spain* the organisations of the People's Front speak in favour of the Congress of Struggle for

Peace. Manuel Azana, President of the Spanish Republic, is supporting the movement. Information received shows that wide sections of the Spanish peasantry are discussing questions connected with the International Congress and its significance.

There are National Committees in 33 countries, besides those already named, in U.S.A., Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, in the Scandinavian countries and in some Baltic and Balkan states. There will be a delegate at the Congress from the *Roumanian Peasant Party* and also from the *Bulgarian Peasant Party*, which received 500,000 votes at the last elections. Lunz, Vice-President of the *Roumanian Peasant Party*, has proposed to call a special Peasants' Congress during the time the International Congress of the Struggle for Peace is in session. Statements of agreement to take active part in the work have been made recently by the Indian National Congress, Australia, South Africa, Social-Democratic and the Liberal leaders in Hungary and Finland, and leaders of the Polish Peasants' organisations. In *Austria* also a Committee has been formed and a speech has been made over the wireless on the movement for peace. In *Yugoslavia* numerous youth organisations of Belgrade and Zagreb are taking part in the preparations for the Congress.

Of great importance for the establishment of international united working class action in the struggle for peace and for the development of a mass movement around Geneva Congress is the manifesto addressed "To all the organised forces

of the trade unions," signed by outstanding trade union men such as: Schvernik (U.S.S.R.), Jouhaux and Rachamond (French trade unions), Vigne, General Secretary of the Miners' International, Reeve and Edelman, the chief representatives of the American Federation of Labour at the International Labour Bureau, Schurich of the Swiss federation of trade unions, Krekik of the general amalgamation of trade unions of Yugoslavia, by the representative of the trade union federation of Mexico and others. The General Secretariat of the International of Post Office Workers has agreed to take part in the Congress. The *Socialist Workers' Sport International* has sent an application to affiliate to the Congress. The powerful international ex-servicemen's organisations, Ciamac and Fidac, numbering 14 million members, have also agreed to take part in the Congress.

The Communists and all supporters of the united fighting front for peace are utilising the short time remaining before the Congress to get the workers' organisations more active, to establish unity of action of the workers' organisations, to set up committees of peace in the localities, and run elections of delegates to the International Congress of Peace among the broadest masses of the population. The refusal of the Executive Committee of the Second International to take part in the Congress and the similar attitude of the International Federation of Trade Unions will not be able to hinder the working masses organised in the united front to march under the banner of the defence of peace, under the banner of the growing international front of the friends of peace.

THE MOVEMENT FOR PEACE—FOR THE PEOPLE'S FRONT IN GREAT BRITAIN

THE struggle for the preservation of peace is one of the chief tasks facing the People's Front in Britain. This lends particular importance to the National Peace Congress held in Leeds on 26, 27, 28 and 29 June. The Congress was organised by the National Peace Council to which more than 40 national organisations and 30 local Peace Councils are affiliated. The National Council is made up largely of Liberals, individual Labour leaders, prominent authors, and religious leaders, including the Archbishop of York. This body was mainly responsible for the huge Peace Ballot of 11½ millions last year.

A characteristic feature of this Congress is the extent to which the delegates share their resentment at some of the pro-Hitler utterances of chief speakers like the Liberal Lord Lothian and the eager agreement expressed with the items in the speeches of Harry Pollitt and Wm. Gallacher, M.P. This together with the pronounced anti-National Government feeling of the Congress marks a very big step forward compared with last year.

The decisions taken by the Congress were summed up in nine points, which are not the decisions of a single-minded organisation, but a kind of compromise between conflicting views, including along with a denunciation of "Fascism and Nazism," a plea for redistribution of raw materials, which could only be helpful to Hitler. Again a denunciation of the foreign policy, and arms policy of the National Government (itself a big step forward for a body which is punctiliously "non-political") was accompanied by a plea for Britain's splendid isolation, which plays into the hands of the Baldwin policy. Thus the Peace Congress's nine points mirror the confusion yet existing within the peace movement in Britain; and show, despite the advance from last year, how much propaganda and agitation still requires to be carried through before a strong People's Front to carry on the struggle for peace be established. For this purpose the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain issued an appeal to the Peace Congress, which contained the following points as the basis for a popular peace movement against the National Government:—

Collective security through the League of Nations and pacts of mutual assistance against an aggressor.

The entry of Britain into such a pact with the Soviet Union and other European states.

The sanctity of treaties.

A general and progressive reduction in armaments.

The nationalisation of the armaments industry.

Prohibition of the export of armaments.

Opposition to the rearmament plan.

Opposition to fascist propaganda and to any help to fascist governments.

Political liberty and democracy for the armed forces.

Full support to all the colonial peoples in their struggle for their rights and for their liberation from imperialism.

Affiliation

Powerfully aided by the victory of the People's Front, and the subsequent waves of successful strikes in France, the movement in support of the Communist Party's affiliation to the Labour Party is rapidly growing, until on July 18 the total of supporting organisations was 1,300. This included the Annual Conferences of several unions, and also the Socialist League, the Scottish Socialist Party and the Fabian Society. Thus all the national federal constituents of the Labour Party other than the trade unions, i.e., the Socialist bodies that are ideologically the most active sections of the Labour Party, and in this case of the Fabian Society, the chief ideological guide for 30 years of the Labour Party, have gone on record for acceptance of a united front.

At the recent Annual Conference of the M.F.G.B., a resolution was adopted supporting the affiliation of the C.P., to the L.P. Thus, when this question is discussed at the forthcoming L.P. Conference, more than 500,000 miners' votes will be cast for the affiliation of the C.P. to the L.P.

Alarmed at this growing movement, the right wing reformist leaders from mid-June onwards have sought to stem this advance by a counter-attack. This takes two forms. First attacks upon the Soviet Union (series of articles by Sir Walter Citrine, being chapters from his recently-published anti-Soviet book: "I Search for Truth in Soviet Russia," published each day in the "Daily Herald" and replied to each day in the "Daily

Worker," and articles fully hostile to the new Constitution).

Secondly, direct attacks on the Communist Party were made in the syndicated Labour press. In "Forward," the Scottish reformist weekly, there were printed articles by Herbert Morrison, Right Wing leader of the London Labour Party, in which he alleges that what divides the Communists from the members of the Labour Party is their different views on "dictatorship and democracy,"

and that these differences are too fundamental to permit of a united front, either in the shape of affiliation or otherwise. He also revives all the old bogies about "Moscow Gold," and finally voices his fear that the Tories would raise a scare against the Labour Party, which would lose "perhaps millions of votes" through "associations with the Communists." To these articles replies from Wm. Gallacher and J. R. Campbell were printed in "Forward" and by Harry Pollitt in the "Daily Worker."

SPAIN

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION IN SPAIN

By J. Hernandez

(Towards the 5th Congress of the C.P. of Spain)

1. Economic Sabotage by The Big Bourgeoisie and Landowners

IN February of this year the people's front in Spain won a splendid victory. The Azana government came to power. Two years of rule by a reactionary government had reduced Spain to a state of serious economic ruin. As compared with 1931, production in the textile industry had declined 40 per cent., the cause being the sharp decline in the purchasing power of the people. In the mining industry tremendous reserves of coal, amounting to more than 300,000 tons, had accumulated, there being no market for them.

The reactionary government, in order to ensure itself a market for oranges, olives and other agricultural products in England and France, had allowed the Spanish market to be swamped by cheap goods, including coal from England and France. Many enterprises where big sums of foreign capital are invested, make exclusive use of imported British coal, while there are no purchasers for Spanish coal—the result being that mountains of coal lie about on the pit tops. Former governments tried to compensate the losses of the mining industry by the granting of loans, but this only led to a further increase in the deficit in the state budget, which, as it was, was unfavourable enough. From the year 1932, the deficit in the state budget increased from 410 million pesetas, to 506 millions, in 1934. As a result of this policy, imports increased, while exports declined (the only increase, though

insignificant, being the export of ore to Britain and Germany).

This is the situation which met the new Azana government. In reply to the victory of the people's front, the bourgeoisie resorted to economic sabotage and acts of provocation such as the export of capital, the withdrawal of capital from the banks, and the undermining of the exchange rate of the peseta. The employers and big merchant firms are threatening a lockout if the government does not withdraw the law regarding the giving of three to six months compensation to those who were dismissed for participating in the battles of October, 1934. The big landowners supported by the bankers are also threatening a sort of land "lockout." The pretexts they resort to are numerous. The government, they say, is preparing an agrarian reform, but what price we landowners will receive is not known. Or else, they say, the agricultural labourers are demanding the restoration of their former wage rates, arbitrarily reduced two years ago. Or else, they add, there is the law regarding the cultivation of the land which makes it obligatory to employ a definite number of workers. Basing themselves on all this, the landowners are cutting down cultivation in the fields.

The government and the working people are faced with the question as to how to break down this policy of economic sabotage, how to withdraw the economic life of the country from the

dead end into which it has been driven, how to help the masses of the people?

What Have the Masses of the People Received Following the Elections of February 16th ?

First and foremost, there is the decree regarding compensation according to which all those dismissed on political grounds after January 1, 1934, are given back their jobs, and receive financial compensation to the extent of three to six months' wages.

Further, there is the general amnesty for all those arrested in October, 1934, and for all those awaiting trial and investigation for political offences.

Catalonia has had restored her status (of broad autonomy) and is provided with democratic rights; the autonomy of Biscay will soon be recognised.

The state has already provided 87,000 families with land, i.e., approximately half a million people are thus affected. In addition a law was adopted by the Cortes on May 28, regarding the re-examination of the cases of all peasants expelled by the former government from the land they rented, for the non-payment of rent. According to this new law, tens of thousands of peasant families will have the right to return to the land they rented formerly.

The social legislation of the first period of the Republic has been restored, the reactionary legislation partly annulled and democratic rights restored.

A section of the fascist leagues and kindred organisations such as, for instance, the "Spanish Phalanx," the "Requetes," etc., have been disbanded and disbanded. At the present time, 5,000 to 6,000 fascists are in jail.

A clean-up has been begun in the police force, the gendarmerie and the army, to rid them of reactionary monarchist elements.

Finally, a juridical commission has been appointed to clear up the question as to who were responsible for the repressions of October, 1934; as a result of the work of this commission several prominent reactionaries have been arrested.

This, in general, is what the masses have received from the government which came into being as a result of the victory of the people's front.

It is not difficult to understand that the reactionaries and fascists did not retreat and are not now retreating without a struggle. A tremendous growth of the strike movement is to be observed throughout the whole country. Economic and political strikes are taking place both in town and country. The employed and unemployed are taking joint action in the effort to secure work for the latter. Partial and general

strikes take place, accompanied by the occupation of factories and coal mines, and in the villages by the mass seizure of estates by the peasants and agricultural workers.

The majority of these strikes conclude with the complete or partial victory of the workers. They all take place under the flag of unity, Socialist, Communist and anarchist workers acting jointly in them. Strike breaking has vanished. In those cases where the government considers it necessary to interfere, through its Labour representatives, these latter, under the pressure of the workers, announce decisions favourable to the workers. Thus it is that big victories are being achieved. For instance, it only needed the bus workers to declare a strike in Madrid, for their wages to be increased from 8 to 14 pesetas. The rest days which had been done away with were restored to the extent of 4 per month, and in addition an 8-day holiday is now provided once per year at expense of the employers. As a result of the strike of the seamen and dockers which completely paralysed the entire work of the port for 11 days, the strikers achieved official recognition for their organisations. In addition the workers have been granted the right to establish a compulsory order of shift changes for those employed, and they are allowed one month's holiday per year.

In some cases the strikers seized the enterprises. This is how the tramway workers in Madrid behaved when their employers refused to pay them wages. Then the workers themselves took charge of the trams, painted them red and printed on the trams the three letters "U.H.P."* the fighting slogan of the Asturian workers, well known through the whole of Spain. This affair was settled by the intervention of the authorities and the municipal council. As a result, the demands of the workers were satisfied and, what is more, the tramway lines passed into the hands of a joint committee, composed of representatives of the municipality and of the workers' committee.

The villages are the scene of the seizure of the land by the peasants. Although the Communist Party is for the time being refraining from advancing the slogan of the seizure of land by the peasants as a general slogan, in those places where the local conditions permit and where the agricultural workers' unions, along with the municipalities and peasants' organisations, are proceeding to seize the land, the Party supports this movement and does everything possible to ensure that it is carried through in an organised fashion, thus avoiding conflicts, provoked by the enemies of the Republic and agents of the counter-revolu-

*U.H.P.—"Brother Proletarians, Unite!"

tion between the peasants and the armed forces of the state.

The reactionaries are attempting to set the Catholic section of the population, among whom there are many peasants, against the other sections of the population who are free of religious sentiments. To this end they are attempting to make use of the firing of churches.

What has been responsible for the firing of the churches? They cannot be explained simply by hatred for the churches felt by a section of the people who have freed themselves of religious prejudices. The fact is that the churches in Spain are organisational centres of the fascists and serve as stores for their weapons. In the overwhelming majority of cases, hidden stores of arms are discovered after the churches have been set afire. It is from these stores that people who took action against the workers' demonstrations received arms. It was in the churches that the fascists, who murdered workers, received sanctuary. The wrath of the masses against the churches (but not against the Catholics), which took the side of reaction and fascism is understandable. There are numerous cases where it was not the people who directly set fire to the churches, but the forces of reaction which provoked the fire so as to give rise to discontent among the believers. The Communist Party is explaining to the masses that the firing of churches and monasteries only plays into the hands of the counter-revolution.

Of tremendous importance both in securing the victory of the people's front at the elections of February 16th, and in the further development of the movement, was the part played by the women, who by their indignation at the black reaction of the two previous years, moved to the Left with remarkable rapidity and force. A very important point was the active participation of the anarchists who, in spite of the objections of their leaders, took part in the elections, and overwhelmingly voted for the people's front. This movement of the masses to the Left is also to be observed amongst the elements who were formerly under the influence of the Rights. After the victory of the people's front, this leftward movement has become still more marked.

For instance, in Granada and Cuenca, where the Rights originally achieved victory by making use of a number of violations of the law, they only received an insignificant number of votes when the elections were repeated. In Granada, the pressure of the masses resulted in a Communist deputy, not included in the list in the first round, being included in the list of candidates of the people's front. And although the candidature of this comrade was only put forward by a minority, he received such a number of votes as outdid all

expectations, and he was elected deputy. At the same time, great developments in the organisation of the workers' parties, trade unions and also the Left Republican Parties is to be observed.

Certain of the Rights are pretending that they have become reconciled with the present political situation, and are in agreement with parliamentary and more or less democratic forms of government. They are declaring for a republic of a "Christian-Social" character. The representative of this tendency is Jimenez Fernandez, leader of the C.E.D.A.,* who is now trying to put a stop to the increase in the influence of the Left Republicans. Others are preparing a new blow against the people's front and the republic, while not giving up their plans for a coup d'état. At the same time a certain increase in the strength of fascism is to be noted. The fascist type of monarchists have also increased their activity. The situation is becoming more and more tense, and is threatening to split the "Popular Action" Party.† For the time being the church has succeeded in preventing this split by reason of its tremendous influence inside the C.E.D.A.

Parallel with the main line of development, namely, the growth of the influence of the Parties and organisations in the people's front, the consolidation of the position of the Communist Party and the development of the popular anti-fascist movement, there is to be noted the rallying together of the forces of the most reactionary fascist and monarchist groupings ("Spanish Phalanx," monarchists, the fascist wing of the "Popular Action" party) which are preparing to deal a new and decisive blow at the people's front and the Republic.

The Development of the People's Front

Immediately after the October battles in 1934 when a furious riot of reaction and fascism began, the Communist Party told the masses that the united forces of the enemy must be countered by the front of all advanced forces, of all who are devoted to liberty. In March, 1935, Comrade Jose Diaz, General Secretary of the Communist Party, made a speech at a big meeting in Madrid where he very clearly outlined the specific forms which this people's front must take. This speech met with a tremendous response throughout the country.

After the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, which exerted exceptionally great influence on Spain, this idea of the people's front attracted the support of tremendous masses of people throughout the country. The campaign popularising the

*Reactionary landlord organisation.

†Fascist Party headed by Gil Robles.

decisions of the Seventh Congress in Spain was one of the most successful campaigns organised by the Communist Party. Throughout the country, in spite of the reaction raging at that time, we succeeded in gathering at our meetings thousands and sometimes more than 20,000 workers and peasants, who heartily endorsed the line indicated by Comrade *Dimitrov* at the Seventh Congress. The name of *Dimitrov* became the most popular among the Spanish people. Not only Communists, but also many Socialists engaged in popularising the decisions of the Seventh Congress. It is interesting to note that the demagogic speeches of the reactionaries and fascists frequently led to the opposite results. Thus, for instance, during the election campaign they pasted huge posters in all the streets which read as follows:

"A vote for the People's Front is a vote for *Dimitrov*.
Vote for Spain and against *Dimitrov*."

It is clear that the Spanish people, faced with such a dilemma, replied by voting for *Dimitrov*.

To the masses, *Dimitrov* is the embodiment of the victorious struggle against reaction and fascism. To the workers he is the standard-bearer of the idea of proletarian unity, the leader of the Communist International. To all the Left Republicans in Spain, *Dimitrov* means the salvation of the democracy won from the fascism which threatens it. All these people voted "*for Dimitrov*," and the people's front was victorious in Spain and dealt a crushing blow at the fascist reactionaries. But this does not mean that the question of organising the people's front did not meet with great obstacles in its path. Doubts arose among some of the Left Socialists as to the need for establishing the people's front.

Another tendency among the Socialists, headed by Prieto, approached the people's front as though it was a case of class collaboration, and adopted the same attitude, as formerly, beginning from the moment when the Republic was declared in our country.

As regards the Republicans, when they decided to link up with the people's front, they understood this people's front to be a mere electoral coalition which must come to a conclusion after the election, after they came to power.

However, in the long run we succeeded in getting our comrades, the Left Socialists and also a considerable part of the Republicans, to alter their point of view as regards the people's front. Actually, the people's front not only exists but is growing and gathering strength. In agreement with the Socialists, the leaders of the General Workers' Union and the League of Youth, a decision was taken that the leaders of the workers' organisations belonging to the people's front

should come together periodically, to discuss urgent questions of the struggle inside and outside Parliament. We have convinced the Republicans of the need for the Committee of the People's Front coming together periodically with a view to discussing the plan of work, and to introducing various questions and bills into Parliament. At these meetings of the people's front, a preliminary study is made of all the bills being proposed by the government, and we try to bring about unanimity among all participating, so as to act as one man in the Cortes against the reactionary bloc.

In the provinces, meetings of the people's front are not held with especial regularity. Usually they are called together when some important event takes place. Thus, for instance, a meeting of the people's front was called together in Cadiz, in order to discuss the fact that work had been completely stopped in the wharves at Echevarria. The representatives of the people's front arranged a joint meeting with the governor of the province, and decided to propose to the government that it confiscate this enterprise. The government examined this declaration and handed over the enterprise to be managed by the workers. The latter immediately renewed production without waiting for the government to appoint its representative and a director for the enterprise. In other places, the representatives of the people's front come together, discuss the poverty-stricken conditions of the workers, and amid general approval advance demands to the government or the municipality. All this indicates the further prospects of the people's front, its further consolidation, in spite of all existing obstacles.

Our Relations With the Government

Casares Quiroga, chairman of the Council of Ministers, made a declaration in Parliament in the name of the government, in which he pointed out that the government would in all its activities base itself on the masses and take all measures to bring about the speediest possible fulfilment of the programme of the people's front. In relation to the question of action against the fascists, he declared the following:

"The period of the defence of the Republic has come to an end and now the period of the offensive has begun . . . My Republican conscience is indignant at and condemns the fact that there are reactionary officials in the legal apparatus who, when we hand over the enemies of the Republic to the Tribunal, set them at liberty . . . As regards the fascist organisations which occupy themselves with making onslaughts on the democratic Republic, it is clear that the government cannot remain unaffected by this. In relation to fascism, the government is a fighting force."

Will Casares Quiroga keep to his promises? Judging by the first measures adopted, even

though with some inconsistency, we may reply that he will, with the aid of the people's front, with the aid of the people. Some measures have already been adopted in the army, the police force, the law courts, etc. The government declares that laws will be immediately presented to Parliament, in the spirit of the programme of the people's front, laws such as would satisfy the demands of the peasants and unemployed, and that a progressive income tax will be introduced, etc. The adoption of these laws will serve to still further consolidate the people's front and the development of the popular democratic revolution in Spain.

The policy of the Communist Party is directed towards consolidating, strengthening and extending the people's front, and not towards breaking it up. The Communist Party is urging on the government and the Republican Parties which belong to this front, to be as speedy as possible in satisfying the economic and political demands of the people, as formulated in the platform of the people's front. This is the best means of suppressing reaction and fascism. The consistent way in which our Party has operated the policy of the people's front has raised its authority high not only among the workers, but also in the ranks of the Left Republican Parties.

We do not leave out of account the fact that the present government is a Left Republican government. None the less, on the basis of facts we see that at the given stage we can fight alongside of them to improve the conditions of living, labour, culture and well-being of the masses of the people in our country and to ward off the blows of reaction and fascism.

The Struggle For Trade Union Unity

The biggest factor in the development of the working class movement in Spain was the unification of the Unitary General Confederation of Labour (CGTU) and the General Workers' Union (U.G.T.), which led to a colossal development of the activity of the trade union organisations in Spain. The overwhelming majority of the independent trade unions in existence linked up with General Workers' Union (UGT). After the unification had taken place, many unorganised workers joined the union. The joint UGT has 745,000 industrial workers and 253,000 agricultural labourers in its ranks, and more than 200,000 workers who are in the process of being accepted as members of the union. Here are a few facts to show the growth of the trade union organisations. In Malaga, prior to the merger between the General Workers' Union (UGT) and Unitary General Workers' Confederation of Labour (CGTU) both we and the UGT had a number of

very weak trade union organisations, but after the merger there are more than 31,000 workers in the joint organisations, while the leadership belongs to the Communists and Left Socialists. In the province of Seville, the trade unions have doubled their membership, and have more than 50,000 members in the union, while the leadership is in the hands of the Socialists and Communists jointly, the President and Secretary of the Federation being Communists. In Asturias, apart from a few local unions which are led by Communists and Socialists, there are two secretaries, Communists, in the Executive Council of the Miners' Union, co-opted as a result of the increase in our influence. A similar position exists in Toledo, Cordova and Jaen, etc. Many workers who formerly, when the CGTU lived a separate existence, considered us splitters, now have faith in us and put us forward for leading positions in the trade unions.

The workers have seen that the Communists pursue a firm policy in relation to the people's front and trade union unity. They have seen that we are the warmest defenders of the unified UGT, that we are seriously concerned about strengthening the trade unions, that we assist the remaining trade unions and unorganised workers in affiliating to the UGT.

The Congress of the National (anarchist) Confederation of Labour (CNT) which took place recently, was compelled to take account of the tremendous urge for unity existing among the majority of the members of the CNT. The anarchist leaders, taking account of these sentiments of the workers, introduced a demagogic proposal about the need for establishing "alliances" for the exclusive purpose of "carrying on the revolutionary struggle," and on condition that political parties are not accepted into the "alliances." In harmony with this, the Congress of the CNT demanded that the UGT should immediately break relations with the bourgeois parties and should leave the people's front. Objectively, this "arch-revolutionary" decision is being used by the enemies of the people for their own ends.

The manœuvre of the anarchist leaders was not clearly understood by some of our comrades, especially from the "Mundo Obrero." The Central Committee of our Party immediately introduced clarity into this question. This mistake is also the result of the fact that our Party, especially in recent times, has not been paying sufficient attention to the problem of anarchism as a whole. Especially now is it necessary to undertake an ideological struggle against anarchism, since this problem at the present time is linked up with the problem of the "alliances," at the very moment

when there are prospects for their development. The establishment of alliances is very much hindered by the future of some of our Socialist comrades to understand the real importance and purpose of this movement. After the recent declarations made by Comrade Largo Caballero about the need for establishing "alliances" (although he does not raise the question of the direct election of delegates in the factories), the question of organising "alliances" throughout the country will, we presume, move far forward.

The Situation in the Socialist Party

In the Socialist Party there are the following three trends: the Right current headed by Besteiro, the Centre headed by Prieto, and the Left, headed by Francisco Largo Caballero.

The main forces of the Socialist Party which have the greatest support among the people undoubtedly follow Largo Caballero. They are honestly striving to adopt a revolutionary position. And we are trying to help them to get their bearings in these problems. For it is precisely with the aid of these Lefts that we shall establish a single revolutionary party of the proletariat in Spain.

The Left wing in the Socialist Party facilitated and rendered possible the merging of the CGTU and the UGT and also assisted in bringing about the fusion of the Communist and Socialist Leagues of Youth. The Left wing does not hide its sympathies for the Communist International. Its programme also contains the idea of the establishment of a single party of the proletariat, it declares itself an adherent of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the armed uprising for the seizure of power. At the last meeting of the Madrid organisation of the Socialist Party, headed by Largo Caballero, a decision was adopted to introduce a resolution at the forthcoming congress of the Socialist Party to establish a united party of the proletariat on the basis of a discussion of the programmes of the Communist and Socialist Parties, with a view to drawing up a final programme for the united party.

Such is the position of the Left wing in the Socialist Party.

Although the Centre tendency does not openly declare against trade union and political unity, there are elements in its ranks which lean more to the Right tendency which is openly against the Communists and unification. Still, many Socialists of the Centre could be won to the side of the revolution. This is why our Party is exerting all its efforts to ensure that the struggle within the Socialist Party should develop on a high political plane, and should not be reduced to a polemic of a personal character. For if the Centrists have

hitherto had great influence over the revolutionary workers of Asturias, it is only because political problems which separate the Lefts from the Centrists in the Socialist Party have not been sufficiently explained to the Socialist workers. This is the reason why the workers of Asturias still continue to support the Centrist leadership, and keep at a distance from the left tendency in the Socialist Party as represented by Largo Caballero.

The danger of a split in the Socialist Party has grown considerably. The entire Press is now speaking of the possibility of a split in the Socialist Party, and of the establishment of a Party of the Republican radical-Socialist type.

A split in the Socialist Party would only lead to a weakening of the revolutionary forces, and this is why we are striving to prevent a split, for the workers who support the Centrist leaders are in the main revolutionary, and can and should follow the Left wing of the Socialist Party, so as jointly with us to form a united party of the proletariat.

The Experience of the United Organisations of the Youth

The fusion of the Communist and Socialist Leagues of Youth in Spain is a tremendous political event. As the result of discussions among the youth, and also contact with the Young Communist League, the Young Socialists carried on a struggle against Trotskyism as a counter-revolutionary current. The Madrid organisation of the Young Socialist League condemned the factional activity of the group led by the renegade Bullejos and expelled him and some of his supporters from the YSL.

To show the growth of the organisation of the youth, we quote the following data: at the time when the fusion took place, the YCL had 50,682 members (prior to February 16, 1936, 14,000), while the YSL had 65,600 members (prior to February 16, 1936, 24,000). In the course of two or three weeks after the merger, the united organisations of the youth already had 140,000 members. This fact shows that the fears of those people who think that the revolutionary character of the youth movement may be lost or altered as the result of the merger are superfluous. Now it is not 50,000, but 140,000 members of the United League who are defending the revolutionary line of the YCI. The first issue of the "Juventud" ("Youth"), the organ of the United League of Youth, was printed in 150,000 copies. The leaders and the Press of the Socialist Youth heartily defend the YCI and the Comintern, and occupy a clear and loyal position in relation to the problem of the united front, the alliances, the

people's front, the organisation of a united party of the proletariat, and also the question of the character of our revolution.

Workers and Peasants' Militia*

The Workers' and Peasants' Militia is in the stage of organisation, and as yet there are no exact data about it. The most important thing at the present time is the re-organisation of the former shock groups which belonged to the Socialist and Communist Leagues of Youth into a broad organisation of the masses of the people. Predominant in the ranks of the Workers' and Peasants' Militia are the young people, many workers and a tremendous number of peasants. There are also in the Militia a great number of young people who belong to the Republican left, while in Catalonia groups of the "Estat Catala" (National Revolutionary Party in Catalonia) are in the Militia. After the merger of the youth organisations, the militia adopted a uniform like that formerly worn by the Young Communist League, namely, a blue shirt with a red tie. In actual fact that militia exists throughout the country. The militia defend the people's front organisation against attacks and aggression by the fascists and reactionaries, and defend the liberties of the people, and the Republic.

What is the nature of the activity of the militia? Here are a few characteristic facts:

In Madrid the fascists make a practice of shooting from automobiles at revolutionary workers and demonstrations. And so the militia assist the government by placing guards at the entrances to and exits from the city to keep a check as to the occupants of automobiles and the nature of the luggage they carry with them. With the same end in view, groups of militiamen at night time parade working class quarters, and check up the documents of pedestrians. If they meet a fascist, then on the first occasion they notify the authorities of his address, but on the second occasion they turn him over to the authorities for detention. Whenever the forces of reaction and fascism have attempted to organise a coup d'état, to stir up rebellion among the troops, etc., the militia have been constantly on the streets and acted in such a way that there was not a single case of encounter or friction between the police on the one hand and the militia on the other.

The militia is now a well-disciplined force, and will, as time goes on, become one of the biggest mass organisations in our country.

The Struggle To Democratise the Army

A most serious problem facing the Communist Party of Spain is that of work in the army, since

*Militant self-defence groups directed against reaction and fascism.

while our work in the army is still weak, the forces of reaction and fascism which constantly organise conspiracies against the republic and hatch plots against the state are still concentrated there.

It is true that in the recent period, a certain turn in favour of the people's front and our Party can be noted among the officers. The violence of the fascists, as for example the murder of Captain Farauo, has hastened this process. The funeral of this captain was turned into a real demonstration of their anti-fascist feelings by the soldiers and officers of the Madrid garrison. The speech made by the representative of our Party at this funeral created a tremendous impression on the army men. The speaker emphasised the point that the Communists are not at all hostile either to the soldiers or to the army itself, that we are not striving to undermine discipline, but that all we want is to purge the army of fascists and reactionaries who murder both working people as well as military men of anti-fascist sentiments, merely because these latter honour the will of the people and remain true to the republic.

Characteristic of the sentiments prevailing among the soldiers, was the event in Alcala de Anares, where reactionary officers attempted to incite the soldiers to mutiny, who not only did not obey the orders of the officers but reported these efforts of incitement to insurrection.

We are striving to prevail on the government to completely purge the army of all reactionary and fascist elements, and of the considerable number of monarchists who hold commanding posts in the army. We are striving by energetic work to create a powerful republican and anti-fascist movement within the army for the purpose of democratising it. The army must serve the interests of the working people and not of the reactionaries, as has been the case up to the present time.

What Our Party Was, And What It Is Now

After the temporary defeat of October, 1934, our Party succeeded in regrouping its forces without being seriously weakened. We suffered heavy losses during the uprising and after it, as a result of the repression. But on the whole, our cadres were saved throughout the country, with the exception of Asturias, where our Party suffered very great losses.

The workers, and particularly the Socialist workers, became convinced that our Party knows what it wants and where it is going by the struggle carried on by the new leadership of the Party to eliminate all remnants of sectarianism; by the struggle it wages in creating the people's front; by the exceptional activity of the entire party

during the days of the darkest reaction; and by the work we did towards unifying the forces of the proletariat, our Party has shown itself to be a monolithic Party organisationally and ideologically, a fact which has greatly increased its influence over the masses. Thanks to the correctness of its tactics, substantiated by the results of the elections of February 16th, the masses of the people consider the Party to be the initiator of the victory over reaction and fascism. Our Party is a big factor in the political life of the country. For the first time the Party has real representation in parliament. The activity of the 17 Communist Deputies in the Cortes is facilitating the growth of the popularity and authority of the Party. Similar successes are being achieved by our representatives in the city councils. The Communist Councillors are the most popular people throughout Spain. They know how to approach what appear to be most complex problems and to solve them. Here for example, is the way our comrades acted in the case of the "land sabotage" when the big landowners ceased cultivation of the land, thereby depriving the agricultural labourers of work. Our comrades invited the representatives of both the landowners and the agricultural workers to the Municipal Hall. If they could not reach an agreement during the first exchange of opinions, then our comrades would place the question in this way: "You shall not leave the building of the City Council until you carry out a decision which will be acceptable to the workers."

This is one of the thousands of various methods of work used by our comrades, who carry on a great amount of work to improve sanitary conditions in the working class districts, to secure the distribution of relief during strikes, the repairing of workers' houses, etc.

The popularity and the influence of the Party can be excellently demonstrated by figures. Prior to the elections of February 16th, our Party had 20,000 members, while at the present time it has 83,967 members. This is still not a big figure, but then our Party had only just begun to be transformed into a big mass party. We set ourselves the task of bringing the numerical strength of the Party up to 100,000 by the time of the opening of our Party Congress, and this figure will undoubtedly be exceeded.

The largest influx of new members into the ranks of our Party is taking place in the agricultural districts of our country, and in the cities of the semi-industrial type, such as Malaga, Seville, Jaen, Valencia, Badajos, etc., and in the mining centres as for example in Asturias, and to a lesser extent, in Biscay. New members are also joining our Party directly in the large enterprises, includ-

ing the railways. The majority of the new members are workers, organised in the UGT, while only a minority are unorganised. The growth of the Communist Party at the expense of the Socialists constitutes a comparatively small percentage, as the Communist Party is not carrying on a special campaign to draw the members of the Left wing of the Socialist Party into its ranks. The increase in the membership of our Party from among the members of the trade unions affiliated to the CNT is still insufficient, a fact which testifies to the general weakness of our work in Catalonia.

The important question of training these new members is one facing our Party at the present moment. This question deserves all the more attention since it touches the question of the lack of cadres. Up to the present moment we have not carried on any regular work to train new members and to set up cadres. There is a decision of the Party periodically to call meetings of active Party members for the exchange of experiences in Party work and methods of work, taking into consideration the fact that the new members of the Party came to us from organisations whose methods of work differ sharply from ours.

Our work in Catalonia deserves the greatest amount of self-criticism. Here the successes of the Party are too insignificant. The membership of the Communist Party of Catalonia is not more than 2,000. It is precisely in Catalonia and Biscay—the basic industrial districts of Spain—where the Party is growing at an exceedingly slow pace, yet the people of Catalonia have elected a number of our comrades to leading positions in the trade unions. This fact shows that while they have confidence in the Communists as individuals, the Party as such has not been able organisationally to cover them and to consolidate its influence among them. It is true that the situation in Catalonia is more complicated than in any other place in Spain. There are 10 to 12 organisations of a nationalist type, two Socialist organisations, an anarchist and counter-revolutionary Trotskyist groupings. And, of course, the factional cancer of the past has made the growth of our Party in Catalonia more difficult. But this is only one reason. The basic mistake lies in the fact that the national question, the question of our national policy, has not been put forward correctly.

Now conditions are favourable for growth of the revolutionary movement in Catalonia. Such parties as the Union of Socialists of Catalonia, the Socialist Party and the Proletarian Party of Catalonia, have agreed to merge with the Communist Party on the basis of our general line and tactics, and to join in principle with the

Communist International. We are aiming towards creating a single mass Workers' Party of Catalonia by uniting the Communist Party with the above mentioned organisations, while at the same time striving to ensure co-operation with the peasants' union (Rabassaires).

Whither Is Spain Going ?

Two forces are struggling against each other in Spain—the force of fascism and the forces of the anti-fascist people's front — revolution and counter-revolution. The outcome of this struggle has not yet been settled. At the present time we occupy a much more advantageous position than the enemies of the people. We can come out of this struggle victorious. The Party is growing rapidly. But the leadership of the Party does not forget that the successes which have been achieved are not yet finally consolidated. At the present time we are not putting forward the transition from the completion of the bourgeois-democratic revolution to the socialist revolution, for the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship, as the immediate task, but we aim at completing and carrying to its conclusion the people's democratic revolution.

The weapons of victory are in our hands. The Communist Party of Spain sets itself as the main and most pressing immediate task at the present moment—the achievement of the complete

victory of the democratic and revolutionary forces over fascism and counter-revolution, and by operating measures of an economic and political character which lead along the path towards the completion of the democratic revolution, to isolate the fascists from the masses of peasants and urban petty bourgeoisie on whom they have based themselves up to the present time; to disorganise the forces of fascism, to undermine the material base of the counter-revolution, and to strengthen the position of the proletariat and its allies. Will we be able to solve these tasks, to solve the questions which face the proletariat and the people as a whole? The basic condition for the successful solution of these tasks, lies in strengthening to the utmost and in further developing the struggle of the people's front against fascism and counter-revolution, and in defence of the revolution and the republic. We are carrying out a clear line, and understand our aims—we know what we want and where we are going. In our struggle we are inspired by the teachings of *Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin*.

The Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of Spain which is called for August of this year, will sum up the results, and set the perspectives of the struggle against fascism and the counter-revolution, for the political unity of the proletariat, and for the victorious development of the revolution in Spain.

AGAINST THE ENEMIES OF THE PEOPLE¹

By Dolores Ibarruri

SENOR Deputies! Strange and paradoxical as it may seem, this time the Communist fraction agrees with the proposal, although not with the bill, introduced by Gil Robles, which emphasises the need for putting an end as quickly as possible to the disorder which reigns in our country. But while we are in agreement in principle that such a necessity exists—our further paths part, for in seeking the truth and in drawing the conclusions we consider necessary, the path we take is different from that taken by Gil Robles—our paths counterpose and contradict one another.

M. Gil Robles made a beautiful speech and I will give it a precise answer. Although M.

Casares Quiroga² has already given an exhaustive answer to M. Calvo Sotelo,³ exposing the latter's intention to spread the dissension with which he

² Casares Quiroga—former leader of the "District Autonomous Organisation of Galicia"—national party of Galicia which later on fused with the party of Azana (Left Republican). Prior to the election of Azana as president of the Republic, Casares Quiroga was Minister of Internal Affairs. From March 10 to June 19, 1936, he has been Chairman of the Council of Ministers. The following words of Casares Quiroga, in his speech directed against Gil Robles, deserve attention: "The government does not intend to punish the workers to please you."

³ Calvo Sotelo—leader of the Fascist Monarchist Party, "The Spanish Renaissance" uniting the representatives of the old aristocracy and part of the reactionary bourgeoisie, orientated himself on Italian Fascism. During the dictatorship of Primo De Rivera he was his most trusted adherent. Up till recently he, jointly with Gil Robles, headed the reactionary forces in Spain. Sotelo was killed on July 13 in Madrid.

¹ Speech of Comrade Dolores Ibarruri (Passionaria), member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain, delivered in the Spanish Parliament, June 16, 1936.

appeared this evening in Parliament and calculating, of course, that his words would have influence beyond the walls of Parliament—I am, however, compelled to dwell upon a number of concrete cases and on the activity of M. Calvo Sotelo himself.

M. Gil Robles, as I have already said, made a beautiful speech, as beautiful and wordy a speech as he usually makes when, in the rôle of a faultless leader—be it not said in reproach of him—he makes the rounds of the towns and villages, preaching the gospel of Christian socialism, of just reward for service—although this “justice” when Gil Robles himself took an active part in the government was expressed in such acts as the establishment of the “Christian” wage of from 1½ to 2 pesetas⁴ per day for agricultural workers.

M. Gil Robles is a shrewd parliamentarian and a no less skilful orator who makes use of effective phrases, and resorts to arguments which are not too convincing and not so very sound, arguments as unsubstantial as, for example, the assertion that the government has not given any support to the employers. Using incorrect arguments, he, of course, came to incorrect conclusions. In full accord with the will of the rich men who sent him to parliament, the will which his Honour, as well as his adherents, are able to fulfil so skilfully, he operates here with a number of events which have taken place in Spain, which we all regret, in order in this way to demonstrate the inadequacy of the measures taken by the government and the failure of the People’s Front. His Honour began by enumerating only those events which have taken place after February 19,⁵ and as was correctly pointed out by the deputies who have spoken on this question, he did not come to any conclusion. For example, he did not come to the conclusion that it is necessary to find out who is responsible for these events. But M. Gil Robles is surely not unaware that after some of the church fires, church valuables, which under normal circumstances had no right to be there, were discovered in the houses of the clergymen belonging to these churches. (*Much movement on the right benches, shouts of approval from the benches of the People’s Front.*)

I shall cite facts because facts are more convincing than all rhetorical phrases, more convincing than all fine words, for correct conclusions can be drawn from facts: history is written on the basis of facts. Inasmuch as I assume that M. Gil

Robles as a Christian must love truth, he should be interested in having the history of Spain written correctly. I shall try to refresh his memory with facts, and in contrast to the sophisms of M. Gil Robles I shall cite arguments in order to prove the correctness of the deductions which I shall make in my speech.

Permit me, however, gentlemen, first to throw a ray of light on the double game, that is, on the manoeuvres of the rights. They organise acts of provocation on the streets and then they send a few men to parliament who, with expressions of innocent babes (laughter) question the government as to what is really going on and where we are going. (Stormy applause.) Gentlemen of the right! you come here, tearing your disgraced garments, and covering your heads with ashes, while someone whom you, as was already stated by Comrade de Francisco,⁶ know very well and whom, by the way, we also know very well, places an order for uniforms for the civil guard for purposes known to you and not unknown to us. And through the Northern border of Navarro, the Spanish Vendee, M. Calvo Sotelo transports arms and munitions, of course with less noise and less pomp than the act of provocation in Vera del Bidasca organised by the dastardly murderer, Martinez Anido. And your Honour collaborated with the murderer (Exclamations—“Hear, Hear!”—thunderous applause on the left benches). No matter how disgraceful it may be for the Spanish republic it is necessary to state that neither Martinez Anido nor your Honour, who helped him, were turned over to the court. (Thunderous applause. Calvo Sotelo: “I protest against these insults directed toward a person who is absent.” The speaker rings the bell and calls for order.) As I have already stated—facts are much more convincing than words. I shall not limit myself only to events which have taken place after February 19, but shall also dwell on the events which preceded this date, because the storm which is raging to-day—is the result of the wind of yesterday. (Deputies cry—“hear, hear!”)

What transpired after the time when the genuine republican elements and Socialists gave up power? What transpired after the time when the persons who cover themselves with the mantle of republicanism (“very good!”) under the pretext of extending the base of the government joined with you, anti-republicans, in a coalition government? The following took place: In the villages the eviction of the small tenant farmer became a mass phenomenon; the Municipal

⁴ Peseta—approximately 6d.

⁵ February 19, 1936: The date when the government of Azana came to power after the victory of the People’s Front in the elections of February 16, 1936. It is for this reason that Gil Robles devoted his attacks to the events which have transpired after February 19.

⁶ De Francisco, secretary of the Madrid organisation and secretary of the parliamentary group of the Socialist Party.

Councils in Biscay were subjected to persecution, the Catalonian constitution was curtailed; all democratic liberties were trampled upon, labour legislation was not observed, the so-called law regarding the municipal districts, as already stated by Comrade de Francisco, was abolished. The workers were persecuted in every way. As a result of this there accumulated such hatred, such great dissatisfaction that it had to break through in some way, and it did break through. There came the glorious October⁷ of which we, all Spanish citizens, who have political sense, and a feeling of our own dignity and are conscious of our responsibility for the fate of Spain in the face of the plots of the fascists, are proud. (Cries of "Hear, hear!")

All of these events which developed in Spain during the period which has been so fittingly called—"The Black Two Years,"⁸ took place, M. Gil Robles, not only with the support of the official authorities, who based themselves upon the state apparatus of violence, but also with the co-operation of the scum of capitalist society, the declassed elements and the lumpen proletariat. They were bribed, given revolvers and guaranteed immunity from punishment, and all that was demanded of them that they should attack the workers and begin to destroy those who came forward in the struggle. The leaders of the left wing—the Socialist Canales, Joaquin de Grado, Juanita Rico, Manuel Andres and many others fell victims of these gangs of hired murderers, headed by M. Calvo Sotelo, and a certain "Senorita" whose names arouse rage among the Spanish workers because they mean destruction and shame for Spain ("Hear, hear!"), and the miserable young cretins who envy the victories and bloody glory of Hitler and Mussolini. (All the deputies of the People's Front without exception enthusiastically applaud the speaker.)

Then, as I have already stated, the October explosion took place, the glorious October, which represented the instinctive self-defence of the people against the fascist danger, for the people, moved by the true instinct of self-preservation, realised what fascism is. They understood that what was at stake was not only life but also free-

⁷ Revolutionary events in Spain in October, 1934.

⁸ "The Black Two Years"—the years 1934-36 when the reactionary government was in power.

⁹ Apparently here the speaker meant Pilar Primo de Rivera, the daughter of the late dictator of Spain, Primo de Rivera, who jointly with her brother Antonio leads the fascist organisation (National-Syndicalist Opposition Association) and the Spanish "Phalanx." Took part in the murder of the young Socialist Juanita Rico in Madrid in 1934.

dom and personal dignity, which are dearer than life itself. The people who were given the task of suppressing the movement were, M. Gil Robles, such scoundrels, and they committed such barbarous atrocities as in the history of oppression and repression no other country has ever known.

Thousands of imprisoned and tortured! Women crucified on the stocks for refusing to give up their dear ones! Children shot to death. Mothers who went mad at the sight of the tortures to which their sons were subjected! Men whose sexual organs were torn out! Recall Carbayin, San Estevan de las Cruces, Villafria, La Cabana, San Pedro de los Arcos, and lastly, the murder of Luis de Sirval!¹⁰ (*The People's Front deputies arise and burst into long applause. The ovation is renewed several times, the deputies continuing to stand. The journalists applaud from their table.*) The hundreds and thousands of people subjected to torture testify to the way the law is administered by the rights, by those who call themselves Catholics and Christians. And all of this, M. Gil Robles enveloped in a whole cloud of slander. (Marcos Miranda: "And all of this was denied!") It was all flooded by a huge stream of false accusations because the people in power were at that time already very well aware that the answer of the people would be horrible if they learnt what was actually transpiring, particularly in Asturias.

False rumours, the most malicious inventions were spread about those fighting for freedom. False stories were spread about the violation of women in San Lajaro, about children whose eyes were put out, false stories that flesh of dead clergymen was sold by the pound; fairy tales were disseminated about soldiers of the Storm Guard being burned alive. All of these inventions so varied and so malicious had one and the same aim in view, namely, to arouse in all classes in Spain hatred toward the uprising in Asturias, toward the uprising, which in spite of certain excesses—which can be quite understood during a revolutionary movement of such huge proportions—were of an exceedingly magnanimous character—for during the time of the uprising in Asturias the lives of the most malicious enemies of the people were spared. But these people later were not honourable enough to recall the generosity previously shown to them. (Stormy applause.)

I shall now touch on the four basic points

¹⁰ Luis De Sirval—republican journalist, member of the Azana Party, was murdered in October, 1934, while gathering information regarding the persecution of revolutionary workers. The murder was committed by an officer of the Foreign Legion (Colonial Troops in Morocco).

which made up the lying stories which, as I have stated already, had one and the same aim in view. First of all I shall touch upon the false accusations as to the violation of women. You are well aware that this was a lie because the girls who, according to your words, were murdered and before their death were violated by the revolutionists, themselves cast your foul fairy tale back into your faces with the words—"We are alive and received nothing but attention from the revolutionaries." But this lie of yours had its purpose. The fairy tales about the violation of women spread by your press (while the left press was doomed to silence) were to rouse the Spanish people, in whom the spirit of chivalry is so inherent, against the alleged barbarism of the revolutionaries.

But even this did not satisfy you. You tried to rouse hatred among the women against the revolution. You attempted to play upon the motherly feeling of love for their children, and to this end you speculated on the fables invented by you about the children whose eyes were put out. I must say here that our revolutionaries followed the example of the heroes of the Paris Commune, and with a view to saving the lives of the children waited until the children and their mothers vacated the barracks of the civil guard before settling accounts with the men, as befits the brave. They did so with unequal arms, but were inspired by ideals, something of which you were never capable. (Applause.)

Now, as for the stories about the sale of the flesh of dead priests. You know very well, and we also recognise that religious feelings are still alive among broad sections of the Spanish people, thus you wanted by this dastardly lie to dampen any feeling of sympathy, any feeling of mercy, which could arise in the hearts of the religious people toward the revolutionaries.

But the culminating point of your slander was that about soldiers of the Storm Guard being burned alive—what you needed was that the armed forces sent by you into Asturias should smash up the revolutionary movement, and that their hearts should be filled with a thirst for revenge. This is why the lie was spread among the rank and file of the Storm Guard, that their comrades were burned up alive by the revolutionaries. All of your lying inventions, as I have already stated, were directed toward one aim, namely, towards that of turning the Spanish workers away from the movement of rebellion in Asturias.

But everything has an end, M. Gil Robles. When Spain began to learn the truth, then the

consequences were soon felt. On February 16¹¹ the people unanimously registered their hatred toward those who imagined that by means of terror and bloody repressions they had suppressed the ardent aspiration of the people for justice which lay dormant among them. Those who were defeated in February, but who still consider themselves masters of Spain, have not reconciled themselves to defeat, and have attempted by all means at their disposal to postpone and paralyse these results. This explains your desperation, because you know that the People's Front will not be smashed, but will realise the aims which it has set itself. It is for this reason that you still refuse to carry out the instructions and orders of the government, and why you systematically set yourselves against the satisfaction of the demands of the toilers, thereby arousing disorder. For M. Calvo Sotelo, who became accustomed to see the lion's share under the dictatorship¹² cannot imagine that the Spanish workers act otherwise than they did at that time. What leads to strikes? Can it be idleness? Or the desire to make disorder?

Strikes take place because the workers can no longer exist.

No! The situation leads to strikes because the workers can no longer exist in this way. It is quite understandable and natural that people who were subjected to torture and repression when the rights were in power, now want to achieve that which you refused to give them and to achieve which you always blocked their path. The government has no need to fear strikes. Such measures, directed toward the defence of the workers' interests, do not by any means bear the character of a revolt against the government. These strikes only express the desire of the workers to improve their conditions and to make their way out of the privation in which they live.

Some of the speakers here dealt with the situation in the village. I also want to touch upon this, because it is closely connected with the conditions of the urban workers. In passing I shall again expose the connections which exist between the owners of the large estates on the one hand, who systematically refuse to give work to the peasants but who prefer that the harvest be destroyed, and on the other hand the left manufacturers, the bosses of the building industry and other spheres of production who enter into conflict with their workers and resist the satisfaction of the demands of the workers. All of this is connected with what I said before about the

¹¹ February 16, 1936. The day of Parliamentary elections which the People's Front conquered.

¹² Dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, 1923-1929.

double-dealing of the people who come here to ask what is really taking place in the country, while they themselves sow dissension and unrest in town and country.

I will cite a concrete example from the sphere of events in the province of Toledo which is a reflection of what is taking place in other agrarian provinces in Spain. In Quintanar de la Orden many big landowners held up the pay of their workers during the entire agricultural season. (In all probability this is not unknown to M. Madariaga because his attention was always engrossed in the defence of the interests of the big landowners.) It will be interesting to see what M. Madariaga will say when the workers of Quintanar de la Orden, like the workers of Almendralejo and many other Spanish villages will decide at some definite moment to take that which belongs to them by right? Oh, of course! M. Madariaga will come here and will speak about disorders. He will say that the government has no authority. He will come here and, as so many others so stubbornly do here, to constantly disrupt the work of the government and the parliament.

Both the big landowners and the industrialists are consciously determined to provoke disorders—as will be proved to you by the concrete fact which I shall speak of now. In Villa de Don Fadrique, one of the villages of the province of Toledo, the instructions of the agrarian reform were put into effect. But one of the landlords, who is insulted by what the peasants consider to be justice (the peasants, it should be remembered, have hitherto known of no other justice save the power of the landlords), came to an agreement with other landlords and organised a virtual act of provocation—and a very clever one at that, gentlemen of the right!

I shall now describe it to you here, and will prove at the same time the entire falsity of the arguments brought by Calvo Sotelo, who asserts that the large landowners are not in a position to pay more than 1½ pesetas a day. (Agitation in the hall. One of the deputies asks, "Who said that?")

These landlords, whose property is located in Villa de Don Fadrique (province of Toledo), and whose harvest is estimated at ten thousand douros,¹³ proposed to distribute the harvest among the peasants of the neighbouring villages of Lillo, Cerral de Almaguer and Villacanas. In principle this appears to be an altruistic act. But at bottom this is a dastardly provocation. The big landowners want to incite the working people of one village, who are tortured by hunger, against those

of other villages. To prove that my words contain neither inventions nor sophistry, I will read you the statement made by the brother of one of the landlords of this locality made in the presence of Mariano Gimeno, the mayor of the community, before the commission of the association of landowners. This is what he said: "Had my brother been successful in accomplishing that which was decided on, that is, in distributing the harvest, then this would have at the present time given rise to conflicts, and would thus have put an end to everything." Here, M. Gil Robles, and not the workers and peasants are the people who are responsible for the unrest. Decisive measures must be taken against those who are responsible for the disorder and disorganisation in the economic life of Spain, against those who are resorting to such "innocent" measures, as the withdrawal of Spanish capital abroad, against those who disseminate dastardly lies about the situation in Spain in order to undermine it, against those employers who refuse to carry out the decisions of the Arbitration Courts and their instructions, against those who constantly and systematically refuse to give the workers that which belongs to them by right, against those who prefer to allow the harvest to rot than to pay wages to the agricultural workers. Decisive measures must be taken against those who made it possible for events to take place similar to those in Yesta¹⁴ and in many other Spanish villages, against those who at last must feel the firm hand of the government directed against them and not against the starving workers and peasants who are hungering for bread and justice.

M. Casares Quiroga, and ministers: It will not be by the attacks of the reactionaries nor by the more or less masked manoeuvres of the enemies of democracy that it will be possible to break down that confidence which the workers feel in the People's Front and the government which represents it. (Cries of approval.) But as has already been stated by Comrade de Francisco, the government must not forget the need for making those elements who do not want to reckon

¹⁴The events in Yesta; these events took place on May 28, 1936, in the village of Yesta (province of Toledo). Several of the starving poor entered the "La Umbria" estate which belongs to the squires of this village, the brothers Alfargo, in order to chop down a few trees. The civil guard detained six peasants and beat them up brutally. On the following day the mayor of the village with several municipal councillors and trade union leaders, accompanied by inhabitants of the village went to the civil guard building in order to ask that the arrested men should be freed. On the way there they were met by the guard which opened fire at them. Twenty-two peasants were killed and 50 wounded.

¹³Douro—5 pesetas.

with the law, and in the present concrete case, neither the workers nor the peasants belong to this category, feel the power of the law.

If there are reactionary generals in Spain who at a definite moment could be incited by such individuals as M. Calvo Sotelo to rebel against the state authority, we also have the soldiers from among the people, we have heroic sergeants, such as the sergeant from Alkala, who know how to put these generals in their place! (Cries of approval.) And when the government adopts the decision to speed up the fulfilment of the programme of the People's Front, and, as was stated several days ago by M. Albornoz,¹⁵ when the Republican offensive begins, then the government will find on its side all the workers, filled with the determination, as on February 16, to smash

¹⁵ Alvaro de Albornoz: independent Republican. After the establishment of the republican administration in 1931 occupied the position of chairman of the Guarantee Tribunal, the function of which consisted in checking up the fulfilment of the constitution by the government. The tribunal participated in the preparation and drawing up of the laws, and had a right to annul them if they did not correspond to the constitution. With the coming to power of the government of Lerroux-Gil Robles (1934-36), Albornoz resigned.

the forces of reaction, and once more to lead the People's Front to victory.

What are the conclusions which I draw? In order to avoid the disorder, to overcome the condition of uneasiness which prevails in Spain, it is not sufficient to place the responsibility for the coming events only upon some individual person as, for example, on M. Calvo Sotelo. A beginning should be made by placing the employers in jail who refuse to carry out the orders of the government, by imprisoning the big landowners who are starving the peasants to death, by throwing into jail the people whose hands are still red with the blood of the victims of the October repressions, and who come here with unexampled cynicism and want to make the government responsible for events which have not taken place. When these deeds of justice begin to be operated, then, M. Casares Quiroga and ministers, not a single government will have such firm and strong support at its disposal as your government, because the masses of the people in Spain will rise as courageously as they rose on February 16 in order to undertake a still more decisive struggle against the elements whose presence here is absolutely intolerable. (*Ovation by the deputies of the People's Front.*)

THE FIGHT AGAINST FASCISM IN SPAIN

(Letter from Madrid)

THE military-fascist forces are spreading reports through the radio stations which they have seized to the effect that the responsibility for the bloody civil war which they have begun lies with the people's anti-fascist front. This is a lie, a slander and an act of provocation. I am making use of the first opportunity to send you this letter.

We want the whole civilised world to know the truth as to who actually are the criminals responsible for having begun the civil war in Spain.

Who are these people who have now hurled themselves on our people? What are the aims pursued by the organisers of the revolt? What forces stand behind them?

As is well known the counter-revolutionary and fascist government was driven out of our country by the vote of the people. The people's anti-fascist front won a victory at the elections to the Cortes held on February 16 this year, in spite of all the threats and demagogic promises of the monarchist militarists and fascist organisations. The country expressed its will clearly and in no

uncertain fashion, to the effect that it was against the hated monarchy, against the feudal yoke, against a new fascist enslavement, and for a free and happy democratic Spain.

Proud in the consciousness of their undoubted moral and political victory over their reactionary enemies, the masses of the people took up an excessively trustful attitude towards them. How did the leaders of the monarchist fascist bands react to this? They made foul use of this trustfulness, against the people.

In words they declared themselves ready to make their peace with the democratic republic established in Spain, but in actual fact they immediately resorted to economic sabotage and dirty speculation, after the fall of their government.

The financial interests began to transfer their capital abroad, and the foulest marauders on the Stock Exchange began to operate against the exchange value of the peseta.

The reactionary fascist cliques which were in power for two years brought the economic life of the country to ruin, in their own interests, and

when after the elections they were driven out, they tried to take their revenge on the country by preventing it in every way from setting the economic life of the country in order.

The big manufacturers demanded the abolition of the measures adopted by the government to lighten the burden of the masses of the people, and threatened that if this was done they would declare a lockout.

The big landowners, supported by the banking clique, threatened a "strike" and declared that they would not let their fields be cultivated in the autumn if the government did not give up its land reforms and its defence of the interests of the agricultural workers and peasants.

It was only thanks to the powerful pressure of the overwhelming majority of the population, welded together in the people's front, that the government did not give way to these threats and desires of the robbers and tricksters.

The government displayed excessive magnanimity towards the reactionary elements who met with complete defeat at the elections. In spite of the warnings and advice given by the workers' organisations, the leaders of the monarchists and fascists were left at liberty, and even continued to occupy some key positions in the army, fleet and the state apparatus.

How did the hangmen of the people reply to this magnanimity? By black betrayal. When they were still in the government, they made use of the entire state apparatus as a machine of violence and terror against the people. But when they were driven out of the government by the vote of the people, they resorted to the weapon of individual terror against the best sons of the people.

Not a single day passed without some active member of the working class movement and the people's front being killed or wounded by the agents of the counter-revolution. The enemies of the people strove by these terrorist deeds not only physically to wipe out the people whom they hated, but also to create the impression that there was no firmly established order in our country.

The fascists and monarchists transformed the churches and monasteries into stores for their arms, and places of refuge for their terrorist bands, and at the same time provoked the firing of churches and monasteries, while themselves organising such fires in order to set the religious section of the population against the other sections not linked up with the church.

"Beware of provocateurs," was the warning of the workers' organisation. "Remember that those who set fire to the churches and the monasteries play into the hands of counter-revolution!"

The agents of the counter-revolution used every possible means to defend the feudal privileges of the landowners and big money-lenders who for centuries had oppressed the peasantry; and at the same time they strove to provoke conflicts between the peasants and the armed forces of the State.

The tactics of the monarchist fascist counter-revolutionaries were to reduce certain sections of the working people to despair and hopelessness, to force the movement of the people to leave the path of open, organised and conscious mass struggle for the liberation of the whole people, and to provoke the outbreak of civil war in the country.

But the working class of Spain showed the whole world not only their heroic firmness and self-sacrifice, but also their high political maturity and wise determination; they showed themselves to be a force rallying and leading the whole of the population drawn into the movement of the people's front.

The working class of Spain correctly estimated the degree of the maturity of the objective conditions, took a sound view of the relation of forces in the country and set before the people's front those tasks of reorganising and advancing the country which have fully matured at the present stage of development, and which therefore were accepted by the masses of the people as really their own tasks.

Thanks to this high level of class-consciousness of the working class, and the profound educational influence exerted by them over the wide masses of their allies, the people's front did not fall apart, but became steeled under the blows of the fascist counter-revolution.

Against whom have the most exploiting, the most parasitic and most reactionary elements of the propertied classes now raised revolt in Spain? Against anarchy, against fratricidal war—assert the putschists and their international fascist abettors and supporters? This is not true, of course. In our country after the bloody reactionary government was driven out, a régime of firm democratic order and unity among the people was established, and not of anarchy and fratricidal war.

All honest people understand that the revolt was raised not against non-existing anarchy and fratricidal war, but against the régime of legality and order which bases itself on the undoubted will of the Spanish people whose interests it serves.

What are the putschists trying to achieve? They want to prevent the working class dictatorship in Spain, is the lying assertion of the provocateurs. No, they are striving to overthrow the

democratic republic established by the people, to destroy the democratic rights and liberties won by the people in a stubborn and unswerving struggle.

What are the means being used by the fascist plotters to achieve the fulfilment of their criminal plans? The method of civil war. The method of letting anarchy loose. The method of unrestrained Hitlerite terror directed against all sections of the population. At all points seized by the fascists bestial punishment is being meted out to those who defend the people, and who belong to all the sections of the population.

But why do the plotters undertake such a desperate adventure as the attempt to overthrow by means of a putsch the democratic republic for which the Spanish people stand so firmly and courageously? Is it true that the democratic republic established in Spain has undermined the capitalist system, expropriated the bourgeoisie, and done away with private property in the means and implements of production?

No, of course not. The Spanish middle class themselves cannot and do not assert that the people's front sets itself the task of overthrowing the capitalist system.

The struggle in our country now is not between socialism and capitalism, but between bourgeois democracy and fascism.

What forces can the military fascist putschists count on?

They did not succeed in catching the working class unawares, the most class-conscious and far-sighted of whom never ceased to expose the plot being prepared long before the putsch took place.

They did not succeed in introducing discord into the ranks of the people's front, the solidarity of whose ranks is growing in the face of the offensive of our common foul enemy.

The main core of the counter-revolutionary forces is the foreign legion from Morocco, composed of the dregs of all nations. These troops are specially corrupted by the reactionaries in order to suppress the liberation movement both in the colonies and in the home country.

The deluded Moroccans swooped down on the coastal regions of Spain as foreign conquerors. Behind them, openly or secretly, there stand the fascist forces of other countries, interested in the national enslavement of Spain.

It is as in a dirty and bloody knot that the monarchist counter-revolutionaries of Spain, the agents of Hitler operating in Spanish and also French Morocco, the fascist plotters in France and the most reactionary elements of British imperialism have mingled their forces in the Spanish military putsch.

Hitler is directly guiding the putschist generals. We are well aware that General Sanhurho, who was intended by the insurgents to be dictator, was Hitler's guest after his flight from Spain. Can the German fascists and the Spanish putschists refute the fact that Sanhurho spent three months in Berlin in the Kaiserhof Hotel, reserved for Hitler's guests?

After the plan of the putsch was drawn up Sanhurho was sent to Portugal where the fascists prepared themselves for the movement of their armed forces. It was only by chance that Sanhurho perished in an accident to the aeroplane which was to have brought him from Portugal to the place where the active forces of the insurgents were situated on Spanish territory.

The agents of German Fascism, who are lording it in Spanish Morocco, organised the supply of munitions brought from Germany for the putschists. They are now spreading the network of their provocative intrigues in French Morocco as well.

We have irrefutable evidence that the threads of the putsch also lead to the French Hitlerites who are brazenly and openly taking under their wing the revolt organised by Franco, Molla and other counter-revolutionary generals. We hope that public opinion in the great French republic will expose the foul picture of the part played by the French fascists in the plot against our country.

The reactionary wing of the British imperialists is striving to place Spain in a position of dependence similar to that in which it has placed Portugal. The extreme reactionaries in England would like their obedient agents, operating not in the interests of the Spanish people but at the dictates of the "City" of London to have their seats in the Spanish Government.

We openly say to the English people who without doubt sympathise with our struggle in defence of democracy against fascism, that the movement of British warships close to our coastline is a source of serious anxiety to us.

As is well known the British Government did not send any of its ships here when the Leroux-Gil Robles Government suppressed working class Asturias in October, 1934. The fact that these ships have appeared near the north coast of Spain at the present time, coincides with the transfer of the armed troops of the insurgents to these regions. And this is no simple accident. The operations of the putschists show that they consider their communication lines secured by British warships. We have every ground for fearing that the fascist countries, Germany and possibly Italy, will base themselves on the English tactics, and send their warships as well to our coast on one excuse or

another. This will mean direct support to the insurgents.

The putschists who are attempting to seize the regions bordering on Portugal are counting on their allies in Portugal itself. But the ruling parties in Portugal do nothing without instructions or the silent endorsement of British imperialism.

The support of the British reactionaries is not only felt in those places where the insurgents are preparing to make an assault. This support renders secure, in good time, those points which the insurgents will have to make for after their defeat.

The international instigators thus tell the organisers of the putsch not to be afraid of the outcome of their adventure, for they will in any case be secured the possibility of flight in the event of defeat.

International fascism in alliance with monarchist reaction—these are the forces waging bloody civil war against the people's front in Spain. In defending their democratic liberties and their national independence against the monarchy and fascism, the Spanish people are defending the cause of democracy and liberty against the forces of international reaction, in the interests of all peoples.

We have no doubt in our victory. No forces will be in a position to deprive the Spanish people of

what they have won, as long as they act in a united, wide and unshakable people's front.

We are certain that the people's front in our country will not depart from the principle of the defence of the republic and democracy. It will thereby rally the whole of the population still more closely for the struggle against fascism.

We have occupied the premises of the fascist organisations and in particular of the fascist newspapers. But this does not mean that we are confiscating capitalist property, as the enemies of the people's front try to picture it. No, in handing over the premises and printing works of fascist to the workers' organisations, we are returning to the people the property of the enemies of democratic liberty and of the traitors to the people, who have entered into an arrangement with international reaction against our country.

The Spanish working class detachments are in the front ranks of the republican army against fascism, and in the struggle for liberty. The working class are firmly aware that nobody will drive them from this path, that without leaping ahead, without being led away by their victories, and in close alliance with all the parties of the people's front they will win a decisive victory over the dark forces of Spanish Fascism.

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' ALLIANCES IN SPAIN

THE question of strengthening and organising throughout the country the workers' and peasants' alliances which are the main buttress of the people's front, is now the central point of discussion among the workers' organisations in Spain.

A serious change has taken place in the position of the left wing of the Socialist Party, which was against creating workers' alliances, considering them to be only organs of uprising.

Proof of this is to be found in the moods of the members of the left wing of the Socialist Party. A number of Socialist organisations endorsed the draft of the programme of the Party drawn up by the Madrid organisation, and are demanding that still greater stress must be laid upon the need for establishing *workers' and peasants' alliances*.

Comrade Carillo, secretary of the Young Socialist League, wrote an interesting article on the question of the "alliances" in the newspaper "Claridad" (May 13) in which he emphasises the point that for the revolution to be victorious the necessary pre-

condition is that the need for creating organs of proletarian democracy must be recognised. The Socialist Party, in its present state, cannot in the opinion of Carillo give leadership to such a mass organisation. Only by "purging and uniting the Socialist and Communist Parties will it be possible to hammer out such an organisation as will be able to guide the organs of proletarian democracy."

On May 11 of this year, at a meeting of the Socialist parliamentary deputies and the so-called Compromisarios (delegates appointed to elect the president), Largo Caballero, the leader of the left wing of the Socialist Party, spoke and expressed himself in favour of establishing alliances to include also the anarchist National Confederation of Labour.

The reactionary section of the leaders of the Socialist Party continue as hitherto to declare themselves against workers' and peasants' alliances.

"El Sozialista" wrote on May 15 :—

"To create alliances at the price of rejecting all that we must preserve at all costs, namely—the leading rôle

and the discipline of the Socialist Party—means to call the masses to pass over to other organisations with flags flying.”

The Congress of the Anarchist National Confederation of Labour took place at the beginning of May in Saragossa. At this Congress the question of unity (or, as it was called on the agenda of the Congress, the question of a “Revolutionary Alliance”) was one of the chief questions.

The masses of anarchist workers, who were convinced by their own experiences during the October struggles (in Asturias, Lyonne, Valencia and other provinces) of the need for working-class unity, insisted that the Congress should categorically express itself in favour of unity and alliances. This imperative demand of the masses was also expressed in many telegrams from the lower organisations. For instance, the Hihon organisations of anarchists, together with the local branch, sent a telegram to the Congress C.N.T.* which read: “Fifty thousand toilers demand the creating of a Revolutionary Workers’ Alliance”; the anarchist trade union of Cardona sent a wire to the Congress, as did the railroad workers of San Herominga (Seville). 40,000 members of the Seville Federation of the C.N.T. demanded “trade union unity and the establishment of workers’ and peasants’ alliances,” etc. In their speeches at the Congress a number of delegates demanded unity. For instance, the delegate from Barcelona, Faris Oliver, in his speech stated:—

“The heroic legions of Asturias showed us very glaringly that in the existing situation faced by a well-organised state power, we cannot count on victory: we need the union of all.”

Alvary, a delegate from Hihon, told the Congress that during the journey of the Asturian delegation, anarchist workers mandated the delegation to demand from the Congress that alliances be set up everywhere.

Under the influence of these demands the Congress of the C.N.T. was forced to express its attitude towards this question. The resolution of the Hihon organisation proposed that close connections be set up between the C.N.T. and U.G.T. to struggle for the immediate improvement of the conditions of the working class, and for the “victory of the social revolution in Spain,” and also that a revolutionary workers’ alliance be established to unite both trade union confederations. This resolution also made provision for the possibility of political parties affiliating to the alliance. To obstruct the adoption of this proposal the leadership of the C.N.T. introduced a resolution of their own (which was adopted

by the Congress) which proposed that the U.G.T. conclude a “pact of revolutionary alliance,” “on the condition that the latter refuses “political and parliamentary collaboration.” In other words, the leaders of the C.N.T. proposed to the U.G.T. that in essence they should break with the people’s front and limit the alliances to the participation in them of only the C.N.T. and the U.G.T., excluding the political parties.

There is a special supplementary point to this decision proposed by the C.N.T. leaders which states that the proposals are only of a temporary character, and should serve as a basis for establishing contacts with the U.G.T. until the latter drafts its own counter-proposals. This forced reservation is proof again of the profound urge among the masses for unity, and opens up the possibility for further negotiations.

After the Congress of the C.N.T. the “Mundo Obrero,” the central organ of the Communist Party of Spain, began a friendly polemic in its pages with the anarchists as regards the decisions adopted by them regarding unity and the “revolutionary alliance.” For instance, in the issue of May 19, the paper wrote:—

“We consider that the decisions on the alliances are positive because they express the desire of the masses for unity, and are negative because they place the question of alliances very narrowly . . . We wish to tell our comrades of the C.N.T. that that which they call a ‘revolutionary alliance’ is a liaison or co-ordinating committee, a very good thing in itself from the point of view of united action in the struggle for economic demands . . . Workers’ and peasants’ alliances are organs of the united front which guarantee united action and raise it to a much higher level.”

In his article, entitled “About the Workers’ and Peasants’ Alliances,” and published in the “Mundo Obrero” of May 14, Comrade Diaz, the general secretary of the Communist Party of Spain noted with satisfaction the statement made by Caballero about the workers’ and peasants’ alliances, and wrote:—

“From February 16th till to-day we have only achieved the first victories; we must go further . . . the reactionaries are attempting to create difficulties of all kinds. They provoke conflicts, close down factories, and organise sabotage. The task of the workers’ organisations in the ranks of the people’s front is with the aid of the workers’ and peasants’ alliances to achieve the fulfilment of the demands of the workers and peasants, and at the same time to put an end to the criminal manoeuvres of reaction.”

The Communist Party is the consistent supporter and organiser throughout the country of workers’ and peasants’ alliances, which are organs of defence of the Spanish Republic against the fascists and the counter-revolution.

*Anarchist Trade Union Confederation.

FOR THE PEOPLE'S FRONT IN ENGLAND

By H. Pollitt

THE great successes won by the French and Spanish People's Fronts at the recent general elections in those countries have had a far-reaching effect on public opinion in Great Britain.

In practically every progressive newspaper, with the exception, of course, of the "Daily Herald," there began to appear articles, editorials, and letters dealing with the question of whether, and if so, in what form, it is possible to establish a People's Front in Britain.

The discussion began immediately after the results of the French general election were known. It was further stimulated by the subsequent formation of the Leon Blum Government in France.

The whole feeling that it is high time something of a similar character to the French and Spanish Popular Fronts was organised in Britain was, however, encouraged most of all by the stirring events which have taken place in France *since* the elections.

Progressive opinion in Britain, and especially the great majority of the members of the organised Labour movement witnessed, with amazement, the striking victories won by the working people of France in the wave of strikes which swept the country from end to end. They realised the tremendous changes that must come about in the conditions of life of the French nation. They watched, astonished, the unprecedented influx of new members to the trade unions. They sensed the new life, the new strength, and the new hope, that were transforming the French Labour movement. They contrasted all these happenings with the state of affairs in Britain and there began to be voiced the demand that steps, similar to those taken by the workers and professional people in France and Spain, should be taken in Britain to end the intolerable situation existing there.

* * *

If the basis of the demand for a People's Front in Britain is clearly to be understood, it must be realised that the National Government is now recognised to be a government of social reaction by an ever-growing section of the population; that the foreign policy of this self-styled National Government—with its past support for the military-fascist ruling clique in Japan, its gross betrayal of the Abyssinian people, and its open assistance and encouragement of Hitler Germany

—is recognised as a policy directly menacing the peace of the world.

Although the General Election in Britain, at which this ill-disguised Tory government of Baldwin was returned, took place only last November, no other government, at least in modern times it is safe to say, has so rapidly and so completely discredited itself in the eyes of the millions of those who voted it into office.

In this situation it is felt, and rightly so, that there exists an unrivalled opportunity, providing all those who are opposed to it are organised within a common front, of sweeping it finally away.

* * *

Unfortunately, the basic weakness in the standpoint of most of those who think along these lines is that they regard this "common front" purely as an electoral agreement arrived at by consultations between the leaders of the Liberal and Labour Parties.

In the Liberal press, particularly, this question is receiving considerable attention.

There are some who see in this fact a deep-laid plot on the part of the Liberal leaders to make use of the growing feeling that a Popular Front is necessary in Britain in order to revive the fortunes, or, at least, prolong the life, of a dying Liberal Party.

I do not accept this idea.

I believe that at bottom, the attention which the question of a Popular Front in Britain is receiving in the Liberal press reflects the attitude of that large body of progressive opinion which is outside the Labour movement.

On the whole the people composing this section of the population are profoundly alarmed at the national and international situation. These people have a very sincere desire to do something practical to help defeat the National Government, to improve the conditions of the majority of the people at home and to organise all peace-loving people into a single movement aimed at preventing war.

But desire, goodwill and sincerity are not enough.

Both the end and the means by which it is to be achieved, must be crystal clear, and the unity must be a united struggle of aim and method and not merely one of good intent. It goes without

saying that any attempt to establish the People's Front in England must pay attention first and foremost to the existing movement among the people for peace. This movement, its successes and defects must without fail occupy the centre of the attention of all who support the People's Front. The movement for peace led by the National Peace Council, covers very wide sections of people, and its dimensions are on a scale unheard of in England. Why has this movement been passive in all the critical situations which have arisen recently? Because there is no clarity inside this movement on the question of the ways and means to be adopted in the struggle for peace. Everybody wants peace. But there is the greatest disagreement as to how to maintain peace.

The Communist Party, which wishes to see the whole of the people of Britain on the march against the National Government and the policy it is pursuing, in fighting the confusion about, and distortion of, the nature of the Popular Front, which if not eliminated, will actually retard the movement.

It is not sufficient to be inspired by the successes of the People's Front in France and Spain. It is necessary to *understand how* they were made possible.

* * *

That a widespread confusion as to how a real fighting People's Front can be developed in Britain does exist at the present time, can be shown by a few extracts from articles and letters which have appeared in the press.

"I am by no means suggesting the expediency of a Liberal-Labour alliance. Far from it; parliamentary Liberalism is highly unpromising material for any Front Populaire designed to further a constructive policy. I have in mind rather a more open friendly and collaborative attitude towards individuals at present outside the Labour ranks, but largely at one with the immediate objectives of Labour Policy."

(G. D. H. Cole, *New Statesman*, 9 May, 1936.)

"The one consolation in a long-distance view to be drawn from a break-down in this sense of the sham 'National' front would be the stimulus it might give to the formation of a great Popular Front in this country.

"The present Government totters, without falling, from one shock to another largely because of a general disbelief in the ability of the Labour Opposition to provide a more efficient alternative. Labour politicians, aware of the handicap, are beginning now to talk among themselves in terms of a Popular Front.

"But to-day thoughtful politicians, ranging from the extreme Socialist Left to the extreme Conservative Left, see in the establishment of a well-organised Popular Front the best hope—if not the sole hope—of fighting reaction, building up a staunch system of social justice and making democracy secure."

(A. J. Cummings, *News Chronicle*, 11 May, 1936.)

"The conception of a Popular Front in Britain is beginning already to capture the popular imagination.

It may well be that in the next few years political history will be transformed through the mobilisation on a few simple issues on the one front of all the forces of progress whether inside or outside existing parties.

"But there is no room for delay. A neglected opportunity may be lost for a generation."

(Leading article, *News Chronicle*, 14 May, 1936.)

"But advocates of a Popular Front (or Peace Front as I have termed it elsewhere) may at least urge that, while consolidating the progressive forces in this country—which obstinately adheres to a Two Party system—it combines satisfaction for the demand for a united workers' movement with the prospect of such an enlargement of voting support as may make feasible the acquisition of power and prevent the rot setting in of Liberal-Unionism. It may even contribute a temporary bridge over which battalions, at present detached, may join forces with, and accept the discipline of, the Labour Party."

(Professor Catlin, *New Statesman*, 16 May, 1936.)

"At that time, 1931, it seemed clear to me that we must . . . protect our democratic system by a Popular Front on the right.

"To-day the opposite is true. We can only protect democracy and get the chance to reorganise our national life by a Popular Front on the Left. I believe that ultimately the Labour Party will have the imagination to realise that they must take the lead in bringing this Popular Front into being, just as we witnessed it being done in France."

(Lord Allen of Hurtwood, *Sunday Express*, 24 May, 1936.)

"It is equally clear that there is every chance of winning a number of seats from the government if there would be an electoral arrangement between the Parties of the Left.

"Unite the divided radical vote, harness the new ideas of other groups, draw in the new men who are agreed on the vital questions of the day, and you have the end of the reaction in Great Britain.

"It remains only for reason to triumph over dogma and for loyalty to a political and humanistic ideal to extort temporary sacrifices from the political machines of the Left."

(Arthur Greenwood, *News Chronicle*, 28 May, 1936.)

Such expressions are typical of what is now appearing on the subject of the People's Front in the Liberal and Liberal-Labour press.

In this situation, one might have thought that it should have been the duty of the "Daily Herald," as the mouthpiece of the official Labour Movement in Britain, to have given a clarifying lead on the question.

As it was, the most complete silence was observed, only to be broken when those who are responsible for the policy of this paper saw an opportunity to deliver just another of those vicious and criminal stabs which are preserved specially for any manifestation of mass struggle and militant advance.

At the decisive moment in the great strike movement which swept France, the direct result

of the election successes of the People's Front, the "Daily Herald" wrote:—

"The French workers will be wise enough not to lessen the capacity of their Government to continue in that progress.

"At the moment there is some danger of playing into the hands of reaction.

"Electors will not be encouraged, either in France or anywhere else, to return Left Governments if their success is immediately marked by widespread economic disturbances and an interruption in the supply of daily necessities."

(Leading article, *Daily Herald*, 6 June, 1936.)

* * *

Two main weaknesses are to be noted in the views expressed in the above quotations.

Firstly, while these views are the direct consequence of *recent* events in France and Spain, no understanding is shown of *past* events, of the stages in the development of the People's Front in these countries.

Secondly, the Popular Front is conceived of primarily as an *electoral bloc* between what are commonly described as "The progressive elements in the Labour and Liberal Parties."

So far as the first weakness is concerned, it is necessary to draw attention to the fact that the People's Front in both France and Spain, only came into existence *after a united working-class front had been achieved between, and carried out in practice by, the Communist and Socialist Parties in these countries.*

The successes attending this working class *unity of action*, the enthusiasm and power which it generated and the salutary check which it imposed upon the hitherto advancing fascism, at once attracted the attention and sympathy of those sections of the population—peasants, middle class and professional people—that were outside the working-class movement.

These at once began to demand that their own organisations should be identified with the united working class movement.

And it was at this moment that the Communist Party of France, displaying exemplary initiative, proposed the formation of the People's Front for bread, freedom and peace.

* * *

There are some people in Britain who are, at present, arguing that there are purely "British ways" of achieving here what has been done in France.

We Communists agree that all policy must be formulated according to the actual conditions of the country to which that policy is designed to apply. We Communists are well aware that in different countries, just as in different situations in the same country, different tactics may be

necessary. The character and the concrete forms of the People's Front in England will of course be determined by the special English conditions.

But on some issues there are fundamental principles which cannot be ignored, fundamental principles upon the recognition of which any successful effort depends.

One of these is involved here.

We can state it briefly in this way:

Until the working class organisations achieve unity in action, a united front directed against the advance of fascism, directed against social reaction and the threat of war, no real success can be achieved by any combination calling itself a "People's Front" or anything else, for that matter.

This is especially so in the case of a country such as Britain, where the working class constitute the majority of the population. This, of course, does not mean that we adhere to any kind of theory to the effect that there are certain stages which must of necessity be passed through in the establishment of the People's Front. We perfectly well understand that the organisations of the working class are not at all separated by a Chinese wall from the wide movements against war and fascism, the initiative for which does not come from these organisations. Neither do we imagine that the People's Front in England has, of necessity, to be built up in England in the same chronological order as in France and Spain. But unless united action by the working class is achieved, the People's Front cannot become a decisive force and achieve the necessary success in England.

We, who see the need for a People's Front in Britain, should be committing a very serious political mistake if we were to shirk the struggle to overcome the opposition of the Labour leaders to the united working-class front, the essential condition for the creation of a genuine People's Front, and to take refuge in general talk about some vague People's Front.

And at this point it is necessary to point to the contrast between the experiences in the general election in France and that in Belgium.

In France the anti-fascist progressive forces won striking successes because the People's Front there is based primarily upon the united working class front achieved by the French Socialist and Communist Parties.

In Belgium, the Labour leaders refused a united front with the Communists. There was in consequence no People's Front. As a result, the fascists gained important successes in both the general and the more recent municipal elections, and the Belgian Labour Party lost heavily. The Communist Party which carried through its election

campaign under the slogans of the united and people's front met with great success.

The failure of the Belgian working class to achieve unity in action has prevented the creation of an anti-fascist People's Front, and has led to an advance of fascism in Belgium, and, because of the strategical importance of Belgium in Europe, has increased still further the serious menace to the peace of the world.

* * *

In all countries fascism attempts to find support among the middle class and professional section of the population.

The economic crisis and the subsequent depression have hit this section almost as hard as the working class.

The terrible consequences of fascism in Germany, and the fact that Fascist Germany is now the chief danger to the peace of the world, have undoubtedly made a profound impression upon this section of the population of Britain.

They are equally alarmed at the reactionary policy of the discredited National Government.

It is possible and desirable to form a fighting alliance with all these people, but the interpretation of the Popular Front repeated in the views expressed above, would defeat the aims which many who earnestly desire united action against the National Government have in mind.

The experience of other countries shows that the most decisive factor in the establishment of such an alliance is the resolute action of the united working class movement against fascism and reaction — action which, in defending the workers' interests, will also defend the interests of the middle class and professional people against the big trusts, landlords and bankers.

* * *

Turning now to the second weakness in the views expressed, I must stress straightaway that, both in Spain and in France, the People's Front did *not* start as an electoral combination, but as a mass movement which was repeatedly in action before electoral agreements and election victories became possible. There is an exceptionally favourable situation in England for the establishment of such a mass movement. The movement for peace, which covers millions of people, and is immensely popular throughout the country, is the corner-stone of a broad People's Front.

The ground for the People's Front has been prepared. It only depends on whether the organisations of the working class arrive at agreement and establish united action, whether the feeling of the people for the establishment of a broad People's Front will be established in England.

With the United Front of the Communist and Socialist Parties as its indestructible core, the People's Front in France grew up on the basis of local, divisional and national co-ordinating committees of action, which organised mass activity (i.e., meetings, marches, demonstrations) against the fascist organisations and for a programme aimed at relieving poverty, reducing unemployment, and drastically curbing the power of the bankers and armament firms.

That is why the great People's Front demonstrations, such as that of July 14, 1935, when 800,000 citizens of Paris marched past the Bastille and then similar great gatherings which took place all over France, laid the firm basis for the mass movement which later defeated Laval, forced through the Franco-Soviet Pact, and achieved the victory over reaction in the general election.

That is why it was possible for the Leon Blum Government to come to office in France.

Even more significant was the march past the Wall of the Communards organised on May 24, 1936, by the Communist and Socialist Parties of France.

The march was expected to last five hours.

It actually took from 1 p.m. to 10 p.m.

Why?

Because the middle class and professional people of Paris joined with the workers, marching behind the banners of the People's Front, and in particular, behind the banners of the ex-servicemen's contingents.

Then came the great strike wave, which has resulted in the magnificent victories for the industrial and black-coated workers, and in the unprecedented growth of militant trade unionism in France.

The moral of this is clear. The stronger the organised united working-class movement becomes, the more it attracts all those sections of the people which normally hold aloof from political activity, or fall under the influence of the reactionary bourgeoisie.

Therefore it would be fatal if we did not understand the decisive and leading importance of the working class united front.

This point of view is repeated and stressed in some of the contributions on the subject which have appeared in *Reynolds News*, the influential Sunday newspaper of the Co-operative movement.

The following quotations are indicative of this trend of opinion:

"A People's United Front in France has brought a great victory for democracy and Socialism . . .

"Working class unity has achieved two remarkable triumphs this year. France and Spain represent the new technique of the fight for Socialism and Peace . . .

"Let us, therefore, forget our sectarianism and unite on as wide a front as possible."

(Joseph Reeves, Secretary, Educational Dept. Royal Arsenal Co-operative Society, *Reynolds*, 24 May, 1936.)

". . . Allow the dark forces that stand in the way of unity to prevail now, and the outlook for the workers would be black indeed.

"But the spirit of the Whitsuntide Conferences is fighting against those forces. 'Prevail they shall not,' it says. It demands prompt consultation between the chiefs of the Labour Party, the Co-operative movement, the Trade Unions. Bring in the Socialist League and the I.L.P. Do not leave out the Communists.

"They are not many in actual numbers, but their presence in the United Front would ensure its having certain clear-cut, vigorous aims. These would not be the precise aims of the Communist Party, but they would be energetic, practical.

"This is no moment for holding back because personal vanities may be affronted or personal interests imperilled. The tide is with us. For the first time in history of Labour we have the mass of intelligent opinion inclining to our side.

"There are signs everywhere of an honest, disinterested eagerness for a better state of society. The rapid success of the Russian experiment, turning to foolishness all the predictions of its early failure, has startled the world out of its conception of Socialism as an impossible dream. There is a magnificent chance for us, and also for our comrades in France, who evidently intend to take it."

(Hamilton Fyfe, *Reynolds News*, 7 June, 1936.)

"C.H.," in a long letter to the *New Statesman and Nation*, writes:—

Mr. Cole, in dismissing the idea of a Popular Front in the form of a Liberal-Labour alliance, seems to ignore entirely the existence of any other parties of the Left in this country.

"It is surely no secret that a large part of the driving force of the Popular Front in France and Spain has come from the Communist Party . . .

"I venture to hope that you will make it clear when you speak of a Popular Front you do not contemplate the possibility of its formation in this country any more than in France or Spain, without Communist support."

(*New Statesman*, 16 May, 1936.)

Very significant was the fact that, on June 12, the following letter appeared in the *Daily Herald*:

"The swift and decisive action of the People's Government in France should give rise to a serious thought among the leadership of the 'Left' and Radical elements in this country.

"We have got to rid ourselves of all the factions in the 'Left' and Radical movements and bring all these elements together.

"The question of a coalition of all these 'Left' and Radical elements is a matter for the immediate demands, which will rally all these elements together."

(Geo. Hindle: Political Agent, Warrington Trades Council and Labour Party, Editor of the *Warrington and District Labour News*.)

The people in Britain, who are anxious for a united effort to defeat the National Government, who are for achieving a great social programme to help the distressed areas; who are for the sup-

pression of Mosley's fascist blackguards; who are for close co-operation with the Soviet Union and with the Government which has come into being in France after the election victory as the only effective way of maintaining peace, should be doing everything possible to achieve these ends by using whatever influence they possess to bring pressure upon their friends in the Labour Party to end the stupid opposition to united action with the Communist Party.

It is this opposition to the establishment of the United Front which is the chief obstacle to any prospects of a People's Front in Britain. At the same time the reactionary elements who are resisting the United Front are thereby affording the strongest political support to those people whose policy is leading us towards war, for it is these people, and these alone, who profit by the divisions in the ranks of the working people. It is an opposition by leaders who are afraid of a United Front because they realise that a United Front means a front of struggle, because they realise that out of it will come a really powerful fighting People's Front, and out of that will come the defeat of the National Government. And it is that defeat which the reactionary Labour leaders are more afraid of than anything else in the world.

Some of them are terrified at the prospect of having to accept the responsibility of government should the National Government be defeated, for they understand that a People's Front like that of Spain and France would deal heavy blows against the warmakers.

For the great pressure which that People's Front will exert on the Labour Government will consolidate all the forces in Britain opposed to fascism and war. It will help to ease the tension of the present international situation. And of all these, the reactionary Labour leaders are terribly afraid.

* * *

The task of healing the split in the ranks of the Labour movement in Britain is no light one. The task of creating a broad front of the British people against social reaction, against the enemies within the nation—the capitalist employers, the bankers, the landlords and their henchmen, is not one to be entered upon lightly. The future not only of the British people but of the peace of the world and of humanity itself depends upon how we go about it.

The Communist Party of Great Britain, fully conscious of this tremendous responsibility, does not underestimate the gravity of the situation.

Therefore, as the first step towards the realisation of united working class action, as the first

necessary step towards the establishment of a real People's Front in Britain, the Communist Party now seeks to become affiliated to the Labour Party.

At the time of writing (June 13) the fact that 905 local and national Labour Party and trade union organisations have declared their support for Communist affiliation, indicates that the real lesson of the events in France and Spain have, at least, not been lost upon the more far-seeing sections of the British Labour Movement.

It is worth while to note how wide and representative this support is already:

ANNUAL CONFERENCES:

- Annual Conference, South Wales Miners' Federation.
- Annual Conference, Associated Society Locomotive Engineers and Firemen.
- Annual Conference, National Union of Clerks.
- Furnishing Trades Association (National Ballot).
- Annual Conference, Socialist League.
- Annual Conference, Scottish Socialist Party.
- Annual Conference, Scottish Co-operative Guilds.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEES:

- Executive Committee, Associated Society Locomotive Engineers and Firemen.
- Executive Committee, Furnishing Trades Association.
- National Council, Socialist League.

DISTRICT ORGANISATIONS:

- District Trade Union Organisations 19
- District Labour Party Organisations 7
- District Co-operative Organisations 5

LOCAL ORGANISATIONS:

(Trade Unions)—

- Railwaymen's Trade Union Branches 171
- Engineering Trade Union Branches 76
- Miners' Lodges 69
- Building Trade Union Branches 58
- Transport Trade Union Branches 53
- Distributive Trade Union Branches 35
- Furnishing Trade Union Branches 25
- Municipal Trade Union Branches 21
- Other Trade Union Branches 44

(Labour Parties)—

- Local Labour Parties 57
- Divisional Labour Parties 39
- Ward Labour Parties 78
- Trades and Labour Councils 31
- Labour League of Youth Branches 23
- Other Local Labour Bodies 26

(Co-operatives)—

- Local Co-operative Guilds and Political Councils 58
- Total Trade Union Bodies 577
- Total Labour Party Bodies 265
- Total Co-operative Bodies 64

GRAND TOTAL—905 Organisations.*

We can see from this that the framework of a People's Front is already being laid down in

*According to a report in the *Daily Worker* of June 15, the Annual Conference of the Fabian Society, whose members, as is well known, have long had great influence in the Labour Party, declared by an overwhelming majority in favour of accepting the affiliation of the Communist Party to the Labour Party.—Ed.

Britain, based upon the developing unity of the working class movement.

We say to those who desire to see a powerful People's Front established here: You can help materially in its realisation by assisting in the development of the working class united front and taking full part in all forms of united action against war and fascism.

* * *

To put the issue of a Liberal-Labour electoral alliance as the beginning of a People's Front is to misunderstand the situation completely.

There is a basis for a People's Front in Great Britain.

But that basis is not the Parliamentary interests of the Liberal and Labour Parties.

It is the common interests of those whose lives and livelihood are threatened. The problem of wages of the workers, adequate relief and provision of work for the unemployed, the standards of life of the broad masses of working people, the possibility of progress and liberty, the preservation of peace, all of which are threatened by the National Government, are the foundations upon which a People's Front in Britain can alone be built.

Only if the people, the ordinary people, of our country are brought into *action* to check and reverse the present policy of our rulers can a Popular Front be established.

That primarily is the kernel of the problem in this country. To set the people in political motion. And to do this we must have a united Labour Party capable of arousing the flaming energy of the British people.

Why is the enthusiasm flagging?

Why is there such a contrast between the spirit of the movement at the time of the Socialist pioneers and to-day?

We say, frankly, it is because the Labour Party and the trade union leaders have abandoned the daily struggle for the class interests of the workers, and, by so doing, have reduced their Socialism to a series of phrases in which the workers no longer believe.

Why is it that the Communist Party is admitted on all sides to be the bearer of such energy and enthusiasm as in the Labour movement to-day?

Why do the workers crowd round the Communist meetings and voice their approval with cheers, while official Labour gatherings are half empty and dull?

Why does the ceaseless stream of Communist literature and books receive such a welcome while the production of an official Labour pamphlet is a rare event?

Why does unity and confidence reign in the Communist Party while in the Labour Party is increasing anger with the leadership?

The answer is to be found in the fact that the Communists constantly show in deeds that they stand for the United Front in defence of the immediate and future interests of the working class and all who stand for freedom and peace.

And that policy is the only one which can arouse the confidence and enthusiasm which are the forerunners of action.

The first beginnings of united action of the working class on a national scale, and thereby the forming of a force which can attract the other discontented sections of society into a common struggle, will be possible when, and only when, the policy, spirit and energy of the Communist Party are available to the whole Labour Movement.

It is in this sense that the affiliation of the Communist Party to the Labour Party is the decisive factor for the development of a real People's Front in Britain.

EDITOR'S NOTE.

The following is a list of organisations supporting Communist affiliation to the Labour Party up to August 6.

National Organisations

- Miners' Federation of Great Britain (521,000 members).
- Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen (48,000 members).
- Furnishing Trades Association (17,000 members).

- National Union of Clerks (5,000 members).
- Scottish Bakers' Union (8,000 members).
- Amalgamated Engineering Union (145,951 members).
- Socialist League.
- Fabian Society.
- Scottish Socialist Party.
- Scottish Co-operative Guilds.

District Organisations

Trade Unions	43
Labour Party	8
Co-operative	7

Local Organisations (Trade Union)

Railwaymen	231
Engineering	99
Miners	97
Transport	85
Building	79
Distributive	56
Municipal	34
Furnishing	33
Electrical	25
Miscellaneous	44

Local Organisations (Labour)

Local Labour Parties	88
Divisional Labour Parties	60
Ward Labour Parties	124
Trades and Labour Councils	44
Labour League of Youth Branches	35
Other Local Labour Organisations	45

Local Organisations (Co-op.)

Local Guilds and Political Councils	80
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Totals: Trade Union	831
Labour Party	407
Co-operative	88

GRAND TOTAL **1,326 organisations**

HOW FRENCH COMMUNISTS WORKED DURING THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN

A CHARACTERISTIC feature of the recent election campaign conducted by the French Communist Party was that the propaganda of the Party was carried out on a wide scale. For the first time it was carried on over the entire country, and reached even the furthest and most forgotten corners of France. In the past, the influence of the Communist Party did not penetrate the villages at a distance from the railways, and the inhabitants of these villages only learned of Communism from the slander and lies against the Communist Party contained in the reactionary press.

This time things were quite different. The leaders of the Party spoke over the radio several times. The statements of the Communists were heard everywhere. The Central Committee of the Communist Party issued a great amount of agitational material, adapted to various strata of the population. Thanks to the growth of its organisation and the great sympathy felt for it, the Party was able to spread this material far and wide. The Communist Party put forward candidates in all constituencies. The election campaign was carried out in the localities by all the party members, and mainly by the persistent work of tens of thousands of active workers. For a period of one-and-a-half to two months all the Party members were engaged in continuous activity, and they did great work. There were numerous examples of unwavering loyalty, wonderful initiative, and often even of heroism.

We will limit ourselves to a few examples.

The gardener, Comrade Blachon, an old active Party worker, was put forward as a candidate in Montelimar-Nyons, in the department of Drome. He had to carry out the campaign in a district where the Party was exceptionally weak. On January 1, 1936, it had only 45 members. Comrade Blachon had to visit 148 villages, a great many of which were in the mountains at an altitude of 1,200 to 1,300 metres. Almost alone, without money, with only accidental means of transport, very often on foot, Blachon began in March to make his way from one end to the other of this constituency. He was everywhere, organising meetings even in forgotten hamlets with only 25 and even 15 inhabitants, and where no active party worker has ever been. A bourgeois newspaper published in Montelimar, which followed how our comrade, alone, with insufficient funds, threw himself into the battle, wrote ironically: "We should admire such bravery."

This bravery was combined with an ability to organise. Comrade Blachon set himself the task of

recruiting 500 new members for the Party in his constituency before the end of the campaign. And while agitating for Communism, he at the same time recruited new members and established a Party organisation. In six days he travelled through two mountain regions, organised 50 meetings, recruited 300 new members to the Party, formed cells and sold Party pamphlets. Everyone was surprised at the results of his work. "The district which has slept up till now is surprised," wrote Blachon. "The comrades of the district leadership cannot send Party membership cards fast enough."

In Montelimar, the largest city in this constituency, and where there are a few industries, there was no Party organisation. But twenty workers joined the Party after the first meeting organised by Blachon. In the canton of Remuzat Comrade Blachon recruited 70 members and organised six cells in one week. In the canton of Buis he recruited 40 members and formed five cells in two days. And even in the most outlandish localities he was able to awaken the sympathy of the peasants and to rouse a warm desire among them to become acquainted with the decisions of the Communist Party. "Will there be war?" "What do you propose to do to overcome the agrarian crisis?" Such were the questions put by the peasants to the representative of the Communist Party. And in clear and simple peasant language Blachon stated the position of the Party in face of the threats of an onslaught by the fascists, and concretely stated the programme of the Party which is directed towards saving French agriculture. In a few villages the peasants met him with red banners and sang the Internationale. The peasants, who were members of the Socialist Party, were very much interested in the meetings organised by him, and in a number of localities some of them asked to be accepted as members of the Communist Party.

On April 21, Comrade Cachin came to Montelimar and spoke at a meeting. On this day 4,000 people came to the meeting, and among them were very many peasants who came from far-off mountain villages.

The result of the work done by Comrade Blachon was the following: Instead of the 1,008 votes received by the Communist Party in 1932 it received 5,485. The Socialist candidate received 7,244 votes (the Radicals withdrawing their candidate). In the second round Comrade Blachon, according to a decision made by the Communist Party together with the Socialist Party, withdrew his candidature in favour of the Socialist candidate who was elected,

while the reactionary candidate was defeated. But Comrade Blachon not only increased the number of votes cast for the Communist Party by more than 400 per cent. He also formed a Party organisation in that constituency. 500 new members joined the Party, and so he fulfilled the task he had set himself at the beginning of the electoral campaign. The district Party Committee is setting itself the task of covering and consolidating the newly-established organisations and training the newly-recruited Party members.

* * *

Here is another example. Comrade Le Quemets was put forward as a parliamentary candidate by the Communist Party in the first electoral district of Vannes in the department of Morbihant, one of the most backward sections of Brittany. His opponents were the Abbot Desgranges, the former deputy, the representative of the high clergy which kept the masses in ignorance, and Count Montaign, a big landowner and relation to Schneider—a member of one of the 200 capitalist families who rule France. It was against such powerful opponents that Comrade Le Quemets had to carry on the struggle. There was no Party organisation to carry on the campaign, there was no money to cover the cost of travelling through the constituency. From the very beginning Le Quemets came up against difficulties. As everywhere else, it was necessary to get the names and addresses of the 18,000 electors in the district, in order to send them the programme of the Party by post. Ordinarily, when you have funds, it is possible to ask the officials of the Prefecture to give you a list of the voters. Or if a Party organisation exists, you can rally all comrades for this work. But Le Quemets had neither. He had to do everything by himself. He was able to achieve something, thanks to his energy and initiative, by using the aid of sympathisers and even friends who have no sympathy with the Communist Party. He got his wife, his daughter, his parents, his brother, women and children to help.

Despite the atmosphere of hostility and the many difficulties which faced Comrade Le Quemets, all the electors received the main materials published by the Party in connection with the elections, thanks to the energy and self-sacrifice he displayed.

He had no funds for travelling purposes, a sore foot made it difficult for him to walk. None the less he covered five, seven and even nine kilometres a day in order to organise meetings. He would return home late at night, but the next morning would go to work, after finishing which he would once more begin organising meetings.

Quietly and without complaint Comrade Le

Quemets was able to get many sympathisers for the Party and increase the number of votes cast for it from the 148 cast in 1932 to 476.

* * *

Comrade Jardon, a mayor of a village community, an old Party worker, was put forward as candidate in the second electoral district of Montlucon, in the department of Allier. His opponent was the former Socialist deputy, Max Dormoy, irreconcilable opponent of united action. The work of Comrade Jardon may serve as an example of how to carry on the struggle for the demands of the peasantry.

In February he distributed a very simple questionnaire which contained in particular the following questions: What funds did your community receive to provide aid to peasants in need? What money did you receive for lightening the conditions of the unemployed and those in need? What part did the former deputy play in securing this aid? What are the needs of your community? etc. About 60 mayors answered this questionnaire. Then Comrade Jardon called a conference at which several dozen mayors and delegates of the people's front were present. Then Comrade Jardon occupied himself with the question of all, even the smallest needs of the peasants, talked to peasants and as a Communist candidate listened to the stories of their conditions. In his talks with the peasants he made his starting point the concrete questions put, and tried in reply to explain the part of the programme of the Communist Party which refers to the agrarian question.

The work done by Comrade Jardon was so successful that Dormoy considered it necessary to attack him in his newspaper. But Comrade Jardon did not let himself be provoked by these attacks. As a real honest supporter of the united front he quietly asked Dormoy whether it would not be better to carry on a joint struggle to lighten the poverty of the peasants, who can win everything from unity among the people, and who should only be afraid of division of their forces.

As in 1932 Dormoy was not opposed by any reactionary or Radical candidates and received 8,212 votes—losing nearly 3,000 votes. Jardon received 7,664 votes instead of the 4,735 votes cast for the Communist Party in 1932.

* * *

This is how our comrades worked in the outlandish districts. This heroism, self-sacrifice and stubbornness displayed by the Communists ensured the splendid victory of the Communist Party and the popular anti-fascist front during the elections.

THE GENERAL SITUATION IN FRANCE*

By Andre Marty

The General Election in France

The election campaign has made it possible to sum up certain results of the mass work of the Communist Party of France for two and a half years, and at the same time to show the masses the way out of the present situation proposed by the Communist Party.

The general line of the Party was given in the main document of the Eighth Congress of the C.P. of France, headed "Save the French People."

In the manifesto there was outlined the programme of the Communist Party in defence of peace, freedom and bread for the people, and the following slogans which concluded the manifesto: "Forward, Unite the French People in the struggle against the 200 Families!" "Forward Behind the banner of the People's Front for bread, peace and freedom!" "Forward for a free, strong and happy France which the Communists want and will achieve!" These slogans met with a very wide response, not only among the masses of the working people, but also among those sections of the population who have hitherto been far from the Communists, namely the peasants, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the intellectuals.

In addition to this general programme the Communist Party drew up a programme of demands for various districts. Finally, in each of the 619 constituencies, the Communist Party organisations put forward local programmes, either separately, or in conjunction with the district programme.

Let us quote a few figures. On April 22nd, 1936, i.e., four days prior to the first round of the elections, the Secretariat of the C.C. of the C.P. of France despatched throughout the country nine chief proclamations in a total of 7,450,156 copies, 142,711 placards with texts and 143,467 illustrated placards. When the reactionaries and the fascists asked the Communists where the money came from, then, in order that the toilers of France should not have any doubts whatsoever left on this account, Jacques Duclos, in a special letter to the "Echo de Paris" which was the first to raise this question, replied as follows: "Exclusively from the sale of our publications at a price such as makes it possible to cover all expenses connected with the printing and distribution of these publications."

The Results of the Elections

The number of votes given to the Communist Party almost doubled. The Party received 1,503,125 votes, i.e., 700,495 votes more than in the year 1932. The Socialist Party lost a little (receiving 1,922,123 votes, as against 1,956,780 in the year 1932), but if we take into account the fact of the split away of the Neo-Socialists, then it appears that actually the Socialists made good all their losses. The Radical Socialists received 1,401,974 votes, thus losing 435,000 votes. But if we compare the number of votes received in 1932 by the Parties which now belong to the People's Front, with the figures of the 1936 election, then it is clear that the People's Front won about half a million votes (5,599,763 votes, as against 5,184,049).

As regards the Parties hostile to the People's Front, they lost about 179,899 votes, as compared with 1932, (4,276,806 votes). It must, however, be noted that one Party, "The Popular Democrats" (Christian Socialists, a section of whom are beginning to adopt a sympathetic attitude to the People's Front and are clearly hostile to fascism) won and received 373,943 votes. Thus the losses of the Parties hostile to the People's Front were really far more considerable.

The grand total of the voting was as follows. All the Parties of the Popular Front received 1,322,957 votes more than the Parties of reaction. Thus the elections showed the profound movement of forces to the Left. And where, in some countries such as, for instance, England, the U.S.A., etc., the Right leaders of Social Democracy assert that the Communists gained at the expense of the Socialists, the figures speak to the contrary. We must carry on a determined exposure of such lying stories spread about by the Rights, their only purpose being to justify their splitting policy and their hostility to the united front. On the contrary, thanks to the People's Front, the Socialist Party strengthened its position which was weakened as a result of the split away of the Neo-Socialists, while the Radical Party reduced its losses to a considerable degree, thanks to its participation to the People's Front. The losses suffered by the Radicals are to be explained by the fact that they participated in the Government which, by its Exceptional Decrees plundered the Civil Servants and State and municipal employees, as well as workers and old people, and cut down the benefits given by Public Charity institutions for children, as well as pensions for Ex-Service-men, etc., etc. Had it not been for the People's

*This article was written in the first half of June. This proviso is necessary in view of the fact that events in France are developing with unusual rapidity.—A. Marty.

Front, the losses of the People's Front would have been twice as big.

The Communist Party won a considerable victory in the working class centres. In the city of Paris, it was the strongest party, receiving 163,531 votes, and won 16 seats, i.e., as compared with the last elections won 70,777 votes (it must not be forgotten that women in France have not got the right to vote) In the Seine Department (excluding Paris) our Party was also the only one to receive 200,428 votes. Thus, the elections in Paris, and in the Departments of the Seine and Seine-et-Oise, showed 459,740 votes for "Greater Paris." Hence there followed: Firstly, that the Party is strong now not only in Paris but also in the industrial districts, that it is growing rapidly in some provincial industrial towns (as for instance in Marseilles). Secondly, the Party has made a tremendous advance in a number of departments which are mainly agrarian. In seven agrarian departments the Communist Party received more than 20 per cent. of the votes registered. If we compare, as percentages, the number of votes received by the Communists with the corresponding data for other Parties, then the following picture results: In the Seine department, where we have our greatest influence, the number of votes we received amounted to 33.3 per cent. of all the votes cast. The next department is the Lot et Garonne (mainly agrarian), where we received 31.7 per cent. This is followed by the Bouches Du Rhone Department (industrial) 28.4 per cent., then Seine et Oise (industrial) 28.1 per cent. These are again followed by the agrarian departments of Lot, 23.8 per cent., Comye, 21.8 per cent. and Dordogne, 21.3 per cent. Thus the Communist Party has won quite a firm position in a number of peasant districts.

To sum up.

(a) The Parties of the People's Front are in the majority in the village. But the relation of forces between the Parties in the People's Front, on the one hand, and the Right Parties in the village, on the other hand, are almost without alteration. Great masses of peasants who support the Right Parties still remain loyal to these parties.

(b) Of all the Parties of the People's Front only the Communist Party has to a considerable degree increased its influence in the village, by almost trebling the number of votes it received.

(c) The position of the Socialist Party remains unaltered.

(d) The Radical Party can now no longer be regarded as the chief Left Party of the peasants. The Socialist Party is now as strong in the countryside as is the Radical Party.

In 16 Departments, the Right Parties are in

the overwhelming majority. (having received from 50 to 89 per cent. of the votes cast). This mainly refers to Brittany and Normandy, where the peasants and Catholic workers are under the influence of the Right Parties. In these places the relation of forces can only be changed by extending the People's Front and by operating a most active policy of defending the interests of the peasants. The Communist Party's campaign, with the slogan "Extend a hand to the Catholic working people" must, consequently, be carried out in Brittany and Normandy on a still wider scale and still more boldly.

As a result of the elections in France, the People's Front has 381 seats in Parliament (including 72 Communists and 142 Socialists. The Reactionary National Front has 237 seats (under proportional representation the Communist Party would have had 94 seats).

The Question of the Government and the Strike Movement !

In a resolution adopted by the CC of the CP of France it states the following:

"The People of France have unequivocally expressed their desire to defend their bread against those who desire to doom the people to hunger, to defend their liberty against the fascist adventurers, and peace against the warmongers.

"This desire of the people is, and will continue to be, the supreme law for the Communist Party."

The people also voted for honesty and against financial corruption, *and finally, everybody who voted for the Communists, and many of those who voted for the People's Front showed themselves* to be ardent and unshakable defenders of the peace policy of the Soviet Union and supporters of unbreakable friendship between the French people and the people of the U.S.S.R.

In its resolution the Central Committee of the Party stated the position of the Communist Party on the question of its attitude to the government in the following clear and precise fashion.

"The Central Committee and the Communist Deputies are unanimous in considering it to be necessary for the Communist Party to maintain close and loyal collaboration with the Government in its work to bring about the fulfilment of the Programme of the People's Front.

"To ensure the fulfilment of this task, the Central Committee undertakes the responsibility and assures the future Government, with its Socialist leadership, of its complete and unstinting support."

Why did not the Communist Party enter the Government? First of all it should be stated that the question whether or not to participate in this Government is not a question of principle. It is a question of political advisability, a question of the timeliness of entering the Government in the *given circumstances*. This means, in other words, that in a certain situation we can join such a

Government. But we shall not join it to-day. Why?

The present Government of France cannot be identified, for instance, with the bourgeoisie-Socialist Government of Czechoslovakia and Denmark.

Why? Because these Governments came to power as a result of parliamentary combinations, whereas the present government in France, formed by the Socialists with the participation of the Radical Party and the Socialist Union, came to power on the crest of a mighty wave of the People's Front movement and on the basis of the programme of the People's Front. This programme was hammered out during the last one and a half years, in the struggle against the most reactionary elements of the bourgeoisie, against the fascists. And it is precisely because this Government was created by an actively operating People's Front that the bourgeoisie are compelled to tolerate it. But in the above mentioned countries the position is entirely different. Coalition Governments are there in power, governments of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, the result of the usual Parliamentary manoeuvres of the bourgeoisie.

Although the present French Government was placed in power by the People's Front, the strength of this front is still not sufficient to establish a real People's Front Government as understood by the Seventh Congress of the Communist International. The aim of the Communist Party in supporting the new government is to prevent the government being transformed into the usual government of collaboration with the bourgeoisie and by following the programme on which this government was established to urge it on to satisfy the demands of followers of the People's Front who placed it in power, and first and foremost to satisfy the demands of the proletariat who inspired the People's Front. It is precisely for this that the Communist Party supports the new Government. Precisely for this reason it is actively collaborating in drawing up all the measures necessary for the fulfilment of the programme of the People's Front. It is precisely for this reason that the strengthening of the People's Front is one of the conditions for the fulfilment of its programme.

But why did not the Communist Party enter the Government? For the following reasons: If the Communist Party had sent its representatives there then the attacks by reaction for this very reason alone would have been increased by a tremendous degree. Were the Communists to enter the government now, it would make it easier for the reactionaries to exert pressure on the Radicals to leave the Government, and to

split away from the People's Front. Hence, this could lead to the break up of the People's Front, since very important and considerable sections of the population would leave the People's Front. It must not be forgotten that in spite of the losses suffered by the Radical Party it received 1,402,000 votes. Were the Communists, in the present situation, to join the Government this could lead to the break up of the People's Front, by driving away the Radicals or part of them. In only 14 departments at the present time are the number of Communist and Socialist votes more than 50 per cent. of the total votes cast. Thus, the united front of the Socialists and Communists is still comparatively weak throughout the whole country, and this rendered it not possible (as is shown, by the way, by the data as to the number of Communist and Socialist Deputies in the Chamber of Deputies, where they have 211 seats out of a total of 618), to form a united front government. Consequently, a Government without the participation of the radicals, and where the forces of the Communists and Socialists are limited, would be a Government of a *minority in the country*, and consequently would be doomed to helplessness.

It is absolutely clear that were the Communists to participate in the Government it would call forth a ferocious attack by the reactionaries, and would give rise to serious difficulties at home and abroad as the result of increased provocation on the part of the reactionary bourgeoisie. But the forces of the People's Front are still insufficient to beat off such attacks. What would be the result then? The breakdown of the Government, and the discrediting of the People's Front. But if the Government placed in power by such a mass movement were to be discredited it would mean opening the way to fascism. This is why the Communist Party of France replied in this strain to the National Council of the Socialist Party on May 10th, and later, on May 30th, to the Socialist Party Congress. Its view was that taking into account these two fundamental arguments we consider that the entry of the Communist Party into the Government at the present moment would not be of benefit to the People's Front, but on the contrary would make it possible for the big capitalists to smash the People's Front, i.e., to achieve their aim by clearing the way to fascism. But the slogan of the Communist Party was and still remains: "*All for the People's Front, everything through the People's Front.*"

In this Government there are 35 members, of whom there are 18 Socialists, including two women, 14 radical socialists including one woman, and three members of the Republican Socialist

League. For this government to be able to fulfil its programme we put forward the task of establishing and extending the committees of the People's Front.

What must be done now? The Central Committee of the Communist Party give the following answer in its resolution:

"The Central Committee understands and endorses the desire of the masses of the people, who can state that in so far as nothing has been done in the three weeks that have followed the victory of the People's Front, the following measures must be taken as speedily as possible without any delay whatsoever: Public works must be organised on a big scale with a view to cutting down unemployment and livening up the economic situation in the country.

"The first steps must be taken to correct the injustices which have been done by the extraordinary laws, to the state and municipal employees, ex-Servicemen, small investors, old people, and people with large families. Measures must be adopted to secure the protection of children, and the development of sport by allotting 1,000 million francs which can be advanced in parts. A Commission must be set up to investigate the sources of the enrichment of politicians who have accumulated wealth in politics (Tardieu, Laval, Bouisson, Fiancette, etc.), measures must be taken to protect the franc against the traitors who are making efforts so as once again to deal a blow at the toiling peasants and small traders, against the stability of the national currency. Measures must be taken to ease the situation of the toilers in the village, and to revalorise (to raise prices on agricultural products to the pre-crisis level of prices.—Ed.) agricultural production. A general amnesty must be secured. The law regarding conspiratorial organisation whose actions should draw the attention of the French people, must be operated, so as to prevent any attempt at violent coup d'etat."

We shall see below how the new government can and should act.

The Strike Wave

The strike movement which has developed at the present time in France is the most tremendous of all that have taken place there since the years 1914-1918. The movement started in the Aviation and Automobile works of the Paris district, among the metal workers of Paris, who are the heart and soul of the Paris proletariat, and the Communist Party. These workers are filled with very profound class-consciousness and are distinguished by the high level of their political sense. At all stages of the history of the working class movement in France, they have invariably been at the head of the people of Paris, and have been distinguished by their unusual display of their initiative and heroism.

What were the conditions of the metal workers of Paris? They depended on the arbitrariness of the employers, received ridiculously low wages, and were always uncertain of the morrow. There were cases when metal workers were dismissed from one enterprise where they received 7 francs per hour, and were given work at a neighbouring

works at 5 francs per hour for exactly the same kind of work. Since the period of the crisis, the employers have made very wide use of this method of utilising unemployment. As a result, the wages of the metal workers of Paris gradually, and especially during the last four years, have been cut down to a very great degree. For a number of years the former unitary Metal Workers' Union (which has now joined the United Union) put forward the important slogan of guaranteed wage rates, to which they added the old demand of *recognition of the rights of the trade unions*, which the employers systematically isolated, and the recognition of the shop stewards.

On May 11, exactly 8 days after the victory of the People's Front, at the elections the workers in the aviation works of Breguet in Havre declared a strike and occupied the works. They put forward the demand that two workers who were dismissed on May 1 should be given back their jobs. The strike ended in victory. Three days later, on May 14, the workers of the Bloch Aviation works in the Paris district Courbevoie et Villeconblay struck work in the same way, their demands being wage increases for all at the rate of 25 centimes per hour, and the application at Villeconblay of the collective agreement already being applied in Courbevoie. As soon as the workers of the Bloch works struck work, all the deputies and councillors of the People's Front, the overwhelming majority of whom in this district are Communists, made their way to these works. Mayors, municipal councillors and deputies brought food supplies, and gave the workers moral assistance and support. The workers saw that they were really being supported. In two days they had won a victory.

On May 15 the workers of the Latecoere aviation works in Toulouse struck work. The cause of the strike was the dismissal of two workers on May 1. The workers occupied the works and in 24 hours had won a victory, achieving in addition the recognition of the rights of the trade union, the recognition of the shop stewards, and wages for compulsory lay-off.

The example of the Bloch works showed the metal workers that with the aid of the People's Front they could secure the satisfaction of the main demands popularised for more than a year by the Unitary Metal Workers' Union. On May 27 a strike began at three works in the Paris region at Nieuport, Issy les Moulinaux, Sauter Harle, electric power works in No. 16 District in Paris, Hotchkiss, Levallois, machine gun works. The method of the stay-in strike, of occupying the factories justified itself. The workers of Nieuport put forward the following demands:

1. The abolition of overtime after an eight-hour working day, and the introduction of the forty-hour working week.

2. The recognition of delegates elected by the workers themselves (without the participation of the management).

3. Guaranteed minimum daily wage. The workers in all these factories secured the satisfaction of their demands, and on May 27, "Humanité" published the collective agreement won by the workers of the Hotchkiss works in Levallois Perret, where the demands put forward at 4.30 were satisfied the same day at 9 o'clock in the evening, after the workers had occupied the works. On achieving the satisfaction of their demands, the workers left the works singing the "Internationale."

The considerable successes achieved with such rapidity led to a stormy growth of the movement and its extension on a wide scale. On June 5, in the Paris district alone, the workers of 250 metal works were on strike, and the employers' federation, in the person of Richemond, its chairman, who is a member of the Comité des Forges, had to lower himself to the extent of entering into negotiations.

What are the characteristic features of this movement? The splendid discipline of the workers. The workers kept the factory in complete order, delegates were elected in each department, committees were established to organise strike pickets, the entrances of the exits were guarded day and night, and workers began to clean up the departments. Then when sleeping quarters were organised, supper was prepared, and a guard set up, after which the workers began to play games, to dance and to play football. It is useful to note the high degree of class-consciousness of the workers. Thus, after the works had already been occupied by the workers for three days, the departmental delegate, Jacquet, threw himself into the river Seine three times to save a drowning child. While the shops were full of goods (this refers to the food stores and the big departmental stores) the poor workers did not steal a single thing. From the first day both the giants of the automobile industry, namely, Citroen, with 22,000 workers employed in five enterprises, and Renault, with 32,000 workers, works which can compare with the Ford Works in Detroit, U.S.A., struck work.

The workers displayed the greatest preparedness for negotiations—May 31 and June 1 were holidays. On the insistence of the union the striking metal workers left many works as soon as the employers promised to fulfil their demands. But when on June 3 and 4 after the holidays, the workers saw that the employers were dragging

out the negotiations, they again occupied the works. The leadership of the movement was assured by the Metal Workers' Union which periodically called together conferences of delegates from the departments. For instance, 800 workers' delegates of metal workers selected by departments and enterprises, gathered together on June 4 in the centre of Paris in the Labour Exchange buildings. In greater part they were young people, workers less than 30 years of age. They kept contact with the occupied factories by motor cycle. It goes without saying that the strikers were in possession of the factory telephones and management offices. No outsiders were allowed into the factory.

The organisational gifts of the workers, their discipline and the seriousness of the leadership, once again testifies to the political maturity of the Paris metal workers, and refute the old legend about Frenchmen, and especially about the French workers being allegedly incapable of engaging in organised activity. On the contrary, there are numerous examples to show that the strictest discipline was observed, and that organisation was exemplary.

This big strike of the Paris metal workers provides the workers of France and all over the world with an example of splendid organisation.

In view of this powerful movement, the participants in which so speedily achieved the satisfaction of their demands, the strike stoppage covered the entire province and the workers of all specialities. Entire pages of "Humanité" were filled with the enumeration of the victories won by strikers, and the paper was not in a position to give publicity to the entire strike movement, the strikes being so numerous.

The strikes in all the big centres, such as Lille, Roubaix, Dunkirk, Marseilles, and La Seine su Mere, etc., were won. In the Northern department and in the Pas de Calais district the number of strikers quickly reached the figure of 400,000, and especially great was the number of strikers among the miners who declared a general strike as well as among the metal and textile workers. Faced with such a powerful movement the employers had to retreat.

On June 8 "Humanité" published the text of an agreement between the General Confederation of Labour and the employers, the latter agreeing immediately to introduce a collective agreement and recognising the rights of the trade unions.

Article 4 states the following:

"The wage rates existing on May 25, 1936, will be increased for all workers from the day they return to work, according to a scale, beginning with 15 per cent. for the lowest categories and ending with 7 per cent. for the highest categories."

Then a communique was issued, which stated that the very low wage rates were to be preliminarily increased, and that on the basis of the new rates, wages would be raised by 15 per cent.

The movement which led to such an increase in the standard of living of the Paris metal workers, and also of other numerous categories of workers, is the best testimony to the correctness of the line taken to unify the trade unions, the line followed by the C.P. of France in correspondence with the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern. *Had the split in the trade union movement still continued, such a struggle would have been impossible.* It is clear that if the trade unions are pulling in different directions the workers will never make headway. The employers understand this quite well, and are therefore now trying to spur on the catholic organisations and "fiery cross" organisations to bring splitting trade unions into being. This lesson should be of assistance to those countries where the toilers have to come to one and the same conclusion, namely, that, had the trade unions not been united the French metal workers and all other French workers would not so quickly have achieved big victories over the employers.

For the first time in France an agreement was signed between the representatives of the C. G. T., Jouhaux, Frachon, Semat, Codier, Milan, on the one hand and the representatives of the General Confederation of French Industry (the so-called "Employers C.G.T.") composed of Duchemim, Dalbouse, Richemond and Lambert Ribot. The chairman of the Banking Syndicate, M. Lehideux, the henchman of the financial capitalists, was compelled to carry on negotiations with the Bank Clerks' trade union. The bosses of the flour mills trust, one of the most powerful in France, had to engage in negotiations with the workers of the "Grande Moulin" flour mills in Paris. What a tremendous strength the C.G.T. has achieved, thanks to unification.

Why did the workers develop the movement so rapidly? Because the People's Front, their People's Front was victorious.

The Paris metal workers, so developed politically, determined that the time had come to act, because the present government has been put in power by the People's Front in order to help the working people. As a result of this action the working class in a few days, in a few hours of struggle, secured a considerable improvement of their living conditions. This is a splendid reply to those who formerly asserted that nothing can be done to raise wages, before the victory of the revolution.

Another result of this movement is the mass character assumed by the French trade unions.

The metal workers' union in Paris district now has 50,000 members, while the Metal Workers' Federation throughout the country has 200,000 members. The united C. G. T. has *three and a half million members whereas at the time of the fusion between the C. G. T. and the C. G. T. U. there were only 900,000 members.**

This is something that has not been achieved either under the coalition governments of Czechoslovakia and Denmark, or under the Social Democratic Government in Sweden. The strike movement in France, however, immediately helped the government and strengthened it. In the factories, works delegates are now being legally appointed and real works' committees established and they will undoubtedly become the bodies on which the People's Front can base itself. They will be the best lever for putting into life the programme of the People's Front. Yes, a tremendous trade union movement is developing in France.

Let the "Temps" talk about the "tragic situation" (June 6 and 7); let the English Press, and first and foremost the "Daily Herald" and "Times" talk about the "difficulties of the government." Let Morrison print an article in the "Forward" of June 6 entitled "Good Luck, Mr. Blum." But it is clear that the government has a support now which no government has ever had in France.

To those who like the "Temps" of June 9 say that the "Parliamentary system has now been dealt the heaviest blow it has ever received," we may reply that the very opposite is now taking place. The fact that a few weeks after the election masses of the people achieved such big results, on the contrary, narrows down the basis of fascism. This is why the independent action of the working class, the inalienable rights of the working class will be exceptionally important driving forces as far as concerns the actions of the government tomorrow and will be the decisive force barring the way to the efforts of reactions and finance capital. This was stressed by the National Council of the Metal Workers' Federation at its meeting of June 8, when it declared in its resolution, as follows:

"The Committee of the Federation declares that if the 40-hour week, the collective agreement, and holidays with pay are legislative measures, none the less, the metal workers cannot wait until Parliament introduces these measures into law, for all the employers to satisfy these demands. *The Council of the Federation in exactly the same way presumes that the fulfilment and the regular operation of these measures in no smaller degree will depend on the corresponding independent action of the trade union organisations.*" Marcel Cachin was right when he wrote in "Humanité" of June 8 that:

*On June 25 the C.G.T. announced a membership of 3,500,000, of whom 500,000 are in the Metal Workers' Federation, and 80,000 in its Paris Section.

"We are told to make use of our influence to put an end to this increasing agitation. We reply that there is only one way of putting an end to the strikes, and that is by satisfying the demands of the working people, by making it possible for them to live by their labour, by giving them adequate wages and by giving them conditions of existence worthy of human beings."

We must bring about a situation where our work in the villages is raised to the level of our work in the towns. The Communist Party has now ardently set itself to achieve this.

This is how we can see in actual life, in action the force which support the government, and which make it possible for it to fulfil the programme of the People's Front. In a word, the present strike movement has immediately shown how it will be possible to-morrow to support the Government which has been placed in power by the People's Front and how it will be able and will have to fulfil its tasks. The strike movement in France is meeting with a wide response on an international scale, as witnessed by the strikes in Belgium and the ferment among the workers in England and even in Germany.

The Present Situation

The Economic and Financial Situation in the Country.

In spite of the great successes achieved by the working class and the People's Front, we must not forget the seriousness of the position, since it is quite clear the reactionary bourgeoisie have no inclination to retreat. After their first attacks, which were designed to call forth a panic, and which shook the stock exchange at the beginning of May, the campaign was renewed with additional force at the end of May, when the strikes began. I will quote the following example. In view of the fact that the distribution of newspapers was held up for three days (the newspapers of the People's Front were distributed by the workers themselves) the rumour was immediately spread about that there would be a general strike the next day. Everybody rushed to the shops to purchase food supplies, which led to prices being trebled, while the fascists cried: See this is the handiwork of the new Government of the People's Front. Speculation was rampant everywhere, all the more so since the big department stores were occupied by their employees, while the central market was closed for two days. After the victory of the workers the increasing of prices still continued, the excuse now being that wages had been increased, and the reactionary Press continues to accuse the government that it has allegedly let anarchy loose.

As regards the economic situation, the tendency to improvement is still relatively weak. The index

of French economy has hardly passed beyond the lowest point reached during the crisis. France is the only one of all the big capitalist countries where the crisis maintained itself throughout the year 1935 as well. According to official data, on May 30 there were 422,036 unemployed, of whom 106,530 were in Paris, and 249,000 in the department of the Seine as a whole. Note must, however, be made of the slackening of the agrarian crisis as the result of a certain rise in the prices of agricultural products, particularly of grain. This is to a certain degree to be explained by the wide campaign conducted by the Communist Party and the government measures adopted as a result of this campaign. But the finances of the country are in a serious position. On the one hand, there has been a considerable withdrawal of gold from the Bank of France on two occasions, namely in March-April, 1935, and in September, 1935. The gold reserve fell from 82,630 million francs in March, 1935, to 65,590 million francs by March 31, 1936.

There is a tremendous number of hidden Bank Notes in France (about 10,000 million francs) 30,000 million francs according to a recent declaration of the Minister of Finances, Vincent Auriol. That is to say, if a panic begins and these thousands of millions are put into circulation, then fundamentally the devaluation of the franc will take place. On the other hand, the Budget deficit, the decline in receipts from direct taxation, have led to a situation where the various governments of National Unity, by refusing to tax the rich, were able to resort only to loans. Prior to November 1st, 1935, 18,000 million francs of new loans were issued, at high rates of interest. At the present moment, the indebtedness of the French state amounts to 334,000 million francs, of which sum 70,000 million relate to the last five years. A great part of these debts are short term loans ("floating"), and this provides finance capital with the possibility, if it so desires of strangling the government in the course of a few days. We had such a situation with the Herriot government which in 1936 was overthrown in a few hours by this means, and the deficit in the State Budget for 1936 is 10,000 millions at the least.*

Finally, the big industrialists, as is well known, are striving to achieve devaluation with a view to carrying on a more successful struggle on foreign markets. Paul Reynaud, the agent of the big employers, has recently advised devaluation, in the full Chamber. The danger is exceptionally great and serious, for devaluation will not only deprive the workers of what they

*6,600 million francs according to the Minister of Finances of June 19th.

have achieved as a result of the present strike struggle, but it will render more serious the conditions of the workers and the whole people.

To-day, the attack is in full blast, by a general, rapid and big increase in the price of all products of prime necessity, in the cost of living. Thus the first advantages obtained by the workers are already being imperilled, while the peasants and small shopkeepers are beginning to be severely hit. There is an immediate and particularly grave danger there.

On the other hand, according to law, the fascist organisations have been disbanded. But they have only changed their names and for the time being still continue to exist with their arms, and their organisation.

In such a situation, the danger may arise that the big finance capitalists, trusts and monopolies which base themselves on the fascist bands, may exert pressure on the government. Therefore the Communist Party must, at the present time, display the maximum of vigilance, not in general, but concretely, at every step and in action. This is why the movement of such dimensions as has now broken out among the workers, is an exceptionally powerful barrier against the forces of fascism and reaction, and is thereby a support to the government in the fulfilment of the programme of the People's Front.

It is precisely for this reason that the Central Committee of the C.P. of France has insisted on the need for strengthening the People's Front, and of attracting to it those strata of the population which are still far from it, primarily the Catholics, among whom we have achieved already successes.

In exactly the same way the Party's campaign for the "unification of the French people" for the struggle against the 200 families is meeting with support even among many of those who have hitherto been supporters of the "Fiery Crosses." The efforts of our Party, as expressed in the policy of stretching out our hand, are well known.

The Communist Party is the Driving Force of the People's Front

The past two years have shown that the Communist Party always inspires and fights for the extension and consolidation of the united front.

The Communist Party has struck deep roots among the masses. Its influence is tremendous. Its membership is growing.

Beginning from June 4th, thousands of new members have been joining the Party every day. To date, the Central Committee of the Party has sent out 133,048 party cards and stamps. The Y.C.L. organisations after a certain period of quiet have also begun to grow. During the recent

period 40,893 membership cards and stamps have been sent out. During the District Conference, which took place on January 11, 1936, the Paris City District had 6,392 members, whereas on May 31 there were 12,777 members registered, i.e., the figures had doubled. In the Paris halls, where we usually hold our meetings, we can no longer find enough accommodation for all our Party members.

Approximately 250,000 copies of "Humanité" are sold. From the 4th to 9th of June 3,368,657 copies were sold.

These figures are higher than ever during the entire period of the existence of "Humanité."

The self-sacrifice and heroism of our comrades are well known. In 1934 and 1935, at the first call of the Central Committee they went to shed their blood in the struggle against fascism. Many examples go to show that the Communists in France know how to organise the masses.*

Our successes in the villages and especially in the big aviation works have been brought about by the work of thousands of humble comrades, endlessly persecuted by the employers and the police, thrown out on to the streets, and condemned to hunger.

The great success of the Party is its ideological consolidation. The Communist Party of France brought about a sharp turn during the year 1934 in the whole of its tactical line (it began its work in this direction in February and intensified it in June). And this at a moment when great confusion existed in all the parties in France. The entire Party operated this turn without any serious hesitations, and the success was such that from that moment the Central Committee of the C.P.F. won considerable prestige both inside the Party and outside its ranks. On the other hand, the work of the Central Committee demonstrated the solidarity among the leadership, a point which is very important in a country such as France, where anarcho-syndicalist and individualist traditions are very deep rooted. Whereas conflicts are taking place in all the parties in France, only one party shows itself to be a monolithic whole and possesses a united leadership, a united Central Committee—and that Party is the C.P. of France.

We can boldly declare that never yet in the history of the C.P. of France has there been such a unanimous endorsement of the line of the Comintern, and particularly the line of the Seventh Congress. And it is not a question of formally endorsing this line in resolutions, but of endorsing the line of the Comintern in the entire every-

*See article entitled "Examples of the Work of French Communists during the Election Campaign" as printed in this issue, page 462.

day work of the Communist Party, inspired by the spirit of the decisions of the Seventh Congress.

None the less it is clear that we are still not sufficiently strong. The C.C. of the C.P.F. has sent out 133,000 party cards. But 11 million French proletarians and millions of others who toil require leadership. In view of the present complicated and difficult situation, the most urgent task is clearly to recruit ever new members in their thousands, into the Party.

There has been some delay in establishing a joint Federation of the youth, due to the resistance of the leaders of the Socialist and Republican youth, but the position is improving. The membership of the Y.C.L. is increasing, and the basis is again being laid for the unification of all the youth, and especially for the drafting of a list of common demands for the youth. But what still remains to be done is tremendous.

As regards "Humanité," it is, of course, an important newspaper, but as recently as December, 1935, its total circulation was in all 100,250 copies in the Paris district, whereas there are 6,705,000 inhabitants there. In 188 cities with a population of over 10,000 inhabitants each and with a total population of approximately 9 million inhabitants, only 36,952 of "Humanité" are sold. In the remainder of France, with a population of more than 26 million people, only 53,000 copies of the paper are sold. This means that the Party is faced with the tremendous task of improving the biggest Communist paper, both politically and technically, a paper which is a lever for action and unity.

Finally, and this is the main thing, in this complicated and difficult situation, the Communist Party of France will only be able to cope with the

situation if it rapidly prepares the numerous cadres of which it stands in need.

At the present time, more than five-sixths of the members of the Party have a Party standing of two years. We are growing very rapidly, and thus, the tasks of training and propaganda work will become colossal in dimensions. The ideology of Communism must be introduced among the huge masses of people coming into our Party. This faces the Party with the problem of raising the ideological level of our Press, both national and local, and of our theoretical organ, and of all our publications. In this work of ours we shall be led by the words of Comrade Dimitrov at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, when he said that: "It is necessary to learn, comrades, to learn always, at every step, in the course of the struggle, at liberty and in jail, to learn and to fight, to fight and to learn. We must be able to combine the great teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin with Stalin's firmness at work and in struggle, with Stalin's irreconcilability, on matters of principle, towards the class enemy and deviators from the Bolshevik line. With Stalin's fearlessness in face of difficulties, with Stalin's revolutionary realism." This also raises the question of increasing discipline.

It goes without saying that it is not a question of a bureaucratic, moribund and barrack discipline, but of live Communist discipline, based on political consciousness. But to achieve this a tremendous amount of educational work needs to be done. This is one of the most important tasks facing the Communist Party.

The situation of the C.P. of France is extremely complicated, extremely difficult, and the French Communists recognise these difficulties.

The results already achieved enable us to look with confidence into the future.

HOW THE PROGRAMME OF THE PEOPLE'S FRONT IS BEING FULFILLED IN FRANCE

AT the last Congress of the Socialist Party, Leon Blum stated that:

"The programme of the government will be exactly the same as the programme of the People's Front. And we give our solemn promise to the country that we will put it into life."

After the formation of the Government, led by the Socialist Party, the Government declaration, which was read in the Chamber of Deputies, stated:

"The programme of the government is the common programme signed by all the parties of the majority. The only task which stands before the government is to turn this programme into deeds. These deeds will follow each other in quick succession."

The Government declaration provided for the carrying into life of the following basic measures which are recorded in the programme of the People's Front:

- (1) The introduction of compulsory collective wage agreements and holidays with pay for the workers.
- (2) The introduction of the 40-hour working week, resulting in the curtailment of unemployment.
- (3) The drawing up of extensive plans for public works, and the allocation of the necessary funds.
- (4) The nationalisation of the war industries.
- (5) The review of the extraordinary decrees of Doumergue-Laval.
- (6) The raising of the prices of the most important agricultural products, which fell during the economic crisis, to their former level (grain, wine, meat, milk).
- (7) The alteration of the statutes of the French Bank so as to assure that the national interests predominate in the management of this bank.
- (8) The disbanding and disarming of the fascist leagues.
- (9) In the field of foreign policy—international collaboration of France, within the framework of the League of Nations, in support of peace on the basis of collective security and the indivisibility of peace; the extension of the system of mutual assistance pacts open to all after the fashion of the Franco-Soviet Pact.

A few days after the Government declaration was announced, three Bills were introduced for discussion in the House of Deputies, and were adopted by a majority vote:

- (1) Regarding the conclusion of collective agreements.
- (2) Regarding annual fortnightly holidays with pay.
- (3) Regarding the establishment of the 40-hour working week.

The powerful strike wave which spread over the entire country in the first half of June, and involved about one and a half million workers, showed the necessity of urgently carrying these measures into life.

The next important measure was the decree signed on June 18 by the President of the Republic regarding the disbanding of the fascist leagues. According to the decree, the following four organisations were to be disbanded: "Franciste," "Solidarite Francaise," "Jeunesses Patriotes," and the "Croix de Feu."

On June 28 the Chamber of Deputies ratified a draft Bill directed against the speculators and organisers of finance sabotage, and which had provided for penalties for the refusal to pay taxes, and the illegal transfer of capital abroad. At the same time, on the proposal of the Minister of Finance, the cabinet decided to place before the Chamber of Deputies a draft law repealing the extraordinary decrees of Laval which hit the State and Municipal employees particularly hard. This Bill returns to the employees about 1,300 million francs which were taken away from them by the extraordinary decrees. Besides this, a draft Bill to reorganise Bank of France, which is really in the hands of 200 of the largest shareholders, has been placed before the President of the Republic for ratification. The first steps in this direction have already been taken. The director of the French Bank, Tanevy, who used secret funds to subsidise a campaign directed against the People's Front, has been dismissed.

At the end of June the Council of Ministers adopted a decision on two more of the most important questions of the programme of the People's Front, namely, on the nationalisation of the war industry, and on the allocation for four years of 24,000 million francs to be used for public works. The Government has accepted and introduced for discussion in the Chamber of Deputies a number of other Bills to lighten the burden of taxation which falls on ex-servicemen, to extend the possibilities for young people to receive work, regarding an amnesty, etc. It should be noted that the

former chief of the Paris police, the patron of the fascist leagues, the vehement enemy of the People's Front, Chiappe, has been deprived of his parliamentary mandate after a check-up of the ballot papers.

These measures of the Government in carrying out the programme of the People's Front, is strengthened by the action of the people, who were opposed by the big financiers and the fascist reactionaries.

The reactionary capitalists attempted to picture the strikes which were accompanied by occupation of the factories, as the revolutionary seizure of the factories and as the beginning of revolution.

The *Bulletin Quotidien*, the organ of the Committee of Heavy Industry, wrote that on June 12:

"Paris and part of France is at the present time witness to the partial beginning of revolution, patiently prepared by the Communist Party."

The aim of all this was to frighten the petty-bourgeoisie and to split the People's Front.

These attempts did not succeed. The followers of the People's Front pointed out (as was also explained by Leon Blum in his speech at the Congress of the Socialist Party of France) that the workers did not seize but only occupied their places of work in order to prevent a lock-out, to which the employers could very easily resort at a time of extensive unemployment.

Besides this, the organised struggle of the masses of the people is the best guarantee that the programme of the People's Front will be carried into life.

True, the campaign of the enemies of the people found a response among the reactionary elements of the Radical Party, and particularly on the pages of the newspaper *Republique*, where the campaign against the Communist Party took on the form of sowing dissension in the Radical Party and causing a split in the People's Front.

In answer to this, Comrade Duclos, Secretary of the Communist Party, wrote in his article, "The Radicals are right," that

"The enemies of the people will not stop before anything in their efforts to split the People's Front, thanks to which it has proved impossible to crush freedom in our country as has been done in other countries."

And, further, answering the threats of Taittinger (who threatened with a Vendée), Comrade Duclos ended:

"The Radicals are right when they say that the strength and importance of their Party are in the closest degree connected with the policy of the People's Front . . . It is understandable that this is a source of alarm to the enemies of the people, but it is their misfortune that their manoeuvres were and will continue to be without results."

This prophecy proved correct. This campaign of the *Republique* received the proper rebuff in

the ranks of the Radical Party. The meeting of the Executive Committee of the Radical Party, which took place on July 2nd, sharply condemned the position of the *Republique* and its political leader, Emile Roche. Speaking in the discussion, the Radical, Albert Bayet, emphasised the point that, since the formation of the People's Front the actions of the Communists has been absolutely loyal, and declared in conclusion: "Be careful; If the People's Front is split, reaction will be terrible."

The decree to disband the fascist organisations called forth the feverish opposition of the fascists. The leaders of fascist organisations began to organise protest demonstrations, and openly stated that they would not stop at anything in order to hinder their disbandment. On July 1st, during the discussion of this question in the Chamber of Deputies, the Right reactionary Deputy, Vall, the mouthpiece of the "Croix de Feu," openly made the threat that it sometimes happens that "uprising is a sacred task." And Taittinger, the leader of the "Jeunesses Patriotes" ("Patriotic Youth") threatened the Government with the words: "Let the Government be careful! Those measures which it is adopting to-day may one fine day be turned against those who are supporting it."

The industrialists and fascists did not stop at this. The General Confederation of Industries published a statement as to the serious consequences resulting from the wage increases to the financial stabilisation of industry and of the whole of French economy. The chairman of the food syndicate, Garrange, stated that the wage increases would lead to an increase in the cost of food. Speculators in the markets began to use the delay of food deliveries in order to raise prices.

The Government replied to this by counter-measures. Within a short period of time, more than two hundred charges for price increases were drawn up and handed over to the public prosecutor.

At the same time the reactionaries and big industrialists were attempting to bring about the devaluation of the franc in another way in order to reduce the wage increases won by the workers.

In reply to the demand for devaluation, Blum stated that the Government would not agree to it, but would attempt to solve the crisis by increasing the purchasing power of the population. And the Minister of Finance, the Socialist Vincent Auriol, stated in his speech to the Chamber of Deputies on June 19 that:

"I refuse to devalue the franc, which would only play into the hands of the speculators! I ask even those who yesterday were supporters of devaluation to join with us at the present time in fighting against the manoeuvres which are attempting to make out of each Frenchman a pawn against the franc."

The Communist Party and its parliamentary group are giving support to the Leon Blum Government in all measures which they are carrying out to operate the programme of the People's Front.

Immediately after the formation of the Government, after the Government declaration was read, Comrade Duclos, in the name of the Communist Group, stated in the Chamber of Deputies:

"We will give you our votes, but outside these walls there are the entire people who want their lawfully expressed desires to be respected. With these people, splendid in their belief and far-sightedness, it is possible to overcome all obstacles. That is why, I am sure, that the Committees of the People's Front, which have developed out of the creative initiative of the toiling masses, will not only not hinder the work of the government, but will assist it in carrying out the programme of the People's Front into life.

"We, Communists, whose aim it is to assure the power of the toilers in town and country, we who are striving to set up the French Republic of Soviets, will, with all our strength, assist in the operation of this programme. Solid more than at any other time with the Parties of the People's Front, we extend our brotherly hand to the Catholic working people and to those who hoped to find the satisfaction of their thirst for justice in the 'Croix de Feu' of Count de la Rocque, the offspring and continuator of the emigrants of Coblenz.* We desire unity in order to save our country from the tyranny of money and create a free, strong and happy France, which the people of France wish to establish together with us and which we shall establish together with them."

The Communist group in parliament is actively participating in all commissions and in the drafting of Bills, and is introducing its own Bills. For instance, the Communist group adopted a decision to introduce a number of Bills which have in view

the introduction of a so-called "tax passport" (the aim of this measure is to carry out a more effective struggle against the sharp practices of the large taxpayers), the taxation of the big capitalists, a review of the rates for the renting of land, allocation of a credit of 1,000 millions for the development of sport, the establishment of a national fund for the struggle against unemployment, a Bill for an amnesty, etc.

The Communist Party calls the masses of people to be vigilant and emphasises that the danger of a fascist coup d'état is increasing, that the fascist bands are not at all thinking of laying down their arms. On the contrary, as a result of the successes of the People's Front, as a result of the difficulties being undergone by fascism, its aggressiveness is growing and acts of provocation are on the increase. The fascists are attempting in their criminal work to base themselves upon the reactionary elements inside the parties of the People's Front, are attempting to find supporters in the State apparatus, etc.

It depends upon the vigilance of the masses, upon the solidarity in the ranks of the People's Front and on its ability to carry on the struggle, upon timely and decisive action by the Government against the fascists, whether we shall succeed in destroying in embryo the plots of the fascists who are attempting to do away with the democratic régime and freedom in France.

The organised struggle of the masses who are united in the People's Front against the fascists is the guarantee that the programme of the People's Front will be victoriously fulfilled. And this is the main task at the present time.

*The counter-revolutionaries of 1793.

THE U.S.A. BEFORE THE ELECTIONS

THE Presidential Elections in the U.S.A. will take place on November 3. The most important parties and groups in the United States have already held their National Conventions at which Presidential candidates were nominated and programmes formulated.

The Republican Party

The convention of the Republican Party took place in Cleveland on June 7-12. They nominated for President Alfred M. Landon, and for Vice-President Colonel Frank Knox. Despite the attempt to hide its real face by a barrage of fake "liberalism," the Republican Party represents an incipient fascist tendency, and is connected with the pro-Hitler fascist newspaper "king," William Randolph Hearst, and the American Liberty League. The American Liberty League was initiated in 1935 by the biggest and most reactionary financial magnates and included the representatives of both the Republican and Democratic Parties who were for a more decisive and determined offensive against the working class. Already last year they indicated that they will stop at nothing to achieve their reactionary aim and will do their utmost to defeat Roosevelt in 1936, and to place an administration in power that will carry through this programme to the full satisfaction of Morgan, Du Pont, Mellon, Hearst and company.

Landon, who is governor of the State of Kansas, is a Conservative and owns considerable oil interests. From a comparatively obscure position, he was brought into the limelight by Hearst's huge propaganda machinery. The running mate of Landon, Colonel Knox, is a rich Chicago publisher, who was formerly manager of the chain of Hearst's newspapers.

The nomination of Landon, instead of a well-known reactionary of the type of Hoover, was a demagogic gesture to make it possible to represent the Republican Party as being liberalised and independent of the old guard. Thus, Senator Borah formulated this as follows:

"I think the Republican Party has been liberalised. I am satisfied with the strong declaration against private monopolies . . . Not the least of our victories has been the relegation of the old guard to the background and the demolition of its influence in the party's affairs." (N.Y., American, June 12, 1936.)

Despite this talk of liberalism and despite the talk even of "social security" and a favourable attitude to labour, the essence of the Republican programme can be summed up as an effort to increase capitalist profits; to wipe out social and labour legislation; balance the budget, by eliminat-

ing unemployment relief, cutting the taxes of the rich, and throwing the tax burden on to the poor by means of sales tax; to weaken popular government by strengthening the Supreme Court; and to develop extreme jingoist nationalist moods amongst the masses, drive toward war under cover of "American isolation" and "neutrality."

The Communist Party therefore declared that the central task of the present election campaign must be "to defeat the Landon-Hearst-Wall Street Ticket, the chief enemy of the liberties, peace and prosperity of the American people. Its victory would carry our country a long way on the road to fascism and war" (Browder).

The Democratic Party

The convention of the Democratic Party took place in Philadelphia between June 24-28. The bulk of the delegates to the convention (like those of the Republican Party convention), according to the *N.Y. Times* of June 22, was composed mostly of office holders under Federal, State and local Democratic Party administration. The convention overwhelmingly renominated as its candidates, for President and Vice-President, Franklin D. Roosevelt and Garner respectively.

The fascist tendencies in the United States to-day are without any doubt associated with the opponents of Roosevelt. But from this it does not follow that Roosevelt and his programme and Party represent a check to the developing fascist danger in the United States. Roosevelt, like his opponents of the Republican Party, is associated with big capital. He is bound within the limits of the reactionary Southern landlord interests which control the solid South, the most important base of the Democratic Party. He is trying to retain a mass following for the Democratic Party by demagogically making certain concessions to the farmers, especially to the rich farmers, to the city middle classes, and some slight concessions to the workers. Roosevelt's "middle" course might be said to be to try and smooth out some of the brazen abuses of capitalism. But, in the last year, especially under pressure from the Liberty League and from Hearst, he has been retreating and has been yielding most to reaction despite the fact that he receives most support from the masses. He comes out against reaction only to the degree that he thinks it necessary to hold labour and the progressive followers from breaking away.

Alfred E. Smith, former Governor of New York, and Democratic Party candidate for President in 1928, together with Ely, Colby, Reed and others associated with him in the Liberty League, sent an

open message to the convention. This message contained a threat that unless the convention ousts Roosevelt and nominates candidates who would carry out the Liberty League programme, "the patriotic voters of all parties will know unhesitatingly to what standard they must rally in order to preserve the America of the great leaders of the past." Just what this "standard" is going to be was revealed by Ely, who has offered to support the Republican candidate, Landon. This message of the reactionaries only helped the Democratic Party in so far as it helped them to deliver a tirade against the Liberty League and the "privileged."

Roosevelt's tactics at the present time aims at playing up to the Left. As a result, Roosevelt won support of decisive sections of the Labour movement, even some of those who favoured the formation of a Farmer Labour Party. Thus, the United Mine Workers, headed by John L. Lewis, at their convention, voted almost unanimously to support Roosevelt, and contributed to his campaign fund. President Dubinsky, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, for 25 years a member of the Socialist Party, resigned from that Party in order to come out in open support to Roosevelt. Only recently was formed the Labour's non-Partisan League whose aim is to mobilise the forces of organised labour to support Roosevelt. The League is supported not only by Lewis and Dubinsky but also by the most important unions affiliated to the C.I.O. Many of the outstanding trade union leaders connected with this League recognise the need for the formation of an independent Farmer Labour Party; they argue as follows: "Roosevelt in 1936 to defeat reaction."

Despite his gestures to the Left and the considerable support that he receives from the workers and farmers, Roosevelt continues to give in to the pressure of reaction and has not taken up a fight against them on any basic issue, not even on the issues of a constitutional amendment and on the issue of limiting the power of the Supreme Court, which has nullified the entire New Deal programme. The programme of the Democratic Party is a vague reiteration of some of the New Deal measures and is so formulated as to try and please everybody.

The Union Party

A very significant development in the election campaign was the emergence, with the most active participation of a number of pro-fascist organisations, of a new party styling itself as the "Union Party." The candidates of this party were, for President, William Lemke, and for Vice-President, Thomas O'Brien. Wm. Lemke is a Congressman from North Dakota, who in the past was connected with a number of reformist farmers' movements

such as the non-Partisan League, and in the last years he has gained some influence amongst the farmers, as a result of his proposal of a number of farm measures in Congress, such as the Frazier-Lemke Bill, which proposed a temporary moratorium on farmers' debts. O'Brien, unknown outside of Boston, has for a number of years been a lawyer for the railroad brotherhood unions.

The most active initiator of this new party was the fascist, Father Coughlin, who was its outstanding political spokesman. Reverend K. Smith, who is the leader of those remnants of Huey Long's semi-fascist "Share-the-Wealth Movement," who have not made up with Roosevelt, is another backer of this movement. The semi-fascist, anti-Semitic Third Party of Chicago, headed by Newton Jenkins and the anti-Negro racketeering ex-Mayor of Chicago, "Big" Bill Thompson, have also lined up with the Lemke ticket.

The C.P. of the U.S.A. very correctly pointed out that this party

"bears all the earmarks of a Hearst-Landon-Liberty League intrigue. Lemke is clearly but a stooge for Landon. His programme is a typical half-fascist hodge-podge of radical-sounding phrases without any definite commitment on a single concrete issue before the country." (Browder.)

The rôle of this party is that it might lead to the election of Landon by serving to tip the election in favour of the latter in a number of states that otherwise would clearly have not been Republican.

The Socialist Party

The Socialist Party held its convention in Cleveland on May 21-25. The convention nominated for President Norman Thomas and for Vice-President James Nelson. Significant at this convention was the struggle against and the defeat of the reactionary Right-wing elements, the so-called "Old Guard," notorious for their anti-Communist, anti-Soviet campaign carried on in conjunction with the fascist Hearst. This unquestionably was a progressive step. But at the same time the convention took a step backward on the question of the united front, and it rejected the proposal of the Communists to put up joint Presidential candidates. The Socialist Party took a most reactionary step in admitting as a body into the Socialist Party the counter-revolutionary Trotskyites.

In estimating the situation in the United States the Socialist Party fails to recognise the Republican Party as the bearers of extreme reaction, but rather accepts them at their face value, as they like to picture themselves, as "Liberalised," and they see no difference between Landon and Roosevelt.

The Socialist Party is approaching this year's election campaign with a rigid sectarian doctrinarism that is tearing it away from the most important mass currents and politics in the country. This

position is leading them to stand aside even from the Farmer Labour movement.

The Communist Position in the Elections

The Communist Party, at its convention in New York, June 25-28, nominated Earl Browder as its Presidential candidate and James W. Ford as its Vice-Presidential candidate. Comrade Browder is the General Secretary of the Communist Party and Comrade Ford is an outstanding Negro Communist, a member of the Political Bureau of the Party. Realising the acuteness of the fascist danger and the forces behind it, the Communist Party is rallying and organising the people against reaction, fascism and war and for the building of the people's front. This is taking on the form of whole-hearted support of the Farmer Labour Party movement. Comrade Browder, at the convention, formulated the tasks of the Party in the election campaign as follow:

"Our campaign will be primarily on behalf of the programme of the People's Front. At the same time we will carry on a mass campaign of education, on

a scale never before attained, to teach the broad millions the meaning of socialism, of the working class revolution, of the full Communist programme which is the only final solution of the problems created for the population by a dying capitalist system."

The election demands of the Communist Party are as follow:

1. Put America back to work—provide jobs and a living wage.
2. Provide unemployment insurance, old age pensions, and social security for all.
3. Save the young generation.
4. Free the farmers from debts, unbearable tax burdens and foreclosures. Guarantee the land to those who till the soil.
5. The rich hold the wealth of our country—make the rich pay.
6. Defend and extend democratic and civil liberties. Curb the Supreme Court.
7. Full rights to the Negro people. Death penalty for the lynchers.
8. Keep America out of the war by keeping war out of the world.

THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR MOVEMENT

THE STRUGGLE OF THE BERLIN WORKERS AGAINST THE CAPITALIST OFFENSIVE

FASCISM deprived the German working class of the right to have their trade unions and to strike, and placed extraordinary difficulties in the way of the struggle of the workers for bread. But the logic of the class struggle cannot at all be overcome, for however much you suppress the class struggle, it will nevertheless break through. The situation in Germany is such now that, on the one hand, especially in the munition works, there are places where a shortage of skilled workers is to be observed, and on the other hand, employers' profits have risen immensely, as is openly recognised by the fascist press. In such conditions it is inevitable that the working class, dissatisfied with the starvation wages forced upon them during the crisis and the years of Hitler's rule, should undertake a more active struggle.

The fascist journalist, Nonenbrook, even had to polemize in a number of articles in the *Völkischer Beobachter* against such moods amongst the working class as the desire to follow the example of the French workers, and to achieve wage increases through strike struggle. This fact testifies to the tremendous impression being made by the successes achieved by the French People's

Front, on the working peoples of other countries; the example of the French workers finds fertile soil even in present-day Germany.

What form does the protest movement against starvation wages take on in Germany to-day? As an illustration we shall quote the example of the struggle of one of Berlin's big munition works. In only one of the departments of this works, during six months alone, there took place, one after the other, three demonstrations which influenced other departments. The first movement began with a discussion in the department on the question of wages. The workers argued on this question mainly with the "Amtsvalter" (representative) appointed by the "Labour Front," who was finally compelled to call in the aid of a member of the works "Confidence Council." The appearance of the "delegate" in the department, led to calling of a real meeting, and what is more, during working hours. More and more workers left their lathes and gathered around those engaged in the argument. Workers from other departments also began to come in. In a word, a real meeting began—a very unusual state of affairs. Under the pressure of the workers the "delegate" promised

to talk things over with the management. As a result, the hourly wages were increased from three to seven pfennigs.

The second demonstration in this department took place soon afterwards, its aim being to raise the low wage scales. This time the "delegate" refused to interfere in any way, so as to "punish" the department for its anti-fascist ideas. In so far as the workers of the department did not display any interest in the various national socialist festivals, marches, and "meets," etc., stated the "delegate," he, as an official of the National Socialist Party, had no desire to move even a finger for such workers. Let them fend for themselves.

The workers had to think of ways of securing help in their difficult position. First of all, a round-robin was sent to the management, but the document remained without results. Then the workers sent a commission of four comrades to enter negotiations with the management. The "Amtsvalter" refused to go with the delegation. Nevertheless, the management accepted the commission, and after long negotiations partial successes were again achieved, wages being raised by from four to nine pfennigs.

A few months later, a third incident took place in the same department. The demand raised was that a number of workers who were paid by the hour and who, because of their work, lost a considerable part of their wages, should have their hourly wages replaced by weekly wages. Some workers began to complain about this to the foreman, to the director, and also to the "delegate." The latter had to call a department meeting and come to an arrangement with the management. And this time again the affair ended with a partial success for the workers.

Such actions lead to the improvement of the material conditions of the workers, although only to a very limited extent, and only affect certain definite, and usually the most important, departments. But in addition, these active demonstrations have another organisational influence: they strengthen the faith of the workers in their own strength. As a result of such demonstrations, the most active participants achieve especial respect amongst the workers, and become actually, even if not formally, the representatives of the department. In some enterprises, there were cases when the owners were forced to carry on negotiations not with the official "delegate," but with the real representatives of the workers.

In another Berlin works a new head foreman was appointed in order to "raise the productivity of labour," and a stop-watch to measure the labour process was again introduced in each department. The workers, however, boycotted the stop-watch

of the "rationaliser," by dragging out the conclusion of any work begun as long as possible, and leaving half-finished jobs for others to begin. In answer to this, the employers flooded the factory with national socialist workers who knew the jobs very well, and in spite of the boycott of the workers introduced the stop-watch system. Afterwards a new cut in the piecework rates was announced, which called forth general indignation, displayed in a systematic reduction of the speed at which the work was done. In the endless arguments and discussions the workers exerted strong influence over the national socialists and "delegates" sent them. The employers had to resort to a manoeuvre. A new piecework rate was announced, but this also called forth general dissatisfaction. The workers refused to do an overtime job which had been arranged beforehand. No matter how much they promised the workers to get their demands dealt with during this overtime work, not a single worker remained, despite the fact that the directors and foremen gathered in the yard to prevent the workers from leaving the factory. This refusal had its effect upon the management. The next day a meeting was called by the management with the "delegates" and influential workers. As a result the new head foreman was removed and the old one brought back. In a speech delivered to the workers he tried to wheedle his way into their good graces by saying:

"You will all receive your money. We want to see happy faces once more . . ."

The management also made a few gestures only to quiet the workers. For instance, formerly smoking was prohibited in the factory yard. Now they even set down special benches for smokers, and the director himself walks amongst the smoking workers and asks: "Well, how's things? Have a smoke? Is the tobacco good?" The stop-watch was again introduced and piecework rates raised.

This example can also serve as a characteristic illustration of fascist demagogy. Side by side with terror, the fascists attempt to break the daily struggle of the working class by the use of demagogy. Nevertheless, the example quoted, although for the time being they are only isolated cases, show that the French experience is falling upon fertile soil even in Hitler Germany. We can understand why even the *Berliner Berzenzeitung* of July 1 set about so earnestly to explain to the German workers that their living conditions were much better than those of their French comrades, and why it is so tenderly and persistently issuing warnings against "some of the workers who may perhaps now be dreaming of achievements after the example of their French comrades."

THE STRIKE WAVE AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE UNITED FRONT IN BELGIUM

A POWERFUL wave of the strikes spread over Belgium. The dockers' strike in Antwerp, following it the miners' general strike, joined by the metal, and later the textile, tram and building workers, and workers of other branches of industry. In the course of a few days the strike spread over almost the entire country. From the 14th to the 21st of June about 500,000 people were on strike.

The demands of the strikers were a minimum wage of 32 francs per day, the 40-hour working week, a fortnight's holiday with pay, and the right of the workers to organise into trade unions.

The government tried all means to disrupt the strike. It sent troops and the gendarmerie to the industrial centres. In Borinage, Liege, Ghent and numerous other localities, troops occupied important strategic points, while armoured cars paraded the streets. In a whole number of places clashes took place between workers and gendarmerie, resulting in casualties. Thus, in Carengon (Borinage), the workers set up barricades and resisted the gendarmerie sent against them. When Vandervelde arrived in the city with a view to quieting down the workers, and attempted to speak at a strikers' meeting, he was met with whistling and shouts: "Let the socialist ministers resign."

The strike was led by the Commission of Unions affiliated to the Belgian Labour Party.

But from the very beginning of the strike united front bodies began to be set up in the localities which led the struggle. In the call issued by the Central Committee of the Belgian Communist Party to the strikers on June 17, conditions which could ensure victory were stated to be the following:—

"The guarantee of victory is unity and iron discipline of the working class. To achieve this unity and discipline, which will result in victory, the Communist Party appeals to the working class to immediately achieve the following: agreement among the Socialist, Christian and Liberal trade unions; the organisation of joint strike pickets; sessions of municipal councils to be immediately convened in order to organise along with the trade union strike committees, the supply of foodstuffs for the strikers' families; a united front between the Socialist and Communist organisations; a People's Front embracing workers' organisations and middle classes to unite the working people against the big capitalists."

At the same time a Communist Party delegation met a delegation of the Bureau of the General Council of the Belgian Labour Party in order to examine the proposals regarding united action proposed by the Communist Party.

These proposals of the Communist Party were not adopted by the representatives of the Belgian

Labour Party, since in their opinion this question would have to be decided at a meeting of the General Council.

Several days later, when the strike reached its apex, an agreement was reached between the strikers and the employers. At a meeting with the representatives of the strikers the employers agreed to the establishment of a minimum wage, one week's holiday with pay, and the gradual introduction of a 40-hour working week in certain branches of industry.

After this the trade union commission of the Belgian Labour Party appealed to the masses to call off the strike.

The Communist Party considered it was premature to call off the strike and that the masses could achieve better results.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party issued a special call to the strikers, published in *La Lutte* on June 24, which stated:

"We, Communists, are of the opinion that victory will be complete only when the Bill regarding the 40-hour week, holidays with pay, a minimum wage and freedom of the trade unions are adopted. We, Communists, are of the opinion that improvements achieved at certain enterprises are insufficient. We declare to the strikers, with whom we have fought shoulder to shoulder, that we shall operate the decision adopted by the democratic majority. The united front has been hammered out in the joint struggle of the working class; after full victory we will support it."

During discussions in Parliament of the Bills regarding the 40-hour working week, holidays with pay, and the minimum wage, the Communist Party, as against the proposals of the socialists, introduced its counter-proposals, which were as follow:

(1) The 40-hour working week for all branches of industry; (2) the retention of the wages paid for the 48-hour week; (3) this law to be operated not later than October 1.

When the voting took place, this proposal of the Communist fraction was supported by five Left socialists, Martaux, Brunfaut, Izabella Blum, Saint and Delbroeck.

Along with the development of the strike movement, there grew the movement for the united front. Thus, the socialist federation in Soignies passed a resolution demanding establishment of the united front. In Brussels, numerous demonstrations took place, headed by the Communists and socialists. In Wasmes, Monchelier, Ougrèè, meetings of the united front were held; in Borinage, Tubid, united strike committees were established.

Along with the movement for the united actions between the socialists and Communists, the movement developed for the establishment of a people's front. In an article in the *Peuple* of June 22, entitled "The People's Front is Advancing," there was a report of a meeting in Verviers, at which socialists, Communists and Christian democrats spoke. In La Louvière, 12,000 attended a meeting of the People's Front.

At meetings in Frammaries and Doux the socialist, Pierard, welcomed the working class united front and its policy. And finally, on June 28, on the initiative of the Anti-Fascist Intellectuals' Vigilance Committee, a conference was held devoted to the establishment of the People's Front in Belgium. At this conference the Belgian Workers' Party, the Communist Party, trade union organisations, the Liberal young guards and a number of other organisations were represented. Among the prominent socialist party workers present at the conference, there were the chairman of the Second International, De Brouckere, Balthasar, Izabella Blum, Martaux, Brunfaut, Pierard, secretary of the Belgian Labour Party; Delvigue from the Communist Party; Comrades Jacquemotte and Relecom.

The resolution adopted stated that:

"During the strikes, the workers spontaneously brought the people's front into being. The democrats, liberals, socialists and the Communists, manual and brain workers, as well as members of the middle class joined together and were victorious. A People's Front movement must be created, which aims at preserving and organising this unity born in the battle.

"It desires to fulfil this task by rallying all the

democratic forces round the three principal ideas of bread, peace and freedom.

"In order to achieve this goal the conference, with a view to rallying the democratic forces, decided to elect an initiatory committee whose task it is to enter into negotiations with the parties, trade union and cultural organisations, with the already existing groups of the People's Front, and to bring about the unification of the entire forces of the People's Front on a national, district and local scale." ("Drapeau Rouge" of June 4.)

An initiatory committee consisting of 51 people was elected by the conference.

The youth have attained great successes in the sphere of united action and organisational unity. Organisational unity between the Young Communist League and the Young Socialist League has already been achieved in Vama. At the same time the united organisation continues to belong to both young organisations on a regional and national scale in order to conduct a struggle for the unity of the youth. The joint actions of the Young Communist and Young Socialist organisations took place in Hestal in Brussels, Molenbeck, Schaerbeek and a number of other localities.

The Central Committee of the Y.C.L. addressed a proposal to the leaders of the Young Socialist League to create a united organisation of the revolutionary youth. The leaders of the Y.S.L., in a letter to the Secretary of the Central Committee, Godfroid, expressed their agreement to conduct negotiations on this question.

The working people of Belgium learnt a lesson from the last elections, which testify to the growing fascist menace.

The movement for the united front is developing and extending in Belgium.

ANTI-FASCIST LEAFLETS DURING THE LAST ‘ELECTIONS’ IN GERMANY

HITLER decided demagogically to crown the provocative act of German Fascism—the re-militarisation of the Rhineland—with a “plebiscite” in favour of Hitler’s “peace policy” during the last “elections” in Germany. Despite all the difficulties of illegal work, many organisations of the Communist Party of Germany showed energetic initiative in the struggle against this demagogic manoeuvre. Here are a few characteristic excerpts from leaflets and other materials issued by the Communists in this regard, some of them independently and some of them together with Social Democrats and other anti-fascists.

A leaflet issued in Munich and appealing to all the Bavarian followers of the anti-fascist people’s front, emphasises the real idea of Hitler’s “plebiscite”:

“Anyone who votes for Hitler votes for war. People of Germany, you do not want war. No, and once again, no! You do not desire your sons to die under a barrage of fire or become cripples in order to satisfy the unquenchable thirst for profits of the magnates of the war industry. You do not wish your defenceless women and children to be burned and crippled by murderous poisonous gases, merely to raise the prices of shares in the chemical industry. You cannot desire that, for a long time in Germany, perhaps, the lower strata of the population should not have any other food besides jam, cheese and horsemeat, and rationed at that. You cannot want your children daily to be given only an eighth of a litre of skimmed milk. You cannot desire that Germany be without everything except hunger, poverty and tears. People of Germany, you do not want war. But Hitler is war. Therefore answer on March 29th with a decisive ‘No!’”

In Berlin a leaflet was issued, not as ordinarily on a mimeograph, but printed: “To all whimperers and critics in Berlin.” In this leaflet an estimation is given of the war policy of Hitler, which is hidden by a demagogic smokescreen, and then the main question is put, which Hitler tries to evade in his demagogy. “For anti-fascist Berlin,” the appeal says, “the entire policy of the fascist hangmen is being put to the vote.” Following a detailed explanation of this policy, as a policy of robbing all strata of toilers, a policy of enriching the landlords and capitalists, the conclusion is drawn that the only answer can be a negative one.

“What do the people say about March 7th?” is the question placed in the headline of another leaflet. Printed on one side of the leaflet are enthusiastic statements by the exploiters who are becoming richer, thanks to the Hitler dictatorship, and on the other side characteristic statements by workers, such as a fitter employed on the sub-

way, an office employer, a salesman in a milk store of the Balle Company, a worker employed on road construction, and a small handicraftsman. A storm trooper from Neukölen writes here about the experience he had during the pre-election agitation for the “plebiscite” which he carried on in civilian clothing:

“Now I will quit this whole thing. I will not participate any longer because otherwise I would have to report to the secret police almost every kinsman as a traitor of the people and a whimperer. There are no traces of enthusiasm in connection with the elections. Everyone is dissatisfied with the low wages, the many deductions from the pay and the increasing prices.”

In the second half of March a leaflet was issued jointly by the Communists and Social-Democrats of Berlin and was distributed in great numbers. Hitler’s policy of preparations for war and his nationalist demagogy are characterised in the leaflet with the following words:

“Hitler speaks of equal rights, but in actual fact, he has in view the military hegemony of Fascist Germany in Europe. But Germany will not be liberated by cannons.”

From this flows the political conclusions for a joint struggle:

“The examples of other countries, France and Spain, showed us, Social-Democrats, Communists and trade union workers, that only by collaboration and joint struggle against the Hitler régime can we be successful . . . Unity is becoming stronger and will bring us success, complete mutual trust in our collaboration in the factories, in the departments, in the offices and in the streets. Therefore, the Social-Democrats, Communists and members of the free trade unions of Berlin call upon you to demonstrate your unity at the elections of March 29th and answer with a unanimous ‘No’ to the question of Hitler. It is true that our ‘No’ may be corrected by Goebbels, but nevertheless it will sound as a pledge of joint struggle in which we will be victorious.”

Goebbels really did use all possible means to forge the results of the elections and even included among the “Yes” votes those upon which there were written words of burning hatred directed at the fascist hangmen, and he also counted the empty ballot papers as being in favour of the fascists. But the forgery was so crude that wide strata of the toilers could see through it. The *Mouthpiece of Siemens*, the illegal organ of the largest works in Berlin, wrote about this in its April issue:

“On Monday, after the great ‘electoral victory’ in our cable factory . . . the National Socialist functionaries quietly came into the hall with surprised faces. All the workers met the results of the elections with a frozen silence. I have heard that in other factories the same mood existed.

"The results of a few electoral districts have already become known. For instance, in one part of the eastern district of Berlin, 40 per cent. of the votes were against and in other places as many as 50 per cent."

We must especially note the anti-fascist pre-election campaign in Hamburg. The agitation was carried on by the most varied means. Leaflets were posted, slogans were written in telephone booths, in the factories upon the walls of the lavatories, and in many other places. One Sunday, out of the windows of the Karstadt department store in Barmbeck leaflets fell into the streets.

The most imposing demonstration of the will to struggle of both the Communist and Social-Democratic anti-fascist workers of Hamburg was the protest of the workers of the firm of Blohm and Voss, the largest wharf in Hamburg, against being forced to listen to the radio broadcast of Hitler's speech on March 25.

The workers were provoked a few days before this by being let off work two hours earlier in order to hear the broadcast of another speech of Hitler and then being forced to make up the two hours on the following day, which, of course, were not paid for at over-time rates. On March 25, the day on which the wages were to be handed out, when work ended both the gates of the factory and the windows of the cashier's office were closed. This was done in order to force the workers to listen to the broadcast. When Hitler's Hamburg deputy—Kaufmann—appeared at the wharf in order to make a speech before the broadcast of Hitler's speech, thousands of workers who were already in the yards met Kaufmann with ironical remarks. During his speech masses of workers left the hall and when the transmission of the speech of Hitler began, out of ten thousand workers, five thousand were out in the yards. The workers formed in line and cried: "We do not want to hear this blabber any more. We already know it by heart." "We want to go home." "We are kept here locked up like prisoners." Then they collectively cried out: "We want our pay," and they moved towards the closed cashier's office. Masses of workers left the hall while those who remained behind attempted to spoil the broadcast of the speech of Hitler with cries of "Hunger, hunger, hunger," etc.

The political demonstration of the workers of the Blohm and Voss wharf, as an expression of their anti-fascist sentiments, made a great impression upon the Hamburg workers amongst whom the information quickly spread about the events in the largest establishment in the city. "The results of the elections" which were especially shamelessly forged by the fascists in Hamburg were accepted by the workers as a mockery of themselves. Even National Socialists could be heard to say: "There was no reason to go so far."

The Communist and Social-Democratic workers jointly drew up and distributed an appeal to the workers of the Hamburg docks (the first printed leaflet for a long time), in which they spoke about the demonstration of the workers of the Blohm and Voss wharf, about the indignation of the Hamburg workers at the forgery of the results of the election, which showed that 99 per cent. of the votes were cast for Hitler, and about the growing assurance of the workers in the victory in connection with the establishment of the united front. Further, the leaflet spoke of the need for joint struggle on all the docks, for the enemy not to know each one of his opponents individually, and that therefore the workers must collectively place the following demands before the management and the functionaries of the fascist trade unions:

"A general wage increase!

"No withdrawal of the wage-agreement of May 1st!

"Strict observation of the wage-agreement!

"No increase in the intensity of labour and the restoration of the former rates for over-time work!

"Work to be given to the unemployed by abolishing over-time!

"The provision of large and clean washrooms, restaurants and lavatories.

"Protest against the delay of a year in elections to the factory committees! Demand immediate re-elections to the factory committees, and the nomination of candidates by the workers!

"Demand the right of self-government in the trade unions and the election of functionaries from among the members of the trade unions!"

In this way the struggle against the Hitler election fraud is co-ordinated with the struggle for the economic interests of the workers, and the struggle for democratic rights.

HOW THE FASCISTS ‘BURIED’ THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN BULGARIA

By V. Kolarov

THE central organ of the Communist Party of Bulgaria, the “Rabotnichesky Vestnik,” in its issue devoted to May 1, international labour day, noted that “down among the rank and file of the working-class, in all the enterprises, there seethes an ever-growing unrest,” and made the following forecast:

“In the near future we shall find ourselves faced with mass strikes and action by the workers. . . .

“The first of May this year will take place under the sign of general preparation for the coming mass struggles in defence of the economic interests of the working-class and the violated rights and liberties of all toilers.”

First and foremost, the newspaper further pointed out, this refers to “the tobacco and textile workers who have had experience in heroic strikes and have glorious militant traditions in the past.”

Driven deep underground, the Communist Party of Bulgaria prepared the masses for the struggles. Under the leadership of the new Central Committee headed by Comrade Dimitrov, the Party, in the process of its work outlived the relics of left sectarianism, which had temporarily weakened its connections with the working-class.

In the same May 1 number the “Rabotnichesky Vestnik” called upon the Communists and sympathisers to:

“Spare neither time nor labour and begin work in all enterprises to prepare and carry through the struggle of the working class. The eyes of wide masses of the workers are turned towards us, the conscious worker-communists and other fighters devoted to the cause of the working class, in expectation of action and initiative. The masses trust their genuine leaders. We must worthily justify this confidence!”

As against this militant prognosis there was another one thoroughly saturated with official optimism and the rosy hopes of the fascist dictatorship and its henchmen, headed by the so-called Bulgarian Workers’ Union.

The fascist band boasted in exalted tones that they had allegedly been successful in drawing the Bulgarian workers over to their side, to detract them from the class struggle, from strikes, to drive all “revolutionary fantasies” out of their minds and to re-educate the workers in the spirit of “social peace,” class harmony” and “collaboration with the state.”

Events, however, soon decided the question of the immediate perspectives of the labour movement of Bulgaria in favour of the Communist

Party of Bulgaria. In spite of the united efforts of the police, employers and “leaders” of the government “Workers’ Union,” a general strike of tobacco workers—the most numerous detachment of the Bulgarian proletariat—swept like a hurricane over the country, and following this came partial strikes in the textile and other branches of industry.

It was not the government of the fascist dictatorship, nor the fascist “leaders” of the government’s “Workers’ Union” forced upon the workers with the aid of the police who correctly reflected the sentiment and strivings of the Bulgarian proletariat, but the Communist Party of Bulgaria tested in the struggle, and the independent workers’ unions, disbanded for their loyal service to the working-class.

In spite of all the efforts made by the fascists and reactionaries to tame the Bulgarian proletariat, to bind them to the chariot-wheel of the new “National” but in reality fascist state, the Bulgarian proletariat showed that now, as formerly, they stand firmly in the front lines of the class struggle, and that they will allow no fascist demagoguery or terrorist threats to drive them to support the rotten “social peace” and “class collaboration” under the guardianship of the so-called “national,” but in reality, fascist state.

* * *

May the First, International Labour Day, which the fascist dictatorship of Bulgaria, in imitation of Hitler Germany, declared a “holiday of the National Workers’ Union” (United Trade Union) served as the grounds for the “victorious jubilation” of the Bulgarian Fascists.

The Communist Party of Bulgaria published a most interesting document, namely the report of the chief of the department for the organisation of guilds, and addressed to the Minister of Industry, Trade and Labour, which completely discloses the entire inner meaning and class background of this new trick cooked up by the Bulgarian Fascists.

The report begins with the following explanation of the true rôle of the Workers’ Union set up last autumn by the government, and which collects its “membership dues” as a tax from all workers:

“One of the tasks of the Bulgarian Workers’ Union, and what is more, its most essential task, is to wean the Bulgarian workers away from the influence of the left political sentiments which held them in the past . . . Now the workers’ organisations are carrying on a

struggle against Communists and this greatly facilitates the task of the government in this direction."

Of course, in a secret report to his Minister, the fascist official has no need to hide the fact that the Workers' Union only in words "defends" the economic interests of the workers—as the "Labour" leaders foisted on the workers by the government boast, while in deeds the "Workers' Union" is nothing other than a weapon of the fascist government and of reaction in its struggle against the Communists.

However, the author of the report explains further on that the successful solution of this task will depend to a very great degree on the "tactics" adopted:

"There are some emblems and symbols," he states, "left over from the past, which were monopolised by the socialist parties, and which the workers even to-day consider inseparably bound up with their fate. Such, for example, is the red colour, which the workers consider their own. Such is the 'May 1' holiday, which symbolises the efforts and struggle of the workers to improve their conditions."

And the fascist "tactician" hastens to boast—true a little prematurely—that "both the red colour and the 1st of May holiday," before which the workers "bow in reverence," "have already been withdrawn from the extremist movements, and officially belong to the National Workers' Union. "These means will serve to operate the policy" of the union, i.e., to carry on its struggle against Communism—thus does the fascist official assure his Ministerial chief, and requests his permission without any wavering, of the official celebration of the 1st of May by the members of the National Workers' Union:

"There is no need to hinder open action by the masses which will be an inspiring manifestation of the nationalistic sentiments of one of the rejuvenated social strata."

Although the author of the report does not doubt the "nationalistic" and "loyal" sentiment of the "rejuvenated" Bulgarian workers, at the same time he devotes the second half of his report to *Special Police Measures* to be adopted for the struggle against "Communist provocation."

"In large centres the organisation of the holiday will be carried through together with the administrative authorities and the police, to prevent any eventualities. In Sofia and Plovdiva, two of the largest workers' centres—the corresponding measures will be taken by the union and the police to prevent possible provocation."

Admission to meetings and demonstrations will be by special tickets, and only members of the government Workers' Union will be allowed to enter. Speakers at the meeting, "to prevent unexpected incidents, will be selected with the approval of the police." Speakers "will receive instructions as to the spirit in which they must speak."

But even after enumerating all the precautionary

measures the author of the report hesitates to insist that the 1st of May be declared an official holiday. Suffice it if permission is given "only to members of the National Union to remain away from work and to participate in the festivities."

It is self-understood that this holiday will not be paid for. It is impossible to even think at this time of a "holiday with pay." Care for the purse of the employers does not leave the author of the report.

Having received the sanction of the government, and acting hand in hand with the police, the fascist officials and "leaders" of the Workers' Union began "political preparations" for the 1st of May celebrations. It was unwillingly, fearing the workers, that they called together preparatory meetings of workers. At many of these meetings, the speakers were whistled off the platform; the workers put forth slogans for struggle for peace, against fascism, for free class trade unions, etc.

The "leaders," in their turn, issued special 1st of May issues of the "workers'" newspapers with red headlines and the emblems of Labour. In the columns of these newspapers, fascist arrogance and cynicism competed with the most unbridled demagoguery.

The first of May campaign was opened in the central organ of the governmental "Workers' Union" paper "Trud" by the Minister of Industry, Commerce and Trade, Vuliev (representative of the big industrial and commercial circles of Bulgaria) with a tirade against Communists, thereby giving the tone to the entire campaign:

"Up till very recently, the First of May was a day when elements alien to the Bulgarian workers and own national interests, incited the workers to riot and insubordination. Let the Bulgarian workers now transform the First of May into a symbol of creation, order and unity under the tricolor flag of the Fatherland."

On the 1st of May the minister made a speech. He recalled with horror the "recent past when the streets of the capital swarmed with demonstrators, who showered damnation on the social order and the state and sang hymns of class hatred and struggle," and speaking in the name of the government, expressed the "greatest joy" because, as he claimed:

"Our workers are awakening, driving away from themselves that bewitchment in which they were held by the maximalists—bolsheviks and socialists . . . it is with satisfaction that the government records that the consciousness that well-being and a good life must be sought not in a struggle against the state and in opposition to it, but together with the state and through it is more and more finding its way into the ranks of the workers."

It was in the spirit of this ministerial appeal that the remaining articles of the "First of May" number of the newspaper "Trud" were composed, articles under which were to be seen the signatures of the entire phalanx of newly-baked "labour"

leaders. It was in the same spirit that the speeches of all the official speakers were made on May 1, individuals selected "with the endorsement of the police" and especially instructed, as stated in the above-mentioned secret report. All the authors and orators branded the Communists as being the cause of all the sufferings and privations of the Bulgarian people, and "buried" the class struggle, which "harms" the interests of the workers themselves as well as of the people as a whole, and exulted in "monarchist sentiments" newly-discovered by them among the workers and their "loyalty" to the state, promising in the name of the workers to shed blood once again for "national ideals" and the "glory of the Fatherland."

It was in this style that the "1st of May" celebrations" were carried through.

On the 1st of May the capital and other cities of Bulgaria saw an unforgettable picture: the priests, in their elaborate religious vestments, "blessed" the red banners; generals and lieutenants figured as "god-fathers"; military bands accompanied the "1st of May" demonstrations; royal adjutants, high military officers and the government ministers in frock coats and silk hats marched in the demonstration. . . . Official speakers and "labour" representatives uttered high-sounding speeches, shouting "hurray" for the king—the "first worker" and the supreme "leader," for the army, for the "national ideals," assured everybody that the workers were ready to shed their blood on the "altar of the Fatherland." . . . In several places the demonstrators were feasted!

In a word, "the class struggle in Bulgaria was buried" with ceremony.

The chairman of the Workers' Union, a certain Handjiev, made a "programme speech," which may serve as an example of fascist cynicism. This "labour" leader shed bitter tears over the harsh fate of workers shot or pining at the present time in prisons. But he placed the responsibility for these foul crimes not upon the well-known hangmen of the Bulgarian people, not upon the fascist barbarians who had placed him in his job, but on the Bulgarian Communist Party and its heroic and self-sacrificing cadres, on the vanguard of the workers and peasants, upon the best sons of the Bulgarian people, who had fallen in the struggle for the cause of the working-class, on those who had felt the vengeance of the fascist barbarians, those very same fascist barbarians whose boots were being licked by Mr. Handjiev and the other organisers of the 1st of May "carnival"! . . . His speech was the very embodiment of an apology for the white terror as the best school for implant-

ing nationalist and patriotic virtues into the working-class.

Handjiev, this police henchman, carried out the will of the darkest reaction, and spoke in a determined way against the main slogans of the Communists and of the People's Front as to the re-establishment of the democratic rights and liberties of the working masses, and the struggle against the instigators of war, after which he had the arrogance to declare the following in the name of the Bulgarian workers:

"We declare that we shall fight to strengthen the prestige and the power of the state. We will openly take our place on guard before its altar; we shall guard it against all onslaughts, no matter from where they may come . . ."

After picturing the workers as the watchdogs of the capitalist and fascist state, of the very state which deprived them of their most elementary rights and liberties as man and citizen, and condemned them to a pauper's life, this self-appointed "chairman" gave the workers the prospect "of a piece of bread" as reward for loyal service: "Then we shall demand, and we shall be given."

And as proof of the correctness of the tactics of these watchdogs, the "chairman" enumerated twelve points of the "success" of the Workers' Union, the most outstanding "victories," according to his point of view, being the following:

"Through our efforts, and with the assistance of the authorities and the employers, we have been successful in preventing the disorder which the destroyers of the State were preparing in the tobacco centres."

"We succeeded in bringing about wage increases for some workers in the tobacco and textile industries."

Alas, the hearts of the ministers of the fascist dictatorship, "rejoiced" prematurely! The newly-baked "labour leaders" got tangled up in their own lies. Barely a few days passed, and "disorders" broke out in the large tobacco centres of Bulgaria, which the Workers' Union" claimed to have "prevented." A general strike of tobacco workers began, to be followed by that of the textile, boot and shoe workers, metal workers and others.

The workers gave a fitting answer to the fascist scoundrels.

* * *

Tobacco occupies the foremost place in the economy of Bulgaria. Semi-prepared tobacco constitutes 45 per cent. of the entire export of Bulgaria.

The production and treatment of tobacco for export are concentrated in the hands of a few companies, trusts and cartels—for the most part foreign. The capitalists of the tobacco industry are the most powerful in Bulgaria. They dictate their will to all the governments. The dictatorial government of Georgiev-Velchev, in carrying into life a wide programme of state monopolies, did

not dare to encroach upon the sphere of interests of the tobacco magnates. The Kisenbanev government is the latest agency of capital in the tobacco industry, the Minister of Industry, Commerce and Labour, Bulev, being directly connected with the tobacco manufacturers.

About forty-three thousand workers, mainly women, are employed in the tobacco industry. This is the most numerous section of the Bulgarian industrial proletariat. The tobacco workers are concentrated in a few centres which makes it much easier for them to organise and carry on a struggle. Having to do with such a powerful opponent, the tobacco workers were only able to defend their crust of bread by stubborn struggle, basing themselves upon their strong genuinely class trade union and party organisations. The tobacco workers were mainly organised in revolutionary trade unions, and were exclusively under the influence of the Communist Party of Bulgaria. The tobacco workers have behind them the experience of big struggles and strikes. They are the most numerous, the most courageous detachment of the Bulgarian proletariat, most tempered in struggle. The influence of the tobacco workers over other strata of the proletariat is very great. They are also directly connected with the small peasants who produce tobacco, and their revolutionary influence also extends to the villages where the peasants, enslaved by the tobacco trust, seethe with dissatisfaction. The Bulgarian tobacco workers maintain contact with the tobacco workers of Greece, and it is they who transmit the revolutionary ferment which has gripped the proletariat of both countries.

The military fascist coup-de-état of May, 1934, took place at a moment when the tobacco workers of the largest industrial centre, Plovdiv (12,000 tobacco workers) were on strike for wage increases.

The strike was very stormy. The dictatorial government suppressed it. Nevertheless the workers forced the capitalists to promise an increase in wages, which promise was secured in black and white. Of course, the employers did not fulfil their promise. On the contrary, taking advantage of the fact that the military-fascist dictatorship disbanded the independent trade unions of the workers and deprived the working-class of all rights and liberties, the tobacco trusts started an offensive.

At no time has the standard of living of the tobacco workers (and of the Bulgarian proletariat as a whole) fallen as low as during the last two years of the open fascist dictatorship. The Plovdiv tobacco workers published a statement on the conditions in the tobacco industry from which it can be seen that the tobacco workers receive from 18 to 50 Bulgarian levs

per day (1 Swiss franc equals 28 Bulgarian levs). In some places young people of from 14 to 16 years of age, receive 5 levs per day, which equals exactly the cost of 1 kilo (2½ lbs.) of bread! In addition, the employers have artificially decreased wages by transferring experienced and qualified workers into the category of beginners. At the same time, by utilising a compensation agreement, the tobacco exporters in co-operation with the government exported their entire old stock, thus making huge profits. Regarding this strike even the organ of the large banks, the newspaper "Slovo," was compelled to declare:

"In this particular case, public opinion was sympathetic to the demand of the workers for an increase of wages, *inasmuch as labour power in Bulgaria is comparatively cheap* (my emphasis—V.K.), and the success of our export abroad should not result only at the expense of the Bulgarian people."

The movement began in Plovdiv. It coincided with the powerful mass movement in Greece, the starting point of which was the general strike of the tobacco workers. Fearing the Greek example the government decided to grant concessions to the workers. The Workers' Union, whose chairman on May 1, bragged that the union, assisted by the authorities and employers, had been able to raise wages and to prevent "disorder in the tobacco centres," was compelled on May 4 to present the demands of the workers to the employers. The latter arrogantly and confidently rejected the demands and declared to the government that there were no "objective reasons" for increasing wages. On May 15, all negotiations were broken off, and the "leaders" of the Workers' Union were preparing to bury the movement when suddenly on May 16 the *workers of several enterprises elected their own Workers' Commissions in the factories, independently of the Government Union, and declared a strike without asking permission of the leaders.*

The "leaders" lost their heads. They rushed from enterprise to enterprise urging the workers not to give way to the agitation of the Communists. The police started mass arrests, *in reply to which all the enterprises of the city struck work on the following day. The strike spread to other cities and grew into a general strike embracing all the tobacco enterprises and all tobacco workers, both employed and unemployed.*

The solidarity and unity of the workers, the absence of strike breakers, the determination and militant sentiments of the strikers, the danger of the strike spreading to other spheres of industry, and the fresh example of the powerful mass movement in Greece—all of this compelled the government to make a quick manœuvre and to declare that the law prohibiting strikes had not yet been approved, that the workers had the right to strike,

and that *the strike was being led by the Bulgarian Union*. The arrested strikers were immediately freed. The strikers demonstrated on the streets, organised meetings, the representative of the authorities gave promises to "assist" them to achieve the satisfaction of their just demands, while the government and the bourgeois press also expressed their "sympathies" towards the workers!

The government organ "Bulgarskoye Slovo" published in the French language, issued a statement about "the general strike in the tobacco enterprises," in which it was emphasised that "the workers can strike in defence of their economic interests," that "this is their right," and also cited the words of the chairman of the Workers' Union, who claimed that "the strike is the work of the Union, the struggle of the workers is just, and the state must make a just decision on the question and firmly put this decision into effect."

Nor was Tyankov, the well-known hangman of the Bulgarian workers, now a leader of the "National and Social movement," far behind. The events threw even this ill-starred candidate for the position of Bulgarian Hitler into confusion. He also called on the employers to "meet the workers half way" and "not to sharpen relations" with them. At the same time he tried to calm the employers by claiming that the Bulgarian workers had already rejected "the principles of the class struggle and class hatred," and had become "loyal citizens of the state."

During these days the spectre of the revolutionary events in Spain and Greece haunted the frightened forces of reaction and fascism in Bulgaria! As the result of this, the government Workers' Union established by the dictatorship in order to stifle at the very outset any attempt of the workers to engage in the class struggle suddenly found itself "at the head" of a tremendous general strike, shouting to the whole world that it was "leading" it, that the struggle has been sanctioned by the government of the fascist dictatorship itself. The very same government which had deprived the workers of all rights and liberties, had disbanded and prohibited all independent workers' organisations, and which, for the slightest attempt at struggle punished the workers with hard labour sentences, suddenly sanctioned the biggest strike in Bulgaria within the last 15 years.

It would be difficult to imagine that fate could be more ironical with the dictatorial government, deprived of any more or less serious base in the masses, for such is the government of the Bulgarian Tsar.

Of course, while "heading" this strike, the hench-

men of the government hastened to bring it to an end as soon as the employers were compelled to grant certain wage increases. The entire bourgeoisie breathed a sigh of relief.

Some time passed, when suddenly, in summing up the results of the strike, certain reactionary circles came to the conclusion that the tactics applied by the government in this case were not void of serious dangers. The Bankers' newspaper "Slovo" spoke sharply against such a "social policy" which "cultivates distrust and a negative attitude" to the employers by picturing them "as enemies of all social improvement and from whom everything has to be torn only by law and force." "Otechestvo" (Fatherland) organ of the Reserve Officers' Union, came out even more sharply. This arch reactionary newspaper wrote the following regarding the strike:

"Strange as it may seem, it appears that it is just the exceptional reforms after the 19th of May, which in the name of the State limited so many liberties, that created—consciously or unconsciously—an atmosphere relatively favourable for strikes."

The newspaper openly expressed its dissatisfaction with social demagogy towards the workers that goes too far, and added further:

"We must admit that the ardent and frequently incoherent speeches regarding the ideas of linking up the workers with the national State, the hasty and incoherent attempts to create a State workers' organisation whose corporative tendencies are emphasised, and also the too *extensive literature* about some kind of 'new' consciousness possessed on the Bulgarian workers—all of this has created or is creating an atmosphere very favourable to all kinds of movements by the workers."

The reactionaries understood that they must not intoxicate themselves with the "successes" of the official May Day carnival. The extent of the "successes achieved in linking up the workers with the "national state," and the nature of the "social peace" and "national unit" may be judged from the fact that the same workers who on May Day demonstrated under the "bright tricolor flag of the fatherland" a few days later declared a huge strike against the will of their organisation and forced it upon their "leaders" and upon the government itself!

* * *

The general strike of the tobacco workers, which was carried through in conditions of an open fascist dictatorship, and ended with a victory for the workers, is *an important break in the front of the fascist dictatorship*. This remains a fact no matter how hard the frightened reactionary circles attempt to picture it as a purely economic conflict. Its tremendous importance and refreshing influence

will be felt in the further development of the class struggle, and first and foremost in the struggle against reaction and fascism, for the re-establishment of democratic liberties.

This strike is the largest movement of the Bulgarian proletariat since the revolutionary events of 1923.

This encounter of the most numerous sections of the Bulgarian proletariat with the most powerful capitalist cliques, which ended in a victory for the workers, has stirred up the entire Bulgarian proletariat. During the strike of the tobacco workers already the news of an impending strike spread throughout the entire country. And this compelled the government to increase its pressure on the stubborn employers. The textile workers, numerically the second largest group of workers, have been already stirred up. The textile workers in Slivin and Karlov went on strike and also won successes. A number of strikes have also flared up in other spheres of industry. A serious conflict is maturing in the mining region of Pernik.

The general movement forward of the Bulgarian proletariat is compelling the capitalists to grant concessions to the workers without waiting for strikes. And the government is hurriedly preparing a law about "collective working agreements" which are to ensure "peace in industry" by means of certain concessions to the workers. The strike is also stirring up wide sections of the peasantry—those who produce tobacco and who for a long time have striven to get better conditions in respect to the sale of tobacco from the tobacco trusts.

The strike has also disclosed the helplessness, weakness and confusion of the fascist dictatorship, and has struck the first well-felt blow at it from below. If the dictatorship has been compelled to sanction a general strike, the strongest weapon of the class struggle in the hands of the workers, then what is the sense of the dictatorship? What then, in general, remains of the dictatorial régime? The strike has undermined the authority of the dictatorial régime, and has shown to what an extent it is deprived of a real base in the country. Herein lies the tremendous political significance of the strike.

At the same time the strike has shown the correct road to be taken by the struggle for the overthrow of the dictatorship. It has shattered to bits the widespread legend about the "indifference" of the Bulgarian people towards the political régime, of the people being "tired" of the political struggle, a legend made use of by the adherents of the dictatorship in order to postpone the re-establishment of constitutional liberties for an indefinite period and by the leaders of the non-

fascist parties and groups to sabotage the proposals of the Communists about the people's anti-fascist front.

The general strike of the tobacco workers will usher in a new fresh breath of air into the political life of the country. Whereas up to the present time "social leaders," and all kinds of self-appointed "leaders," spoke in the name of the people, wrangling as to what state of affairs and reforms are the best, now the people themselves have begun to speak. The workers will be followed by the peasants, artisans and others.

The strike overthrew all the calculations of the reactionaries. It will serve as a turning point in the movement to liquidate the fascist dictatorship. The wavering and stubborn leaders of the Agricultural Union and of the Social Democratic Party will have to take into account the militant sentiments of the workers and peasants, will have to give up their attempts at compromise with reaction, and follow the path of developing the mass struggle on the basis of the People's Front, the struggle to liquidate the dictatorship, to safeguard democracy, peace and the vital interests of the masses of the people. The struggle of the masses will quickly lead to the unfolding of a very profound political crisis, into which the forces of reaction and fascism have driven the country.

The general strike of the tobacco workers is a great success for the Communist Party of Bulgaria. It is not for nothing that the reactionaries of all shades have concentrated their fire entirely against the Communists. It is useless to dwell on the slanders which claim that the Communists who have all kinds of aims "directed against the people and the state" "incited" and "stirred up" the workers. Even the organs of the government and the bourgeois press were compelled to admit that the cause of the strike was the poverty-stricken conditions of the workers and the stubbornness of the capitalists. It is the merit of the Communist Party that by casting away empty doctrinairism and overcoming sectarian isolation, took account in good time of the tremendous ferment among the workers, and set about the preparation of the struggle, although working in deeply underground conditions, and in the face of terrorist repression and fascist demagogy. The Communists based themselves upon the class instinct and the fighting experience of the workers, and developed and organised the initiative and self-activity of the masses.

The general strike is the confirmation of the correctness of the new tactical line. The Communist Party of Bulgaria has broken down the attitude of self-satisfied sectarianism and has determinedly set itself to bring about the united

workers' front in the struggle for the growing demands of the workers. *The united workers' front* was fully realised in the strike of the tobacco workers. All the workers, without exception, fought alongside the Communists and the workers sympathetic with the Communists. These include the Social Democrats and workers belonging to the government Workers' Union, as well as the unorganised workers.

At the Leipzig trial, when citing the example

of Bulgaria, Comrade Dimitrov showed how mistaken are the reactionaries and fascists in thinking that they destroy Communism by means of terror and inquisition. The Communist Party of Bulgaria had emerged after decades of unheard-of trials, more steeled and stronger than ever before—concluded Comrade Dimitrov.

The Bulgarian workers have by their menacing, stormy strike movement proved that their beloved leader was right.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE FASCISTS AND THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES IN SPAIN

THE fascist reaction, which still holds a strong economic and political position in Spain, is raising its head once again.

The fascist organisations, "Falanga Espaniola," led by the son of Primo De Rivera, and the "Rinovacion Espaniola," led by Calvo Sotello, have begun their new attacks, under the leadership of "Accion Popular," headed by Gil Robles. The aim of these attacks is to destroy the people's front, split the republicans away from the working-class parties, drive the masses to premature spontaneous action and use this in the interests of the counter-revolution. To achieve these aims, fascist reaction is resorting to two tactics, the first being to intensify its social demagogy, following a course aiming at discrediting the people's front. To this end they express in words their readiness to support the people's front on condition that the republicans give up collaboration with the socialists and Communists.

In a speech at a session of the Cortes (Parliament), held on June 16, Gil Robles openly stated that:

"There will not be a minute's peace in Spain as long as the People's Front contains such parties and organisations as the Socialist Party (which will soon call fascists all those who do not think the same as Mr. Largo Caballero) and the Communist Party."

The fascist leader was given a fitting reply by Comrade Dolores Ibarruri, a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain. Accompanied by the stormy applause of the majority of the Cortes' deputies, she stated that "neither the attacks of reaction nor the more or less masked manoeuvres of the enemies of democracy will break down or

weaken the confidence of the toiling workers in the people's front and the Government which represents it." And, in concluding her brilliant speech, Comrade Dolores demanded decisive measures by the Government against the fascists, "if we are to avoid the unrest and disorder prevailing in Spain, it is not sufficient to only lay the responsibility for possible events upon some single person as Calvo Sotello . . . those people must be thrown into jail whose hands are still red from the blood of the victims of the October repression, and who with unprecedented cynicism appear here and wish to make the Government responsible for events which have not taken place."

In addition to demagogy, fascist reaction resorted to other methods such as terror and assassination, sabotage, speculation and the deliberate organisation of hunger by the land-owners refusing to gather the harvest, and finally an attempt at an armed uprising. Literally, not a day passes without in some town or village some active figure in the people's front falling at the hands of the fascists. But the "bold" young men of the "Spanish Phalanx" do not limit themselves to this. They are making their way into the anarchist organisations of the National Confederation of Labour, so as from within to spread hatred and hostility amongst the workers' organisations and to carry on there their criminal work. It was they who in Malaga provoked the murder of the Communist Municipal Councillor, Comrade Rodriguez, and a number of conflicts between socialists and Communists on the one hand and anarchists on the other. It was only the interference of the Central Committee of the Communist Party that put an end to this fratricidal struggle.

As the *Mundo Obrero* wrote, this was the work of the provocateurs and fascist agents operating in the anarchist organisations.

At the same time the reactionaries carried on a campaign to devalue the peseta, and organised the export of capital from the country, and closing down of enterprises.

The fascists attempted to use the wave of economic strikes for their own provocative ends. Big employers refuse to take part in Arbitration Commissions, and drag out strike negotiations, in an attempt to starve the masses into submission, and organise and direct their dissatisfaction against the Government and the people's front.

The big landlords in the village in particular were making wide use of these tactics. Despite the Government decree as to the hiring of unemployed agricultural workers, the landlords refused to hire them, or, if they did, did not pay them wages. This brought into being a large strike movement in the villages in a number of provinces—Malaga, Seville, Heine, Cordov and others. The big landlords do not stop at anything. They are making use of the fact that the harvest this year is a poor one in order in organised fashion to give rise to hunger in the country, and to this end leave their land uncultivated and ungathered.

Parallel with this, the fascists were preparing for the 19th of July an armed uprising. The fascists had strong positions amongst the commanding officers in the army and civil guard. Such facts as the murder of the republican captain, Farando, for his sympathy with the Socialist Party and people's front, the events in Alcal de Henares, where the officers of the local garrison refused to subordinate themselves to an order of the Government, the events in Jest, where the civil guard shot at unarmed peasants, all give convincing proof of the preparation of the uprising.

There is no doubt whatsoever that the fascists were preparing a military coup d'état. It is sufficient to mention such facts as the transfer of arms across the border to the province of Navarro, and the speech of Calvo Sotello in the Cortes, where he openly stated that military forces will have to be called in if "Spain is to be saved."

The Communist Party of Spain, which is at the present time a big political force (with more than

100,000 members in the first half of June) is rallying the broad masses organised in the people's front.

While supporting the Government against the attacks of the fascists and counter-revolutionaries, the Communist Party at the same time demands the adoption of the most decisive measures against these enemies of the people and the republic. This programme of demands was elaborated by Comrade Diaz, the general secretary of the Communist Party, in his speech in Madrid on June 26, at a meeting organised by the building workers' federation.

In this speech Comrade Diaz quoted numerous facts to show how the big landlords were organising sabotage in the village, leaving their land untilled, and refusing to gather the harvest, and pointed out that it was necessary to organise the people so as to prevent the loss of a single ear of grain, and that the land belonging to those who are organising the hunger must be expropriated.

Those employers who refuse to carry on negotiations with the workers' organisations must be compelled to do so, while those employers who close down their enterprises must be deprived of them, the Government taking charge of them, and operating them jointly with the trade unions. This needs money. Well, the Government should introduce a progressive tax upon the rich, it should establish control over the Bank of Spain—and then there will be money. These are neither socialist nor Communist measures, Comrade Diaz pointed out, they are measures which must be carried into life to strengthen the republic.

The Communist Party of Spain calls for the vigilance of the broadest masses of the people. It explains that this the first and most necessary condition for further victories lies in the extension and consolidation of the people's front, which must lead the struggle against the fascists and counter-revolutionaries to a victorious end.

Such was the situation immediately preceding the fascist putsch. A few days prior to the putsch the fascists killed an officer of the civil guard, Castello, who was known for his anti-fascist leanings. On July 13 the body of Calvo Sotello was found murdered. This was utilised by the fascists for their provocative propaganda against the Government and the people's front.

THE CONGRESS OF THE AMSTERDAM INTERNATIONAL OF TRADE UNIONS

THE Seventh Congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions took place in London between July 8 and 11.

All the delegates to the Congress were handed a written report of the E.C. of the Amsterdam International, containing a review of events since the last Congress. It stated that the events in Austria, Spain, and especially the Saar "showed clearly the limits of effective trade union activity," and in particular "cleared up the problem frequently pictured in an extremely utopian form, of the united front and united action with the Communists."

The authors of the report declared against the united front, and asserted that the united front meant "not the strengthening but the weakening of the struggle against fascism."

The question of trade union unity, in spite of the resistance of the reactionary elements was the central point of discussion at the Congress.

On the very first day when the Congress opened, after the opening remarks of the chairman, Sir Walter Citrine, a discussion on the resolution was introduced by Hindahl, of the Norwegian Trade Unions, which have recently joined the Amsterdam International. The resolution proposed by the Norwegian Trade Unions reads as follows:

"Bearing in mind the efforts made to bring about trade union unity, and in view of the grave international situation, the Norwegian Trade Union Centre proposes that the International Federation of Trade Unions take up negotiations with the Trade Union Centre of the Soviet Union, and the Red International of Labour Unions for trade union concentration or collaboration."

The Dutch delegate, Kupers, proposed that the Norwegian resolution be discussed at a closed session of the Commission. Palsal (France) insisted on an open discussion of the resolution, his argument being the tremendous importance of the question of unity. After a lengthy discussion about the order in which the resolution proposed by Norway would be discussed, a proposal by Citrine to the effect that the Norwegian resolution should be dealt with when the question of the relations between the Amsterdam International and the trade unions of the U.S.S.R. would be discussed.

There was no discussion on the first section of the report, and discussion immediately began on the Norwegian proposal in connection with the second part of the E.C.'s report. In his speech, Hindahl pointed out that there was a very strong

desire in Norway for international trade union unity, and that formal questions should not stand in the way of unity.

"We are told," said Hindahl, "that peace is indivisible. If we believe in this, we must try to establish a united front with the Soviet trade unions."

Comrade Frachon, speaking in the name of the united French trade unions, supported the proposal made by the Norwegian trade unions.

"Unity in France," he declared, "was brought about, not by virtue of some miracle, but as a result of the fact that it was understood that if the workers do not unite their ranks, they will be beaten all along the line."

And further:

"We must clearly, openly, energetically and without any kind of preconceived ideas whatsoever set about the establishment of international trade union unity. We cannot ignore the strength of Communists. And really, how can we ignore one-sixth of the earth's surface and the workers there?"

Largo Caballero, speaking in the name of the National Council of the United Trade Union of Spain, also supported the Norwegian proposal, and turning to the delegates of the Congress said:

"The workers of Spain and France have been given their due here. We said that we have smashed fascism. If this is so, it is because we established unity. If you reject unity, the world will not understand how you can praise our victories, yet not endorse our methods. If you turn down the Norwegian resolution, we shall take it to be an indirect condemnation of us."

The delegate from Mexico, Villarsenor, pointed out that the Mexican Trade Unions were represented in the International for the first time, and basing himself on the experience of the workers of Mexico, he also spoke in favour of trade union unity.

Jensen, of the Danish delegation, spoke against the Norwegian resolution.

Apart from these speeches which were devoted to international trade union unity, the resolution of International Trade Union Unity was the subject of a special discussion at the full assembly of the Congress. As a result of the lengthy discussion by the Commission, a resolution was adopted wherein the question of International Trade Union Unity was formulated as follows:

"The Congress decides to open negotiations with the Trade Union Centres of America, Australia, the Far East, the U.S.S.R., and all other non-affiliated trade union centres with a view to establishing a united trade union movement throughout the world."

In his speech regarding the "unity" resolution, Caballero declared that unity can only be achieved if the E.C. of the Amsterdam International really strives to bring about international unity.

In addition to the above-mentioned resolution regarding trade union unity, the Congress of the Amsterdam International adopted resolutions on

"war, disarmament and fascism," "against fascist terror," "against the crisis," "about planned economy," and about "freedom of the trade unions."

We shall return again to the result of the work of the Amsterdam International and an estimate of the decisions adopted.

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

PRESIDIUM OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

MEETING OF THE PRESIDUM OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMINTERN IN MAY

IN May of this year a meeting of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Comintern took place devoted to a discussion of the situation in Czechoslovakia and in Spain.

I.

The representative of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Comrade Shiroki, made a detailed report at the meeting of the Presidium on the VII Party Congress which took place in April of this year and on the present tasks of the Party.

All told at the Congress there participated 493 delegates with decisive votes, including 277 Czechs, 132 Germans, 33 Slovaks, 21 Hungarians, 14 Ukrainians, 6 Poles and 2 Jews. The Congress was composed of 170 city workers, 91 unemployed, 58 officials and employees, 14 peasants and 14 small handicraftsmen. 315 delegates were members of Red Trade Unions, 41 of Free and Czech Socialist trade unions. 177 delegates belong to the Party since its foundation and 39 joined the Party since 1934.

The main report—the report of Comrade Gottwald—was dedicated to the tasks of the united front and the people's front in the struggle for peace, bread and freedom.

The increasing aggression of Hitler is creating an immediate danger to the national independence of the republic of Czechoslovakia. The central task of the Communist Party is to achieve joint action of the Communist, Socialist and Handicraft Parties for the carrying out of such measures in the field of internal and foreign policy as would be able to counteract this danger. The path towards the strengthening of the defensive capacity of the

Czech people lies through the extension of the democratic rights of the masses and the satisfaction of their daily interests, the democratisation of the army, and by restraining the activity of the agents of Hitler Fascism, etc.

The struggle of the Communist Party for this joint action in defence of the country from the threat of an attack by German Fascism will become the starting point for a broad movement to create the people's front in Czechoslovakia. The Party in concentrating all its attention on operating and developing the people's front. Of especial importance at the present time is the creation of a united trade union movement.

The Congress *unanimously* elected the new C.C. headed by Comrade Gottwald. Out of its 50 members—35 are of proletarian origin, 28 comrades are Czechs and 22 belong to other nationalities. In the new C.C. there are 5 women.

In the decision adopted by the presidium the tasks proposed by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia were approved. It was pointed out that the Party succeeded quickly and without loss in correcting the opportunist distortions of the line of the VII Congress of the Comintern, ideologically to strengthen the Party, and the correction of the mistakes did not prevent the Party continuing a positive struggle for the united front.

II.

The representative of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain, Comrade Hernandez, gave an estimate in his report of the present situation in the country and the basic tasks which stand before the Spanish proletariat and the toiling masses. Parallel with the basic tendency of development—

the growth of the people's anti-fascist movement—there is also taking place the consolidation of the forces of the fascist and monarchist groups. The basic pressing task of the Spanish proletariat at the present moment—is to achieve the complete victory of the democratic and revolutionary forces over fascism and counter-revolution. It is necessary to isolate the fascists from the masses of peasants and urban petty bourgeoisie on whom they have based themselves until now, by carrying out measures of an economic and a political character, along the lines of completing the democratic revolution.

The main condition which will secure the successful fulfilment of this task is in every way to strengthen and further develop the people's front. *The alliances are the main bulwark of the People's front.* The Communist Party is working towards the erection of elected alliances of workers and peasants. In those cases where the elections still meet with opposition, the Communist Party actively participates in setting up alliances consisting of representatives of Parties and mass organisations.

The Communist Party loyally supports the left republican government against counter-revolution and fascism in realising the programme of the people's front. The Communists, nevertheless, do not give up their right to criticise nor their own independent policy. The Communist Party has drawn up and more precisely defined a number of government measures, the operation of which it strives to achieve. These measures touch upon questions of general economic policy, agrarian policy, work in the municipalities, etc. The Communists demand decisive state measures against counter-revolutionists and those who are to blame for the economic chaos in the country.

With the aim of solving the basic task of the present moment, namely, achieving complete victory over fascism, the Communist Party is concentrating the greatest attention upon organising the working class in the trade unions, upon coming closer in every possible way to the anarchist workers, and gives regular aid to the organisation of the united youth. Bearing in mind the extremely great influence of the church over very wide masses of the population, the Party is attempting to establish a line of demarcation, not between believers and non-believers, but between republicans and anti-republicans. The Communist Party is carrying on a determined struggle against the provocative burning of churches and monasteries, since such acts only add grist to the mill of the counter-revolution.

While strengthening the people's front in all possible ways the Communist Party is making all-round and careful preparations to merge with the Socialist Party and to create a real sound, united revolutionary party of the Spanish proletariat. The creation of such a party is the basic, decisive condition for the successful fulfilment of the great tasks which stand before the proletariat and the toiling masses of Spain.

The V Congress of the Communist Party will take place in the near future. This Congress will outline the concrete path for the consolidation and development of the people's front in Spain. The path of victory over fascism and counter-revolution is the path to a strong, free and happy Spain.

The Presidium adopted a decision in which it endorsed the policy of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain.

SESSION OF THE PRESIDUM OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL HELD IN JUNE

A SESSION of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International devoted to a discussion on the situation in France, was held in June.

At this session of the Presidium, Comrade Andre Marty delivered a detailed report about the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France which took place on May 24, 1936. The plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France discussed the present situation in France, and indicated the basic tasks facing the proletariat and the toiling masses of France. The plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist

Party of France directed the attention of the Party towards the fulfilment of the following basic tasks:—

1. The main task in the present situation is to carry out the programme of the People's Front, and this task demands first and foremost that the People's Front be preserved and strengthened, that collaboration between the Parties and organisations belonging to the People's Front be further developed in the carrying out of the programme of the People's Front. It is especially important to consolidate the People's Front among the masses in the localities and enterprises, to establish People's Front Committees as the direct

expression of the will of the anti-fascist masses, and particularly to firmly entrench the People's Front in the villages.

2. The main guarantee of the preservation and strengthening of the People's Front is the existence of a large mass Communist Party, filled with the consciousness of its obligations and its responsibilities, and capable of turning and directing the proletariat and the toiling people of France along the path of further victories of the People's Front over fascism and reaction. The basic means of consolidating the successes of the Party and of extending them is rapidly to train new forces, to promote them, to make a careful selection of them, for the Party leadership, to give daily attention to the ideological training of the membership and to extend the network of various types of Party schools and to train the Party membership in the spirit of an all-round strengthening of discipline in the ranks of the Party.

3. The consolidation of working class unity in all its various forms is the most solid basis for strengthening and consolidating the People's Front. The positive results of the unification of the trade unions are already manifesting themselves in the powerful strike movement, as a result of which the French working class have been able to achieve great successes in raising their standards of living and winning the recognition of their trade unions in the factories. At the same time this movement opens up wide possibilities for organising the entire working class

into the trade unions; this is at present one of the most important tasks facing the Communist Party and all revolutionary workers of France. In this connection, serious attention should also be paid to the task of involving the broad masses of young people and women into the various mass organisations and People's Front movement.

4. As a result of the successes of the People's Front, the endeavours of the fascist and other reactionary groups of the bourgeoisie to bring about a *coup d'état* directed towards the overthrow of the democratic régime in France, are increasing and will continue to do so. The fascist reactionary groups will try to find supporters and allies in the state apparatus, and particularly in the army and the police force. This growing danger of a fascist uprising makes it obligatory on the Party and the entire People's Front to be continually on their guard, to focus the vigilance of the masses against fascism, and to ensure that the government operates effective and timely measures against the fascist organisations.

The Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Comintern congratulated the Communist Party of France on the successes achieved up to date, thanks to its loyal and persistent activity in mustering the widest masses of the people for the struggle for bread, peace and freedom, by consistently applying the tactics of the united front, and endorsed the basic tasks outlined by the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France.

NATIONAL SECTIONS

THE SIXTH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SWITZERLAND

ONE hundred and eighty-six delegates came to the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of Switzerland (May 30th to June 1st) from all parts of the country. Of the delegates, 171 were members of the trade unions (54 metal workers), 34 delegates were members of the Party since its foundation, and 53 (the majority of whom came over to the Communist Party from the ranks of social democracy) only joined in 1935 or 1936. Many guests were present at the Congress (more than 1,000 guest tickets were distributed), and among them were many social democratic workers. A delegation from the social democratic organisation in Geneva was also present.

The central position of the Congress, which began with the reports of Comrades Humbert Droz and Bodenmann, was the question of the defence of the democratic rights of the people and the defence of the independence and democracy of Switzerland against the fascist aggressors. The resolution of the Congress emphasised that a number of important prerequisites which are necessary for this defence are ignored by the present government and because of this the Congress decided to reject credits to the sum of 235 millions which are demanded by the government for defence.

The Congress called on the masses to struggle against the war danger and against the present government, the policy of which assists the growth of this danger, for a decisive turn in the foreign policy of Switzerland in the direction of the defence of peace, and for unconditional recognition of the Soviet Union. The further demands of the Congress in this connection were the following: The prohibition and disbanding of all fascist organisations in Switzerland and the immediate deportation of all fascist agents; the cleansing of the army of fascist officers who are tied up with the foulest enemies of Swiss democracy; effective anti-aircraft defences and the creation of the means necessary for the defence of the country by a special tax on the rich; the nationalisation of the war industries; complete restoration of constitutional rights and liberties and a social policy which answers the interests of the toiling masses.

The Congress of the Communist Party decided to address a letter to the Congress of the Social-

Democratic Party of Switzerland (which took place on June 6-7 in Zurich). In this latter the Communist Party emphasised, in connection with the questions advanced by social democracy this year, its preparedness to earnestly fulfil all obligations which it takes upon itself, and to cease all attacks upon members and organisations of the Social Democratic Party, who loyally support the united front.

The united front is not a manoeuvre of the Communist Party of Switzerland directed against social democracy, but a powerful and effective means of mobilising the masses against war, fascism and the capitalist offensive. The Communist Party hoped that the practical operation of the united front would make it possible to create a united party of the Swiss working class. Concretely the Congress proposed that joint action be organised on the basis of demands advanced by both parties on the question of war credits; to join forces in the struggle against the extraordinary powers which the government wishes to be given, and to organise joint demonstrations on August 1st. The Congress elected a delegation of six comrades to hand to the Social Democratic Congress the proposals of the Communist Party on united action. In a special resolution the Congress expressed, in the name of the Communist Party, its readiness to fight with all its energy at the coming Canton elections in Geneva for the re-election of the Socialist majority now governing the Canton, and proposed that the Socialist Party draw up a joint programme of action. The unanimous election of the proposed list of members of the new C.C. was a testimony to the political unanimity achieved by the Communist Party of Switzerland in the course of the last discussions. The Congress sent greetings to Comrade Stalin and to Comrade Dimitrov.

The most important bourgeois papers were forced to pay attention to the Congress. The representatives of the bourgeoisie were, of course, especially worried by the proletarian united front. For instance, the Basle "National-Zeitung," on June 3rd, explained in a special article why it considers it necessary to brand the position of the Congress as heresy and "treachery to the State":

"The entire tactics of the Communists at the present time lead to one thing, namely, to the desire to give moral support to the Social-Democratic Lefts, who, for

the same reasons as the Communists, reject the defence of the country.

"It is even more necessary that the Social-Democratic Congress next Sunday adopt an absolutely clearly defined position, as it was, for instance, defined not long ago by the government Councillor Nots."

Nevertheless, the Social Democratic Congress, at its session on June 7th, accepted, by a vote of

263 against 255, a decision to reject war credits for the government. This decision was accepted, despite the fact that the majority of the C.C. of the Social Democratic Party demanded that credits be ratified. This result was, of course, helped by the struggle to create the united front in Switzerland.

THE FIFTH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF NORWAY

THE Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of Norway took place on April 9th-12th. One hundred and twenty-five delegates participated in the Congress. Amongst the guests were representatives of the English and Swedish Communist Parties. The central problem at the Congress was the establishment of organisational unity between the Communist Party of Norway and the Norwegian Labour Party. This question was reviewed in detail by Comrade Levlien in his report on the political situation and the tasks of the working class. The report, the discussion on the report and the resolution, unanimously adopted by the Congress, shows that the Party as a whole is consistently pursuing a line aiming at the political unity of the Norwegian working class. More than 60 delegates took part in the discussion. The Congress resolution pointed out that the main task facing the C.P. of Norway in relation to the Norwegian Labour Party is to unite with all workers and officials having Left inclinations inside the N.L.P., with a view to transforming it into a revolutionary party. The existing bloc trade union membership of the N.L.P. implies that some Communists are already in the N.L.P. The Party recommended the trade unions which are not affiliated to the N.L.P., to do so. The Congress stressed the point that the precondition for the transformation of the N.L.P. into a revolutionary party is the rallying of all Left workers belonging to the trade unions, on the basis of a single and consistent class policy. The proposal of a comrade to bring about the unreserved fusion of the C.P. with the N.L.P. was unanimously rejected by the Congress.

The Presidium of the Congress addressed a

letter, signed by well-known trade unionists, to the leadership and Congress of the Norwegian Labour Party, proposing to begin negotiations on the organisational merger of both parties.

Another important decision of the Congress concerned the position of the Communist Party of Norway on the elections to the Storting (parliament). The report of Comrade X. V. Christianson dealt with this question. Even before the Congress, the C.C. of the Communist Party proposed to the Norwegian Labour Party to appear with a joint list in some districts, and expressed its readiness to support the candidates of the Norwegian Labour Party in the remaining districts. *The Congress unanimously approved this extremely important proposal, and made a corresponding appeal to the Norwegian Labour Party in the interests of winning a Labour majority at the coming elections.*

Comrade Otar Lee reported on organisational tasks, on recruiting to the Party, and on the distribution of the press. He dealt at length with the negative sides of the cadres policy pursued by the Party, and on the next tasks facing them in this field. The Congress drew up new directives on the work of the Party in the village and amongst the unemployed.

It was with great enthusiasm that the Congress sent greetings to Comrade Stalin and to Comrade Dimitrov.

The unanimously-elected C.C. consists of 24 members and seven candidates, the political bureau—of eight members and two candidates. Egede-Nissen was elected chairman of the Party and Emile Levlien general secretary.

THE FOURTEENTH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF DENMARK

ONE hundred and forty-three delegates and guests took part in the Fourteenth Congress of the Communist Party of Denmark, which took place April 10th-12th.

Comrade Axel Larson made the main report, subjecting to sharp self-criticism the former policy

of the Party and pointing out the future tasks of the Party.

A broad response in Denmark and in all the Scandinavian countries was called forth by the decisions of the Congress on the elections to the Landsting (the first Chamber of Deputies). The

first Chamber, where contrary to the second, there is a reactionary majority, rejected a number of bills which were in the interests of the toiling population and in general acted as a bulwark for reaction. In the programme, not only the Communist Party of Denmark, but Social Democracy and the Radical Party demand the liquidation of the First Chamber. In view of the existing reactionary election laws to the First Chamber, the Communist candidates would not have had the slightest chance of election, and the reactionary leaders of Social Democracy would have pictured the putting forward of Communist candidates as a split. In case a democratic majority were not elected to the Landsting, the attempt would be made to place the responsibility on the Communist Party of Denmark. In order to break the reactionary majority and to clear the path towards really getting rid of the First House, the Congress decided beforehand not to put up Communist candidates independently in the elections, and called upon all democratic parties for closer collaboration in the election to the Landsting. This decision was discussed in the entire Danish press, and despite the fact that the leadership of the three democratic parties rejected this proposal of collaboration—their adherents, and first of all, the Social Democratic workers, greeted the decision of the Congress of the Communist Party of Denmark with joy.

The Congress adopted a resolution on the main report and also a declaration on the tasks of the

Party, a resolution on the elections to the Landsting, on the press, on the municipal elections of 1937, and on the new statutes of the Communist Party of Denmark. In conclusion, the Congress approved the text of the joint manifesto (drawn up, together with the Swedish and Norwegian Communist Party Congresses), addressed to the toilers of the Scandinavian countries. All the decisions were accepted unanimously. The Central Committee, consisting of eighteen members and nine candidates was also elected unanimously.

The Communist Party very clearly came out for the merging of the trade unions of all tendencies into a united trade union centre. This is demanded by the present situation in Denmark. The Communist Party of Denmark declaring that it will repulse any attempt of reaction to replace the Social Democratic government by a reactionary government, at the same time carries on an active and sharp criticism against all the measures of the Social Democratic government that are opposed to the interests of the workers and toilers. The criticism of the Communist Party is directed especially against the pro-Hitler foreign policy and the anti-trade union policy of the government, which in its essence aims at the existence of the trade unions. In the question of the defence of the safety and independence of Denmark against Hitler fascism, the pressure of which is becoming more and more threatening, the Communist Party is working out concrete slogans and directives.

THE TENTH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SWEDEN

THE Congress of the Communist Party of Sweden took place on April 10th-13th, 1936. At the same time, the Congress of the Socialist Party, headed by Chilboom, was in session. The Fifteenth Congress of Swedish Social Democracy took place before these congresses.

The Congress of the Communist Party of Sweden, in contrast to that of the Social Democratic Congress, under the influence of the right leaders, and as distinct from the Congress of the Socialist Party of Chilboom, firmly and unanimously expressed its will to establish united action of the Swedish working class.

Comrade Friethoff Lagaro reported on the work of the Party for the past period. The central point of the Congress was the main report of Comrade Sven Linderote on the political situation and the struggles of the working class. This report called forth live discussion. The report showed the ways and methods whereby the Party must improve and extend its work of creating the

united front on various fields. The objective possibilities for establishing the united front are favourable. In order to achieve success, it is necessary, as Comrade Linderote showed in his concluding speech, on the basis of concrete examples, to overcome the remnants of sectarianism, which were also expressed in some speeches at the Congress.

A thorough and correct analysis was given at the congress of the trade union question. Trade union work is of more cardinal significance for Sweden, with its powerful trade union organisation, than for many other countries as regards the establishment of the united front. For the first time the Congress of the Swedish Communist Party heard and discussed in detail special reports on such questions as the conditions of the farmers and work in the village, the question of the youth and problems of Party cadres. The Congress also made an analysis of the growing forces of reaction in Sweden, and explained how the policy of the

right Social Democratic leaders really helped to strengthen this reaction.

The Party quite definitely expressed its attitude to the sharp attacks of the reactionaries on the Social Democratic government which has since then resigned. The Party reacted rapidly and correctly to the attacks, and called forth a powerful movement in the trade unions for the establishment of a bloc of workers' parties at the coming Parliamentary elections.

The C.P. of Sweden has already succeeded in establishing a united front with the Socialist Party at the coming elections. Whereas the reactionary Social Democratic leaders have rejected the repeated proposals made by the C.P. of Sweden regarding the united front — among the Social Democratic workers, on the other hand, the urge to establish the united front at the elections is growing, proof of which is the numerous decisions adopted by trade union organisations.

The C.P. of Sweden will untiringly continue its struggle for the united front, and in particular will strive, in the interests of the struggle against fascism and reaction, to secure the putting forward of joint lists of candidates with the Social Democratic party in the Parliamentary elections.

In view of the powerful urge for the united front to be noted among the masses, we must estimate it as a defect of the Congress of the C.P. of Sweden that it did not display sufficient energy in appealing to the working class and the broad strata of toilers.

The Congress unanimously elected a Central Committee of 25 comrades, headed by Comrade Sven Linderote, who was unanimously elected chairman of the C.P. of Sweden. It is to be regretted that the Party press of the C.P. of Sweden was rather incomplete in the way it gave publicity to the decisions of the Congress and the speeches delivered there.

THE NINTH CONVENTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.

THE 9th Convention of the Communist Party of U.S.A. was held on June 24-28 in New York City. Ninety representatives of the press reported the Convention. In addition to the representatives of the big New York newspapers, there were also those of the Associated Press, United Press, International News Service, Federated Press, the *Forward* (Socialist), the *Nation*, *The New Republic*, *The Socialist Call*, and there were even some foreign news agencies represented, as Havass News Agency (French), London *Daily Express*, Trans-Radio, Mexican Press, etc.

The agenda of the Convention was as follows:

1. Opening Speech by William Z. Foster.
2. Report of the Central Committee by Earl Browder.
3. Report on Work among the Youth by Gil Green.
4. Report on Training of Leading Personnel by C. Krumbien.
5. Report on the Fight for Peace by Robert Minor.
6. Election of Central Committee.
7. Nomination of Presidential Candidates and Adoption of Election Platform.

There were present 731 delegates of which: 325 were regular delegates with all of the 48 States represented, 136 alternate delegates, 192 fraternal delegates from trade unions and other organisations, 214 fraternal delegates from Com-

munist Party organisations. There were also representatives from the Communist Party of Canada, Mexico, Cuba and other brother parties. Eighty-eight per cent. were of working class origin, 15 per cent. were Negroes.

Of the delegates 62 per cent. have been in the Party five years or less; 215 of the delegates have been arrested for activities in the Labour movement; 48 per cent. of the delegates came over to the Communist Party from other parties.

The Convention was opened by Comrade William Z. Foster, the Chairman of the Central Committee of the Party, who pointed out the historic importance of the Convention. Comrade Earl Browder, in his report, reported not only on the work accomplished in the period under review, but also outlined basic tasks facing the Party in the coming period and especially emphasised this year's election campaign. In his speech he gave a thorough analysis of the following questions: (1) the struggle against fascism and for the maintenance of peace; (2) the fascist menace in the U.S.A., the issues and parties in the 1936 elections; (3) the United Front and the trade union unity; (4) building the Communist Party.

In addition to the reports on the agenda there were a number of outstanding speeches of great importance, such as the speech of Comrade Ford on the Negro question, the speech of Comrade Stachel on the trade union movement, and a number of district organisers who supplemented

the general report by analysing the situation and tasks in their particular districts.

The reports showed the growth of the Party to 40,000 members, of which 15,000 are now in the A.F.L. In the Young Communist League there are at the present time 11,000 members. This represents a considerable growth from the last Convention of the Party, at which there were about 25,000 members of the Party. Of these only 2,000 were in the A.F.L. There are in the Party at the present time about 4,000 Negro Communists, while at the last Convention there were only 944.

In order to facilitate the work of the Congress a number of important commissions were elected. These were: The platform and resolutions committee, trade union and unemployed commission; Negro commission and special commissions on organisation, education, women, youth, press and publicity. Of special interest was the work of the trade union and unemployed commission, which was attended by 250 delegates, while the commission itself was composed only of 63 delegates. This commission dealt with the struggle for a united strong American Federation of Labour, which requires a concentration of all forces to halt the splitting plans of the Green-Woll-Hutchinson Group heading the Executive Council of the A.F.L.

Of great interest was also the work of the commission on education, which considered the problem of the workers' schools, notably the experience of the New York workers' school, which has an annual enrolment of 10,000 students. Very thorough was the discussion in this connection on the task of educating and raising the theoretical and political level of the entire Party membership.

The entire work of the Convention was carried on in the spirit to make the Communist Party of the U.S.A. a real mass party and an important factor in the political life of the country. The Convention set before the Party the task of smashing the attempt to try by means of Federal Immigration Laws, Criminal Syndicalism Laws and rulings by reactionary judges to endanger the legality of the Party. The leitmotif of all the reports and speeches was that "Communism is 20th Century Americanism."

The final session of the Convention, which was held in the largest hall in New York City, was attended by 40,000 people. At this session the candidates for President and Vice-President were nominated and the election platform adopted. The acceptance speeches of Comrades Browder and Ford were broadcasted in a national hook-up. The Convention sent greetings to Comrade Dimitrov.

THE CONGRESS OF THE LONDON DISTRICT OF THE C.P.G.B.

ON June 26-28, there took place the Annual Congress of the London District of the C.P.G.B., attended by over 500 delegates from the branches in the district, and many guests, members of trade unions and of the Labour Party.

The agenda included a report of work done and tasks arising therefrom, given by Comrade Springhall, a speech on behalf of the C.C. by Comrade J. R. Campbell, as well as a speech of fraternal greetings by a representative of the C.P. of France.

The main attention of the Congress was centred around the "Social Programme for London."

This programme, introduced to the Congress on behalf of the District Party Committee by Comrade Ted Bramley, puts forward the demand for the municipal control of London's transport, gas, electricity, police force, distribution of milk and coal, the building within five years of 200,000 new model houses and flats at maximum rents of 10s. per week, and free secondary education to all London school children between the ages of 11

and 16, with full maintenance grants. Added to these demands is the slogan popularised with such success by the C.P. of France of "making the rich pay." The enthusiasm with which Comrade Bramley's report was received testifies to the fact that the demands fully correspond to the needs of the working people of London, and should become the lever for the development of united front action on a wide scale. Of special importance in this connection was the point that the present Labour majority in the London County Council is based on a majority of 40,000 votes, so any serious advance by the reactionaries or set-back to the Labour Party due to disappointment felt by workers at the failure of the Labour Party majority to bring about a radical improvement of their conditions, may easily result in the L.C.C. passing into the hands of the open enemies of the working class. This would be a serious blow at the entire working class.

The Congress accordingly taking as its starting point the interests of the working class as a whole, called on all the Party members to develop

an energetic struggle for the united front on the basis of the main points in the "programme," which can be made a platform for joint action at the London County Council elections next March. A united front at the elections will assure the defeat of the reactionaries and the return of a majority composed of Labour and Communist Councillors. Such a result would be a blow at the forces of reaction and would give a further impetus to the establishment of the united front in Britain.

It goes without saying that the struggle for united action around points of this programme will go hand in hand with the fight for the

affiliation of the C.P. to the L.P., and will become a strong weapon in achieving the same.

The London comrades are giving the "social programme for London" a more than "municipal elections" character, and it will undoubtedly be made the subject of wide discussion in trade union branches, factories, Labour Party branches, etc.

The Congress met the reference to the draft of the new Soviet Constitution with tremendous enthusiasm. In their further work the London comrades propose to give the widest publicity to the successes of the Soviet workers and peasants, as registered in the draft of the Soviet Constitution.

MEETING OF EXTENDED CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA

FROM May 30 to June 2, the C.P. of Canada held its 10th Plenum in the city of Toronto. In addition to the C.C. members, leading comrades from all the ten Party district organisations participated. The agenda was: (1) the progress made and the tasks ahead in the fight for the united front; (2) the building of the Communist Party; (3) the *Daily Clarion*; (4) the problems of the young generation and the Young Communist League of Canada. Tim Buck, General Secretary of the C.P. of Canada, delivered a comprehensive report on the first point of the agenda.

The King government, pointed out Comrade Buck, is carrying through a carefully worked-out policy aimed at salvaging capitalist economy at the expense of the common people, wages are being reduced, unemployment appropriations are being reduced by about 50 per cent., although approximately 1,300,000 persons (12½ per cent. of the total population) are on relief, the sales tax has been increased from 6 per cent. to 8 per cent., while interest and dividend payments in 1935 and in 1936 are *higher* than they were either in 1928 or 1929.

The Plenum dealt with the foreign policy of the government and called upon the people of Canada to develop powerful independent action to preserve peace, against the aggressors, in support of the peace policies of the Soviet Union and to compel the King government to declare for the strengthening of the League of Nations as an instrument of peace, for collective action against fascist aggression, for the protection of the small nations threatened by the fascist aggressors and the checking of the British reactionaries and their Canadian friends who wish to tie the Canadian

people to the war policies of British imperialism.

The Committee particularly dealt with the questions of the fight for unity of the Communists and the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation members and supporters. A rapid differentiation is taking place within the C.C.F. movement. Some groups in the C.C.F. are for the proposals of the C.P.—to build the C.C.F. into a broad federated Farmer Labour Party; others are for the united front only on immediate questions of the day; and finally, a group of right wing leaders headed by J. S. Woodsworth is against the united front, carries on anti-unity campaigns, expelled C.C.F. leaders and members who participate in the united front. Comrade Buck pointed out that the Party is willing to do all in its power to assist the pro-unity elements in the C.C.F.

The decision of the C.C. of the C.P. of Canada to merge the revolutionary unions of the Workers' Unity League of Canada with the Trades and Labour Congress (A.F.L. unions) has, in the main, been carried out satisfactorily. The merger took place on the basis of a programme, Communists and leaders of the W.U.L. unions hold leading posts, and has been made in several places to push forward the task of organising the unorganised workers. For the coming September Congress of the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, the Party set itself the task to help increase the membership from the 200,000 that it now has up to 500,000.

On the second point of the agenda, it was reported that the Party has achieved the task set by the last extended Committee meeting, and now numbers 10,000 members. The task of

reaching 12,500 membership by the 8th Party Congress in October, 1936, was set. A new decision was made on the organisation problem—to establish industrial units of the Party in those cases where there are not enough to set up enterprise nuclei.

On the third point, the Plenum sharply underscored the fact that, as yet, the labour movement and the Party as a whole does not grasp the significance and possibilities of the *Daily Clarion*. The principal weakness, the Committee pointed out, was poor circulation methods and the absence of steady, persistent circulation building. It was decided to achieve the increase of the circulation to 25,000 in the immediate future.

On the fourth point, the Committee discussed a report on the Y.C.L. and the recent Canadian Youth Congress held on May 23-25, at which there were 456 delegates, representing 343,666 Canadian youth. A parliamentary bill, embodying the adopted demands and programme, was agreed upon and is now being discussed throughout the country, preliminary to being placed before the Federal Parliament. The representation at the Youth Congress was from Conservatives, Boards of Trade, Churches, Liberals, Socialist and Communist youth. The main weaknesses were insufficient representation from the industrial youth, trade unions, farm youth and French-Canadians. The Congress decided to start a drive to send 30 Canadian delegates to the World Peace Congress. The Plenum dealt with two main factors responsible for the lagging in

our work among the youth: (1) the Party has not shown a full understanding of the fact that the work of building a youth movement and the struggle for the leadership of the youth of Canada is *the direct task of the Communists*; (2) there is also an insufficient understanding of the decisions of the 7th World Congress of the C.I. and the 6th World Congress of the Y.C.I. on the new type of organisation of the working youth.

The Committee confirmed the correct general line of the Party, analysed the main weaknesses and mistakes of this period, calling upon the Party to exercise greater vigilance and alertness in carrying through the correct general line. In the fight against the deep-seated sectarianism, considerable progress has been made, but this sectarianism remains the main obstacle in the carrying out of the decisions of the 7th World Congress of the Comintern.

The Plenum decided to call the 8th National Convention of the Party in October, 1936; 450 to 500 delegates will be elected. The pre-convention discussion is to begin on July 1. A special discussion magazine will be published. The proposed agenda for the Congress is as follows:

1. The Road Ahead for Canada.
2. Building a New World—Socialism Victorious.
3. The Party of the Working Class.
4. Young Canada's To-morrow.
5. French Canada Awakens.
6. The Daily Clarion—People's Tribune.
7. Reports of Committees and Resolutions.
8. Election of Executive Committee.

EDGAR ANDRE

By R. Hammer

THE trial of Edgar Andre, which lasted almost ten weeks, ended in Hamburg on July 10. Edgar Andre, one of the most popular leaders of the workers of Hamburg, was sentenced to death for "attempts to overthrow the existing order" and for "being an accessory to murder and for attempted murder."

Since Hitler came to power, 12 anti-fascists have been executed in Hamburg alone for their political opinions. The number of anti-fascists secretly murdered in the Hamburg dungeons in a single year of the fascist dictatorship is ten times that number. Unless we are able by a broad protest movement to save his life, Edgar Andre is threatened with the fate of Fite Schultze and August Luetgens.

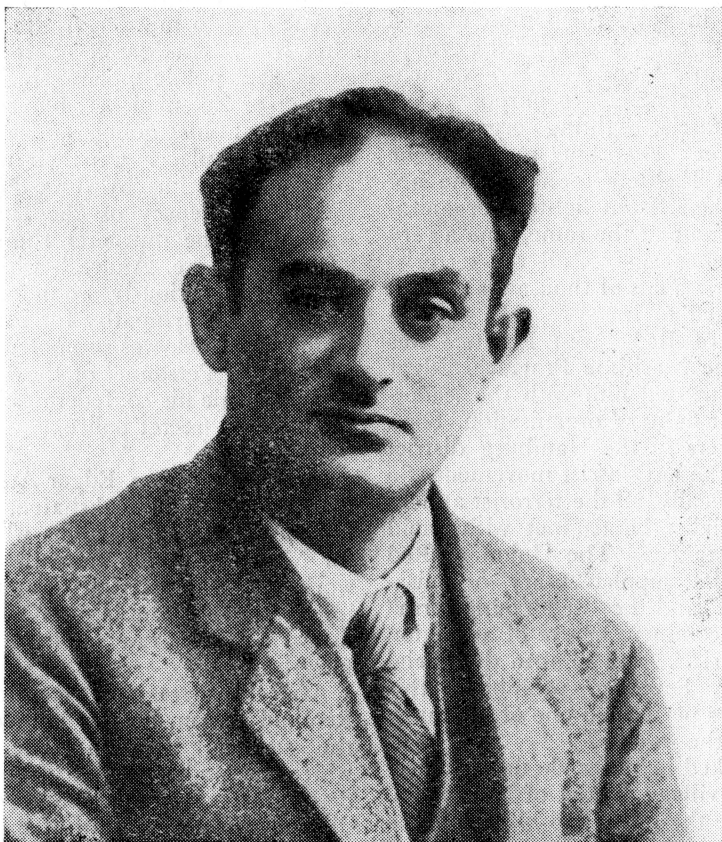
The parents of Edgar Andre were small handicraftsmen. He was born in Aachen in 1896, and grew up there near the borders of Holland and Belgium. Directly from the school desk, Edgar got work on a building job, where he learned the trade of builder.

In Brussels, where Andre was taken after the death of his parents, he joined the Socialist Youth League. He was not a Party member before the war, but he was always closely in contact with his comrades. When the war broke out, Andre gave up the trowel for the gun. He experienced all the horrors of the world war, and shortly before the end of the war, was taken prisoner by the

French. In the war prisoners' camp he was soon chosen as prisoners' representative. He used his knowledge of foreign languages, which he had obtained due to living on the border, to try to help his comrades to improve their lot. After his release, Edgar Andre became a member of the Social Democratic Party of Germany.

At the same time he began to take an active part in the building workers' trade union. But the path to systematic work at his own trade was closed to Edgar Andre. He was unemployed.

There was not a single demonstration of the Hamburg unemployed in which he did not participate, and he soon became one of the most energetic leaders of the unemployed movement. He was an attractive and passionate public speaker, always ready to help a comrade. At this time Edgar Andre was, as we have said, a member of the Social Democratic Party. But the



EDGAR ANDRE

speeches he made, the demands he advanced, frequently did not coincide with the spirit of the speeches and demands of the leading officials of the party. He had his own ideas, a critical approach, and on more than one occasion skirmishes took place between him and the officials of the Social Democratic Party. He then understood that the policy of the party leadership did not correspond to the interests of the working class, and so in 1922 he left the Social Democratic Party and joined the Communist Party. Shortly

before this, 58,000 unemployed Hamburg workers had elected him as the chairman of the Unemployed Council.

* * *

The subsequent years of the life of Edgar Andre were years of self-sacrificing work for the cause of the revolutionary working class. The election of Hindenburg as president of the republic was a symptom of the strengthening of the counter-revolutionary forces in Germany. The hirelings of counter-revolution, who were eagerly preparing for a new drive against the working class, mustered their forces in the fascist associations, the Reichswehr and its illegal auxiliary organisations. At this time, in 1925, the Union of Red Front Fighters was formed. From the little groups of Communist "stewards"* and "workers' detachments" were formed for defensive purposes. A big, disciplined anti-fascist fighting organisation soon grew up based on the working masses. The Union of Red Front Fighters soon became not only the biggest workers' front fighters' organisation in Europe, it became at the same time a very strong centre of defence against all the terrorist attempts of the fascists. Tens of thousands of non-Party workers belonged to it.

When the Union of Red Front Fighters was formed in 1925 in the Maritime Province, Edgar Andre's comrades entrusted him with the leadership of the local front fighters' organisation. Soon the Red Front Fighters in the Hamburg district became the pride of the anti-fascist movement. So long as they existed legally, all the terrorist attacks of the National Socialist bands met with rapid and determined resistance. The Union of Red Front Fighters and its supplementary organisations—the "Red Fleet" and the "Red Youngstorm"—gave promise of becoming a centre of attraction for all active anti-fascists. But in 1929 the Social Democratic minister, Severing, prohibited this organisation, and thus performed one of his many friendly services for the fascists.

In 1928 Andre worked in the trade union movement, mainly in the village district of Kukshafen. In this locality, where the Party had hitherto done little work, Edgar Andre carried on successful activity and played the leading part in some of the economic struggles of the sailors and fishermen from the fishing fleet of Kukshafen. In spite of this, the fascist indictment says: "Andre was leader of the Union of Red Front Fighters in the Maritime Province." This point in the indictment is just as false as the attempt to describe the actions of the Hamburg workers in self-defence against the National Socialist gangs, as being the "terroristic activity of the Communists."

*Their work was usually to keep order at meetings and demonstrations.

Five years ago, before the advent of Hitler to power, the Nazis publicly invited Edgar Andre to speak at one of their meetings. The fascist fighting gangs surrounded the hall in advance with the help of the police and only allowed their fascist supporters to enter. They announced everywhere that the "Red General Andre" would be wiped out. Edgar Andre came to the meeting with a group of sailors and demanded the floor. A rush was immediately made at him, but it was beaten back by his companions, who fought so boldly that the Nazis were forced to abandon the meeting. And it is in this regard that Andre is now charged with "attempted murder."

Attempts to murder Andre were defeated time after time. On March 15, 1931, he was billed to speak at a public meeting in the Hamburg rural district of Zolenznicker, but something happened to prevent his going, and two other comrades went in his place. On their way back, they were attacked in a bus by three Nazi bandits. Ernst Heining, a deputy of the Hamburg parliament, was killed, the murderer shouting as he fired: "There you are, Andre," while Heining's companion was seriously wounded. Adolph Hitler expressed his sympathy for the murderers, one of whom, Bammel, was promoted in 1933 to the post of Chief of Personnel of the Hamburg Wholesale Society, while his confederates became members of the Gestapo (secret police).

* * *

In February, 1933, Edgar Andre was carrying on his usual work in Kukshafen. He was preparing for the Reichstag elections which had been fixed for March 5th. He was arrested while on this work. He succeeded in escaping and was preparing to go to Hamburg. On March 3 he was arrested in the train on the Hamburg-Wilhelmsburg line.

After his arrest and detention in the Hamburg Remand Prison, he was immediately subjected to the strictest isolation. The frightful tortures which he underwent at that time are beyond description. Savage brutes of the worst kind directed the tormenting of our intrepid comrade. Three times after his arrest his death was announced. Thousands of Hamburg workers went to the Wolfsdorf cemetery to look for his grave, wrote protesting slogans on the walls, posted up and distributed leaflets and held organised demonstrations. All this time, Andre lay half-dead in the hospital of the Hamburg Remand Prison, and when he recovered slightly, he was put in a solitary confinement cell and tortured again.

This tall, strong and healthy man, hardened by sport, was reduced to the most pitiable physical condition. His black hair turned grey, he lost his hearing. *But his spirit did not fail.* Thousands

of Hamburg workers went through the hell of the Hamburg Gestapo dungeons, through the concentration camp in *Fulsbutel*. Although Andre was kept in the strictest solitary confinement, although he was never once allowed the so-called "free hour" in the company of other comrades, they knew of him and gained new courage and strength from him. On the first days of his imprisonment, when he heard that one of the Nazi spies had crept into the Communist Party, he broke through his isolation. Pressing his face to the grating of his room window, he shouted out so loudly that all the prisoners could hear: "Edgar Andre speaking! Willi Kaisert is a spy." At the risk of his life he warned his comrades and thus did an invaluable service to the Party. Though he himself was exhausted, tormented and in direct danger of death, he found means to inspire the other prisoners with firmness and courage.

We know of one such case. Once, after a terrible beating up, two prison guards conducted Andre on crutches along the passages of the Hamburg Remand Prison. A number of newly-arrived anti-fascist prisoners stood there, drawn up in a straight line. They had come from the dungeons of the Gestapo and were to be sent back there again. When Andre approached the comrades, he broke away from the guards, limped up to the prisoners and jokingly commanded: "Eyes left!" When they all obeyed his order, he said: "Thank you, comrades. I see that you have forgotten nothing." The guards dragged Andre along and once again called to mind his nickname of "Red General." But the workers knew what Edgar Andre meant by the words "eyes left." Soon all the comrades heard of this event, and this fearless behaviour of their gallant leader filled them with new strength.

* * *

When Fite Schultze was on trial, Edgar Andre was called into court as a witness. The chairman of the court asked the usual question as to whether he was in any way related to the prisoner.

Andre looked firmly at Fite Schultze and said loudly and passionately: "I became related to him through a good common idea."

In answer to the cross-examination of the National Socialists, Andre replied: "I know Fite Schultze as a good fighter and comrade, of whom I can only speak well."

He was finally led out of court. On leaving he turned once more and shouted to the comrade:

"Good-bye, Fite, I wish you all the best," in answer to which Fite Schultze stood up and said: "Thank you, Edgar, and the same to you."

* * *

Fite Schultze fell under the axe of the executioner. We did not succeed in saving him from

the block. The turn came for Andre to appear before the fascist court.

The fascists had postponed the trial for over three years. Andre was too firmly connected with the working people of Hamburg. The workers know that he shared his last crust of bread with his comrades, know how often by his resolute action Andre protected the homes of working-class families waiting to be evicted, secured the payment of relief to the unemployed, and helped in the successful conduct of economic struggles. Even among the supporters of the Nazis in Hamburg there are many working people whom Andre saved from the direst want by his energetic interference. Even among the fascist storm troops Andre's name is uttered with the greatest respect.

This was why the Nazi leaders did not want to bring him to trial on a political charge, and why they decided to declare him to be an ordinary criminal, to slander both him and the Communist Party, and to culminate the whole infamous business with the executioner's block.

Although Edgar Andre had nothing in common with the illegal work of the Union of Red Front Fighters, he was charged with deeds which were alleged to have been committed somewhere by members of this organisation. The fascists have already wreaked vengeance on Fite Schultze as the leader of the Union of Red Front Fighters. And now they want to put an end to Edgar Andre, as a "district leader" of the Red Front Fighters. According to the well-tryed method, all the actions taken in self-defence by the Hamburg workers against the onslaughts of the National Socialist bandits are described as "terrorist activity of the Communists," and in this regard there cannot be any doubt that *the trial of Edgar Andre is linked up with the plans of the fascists in respect to Ernst Thaelmann.*

* * *

At the very first cross-examination, Edgar Andre showed that his spirit was not broken. No matter how strict the selection of the public admitted to the hall, things did not proceed without expressions of sympathy for the prisoner.

The fascist *Hamburger Tageblatt* wrote:

"We know this figure in a worn suit, with a scarf on his neck from the street demonstrations of former years. He has now an entirely different appearance, but he still smiles ironically."

The chairman of the court considered it to be proved that the Communist Party of Germany had encouraged and ordered individual terror. Andre objected:

"The Communist Party and its Central Committee were opposed to individual terror, although this method was used by our enemies, the National Socialists. We were, and remain, opponents of individual terror, because the use of it hinders us in mobilising the masses, and leads to isolation from the masses."

Here the chairman interrupted Andre and told him sharply that "this tone is impermissible for a prisoner." This was repeated every time the accused refuted slanders, and passed from defence to attack. At the very height of the talk about the terrorist methods of the Communists, Andre's question burst like a bomb:

"Who murdered the deputy Heining—the Communists or the National Socialists?"

And once more Chairman Roth interrupted him sharply and angrily:

"I warn you for the last time. Nothing can be said here that does not appertain to the trial."

But Andre did not let his mouth be closed, and again and again took up the offensive. When there was talk in the court of the clash between the workers and the fascists in Hamburg on September 7, 1930, Andre proved clearly, insistently and convincingly that it was not the Communists but the fascists who had leaped like bandits from ambush and attacked the Communists. The Communist procession was a legal one, but the action of the Nazis was illegal. Their Storm Troops not only attacked the demonstrating Communists but also the police. The police began to shoot. Many workers were slightly injured, several Nazis were severely wounded, and Dreckman, the leader of the Storm Troops, was killed.

"Read the newspapers of that time, look at the police records, produce the results of the searches made of Hamburg citizens. You cannot make black into white!"

At the same time, a sworn affidavit was received from abroad. Those who had really been the district leaders of the Union of Red Front Fighters in the Maritime Province after the prohibition of this organisation (Erich Krolman and Erich Hoffman) confirmed this testimony. A number of former functionaries of the Union of Red Front Fighters offered to appear personally at the Hamburg court if their safety were guaranteed, and to confirm their written testimony. This testimony coincided with the testimony of Andre. But the court did not take any of this into consideration.

Edgar Andre proved that he had not the slightest connection with the conflict in Gasthacht on January 26, 1931, of which he was accused, and that on this day he was in an entirely different place. On this point also his statement coincided with the testimony of other witnesses. Nevertheless, the presiding judge, Herr Roth, stated:

"An active personality like Andre can do many things at one and the same time."

The charge made against Andre that he participated in the "Bloody Sunday" in Altona is equally unfounded. Andre refuted this accusation, but was again interrupted by Roth, who said:

"You want to wear the court out with your talk."

In conclusion, even the State Attorney, Lehman,

stated that he considered the testimony of the accused to be confirmed on the last point.

Andre did not miss a single chance of branding the fascist régime and its methods, of winning supporters for the Communist Party, and of strengthening the fighting spirit of his comrades.

In the first days of the trial, he still bore plain signs of the influence of three and a half years of solitary confinement and frightful tortures. But then his strength grew, as did his fighting spirit and courage which always distinguished him. He parried the blows of the enemy rapidly and skilfully and shouted to the attorney Lehman at one of the sessions:

"Why do you beat about the bush as regards the main thing? You know perfectly well that the charges made against me are unfounded. Then say outright what's at the bottom of it all, say that you want to wipe me out for fighting for the cause of the working class, for having stood, and because I shall stand in the future, for the Communist Party to my last drop of blood."

When the trial was already coming to an end one of the delegations that had come from Liege succeeded in getting permission to interview Edgar Andre. The visit, of course, was kept under the strictest watch. And naturally the prisoner was strictly ordered what replies he was to give. But he refused to observe these orders. It was with profound indignation that he spoke of the tortures to which he had been subjected in the Gestapo and called for protests against the torturing of defenceless anti-fascists.

* * *

The call of our brave comrade was heard abroad. A wide protest movement has begun.

In the Scandinavian countries, in Oslo, Stockholm and other cities, there have been protest demonstrations and meetings demanding the release of Thaelmann and Andre. Demands for a safe conduct for those abroad who are prepared to give evidence in Andre's defence poured into the German embassies. A delegation which included two Social Democratic students was elected in Denmark, headed by Johannsen, Vice-President of the Agricultural Workers' Union. This delegation was sent to Hamburg. Large meetings and demonstrations which all bore the character of a wide people's front were held in France. The workers in French ports sent delegations to the German embassies. The *Populaire*, the central organ of the French Socialist Party, wrote the following in its issue of May 15, 1936, about the feelings of the workers:

"The execution is demanded of Edgar Andre, the man who created the greeting of the clenched fist. Such is the balance sheet of the fierce war of extermination stubbornly waged by Hitler in Germany against the forces of peace and freedom, by means of his bloody dictatorship, veiled with the shameful comedy of a non-existent amnesty . . .

"Andre was a man to be praised. He was a working class hero, an unswerving trade union fighter . . . We appeal to all honest people, especially to the trade union officials of all the unions of the General Confederation of Labour to save this great active member of the trade union movement. Resolutions of protest must be passed everywhere and sent to the German representatives abroad, and to the German government."

Big demonstrations held in all big towns of Spain combined the demand for the unconditional liberation of Ernst Thaelmann with expressions of sympathy for Edgar Andre.

In Belgium there were also big demonstrations. The movement in favour of Edgar Andre was the biggest of all that have taken place in Belgium in defence of the German anti-fascists. Andre, who spent his youth partly in Belgium, receives great sympathy there. The *Peuple*, the central organ of the Social Democratic Party, in the issue of May 11, 1936, devoted a big article to Andre, in which it praised his courage before the fascist court. The *Peuple* ended the article with the following words:

"The fate of Andre will depend to a considerable degree on the echo the trial arouses abroad."

Like Comrade Dimitrov at Leipzig and like Fite Schultze, Andre demanded that Comrade Thaelmann be called in as a witness.

The court turned down this request. The Nazis did not want to make it possible for the leader of the German working class to speak on the charges made against him and his Party. Even in the gloom of the fascist court, the Nazis are afraid to meet the brightest mind of the German working class. They prefer to hide the plans they are concocting against Ernst Thaelmann in the darkness of the fascist dungeons.

Like all anti-fascists who have been brought to trial, Edgar Andre was denied a defending counsel. The "official counsel for the defence," specially appointed for this purpose in the person of fascist lawyers, are not worthy of the name of defending counsel. But in Andre's trial, the position was not an easy one for the "official" defending counsel. The whole world knows the proofs of the innocence of the accused. In addition, Andre himself refuted the charges against him one after another. Finally, a foreign barrister was present at some of the sessions of the court. In short, the "official defence" was forced to make some sort of a statement. And here is what he said:

"I object to the prisoner being made responsible for the murder of which he is accused. He can only be charged with attacking the safety of the state. I consider that it has not been proved that Andre, at the time in question, continued to act as a leader of the Union of Red Front Fighters."

All this did not prevent the public prosecutor Lehman demanding the death sentence on the prisoner.

Then Edgar Andre was given his last word.

The presiding judge warned him in advance that he must not carry on Communist agitation. But we know that Edgar Andre paid no attention to this warning and spoke with all his passion for the cause of his life and the cause of the German anti-fascist movement.

A reporter of the *Hamburger Nachrichten* wrote in his report: "In spite of the warning of the presiding judge, Andre spoke of things having no relation either to legal proceedings or to the trial in general"; but shamefully remained silent about what Andre said.

The *Hamburger Fremdenblatt* stated on July 3 that Andre began his concluding speech with the statement that he was not at all prepared to surrender. Although the presiding judge repeatedly interrupted his speech, Andre repeated the point that the Communist Party is opposed to individual terror as a method of political struggle for reasons of political principle, and that the Communist Party did not employ it. The fascist court ignored his statement. It wants once more to conceal the bloody crimes of the brownshirt murderers, and so it once more is sending to the scaffold one of the best representatives of the German working class. The death sentence did not break the heroic spirit; Edgar Andre indignantly rejected to appeal to Hitler for a pardon.

When the public prosecutor demanded the death sentence, it caused a considerable increase in the international protest movement. Telegrams of protest were sent from the French and Alsatian trade unions, from the Czechoslovakian office workers' trade union, from the leaders of the Social Democratic, Communist and Socialist Party organisations in Stockholm.

The death sentence called forth a veritable storm of indignation in all countries. Almost all over Europe, especially in France, Spain and Czechoslovakia, there took place many protest meetings and demonstrations, and many workers' organisations handed in protests to the representatives of the "Third Empire." In Prague, the capital of Czechoslovakia, the demonstration was held before the German Embassy.

The London Congress of the Amsterdam Trade Union International, on the motion of the Swedish delegation, adopted unanimously a resolution protesting against "the attempt to murder Edgar Andre."

May this example of the united front speed on the further struggle in all countries for the life and liberation of Edgar Andre. May all friends of freedom, all the enemies of the fascist warmongers, raise their voices in protest:

Save Andre! Free Thaelmann!

THE STALINIST CONSTITUTION OF THE SOCIALIST STATE

THE publication of the draft of the new constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics once again focuses the attention of the toilers throughout the world on the land of Socialism. The draft of the new Constitution is a historic landmark in the development of the world working-class movement. It marks a new stage in the struggle of the toilers throughout the world for their liberation from the yoke of capitalist exploitation and oppression, a new stage on the path of mankind towards well-being and freedom, towards a happy life, towards the final removal of all that hinders the free and full development of the human personality.

For the peoples of the Soviet Union inhabiting one-sixth of the globe the draft of the new Constitution, after 19 years of the dictatorship of the proletariat, represents the result of the heroic struggles, the world historic victories, won by the working-class and all the peoples of the U.S.S.R. under the leadership of the Communist Party, under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, victories which have led to the final and irrevocable victory of Socialism.

To the peoples of the U.S.S.R., the new Constitution is, as it were, the concentrated essence of the victories and gains achieved. It reflects the new social relations hammered out as a result of these victories. It expresses the new prospects that open out before the peoples of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of the unlimited development of the human personality. The draft Constitution of the U.S.S.R. reflects and makes secure that which has *already been won* by the working people of the U.S.S.R. under the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin.

For the working-class and for the labouring masses in the capitalist countries, for all who still suffer from capitalist exploitation and oppression, for all the people doomed by capitalism to poverty and slavery, the draft of the new Constitution of the U.S.S.R. is a vivid and convincing programme of their liberation. At the time when the bourgeoisie in power, gripped in the vice of insurmountable contradictions of the capitalist system, are feverishly seeking for a way out through Fascism, and are abolishing or reducing to nought the last remnants of bourgeois-democratic liberties, at the time when fascism is conducting a desperate attack on the working people, dooming the

workers and peasants to ruin, destroying the workers' organisations, humiliating the human personality by a return to barbarism, to darkness and ignorance, and to medieval cruelty, and is preparing an imperialist war of plunder as the last anchor wherewith to save itself—at this moment the new Soviet Constitution gives concrete shape to the ideal of freedom, well-being and peace, which lives in the hearts of millions of people, proclaims and concretely shows that this ideal can be carried into practice, and indicates the concrete living form in which it is being carried out in the Land of the Soviets. By proving that Socialism is the way out of poverty and slavery, that Socialism is a society where there is the widest democracy, peace and increasing prosperity for the masses, *the new Soviet Constitution strikes a blow at the heart of fascism.*

The previous Soviet constitutions—the first one born in the fires and storms of the Great Proletarian Revolution in the civil war years (1918), and the second one, adopted at the Second Congress of Soviets of the U.S.S.R., at the time of the restoration of the national economy (1923-24)—were expressions of the class relations existing in those years in the land of the dictatorship of the proletariat. These constitutions expressed the first great gains of the working-class in the Socialist revolution, and on the road to the establishment of genuine democracy, based not on the bourgeois hypocrisy of equal rights for “all,” but on the destruction of the powers of the exploiters. The Soviet constitutions of 1918 and 1924 expressed the first gigantic victories achieved by the working-class in close alliance with the working-peasants, namely, the destruction of the old apparatus of the autocracy, and of the bourgeois state, the expropriation of the landlords and big capitalists, and the cessation of the national oppression of the peoples living on the territory of the former Tsarist Russia. At the same time, these constitutions reflected the first steps of the working-class along the road to the establishment of Socialist economy. These constitutions, for the first time in the history of mankind, gave a legal and constitutional form to the dictatorship of the proletariat — by stressing the point that this “proletarian democracy,” the democracy of the exploited majority, was based on the restriction of the rights of the

exploiting minority and directed against this minority. (Stalin, Questions of Leninism, p. 47.)

The Soviet constitutions of 1918 and 1924 were a million times more democratic than any bourgeois constitution. But in view of the economic and class relations existing in the country, the previous Soviet constitutions introduced a number of restrictions in the political rights of a part of the population. In view of the existence of capitalist elements in industry, in agriculture and trade, they denied political rights to people who belonged to the capitalist classes that had been overthrown or who were connected with these classes. This is why the suffrage could not be universal at that time. The toiling peasants, the allies of the proletariat, were still scattered at that time in millions of individual farms, and the introduction of equal voting rights under these conditions might have been used by counter-revolution against the working-class and the peasants themselves. This is why these constitutions gave the workers advantages in the election of the organs of power. Historical experience has shown that the limitations on democracy which they sanctioned were necessary to ensure the proletariat the possibility of carrying on a victorious struggle for the construction of Socialist society. The new and majestic advance of Soviet democracy, the expression of which is the new draft Constitution, and the fact that the draft Constitution is open for wide discussion by all the peoples of the U.S.S.R., is the result of this victorious struggle.

From the time of the Great Socialist Revolution up to the present time, the capitalist world and the Soviet Union have developed in diametrically opposite directions. Whereas in the capitalist world, fascism is liquidating the last remnants of bourgeois democratic liberties, and is trying to root them out, whereas the decisive strata of the bourgeoisie are making common cause with fascism or supporting it while the working-class are the most consistent defender of and fighter for democratic liberties—in the Soviet Union on the contrary, the conditions have been created which make it possible to put an end to the limitation of electoral rights for certain sections of the population.

Very profound changes have taken place in the economic situation, in the relation of forces and in the social structure of the U.S.S.R. The Soviet Union is no longer a technically backward country with a scattered agriculture of individual farms. It has a powerful industry and advanced industrial technique, all in the hands of the Socialist state of workers and peasants, as well as large-scale mechanised Socialist agriculture.

The economic basis of the U.S.S.R. is Socialist economy.

“Socialist property in the U.S.S.R. either has the form of state property (property of the whole people), or the form of co-operative and collective farm (kolkhoz) property (property of individual collective farms and property of co-operative associations).” Article 5.

Capitalism has completely disappeared from industry and trade. Socialist property is undivided in its sway in the country. Collective forms of economy have conquered finally and irrevocably, have become the dominating and predominating forms in the village. All the exploiting classes have been liquidated. The working-class of the Soviet Union at the present time is a working-class that has not only transformed the face of the country by its victories; it is a working-class which has achieved tremendous successes in transforming itself. This working-class has created a movement of Socialist competition and a Stakhanovite movement. Its attitude to labour, to technique, to culture, has radically changed. In the Soviet Union, labour is no longer of “private, personal” character. It is of “social importance,” it is a “matter of honour, a matter of glory, a matter of valour and heroism.”—(Stalin.) The working-class has become the most advanced section of the population, not only politically, but it is marching in the vanguard of the struggle for new heights of technique and culture. Under the leadership of the working-class, the peasants have also undergone profound transformations, taking decisive steps along the path of the construction of Socialist economy. The intellectuals are of a greatly altered character. The Soviet intellectuals are people who have come from the midst of the working people, and are closely connected with them. They are Socialist intellectuals. In view of this sum total of economic and social processes, *the borderlines between classes are being obliterated.*

In such a situation, the limitations of political rights provided for the former Constitutions have lost their significance. The new Soviet Constitution establishes democracy for all citizens of the U.S.S.R., without any distinctions. Defining the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as a “Socialist State of workers and peasants” (Article 1), the Constitution gives a new name—“Soviets of Toilers’ Deputies”—to the Soviets, which constitute the political basis of the U.S.S.R. (Article 2), and lays down that all citizens, “irrespective of race or nationality, religion, standard of education, domicile, social origin, property status or past activities” (Article 136) will take part in the elections to the Soviets.

The new Constitution — a document of great victories—takes from the bourgeois democratic

constitutions all that was democratic, positive and progressive in them. The many-stage elections disappear. The highest organs of power are elected directly by all the people. Voting becomes universal, equal, direct and secret. The Constitution makes provision for referendums. There are no democratic liberties promised to citizens by bourgeois democratic constitutions which are not foreseen and guaranteed by the new Constitution to the citizens of the Soviet Union. But the Soviet Constitution leaves far behind all bourgeois constitutions, even the most democratic, and, what is most important, leaves far behind the actual reality in capitalism states, because it recognises and consistently ensures the fulfilment of each of these rights, because it provides them with a new concrete and practical content, thus carrying democracy to heights such as never will be and cannot be reached by any bourgeois state.

What is now happening in capitalist countries, to liberty, to the "rights of man and citizen," in the name of which the working people were mobilised by the bourgeoisie and for which they shed their blood during the bourgeois revolutions? Rights and liberties are still written in the constitutional charters, but the bourgeoisie are trying to destroy the last remnants of these rights and liberties in practice, wherever they need to defend their profits and their power by crushing the liberation movement of the working-class and the labouring people in general under the heel of reaction. In those places where the Fascists have attained complete power the citizen is already deprived of all democratic rights. He is subject to the despotism of the emissaries of capital. He knows nothing of freedom of speech, press, assembly, association, etc. The fascist theoreticians even have the audacity to justify this oppression of liberty as a higher form of social order, and pour ridicule on democratic "utopias."

In the Soviet Union, where a new social system was really established by the overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie, and where Socialist society has been built, the Constitution ensures to the citizens not only freedom of speech, press, assembly and meetings, street processions and demonstrations (Article 125), freedom to unite in public organisations (Article 126), the inviolability of the person (Article 127) and the home (Article 128), secrecy of correspondence (Article 128), freedom of conscience, religious worship and anti-religious propaganda (Article 124), but provides for the conditions which guarantee that these liberties will really be carried out, guaranteeing to the working people and their organisations the possibility of freely using the printing presses, supplies of paper, public buildings and other material conditions, requisite for the exercise of

the rights and liberties of the citizens (Article 125), etc.

What is taking place at the present time in the capitalist countries in regard to "equality" and "fraternity"—the two other great principles of the bourgeois revolutions? As is well known in capitalist conditions, these slogans have always served to deceive the working people, have always meant equality and fraternity for the capitalists, the exploiters, the right, and for still greater oppression and exploitation of the proletariat and the poor.

Even in the most advanced capitalist countries, equality is denied to half the population, namely, the women, who, in most cases, are not only deprived of voting rights and denied access to political activity, but are regarded by the law as judicially inferior creatures.

The new Soviet Constitution, confirming the rights won by the Great Socialist Revolution, guarantees to women "equal rights with men in all spheres of economic, state, cultural and social and political life" (Article 122), and show how women can really be assigned these rights. Women are free and equal to men, thanks to the fact that the socialist state, by means of a powerful system of social institutions, protects the interests of the mother and child, comes to the help of motherhood, more and more taking on itself the care of children.

In the capitalist world, "equality" never existed when the question of the oppressed national minorities, the colonies and dependent country, was concerned. Imperialism divides the world in two camps: "Into a handful of the 'advanced' capitalist countries which exploit and oppress vast colonial and dependencies, and the immense majority of colonial and dependent countries." (Stalin, "Leninism," page 31.) For the latter, there are no equal rights! Fascism carries this system to the extreme, preaching national and racial hatred and looking on all who do not belong to the "elect" nation and race as lower creatures and slaves. Woe to small and weak nations! Their fate is to be crushed, enslaved and swept from the face of the earth!

Only in socialist society are democratic principles consistently applied to all nations, peoples and races. The socialist state is a great union of free and equal peoples. The Constitution of this country carries out in the most consistent fashion the democratic principle of the self-determination of nations to the point of separation, leaving to each federal republic of the U.S.S.R. the right to freely leave the Union (Article 17), giving to each of the peoples of the Union full equality of rights with all the others, ensuring it the possibility of complete economic,

social and cultural development. The new Soviet Constitution is the triumph of the national policy of the Party of Lenin and Stalin. The equality and fraternity of nationalities, peoples and races is proclaimed in it as the fundamental law of the state. The new Constitution solemnly declares: "Any direct or indirect restriction of these rights, or conversely, any establishment of direct or indirect privileges for citizens on account of their race or nationality, as well as any propagation of racial or national exclusiveness or hatred or contempt, are punishable by law." (Article 123.)

Bourgeois constitutions, ostensibly with the aim of better protecting the rights and liberties of the citizens, make a distinction between the "three authorities"—legislative, executive and judicial. In reality, their entire structure is such as to remove the organs of power as far as possible from the control of the working masses. In this sphere, fascism consistently destroys all traces of democracy, however slight. The fascist totalitarian state, i.e., the aim towards which the most reactionary strata of the bourgeoisie are striving in all countries, is the rule of tyranny, gross violence, the liquidation of any system of juridical guarantees, the triumph of savagery, barbarism and terror. In the Soviet Constitution, and in the Soviet state at the present time, all the positive elements that were to be found in the democratic system of representation exist and are developed. The Supreme Council of the Union, elected by direct vote of the whole population (above the age of 18), is a genuine democratic parliament of the whole people, whereas the fascists liquidate, destroy and ridicule bourgeois parliaments. But at the same time, the Soviet Constitution, in developing the system of Soviets of Toilers' Deputies at all levels of the structure of government, as the organs of power, establishes the closest contact between the state apparatus and the people, and ensure the genuine participation of the latter in all the work of directing and administering political, economic and social life.

Thus, the Soviet Constitution, from all points of view, is the *most democratic Constitution that ever existed in the world.*

* * *

But the victories and gains achieved by the working class since they overthrew the bourgeoisie and took the power, not only created the conditions which make it possible to give a *new content* to freedom and democracy, such as *does not and cannot exist* even in the most democratic bourgeois constitution, to give them a *Socialist content*. "Freedom alone is far from sufficient," said Comrade Stalin. "The characteristic feature of our revolution is that it gave the people not

only liberty but also material well-being, and the possibility to live a prosperous and cultured life." The new Soviet Constitution is founded on this most important principle, which is a socialist principle. On the basis of this principle, it does not confine itself to the abstract proclamation of the "rights of the man and the citizen." The centre of its attention and of juridical relations is given not to a fictitious but to the real, living person, with his concrete creative activity, with his concrete and definite material and mental requirements. In declaring the *system of socialist economy to be the basis of the economic order in the country* and of its political structure, the Constitution proclaims as the fundamental law of the state the socialist principle that: "He who does not work shall not eat." It converts the principle of socialism into the law of the state: "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his labour." It guarantees to every citizen:

The right to work, the right to guaranteed employment with payment for work in accordance with its quantity and quality,

The right to leisure,

The right to material support in case of sickness and old age,

The right to education.

And in regard to all these rights, the draft Constitution fixes guarantees which make it possible not only to recognise these rights but to carry them out.

The right to work. This has been the dream of socialists of all times, beginning with the Utopians. It has been the constant aim of the proletariat, ever since they took form as a class and appeared in the political arena. Capitalist society cannot recognise the right to work. It cannot guarantee work for them with payment for their labour in accordance with its quality and quantity, because the basic law of capitalist society is the race for profits, because it is an anarchical society which can only live by refusing work to millions of men and young people by driving them into the abyss of unemployment and hunger, and depriving them of any hope for the future. In the years of the world economic crisis, millions of people learned the horrors of unemployment. Although this crisis is already passing in a number of countries, *unemployment nevertheless remains. Work is the first of all blessings. Without it, no freedom has any value, no prosperity is possible, no development of the human personality is attainable. And people cannot be guaranteed work by the capitalist régime.* The fascists replace labour by new forms of slavery in forced labour camps, but people require simul-

taneously both labour and liberty. This is what socialist society gives them. The new Soviet Constitution is able to ensure the right to work for all citizens of the U.S.S.R., the right to obtain guaranteed work with payment for their work in accordance with its quantity and quality, simply because the national economy of the U.S.S.R. is socialist and is organised according to a plan, because this socialist organisation ensures the uninterrupted development of the productive forces, because unemployment has been completely liquidated (Article 118).

The factors making it possible for the Constitution to guarantee the *right to work* are: the overthrow of capitalism, the expropriation of the expropriators, the two Five-Year Plans, the inviolability of the alliance of the workers and peasants, the heroism displayed by the masses in the construction of socialism, socialist competition, and the Stakhanov movement which opens up to the country the path to abundance. The conclusion of this right in the Constitution is the most brilliant confirmation of the correctness of the path taken by the working class under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin.

The right to leisure! The founders of socialism who demanded this right, were reproached that they were incorrigible Utopians. The workers of capitalist countries did sometimes succeed in wrenching away a few gains in this sphere, but these gains were always limited, always depending on the changes in the relations of forces between the workers and the employers. When fascism comes to power, it destroys these gains. In the vast majority of the capitalist countries, and first and foremost in those countries where fascism rules, the workers, if they are not unemployed, work 10 or 12 hours a day, work till they are completely exhausted, till they are dazed. The ardent dream of the working class—the 8-hour day—has been left far behind by the reality of Soviet life and by the new Constitution, which gives legal form to that which already exists in the U.S.S.R. “The right to rest and leisure is secured by the reduction of the working day to 7 hours for the overwhelming majority of the workers, the institution of annual vacations with pay for workers and other employees, and the provision of a wide network of sanatoria, rest homes and clubs serving the needs of the toilers (Article 119).

The right to material support in case of sickness and old age! All that was won by the working class in this sphere is now being attacked by the capitalists and their governments. In all countries, social insurance is one of the first objects

of the offensive on the working class by fascism and capitalist reaction. In Germany, the system of social insurance which was won by the proletariat has in fact been liquidated by the fascists. Fear of the future, of old age, sickness, poverty, and all the sufferings they bring, is the lot of the working people in all countries still under the power of capital.

The confidence in the morrow, which is guaranteed by the new Soviet Constitution by “the wide development of social insurance of workers and other employees at state expense, free medical service, and the wide network of health resorts at the disposal of the toilers,” is one of the chief elements making the life of the citizens in the Soviet Union joyful and making it possible for them to develop their individuality in every way.

The right to education! Liberals and bourgeois democrats in the past also proclaimed the necessity for gradually extending “education” to the masses as a guarantee of social progress. At the present time, the reactionary bourgeoisie reject this democratic principle, which is being revived and carried into effect in a new form and with a new content in the land of Socialism. The right to education is solemnly written in the new Soviet Constitution at the very time when fascism is becoming the champion of darkness and ignorance, when it burns the best productions of mankind, when it is reorganising the school system, placing it exclusively at the service of a selected group destined to manage the state, at the time when the fascist theoreticians are proclaiming the need for restricting the development and education of the masses, so that it will not be too difficult for their rulers to keep them in subjection. The recognition of the right of all peoples to every grade of education, as given in the Soviet Constitution, is at the present time a guarantee of the development of culture in general.

The Constitution which recognises and guarantees to all citizens the right to work, to leisure, to material support and to education, is not only the most democratic in the world, but the most just, the most humanitarian, because this Constitution is really and consistently socialist.

At the same time, it is a Constitution of peace. The questions of war and peace, which in all capitalist countries are jealously guarded prerogatives of the organs of the executive authorities who decide these questions in secret, are subject in the new Soviet Constitution to the organs of the legislative power. *As we know, the Soviet Union is not preparing war against any country whatever.* This is why the Constitution makes provision for the point that a state of war can be

declared by the Presidium of the Supreme Council only if a military attack is made on the U.S.S.R. (Article 59.) This solemn declaration, which gives the character of a fundamental law of the state to the peace policy conducted by the land of the proletarian dictatorship, will meet with a warm echo in all countries. At the time when the imperilled bourgeoisie are seeking a way out in war, when fascism is preaching a war of aggression as the salvation of the world, and is preparing to attack neighbouring countries with a view to destroying their national independence and freedom, the fundamental law of the Socialist state, which calls on all citizens to perform the sacred duty of defending the fatherland (Article 133), drives out every thought of an aggressive war, and recognises the necessity of resorting to arms so as to repulse any aggressor, and thus gives a legal, constitutional form to the principle: "Socialism means peace."

* * *

All the paragraphs of the Soviet Constitution, all the principles proclaimed and sanctioned in it, will make the deepest impression on the masses of the people throughout the world.

To those who are still hesitating, to the working people who are still under the influence of bourgeois ideology but who nevertheless dream of a better future, worthy, free and human, and who ask what socialism can give them, we reply: Look at the Soviet Constitution! This is what socialism is, this is what is meant by bringing about socialism, this is what it gives to the masses! Here is the new path which it opens up before mankind.

To those hypocrites who slander socialism and try to deceive the masses by depicting the socialist system as a system in which human individuality and freedom are crushed, as a barrack system, as a régime of poverty, of the "community of blessings," we reply: "Look at the Soviet Constitution and the socialist state, of which it is the basic law! It is a state founded on the expropriation of the expropriators, on collective ownership of the means of production, but provision is made and a guarantee is provided to all citizens of "the property of their income from work and in their savings, in their dwelling house and auxiliary household economy, domestic articles and utensils as well as objects of personal use and comfort" (Article 10).

To the peasants, who are doomed by fascism to poverty and ruin, which at the same time tries to fill them with fear and hatred of the socialist régime, we say: Look at the new Soviet Constitution! The peasants of the U.S.S.R. voluntarily united so as to secure the possibility of utilising

the latest technique, and by collective labour, to raise the productivity of their farms. They have the right to the personal ownership of their houses, their gardens, the subsidiary farm about their houses, produce, animals, and poultry, and minor agricultural implements (Article 7). The land is allotted for use for an unlimited period, i.e., for ever, to the collective organisations of the peasants (Article 8), but at the same time for those working people who are not yet convinced of the superiority of the collective farms, "the law allows small private farms of individual peasants, and domestic workers founded on their personal labour and precluding the exploitation of the labour of others" (Article 9).

To the national minorities, to the people of the colonies, to the peoples oppressed by imperialism and fascism and seeking the way to liberation, we say: Look at the Constitution of the U.S.S.R.! You will find in it a model of the society where national and racial hatred is prosecuted by law and where there reigns the freedom and equality of peoples.

To the young people who are dreaming of a future filled with social justice and freedom, to all broad-minded people, to all honourable minds which suffer from the chaos and anarchy dominating the capitalist world, we say: Look at the new Constitution of the U.S.S.R.! You will see in it a model of the new world, the world of free, happy and peace-loving people about which the great minds of the human race dreamed.

To all toilers, to the workers, peasants, to all men and women who bear their hatred for fascism in their hearts and are struggling to destroy and break its yoke, we say: "Look at the new Soviet Constitution." Let the example of the gains of which it is the essence, rouse you to redouble your efforts to repulse the fascist enemy, to defend the last relics of the democratic liberties which still remain under the capitalist system, to develop your struggle for bread, freedom, peace and socialism.

The struggle of the united proletarian and anti-fascist front in France and Spain, and the class struggle throughout the capitalist world on the one hand, and the building of a new world by the peoples in the U.S.S.R. on the other hand, these are two sides of one and the same struggle. They are closely connected with each other.

It has been proved that only as the result of the struggle of the working class and the labouring people, only within the bounds of socialism are liberty, equality and fraternity concretely embodied and fully realised.

The enemies of the working class are resorting to slanders so as to distort the real nature of the

new Soviet Constitution. They claim that the extension of political rights sanctioned by the new Constitution, and the new Constitution as a whole, is a step backwards, a repudiation of proletarian democracy and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and a return to bourgeois democracy. The draft Constitution of the U.S.S.R., on the contrary, is a *tremendous new step forward*, is a constitution of socialism and confirms the correctness of the path taken by the working class of the U.S.S.R. to attain the victories which it sanctions. This path is that of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of fierce and unswerving class struggle against all the enemies of the power of the working class, no matter under what flag they hide themselves.

The new Soviet Constitution once again gives an unambiguous reply to the question of the paths of development of the working class struggle. The Second International, which rejected the path of the dictatorship of the proletariat and chose that of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, and tried to paint bourgeois democracy with a socialist mask, opened the path to fascism in the most important countries in Europe. But the Bolshevik Party, the Party of Lenin and Stalin, led the working class to the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the building of socialism, the reflection of which is the Soviet Constitution. The Bolshevik Party, at various stages of the development of the dictatorship of the proletariat, led the working class to victory over enemies from without, made it possible for them to defeat their class enemies at home, to overcome economic difficulties and victoriously to fulfil the task of building socialism. The Bolshevik Party fired the enthusiasm of the masses in town and country, directed the great work of re-educating the working class and the whole of the people of the Soviet Union, in the spirit of socialism, converted the cause of socialism into the cause of all the peoples of the

Soviet Union, and led this cause to victory. It has been under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party and Stalin, the wise and beloved leader of the proletariat of the whole world, that the great world historical victories have been achieved which have made the new Constitution possible and which have found expression in it. Thus the new Constitution of the U.S.S.R. is the child of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the child of the Communist Party, and in it are reflected and secured the *great victories of the Leninist-Stalinist epoch of the working class movement*.

This is why, in giving the answer in advance to hypocritical democrats, to the open and concealed enemies of the working class, the new Constitution confirms the basic principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat, by laying down that the rights and liberties of the citizens of the Soviet Union are guaranteed "in conformity with the interests of the toilers, and in order to strengthen the socialist system" (Article 125), and openly proclaims the leading rôle of the Communist Party, in which are united "the most active and politically conscious citizens from among the working class and other strata of the toilers"; the Communist Party, which is the "vanguard of the toilers in their struggle to strengthen and develop the socialist system and which represents the leading core of all organisations of the toilers, both social and state" (Article 126).

This leading rôle of the Communist Party is the guarantee to the working people of the whole world that the new Constitution of the U.S.S.R. will not only be applied in the most consistent fashion, that it will not only be defended against all the enemies of the toilers, but that on the firm foundation which it constitutes the toilers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will achieve new victories, new gains.

THE CARE OF THE SOCIALIST STATE FOR THE MOTHER AND CHILD

Friedrich Wolfe*

THE draft of the new law, dated May 25, 1936, and drawn up by the Central Executive Committee of the USSR, which has called forth a lively discussion, contains four main ideas:

1. Prohibition of abortions, except in cases where there is medical necessity for same.
2. Increased and unusually wide material aid by the government to the mother and child; the provision of government aid to large families.
3. A series of important measures designed to strengthen the rights of the mother (increased alimony payments, punishment of the husband who urges on his wife to resort to an abortion, higher divorce fees with a view to render divorce more difficult to obtain, etc).
4. The call of the government to the toilers of the USSR to engage in the broadest possible discussion of the draft through criticism, corrections and addenda, prior to its confirmation.

For those in the capitalist world, who like myself, have, for many years, passionately fought against the "bloody paragraph," paragraph 218 of the German Criminal Code, and have always used as a weapon the example of the Soviet Union, which through its law of November 18th, 1920, which made it possible for the women of the Soviet Union to prevent the birth of unwanted children—for us this draft law was at first unexpected. What impelled the Central Executive Committee to replace the law of November, 1920, by a new law? What changes have taken place during this time? What does this "draft" mean? Is not this law again a typical "male" law? How will the women react? Will they be asked to state their opinion? And if so, will they have courage enough to openly state their opinion of this law?

The very day this draft was published a gigantic wave of discussion, criticism and suggestions spread over the entire land. Millions of working men and women from the factories, from the collective farms and Soviet farms, teachers, women aviators, sports women, wives of Red Army men, doctors, wives of engineers, cotton

pickers from the collective farms of Turkmenistan, women from the fishery collectives of Arctic Siberia—all reacted immediately, expressed their personal opinions, agreed, rejected, proposed additions and corrections. Yes, the family of 170 million people participated in drawing up the new, vitally important law by making countless individual proposals. Absolutely the only case of its kind in history! A shining example of the real rule of the people of Soviet democracy. Of course, "popular votes, referendums," like "ostracism" in the ancient Greek democracy have occurred under other systems as well. But this vote always amounted to a mere "Yes" or "No." Was there ever any legislature or state which, when bringing forward the draft of a law, turned to all the people, to all the citizens, and proposed that they introduce their own corrections, that they give detailed criticism?

Let us place this draft law alongside the German Paragraph 218, which has been cynically carried over in an unchanged and fixed form from the situation of the "Gründerjahre" following 1871, to the Germany which has 5 million unemployed. Even the report of the reactionary Forty-Fifth Congress of Doctors in Eisenach, which took place in 1928, calculated that the annual number of illegal abortions, punishable by law was 800,000! In my drama "Cyanali" the following words are stated: "A law which annually transforms 800,000 mothers into criminals—is not a law!" All jurists and doctors were well aware of this state of affairs and made official declarations in this regard, but our attempts in the "democratic" German republic to bring about a change in the law or to secure a referendum were answered by prison sentences, by a long series of trials, and the application of all methods of police abuse, the methods of the pre-fascist dictatorship. That which is now taking place in the U.S.S.R., where the government's draft Bill is transformed into the law of the people, is a clear example of genuine rule by the people.

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Many working women, who, in the main, agree with the draft Bill, point out that it is necessary to permit abortions in some exceptional cases, that is, if the health of the as yet unborn child is endangered by a hereditary disease of one or the

*Friedrich Wolfe, German revolutionary writer and doctor, is well known in Europe for his struggle in Wiemar Germany against Par. 218 which prohibits abortion. In connection with this struggle he was prosecuted. He also raised the question of abortion in his drama, "Cyanali," which was very successful among workers in various countries. At the present time he lives in the Soviet Union.

other of the parents; if the family has many children living in bad conditions; and if the profession of the woman does not permit her to have many children (airwomen, sportswomen, artists, working women or collective farm women attending evening university, etc.). In addition some doctors have pointed out that "medical proof" for an abortion must be established with great scientific accuracy. And finally, in the discussion regarding the prohibition of abortions it has been repeatedly pointed out how urgent is the need for developing contraceptive methods and educational work in this sphere. Although a network of free consultation centres exists in the USSR, where any woman can receive the necessary information, it was, nevertheless, pointed out in the discussion the number of these centres must be increased, especially in the collective farms.

I consider that it is precisely the full utilisation of the criticisms and additions brought forward by the wide range of public opinion in the enterprises, the collective farms, institutions, etc., and in the Press, that basically justify the law. And I have not come to this conclusion only yesterday! I have not in the Soviet Union changed the point of view for which I fought in Germany—namely, my negative attitude to paragraph 218. I will permit myself to cite here the following words pronounced by me at the preliminary investigation before the Stuttgart trial and published in the pamphlet "Storming Paragraph 218" which appeared in 1931: "In conclusion I must make the following statement in the name of my colleague, Doctor Frau Kinle and myself. We are opposed to the cessation of pregnancy and support the regulation of childbirth. In the cessation of pregnancy we see only the "last resort," the last means in those cases where contraceptive methods have proved inefficient. We consider it an act of irresponsibility to create new people to suffer from hunger in the Germany where hunger and poverty have assumed a chronic character. For myself personally, I would like to add—the problem of paragraph 218 is only a partial problem of the entire capitalist system. It cannot be solved in a negative fashion! We know that in the Soviet Union the positive solution of this problem, the protection of pregnancy and of the mother and child is the most important weapon against the epidemic of abortions. We know that our women in Germany as well will again gladly give life to children—but not in the Germany of hunger, poverty and slavery, but in free Socialist Soviet Germany."

I would like once more to state that I, time and again, defended this point of view in court and at hundreds of meetings in 1931 and 1932. I

defended it also in my drama "Cyanali" where the young working woman, Hete, and the fireman named Paul yield themselves to their natural feelings and are filled with joy at the coming of their child; only a lockout, unemployment and eviction from their apartment forces them to resort to an abortion. So my point of view as a passionate fighter against paragraph 218 was, and is, that each and every genuine proletarian woman will rejoice in a child which she can bring up under happy conditions. I have always rejected, as a malicious slander against our German working women, the statement made by some Thusnelda from the "League of Queen Louise" that: "the wives of German workers only want pleasure, but not children."

Is it possible, even from the most far fetched point of view to compare the Soviet Union of 1936 with capitalist, Fascist Germany? Have not the happy conditions, under which one can take on oneself the responsibility for a child, already been created to the highest degree in the Soviet Union. In the Soviet Union, is there unemployment, hunger, economic crises, wage cuts, the cutting down of the network of schools, of social insurance, and of the protection of mother and child? We recall how, already in 1928 the last 5 millions for the feeding of children was erased from the German budget. The state of affairs in the Soviet Union of 1936 is entirely different.

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By January 1st, 1939, the number of places in maternity hospitals, both in the newly built ones in the towns (4,000 beds) and in the villages, has to be increased by 43,000; a corresponding increase will likewise take place in the number of midwives and the staffs of maternity hospitals. Regular crèches in town and country will receive 900,000 additional places—in addition to four million additional places in seasonal crèches in the village. The number of places in kindergartens will be brought up to 3,100,000. This year's budget for the protection of mother and child—1,481 million roubles—will immediately, already in 1936, be increased by an additional appropriation of 6,928 million roubles. This means that for this year the budget for the protection of mother and child amounts to 2,174 million roubles, as against 875 million in 1935. The working woman has the right to 56 days vacation with full pay before and after childbirth. Non-manual working women, who have hitherto received 42 days of vacation before and after birth will now receive the same as the woman working at the point of production. It is self-understood that women will not lose their jobs in connection with this, but that on the contrary

—according to the draft law, every mother has the right to lighter work at the same enterprise and at her former pay. Furthermore, the allowance for the feeding of infants is considerably increased. What country can boast of even approximately equal achievements in the field of maternity and childhood, in the field of care for the human being.

But in the process of the discussion numerous corrections have been introduced to this section of the draft law. Working mothers are making the following demands, for example: that the crèches stay open for a longer period during the day, so that each mother can utilise her evenings for study; the production of more and cheaper children's clothing, etc., an increase in the number of special rest homes for pregnant women, and the establishment of children's sections in general rest homes and sanatoria, so that each mother can take her child with her on vacation; the building of crèches and kindergartens closer to the place of work or residence of the parents. These and many other corrections and additions have been proposed.

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The draft law was placed for open discussion "from below" before the entire country. Already tens of thousands have expressed their wishes and additions, and these proposals will, without doubt, be taken into account.

When you daily read the Soviet Press, and listen to the lively, passionate arguments at enterprises, in the villages, at the clubs—you come to the conclusion that it is precisely these countless critical comments and proposals which show that the basic idea, the kernel of the project, has been understood and approved by the entire country. Everywhere one major note is heard: yes, in our Soviet state the conditions exist which make it possible joyfully to give life to children, to bring up children in *happy surroundings*. In some things we still need help from the state, as for example in the question of living quarters, birth-control appliances and methods, but if we take the problem in its perspective—within five to ten years, at the present speed of socialist construction, with the growing productivity of labour—these difficulties will without question be overcome. For this new world, for the first Socialist state of workers and peasants, we shall give a happy life to our children.

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The article written by Comrade Friedrich Wolfe was written prior to the adoption of the new law

of June 27th, 1936. Thirty-two days after the people had widely discussed the draft Bill, the definite decision was taken by the Government to prohibit abortions, to increase material aid to women giving birth to children, to establish State aid for families where there are many children, to extend the network of maternity homes, crèches and kindergartens, and to increase the penalty for the non-payment of alimony. Certain alterations in divorce legislation are also made.

The text of the new law was only adopted after a thorough study and examination had been made of many tens of thousands of addenda and amendments proposed by the people of the USSR. The discussion of the Bill, which touches on the vital interests of the millions of the citizens of the USSR, coincided with the discussion of the draft of the new constitution.

In the new law regarding the prohibition of abortions, as distinct from the draft, an extension is made of the conditions for the permission of abortions, in case of the existence of serious diseases which can be passed on by the parents by heredity. Alterations have been introduced into the article dealing with state aid, for families where there are many children. Thus, a family which now has 6 children (in the draft the figure mentioned was 7) receives an annual payment from the state of 2,000 roubles, for a period of five years from the date of birth of every succeeding child. A point has been introduced to extend the operation of the law to families which already have many children. According to the new law, in accordance with the numerous proposals made by the people, a two-shift system is established in the crèches which shall be open "for 16 hours per day, including rest days." Certain changes have been introduced into the figures referring to the exaction of the payment of alimony.

In the new law of June 27th there is reflected the unheard-of care of the Socialist state for women and the future citizens of the USSR. Mothers in the USSR as in no country in the world, are surrounded by the love of the entire people. In the capitalist countries, as is well known, abortions are also prohibited. But what is there in common between the hypocrisy and the lying "care" for women in the capitalist countries where unemployment, hunger, poverty, prostitution, and the deprivation of rights, exist—and the real day-to-day care by the Socialist state of workers and peasants, for the mothers of the USSR, who have equal rights and are free and happy.

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PAGES FROM THE LIFE OF WILLIAM GALLACHER

WILLIAM GALLACHER, first representative of the British Communist Party in the House of Commons, in the first few months of the new Parliament has made himself into a powerful force. His voice is raised in defence of the workers, against the war incendiaries, for the unity of the British Labour movement. His are the searching questions which cause so much embarrassment to His Majesty's Government. He is recognised not as the Member for West Fife only, but as the representative of the growing political force of the working class.

Gallacher has written down in "Revolt on the Clyde" (Lawrence and Wishart, London, 10s. 6d.) some chapters from the story of his life, which is at the same time an inspiring record of some of the mightiest struggles in the history of the British working class, namely, the anti-war movement on the Clyde during the imperialist war.

Reading his memoirs, one is struck by the difference between this modest record and the memoirs of a number of "leaders" of the British labour movement whose life's ambition was achieved when they were invited to Garden Parties at Buckingham Palace or received a title as a reward for their loyal services to the British Empire. For Gallacher the highest title is the esteem he is held in by the workers, the highest honour his position as a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, his best reward the election by the Fife miners to the House of Commons, where he has a further field in which to serve his class. For Gallacher the greatest joy was to have known Lenin personally. The chief gap in Gallacher's book is that he does not tell us sufficient about his talks with Lenin. These conversations with Lenin at the time of the Second Congress of the Communist International helped in no small degree to make the leader of the Clyde workers into a leader of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

* * *

Gallacher started work as an errand boy when ten years of age. Later he worked in an engineering shop, where he served his apprenticeship and joined a trade union. He had the experience of unemployment, the experience of serving in the ship's fore-castle, the many experiences of employment and small struggles that contribute so much to the making of revolutionary leaders, that temper their steel. In 1906 he became a member

of the Social Democratic Federation and started on his work as a propagandist and an agitator. Under the leadership of John MacLean, Gallacher began to study Marxism. On the outbreak of war, Gallacher was the recognised leader of the workers at the Albion motor factory in Glasgow and a member of the Executive of his trade union.

One of the great services performed by Gallacher in the book under review is that he gives a picture of the work and influence of the great fighter for the workers' cause, John MacLean. The I.L.P. opportunists, whose compromising and deceptive policy MacLean fought so bitterly, have succeeded so far in preventing the appearance of his biography. Gallacher's book gives the main facts of MacLean's life for the first time.

At a time when Henderson, Clynes, Thomas and Barnes had deserted to the capitalist class, whilst MacDonald vacillated, John MacLean was the vital force of the movement in England against the war. This gifted Marxist propagandist, trained in his classes the active workers who became the backbone of the Clyde movement, which in turn was the backbone of the resistance of the British workers to the war. Twice sentenced to heavy terms of imprisonment for his resolute anti-militarist work, MacLean was twice released before serving one-half of his sentence, as a result of the demand of the masses. The best of those whom he trained are now in the ranks of the Communist Party.

The treachery of the leaders of the British labour movement during the war betrayed the trust of the masses. On the Clyde, MacLean and Gallacher rallied the workers and raised the banner of the struggle against the imperialist war.

The first mass struggles against the "dilution" of labour, against industrial conscription, against the high rents and high cost of living, began on the Clyde.

On February 16th, 1915, the workers at the huge Weir munition factory struck against dilution. The following day the Weir workers called on the rest of the Clyde to support them. Gallacher led out his factory and by the end of the day the whole Clyde was out. Representatives from each factory came together to form the leadership. Under the "Defence of the Realm Act" striking on munition work was illegal. So the workers formed a "Labour Withholding Committee," of which Gallacher was elected chairman. The Clyde munition workers

stayed out for fourteen days and then returned in an organised body to operate a ca' canny policy in the factories.

After the strike, it became difficult both for professional patriots and the "Defend our Country" trade union leaders to get a hearing in Glasgow. In all the principal factories, workshops and departmental committees were now functioning. The Labour Withholding Committee, with Gallacher as the chairman, remained to act as the central leadership of the workers.

Lloyd George himself had to go to the Clyde at the end of 1915, accompanied by Henderson and a retinue of trade union leaders, to deal with the dilution question. But the workers refused to be taken in by his demagogy and would not negotiate with him except through the Clyde Workers' Committee. He had to appeal to the Clyde Workers' Committee for their co-operation in getting a hearing from the shop stewards. This was after he had publicly declared that he would not have anything to do with them under any circumstances. The Committee demanded the placing of the factories under workers' control and denounced the war. To this Lloyd George replied that he had rarely heard a case put so clearly and ably, but the proposals were impossible. He could never agree to them. "Why not?" interjected Gallacher. "Because it would mean a revolution, and you can't carry through a revolution in the midst of war." Two years later, Lenin and the Bolsheviks showed the whole world that this could be done.

Writing in his memoirs, Lloyd George describes Gallacher as "a Communist whose manners were quite perfect and whose tones were soft, but he left no doubt to my mind that his was the most sinister influence."

Whilst Henderson, in a letter to a Glasgow correspondent about the "men of self-imposed leadership" (!) whined:

"They have been appealed to by their own trade union leaders and by Cabinet Ministers, but they appear determined to take their own course no matter what is said. It remains to be seen how *the stern enforcement of the law, such as transfer of the ringleaders from the affected areas, will assist.*"

But neither bribery, threats nor imprisonment could hinder the Clyde revolutionaries. The arrests and deportations of the leading shop stewards, the trial and imprisonment of MacLean and Gallacher and their comrades, led to the movement taking on higher forms after the initial disorganisation was overcome. When Gallacher was released after serving his 12 months' imprisonment, the movement again took on strength and militancy. The Glasgow workers forced the release of MacLean.

The February revolution and the overthrow of

Tsarism in Russia inspired the movement. So great was the sympathy in Britain for the Russian revolution that a Congress was organised in Leeds in June, 1917, to hail the Russian revolution, to declare solidarity with the Russian workers, to form workers' and soldiers' councils in Britain, to organise the masses to follow Russia. Such was the title of the Congress, but the opportunist I.L.P. leaders filled it full of vague talk about "the new young democracy." But Gallacher was able to see that the Russian revolution was not yet completed, that the workers and soldiers of Russia would have to deal with their own capitalists as well as with Tsarism, that their heaviest battles would be against the capitalists of Europe and that the British workers had the responsibility of developing revolutionary activity in Britain so as to make it impossible for intervention to take place against the land of the Soviets.

Further strikes for wage increases took place in Scotland under the leadership of the Clyde workers' committee, and whilst the Labour leaders were silent about the October revolution, its news was hailed with joy on Clydeside. At a meeting arranged in connection with the Man-Power Bill designed to tighten up conscription, the workers laid bare everything—the secret treaties, the "Man-Slaughter Bill," the criminal war, for a peace without annexations and indemnities, and determined to oppose to the uttermost the government's call for men. May Day, 1918, saw the mightiest demonstration held in Glasgow. Once again John MacLean was arrested.

The weakness of the movement of the Clyde workers was its political immaturity. Gallacher and his comrades only saw the fight in the factories, they did not realise the importance of the political struggle in the elections and in Parliament. Thus the opportunists were able to win the day at the election on the basis of the reputation and the struggle of the Clyde workers, whilst Gallacher, MacManus and the other outstanding leaders in the factories contemptuously regarded the Parliamentarians.

This immaturity was further seen in the mass struggles which took place in January, 1919, for the 40-hour week. British capitalism had won the war, but it was desperately weak. The masses were seething at home, there was an epidemic of mutinies in the army and of sharp strike struggles, Ireland had declared its independence and was beginning to organise a fight for freedom, Egypt and India were smouldering with revolt.

But the workers' forces in Britain were divided. There was no revolutionary workers' party. Thus the greatest revolutionary possibilities were thrown away.

Lenin was able to see what was happening, and in "Left Wing Communism" used Gallacher's

articles in the British papers and his arguments in order to bring clarity to the movement. Lenin wrote (referring to a letter from Gallacher):

"In my opinion this letter expresses the excellent temper and point of view of the young Communists, or rank and file workers, who are only just coming over to Communism. This temper is very gratifying and valuable; we must learn to prize it and to support it, because without it, it is hopeless to expect the victory of the proletarian revolution in England, or in any other country for that matter. People who can give expression to this temper of the masses, who can rouse such temper (very often dormant, not realised, not roused) among the masses, must be prized and every assistance must be given them. At the same time we must openly and frankly tell them that temper *alone* is not sufficient to lead the masses and the great revolutionary struggle, and that the mistakes that these very loyal adherents of the cause of the revolution are about to make, or are making, can do very serious harm to the cause of the revolution. Comrade Gallacher's letter undoubtedly betrays the embryos of *all* the mistakes that are committed by the German 'Left' Communists and which were committed by the 'Left' Bolsheviks in 1908 and 1918.

"The writer of the letter is imbued with noble, proletarian (intelligible and near, not only to the proletarians, but also to all toilers, to all 'small men,' to use a German expression) hatred for bourgeois 'class politicians.' This hatred felt by the representatives of the oppressed and exploited masses is in truth the 'beginning of all wisdom,' the very basis of the socialist and Communist movement and of its success. But the author apparently fails to take into account the fact that politics is a science and an art that does not drop from the skies, is not acquired for nothing, and that if it wants to conquer the bourgeoisie, the proletariat must train *its own* proletarian 'class politicians' who shall be as skilled as the bourgeois politicians." (From "Left Wing Communism." See "Lenin on Britain," page 250.)

Shortly after this was written, Gallacher came, illegally, to the Second Congress of the Communist International. Here he defended his point of view. Gallacher writes: ". . . I was hard to convince . . . Gradually, as the discussions went on, I began to see the weakness of my position. More and more the clear, simple arguments and expressions of Lenin impressed themselves in my mind . . ."

Before he left Moscow to come back to the height of the struggle against British support to the Polish war against the young Soviet Republic, Lenin asked Gallacher three questions:

"Do you admit you were wrong on the question of Parliament and affiliation to the Labour Party? Will

you join the Communist Party of Great Britain on your return? Will you do your best to persuade your Scottish comrades to join it?"

To each of these questions, Gallacher answered "Yes." And he has honourably carried out his pledge to Lenin.

Gallacher became, what Lenin demanded, "a proletarian 'class politician,'" a fighter for the Party. Gallacher fought for the Bolshevisation of the British Party, in its infancy, and still to-day he brings his great experience and talents as agitator to bear in defence of the line of our Party. Gallacher has mastered the Bolshevik art of self-criticism and from his own experience is able to help younger comrades to develop and to correct their weaknesses.

We would have welcomed from Gallacher further details of his conversations with Lenin, of his talks and discussions at the time of the Second World Congress and the period of the foundation of our Party. The new generation of revolutionaries, which has come into political life since the 1930-1 crisis does not know of the work of those days, and can learn so much from them. Everything about Lenin and his work for the building of the Communist Party in Britain is of priceless value to us. Gallacher can tell a great deal more than he has done in the book under review, and all he writes will be really valuable.

* * *

It is only necessary to read his book to see how it is that Gallacher enjoys the respect and love of hundreds of thousands of workers in Scotland, England, Wales and Ireland, who flock to his meetings, how it is that his speeches in Parliament are eagerly awaited, how it is that he was elected by the Fife miners, amongst whom he has fought for so long. When so many Labour leaders have failed in their trust, when so many who were attracted to revolution when it seemed near left the ranks, when so many wearied, Gallacher never tired, never faltered, never was overborne when the movement was weak and things looked black. In the dark days that followed the betrayal of the General Strike he looked forward and fought to keep the working class movement free from Mondism as he fought dilution on the Clyde during the war.

It is necessary that the British comrades shall study the life and work of Comrade Gallacher, that his book shall be found in every public library and factory library, in every miners' institute and workers' club. From the example of Gallacher's life and struggle, thousands of new fighters can be won for the British Party, and thousands of active workers in the general Labour movement for the fight for national and international unity to keep the peace and bring about Socialism.

JOHN SULLIVAN.

PAMPHLETS OF THE STAKHANOV MOVEMENT

THE popular Stakhanov movement, which has involved the entire land of the Soviets, and has created new and unlimited possibilities for the victorious construction of socialism, is up to the present a movement receiving much attention in the foreign press. Whereas, in the hands of the revolutionary proletariat, the spreading of the truth about the Stakhanov movement is a powerful means of popularising the ideas of socialism amongst the masses, the enemies of the Soviet Union are persistent in attempting to bespatter the Stakhanov movement and to give the toilers of the capitalist countries an incorrect, false idea about it.

The Communists in the various countries are in great need of mass literature about the Stakhanov movement, such as would help the active members of the Communist Party and rank and file workers to get their bearings as to the essence of this movement, and of the basic problems of Socialist construction connected with it, and which would arm them with arguments to counteract the slander of the anti-Soviet press.

The speech of Comrade Stalin at the All-Union Conference of Stakhanov workers, published as a pamphlet in the German, English, French, Spanish, Italian, Danish, and Norwegian languages at the end of 1935 and the beginning of 1936, is of great significance for the world Communist movement. But up to the present time a shortage has been felt of literature written or drawn up specially for readers in the capitalist countries. Only a comparatively short time ago a few such pamphlets were published in various countries.

A Symposium—"New Times—New People"*

In this small symposium published by the "Prometheus" publishing house in the German language, all the basic materials—partly abridged—of the All-Union Conference of the Stakhanov workers is published, including the complete text of the report of Comrade Stalin, excerpts from the reports of Comrades Molotov, Orjonikidze, Voroshilov, Kaganovich and Mikoyan, and the speeches of twenty Stakhanov workers who took part in the Conference.

The speeches of the leaders of the All-Union Communist Party and the Soviet government as printed in this symposium will make it possible

for the foreign reader to understand the meaning and significance of the Stakhanov movement.

The Conference of Stakhanov workers, at which the leaders of the country met for a business-like and friendly talk with 3,000 leading working men and women, and at which Stalin thanked the Stakhanov workers "for lessons learnt" bore striking testimony to the fact of the broad character of Soviet democracy, and the close connections between the Soviet people and their leaders. This collection of the materials of the conference of Stakhanov workers, in the German language, will give the toilers in the capitalist countries a convincing and graphic refutation of the fascist slander to the effect that the Stakhanov movement in the U.S.S.R. is being developed "from above" "under pressure."

The speeches of the Stakhanov workers, who told in simple and warm words the story of their life and work, give a clear picture of the conditions of the proletariat in the U.S.S.R. where ". . . life has become better, life has become more joyous." and before whom are open endlessly broad perspectives of further mastering the heights of culture and technique, and of further creative work. The collection is not free of various shortcomings. For instance, the translation of the speeches of the Stakhanov workers is in places polished, and this smooths out the individual peculiarities of these speeches, which are distinguished by their great simplicity and directness of tone; in other places, on the contrary, the striving to give a too exact translation has led to the literal reproduction of Russian manners of speech which are not characteristic of the German language. In some places explanatory remarks should be given, taking into consideration the point that not every foreign reader can understand a number of details concerning production and living conditions in the U.S.S.R.

Nevertheless, the appearance of this Symposium must be welcomed in every way, let us hope that it will appear in other foreign languages.

Pierre Semard "U.S.S.R. Its Socialist Victories." The Stakhanov Movement*

This pamphlet of Comrade Pierre Semard, the well-known French Communist and trade union worker, on the U.S.S.R. and the Stakhanov move-

*Neue Zeiten—neue Menschen. Die Stachanov-Bewegung im Lande der befreiten Arbeit. Prometheus-Verlag. Strassburg. 1936.

*Pierre Semard. L'U.R.S.S. Les victoires socialistes. Le mouvement stakhanoviste. Discours prononcés au VIII. congrès national du Parti Communiste. 1936. 31 pp.

ment, is his report at the eighth Congress of the Communist Party of France. It will be read with great interest first and foremost by the leading Party workers; it is full of facts and figures about the victories of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R., on the growth of Socialist industry and the rise in the well-being of the masses. This wealth of material makes it an irreplaceable aid to Party reporters and propagandists.

In the second part of the pamphlet Comrade Semard explains what the Stakhanov movement is, particularly emphasising its significance in preparing the preconditions for the transition from Socialism to Communism.

In conclusion, he gives a convincing answer to those "theoreticians" from the "Peuple" and "Populaire" who make a dishonest analogy between the Stakhanov movement and capitalist rationalisation.

"In the capitalist countries," he says, "Taylorism has made a gulf between physical and mental labour, and put up barriers between the workers of various qualifications. In the Soviet Union everything which is scientific and progressive as regards the improvement of the conditions of labour is taken from Taylorism, and everything that destroys the organism and lowers human self-respect is removed from it.

"The Soviet Union has made a study of the forms of rationalisation tested and applied in the capitalist countries, and made a selection from among them, but they are used in the Soviet industry only after account has been taken of the remarks made by technicians, physiologists and doctors."

And Comrade Semard supports this answer with many figures as to the growth of workers' inventions, and all the new manifestations of the productive initiative of the workers in the U.S.S.R.—the only country where labour is a thing of honour, glory, valour and heroism.

Fernand Grenier "The Stakhanov Movement"*

Fernand Grenier, General Secretary of the French Society of Friends of the U.S.S.R., introduces with his pamphlet on the Stakhanov movement, a series of pamphlets under the general title of "Here is the U.S.S.R.," to be published in the near future and devoted to various sides of the life of the people of the U.S.S.R.

After explaining very briefly the basis on which the Stakhanov movement was born and has developed in the U.S.S.R., and using as his most characteristic example the life and work of Stakhanov himself, Comrade Grenier goes in detail into the basic arguments advanced up till now against the Stakhanov movement. He brings the testimony of French textile workers, who indignantly reject the idea that the labour of the Stakhanov workers can have anything in common

with the labour of workers in rationalised capitalist enterprises.

"We undoubtedly can achieve professional skill," write the workers, John Ober and Susan Cashe, "but we only work with our body, our muscles . . . In the weaving sheds in our country, and in general among the textile workers it is possible to meet quite a number of working men and women who have very flexible hands, but who can neither read nor write . . . The working women know how to make the cloth, they know what movements need to be made (just as automatic as the movement of their machines), but in the great majority they have no idea of the technique of weaving.

"Can one imagine, for instance, old mother Cashe and her mates, weavers, running madly in the evening to 'courses for mastering technique'? Why? To master technique in order to raise the productivity of Labour? To propose to the boss that they will produce more? No! The workers of our country haven't the smallest desire to do this . . ."

Thus, by using numerous factual data, and first and foremost the materials of the All-Union Conference of Stakhanov workers, Comrade Grenier answers other hostile arguments: He proves the absurdity of the idea of the possibility of over-production in the U.S.S.R., and that Stakhanov work does not at all demand "exceptional physical strength." Then he explains the need for material inequality in paying the working people for their labour, under Socialism.

Luigi Galle "Stakhanovism in Socialist Construction"*

The pamphlet of the well-known Italian Communist, Comrade Luigi Galle, was published in the Italian language in Paris. It is the stenogram of a lecture given by the author in a proletarian cultural circle for Italian workers.

The comprehensive pamphlet of Comrade Galle is a model of Communist mass propaganda. He gives an all-round serious picture, and in a form understandable to every worker, of the basic problems of the Stakhanov movement.

The author first and foremost shows the working conditions in the U.S.S.R., gives a detailed review of what the Soviet Government has given the working class, namely, the extremely short working week, holidays with pay, protection of motherhood, various possibilities for study, medical aid, rest and participation in the management of production through production conference. He speaks about Socialist competition and about the various stages through which it has passed, and comes to the conclusion that the Stakhanov movement is a new regular stage in the development of Socialist competition and the development of the productive initiative of the masses. Further, Comrade Galle makes use of a few examples of well-known Stakhanovites to

*Voici—L'U.R.S.S. Le mouvement Stakhanoviste. Par Fernand Grenier. Bureau d'Editions, Paris. 62 pp.

*Luigi Galle. Le Stakhanovismo nella costruzione socialista. Edition dell'idea popolare. Paris, 1936. 31 pp.

show the essence of Stakhanov work, emphasising that while the ideal of Taylor, the founder of capitalist rationalisation is "workers who serve the machine and do not attempt to think," in the Soviet Union, on the contrary, we have the real "triumphs of man over the machine."

The short concluding chapter of the pamphlet contrasts the land of Socialist with Fascist Italy, and ends with a call directed to Italian workers to struggle against Italian Fascism. As a whole the pamphlet is without doubt of international interest, and it would be worth while to give not only the Italian reader the opportunity of becoming acquainted with it.

G. Friedrich "Dusya Vinogradova"*

The sketch by G. Friedrich of Dusya Vinogradova (which appeared as a separate pamphlet in the German and English languages, and as a supplement to the pamphlet of Grenier in the French language) is the first attempt to give a live portrait of one of the leading workers of Socialist industry.

The enemies of the Soviet Union direct the most poisonous arrows of their slander against the initiators of the Stakhanov movement, striving to present them as something extraordinary, as something which has almost lost all human form. And this is repeated sometimes by people who consider themselves as belonging to the working

*G. Friedrich. Miss U.S.S.R. International Publishers, New York, 1936. G. Friedrich. Dussia Winogradovwa. Verlag-Auslandischer Arbeiter. Moscou. 1936.

class movement. According to the definition of the anarchist French journal *Primer*, an "illiterate giant, a massive and brainless 'robot'" can be an example of a Stakhanovite." The French Socialist, Severaque, who writes in the *Populaire*, shyly agrees with this definition:

"A human machine which is continually keyed up to the extreme limits of its strength, in order to break records, is a sight which is not exceptional in its greatness nor beauty . . ."

One of these "human machines," one of these "illiterate giants" is Dusya Vinogradova, a young girl who has mastered the complicated technique of minding 216 automatic looms, thanks to her own inventive initiative. An active member of the Young Communist League, she finds time to train pioneers, to read, dance, engage in sport and prepare herself to enter a technical university. Such is Dusya Vinogradova, the young harmoniously developed Socialist being, a typical representative of both the Soviet woman and Soviet youth. The whole of the Soviet Union knows her as such, and she is so described after a visit to her in Vitchook by G. Friedrich, who had the possibility of seeing with his own eyes the "secret" of the unheard-of productivity of her labour.

We hope that a few more such sketches of the live people of the Stakhanov movement will appear in the near future. They will be the best answer to the slanderers who do not understand, or who do not want to understand, what the new being in the Socialist Soviet Union really is.

M. FAMAR.

LIST OF BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW BY THE EDITORIAL BOARD

IN THE FRENCH LANGUAGE.

1. Friedrich Engels. *Pour Comprendre "Le Capital."* Bureau D'Editions. Paris. 1936. 126 pp. 4 frs.

This collection of works of Engels contains his article "Marx's Capital," extracts from Engels' introduction to the 2nd Volume of "Capital," his Appendix to the 3rd Volume of "Capital" and his article about the Stock Exchange. The collection also contains extracts from Mehring's book, "Karl Marx: the History of His Life." A great part of the material printed in this collection appears in the French language for the first time.

2. *Parler au Peuple*. Premier fascicule. Cours de M. Cachin, M. Thorez, B. Franchon, J. Duclos, Racamond. Ed. du Comite Populaire de Propagande. Paris. 1936. 31 pp. 0.75 frs.

Parler au Peuple. Deuxieme fascicule. Cours de

P. Bouthonnier, Vaillant Couturier, P. Semard, G. Cogniot. Ed. du Comite populaire de Propagande. Paris. 1936. 31 pp. 0.75 frs.

The *Speak to the People* pamphlets contain the notes for speeches given by the leaders of the French Communist Movement at "classes for political speakers" organised by the French Communist Party. The themes of the lectures are as follow: "The Political Speaker" by Marcel Cachin, "The Political Speech" by Maurice Thorez, "A Speech in Defence of the Programme of Demands" by B. Franchon, "The Political Speaker and the Problem of Unity" by J. Duclos, "The Speaker and the Problem of the Trade Unions" by J. Racamon, "Polemics" by P. Boutonier, "The Speaker and the Defence of Peace" by Pierre Semard, "The Art of Speech" by Vaillant Couturier, "Speakers of the Revolution in France" by G. Cogniot.

3. B. Voline et S. Ingoutov. *Les Etapes du Bolchevisme.* Bureau d'Éditions. Paris. 1936. 80 pp. 1.50 frs.
This book, *The Stages of Bolshevism*, is a popular statement of the points in the history of the C.P.S.U.

IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

1. *Industrial Unionism.* By Wm. Z. Foster. Workers' Library Publishers. New York. April, 1936. 46 pp. Price 5 c.

Comrade Foster deals in this pamphlet with a defence of the industrial principle of building the Trade Unions, and justifies the need for supporting the movement to reorganise the Trade Unions on the industrial principle inside the American Federation of Labour.

2. *Unity Will Conquer.* Contains a number of the most important documents of the struggle of the Comintern for the United Front in the international labour movement. This pamphlet contains the appeal of the E.C.C.I. to the 2nd and Amsterdam Internationals dated Sept. 25 and October 7, 1935, the "Down with War" manifesto of the E.C.C.I. which called for a united front against the aggression of Italian Fascism in Abyssinia. Further the reply is given of the 2nd International to the E.C.C.I. and the response of the Social Democratic Press of the various countries to the appeal of the E.C.C.I. The pamphlet concludes with the resolution of the E.C.C.I. entitled "For United Action of the International proletariat," which gives an estimate of the reply of the 2nd International, and which shows the further tasks of the struggle for the united front and articles by Comrade Gottwald about united action of the proletariat in the struggle for peace.

3. *Building a New World.* By V. Chamodanov. Foreword by George Soule. Workers' Library Publishers. New York. April, 1936. 47 pp. Price 5 c. The report of Comrade Chamodanov at the 6th Congress.

- Soviet Russia and Religion.* By Corliss Lamont. International Publishers. New York. 1936. 24 pp. Price 5 c.

A popular pamphlet which explains the attitude of the Communist to religion, and at the same time which refutes the slander about the "persecution of religion" in the U.S.S.R.

- Communist Affiliation.* By Emile Burns. Published by the Communist Party of Gt. Britain. London. 1936. 24 pp. Price 1d.

This pamphlet, written by the well-known British Communist Party writer, Emile Burns, explains the reason why the C.P.G.B. is trying to secure affiliation to the Labour Party. The pamphlet is in the form of a talk with a Labour

Party worker, and deals in detail with the arguments used against affiliation.

- The Peace Library. *I Accuse Baldwin.* By Harry Pollitt. London. 1936. Price 1d.

- The Peace Library. *Peace—But How?* A workshop talk by J. R. Campbell. Published by the C.P.G.B. London: 1936. Price 1d.

These two pamphlets, which are the first of the Peace Library series published by the C.P.G.B., give the position of the Communist Party on the question of the struggle for peace in live, understandable language.

- Social Credit.* An economic analysis by John Strachey. Victor Gollancz Ltd. jointly with the Workers' Bookshop Ltd. London. 1936. 24 pp. Price 3d.

- Social Credit Discredited.* By Maurice Dobb, M.A. in the University of Cambridge. Martin Lawrence. London. 1936. 30 pp. Price 3d.

- We Ask for Life.* Based on the report of John Gollan to the 8th National Conference of the Y.C.L. of Gt. Britain. Published by the Communist Youth Movement. London. 1936. 24 pp. Price 2d.

Shows the conditions of the young people of England and puts forward the proposal to establish a Charter of Rights for the youth.

- The Irish Revolt 1916 and After.* By Shaun Murray. Published by the C.P.G.B. London. 14 pp. Price 1d.

A popular pamphlet on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Easter rebellion, published by the C.P.G.B.

- The Great London Meat Strike.* Issued by the Smithfield Strike Committee. London. 1936. 20 pp. Price 1d.

Gives the story of the positive experience of this strike which ended in victory for the strikers.

IN THE GERMAN LANGUAGE.

- Volksfront Gegen Herrenfront.* Herausgegeben von den Kommunistisch en Partei der Schweiz. Marz. 1936. S. Preis 10 Rappen.

Issued by the C.P. of Switzerland, and calling for a united front, the establishment of a broad fighting people's front for the economic demands of the people, and for the preservation of the people's democratic rights and the maintenance of peace.

- Fur Eine Freie Deutsche Volkskultur.* Manifest und Beshlusse der Reichenberger Kultur Konferenz vom 22 Marz, 1936. Verlag Kreibich. Prag. 48 S. Preis. 1.20 Kr.

A collection of the materials of the Conference in defence of culture held in Reichenberg (Czechoslovakia) in which representatives of intellectuals and workers' cultural organisations of Northern Bohemia took part.

THE PEACE LIBRARY

No. 1. *I Accuse Baldwin*

HARRY POLLITT, leader of the Communist Party.

No. 2. *Peace—But How?*

J. R. CAMPBELL. Five workers have an argument on War and Peace.

No. 3. *War is Terribly Profitable*

HENRY OWEN shows that war madness is the lunacy of a class for profits.

No. 4. *Colonies, Mandates and Peace*

BEN BRADLEY, the well-known anti-imperialist.

No. 5. *Difficulties Facing Peace*

EMILE BURNS, the well-known Communist, throws a searchlight on our difficulties.

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