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THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

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BY EARL BROWDER

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FOR DEMOCRACY IN SPAIN**

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**STALIN ON NEW SOVIET
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Report to the Special Eighth Congress of Soviets on the Draft Constitution of the U.S.S.R.

By J. V. STALIN

[Comrade Stalin's appearance on the rostrum is greeted by all present with loud and prolonged cheers. All rise. Shouts from all parts of the hall: "Hurrah for Comrade Stalin!" "Long live Comrade Stalin!" "Long live the Great Stalin!" "Hurrah for the great genius, Comrade Stalin!" "Vivat!" "Rot Front!" "Glory to Comrade Stalin!"]

I. FORMATION OF THE CONSTITUTION COMMISSION AND ITS TASKS

COMRADES, the Constitution Commission, whose draft has been submitted for consideration to the present Congress, was formed, as you know, by special decision of the Seventh Congress of Soviets of the U.S.S.R. This decision was adopted on February 6, 1935. It reads:

"1. To amend the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in the direction of: (a) Further democratizing the electoral system by replacing not entirely equal suffrage by equal suffrage, indirect elections by direct elections, and open ballot by secret ballot; (b) Giving more precise definition to the social and economic basis of the Constitution by bringing the Constitution into conformity with the present relation of class forces in the U.S.S.R. (the creation of a new socialist industry, the demolition of the kulak class, the victory of the collective farm system, the consolidation of socialist property as the basis of Soviet society, and so on).

"2. To instruct the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to elect a Constitution Commission which shall be instructed to draw up an amended text of the Constitution in accordance with the principles indicated in Clause 1 and to submit it for approval to a session of the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

"3. To conduct the next ordinary elections of the organs of Soviet government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the basis of the new electoral system."

This was on February 6, 1935. A day after this decision was adopted, *i.e.*, February 7, 1935, the First Session of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. met and, in pursuance of the decision of the Seventh Congress of Soviets of the U.S.S.R., set up a Constitution

Commission consisting of 31 persons. It instructed the Constitution Commission to make a draft of an amended Constitution of the U.S.S.R.

Such are the formal grounds and instructions of the supreme body of the U.S.S.R. on the basis of which the work of the Constitution Commission was to proceed.

Thus the Constitution Commission was to introduce changes in the Constitution now in operation, which was adopted in 1924, taking into account the changes in the direction of socialism which have been brought about in the life of the U.S.S.R. in the period from 1924 to the present day.

II. CHANGES IN THE LIFE OF THE U.S.S.R. IN THE PERIOD FROM 1924 TO 1936

What changes in the life of the U.S.S.R. have been brought about in the period from 1924 to 1936 which the Constitution Commission was to reflect in its draft Constitution?

What is the essence of these changes?

What was the situation in 1924?

This was the first period of the New Economic Policy, when the Soviet government permitted some revival of capitalism while taking all measures to develop socialism; when it calculated, in the course of competition between the two systems of economy—the capitalist system and the socialist system—on securing the preponderance of the socialist system over the capitalist system. The task was, in the course of this competition, to consolidate the position of socialism, to achieve the liquidation of the capitalist elements and to consummate the victory of the socialist system as the fundamental system of national economy.

Our industry presented an unenviable picture at that time, particularly heavy industry. True, it was being gradually restored, but it had not yet raised its output to anywhere near the pre-war level. It was based on the old, backward and poorly equipped technique. Of course, it was developing in the direction of socialism. The proportion of the socialist sector of our industry at that time represented about 80 per cent of the whole. But the capitalist sector still controlled no less than 20 per cent of industry.

Our agriculture presented a still more unsightly picture. True, the landlord class had already been liquidated, but, on the other hand, the agricultural capitalist class, the kulak class, still represented a fairly considerable force. On the whole, agriculture at that time resembled a boundless ocean of small individual peasant farms with backward, medieval technical equipment. In this ocean, like small dots and islands, were the collective farms and state farms, which, strictly speaking, did not yet have any serious significance in our national economy. The collective farms and state farms were weak, while the kulak was still strong. At that time we spoke not of liquidating the kulaks, but of restricting them.

The same must be said about trade in the country. The socialist sector in trade represented some 50 or 60 per cent, not more, while

all the rest of the field was occupied by merchants, profiteers and other private traders.

Such was the picture our economy presented in 1924.

What is the situation now, in 1936?

At that time we were in the first period of the New Economic Policy, the beginning of the New Economic Policy, the period of some revival of capitalism; now, however, we are in the last period of the New Economic Policy, the end of the New Economic Policy, the period of the complete liquidation of capitalism in all spheres of national economy.

To begin with, there is, say, the fact that during this period our industry has grown into a gigantic force. Now it can no longer be described as weak and technically ill-equipped. On the contrary, it is now based on new, rich, modern technical equipment, with a powerfully developed heavy industry and an even more developed machine-building industry. But the most important thing is that capitalism has been banished entirely from the sphere of our industry, while the socialist form of production is now the system which has undivided sway in the sphere of our industry. The fact that as regards volume of output our present socialist industry exceeds that of pre-war industry more than sevenfold cannot be regarded as a trifle.

In the sphere of agriculture, instead of the ocean of small individual peasant farms with their poor technical equipment and strong kulak influence, we now have mechanized production, conducted on a scale larger than anywhere else in the world, with up-to-date technical equipment, in the form of an all-embracing system of collective farms and state farms. Everybody knows that the kulak class has been liquidated in agriculture, while the sector of small individual peasant farms, with its backward, medieval technical equipment, now occupies an insignificant place; and its proportion in agriculture as regards area of cultivation does not amount to more than 2 or 3 per cent. We must not overlook the fact that the collective farms now have at their disposal 316,000 tractors with a total of 5,700,000 horsepower, and, together with the state farms, a total of over 400,000 tractors of 7,580,000 horsepower.

As for trade in the country, the merchants and profiteers have been banished entirely from this sphere. All trade is now in the hands of the state, the cooperative societies and the collective farms. A new, Soviet trade, trade without profiteers, trade without capitalists has arisen and developed.

Thus the complete victory of the socialist system in all spheres of national economy is now a fact.

And what does this mean?

It means that the exploitation of man by man has been abolished, liquidated, while the socialist ownership of the implements and means of production has been established as the unshakable foundation of our Soviet society. [*Prolonged applause.*]

As a result of all these changes in the sphere of the national economy of the U.S.S.R., we now have a new, socialist economy, which knows neither crises nor unemployment, which knows neither poverty

nor ruin, and which provides citizens with every opportunity to lead a prosperous and cultured life.

Such, in the main, are the changes which have taken place in the sphere of our *economy* during the period from 1924 to 1936.

In conformity with these changes in the sphere of the economy of the U.S.S.R., the *class structure* of our society has changed also.

The landlord class, as you know, had been liquidated already as a result of the victorious conclusion of the civil war. As for the other exploiting classes, they have shared the fate of the landlord class. The capitalist class in the sphere of industry has ceased to exist. The kulak class in the sphere of agriculture has ceased to exist. And the merchants and profiteers in the sphere of trade have ceased to exist. Thus all the exploiting classes have now been liquidated.

There remains the working class.

There remains the peasant class.

There remains the intelligentsia.

But it would be a mistake to think that these social groups have undergone no change during this period, that they have remained as they were, say, in the period of capitalism.

Take, for example, the working class of the U.S.S.R. By force of habit it is often called the proletariat. But what is the proletariat? The proletariat is a class bereft of the implements and means of production under an economic system in which the implements and means of production belong to the capitalists and in which the capitalist class exploits the proletariat. The proletariat is a class exploited by the capitalists. But, in our country, as you know, the capitalist class has already been liquidated, the implements and means of production have been taken from the capitalists and transferred to the state, the leading force of which is the working class. Consequently, there is no longer a capitalist class to exploit the working class. Consequently, our working class, far from being bereft of the implements and means of production, on the contrary, possesses them jointly with the whole people. And since it possesses them, and the capitalist class has been liquidated, all possibility of the working class being exploited is precluded. After this, can our working class be called the proletariat? Clearly, it cannot. Marx said that if the proletariat is to emancipate itself, it must smash the capitalist class, take the implements and means of production from the capitalists and abolish those conditions of production which give rise to the proletariat. Can it be said that the working class of the U.S.S.R. has already created these conditions for its emancipation? Undoubtedly it can and should be said. And what does this mean? It means that the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. has been transformed into an entirely new class, into the working class of the U.S.S.R. which has abolished the capitalist system of production, which has established the socialist ownership of the implements and means of production and is directing Soviet society along the road to communism.

As you see, the working class of the U.S.S.R. is an entirely new working class, a working class emancipated from exploitation, the like of which the history of mankind has never known before.

Let us pass to the question of the peasantry. It is customary to say that the peasantry is a class of small producers, the members of which are atomized, scattered over the face of the land, plowing a lonely furrow on their small farms, with their backward technical equipment, that they are slaves to private property and are exploited with impunity by landlords, kulaks, merchants, profiteers, usurers and the like. And, indeed, in capitalist countries, the peasantry, if we take it in the mass, is precisely such a class. Can it be said that our present-day peasantry, the Soviet peasantry, taken in the mass, resembles that kind of peasantry? No, this cannot be said. There is no longer such a peasantry in our country. Our Soviet peasantry is an entirely new peasantry. In our country there are no longer any landlords and kulaks, merchants and usurers to exploit the peasants. Consequently, our peasantry is a peasantry emancipated from exploitation. Further. Our Soviet peasantry, the overwhelming majority, is a collective farm peasantry, *i.e.*, it bases its work and wealth, not on individual labor and on backward technical equipment, but on collective labor and up-to-date technical equipment. Finally, the farming of our peasantry is based, not on private property, but on collective property, which has grown up on the basis of collective labor.

As you see, the Soviet peasantry is an entirely new peasantry, the like of which the history of mankind has never known before.

Lastly, let us pass to the question of the intelligentsia, to the question of the engineers and technicians, of workers on the cultural front, of employees in general, and so on. The intelligentsia, too, has undergone great changes during this period. It is no longer the old hidebound intelligentsia, which tried to place itself above classes but which actually, for the most part, served the landlords and the capitalists. Our Soviet intelligentsia is an entirely new intelligentsia, which by its very roots is bound up with the working class and the peasantry. In the first place, the composition of the intelligentsia has changed. Those who came from the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie constitute a small per cent of our Soviet intelligentsia; 80 to 90 per cent of the Soviet intelligentsia have come from the working class, the peasantry and other strata of the working population. Finally, the very nature of the activities of the intelligentsia has changed. Formerly, it had to serve the wealthy classes, for it had no alternative. Today it must serve the people, for there are no longer any exploiting classes. And that is precisely why it is now an equal member of Soviet society in which, side by side with the workers and peasants, pulling together with them, it is engaged in building the new, classless, socialist society.

As you see, this is an entirely new, working intelligentsia, the like of which you will not find in any other country on earth.

Such are the changes which have taken place during this period in the sphere of the class structure of Soviet society.

What do these changes signify?

Firstly, they signify that the dividing line between the working class and the peasantry, and between these classes and the intelligentsia, is being obliterated, while the old class exclusiveness is disappearing.

This means that the distance between these social groups is steadily diminishing.

Secondly, they signify that the economic contradictions between these social groups are subsiding, are becoming obliterated.

And lastly, they signify that the political contradictions between them are also subsiding and becoming obliterated.

Such is the position in regard to the changes in the sphere of the *class structure* of the U.S.S.R.

The picture of the changes in the social life of the U.S.S.R. would be incomplete if a few words were not said about the changes in yet another sphere. I refer to the sphere of *national* relationships in the U.S.S.R. As you know, within the Soviet Union there are about sixty nations, national groups and nationalities. The Soviet state is a multi-national state. Clearly, the question of the relations between the peoples of the U.S.S.R. cannot but be one of first rate importance for us.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as you know, was formed in 1922 at the First Congress of Soviets of the U.S.S.R. It was formed on the principles of equality and voluntary affiliation of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. The Constitution now in operation, adopted in 1924, was the first Constitution of the U.S.S.R. That was the period when the relations between the peoples had not yet been properly adjusted, when survivals of distrust towards the Great Russians had not yet disappeared and when centrifugal forces still continued to operate. Under these conditions it was necessary to establish fraternal cooperation among the peoples on the basis of economic, political and military mutual aid by uniting them in a single, federated, multi-national state. The Soviet government could not but realize the difficulties of this task. It had before it the unsuccessful experiments of multi-national states in bourgeois countries. It had before it the failure of the experiment of old Austro-Hungary. Nevertheless, it resolved to make the experiment of creating a multi-national state, for it knew that a multi-national state which has arisen on the basis of socialism is bound to stand every test.

Since then fourteen years have elapsed. A period long enough to test the experiment. And what do we find? This period has shown beyond a doubt that the experiment of forming a multi-national state based on socialism has been completely successful. This is the undoubted victory of Lenin's national policy. [*Prolonged applause.*]

How is this victory to be explained?

By the absence of exploiting classes which are the principal organizers of strife between nations; the absence of exploitation which cultivates mutual distrust and kindles nationalist passions; the fact that power is in the hands of the working class, which is an enemy of all enslavement and the true vehicle of the ideas of internationalism; the actual practice of mutual aid among the peoples in all spheres of economic and social life; and, finally, the flourishing national culture of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., culture which is national in form and socialist in content—all these and similar factors have brought about a radical change in the aspect of the peoples of the U.S.S.R.; their feeling of mutual distrust has disappeared, a feeling of mutual friendship has

developed among them, and, thus, real fraternal cooperation between the peoples was established within the system of a single federated state.

As a result, we now have a fully formed multi-national socialist state, which has stood all tests, and the stability of which might well be envied by any national state in any part of the world [*Loud applause.*]

Such are the changes which have taken place during this period in the sphere of *national relations* in the U.S.S.R.

Such is the sum total of changes which have taken place in the sphere of the economic and social-political life in the U.S.S.R. in the period from 1924 to 1936.

III. THE PRINCIPAL SPECIFIC FEATURES OF THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION

How are all these changes in the life of the U.S.S.R. reflected in the draft of the new Constitution?

In other words: What are the principal specific features of the draft Constitution that is submitted for consideration to the present Congress?

The Constitution Commission was instructed to amend the text of the Constitution of 1924. The work of the Constitution Commission has resulted in a new text of the Constitution, a draft of a new Constitution of the U.S.S.R. In drafting the new Constitution, the Constitution Commission proceeded from the assumption that a constitution must not be confused with a program. This means that there is an essential difference between a program and a constitution. While a program speaks of what does not yet exist, of what has yet to be achieved and won in the future, a constitution, on the contrary, must speak of what already exists, of what has already been achieved and won now, at the present time. A program deals mainly with the future, a constitution with the present.

Two examples by way of illustration:

Our Soviet society has already, in the main, succeeded in achieving socialism; it has created a socialist system, *i.e.*, it has brought about what Marxists in other words call the first, or lower phase of communism. Hence, in the main, we have already achieved the first phase of communism, socialism. [*Prolonged applause.*] The fundamental principle of this phase of communism is, as you know, the formula: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work." Should our Constitution reflect this fact, the fact that socialism has been achieved? Should it be based on this achievement? Undoubtedly, it should. It should, because for the U.S.S.R., socialism is something already achieved and won.

But Soviet society has not yet reached the higher phase of communism, in which the ruling principle will be the formula: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs," although it sets itself the aim of achieving the higher phase of communism in the future. Can our Constitution be based on the higher phase of communism, which does not yet exist and which has still to be achieved? No,

it cannot, because for the U.S.S.R. the higher phase of communism is something that has not yet been achieved, and which has to be achieved in the future. It cannot, if it is not to be converted into a program or a declaration of future achievements.

Such are the limits of our Constitution at the present historical moment.

Thus the draft of the new Constitution is a summary of the path that has been traversed, a summary of the gains already achieved. Consequently, it is the registration and legislative consolidation of what has already been achieved and won in actual fact. [*Loud applause.*]

This is the first specific feature of the draft of the new Constitution of the U.S.S.R.

Further. The constitutions of bourgeois countries usually proceed from the conviction that the capitalist system is immutable. The main foundation of these constitutions consists of the principles of capitalism, of its main pillars: the private ownership of the land, forests, factories, works and other implements and means of production; the exploitation of man by man and the existence of exploiters and exploited; insecurity for the toiling majority at one pole of society, and luxury for the non-toiling but secured minority at the other pole, etc., etc. They rest on these and similar pillars of capitalism. They reflect them, they give them legislative consolidation.

Unlike these, the draft of the new Constitution of the U.S.S.R. proceeds from the fact that the capitalist system has been liquidated, from the fact that the socialist system is victorious in the U.S.S.R. The main foundation of the draft of the new Constitution of the U.S.S.R. consists of the principles of socialism, its main pillars, which have already been won and achieved: the socialist ownership of the land, forests, factories, works and other implements and means of production; the abolition of exploitation and of exploiting classes; the abolition of poverty for the majority and of luxury for the minority; the abolition of unemployment; work as an obligation and honorable duty for every able-bodied citizen, in accordance with the formula: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat." The right to work, *i.e.*, the right of every citizen to receive guaranteed employment; the right to rest and leisure; the right to education, etc., etc. The draft of the new Constitution rests on these and similar pillars of socialism. It reflects them, it gives them legislative consolidation.

Such is the second specific feature of the draft of the new Constitution.

Further. Bourgeois constitutions tacitly proceed from the premise that society consists of antagonistic classes, of classes which own wealth and classes which do not own wealth, that no matter what party comes into power the guidance of society by the state (the dictatorship) must be in the hands of the bourgeoisie, that a constitution is needed for the purpose of consolidating a social order desired by and beneficial to the propertied classes.

Unlike bourgeois constitutions, the draft of the new Constitution of the U.S.S.R. proceeds from the fact that there are no longer any

antagonistic classes in society, that society consists of two friendly classes, of workers and peasants, that it is these classes, the toiling classes, that are in power, that the guidance of society by the state (the dictatorship) is in the hands of the working class, the most advanced class in society, that a constitution is needed for the purpose of consolidating a social order desired by and beneficial to the toilers.

Such is the third specific feature of the draft of the new Constitution.

Further. Bourgeois constitutions tacitly proceed from the premise that nations and races cannot have equal rights, that there are nations with full rights and nations without full rights, and that, in addition, there is a third category of nations or races, for example in the colonies, which have even fewer rights than the nations without full rights. This means that, at bottom, all these constitutions are nationalistic, *i.e.*, constitutions of ruling nations.

Unlike these constitutions, the draft of the new Constitution of the U.S.S.R. is, on the contrary, profoundly internationalistic. It proceeds from the fact that all nations and races have equal rights. It proceeds from the fact that neither difference in color or language, cultural level or level of political development, nor any other difference between nations and races, can serve as grounds for justifying national inequality of rights. It proceeds from the fact that all nations and races, irrespective of their past and present position, irrespective of their strength or weakness, must enjoy equal rights in all spheres of the economic, social, political and cultural life of society.

Such is the fourth specific feature of the draft of the new Constitution.

The fifth specific feature of the draft of the new Constitution is its consistent and thoroughgoing democracy. From the standpoint of democracy bourgeois constitutions may be divided into two groups: one group of constitutions openly denies, or actually nullifies, the equality of rights of citizens and democratic liberties. The other group of constitutions readily accepts and even advertises democratic principles, but at the same time it makes reservations and limitations which utterly mutilate democratic rights and liberties. They speak of equal suffrage for all citizens, but in the same breath limit it by residential, educational and even property qualifications. They speak of equal rights for citizens, but in the same breath they make the reservation that this does not apply to women or only partly applies to them. And so on and so forth.

The specific feature of the draft of the new Constitution of the U.S.S.R. is that it is free from such reservations and limitations. For it, active and passive citizens do not exist; for it, all citizens are active. It does not recognize any difference in rights as between men and women, "residents" and "non-residents", propertied and propertyless, educated and uneducated. For it, all citizens have equal rights. It is not property status, not national origin, not sex, not office that determines the position of every citizen in society, but personal ability and personal labor.

Lastly, there is still one other specific feature of the draft of the new Constitution. Bourgeois constitutions usually confine themselves to

fixing the formal rights of citizens without bothering about the conditions for exercising these rights, about the possibility of exercising them, about the means by which they can be exercised. They speak of the equality of citizens, but forget that there cannot be real equality between master and workman, between landlord and peasant, if the former possess wealth and political weight in society while the latter are deprived of both, if the former are exploiters while the latter are exploited. Or again: they speak of freedom of speech, assembly and the press, but forget that all these liberties may be merely a hollow sound for the working class if the latter cannot have access to suitable premises for meetings, good printshops, a sufficient quantity of printing paper, etc.

The specific feature of the draft of the new Constitution is that it does not confine itself to fixing the formal rights of citizens, but shifts the center of gravity to the guarantees of these rights, to the means by which these rights can be exercised. It does not simply proclaim equality of rights for citizens, but ensures it by the legislative consolidation of the fact that the regime of exploitation has been abolished, of the fact that the citizens have been emancipated from all exploitation. It does not simply proclaim the right to work, but ensures it by the legislative consolidation of the fact that crises do not exist in Soviet society, of the fact that unemployment has been abolished. It does not simply proclaim democratic liberties but legislatively ensures them by providing definite material resources. It is clear, therefore, that democracy in the draft of the new Constitution is not the "ordinary" and "universally recognized" democracy in general, but *socialist* democracy.

Such are the principal specific features of the draft of the new Constitution of the U.S.S.R.

Such is the reflection in the draft of the new Constitution of the progress and changes that have been brought about in the economic and social-political life of the U.S.S.R. in the period from 1924 to 1936.

IV. BOURGEOIS CRITICISM OF THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION

A few words about bourgeois criticism of the draft Constitution.

The question of the attitude of the foreign bourgeois press towards the draft Constitution is undoubtedly one of some interest. Inasmuch as the foreign press reflects the public opinion of various strata of the population in bourgeois countries, we cannot ignore the criticism which it has leveled against the draft Constitution.

The first signs of the reaction of the foreign press to the draft Constitution were expressed in a definite tendency—to hush up the draft Constitution. I am referring here to the most reactionary press, the fascist press. This group of critics thought it best simply to hush up the draft Constitution and to pretend that there is no such thing, and never has been. It may be said that silence is not criticism. But that is not true. Silence, as a special method of ignoring things, is also a form of criticism—a stupid and ridiculous form, it is true, but a form of criticism, for all that. [*Laughter and applause.*] But their silence method

failed. In the end they were obliged to open the valve and to inform the world that, sad though it may be, a draft Constitution of the U.S.S.R. does exist, and not only exists but is beginning to exercise a pernicious influence on people's minds. Nor could it be otherwise, because, after all, there is some public opinion in the world, readers, living people, who want to know the truth about facts, and to hold them in the vise of deception for long is quite impossible. Deception will not carry one far. . . .

The second group of critics admits that there really is such a thing as a draft Constitution but considers that the draft is not of much interest because it is really not a draft Constitution but a scrap of paper, an empty promise, calculated, by performing a certain maneuver, to deceive the people. And they add that the U.S.S.R. could not produce a better draft, because the U.S.S.R. itself is not a state, but only a geographical concept [*laughter*], and since it is not a state, its Constitution cannot be a real constitution. A typical representative of this group of critics is, strange as it may appear, the German semi-official organ, *Deutsche Diplomatisch-Politische Korrespondenz*. This journal bluntly says that the draft Constitution of the U.S.S.R. is an empty promise, a fraud, a "Potemkin village". It unhesitatingly declares that the U.S.S.R. is not a state, that the U.S.S.R. "is nothing more nor less than a strictly defined geographical concept" [*laughter*], that in view of this, the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. cannot be regarded as a real constitution.

What can one say about such critics, if you please?

In one of his tales the great Russian writer Shchedrin portrays a pig-headed official, very narrow and obtuse but self-confident and zealous to the extreme. After this bureaucrat had established "order and tranquility" in the region "under his charge" by exterminating thousands of its inhabitants and burning down scores of towns, he looked around him and on the horizon he espied America, a country which is little known, of course, where, it appears, there are liberties of some sort or other which stir up the people and where the state is administered in a different way. The bureaucrat espied America and became indignant: What country is that, how did it get there, what right has it to exist? [*Laughter and applause.*] Of course, it was discovered accidentally several centuries ago, but couldn't it be shut up again so that not a ghost of it remains? [*Laughter.*] Thereupon he wrote an order: "Shut America up again!" [*Laughter.*]

I think that the gentlemen of the *Deutsche Diplomatisch-Politische Korrespondenz* and Shchedrin's bureaucrat are as like as two peas. [*Laughter and applause.*] The U.S.S.R. has long been an eyesore to these gentlemen. For nineteen years the U.S.S.R. has stood like a beacon, spreading the spirit of emancipation among the working class all over the world and rousing the fury of the enemies of the working class. And it turns out that this U.S.S.R. not only exists but is even growing, is not only growing, but is even flourishing, and is not only flourishing, but is even composing a draft of a new Constitution, a draft which is stirring the minds of the oppressed classes and inspiring them with

new hope. [*Applause.*] How, after this, can the gentlemen of the German semi-official organ be anything but indignant? What country is this?—they howl; what right has it to exist? [*Laughter.*] And if it was discovered in October, 1917, why can't it be shut up again so that not a ghost of it remains? Thereupon they resolved: Shut the U.S.S.R. up again; proclaim publicly that the U.S.S.R., as a state, does not exist, that the U.S.S.R. is nothing but a geographical concept! [*Laughter.*]

In writing his order to shut America up again, Shchedrin's bureaucrat, despite all his obtuseness, evinced some sense of reality by adding to himself: "However, it would seem that same is not in my power." [*Roars of laughter and applause.*] I do not know whether the gentlemen of the German semi-official organ are intelligent enough to suspect that while, of course, they can "shut up" this or that state on paper, speaking seriously, however, "same is not in their power". . . . [*Roars of laughter and applause.*]

As for the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. being an empty promise, a "Potemkin village", etc., I would like to refer to a number of established facts which speak for themselves.

In 1917 the peoples of the U.S.S.R. overthrew the bourgeoisie and established the dictatorship of the proletariat, established a Soviet government. This is a fact, not a promise.

Further, the Soviet government liquidated the landlord class and transferred to the peasants over 150,000,000 hectares of former landlord, government and monasterial lands, and this over and above the lands which were already in the possession of the peasants. This is a fact, not a promise.

Further, the Soviet government expropriated the capitalist class, took away their banks, factories, railways and other implements and means of production, declared them to be socialist property and placed at the head of these enterprises the best members of the working class. This is a fact, not a promise. [*Prolonged applause.*]

Further, having organized industry and agriculture on new, socialist lines, with a new technical base, the Soviet government has today attained the position where agriculture in the U.S.S.R. is producing one and a half times as much as was produced in pre-war times, that industry is producing seven times more than was produced in pre-war times and that the national income has increased fourfold compared with pre-war times. All these are facts, not promises. [*Prolonged applause.*]

Further, the Soviet government abolished unemployment, introduced the right to work, the right to rest and leisure, the right to education, provided better material and cultural conditions for the workers, peasants and intelligentsia and ensured the introduction of universal, direct and equal suffrage with secret ballot for its citizens. All these are facts, not promises. [*Prolonged applause.*]

Finally, the U.S.S.R. produced the draft of a new Constitution which is not a promise but the registration and legislative consolidation of these generally known facts, the registration and legislative consolidation of what has already been achieved and won.

The question arises: What, after all this, does all the talk of the gentlemen of the German semi-official organ about "Potemkin villages" amount to if not an attempt on their part to conceal from the people the truth about the U.S.S.R., to mislead the people, to deceive them.

Such are the facts. And facts, it is said, are stubborn things. The gentlemen of the German semi-official organ may say: So much the worse for the facts. [*Laughter.*] But then, we can answer them in the words of the well-known Russian proverb: "Laws are not made for fools." [*Laughter and prolonged applause.*]

The third group of critics are not averse to recognizing certain merits in the draft Constitution. They regard it as a good thing, but, you see, they doubt very much whether a number of its principles can be put into practice because they are convinced that these principles are generally impracticable and must remain a dead letter. These, to put it mildly, are skeptics. These skeptics are to be found in all countries.

It must be said that this is not the first time we have met them. When the Bolsheviki took power in 1917 the skeptics said: The Bolsheviki are not bad fellows, perhaps, but they will not be able to govern; they will fail. Actually it turned out, however, that it was not the Bolsheviki who failed, but the skeptics.

During the civil war and foreign intervention this group of skeptics said: The Soviet government is not a bad thing, of course, but Denikin and Kolchak, plus the foreigners, will, we venture to say, come out on top. Actually, it turned out, however, that here too the skeptics were wrong in their calculations.

When the Soviet government published the First Five-Year Plan the skeptics again appeared on the scene and said: The Five-Year Plan is a good thing, of course, but it is hardly feasible. The Bolsheviki's Five-Year Plan is not likely to succeed. The facts proved, however, that once again the skeptics were unlucky: the Five-Year Plan was carried out in four years.

The same must be said about the draft of the new Constitution and the criticism leveled against it by the skeptics. No sooner was the draft published than this group of critics again appeared on the scene with their gloomy skepticism and their doubts about the practicability of certain principles of the Constitution. There is not the slightest ground for doubt that in this case also the skeptics will fail, will fail today as they have failed more than once in the past.

The fourth group of critics, in attacking the draft of the new Constitution, characterize it as a "swing to the Right", as the "abandonment of the dictatorship of the proletariat", as the "liquidation of the Bolshevik regime". "The Bolsheviki have swung to the Right, this is a fact," they say in different tones of voice. Particularly zealous in this respect are certain Polish newspapers and also some American newspapers.

What can one say about these critics, if you please?

If they interpret the broadening of the basis of the dictatorship of the working class and the transformation of the dictatorship into a more flexible, and, consequently, a more powerful system of guidance

of society by the state, not as strengthening the dictatorship of the working class but as weakening it, or even abandoning it, then it is legitimate to ask: Do these gentlemen really know what the dictatorship of the working class means?

If they call the legislative consolidation of the victories of socialism, the legislative consolidation of the successes of industrialization, collectivization and democratization a "swing to the Right", then it is legitimate to ask: Do these gentlemen really know the difference between Left and Right? [*Laughter and applause.*]

There can be no doubt that these gentlemen have entirely lost their way in their criticism of the draft Constitution, and, having lost their way, they confuse Right and Left.

One cannot help recalling, in this connection, the "wench" Pelageya in Gogol's *Dead Souls*. Gogol relates that Pelageya offered to act as guide to Chichikov's coachman, Seliphan; but not knowing the right side of the road from the left, she lost her way and became embarrassed. It must be admitted that, notwithstanding all their pretensions, the intelligence of our critics on the Polish newspapers is not much above that of the "wench" Pelageya in *Dead Souls*. [*Applause.*] If you remember, the coachman Seliphan thought fit to chide Pelageya for confusing right with left and said to her: "Oh, you, dirty-legs . . . you don't know the difference between right and left." It seems to me that our luckless critics should be chided in the same way: "Oh, you, sorry critics . . . you don't know the difference between right and left." [*Prolonged applause.*]

Finally, there is yet another group of critics. While the last-mentioned group accuses the draft Constitution of abandoning the dictatorship of the working class, this group, on the contrary, accuses it of not changing anything in the present situation in the U.S.S.R., of leaving the dictatorship of the working class intact, of not granting freedom to political parties and of preserving the present leading position of the Communist Party in the U.S.S.R. And this group of critics believes that the absence of freedom for parties in the U.S.S.R. is a symptom of the violation of the principles of democracy.

I must admit that the draft of the new Constitution really does preserve the regime of the dictatorship of the working class, just as it also preserves unchanged the present leading position of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. [*Loud applause.*] If our esteemed critics regard this as a flaw in the draft Constitution, it is only to be regretted. We Bolsheviks regard it as a merit of the draft Constitution. [*Loud applause.*]

As to freedom for various political parties, we adhere to somewhat different views. A party is a part of a class, its foremost part. Several parties, and, consequently, freedom for parties, can exist only in a society in which there are antagonistic classes whose interests are mutually hostile and irreconcilable, in which there are, say, capitalists and workers, landlords and peasants, kulaks and poor peasants, etc. But in the U.S.S.R. there are no longer such classes as capitalists, landlords, kulaks, etc. In the U.S.S.R. there are only two classes, workers and

peasants, whose interests are not only not mutually hostile, but, on the contrary, are friendly. Consequently, in the U.S.S.R. there is no ground for the existence of several parties, and, consequently, for freedom for these parties. In the U.S.S.R. there is ground only for one party, the Communist Party. In the U.S.S.R. only one party can exist, the Communist Party, which courageously defends the interests of the workers and peasants to the very end. And that it defends the interests of these classes not at all badly is a matter about which there can hardly be any doubt. [*Loud applause.*]

They talk about democracy. But what is democracy? Democracy in capitalist countries, where there are antagonistic classes, is, in the last analysis, democracy for the strong, democracy for the propertied minority. In the U.S.S.R., on the contrary, democracy is democracy for the toilers, *i.e.*, democracy for all. But from this it follows that the principles of democracy are violated, not by the draft of the new Constitution of the U.S.S.R., but by the bourgeois constitutions. That is why I think that the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. is the only thoroughly democratic constitution in the world.

Such is the position with regard to the bourgeois criticism of the draft of the new Constitution of the U.S.S.R.

V. AMENDMENTS AND ADDENDA TO THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION

Let us pass to the amendments and addenda to the draft Constitution proposed by citizens during the nation-wide discussion of the draft.

The nation-wide discussion of the draft Constitution, as you know, produced a fairly large number of amendments and addenda. These have all been published in the Soviet press. In view of the great variety of amendments and the fact that they are not all of equal value, they should, in my opinion, be divided into three categories.

The distinguishing feature of the amendments in the first category is that they do not deal with constitutional questions but with questions which come within the scope of the current legislative work of the future legislative bodies. Certain questions concerning insurance, some questions concerning collective farm structure, some questions concerning the structure of our industries, financial questions—such are the subjects with which these amendments deal. Evidently the authors of these amendments were not clear as to the difference between constitutional questions and questions of current legislation. This is precisely why they strive to squeeze into the Constitution as many laws as possible, thus tending to convert the Constitution into something in the nature of a code of laws. But the constitution is not a code of laws. A constitution is the fundamental law, and only the fundamental law. A constitution does not preclude but presupposes current legislative work on the part of the future legislative bodies. A constitution provides the juridical basis for the future legislative activities of these bodies. Therefore, the amendments and addenda of this kind, having no direct bearing on the constitution, should, in my opinion, be sent to the future legislative bodies of the country.

To the second category should be assigned amendments and addenda

which strive to introduce into the constitution elements of historical references, or elements of declarations concerning what the Soviet government has not yet achieved and what it should achieve in the future. To note in the constitution the difficulties the Party, the working class and all the toilers have overcome during the long years of struggle for the victory of socialism; to indicate in the constitution the ultimate goal of the Soviet movement, *i.e.*, the building of complete communist society—such are the subjects with which these amendments deal, in different variations. I think that such amendments and addenda should also be set aside as having no direct bearing on the Constitution. The Constitution is the registration and legislative consolidation of those gains which have already been achieved and secured. If we do not want to distort this fundamental character of the Constitution, we must refrain from filling it with historical references to the past, or with declarations concerning the future achievements of the toilers of the U.S.S.R. For this we have other ways and other documents.

Finally, to the third category should be assigned amendments and addenda which have direct bearing on the draft Constitution.

A considerable number of amendments in this category are a matter of wording. They could therefore be handed over to the drafting commission of the present Congress which I think the Congress will set up, with instructions to decide on the final text of the new Constitution.

As for the rest of the amendments in the third category, they have more material significance and in my opinion a few words should be said about them.

1. First of all about the amendments to Article 1 of the draft Constitution. There are four amendments. Some propose to substitute for the words "state of workers and peasants", the words "state of the toilers". Others propose to add the words "and working intelligentsia" to the words "state of workers and peasants". A third group proposes to substitute for the words "state of workers and peasants", the words "state of all the races and nationalities inhabiting the territory of the U.S.S.R.". A fourth group proposes to substitute for the word "peasants" the words "collective farmers" or "toilers of socialist agriculture".

Should these amendments be adopted? I think they should not.

What does Article 1 of the draft Constitution speak of? It speaks of the class composition of Soviet society. Can we Marxists ignore the class composition of our society in the Constitution? No, we cannot. As we know, Soviet society consists of two classes, workers and peasants. And it is of this that Article 1 of the draft Constitution speaks. Consequently, Article 1 of the draft Constitution properly reflects the class composition of our society. It may be asked: What about the working intelligentsia? The intelligentsia was never a class, and never can be a class—it was and remains a stratum, which recruits its members from among all classes of society. In the old days the intelligentsia recruited its members from among the aristocracy, the bourgeoisie, partly from among the peasantry, and only to a very inconsiderable extent from among the workers. In our Soviet times, the intelligentsia recruits its members mainly from among the workers and peasants. But no matter

how it recruits its members and whatever character it may bear, the intelligentsia is nevertheless a stratum and not a class.

Does this circumstance encroach upon the rights of the working intelligentsia? Not in the least! Article 1 of the draft Constitution does not deal with the rights of the various strata of Soviet society, but with the class composition of that society. The rights of the various strata of Soviet society, including the rights of the working intelligentsia, are dealt with mainly in Chapters X and XI of the draft Constitution. It is evident from these chapters that the workers, peasants and working intelligentsia enjoy entirely equal rights in all spheres of the economic, political, social and cultural life of the country. Consequently, there can be no question of the rights of the working intelligentsia being encroached upon.

The same thing must be said about the nations and races comprising the U.S.S.R. In Chapter II of the draft Constitution it is stated that the U.S.S.R. is a free union of nations possessing equal rights. Is it worth while repeating this formula in Article 1 of the draft Constitution, which does not deal with the national composition of Soviet society, but with its class composition? Clearly it is not worth while. As to the rights of the nations and races comprising the U.S.S.R., these are dealt with in Chapters II, X and XI of the draft Constitution. From these chapters it is evident that the nations and races of the U.S.S.R. enjoy equal rights in all spheres of the economic, political, social and cultural life of the country. Consequently, there can be no question of national rights being encroached upon.

It would also be wrong to substitute for the word "peasant" the words "collective farmer" or "toiler of socialist agriculture". In the first place, in addition to collective farmers, there are still over a million households of non-collective farmers among the peasantry. What is to be done about them? Do the authors of this amendment propose to strike them off the books? That would be unwise. Secondly, the fact that the majority of the peasants have started collective farming does not mean that they have already ceased to be peasants, that they no longer have their own allotments, their own households, etc. Thirdly, for the word "worker" we would then have to substitute the words "toiler of socialist industry", which, however, the authors of the amendment for some reason or other do not propose. Finally, have the working class and the peasant class already disappeared? Since they have not disappeared, is it worth while deleting from the lexicon the established names for them? Evidently, what the authors of the amendment have in mind is not present society, but future society, when classes will no longer exist and when the workers and peasants will have been transformed into toilers of a single communist society. Consequently, they are obviously running too far ahead. But in drawing up the Constitution one must not proceed from the future, but from the present, from what already exists. The Constitution should not and must not run too far ahead.

2. Then follows an amendment to Article 17 of the draft Constitution. The amendment proposes completely to delete from the Constitution

Article 17 which reserves to the Union Republics the right of free secession from the U.S.S.R. I think that this proposal is a wrong one and therefore should not be adopted by the Congress. The U.S.S.R. is a voluntary union of Union Republics with equal rights. To delete from the Constitution the article providing for the right of free secession from the U.S.S.R. is to violate the voluntary character of this union. Can we agree to this step? I think that we cannot and should not agree to this step. It is said that there is not a single republic in the U.S.S.R. that wants to secede from the U.S.S.R., and that therefore Article 17 is of no practical importance. It is, of course, true that there is not a single republic that wants to secede from the U.S.S.R. But this does not in the least mean that we ought not fix in the Constitution the right of Union Republics freely to secede from the U.S.S.R. In the U.S.S.R. there is not a single Union Republic that wants to oppress another Union Republic. But this does not in the least mean that we ought to delete from the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. the article dealing with the equality of rights of the Union Republics.

3. Then there is a proposal to add a new article to Chapter II of the draft Constitution to the following effect: that on reaching the proper level of economic and cultural development, Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics may be transformed into Union Soviet Socialist Republics. Can this proposal be adopted? I think that it should not be adopted. It is a wrong proposal not only because of its content, but also because of the condition it lays down. Economic and cultural maturity can no more be urged as grounds for transferring Autonomous Republics to the category of Union Republics than economic or cultural backwardness can be urged as grounds for leaving any particular republic in the list of Autonomous Republics. This would not be a Marxist, not a Leninist approach. The Tatar Republic, for example, remains an Autonomous Republic while the Kazakh Republic is to become a Union Republic; but this does not mean that from the standpoint of cultural and economic development the Kazakh Republic stands higher than the Tatar Republic. The very opposite is the case. The same must be said, for example, of the Volga German Autonomous Republic and the Kirghiz Union Republic, of which the former is on a higher cultural and economic level than the latter, although it remains an Autonomous Republic.

What are the grounds for transferring Autonomous Republics to the category of Union Republics?

There are three such grounds.

First, the republic in question must be a border republic, a republic that is not surrounded on all sides by U.S.S.R. territory. Why? Because since the Union Republics have the right to secede from the U.S.S.R., a republic, on becoming a Union Republic, must be able logically and in fact to raise the question of its seceding from the U.S.S.R. And this question can be raised only by a republic which, say, borders on some foreign state, and, consequently, is not surrounded on all sides by U.S.S.R. territory. Of course, none of our republics would actually raise the question of seceding from the U.S.S.R. But since the right to secede from the U.S.S.R. is reserved to the Union Republics it must be so

arranged that this right does not become a meaningless scrap of paper. Take, for example, the Bashkir Republic or the Tatar Republic. Let us assume that these Autonomous Republics are transferred to the category of Union Republics. Could they logically and in fact raise the question of seceding from the U.S.S.R.? No, they could not. Why? Because they are surrounded on all sides by Soviet republics and regions and, strictly speaking, they have nowhere to go if they secede from the U.S.S.R. [*Laughter and applause.*] Therefore, it would be wrong to transfer such republics to the category of Union Republics.

Secondly, the nationality which gives its name to a given Soviet republic must constitute a more or less compact majority within that republic. Take the Crimean Autonomous Republic, for example. It is a border republic, but the Crimean Tatars do not constitute the majority in that republic; on the contrary, they are a minority. Consequently, it would be wrong and illogical to transfer the Crimean Republic to the category of Union Republics.

Thirdly, the republic must not have too small a population; it should have a population of, say, not less but more than a million, at least. Why? Because it would be wrong to assume that a small Soviet republic with a very small population and a small army could hope to maintain an independent state existence. There can hardly be any doubt that the imperialist beasts of prey would soon grab it.

I think that unless these three objective grounds exist, it would be wrong at the present historical moment to raise the question of transferring any particular Autonomous Republic to the category of Union Republics.

4. Next it is proposed to delete from Articles 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28 and 29 the detailed enumeration of the administrative territorial division of the Union Republics into territories and regions. I think that this proposal is also unacceptable. There are people in the U.S.S.R. who are always ready and eager to go on tirelessly recarving the territories and regions and thus cause confusion and uncertainty in our work. The draft Constitution puts a curb on these people. And that is very good, because here, as in many other things, we need an atmosphere of certainty, we need stability and clarity.

5. The fifth amendment concerns Article 33. The creation of two Chambers is regarded as inexpedient, and it is proposed that the Council of Nationalities be abolished. I think that this amendment is also wrong. A single-chamber system would be better than a dual-chamber system if the U.S.S.R. were a single-nation state. But the U.S.S.R. is not a single-nation state. The U.S.S.R., as we know, is a multi-national state. We have a supreme body in which are represented the *common* interests of all the toilers of the U.S.S.R. irrespective of their nationality. This is the Council of the Union. But in addition to common interests, the nationalities of the U.S.S.R. have *their special, specific* interests connected with their specific national characteristics. Can these specific interests be ignored? No, they cannot. Do we need a special supreme body to reflect precisely these specific interests? Undoubtedly, we do. There can be no doubt that without such a body it

would be impossible to administer a multi-national state like the U.S.S.R. Such a body is the second chamber, the Council of Nationalities of the U.S.S.R.

Reference is made to the parliamentary history of European and American states; it is pointed out that the dual-chamber system in these countries has only produced negative results; that the second chamber usually degenerates into a center of reaction and a brake on progress. All this is true. But this is due to the fact that there is no equality between the two chambers in those countries. As we know, the second chamber not infrequently is granted more rights than the first chamber, and, moreover, as a rule the second chamber is set up undemocratically, its members not infrequently being appointed from above. Undoubtedly, these defects disappear when equality between the chambers is established and when the second chamber is set up as democratically as the first.

6. Further, an addendum to the draft Constitution is proposed calling for the same number of members in both chambers. I think that this proposal might be adopted. In my opinion, it has obvious political advantages, for it emphasizes the equality of the chambers.

7. Next comes an addendum to the draft Constitution which proposes that the members of the Council of Nationalities be elected by direct election as in the case of the members of the Council of the Union. I think that this proposal might also be adopted. True, it may create certain technical inconveniences in elections; but, on the other hand, it would be of great political advantage, for it would enhance the prestige of the Council of Nationalities.

8. Then follows an addendum to Article 40 which proposes that the Presidium of the Supreme Council be granted the right to pass provisional acts of legislation. I think that this addendum is wrong and should not be adopted by the Congress. We must at last put an end to a situation in which not one but a number of bodies legislate. Such a situation runs counter to the principle that laws should be stable. And we need stability of laws now more than ever. Legislative power in the U.S.S.R. must be exercised only by one body, the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R.

9. Further, an addendum is proposed to Article 48 of the draft Constitution demanding that the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. be elected not by the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. but by the whole population of the country. I think this addendum is wrong because it runs counter to the spirit of our Constitution. According to the system of our Constitution there must not be an individual president in the U.S.S.R. elected by the whole population on a par with the Supreme Council and able to put himself in opposition to the Supreme Council. The president in the U.S.S.R. is a collegium, it is the Presidium of the Supreme Council, including the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Council, elected, not by the whole population, but by the Supreme Council and accountable to the Supreme Council. The experience of history shows that such a structure

of the supreme bodies is the most democratic and safeguards the country against undesirable contingencies.

10. Then follows another amendment to Article 48. It reads as follows: that the number of Vice-Chairmen of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. be increased to eleven, one from each Union Republic. I think that this amendment might be adopted for it would be an improvement and would only enhance the prestige of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R.

11. Then follows an amendment to Article 77. It calls for the organization of a new All-Union People's Commissariat—a People's Commissariat of the Defense Industry. I think that this amendment should likewise be accepted [*applause*], for the time has arrived to separate our defense industry and give it the proper People's Commissariat form. It seems to me that this would only improve the defense of our country.

12. Next follows an amendment to Article 124 of the draft Constitution demanding that the performance of religious rites be prohibited. I think that this amendment should be rejected as running counter to the spirit of our Constitution.

13. Finally, there is one other amendment of a more or less material character. I refer to an amendment to Article 135 of the draft Constitution. It proposes that ministers of religion, former White Guards, all the former rich and persons not engaged in socially useful occupations be disfranchised, or, at all events, that the franchise of the people in this category be restricted to the right to elect but not to be elected. I think that this amendment should likewise be rejected. The Soviet government did not disfranchise the non-working and exploiting elements for all time, but temporarily, up to a certain period. There was a time when these elements waged open war against the people and resisted the Soviet laws. The Soviet law depriving them of the franchise was the Soviet government's reply to this resistance. Not a little time has elapsed since then. During this period we have succeeded in abolishing the exploiting classes, and the Soviet government has become an invincible force. Has not the time arrived for us to revise this law? I think the time has arrived. It is said that this is dangerous, as elements hostile to the Soviet government, some of the former White Guards, kulaks, priests, etc., may worm their way into the supreme bodies of the country. But what is there to be afraid of? If you are afraid of wolves keep out of the woods. [*Laughter and loud applause.*] In the first place, not all the former kulaks, White Guards or priests are hostile to the Soviet government. In the second place, if the people in some place or other do elect hostile persons, it will show that our propaganda work was very badly organized and we shall fully deserve such a disgrace; if, however, our propaganda work is conducted in a Bolshevik way the people will not let hostile persons slip into their supreme bodies. This means that we must work and not whine [*loud applause*], we must work and not wait to have everything put before us ready-made by official order. As far back as 1919, Lenin said that the time was not far distant when the Soviet government would deem it useful to introduce universal

suffrage without any restrictions. Please note: *without any restrictions*. He said this at a time when foreign military intervention had not yet been liquidated and when our industry and agriculture were in a desperate condition. Since then, seventeen years have elapsed. Comrades, is it not time we carried out Lenin's behest? I think it is.

This is what Lenin said in 1919 in his *Draft Program of the Russian Communist Party*. Permit me to read it:

"The Russian Communist Party must explain to the toiling masses in order to avoid a wrong generalization of transient historical needs, that the disfranchisement of a section of citizens does not in the Soviet Republic affect, as was the case in the majority of bourgeois-democratic republics, a definite category of citizens disfranchised for life, but applies only to the exploiters, only to those who, in violation of the fundamental laws of the Socialist Soviet Republic, persist in defending their position as exploiters, in preserving capitalist relationships. Consequently, in the Soviet Republic, on the one hand, every day of added strength for socialism and diminution in the number of those who have objective possibilities of remaining exploiters or of preserving capitalist relationships, automatically reduces the percentage of disfranchised persons. In Russia at the present time this percentage is hardly more than 2 or 3 per cent. On the other hand, in the not distant future the cessation of foreign invasion and the completion of the expropriation of the expropriators may, under certain conditions, create a situation in which the proletarian state power will choose other methods of suppressing the resistance of the exploiters and will introduce universal suffrage *without any restrictions*." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXIV, p. 94, Russian edition.)

This is clear, I think.

Such is the position with regard to the amendments and addenda to the draft Constitution of the U.S.S.R.

VI. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION OF THE U.S.S.R.

Judging by the results of the nation-wide discussion, which lasted nearly five months, it may be presumed that the draft Constitution will be approved by the present Congress. [*Loud applause and cheers. All rise.*]

In a few days' time the Soviet Union will have a new, socialist constitution, built on the principles of extensive socialist democracy.

It will be an historical document dealing in simple and concise terms, almost in the style of minutes, with the facts of the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R., with the facts of the emancipation of the toilers of the U.S.S.R. from capitalist slavery, with the facts of the victory in the U.S.S.R. of full and thoroughly consistent democracy.

It will be a document testifying to the fact that what millions of honest people in capitalist countries have dreamed and still dream of has already been achieved in the U.S.S.R. [*Loud applause.*]

It will be a document testifying to the fact that what has been

achieved in the U.S.S.R. is fully possible of achievement in other countries also. [*Loud applause.*]

But from this it follows that the international significance of the new Constitution of the U.S.S.R. can hardly be exaggerated.

Today, when the turbid wave of fascism is bespattering the socialist movement of the working class and besmirching the democratic strivings of the best people in the civilized world, the new Constitution of the U.S.S.R. will be an indictment against fascism, declaring that socialism and democracy are invincible. [*Applause.*] The new Constitution of the U.S.S.R. will serve as moral assistance and real support to all those who are today fighting fascist barbarism. [*Loud applause.*]

Of still greater significance is the new Constitution of the U.S.S.R. for the peoples of the U.S.S.R. While for the peoples of capitalist countries the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. will have the significance of a program of action, for the peoples of the U.S.S.R. it is significant as the summary of their struggles, the summary of their victories on the front of the emancipation of mankind. After the path of struggle and privation that has been traversed, it is pleasant and joyful to have our Constitution which deals with the fruits of our victories. It is pleasant and joyful to know what our people fought for and how they achieved this victory of worldwide historical importance. It is pleasant and joyful to know that the blood our people shed so plentifully was not shed in vain, that it has produced results. [*Prolonged applause.*] This spiritually arms our working class, our peasantry, our working intelligentsia. It impels them forward and rouses a sense of legitimate pride. It increases confidence in our strength and mobilizes us for fresh struggles for the new victories of Communism.

[*Thunderous cheers and applause. All rise. Shouts from all parts of the hall: "Long live Comrade Stalin!" All stand and sing the "Internationale", after which the cheering is resumed. Cries of "Long live our leader, Comrade Stalin!"*]

Report of the Chairman of the Drafting Commission of the Special Eighth Congress of Soviets of the U.S.S.R.

By J. V. STALIN

COMRADES, the Drafting Commission has finished its work. As a result of the work of the Drafting Commission there has emerged the draft of the final text of the Constitution. The draft has been distributed to all members of the Congress. Consequently, the Congress is familiar with it.

As is evident from the draft, the Drafting Commission has introduced a total of 43 amendments. These amendments affect 32 articles of the draft Constitution, making certain changes in them. The remaining 114 articles of the draft have remained unaltered.

Of the 43 amendments, six or seven might be regarded as being to any extent material.

What sort of amendments are they?

First the amendment to Article 8. In the draft Constitution this article is formulated as follows:

“The land occupied by collective farms is secured to them for perpetual use, that is, forever.”

The new formulation of the text is as follows:

“The land occupied by collective farms is secured to them for perpetual use, *gratis*, that is, forever.”

I think this amendment is clear and needs no explanation.

The second amendment affects Article 10 of the draft Constitution. The old formulation is as follows:

“The personal property of citizens in 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 is protected by law.”

The new formulation of Article 10:

“*The right of personal property of citizens in 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, as well as the right of inheritance of personal property of citizens, are protected by law.*”

This amendment is clear and, I think, needs no special explanation. The third amendment affects Article 35. The old formulation is as follows:

“The Council of Nationalities consists of deputies selected by the Supreme Councils of the Union and Autonomous Republics and the Soviets of Toilers’ Deputies of the Autonomous Regions: ten deputies from each Union Republic, five deputies from each Autonomous Republic and two deputies from each Autonomous Region.”

The new formulation of this article:

“The Council of Nationalities is elected by the citizens of the U.S.S.R. according to Union and Autonomous Republics, Autonomous Regions and national okrugs on the basis of twenty-five deputies from each Union Republic, eleven deputies from each Autonomous Republic, five deputies from each Autonomous Region and one deputy from each national okrug.”

Consequently, the equality of the Chambers, both in regard to number of members and in regard to democratic formation, is fully observed in this article.

The fourth amendment affects Article 40. The old formulation of the article is as follows:

“Laws adopted by the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. are published over the signatures of the Chairman and Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R.”

The new formulation of the article:

“Laws adopted by the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. are published in the languages of the Union Republics over the signatures of the Chairman and Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R.”

The amendment is clear, and, in my opinion, it, too, needs no explanation.

Consequently, laws will be published in eleven languages.

The fifth amendment affects Article 48. The old formulation provided for four Vice-Chairmen of the Presidium of the Supreme Council; the new formulation provides for eleven Vice-Chairmen in conformity with the number of Union Republics.

The sixth amendment affects Article 77. It is to the effect that in addition to the existing All-Union People’s Commissariats, a new People’s Commissariat be formed, the People’s Commissariat of Defense Industry. This amendment also need no explanation.

Finally, the seventh amendment. It affects Article 49 (Section j). The old formulation of this article reads as follows:

“In the intervals between sessions of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R., proclaims a state of war in the event of armed attack on the U.S.S.R.;

The new formulation of this article:

"In the intervals between sessions of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R., proclaims a state of war in the event of armed attack on the U.S.S.R., or whenever it is necessary to fulfil international treaty obligations concerning mutual defense against aggression." [Loud applause.]

As for the remaining amendments, they are not of material significance, they are purely a matter of wording and, I think, need not be especially examined.

General deduction: in drawing up and putting the finishing touches to the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. the nationwide discussion was, without question, enormously useful.

[Loud and prolonged cheers for Comrade Stalin. From all parts of the hall are heard calls of greeting to Comrade Stalin: "Hurrah for Comrade Stalin!" "Hurrah!"]

The Constitution of Socialist Democracy

THE Extraordinary Eighth Congress of Soviets has confirmed the new Constitution of the U.S.S.R., the great charter of socialist democracy. While the last remnants of bourgeois democracy are being destroyed in fascist countries, and while the Spanish people have risen up in arms in defense of their freedom against the encroachments of the fascist rebels, the Soviet Union is converting the aspirations of the best minds into a living reality, and is raising the rights of man to hitherto unseen heights.

The wording of the Constitution is laconic. Behind every one of its sparing words can be felt the great living reality. In countless meetings of all the working people the draft Constitution has been under discussion for months among the peoples of the U.S.S.R. About half a million meetings of workers and collective farmers have been held, a tremendous number of proposals and additions have been introduced into the draft Constitution. At no time and place in the world has there taken place such a profound, many-sided, *democratic* discussion, so much active participation by the millions in the creation of the fundamental law of the state. Some of the amendments and additions were made use of by the Congress in the elaboration of the final text of the Constitution. Many proposals and additions, which were outside the framework of Constitutional questions, were turned over as valuable material for the further development of Soviet legislation.

The new Constitution is the creation of Stalin and the peoples of the U.S.S.R. Stalin and the peoples of the U.S.S.R. are one indivisible whole. The All-Union Congress of Soviets was a tremendous demonstration of this unity. The animation with which the delegates coming from all corners of this vast country greeted their great leader, the jubilant outburst in which were combined respect, loyalty, and love for the creator of the Constitution, was an expression of all the might of this unity, forged in the fire of the struggle for the matured victorious socialist construction.

The report of Stalin and his simple words were fraught with the invincible might of the Soviet Union.

A few months before the Eighth Congress of Soviets, the Nuremberg Congress of the German fascists took place. On the eve of Hitler's declaration nobody in Germany knew what that Congress would bring, what "those at the top had invented again". Those who took part in the Nuremberg Congress had no right to vote there. A torrent of thunderous speeches to deafen the facts was what the leaders of the Nazis who met in Nuremberg was striving after. To allow the facts to speak for themselves was the guiding principle of the Congress of Soviets.

Stalin spoke of the facts with the proud consciousness of victory. The peoples of the U.S.S.R. had overthrown the bourgeoisie and land-

owners and set up the Soviet government. The Soviet government had liquidated the class of landowners and given to the peasants over 150,000,000 hectares* of land which had belonged to the landowners, the state and the monasteries. The Soviet government had expropriated the capitalists, had converted the banks, the factories and plants, the railways, all means of production, into socialist property; it had placed the best people of the working class at the head of the enterprises. The Soviet government had organized industry and agriculture on the new socialist foundation. Agriculture is now producing one and a half times, and industry seven times, as much as before the war. The national income has increased fourfold. The Soviet government has abolished unemployment once and for all, has removed the exploitation of man by man, has guaranteed to all Soviet citizens the right to work, the right to rest, and the right to an education.

There are no exploiting classes in the U.S.S.R.—there is only the working class, the peasantry and the working intellectuals. Stalin was merely establishing a fact when he declared that *the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. have become a completely new class, the working class of the U.S.S.R.* The proletariat is a class exploited by the capitalists. But in the Soviet Union there no longer exists the exploiting capitalist class, therefore there is no proletariat—there is the liberated working class, which has established socialist ownership of the means of production.

The peasantry has also become a completely new class. In capitalist countries, the peasantry is “a class of small producers, the members of which are atomized, scattered over the face of the land, plowing a lonely furrow on their small farms, with their backward technical equipment, they are slaves to private property and are exploited with impunity by landlords, kulaks, merchants, profiteers, usurers and the like”.**

In the U.S.S.R. there are no landowners and kulaks, there are no speculators and usurers to exploit the peasant. In the U.S.S.R. the work and property of the overwhelming majority of the peasants are already based not on individual labor and effete technique, but on collective labor and modern technique. Therefore the “Soviet peasant is an entirely new peasantry, the like of which the history of mankind has never known before”***

The Soviet intelligentsia, the overwhelming majority of whom originated from the midst of the people and are connected by indissoluble ties with the working class and the peasantry, differ radically from the old “hidebound” intelligentsia who, in the main, served the landowners and capitalists.

The working class, peasantry and intelligentsia are parts of the united working people. The dividing lines between them are being wiped out, class exceptionalism is vanishing. On the basis of socialism, true friendship among peoples is being realized. For the first time in the

* 1 hectare equals 2.5 acres.

** Report delivered by J. V. Stalin at the Special Eighth Congress of Soviets of the U.S.S.R., November 25, 1936.

*** *Ibid.*

history of man, not merely formal, but real *equality of nationalities* is being carried out and is included in the fundamental law of the state. In the capitalist world fascism rouses national and racial strife to the point of fury, while in the Soviet state sixty nations and nationalities are united in brotherhood and in each one of them culture, national in form and socialist in content, is flourishing. All the wealth and variety of original national art, of the creative work of the people is combined in one mighty song of great love for the united socialist fatherland.

The new fundamental law of the U.S.S.R. is the legislative reinforcement of that which "has already been achieved and won in actual fact", the record of the socialism achieved in this first phase of communism.

The principle of socialism is written in the Constitution of the U.S.S.R.: "from each according to his ability, to each according to his labor." The land of triumphant socialism is confidently marching forward to the highest phase of communism, where the ruling principle will be: "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

The French bourgeois revolution of 1789 inscribed on its banners the lofty slogans: "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." It confronted the prerogatives of the tyrants with the inalienable right of the people. But the "reign of reason, eternal justice, natural equality", hailed at that time by the ideologists of the bourgeoisie, actually turned out to be a reign of capitalist ownership, protected by the state and its organs.

Bourgeois democracy was a tremendous step forward, but it only recognized formal democratic rights and liberties. And even these rights and liberties were immediately cut down and limited. The constitutions of bourgeois-democratic states present a curious mixture of liberties and restrictions, of formal rights and actual distortions and restrictions. Marx gave a splendid characterization of the essence of these constitutions when he said that every paragraph contains its senate and house of representatives, and that whatever the house of representatives decrees, the senate rescinds.

Formally all citizens have the right to work, *i.e.*, the right to sell their labor power or to exploit other people's labor: actually no amount of referring to this constitutional right will give work and wages to millions of unemployed citizens. Bourgeois democracy prohibits nobody from taking a course of treatment in a first-class sanatorium, at any vacation resort, or from enjoying all the blessings of culture—only in actual practice the proletarians are not in a position to utilize this equality of rights.

The same applies to other rights and liberties, in particular to freedom of press, assembly and political equality. By law, very likely, every citizen is free to publish newspapers, be he rich or poor, but actually large capital is required to do so. Almost all the big newspapers belong to big capitalists, while the workers have only a few organs of the press at their disposal.

The right of assembly is extended to all citizens, within the framework of police and other restrictions. But even in free America there are states and towns where Communist speakers cannot appear because

none of the owners are willing to let their halls for such a meeting. The constitution establishes the right of assembly in general, but the owners of the halls rescind the law.

Citizens elect deputies to Parliament on the basis of more or less democratic electoral rights, in circumstances of a smaller or greater freedom of electioneering. But who does not know that the Parliament thus elected is a poor reflection of the will of the population, has at its disposal only a restricted right to determine the composition and policy of the government, upon which the banks and trusts, which are not mentioned in the Constitution, inflict their will?

More than this, fascism destroys to bits even this partial, restricted, bourgeois democracy. The fascists hurl themselves with cynicism and hate upon the ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity, at one time proclaimed by the bourgeois revolution. They brand these ideas as the diabolical invention of "lower beings". They reject all the rights of man and proclaim the brutal right of the strongest, the exclusive right of the ruling class and ruling race. Fascism extols violence, jibes at humanness and civilization: the fascists call for the destruction of democracy in all countries and the establishment of the terrorist dictatorship of an insignificant minority.

Even the most democratic bourgeois states do not guarantee the population against dictatorial attempts and fascist coups d'état. The bourgeois-democratic constitutions cannot hold their own against the fascist attack unless a mighty movement of the people rises up in their defense. Even in Switzerland, a country traditionally democratic, the republican government is violating essential articles of the constitution under the influence of fascists at home and abroad.

The new Constitution of the U.S.S.R. is an *indictment against fascism*. That which fascism is striving to drown in seas of blood and in mud has become the essence of life of the workers and peasants in the socialist state; everything that is laid down in the Soviet Constitution has become a living reality for 170,000,000 people. For the peoples of the capitalist countries, the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. will assume the significance of a program of action, a moral assistance and real support to all those who are today fighting fascist barbarism. The oppressed peoples will read this indictment with emotion and will settle their historic account with fascism.

Thanks to the great proletarian revolution, thanks to the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R., democracy—socialist democracy—is invincible. For the first time in history the world has been given a real, definite, living, colorful idea of the essence of the socialist system. The exploiting classes have always scared, and continue to scare, the ruined petty bourgeoisie and peasantry, and the displaced intelligentsia, with socialism about which they invent monstrous legends, and spread the most absurd stories. The victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. provides the workers of all countries with a weapon of conviction which is irrefutable.

To those people who experience a feeling of horror at the words "dictatorship of the proletariat", Engels said:

"Well and good, gentlemen, do you want to know what this

dictatorship looks like, look at the Paris Commune. This was the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

To all those strata of the population in capitalist countries today who have been scared and fooled by the bourgeoisie, the Communists say: do you want to know what socialism is? Look at the Soviet Union, study the Stalinist Constitution. That is socialism.

The Constitution of the U.S.S.R. is a proof not only of the world historic victories of socialism in the U.S.S.R., of what has been achieved in the Land of Soviets, but also of what *can be fully achieved* in other countries as well. It will be achieved when the working class acquires power and the means of production, when exploitation is completely eradicated, and when the people deprive the remnants of the exploiting class of any opportunity of returning to power. The dictatorship of the proletariat will safeguard the victory of socialism and democracy for all.

During the whole course of their history, the proletariat have acted as fighters for democracy. In France, side by side with the petty bourgeoisie, they urged forward the French bourgeois revolution of the eighteenth century, they fought on the barricades of Paris in 1848, at the head of the revolutionary people they proclaimed the Paris Commune, the first attempt at realizing true democracy.

In our days the French proletariat at the head of the working masses have created the anti-fascist *People's Front*, the bulwark of democratic rights and liberties, against the storming attack of fascism and reaction.

In England, the proletariat played an important role in the conquest of constitutional liberties, and they are today the chief fighters in defense of the maintenance of democracy, which is being encroached upon by fascist reactionaries, the lackeys of finance capital.

In Germany as far back as 1848 the proletariat, in alliance with the urban petty bourgeoisie, compelled the landowning monarchy to make democratic concessions. Since then they have won universal suffrage, they have overthrown the monarchy, and won the democratic republic. Today, in the most severe conditions of fascist oppression, the German proletariat are the first to rise up to fight for the freedom of the German people.

In Spain, the workers, fighting in the front ranks of their people, are displaying examples of the greatest heroism and self-sacrifice in the struggle against the brutal fascist hordes who are trying to drown democracy and civilization in seas of blood.

In China, the working class forms the foremost detachment of the great Chinese people fighting against preying Japanese imperialism and its agents among the Chinese bourgeoisie; on the streets of big towns they are fighting in the ranks of the Red Army and in partisan units for the liberation of their country from the throes of imperialism, for the unification of China and the creation of a Chinese democratic republic.

In the fighting between democracy and reaction in all countries, the proletariat continuously defends the democratic rights of the people.

The exploiting classes tremble before victorious socialism: "the turbid wave of fascism is bespattering the socialist movement of the working class and besmirching the democratic strivings of the best people in the civilized world". The forces of reaction and fascism, lined up against democracy and Communism, are preparing war against the U.S.S.R., the bulwark of peace, the shining beacon of toiling mankind.

The principles of socialism, proclaimed to the world in the Manifesto of the Communist Party of 1847, are brought into being in the new Constitution of the U.S.S.R.

There is no force strong enough to prevent the workers, the peasants and all honest people throughout the world from understanding the historic victories of the Soviet Union and taking inspiration from them for their own struggle. Fascist censorship, for all its silences, its lies and calumny, is powerless to weaken the influence of the great socialist victories of the U.S.S.R. upon the people who are groaning under the fascist yoke. In vain are the miserable efforts of woe-begotten bourgeois critics, who are so annihilatingly ridiculed by Comrade Stalin, to distort the meaning and importance of the victory of socialism. In vain are the howls of those critics who would like to "make additions" to the Constitution by including therein the right for other, anti-Communist parties to exist side by side with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, parties which would serve as a cover for the spies and agent-saboteurs of foreign fascism, for the Trotskyist, terrorist scum of the earth.

The truth about the realization, as the result of many years of stubborn struggle, of true democracy of the toilers in the U.S.S.R. will inspire masses of working people throughout the world to fight for democracy and freedom. It will inspire them to fight in defense of the most elementary democratic and human rights which the dark forces of reaction are questioning their right to possess, today. It will inspire them to fight for the overthrow of the yoke of fascism, which is striving to convert the people into silent slaves deprived of all rights. In the course of this struggle, the working people of all countries, by winning, strengthening and extending their democratic rights, by using these rights to isolate and suppress the enemies of the people, will pave the way for themselves to the realization of what has already been won in the U.S.S.R., the true democracy of the people.

* * *

The political foundation of the U.S.S.R. consists of the Soviets of Deputies of the working people, which have grown up and strengthened as a result of the overthrow of the power of the landowners and capitalists and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The economic foundation of the U.S.S.R. consists of the socialist system of economy and socialist ownership of the tools and means of production, established as a result of the liquidation of the capitalist system of economy, the abolition of private ownership of the tools and means of production and the abolition of the exploitation of man by man.

The People's Front of Struggle Against Fascism and War *

By GEORGI DIMITROFF

THE nineteenth year of the existence of Soviet power on one-sixth of the earth was a year of splendid achievements in all spheres of socialist construction, a year which marked the utmost consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the further development and expansion of the truly popular, Soviet democracy. These victories, strengthening as they are the cause of the working class in all countries, rouse millions of the working class in all countries to the struggle for their liberation, and rally the working people of town and country around the proletariat. They inspire all the anti-fascist forces to struggle against fascism and war, for democracy and for peace on the basis of the People's Front.

And in the present international situation the working class in capitalist countries can best honor the great proletarian revolution by being *fully cognizant of and unswervingly fulfilling* its historic role as the advanced class, the initiator and organizer of the People's Front of all working people, of all democratic and progressive forces against fascism and the fascist war incendiaries.

I.

The policy of the People's Front of struggle against fascism and war proclaimed by the Seventh Congress of the Communist International has met with a hearty response among the working masses of all countries. The practical realization of this policy in France and Spain has provided clear proof that the People's Front is *actually possible* and has enhanced its popularity.

There is not a single country at the present time where the idea of the People's Front does not daily find more and more adherents among all those who cherish democracy and freedom, among all those who advocate peace among nations. The eagerness for the formation of a People's Front is growing as well in countries where the bourgeois-democratic revolution has still by no means had its last say, as, for instance, Japan, where the fascist-feudal military clique with its rapacious military adventures on Chinese territory and on the frontiers of the great Soviet Union is thrusting the Japanese people into an abyss of most terrible calamities. And it is growing also in the so-called classic countries of bourgeois democracy as, for instance, Great Britain,

* The present article was published on November 7, 1936, in the *Pravda* and in the Communist press of a number of countries. In the present edition the article is published with a number of important additions.—Georgi Dimitroff.

where the destinies of nations have been traditionally decided by the two parties of monopoly capital—the Tories and Liberals—which, by their reactionary policy both nationally and internationally, are now paving the way for the burial of democracy and peace.

The tremendous historical significance, the correctness and timeliness of the People's Front policy, are perhaps particularly clearly expressed in the attitude toward this policy shown by the enemies of the proletariat, the enemies of democracy and peace, the fascist war incendiaries, and the reactionary forces throughout the world. The governments of capitalist countries, bourgeois parties, statesmen and politicians and bourgeois newspapers have all become seriously alarmed by the decisions of the Congress. The reactionaries of all countries have raised an unparalleled campaign of slander and calumny against the Communist International and against all adherents of the People's Front. In fascist Germany they have even formed a special organization, called "Anti-Comintern", to carry on propaganda on an international scale against the Communist International and to fight against the policy of the People's Front. At the National-Socialist congress in Nuremberg, Hitler, Goebbels and Rosenberg opened a particularly furious cannonade against the danger of the People's Front, which is menacing the fascist dictatorship, and against democracy in general. While directing the most vehement outbursts against the already existing People's Front in France and Spain, they at the same time thus expressed their alarm and fear of the People's Front movement which is taking shape in Germany itself. The Pope at Rome and the "most reverend" bishops in different countries hastened with epistles and sermons to shield their flock from the "frightful Bolshevik danger"—the People's Front. The question of the People's Front never leaves the columns of the press in the capitalist countries and is the subject of most lively discussion.

The enemy of the working class quickly sensed and understood what a tremendous danger the People's Front, the unity of all anti-fascist forces, constitutes for him. As long as the proletariat is disunited, as long as it is isolated from the other strata of toilers in town and country, as long as it has not established proper relationships and collaboration with the other democratic forces in the country, it is not so difficult, as the examples of Italy, Germany and Austria have shown, for the handful of financial and industrial magnates, for the fascist bourgeoisie, to crush the working class movement, to defeat the various strata of the people one by one, and destroy democracy. The fascists have successfully applied the well-known crafty motto—"divide and rule".

But when the scattered proletarian detachments, at the initiative of the Communists, join hands for the struggle against the common enemy, when the working class, marching as a unit, begins to act together with the peasantry, the lower middle classes and all democratic elements, on the basis of the People's Front program, then the offensive of the fascist bourgeoisie is confronted with an insurmountable barrier. A force arises which can offer determined resistance to fascism, prevent it from coming to power in countries of bourgeois democracy and overthrow its barbarous rule where it is already established.

As the examples of France and Spain have shown, the establishment of the People's Front signifies a change in the relation of forces between the proletariat on the one hand, and the fascist bourgeoisie, on the other, to the advantage of millions of the working masses. The People's Front makes it possible for the lower middle classes, the peasantry and the democratic intelligentsia, not only to resist the tutelage and oppression of the clique of finance capital, but also to rise up against it in defense of their vital interests and rights, relying for support on the militant collaboration of the working class nationally and on an international scale. The People's Front offers a way out of the situation which seemed so hopeless to the sections of the lower middle classes which considered themselves doomed to submission to fascist domination. The People's Front helps the working class to avoid the political isolation towards which the bourgeoisie purposely impels it; it creates the most favorable conditions for the working class to accomplish its historic role, namely, to head the struggle of their people against the small clique of financial magnates, big capitalists and landlords, to be in the vanguard in the uncompleted democratic revolutions and in all movements for progress and culture. The class struggle between exploited and exploiters thus receives an immeasurably wider base and assumes a mightier scope.

While the split in the ranks of the working class—the absence of unity between them and the other strata of the working people—paves the way to power for fascism, the unity of the proletarian ranks and the formation of the People's Front ensure victory for democracy over fascism, defend peace against the fascist incendiaries of war, and in the long run pave the way for the victory of labor over capital.

It is difficult to imagine a higher degree of political shortsightedness and absurdity than to contrast the principles of the class struggle with the policy of the People's Front, as some of our over-zealous critics "from the Left" do in regard to the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International. We frequently observe the characteristic phenomenon that not a few of the Left Socialists, who have become disillusioned with the Social-Democratic policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie and are moving away from reformism, are frequently inclined to go to the other extreme and become the victims of sectarianism and Leftist excesses. They make the mistake of identifying the policy of the People's Front with the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, and demand "a pure working class policy", declaring that the joint struggle of the working class and the democratic sections of the lower middle classes, the peasantry and intelligentsia against fascism constitutes a retreat from the positions of the class struggle. But this does not at all mean that the People's Front policy is identical with the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, it only shows that we must patiently explain the class meaning of the People's Front policy to the sincere Left Socialists and help them to get rid of their own political shortsightedness, which can only play into the hands of fascism and reaction in general.

II.

As was stated at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, the People's Front will be formed in a different way in different

countries, depending on the historical, social and political peculiarities of each country, and the concrete situation existing therein. To imitate uncritically and transfer mechanically the methods and forms of the People's Front in one country to another can only complicate its formation, expansion and consolidation.

However, as experience has shown, it is equally true for the majority of the capitalist countries, that:

First, the formation of the People's Front is possible in the actual struggle today against fascism.

Second, the People's Front will be realized the more rapidly and the sections of the working masses joining it will be the greater, the more determinedly the working class itself acts as one unit, the more quickly its organizations, and, in the first place, the mass trade unions and the Communist and Social-Democratic Parties bring about unity of action in the struggle against fascism.

Third, the People's Front will spread and strengthen as its program for the defense of the interests of the toilers, for the defense of democracy and peace against fascism and the fascist warmongers, is carried out.

Fourth, the success of the People's Front is entirely dependent upon the extent to which its ranks are consolidated, and upon the extent to which the masses and organizations which take part in it have undergone political and organizational preparation so as to be ready promptly to repulse every blow aimed by fascism, without waiting for its general offensive.

Today when the Spanish people is engaged in a deadly struggle against the fascist rebels, when fascism is raising its head everywhere in the capitalist countries, and in the first place, in France, Czechoslovakia and Belgium, it is the supreme duty of the working class to hasten in every way the formation and consolidation of the People's Front by establishing united action nationally and on an international scale. It is the duty of Communists to do everything necessary, taking into consideration the conditions in their own countries, to help the working class to fulfil this, its historic task.

If we are briefly to formulate the most important, immediate tasks which the whole situation today places before the world proletariat, they may be reduced to the following:

To exert every effort to help the Spanish people to crush the fascist rebels; not to allow the People's Front in France to be discredited or disrupted; to hasten by every means the establishment of a world People's Front of struggle against fascism and war.

All these tasks are closely linked up. The most urgent, though, of these tasks, the very first at the present moment, is that of organizing international aid to the Spanish people for their victory over fascism.

The historic importance of the struggle against fascism in Spain has been expressed concisely and at the same time most clearly in the words of the leader of the working people of the world, Comrade Stalin, in his telegram in reply to the greetings of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain:

"The liberation of Spain from the yoke of the fascist reactionaries is not the private affair of the Spaniards, but the common cause of all advanced and progressive humanity."

The course of development in all the capitalist countries in the near future will depend a great deal upon the outcome of the struggle of the Spanish people against the fascist brigands. The action undertaken by the fascists in Spain has shown once more that fascism is not only the bitterest enemy of the proletariat, the enemy of the Soviet Socialist Republics, but the enemy of every form of liberty, of every democratic country, even if its political and economic regime does not go beyond the bounds of bourgeois society.

Fascism means the destruction of all the democratic rights won by the people, the establishment of a kingdom of darkness and ignorance and the destruction of culture; it means nonsensical race theories and the preaching of hatred of man for man, for the purpose of kindling wars of conquest. Death and destruction are being spread today in Spain by the rabble who form the Foreign Legion, by the duped Moroccan troops led by fascist generals, and by the ammunition and military units sent to Spain by the fascist rulers of Germany, Italy and Portugal. The combatants of the republican army fighting at the walls of Madrid, in Catalonia, in the mountains of Asturias, all over the peninsula, are laying down their lives to defend not only the liberty and independence of republican Spain, but also the democratic gains of all nations, and the cause of peace against the fascist war incendiaries.

The special significance of the Spanish events consists in the fact that they have demonstrated the mighty power of united proletarian action, the power of the People's Front in the struggle against fascism. For it is now quite clear to everybody that if there had been no united action brought about between the Communist, Socialist and Anarchist workers in Spain, if a broad fighting front of the Spanish people—from the Communists to the Left Republicans—had not been formed, the fascist generals would long ago have established their dictatorship. They would have wreaked bloody vengeance upon the workers and other toilers and upon all democratic elements all over the whole of Spanish territory. They would have doomed the country to an orgy of medieval reaction and the Inquisition, would have placed it under the heel of German and Italian fascism, would have handed over to them the most important strategic points in the Mediterranean, and have turned Spain into a military base for carrying out their robber war plans.

But in Spain the fascist rebels and their inspirers from Berlin and Rome have encountered that force which is barring their way. They have encountered *the armed resistance of the People's Front*. The Spanish people by their heroic struggle are today demonstrating how democracy is to be defended against fascism. The victory of the Spanish people is to the interest of all who do not want to suffer fascist barbarism in their country. The victory of the Spanish people will be the victory of the whole of world democracy, the victory of progress and culture over fascist reaction, the victory of the peace front over the fascist war incendiaries. It will strengthen the People's Front in France and strike

a heavy blow at fascism in all countries. The heroic struggle of the Spanish people serves as a striking and convincing warning to the fascist forces of darkness in those countries where they are feverishly preparing for fascist coups d'état, that the time has passed when fascism can make use of disunity in the ranks of the working class and other toilers, when it can catch the people unawares, when it can deceive the politically backward sections of the population and seize state power. It shows that under conditions when there exists a firm People's Front and international solidarity of action among the working class, it will be impossible to establish fascist rule over a people prepared to defend their freedom and independence. Thus, the cause of democracy and peace in Europe, the struggle against fascism and war in all countries, are linked up in a thousand ways with the interests of the People's Front in Spain, whose courageous fighters have taken up arms to defend the republic, are ensuring the victory of the Spanish revolution.

III.

Everything that has happened during the recent period and primarily the lessons of the Spanish events points to the fact that the time has come when we must defend democracy by every means including the force of arms. These are the lessons that must be learned and well remembered by all workers and other toilers, by all those who do not want to become victims of fascist bondage and savage violence.

It is not at all that the supporters of democracy and peace are, in general, advocates of armed struggle, but that fascism kindles the flames of civil war against the democratic regime of the country, brings about destruction and death, and compels the people to defend their lives, their freedom and independence by taking up arms.

It must be understood that it is not a case now of some far distant menace of fascism, but that fascism, which has already set up its terroristic dictatorship in such big countries as Germany and Italy, and is seeking to do the same in Spain, is preparing to crush the working class movement and to destroy democracy in other countries, and that it kindles the flames of world imperialist war.

The war undertaken by fascism against the Spanish people cannot be considered as a casual isolated act. No, this war is a link in the chain of the fascist offensive on the international arena. No illusions must be harbored as to the war undertaken by fascism against the Spanish people being the last. Fascism is preparing to strike at democracy in France, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, at the democracy of England, Switzerland, Scandinavia, and other countries. Everywhere the fascist reactionaries are feverishly working, from within and without, to prepare, organize and, at a convenient moment, to carry out fascist rebellions and coups d'état. In order to prepare for a new imperialist war, to seize foreign territories and to subject other nations, in order to ensure the unbridled rule of the most reactionary rapacious elements of finance capital and to organize a crusade against the Soviet Union, fascism needs to smash up the working class movement and destroy European democracy—as it needs air and water.

All adherents of democracy must not forget that the fate of anti-fascist democracy in Europe is indissolubly bound up with the fate of the working class, with the establishment of the People's Front. Democracy will inevitably perish under the blows of the fascist offensive, if it will not rely for support on the working class and the broad masses of the working people, if it is not prepared to defend itself against fascism by every means at its disposal.

The policy of retreating before fascism, both nationally and on an international scale, brings grist to the mill of fascism; it brings destruction to the nations, it means the end of democracy. This policy is equally harmful for those who retreat before fascism inside the country and those states which retreat before it on the international arena.

The fascist rulers of Germany are systematically blackmailing the countries of bourgeois democracy, and the present rulers of those countries succumb to the influence of this blackmail. But it must be realized that the brazen fascists are becoming the more insolent the more concessions are ceded to them and the less the resistance they meet. The fascists are using their well-tried method of provocation. In Germany they fired the Reichstag and then shouted that the Communists had done it. In Spain they started a rebellion against the parliamentary regime, against the lawful republican government, and then shout that the People's Front was to blame for the civil war. The fascists put fear into the hearts of the spineless liberals and flabby democrats, while the democratic jobbers, fearing for their profits, the ministers, politicians and leaders from the ranks of various liberal and democratic parties, who cling to their soft seats, as well as not a few people from the Socialist and Amsterdam Internationals, give way to this intimidation and do their utmost to find means of conciliation with fascism. They try to persuade us that such a "middle" policy can be adopted whereby "the wolves would be satisfied and the sheep go unharmed". *But concessions will not feed the fascist wolves. This kind of policy will not check them. Actually it only leads to demobilizing the forces and the will of the working masses.*

The Spanish events provide a particularly vivid example in this respect, too. It is now clear to all that the fascists, and first and foremost the fascists of Germany and Italy, who have raised the revolt with the Spanish generals as their catspaws, counted upon the young Spanish republican government not offering them any serious resistance; they expected that it would not be difficult for them to subject the country and take over its natural wealth and the islands having strategic importance.

In resorting to military action in Spain the fascists had before them the examples of the recent past when their criminal acts had been allowed to pass off unpunished. The introduction of compulsory military service in Germany, the militarization of the Rhineland, the seizure of Ethiopia by Italy and the earlier seizure of parts of China by Japan, which took place with the connivance of the bourgeois-democratic countries and the League of Nations, have whetted the appetites of the fascist bullies and encouraged them to attempt a new robber raid. The

fascists would never have dared to kindle the flames of civil war in other countries, to send arms, airplanes, tanks, flotillas of warships and, lastly, army units, had they been promptly and firmly checked. They would have been compelled to retreat if, at the very beginning of the fascist rebellion in Spain, they had encountered the mighty force of the international working class movement marching in a united front, if they had encountered resistance on the part of the bourgeois-democratic governments, if these governments had not supported the blockade of the Spanish republic by their fraudulent policy of non-intervention.

We often hear the argument advanced by people who pretend to be adherents of democracy that the establishment of the People's Front only leads to increased fascist aggression, that it hastens the armed action of fascism. From this they draw the conclusion that if you want to avoid the barbarous rule of fascism, do not form a People's Front, but try to come to terms peacefully with Hitler and Mussolini and your own Hitlers and Mussolinis in each country. But nothing could be more misguiding and harmful for the proletariat and the people in the bourgeois-democratic countries than to follow the sheepish wisdom of these woe-begotten democrats. It amounts to the absurd, stupid, foul moral: "Don't vex the beast if you don't want to it attack you". And this monstrous moral is being taught to the Social-Democratic workers precisely after the cruel defeat of the working people of Germany and Austria! For in Germany and Austria, as is well known, the leaders of Social-Democracy and the trade unions had absolutely refused to undertake any joint action with the Communists, their excuse being that the united front with the Communist Party would alienate the middle strata from the working class, would strengthen the position and the aggression of fascism, would hasten on its general offensive, and lead to fascist victory and the annihilation of democracy.

It was as a result of this policy that the German and Austrian people suffered heavy defeats, followed by countless horrors and calamities. On the other hand, we see that the People's Front in France has barred the way against fascism, while it is precisely owing to the People's Front that for five months now the Spanish people have been heroically defending their liberty and independence. In this grave struggle the chances for victory will be the greater the more the Spanish working class is able to maintain to the end the firm unity of the People's Front, the more it is able to subordinate the historically formed differences between the Communists, Socialists, and Anarchists to the greater interests of the people, to the cause of suppressing the fascist rebellion, the more determinedly it resists the attempts at taking dangerous leaps over the inevitable stages of the revolution advocated by certain short-sighted sectarians, light-minded visionaries and Trotskyist provocateurs. Finally, the quicker and more resolute the support afforded to the Spanish people by the world proletariat and the whole of progressive mankind, the sooner will the Spanish people finish with the fascist rebels.

An analogy, it is true, is not always proof, but frequently it throws a clearer light on a given situation. We can definitely assert that if, at

the time of the Leipzig trial when the sword of brutal Hitler fascism hung over the heads of the accused Communists, the anti-fascists of all countries, and we in court, had adhered to this wiseacre policy of "don't vex the beast", German fascism would not then have suffered such a moral and political defeat, the heads of the falsely accused Communists would not have remained on their shoulders, and the "St Bartholomew Night" prepared by the bloodthirsty fascists for the thousands of prisoners of fascism in the jails and concentration camps would not have been averted.

No, the policy of "Don't vex the beast" is an unworthy policy! It is a policy which under all circumstances is fatal for the working class, for democracy and peace. On the contrary, *the fascist beast must be muzzled. It must be confronted by the mighty organized fist of the People's Front. It must be muzzled in iron so as to prevent it from biting. It must be struck at and finished once and for all, in order to save the democratic gains won by the people, and safeguard peace.*

This, of course, does not mean that we should fall prey to the provocations of the fascists, who, while using all means to kindle the flames of civil war inside the country and imperialist war abroad, seek to deceive the masses of the people and create the impression that it is precisely the parties of the People's Front and the states which support peace that lead to civil war and military complications.

In the contemporary political history of Europe we have two most important and instructive examples showing different attitudes toward fascism that led to diametrically opposite results.

While in Germany the Social-Democratic leaders refused to establish united working class action and, precisely because of this, facilitated the advent of the fascists to power, we have a different example in France. The French proletariat, thanks to the joint action of the Communist and Socialist Parties and the policy of unswerving struggle on the basis of the People's Front against the fascist danger, brought it about that fascism has been effectively repulsed, and the fascists have not succeeded in establishing their rule. This is the greatest victory of the proletariat and democracy in Europe after the coming of fascism to power in Germany. And the working people of other capitalist countries can and must learn much from the French proletariat. But these successes in France are only the first successes. They must be consolidated; they demand that the offensive against fascism proceed further. Every attempt to discredit and break up the People's Front must meet with the most resolute resistance on the part of all workers, all anti-fascists. The mustering of the fascist forces within the country, the growing fascist aggression in neighboring countries, the Spanish events which are fraught with lessons to be learned, indicate clearly to the workers and all anti-fascists that they must increase their efforts tenfold in the struggle against fascism, that they must forge an even stronger and more stable united People's Front.

There is no ground to doubt that this line will be followed persistently and firmly as the only correct line in the struggle against growing fascist aggression. But maintaining the People's Front in

France does not mean by far that the working class will support the present government at any price. The composition of the government may change, but the People's Front must remain and grow stronger all the time. If, for some reason or other, the existing government will turn out to be unable to put through the program of the People's Front, if it will take the line of retreat before the enemy at home and abroad, if its policy will lead to the discrediting of the People's Front and thus weaken the resistance to the fascist offensive, then the working class, while still further strengthening the bonds of the People's Front, will strive to bring about the substitution of another government for the present one, of a government which will firmly carry out the program of the People's Front, will be capable of dealing with the fascist danger, will safeguard the democratic liberties of the French people and ensure its defense against foreign fascist aggression.

Alongside with maintaining and strengthening the People's Front in France, the unfolding of united action among all sections of the British working class against fascism and war deserves special attention. Great Britain plays a tremendous role in the whole of the political life of the world. Her position most definitely influences a number of bourgeois-democratic countries and the international situation in general. The whole situation today raises with particular force the question of the role of the working class of England nationally and on an international scale. This fact imposes on it particularly important obligations with regard to the struggle against fascism and for the preservation of peace, and also with regard to the task of establishing international unity of the working class movement. The British working class won democratic rights earlier than the working people of other countries. The democratic regime they won has made it possible for them to influence the policies of their country to a greater extent than is the case with the proletariat of a number of other countries. The British workers possess powerful means for the struggle for democracy, to safeguard peace against fascism and, in particular, against the fascist brigands in Spain and the German, Italian, and Portuguese interventionists.

There is no doubt that the working class of England, with the glorious traditions of the Chartist movement behind it and the general strike of 1926, the proletariat in whose midst the First International of Marx and Engels was established, and which possesses powerful, united trade union organizations, will find in itself sufficient strength and will power to overcome all obstacles on the way to creating a united People's Front of struggle against fascism and war, and to fulfil with honor its international obligations in defense of democracy, culture and peace.

IV.

The decisive role in the task of establishing a mighty People's Front belongs to the working class. It can and must rally around itself all working people, all the forces of democracy, all anti-fascists. At the present juncture when we are faced with furious fascist aggression directed, as was particularly clearly demonstrated by the Nuremberg

Congress of the bestial German fascists, *against every kind of democracy*, when everything must be done to save the Spanish democratic republic, when over the world hangs the ominous threat of a new world imperialist war, *it is not only impermissible to allow the forces of the proletariat to be divided, but it is impermissible and criminal to allow any slackening in the work of establishing the united front.* This slackening only plays into the hands of fascism. It may cause the proletariat and democracy to suffer new heavy blows.

The working class must no longer tolerate such a situation: at a time when in Spain the Socialist and Communist workers are fighting and dying together at the front defending not only the liberty and democracy of the Spanish people, but the democracy and culture of the whole of Europe against fascist barbarism, there are to be found leaders of the Second, Socialist, International who bring all their influence to bear to widen the split in the proletarian ranks.

At a time when the fascist rebels in Spain are slaughtering Socialist and Communist workers who are fighting shoulder to shoulder at the front, when they are spreading death and destruction throughout the country, the leadership of the Socialist International persistently refuses to organize aid for the Spanish people jointly with the Communist International. The Secretary of the Socialist International, Fritz Adler, finds nothing better to do than to write long articles in defense of the counter-revolutionary, Trotskyite-Zinovievite terrorists, who have been aiming at the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. The trial of these foul murderers and traitors to the land of socialism, who had established direct connections with the German fascist secret police, was made use of by some of the leaders of the Socialist International in an attempt to break up the united front.

There are a number of countries with Social-Democratic governments or coalition governments in which Social-Democratic ministers, leaders of the Social-Democratic Parties and of the Socialist International, are taking part. But not only do these governments not make common cause with the Soviet Union in its position on the Spanish question, the only position which is in accord with the interests of the Spanish people and with the cause of the defense of democracy and peace, but by the manner in which they act they lend support to the hypocritical policy of non-intervention and actually hinder the cause of effective resistance to the fascist interventionists and murderers of the Spanish people.

Of course, the responsibility for this policy, which is most detrimental to the interests of the world proletariat, lies with the Socialist leaders who are carrying it out. *But it would be against the historical truth if we were to keep silent concerning that share of responsibility which falls upon all leaders and members of the Socialist and Amsterdam Internationals.* For the leaders speak and act on their behalf, as their representatives. In as much as they allow such a policy to be pursued, *they cannot disclaim responsibility for it.* They must become cognizant of the common duty history places upon them together with the Communists to do everything to bar the way against fascism and to safeguard peace.

In the formation and extension of the People's Front of struggle against fascism and war, the greatest significance is attached to the united front of the working class itself in the main capitalist countries, to united action on the part of the Communist and Social-Democratic Parties, as well as the trade unions of different political tendencies and, on the international arena, to joint action of the Communist, Socialist and Amsterdam Internationals. All obstacles in the way of this united action must be removed as rapidly as possible. To this end the Communist Parties and all supporters of proletarian unity and the People's Front in the ranks of the Socialist and Amsterdam Internationals have a tremendous amount of intensive daily activity ahead of them.

The Seventh Congress of the Communist International was fully aware of the fact that it is no simple task at all to put an end to the split in the ranks of the working class. All that the enemies of the working class, their agents and henchmen have done over the course of long decades for the purpose of dividing the forces of the working people cannot be eliminated with a wave of the hand and by mere wishes. Our whole experience since the Congress has shown still more clearly that the road to united action on the part of the working class nationally and on an international scale *is far from being a straight, smooth, paved road. It is a pretty hard, zigzag road*, often thorny and steep. Open and covert enemies of unity never cease to throw up different kinds of obstacles and barriers along that road. Every step has to be taken after great effort, by stubborn work and struggle. There are the misguided ones who must have things explained to them patiently, so that they may become convinced. There are the waverers and those of little faith who have to be urged on all the time. There are saboteurs and double-dealers who must be ruthlessly exposed. There is a persistent struggle to be waged against the cunning sophists, the crafty politicians and practiced demagogues, who do their utmost to persuade the rank and file, the politically inexperienced workers *that two times two are not four, but three*, that the united front of the working class does not increase their power, but supposedly only leads to increased fascist aggression. And at the same time it is necessary to be on guard not to fall prey to the provocative maneuvers of the enemies of unity, but untiringly extend a brotherly hand to all organizations of the working people, inviting them to joint struggle even when they have avowed opponents of unity at their head. For every Communist, every class-conscious worker, must not forget for a minute that the opponents of unity of the international proletariat, the Citrines or whatever else they call themselves, would be extremely gratified if, in the face of their sabotage and provocation, the Communists themselves would give up the struggle for unity and refrain from consistently carrying out the People's Front policy. This would only make it easier for these leaders to carry on in their role as splitters and would save them for the time being from the severe verdict of the proletariat and of history. We must know how to carry on an unabated, ideological struggle against reformism and other anti-Marxist tendencies in the ranks of the working class movement, and at the same time fight persistently for the establishment of the united People's

Front, and carefully avoid any disruption of united action in the daily struggle against fascism and war.

Twenty-two years ago, on the eve of the world imperialist war, when he was gathering together the forces of the working class for the coming struggle for socialism, the great Lenin spoke of the tremendous importance of unity in the ranks of the proletariat:

"The workers really need unity. And the thing that must be understood above all else is that, apart from the workers themselves, *no one* will 'give' them unity, *no one is in a position* to help their unity. Unity cannot be 'promised'—that would be an empty boast, self-deception; unity cannot be 'created' out of 'agreement' between little groups of intellectuals—this is an error of the saddest, most naive and ignorant type.

"Unity must be *won*, and only by the workers themselves; the class-conscious workers themselves are capable of achieving this by stubborn and persistent work.

"Nothing is easier than to write the word 'unity' in letters a yard high, to promise unity, to 'proclaim' oneself an adherent of unity. But in reality, unity can only be advanced by work and the organization of the advanced workers, of *all* class-conscious workers. . . .

"This is not easy. It requires work, persistence, the rallying together of all class-conscious workers. But without such work, there is no use in talking of the unity of the workers."*

These remarkable words of Lenin are particularly valuable and instructive for the working class of all capitalist countries at the present period.

V.

The whole course of events since the Seventh Congress of the Communist International provides indisputable confirmation of the vital necessity of an earliest possible realization of its historic slogans regarding working class unity and the People's Front of struggle against the worst enemy of mankind—fascism. The Communist International and the Communist Parties of the various countries, backed by the masses of the working people, will not cease for one moment to exert all their power in the fight to bring about this unity. They will not fall prey to any provocation whatsoever directed towards widening the split in the ranks of the working class and breaking up the People's Front. And despite the opposition of the saboteurs in the Socialist and Amsterdam Internationals, the world proletariat will bring about its militant unity.

In the struggle against fascism and war, not empty words, not platonic wishes, but action is needed. To achieve this action it is necessary to bring about the unification of all the forces of the working class and to carry out unswervingly the policy of the People's Front.

*Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XVII, p. 408, Russian edition.

For the Victory of the People, for the Program of the People's Front*

By MAURICE THOREZ

TOMORROW, four years will have passed since Thaelmann spoke in our town, in the Bullier Hall, Paris, to assure us of the fraternal sentiments which unite the workers of France and Germany, to express our common desire to unite our efforts forever so that the cause of the working class, the cause of liberty and of peace should triumph in our two countries and throughout the world.

Thaelmann, having fallen into the claws of the Nazi butchers, has been suffering for almost four years in his prison cell.

Having learned the tragic lesson of the events in Germany, the workers of France responded to the appeal of our Communist Party.

Our Party has fought so that the working class, united by the agreement arrived at between Communists and Socialists, rallied around one united General Confederation of Labor, with a membership of almost 5,000,000, will resist the assaults of the fascist bands, will defend the menaced liberties of the people, and will obtain satisfaction of their demands.

Our Party has fought for the triumph of the idea put forward by the Popular Front, namely, unity for bread, for liberty and for peace.

And, in doing so, our Party has efficiently contributed to the grand victory which the people of France gained on April 26 and May 3 last.

THE WORK OF THE POPULAR FRONT

The Popular Front has procured substantial advantages for the workers of our country. The working class, by taking proper action, and through the activities of the Chamber of Deputies and the government, has obtained increases in salaries, has obtained all the benefits of social legislation, namely, collective agreements, paid holidays, which made it possible this year for the old workers to take a vacation for the first time, and the 40-hour week.

The victims of the emergency acts, the small officials and the municipal workers and employees, have obtained the restoration of their previous rates of pay which had been cut down by the Doumergue-Laval decree.

The working people of the middle strata who, up to the present, have been the least favored section, have obtained the following: for the small merchants and artisans—cessation of persecutions, cessation of com-

* From the speech delivered on October 30, 1936, at the meeting of the functionaries of the Paris District of the Communist Party of France.

pulsory sales by auction, and new credit facilities; for the peasants—the Grain Bureau which has permitted them to revalue the price for grain, and has favorably influenced the rise in the price of other agricultural products.

THE COUNTER-ATTACK OF REACTION

The fascist rebellion against the Spanish republic has galvanized and rallied together the forces of fascism throughout the world, and, particularly, in France.

In the economic field, we can observe the sabotage of social legislation, numerous violations of collective agreements, dismissals from work, sabotage of the national economy, and a rise in the high cost of living.

In the political field, in spite of the decree to dissolve the fascist leagues, we can observe the restoration and increased activity for groups which are preparing for civil war.

But we must also record that the insolence of reaction and fascism, the difficulties which confront the Popular Front, are also, as Comrade Zyromski justly wrote in the *Populaire* of October 15: "The result of the non-fulfilment of obligations, the retreat and capitulations of the government in the face of fascism at home and abroad."

In a recent speech at Toulouse, our Comrade Leon Blum was asked: "Is it possible or not, in France as it is today, to have social progress and economic prosperity side by side, to reconcile social justice and civil peace?"

Leon Blum replied to this question in the affirmative.

We Communists also believe in the victory of our people over the forces of reaction and war, but we tell them clearly and frankly: on condition that we henceforth give up the road of capitulation.

IN DEFENSE OF BREAD

I have pointed out that the Popular Front has made an effort to increase the purchasing power of the working masses by increasing wages, restoring previous rates of pay, affording benefits, etc.

But what the working masses have forced reaction to grant them, with one hand, has been taken away with the other hand as a result of the rise in the cost of living.

[Comrade Thorez goes on to quote a number of figures showing the considerable increase in the cost of living brought about by big capital since the month of May, which nobody can contest, and which threatens to annul the victories won, the increases in wages obtained by the working class last June. He then goes on to an analysis of the economic program of the Popular Front, showing that many of its essential points have not yet been realized.]

THE AGITATION OF THE FASCISTS

One of the *Temps* correspondents has admitted in the columns of his newspaper that the so-called "nationalists" were also armed.

Parcels of pamphlets and newspapers have been sent openly through

the post to the soldiers belonging to these groups. But note should be taken of the fact that *l'Humanite*, *Populaire*, and *Ouvre* are still prohibited in the army.

The fascist officers take advantage of the difficulties attached to military service and tell the soldiers that "the Popular Front is to blame. . . ."

It has been proven that la Rocque has numerous cells in the army barracks, in the air force, and at staff headquarters. At the same time, we regret to have to state that measures are adopted against militant Communists!

DEFENSE OF PEACE

[Thorez recites the demands of the Popular Front which have still to be realized in the sphere of the struggle for peace:]

The appeal for collaboration among the people and especially, the working masses, to maintain and to organize for peace.

International collaboration within the framework of the League of Nations, for collective security by establishing who is the aggressor, and for automatically and universally applying sanctions in the event of aggression.

Constant efforts for the transfer from armed peace to peace unarmed.

Nationalization of the war industries and the suppression of profits derived from the private manufacture of arms.

The abolition of secret diplomacy; international action and public negotiations to draw into the League of Nations those countries which have withdrawn from it without, however, violating the constitutional principles of the League of Nations Covenant.

Careful application of the measures provided by the League of Nations Covenant for the peaceful adjustment of treaties which are a danger to the peace of the world.

The extension, notably to Central Europe and the East, of the system of pacts which are open to all countries, in accordance with the principles of the Franco-Soviet pact.

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT

I would like to tell you of the opinion expressed in the weekly *Vendredi*, the editorial board of which is largely composed of Socialist Party sympathizers. In an editorial article entitled "The Responsibility of the Radicals", the *Vendredi* writes:

"For four months we have been seeing the catastrophic consequences of the Laval policy developing, but nothing has been attempted to redress these wrongs. Our diplomacy seems dead. . . ."

"Not a single serious action has been adopted. Everything goes on as though it had been decided to leave the field open to those who are a menace to France and to peace. . . ."

We are in full agreement with what the *Vendredi* wrote on October 30.

But it is not only Delbos, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, but the government as a whole, as the Prime Minister Comrade Leon Blum has repeatedly admitted, that carries the responsibility for the foreign policy pursued today.

Who was it—when Dr. Schacht came to Paris, the day after Germany had introduced a term of two years' military service—that approved the ceremonies for the reception of Schacht, which we consider incompatible with the policy of safeguarding the peace and security of France?

It is Comrade Leon Blum who bears the responsibility for the bogus neutrality that is assassinating our brothers in Spain.

THE HITLER MENACE

Let us look at the facts first of all concerning the menace which Hitler constitutes for the whole world and for France.

This is not merely our own opinion, the opinion of the Communists, but also of the Labor and Socialist International and Comrade Leon Blum who, in commenting on the resolution adopted by the Executive Committee of the Second International, wrote the following in *Populaire* on August 30, 1933:

“The International is thus taking upon itself the responsibility of leading a sort of coalition of free governments against Hitlerism.”

We Communists have repeated a thousand times that we are for unity with all peoples, including Hitler Germany, within the framework of the definite principles laid down in the League of Nations Covenant and included in the program of the Popular Front.

But it was precisely Hitler himself who left the League of Nations so as to be free to rearm as he wanted to. He has rejected the idea of collective security.

And now Herr Hitler is trying to prevent the French Communists from speaking in their own country; he has dared to send his representative to the Foreign Ministry to protest against the report which I delivered at Strasbourg. He pretends that I have injured the German people!

On the contrary, at Strasbourg, as always, everywhere, our old Comrade Cachin and I not only did not insult the German people, but demanded that fraternal relations be established between the German and French peoples.

We paid homage to the Germany of Marx and Engels, to the Germany of Bebel, Liebknecht and Thaelmann.

There was a time when Germany radiated the thoughts of her philosophers, her savants, her artists, her poets and musicians.

Today Herr Hitler has nothing better to export than his concentration camps.

STOP THE BLOCKADE AGAINST REPUBLICAN SPAIN

We have already demanded, first of all jointly with the General Confederation of Labor and later on with the support of public opinion,

respect of international law, the end of the humiliating blockade imposed against the Spanish Republic.

The Socialist comrades in Spain wrote the following in their letter to our brother Socialists in France:

"The position adopted by the Soviet Union at the London Committee of Non-Intervention revealed the unique farce which this convention constitutes for certain of the nations who have signed it, a farce for which the Spanish proletariat will have to pay with their own blood. . . .

"The Soviet Union offered suitable occasion to rectify this serious mistake. France can recover her freedom of action, which she should never have lost, and which would permit the Spanish government to buy from French industries all that is required to defend those institutions which the people have established for themselves. This attitude, moreover, would appear to be essential by virtue of the Franco-Spanish trading agreement which was only recently signed. . . ."

Unfortunately, the only reply we know of that has been given by the Socialist of France has just been offered by Comrade Severac in *Populaire* of October 28. Comrade Severac wrote:

"The proletariat of the world has no reason to believe that its pressure upon the governments will have any very immediate effect."

We cannot believe that this is to be the final reply. We cannot believe that the Socialist Ministers, including our Comrade Leon Blum, regard the resolution of their International as a mere scrap of paper.

We would like to hope that they will raise this question without delay both in the government and before the whole country.

It is understood that, notwithstanding the refusal of the leaders, joint working class action and action by the Popular Front as a whole must be organized.

Everything must be done so that the cause of liberty and peace will triumph with the Spanish republic throughout the world!

THE POPULAR FRONT MEANS ACTION

For us, the Popular Front was not a mere electoral coalition; it is not, nor can it be, a simple parliamentary coalition, an enlarged edition of the old blocs with all their weaknesses and disastrous consequences. The Popular Front is a movement, is action, with repercussions, naturally, in the parliamentary and governmental sphere.

The Popular Front is the action which made fascism recoil after February 6; it is the action which, if the joint program is fully applied, must ensure the success of the Popular Front.

This is why our Party has always been and will remain attentive to the tempo of action of the working class, in order that the peasant masses and other middle strata are not left behind, so that a gulf will not be formed between the proletarians and peasants, and also so as to avoid the possibility of there being any risk of a split in the working class itself.

This is why we said on June 10: "We must know how to stop a strike at the moment when the chief demands have been obtained satisfactorily."

That is why we, always in solidarity with the strikers, have said that "it is better, at this moment, not to adopt this form of struggle" in view of the development of the campaigns by the reactionaries which cause doubts and alarm to arise among the small people who fear the possibility of the workers occupying the factories.

MORE THAN EVER BEFORE, WE REQUIRE UNITY OF ACTION

We want to make still stronger the close ties which unite us, in particular, with our Socialist brothers in the Popular Front.

In spite of the prohibition set upon us and the attacks made by the Pope and his cardinals, we shall continue to extend a hand to the Catholic workers.

If we are attacked by them with such vigor, it is as I declared to the editor of the *Revue Catholique* precisely because our appeal for unity has been heard, and we know that there have been big results.

We shall continue to extend a hand to the former members of the "Croix de Feu" and the National Volunteers, to those who have been deceived—just as we shall continue to demand imprisonment for those who deceived them and who want to provoke a civil war.

We Communists consider that to ensure the independence and security of our country, menaced by fascism, we must begin by outlawing the agents of Hitler in our land, the Dorlots and others, preventing them from pursuing their abominable intrigues.

We despise pseudo-Left and pseudo-revolutionary phrases intended to mask their "sacred unity" as against our People's Front. We have already said, and we here repeat:

We are faithful to our allies and friends. We are faithful to our agreement for united action.

We are faithful to our oath given on July 14, 1935.

We are faithful to the program of the Popular Front, which has, in many essential parts, yet to be fulfilled.

We equally intend to remain faithful—and nobody can honestly reproach us for it—to our program, to our doctrines, to our noble ideal of social justice and human brotherhood, to our desire to lead the working class and the whole of our people to a better world, which will ensure to the workers true democracy, because it will finish once and for all with class distinctions and the exploitation of man by man.

We are convinced that, inspired by the grand example of our brothers in the Soviet Union, themselves taught by the lessons of our own glorious Commune, the workers of France—those who have already created the Popular Front—will find new forms to correspond to the institutions, to the general conditions of our country, and to the inherent genius of our own people.

Our Communist Party, strong in its membership of over 280,000 people, the French Section of the Communist International, will be able to fulfil the great task with which it is entrusted. It is marching forward towards a new France, a France free, strong and happy!

The Presidential Elections in the United States

By EARL BROWDER

A MAJORITY in the Electoral College of 523 against 8, and a popular majority of more than ten million votes, elected Franklin D. Roosevelt for the second time as President of the United States, as the climax to a campaign conceded by all camps to be the most crucial in American history since the birth of the Republican Party in 1856. In Congress the reactionary Republican opposition was further reduced, in the Senate to 20 per cent and in the House to only a fraction more, of the total membership. In the various states, Democrats succeeded to Republican administrations, in all but a few cases. Nothing like the sweeping character of this electoral victory has been seen in American politics since 1820.

Why was this overwhelming judgment of the electorate such a surprise to the country? How could there have been such a preponderance of popular sentiment on one side, and at the same time a general feeling of uncertainty about the outcome almost up to election day? How was it that almost all predictions of victory for Roosevelt enormously underestimated the extent to which it materialized? The answers to these questions immediately give us a central key to the significance of the election results.

A deep-going shift in political alignments had taken place, a fundamental regrouping of which no objective measurement had even been taken. Meanwhile, its extent and direction had been hidden by systematic distortion of expression of public opinion.

Thus, throughout the campaign, the overwhelming majority of daily newspapers were actively for Landon and the Republican Party, and an additional number were passive. Only a small fraction of American newspapers supported Roosevelt, and many of these with serious reservations. When in September the present writer, addressing the National Press Club in Washington (representatives of all the nation's greatest newspapers), estimated that 80 to 85 per cent of the press was actively or passively opposing Roosevelt, who they all admitted at that time held approximately half the voters in his support, this figure was never challenged—on the contrary, it was adopted as the currently accepted estimate. An analysis of the circulation of these newspapers showed that 14,000,000 copies per day supported Landon, while less than 7,000,000 copies per day supported Roosevelt or were neutral.

The election returns, therefore, were a complete reversal of all expectations based upon newspaper expression. Never was there a more

emphatic rejection of the leadership of the press than in the voting on November 3.

American newspaperdom was not engaged in an independent adventure in politics. It is a big business, highly trustified, with a thousand ties with Wall Street, with finance capital. The newspapers were only expressing a general movement of big capital, which had almost unanimously determined to defeat Roosevelt at all costs. The financial magnates had rallied all business organizations to their crusade—the Bankers Association, the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, the Manufacturers Association, etc. They rallied all their old leading politicians of both parties, and organized them around the American Liberty League, financed principally by the Morgan-du Pont interests (steel and munitions), and during the campaign in a new organization called “Jeffersonian Democrats”. Every element of the population that took its political leadership directly from the circles of organized finance and big business was rallied against Roosevelt and for Landon, in the bitterest campaign seen in America since the Civil War.

Most striking evidence of the class line-up was furnished by the famous straw vote (preliminary sampling of the voters to forecast the election results) conducted by the weekly journal *The Literary Digest*. This was the fifth consecutive presidential election campaign during which the *Digest* has conducted such a poll, mailing ballots to millions of voters (20,000,000 in 1932, 10,000,000 in 1936) and receiving returns from about 20 per cent. In all previous polls, the *Digest* ballot had forecast the final results with amazing accuracy, and had gained tremendous prestige. This year, on the eve of the elections, it predicted a 60 per cent victory for Landon, almost exactly the opposite to what occurred. These ballots were always sent to registered automobile owners and telephone subscribers, necessarily the great majority upper and upper middle class; in the past these voters had been distributed between the two major parties in about the same proportion as the general population, but in 1936 they had swung to Landon with the same unanimity with which the workers, farmers and lower middle classes had swung in the opposite direction, to Roosevelt.

As never before in American history, it is clear the voters divided on property and class lines, with the propertyless voting for Roosevelt. In this election, more than at any previous time in the struggle against the Tories, the working class was the leader in the struggle against reaction. It was able to cement the spirit of true progressive America in the fight against the main enemy—the reactionary forces. The Communist Party declared without qualifications that the Landon-Hearst-Wall Street combination was the chief enemy of the liberty, peace and prosperity of the American people. Long before the elections, the Party had emphasized that the victory of reaction would carry our country along the road to fascism and war. The slogans of the Party in the election campaign indeed became the slogans of millions of America's people.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party, in its statement summarizing the election results, therefore declared:

"The campaign and the election results clearly show the sharpening of class lines in the United States. On the one side stood the great mass of the voting population. On the other stood an unprecedented concentration of organized wealth and reaction. Never before was the political struggle so much a question of the poor and downtrodden against the rich and the oppressors."

It is clear that the class basis of support of the two major parties was significantly transformed in 1936. The two traditional banners of the two-party system—Democratic and Republican—rallied armies behind them of a fundamentally new composition. That this process was taking place was long clear, before and during the campaign. What the November 3 voting revealed was the *extent* to which this had taken place, the *speed* with which the entire population had been realigned. The *size* of Roosevelt's majority, and its *sweeping* character which overwhelmed all the old sectionalisms and engulfed all but two of the forty-eight states—these are the *new* features, in the light of which future prospects and tasks must be re-evaluated.

Chairman Farley of the Democratic Party declared in his post-election statement that the election was not a victory of the Democratic Party but of the mass of the people. This is truth of significance far beyond the understanding of Farley. The defeat of Landon and the forces massed behind him was, in truth, a great victory for the American people, a rebuff to reaction, fascism, and the war-makers. But it was an incomplete victory for the people, precisely because it involved such a sweeping occupation of positions of power by the Democratic machine in which the mass of the people are not represented, and which included decisive elements standing closer to Landon and Hearst than to the voters who swept them into office.

The tide which made up Roosevelt's immense majority was composed of the currents moving towards a great People's Front against fascism and war; but the administration which it swept into power is not a People's Front administration. Both sides of this estimation are equally important in approaching the future tasks. It has been rejected from two points of view, representative of which can be taken as typical, the reactionary *Chicago Tribune* and the Socialist Party candidate, Norman Thomas.

The *Chicago Tribune* saw, in the sweeping re-election of Roosevelt, the emergence of an American Leon Blum, an administration of the People's Front, a victory for the Comintern and its Seventh Congress, the beginning of the Bolshevization of America. This was also the evaluation given by Father Coughlin, the notorious radio priest, who was most open in his fascist denunciations in the campaign. This is the viewpoint of the hard-boiled fascist elements, the doctrinaires of the Right, the extremists of reactionary agitation.

Norman Thomas takes an equally doctrinaire position to arrive at the opposite conclusion. For him, Roosevelt or Landon would "lead to about the same thing". He is "pessimistic" about the results of the elections, and still plays with the thought expressed before election day,

that a victory for Landon might have been the best thing, in order to "put new iron in labor's blood". Thus his opposition to the extreme reactionary view is at the same time equally a head-on collision with the trade union progressives who began independent organization of their political forces around support to Roosevelt.

A realistic evaluation must recognize the beginnings of a People's Front movement in those new forces in various stages of development which gave the broad sweep to Roosevelt's majority; these were expressed in Labor's Non-Partisan League, which rallied almost the entire labor vote to Roosevelt; the American Labor Party in New York, which took a further step by bringing this support partially through an independent place on the ballot; the Washington Commonwealth Federation, which moved into the Democratic Party and occupied a dominating position on its ticket; the Epic movement in California, which independently captured a large part of the Democratic ticket in the primaries; the Farmer-Labor Progressive Federation in Wisconsin, which occupies a dominating position in the Progressive Party of the La Follettes in that state, and won an overwhelming victory in alliance with Roosevelt; and the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota, which won an unexampled victory after a section of the Roosevelt Democrats withdrew from the elections in its favor. All of these forces are clear signs of the rise of the People's Front movement, of its growing strength and maturity.

At the same time, it must be clearly seen that the Roosevelt administration, to which this movement gave its sweeping victory, is not dependent upon this movement nor representative of it. True, it is this progressive movement which won for Roosevelt the possibility of a Congressional majority independent of the reactionary Democratic "solid South"; but at the same time the time-serving Democratic politicians and the reactionaries always provide Roosevelt with an alternative majority without the progressives. Roosevelt, the constitutionally middle-of-the-road leader, will doubtless continue that role, the role of mediation between the people and Wall Street, without departing from the fundamental interests of finance capital. If Roosevelt turns Left, in any but a purely tactical sense, it will only be to the extent that the overwhelming repudiation of reaction and fascism, and the growth of the progressive mass organizations, have turned the path of national politics as a whole in that direction. Roosevelt seeks to find the center of political gravity. He is subject to the influence of reactionary and progressive camps. The Tories began to make love to Roosevelt again the day after election, and even apologized for the hard names they had called him. It would be unrealistic to expect a fundamental change in Roosevelt's role. That is why we must say that the victory over reaction, a victory made possible by the rising forces of the People's Front, did not produce a people's administration.

If we are to cause American political life to move Leftward, this must be based on the further growth, activity, organization and political maturity of the new progressive people's organizations, and especially the increased unity and hegemony of the organized labor movement

within the broad people's movement. That is a reasonable perspective involving many tasks.

* * *

The 26,000,000 Roosevelt votes, overwhelmingly composed of toilers and unemployed, clearly recognized the camp of Landon as a threat against their economic interests and democratic rights. To defeat this threat, they subordinated their dissatisfactions with Roosevelt's first administration, and rallied around the cause of his re-election as the immediate practical alternative. Roosevelt's platform offered extraordinarily little of a concrete nature; it stood on the record of the first administration which, however unsatisfactory to the masses, was a distinct advance over Hoover, and a contrast to the open reaction of Landon's managers took the path of demagogic promises of all things Landon's platform. As the campaign progressed, however, and as to all men in the frantic search for votes, Roosevelt was pressed into more definite commitments which took on enormous importance in the eyes of the masses and aroused mass enthusiasm. This was climaxed by Roosevelt's final speech in Madison Square Garden, New York.

In the Garden speech Roosevelt made two points which resounded deeply among the masses. First, he recognized the hatred of "organized money", declared he "welcomed" it, and expressed the hope that if history recorded that in his first administration "organized money" had "met its match", then in his second administration it "met its master". Second, he recognized the utter inadequacy of the measures of the first administration to relieve the miseries of the masses; declared for shorter hours, higher wages, the end of child labor, wiping out of sweat-shops, support for collective bargaining through trade unions, and reiterated the slogan—"For all these things we have only just begun to fight".

Without speculations on the quality of Roosevelt's future "fight" for these things, we can say definitely that these words crystallized the moods, aspirations, and ideas of the millions who flocked to the polls a few days later to cast their votes for Roosevelt. The huge majority they rolled up became a mandate for the fight for higher living standards, more democratic rights, and for peace. That is the common understanding of the masses of the people. That is a political fact of the most far-reaching consequences.

Most instructive were the experiences of the minor parties with independent presidential candidates. Three of these, the Union Party of Lemke-Coughlin, the Socialist Party, and the Communist Party, we will examine, disregarding the negligible vote and influence of the Prohibition and Socialist-Labor Parties.

The Union Party, with its candidate Lemke, was an adventure, organized from above, attempting to take in tow the mass dissatisfaction with Roosevelt and divert it into reactionary channels, and as much as possible to Landon. It speculated upon the mass sentiment for a new Farmer-Labor Party, and endeavored to capitalize this sentiment for its own reactionary ends, in the absence of a national Farmer-Labor ticket. For a time it looked formidable, when it promised to unite the agrarian following of Lemke, the old-age pension movement under Dr.

Townsend, the followers of the radio priest, Father Coughlin, and the remnants of the Huey Long Share-the-Wealth movement under Rev. Gerald K. Smith. For a short while it succeeded in penetrating statewide Farmer-Labor Parties in Iowa and Michigan, and even seriously threatened to influence the successful Farmer-Labor Party in Minnesota. Only the determined and relentless campaign of exposure, organized and led first of all by the Communists, smashed its influence in one after another of its strongholds, sharpened its inner contradictions, and finally brought it to an inglorious collapse, completely isolated from the organized Farmer-Labor Party movement, and casting only a small fragment of its expected vote, considerably less than that of Norman Thomas in 1932.

The Union Party, and especially its chief spokesman, Father Coughlin, echoing all the main slogans of Landon and Hearst, played the role of vanguard for the reactionary camp, testing out the ground for the more openly fascist slogans, as when Father Coughlin raised the issue of bullets to overthrow a possible "dictatorship" of Roosevelt. Its collapse was of the same political significance as that of the Republican Party, with many additional lessons for the political education of the American masses, which will have to be studied thoroughly and in detail.

The Socialist Party came to an inglorious debacle in the course of the election campaign. Disorientated by the collapse of European Social-Democracy, it yet stubbornly rejected the overtures of the Communist Party for a united front, and came out in principle most bitterly against the conception of the People's Front. It tried to find a new course by submitting to the poisonous influence of Trotskyism and by amalgamating with the Trotskyists. It opposed the Farmer-Labor Party efforts in the various states, it denounced Labor's Non-Partisan League, it declared the only issue of consequence was that of the immediate transition to socialism, and for this Left-sounding slogan gave a most reformist interpretation. By this course it played into the hands of its Right-wing elements and came to an unprincipled split with its local organizations which had something of a mass base in Connecticut and Pennsylvania, split with the New York Old Guard that was tied up with the trade union bureaucracy, and saved a split with Wisconsin only by making that state an "exception" which resulted in practical liquidation of the S.P. into the Farmer-Labor Federation. Its course brought about the public resignation from the Party of many of its members prominent in trade union work, and the withdrawal from active politics of the others, both of Right and Left tendencies. Its whole campaign was for votes for itself, but it failed of this aim more completely than ever in its history. Its total vote will be only about 20 per cent of that of four years ago, and less than half of the Socialist vote of 1900, when it made its first national campaign. The Socialist Party is now in a deep crisis, with its lower organizations ravaged by bitter factionalism organized by the Trotskyites.

The Communist Party conducted the most effective campaign of its history, widely extending its connections and influence. Its chief slogan was "Democracy or Fascism", under which all efforts were directed toward laying the foundations for a broad People's Front in the form

of a Farmer-Labor Party. (For a detailed explanation of this policy see my article in the September, 1936, issue of *The Communist International*.)

From the reactionary camp every effort was made to place Communism as the central issue of the campaign. Initiated by the newspaper chain of Hearst, the cry of "the menace of Jewish Bolshevism" became the chief slogan of the Republican Party-Liberty League combination, especially in the last days of the campaign. According to the reactionaries, President Roosevelt was heading a People's Front under the instructions of the Comintern Seventh World Congress, taking America straight toward a Communist revolution. Hearst even went so far as to fabricate "documentary evidence" of "orders from Moscow", with photographic reproductions of pages from the Russian edition of *The Communist International* with distorted and false translations. Republican orators and newspapers kept the Communist Party constantly before the country, in news items and editorials, in their effort to establish an identity between Roosevelt and the Bolsheviks. They spoke of "Comrade Roosevelt", and even talked about "the red flag over the White House". The traditional "Red scare" was worked overtime, with a thousand new angles and, as the campaign progressed, more and more in the style of Hitler.

All this served to multiply the audience of the Communist Party. Millions of voters wanted to hear at first hand what these "dangerous Reds" had to say for themselves. The Communist estimate of parties, issues, and candidates was thereby made of direct interest to millions who had never known the Party seriously before.

Our Party used its opportunities as never before, over the radio, in the capitalist press, in thousands of meetings, in tens of millions of leaflets, in millions of pamphlets and in our own press. A series of ten radio talks, over a nationwide hook-up including over fifty broadcasting stations from coast to coast, supplemented by hundreds of local radio broadcasts, was the outstanding feature of the Party campaign.

We declared that the issue in the election was not socialism. While the Communists are fully confident that socialism is the only solution to our national problems, and we used this campaign to explain our socialist program, at the same time we declared that the main task of the day is to establish a broad united front of all anti-fascists and progressives, all friends of peace, and first of all the organized workers, to defeat the menace of reaction moving toward fascism and war. We declared our fundamental agreement with the objectives being fought for by the labor and progressive circles which rallied to Roosevelt, but pointed out the danger of relying upon his middle-of-the-road policies to attain them; we called for the independent organization of the labor and progressive forces, supported such organizations wherever they appeared, while conducting our own campaign for our own candidates in the absence of an independent Farmer-Labor Party national ticket.

There is not the slightest doubt that the Communist Party strengthened itself manifold by this campaign. The masses responded very sympathetically, and contributed to the Party election funds tenfold

more than in any previous election. Millions of those who still voted for Roosevelt came out of the campaign with respect and sympathy for the Communist Party. Even many who still remained hostile to the Communists had to revise completely their estimates of our Party, which became generally accepted as an integral part of the American political scene, as an American party and a serious party, the views of which were of interest and value to the whole country.

The decisive rebuke to the Red-baiters given by the electorate in the balloting, which defeated almost every candidate who tried to use the "Red scare", served to confirm and consolidate the broad sympathetic contacts established in the campaign.

The vote for the independent Communist candidates, in this situation, is no measure of the effectiveness and broad influence of its campaign. The Communist vote is yet only partially reported, and can only be estimated on the basis of localities, like New York City, where the full report is known. In New York City the vote for the general local ticket, compared with 1932 (previous presidential election year), rose from 24,000 to 65,000, although for the presidential ticket the rise was only to 37,000. This shows that some 28,000 voters, while voting generally for the Communists, cast their presidential votes to the American Labor Party and Roosevelt. This New York City vote also revealed the significant development that, for the first time in history, the general Communist vote surpassed that of the Socialist Party, which was around 60,000.

Another significant result of the election was the strengthening of the progressive wing of the trade union movement, in relation to the reactionary officials of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

The progressive unions, united in the Committee for Industrial Organization under the leadership of John L. Lewis and the miners, are threatened with complete exclusion from the American Federation of Labor for the "crime" of breaking the traditions of craft unionism by going out to organize steel, auto, rubber, and other unorganized mass production industries on the basis of industrial unions in disregard of the unused jurisdictional claims of the many craft unions which have been unable to organize these workers. In the election campaign, these progressive unions smashed another A. F. of L. tradition, when they organized their support of Roosevelt independently of the Democratic Party, in what they called Labor's Non-Partisan League, which in New York State went a step further and set up the American Labor Party. The election results are generally understood as an overwhelming verdict of the union membership in support of the Lewis line of independent and aggressive participation of labor in political life. It has thus made more difficult the position of the Executive Council, which had fully intended to split the whole labor movement from top to bottom rather than to tolerate the aggressive industrial union policies of the Lewis group.

There is already arising after the elections a great wave of organization and struggle in the basic industries, analogous to that which followed the victory of the People's Front in France, though on a much smaller scale as yet. The employers, seeing this rising movement, are

making a series of voluntary increases in wages, hoping thereby to curb and control the wave of organization and strikes.

In the field of foreign relations, on the questions of war and peace, there was no clearcut posing of the issues in the campaign between Roosevelt and Landon. Nevertheless, there was a clearcut division between the tendencies of the supporters of the two chief candidates; those of fascist and warlike tendencies unanimously went to Landon, the anti-fascist and peace sentiment was overwhelming for Roosevelt. In this sense the election returns were a great demonstration of sentiment against fascism and war. That Roosevelt is not committed to any definite or consistent peace policy does not alter his general significance of his vote.

Within the Roosevelt camp, the very extent and depth of the electoral victory is serving to hasten a differentiation which is leading, sooner rather than later, to a deeper split. The Democratic Party is already crystallizing a conservative opposition to the more liberal program of social and labor legislation that will be advanced by its progressive wing. This conservative opposition was profoundly displeased by Roosevelt's appeals and promises to the masses. They are determined to try to force Roosevelt to retreat, and failing that, to prepare a split and new alignment. Roosevelt's role, whether he chooses a Right or Left orientation, will probably determine whether that coming split will be of the Left wing or of the Right wing. If the Right wing splits, that will encourage progressive elements to remain in the Democratic Party; if the Right wins Roosevelt to its side, that will hasten the national independence of the broad mass of labor and progressive forces. While this question is being fought out, there will probably be no broad national convention to establish the Farmer-Labor Party, which is thus delayed, even though on a state and local scale the building of Farmer-Labor Parties is in many places hastened by the election results.

The first tasks before the Communists after the elections may be summarized in four points:

1. To stimulate and help in every way the mass movements to extend trade union organization, and fight for improved conditions, especially in the unorganized and basic industries; to fight for realization of the program of the Committee for Industrial Organization, while at the same time fighting for a united American Federation of Labor and against the threatening split.

2. To stimulate and organize the growing demand for more advanced social and labor legislation, for extension and protection of democratic rights; to help bring about the broadest possible united front of workers, together with farmers, lower middle classes and progressives, for this purpose, while always pressing for independent organization of the advanced elements, and pushing forward the Farmer-Labor Party in every way.

3. To crystallize a more definite and effective movement for peace, which can influence the policies of the American government, throwing its influence on the side of the democracies threatened by fascism, for help

to embattled Spain, for active efforts in collaboration with the peace forces of the world to combat the war danger.

4. To extend and strengthen the organization of the Communist Party itself, to conduct a big recruiting campaign on the basis of the favorable conditions resulting from the Party's work in the elections, to raise new cadres of leaders for the Party and the mass movement, to educate and train these cadres and the whole Party membership in the spirit of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, in preparation for greater tasks and struggles, solving the immediate tasks in such a way as to lead the American masses increasingly toward the understanding of socialism and the struggle for its realization.

While the Tories received a tremendous setback from the great majority of the American people in the elections, there is still the possibility that with the use of maneuvers the reactionary forces will try—in fact they are already trying—to strengthen their influence, pressing the Roosevelt administration to the Right, attempting to make gains at the expense of the toiling masses. The Communist Party has consistently stressed the fact that Roosevelt is not a barrier against reaction, that only the organized strength of a mass movement—of a united working class, together with the farmers and middle class people—can press the present administration into fulfilling the promises it made during the election campaign, and thus secure and guarantee the welfare of millions.

It would be the biggest mistake now to come to the conclusion that reaction is routed and that Roosevelt will move along in the direction of safeguarding the interests of the American people. We say to the workers again that success does not come of itself, as it did not come automatically in checking the reactionary forces in the elections. It was necessary to organize the masses and to fight for that success. Now, as to who will carry the burden depends upon all progressive forces in the country; the direction must be: Make the rich pay.

The Fiftieth Birthday of Andre Marty

GREETINGS TO ANDRE MARTY FROM THE EXECUTIVE
COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

DEAR Comrade Andre Marty,

On the fiftieth birthday of your glorious life as a faithful revolutionary and steadfast fighter for the world proletarian revolution we send you our militant, fraternal greetings.

During the days when the workers of the whole world are celebrating the nineteenth anniversary of the great proletarian revolution in the land of socialism, while their hearts and thoughts turn with hope and anxiety towards the heroic struggle of the Spanish people against fascism and war, the struggle which you waged in the unforgettable days of 1918-19 to defend the young, not yet established, power of the Soviets, shines out as an admirable example of proletarian solidarity. You stood at the head of the best sons of the French people who mutinied determinedly against the order issued by the interventionist powers and imperialists to bombard Odessa.

From the jail into which the reactionary elements of the French bourgeoisie hurled you, you raised your voice in protest and indignation against the new attempts at imperialist intervention, which aimed at strangling the Land of Soviets. Neither hard labor nor imprisonment has thwarted the revolutionary determination or the loyalty of your struggle, full of self-abnegation in the front ranks of the proletariat of France.

In your person, we greet our glorious Communist Party of France, and its leadership which, on the basis of the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, has successfully developed a broad fighting front against fascism, against imperialist war, for peace, for bread, for liberty, for international working class solidarity.

Dear Comrade Marty, yourself the son of a Communard, you have embodied the behests of the Paris Commune in your life and struggle. As a son of the working people of France, you embody the best traditions of the French working class movement. As a pupil of Lenin and Stalin, you have grown up politically under the inspiration of the great proletarian revolution. Together with the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France, you have strengthened and broadened its indissoluble links with the French working masses. You have stood firmly for many years in the front ranks of the fighters for the cause of the working class, for the triumph of the world proletarian revolution.

On your fiftieth birthday you are full of courage and enthusiasm

just as in your youth. We wish you, dear friend and comrade, more strength and health for further fruitful work and struggle.

DIMITROFF, ERCOLI, MANUILSKY, PIECK,
 KUUSINEN, GOTTWALD, MOSKVIN,
 FLORIN, WANG MING, GUYOT, KOLAROV,
 OKANO, BRONKOVSKI, KANG SIN, LOSOV-
 SKY, MICHAL, TUOMINEN.

GREETINGS TO ANDRE MARTY FROM THE POLITICAL
 BUREAU OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE
 COMMUNIST PARTY OF FRANCE

ON YOUR fiftieth birthday, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party sends you fraternal greetings.

In you we greet the glorious hero of the Black Sea Fleet who, in 1917, raised the banner of revolt in defense of the Russian Revolution which, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin, overthrew tsarism, the capitalists and landlords so as, later, under the leadership of our dear Comrade Stalin, to bring about the victorious building of socialism in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

In you we greet a fighter and revolutionary who has often suffered the repressions of the forces of reaction and war.

In you, we greet the fiery champion of the people, who for a number of years, in the Paris municipality, facing alone the whole band of mercenary fascists, has represented the workers and the small people of the capital who have arisen to fight against fascism and the war-mongers.

In you, we greet a Communist, whose supreme law is the defense of the people's interests, unlimited devotion to our great French Communist Party and to the Comintern; and we are proud of the fact that you, as one of its secretaries, are a comrade-in-arms of our great Dimitroff.

In you, we greet a Communist leader who, in our own Political Bureau, takes part in the leadership of our great Party, in its struggle to carry out the supreme and difficult task confronting it, that of uniting the French people in order to lead them to emancipation and the creation of a liberated, strong, happy France.

Long live Andre Marty, Hero of the Black Sea!

Long live the Communist Party of France!

Long live the Communist International!

MARCEL CACHIN, MAURICE THOREZ, JACQUES
 DUCLOS, MARCEL GITTON, GASTON MON-
 MOUSSEAU, LUCIEN MIDOL, PIERRE
 SEMARD, FRANCOIS BILLOUX, ARTHUR
 RAMETTE, RAYMOND GUYOT.

TELEGRAM TO ANDRE MARTY FROM THE INTERNATIONAL BRIGADE

CONVINCED that I am expressing the feeling of the Eleventh Mobile International Brigade, I greet the Black Sea hero, the fiery political leader, who inspired our Brigade by his enthusiasm, with the wish on his fiftieth birthday that we may have him with us at the head of the French and international working class for long years to come.

NICOLETTI.

THE LIFE OF ANDRE MARTY

COMRADE Andre Marty was born on November 6, 1886. His father took part in the Paris Commune. In 1907, Comrade Marty joined the French fleet as a mechanic. During the whole of the imperialist war he served on warships in the Mediterranean. After 1917 he was senior mechanic on the torpedo-boat *Protée*.

Together with other French warships, this torpedo boat was sent to the Black Sea to take part in interventionist operations to suppress the Russian Revolution. Marty carried on propaganda among the sailors for the direct purpose of preventing the counter-revolutionary endeavor of French imperialism. Among the crew, he organized illegal groups of men who made preparations for the sailors to go over, together with their ships, to the side of the Bolsheviks.

As the result of betrayal on the part of a traitor who wormed his way into one of these groups, Marty was arrested on April 16, 1919. He was confined in the hold of the cruiser *Waldeck Rousseau*, which was at anchorage at the port of Odessa. While under arrest, he was able to raise a revolt of the crew, and on April 27-28, 1919, the red flag was flown on the *Waldeck Rousseau*.

The uprising spread to other ships and to the French infantry units. The blockade of the interventionists was broken. But the chief participants in the Black Sea uprising paid with long years in prison for their heroism. Andre Marty himself was sentenced to 20 years hard labor. Only as the result of a long and energetic campaign by the French proletariat, for whom Marty became the living symbol of struggle against war and in defense of the Land of Soviets, was Marty delivered from prison.

In July, 1923, he received an amnesty. Immediately after his release, Marty became a member of the French Communist Party, founded at the end of 1920. By a decision of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party, his Party standing was fixed as from April 16, 1916, namely, from the moment of his arrest for organizing the Black Sea uprising.

In the Party, Marty has always acted as a steadfast defender of the Leninist political line, and waged a relentless struggle against every Right opportunist and Leftist deviation.

In 1927, Marty was once more arrested for participating in the Party's campaign against the war in Morocco.

From his prison cell he sent an open letter to Marshal Foch, accusing him of preparing a new coalition for war against the Soviet Union. For sending this letter, the French bourgeois court sentenced him once more to imprisonment. Between 1919 and 1932 Comrade Marty spent, in all, seven and a half years, either in hard labor or imprisonment.

Comrade Andre Marty was three times elected deputy to the French Chamber—in 1924, in 1928, and at the last elections in 1936. In 1929, Comrade Marty was elected the first Communist councilor in the reactionary Paris municipality, and over the course of a number of years, alone among a horde of reactionaries and fascists, he defended there the interests of the workers and small people of the French capital.

When in the end of July, 1936, the Spanish fascists revolted against the people's government of Spain, Comrade Marty was one of the first to go to Madrid to organize aid for his Spanish brothers. One of the most valiant battalions of the glorious International Brigade, fighting near Madrid, bears the name of Andre Marty.

Together with Comrades Cachin, Thorez, Duclos and others as a member of the Political Bureau of the French Communist Party Comrade Marty is taking an active part in the leadership of the Party, in the organization and struggle of the united People's Front; as a Secretary of the Comintern, as a comrade-in-arms of Comrade Dimitroff, he is taking part in the leadership of the whole world Communist movement.

In Memory of Buenaventura Durruti

ON NOVEMBER 20, 1936, Republican Spain lost a self-sacrificing fighter and irreconcilable enemy of fascism—Buenaventura Durruti. Durruti was mortally wounded in the breast by the bullet of a fascist murderer on the outskirts of Madrid. It took place while he stepped out of his car before the building of his headquarters while on the way to inspect the military foreposts.

Durruti was a worker from Barcelona; he was born on July 14, 1896, in the family of a railwayman. In 1920 Durruti joined the Anarchists. The bourgeoisie hated the sound of his name. In the past he had been sentenced to death four times. He was one of the leaders of the Spanish Anarchist organization, the Federation of Iberian Anarchists.

Towards the end of 1932, the Federation of Iberian Anarchists succeeded in acquiring decisive influence in the trade union organizations of the Spanish anarcho-syndicalists, the National Federation of Labor, where, hitherto, the syndicalists had been the stronger influence. After that Durruti became one of the leaders of the National Federation of Labor.

When the military fascist rebellion broke out, Durruti was in Catalonia. He displayed the courage, determined will and talent of a leader and organizer. Durruti is largely responsible for the formation in Catalonia of the united people's government in which the Anarchists took part. He persistently built up armed detachments of the workers. At first these detachments continued to adopt the attitude of denying any kind of authority, an attitude of "organized indiscipline". The course of events, the difficulties connected with the struggle, the approach of the fascist rebels to Madrid, showed Durruti just as later it showed the majority of the Spanish Anarchist workers, the need for discipline and organization. And Durruti learned the severe lessons of the struggle against fascism. "*We must build up a regular army. We must introduce iron discipline. The main task is to crush fascism and defend Spain.*" These were his slogans while participating in the organization of the armed forces of the Republic. In his appeal made in a speech over the radio to the workers of Catalonia a short time before his death, he said: "We must confront fascist tyranny with a united force, we must establish a united organization with a united discipline."

A disciplined detachment, 12,000 strong, operated under his leadership. When the fascist bands approached Madrid, Durruti hurried to meet them with a 5,000-strong detachment. He declared his readiness to subordinate himself completely to the direction of a united, centralized command in the fighting to defend Madrid. Influenced by the lessons of the revolutionary struggle in Spain, Durruti developed more and more in the direction of the Communist Party. In a conversation with a corre-

spondent of the Soviet press, he said: "Yes, I feel myself a Bolshevik. I am prepared to hang up Stalin's portrait in my military office." Durruti's letter to the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. is imbued with extreme love and faith for the strength of the organized proletariat.

José Diaz, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain, sent a telegram to Herasia Oliver, the leader of the National Confederation of Labor, in connection with Durruti's death:

"We have learned with profound sorrow of the glorious death of our comrade Durruti, son of the working class, courageous defender of proletarian unity. The criminal bullet of a fascist bandit cut short his young life, full of self-sacrifice. We shall be more united now than ever before, until we destroy the fascist bands which have stained our country with blood. We shall fight on all the fronts of Spain, so as to avenge the death of our heroes. Long live the victory of the Spanish people!"

The name of Durruti is added to the glorious roll of heroic Spanish fighters and fighters of the International Brigade, who have fallen in the struggle against the fascist rebels and interventionists.

Working people of all countries, all anti-fascists, lower their banners before the ashes of Buenaventura Durruti, courageous fighter for the freedom and independence of heroic Spain.

DURRUTI'S APPEAL TO THE WORKERS OF CATALONIA

(Speech delivered over the radio)

I APPEAL to the Catalonian people, to the noble people who four months ago successfully smashed the barrier of the brutal militarists who tried to subject Catalonia, I bring you greetings from your brothers and comrades fighting on the Aragon front, not many kilometers from Saragossa.

Although danger threatens Madrid, we must remember that the people have now risen against the fascists and nothing in the world can force them to retreat.

We offered resistance to the fascist hordes on the Aragon front, and we call upon our brothers in Madrid to hold out, for the Catalonian fighters will be able to fulfil their duty, just as they fulfilled it on the streets of Barcelona, when they went out to crush fascism.

The working class organizations must not forget what their constant duty is today.

At the front and in the trenches, we look intently ahead, each with one thought, one aim—to crush fascism.

We call upon the Catalonian people to put an end to intrigues, internecine warfare, and to rise to the occasion; cease all strife and think of the war. The Catalonian people must march shoulder to shoulder with the forces at the front. There is nothing left for them to do but introduce universal mobilization; but we must not think that one and the same people must always be mobilized for the front. If the working

people of Catalonia are obliged to take upon themselves the responsibility for the front, the time has come for the townspeople to make sacrifices as well. There must be a real mobilization of all working people in the rear, because we at the front want to know exactly upon whom we can rely.

Let nobody now think of increases in wages or reductions in working hours.

It is the duty of all working people, and especially of the members of the National Confederation of Labor, to sacrifice everything and to work as much as is required.

I appeal to the organizations and ask them to cease all strife and plotting. We at the front demand sincerity, especially from the National Confederation of Labor and the Federation of Iberian Anarchists. We demand sincerity from our leaders. It is not enough to send us letters encouraging us to fight; it is not enough to send us clothing, food, rifles and bullets. This war is doubly hard because it is being conducted with the aid of the newest technical equipment and it will cost Catalonia very dearly. The leaders must realize that, in connection with the long-drawn-out nature of the war, they must begin to organize the economy of Catalonia, they must establish order in the national economy.

If you want to bar the way against danger, you must build granite barriers.

The time has come to invite the trade union organizations and political organizations to finish with strife once and for all. We must know how to manage the rear. We at the front want to be sure that order exists, we demand that the organizations take care of our wives and children.

We invite the Catalonian government to visit the front and see what our mood is like, see our discipline, and then we will compare the mood of the people and the discipline in the rear with our mood and discipline.

Rest assured, there is no chaos, no lack of discipline at the front. We all realize our responsibility and know the burden with which you have entrusted us. Sleep assured. But we left Catalonia and entrusted the national economy to you to conduct. Shoulder the responsibility, set up discipline at home. Let there be no other civil war between us after this war is finished.

Those who think that their party must be the most powerful in order to dictate its policy make a mistake, for we must confront the fascist tyranny with a united force; there must be one united organization with one united discipline.

Not for the world will the fascists pass through the places where we are fighting! This is our slogan. To them we say: "You shall not pass!" To you we say: "They shall not pass!"

—(From the newspaper *Solidaridad Obrera*, Nov. 6. 1936.)

* * *

DURRUTI'S LETTER TO THE WORKERS OF THE U.S.S.R.

AMONG the Second Spanish Delegation which arrived in the U.S.S.R. on November 10 was Francisco Carenno, close friend of Durruti, who fought under his leadership against the fascist rebels. Francisco Carenno brought with him a letter from Durruti—greetings to the workers of the U.S.S.R. The letter was written a month before the foul murder of Durruti. The letter runs as follows:

“NATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF LABOR,
“FEDERATION OF IBERIAN ANARCHISTS,

“Anti-Fascist Militia,
“Durruti Column,
“General Headquarters.

“TO THE PROLETARIAT OF THE SOVIET UNION
“COMRADES!

“I am taking this opportunity of sending you fraternal greetings from the Aragon front, where thousands of your brothers are fighting just as you fought twenty years ago for the liberation of the class which for ages had suffered oppression and humiliation. Twenty years ago the working people of Russia raised the red banner in the East—the symbol of international working class brotherhood. You laid your hopes upon the international proletariat, expecting them to help you in the great work you had begun. The working people of the world did not betray your trust, but self-sacrificingly helped you to the best of their ability.

“Now in the West a new revolution is being born and the flag, which represents the ideal which victoriously unites in brotherly ties two peoples oppressed by tsarism and a despotic monarchy, is unfurling. Today we entrust you, workers of the U.S.S.R., with the defense of our revolution, since we have no faith in any of the so-called democratic and anti-fascist politicians. We believe in our class brothers, for only the working people can defend the Spanish revolution as we, twenty years ago, defended the Russian revolution.

“Believe us, we are real workers, and not for the world will we deny our principles and disgrace the tools of labor (the sickle and hammer)—the symbol of the class of the working people.

“Greetings from all who are fighting against fascism arms in hand on the Aragon front.

“Your comrade,

“B. DURRUTI”

Osera, October 22, 1936.

“No Pasaran”—They Shall Not Pass!

IN MADRID, bleeding from the wounds inflicted by the fire of fascist bombing planes and heavy guns, in Madrid, half in ruins, half burned down, half starved, a meeting took place on November 8, devoted to the Nineteenth Anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution in the U.S.S.R. The meeting was called at the initiative of the Communist Party in the big hall of the “Monumental” cinema theater, where the working people and the heroic fighters of the People’s Militia of Madrid met to express fraternal sympathy and love for the land of socialism, the fatherland of proletarians of all countries. There spoke members of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party, Dolores Ibarruri (Pasionaria), Antonio Mije, Secretary of the United Socialist Youth of Spain, Santiago Carrillo, and others. A resolution to send greetings to the Soviet Union on behalf of the population of Madrid was passed unanimously.

Three days later, on November 11, in a no less complex and dangerous situation, a “Resistance Meeting” was held, at which Comrade Diaz, the Secretary of the Communist Party of Spain, Comrade Nicoletti, Political Commissar of the International Brigade, Comrade Lister, Commander of the First Brigade of the People’s Militia, Comrade Carlos Contreras, Commissar of the Fifth Regiment, fighters from the People’s Militia and prominent social workers delivered speeches.

Below, in abridged form, we publish some of the speeches delivered at the meetings, as printed in the *Mundo Obrero* of November 9 and 12, 1936.

MADRID WILL BE THE GRAVE OF FASCISM

Antonio Mije

FRIENDS and comrades of Madrid!

We are passing through a very serious period; the extremely tense struggle which is developing on the approaches to Madrid does not permit us to express our feelings in the appropriate words.

We are passing through critical days. The responsibility which lies upon the working class, the trade union organizations, the political parties and, chiefly, the Communist Party of Spain, is great. In this decisive moment, we are fighting with fire and sword at the very gates of Madrid, against a merciless enemy, which has raised its head with the help of international fascism, against an enemy which wants to make a graveyard of Madrid, our heroic town, the capital of Spain. With the Communist Party at our head, we are fighting with all the means at our disposal so as to keep the enemy out of the capital. (*Applause.*)

At this meeting, so solemn and historic, we can say, both in

connection with our position and in connection with the celebration of the anniversary of the proletarian revolution in the U.S.S.R., that we shall strain every effort in order that the whole of Spain, all the proletarian masses, the whole of the working people, will be imbued with the consciousness of the danger which fascism brings in its train. If the people of Spain do not defend Madrid today, when it is seized by the throat, then tomorrow they will have to pay dearly, very dearly for not coming to the aid of Madrid in time. The people of Catalonia are already sending thousands and thousands of people, armed and unarmed, with only their bare hands, because Madrid, Catalonia, Biscay and Andalusia—all are Spain, and everyone who considers himself a Spaniard must rise in defense of Madrid. (*Shouts of greeting in honor of the Communist Party of Catalonia. Applause.*)

And the rebels who are approaching the gates of the capital, and the enemies who are hidden in the capital itself waiting for a convenient moment to rise up in arms—let them not think that Madrid is left with no power, let them not think that Madrid has no government; Madrid has its Defense Committee, including all parties of the People's Front and all trade union organizations. In the historic moment when the fate of Madrid was being decided, the Committee of Defense was entrusted with the task of defending the capital, of saving Madrid. Madrid possesses sufficient means for her defense. Today is not 1930, 1931, 1934. The Madrid of July 18* possesses sufficient means, courage and energy, to prevent the enemy from capturing the town. And let anyone who wants to enter our capital know that the words "*Madrid will be the grave of fascism*" will become a fact, for the inhabitants of Madrid will fight against the fascists with the first thing that comes to their hands, because they are the irreconcilable enemies of fascism. (*Applause.*)

We are convinced that the population of Madrid has the necessary means of defending itself until our friends from other parts of Spain come to the aid of Madrid. Who is unaware of the heroic behavior of the Madrid population yesterday, who can forget that yesterday self-sacrificing, courageous fighters, armed only with rifles, hurled themselves into battle against Italian tanks, and succeeded in capturing them? People who can go with bare hands to fight against tanks will not be frightened by fascism and its bandit detachments. *The population of Madrid is prepared to perish on the ruins of the town, before they will surrender to the enemy.*

We refuse to allow international fascism to lay its hands upon Spain through the capture of Madrid. No, the people of Madrid refuse to allow it! On this solemn day of celebration, on the Nineteenth Anniversary of Soviet Power, we should all rise like one man and swear that the enemy will not enter Madrid, first, thanks to the heroism of the Madrid population, its organizational strength and determination to fight and second, because the population of Madrid can still expect help

1930—The overthrow of the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera. 1931—The overthrow of the monarchy and establishment of the republic. 1934—The fighting in Asturias. July 18, 1936, the defeat of the attempts at a military-fascist rebellion in Madrid, quickly put down by the working population of the capital themselves.

from other towns of Spain. It is to be hoped that all the towns and villages of Spain will rise in defense of our city against invasion of the enemy. If the enemy tries to enter Madrid over the Toledo Bridge, it must find its grave there, if it tries to penetrate over the Legazpi Bridge, it must be crushed there.

Men and women—all in defense of Madrid! Fascism, Franco and Mola must not enter our town.

We who love the Soviet Union so well, the Soviet Union where the new world is steadily growing up, with Comrade Stalin at the head, we declare to the international fascists that Madrid will never belong to them, unless they capture a town of corpses. The inhabitants of Madrid are prepared for this. (*Stormy applause and greetings to the Committee of Defense and the Communist Party.*)

* * *

Further, Santiago Carrillo, member of the Committee of Defense and General Secretary of the United Socialist Youth, takes the floor and declares that in this critical moment we must particularly emphasize the splendid behavior of the inhabitants of Madrid, who are brilliantly defending their liberty. He appeals to the Catalonians and Basques, to the Spanish youth, and points out that at this moment, Madrid is Spain, and that Madrid must be defended not only by the youth of Madrid, but the whole of the Spanish youth. "At the head of the struggle to defend Madrid there stands the Communist Party; by its side is the whole of the United Socialist Youth who now as always will not leave their post but will fight at the front till the last breath of the last member of the Socialist Youth."

"Comrades," says he, finishing his speech, "it is impossible to retreat, we can only go forward, to victory! *Let us follow the example of the Soviet Union*, led by our Comrade Stalin. The Soviet Union is the most brilliant proof of the fact that the people, having risen up armed, are invincible. We must convert our town into an inaccessible fortress. We shall bring our people salvation. To victory, to victory, to victory!" (*Stormy ovation.*)

* * *

Regulo Martinez—the Left Republican—praises the historic feats of the Soviet Union which by its heroism is able to point the way to all the oppressed, to all open-minded people in the world. Martinez calls upon all the intelligentsia and middle strata to march forward side by side with the proletariat, and not backward with reaction. Each should stand at his fighting post.

* * *

Ariel, of the National Confederation of Labor (anarcho-syndicalist), appeals to the working people of the world in a speech full of emotion; he points out that "the time has arrived to put aside ideological differences among the workers and among all anti-fascists, and to rally together to crush the foul fascist murderers. We of the National Confederation of Labor are with you, prepared to lay down our lives for the liberty of man."

* * *

WE SHALL FULFIL OUR SACRED DUTY TO THE U.S.S.R.

Dolores Ibarruri

Working people of Madrid, comrades!

It may appear incredible that at a time when hostile shells are destroying the houses of our towns, and fascist airplanes are flying over the capital of the republic, throwing deadly bombs upon defenseless women and children, we have come together for such a celebration. But we have come together here not so much to raise our spirits, which have been sufficiently fired in unexampled battles, but *to fulfil our sacred duty to that country, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*, to which we are indebted for the splendid support afforded by them to the Spanish people, for the firm position adopted by them at Geneva, which has forced the fascist degenerates to pale with rage, and for their real aid, which has given the Spanish people an opportunity of preparing for the offensive which will hurl out the enemy so that the corpses of the fascists will fertilize the soil of our peasants.

Today the women of that people who were able to conquer not only the enemy at home, but abroad as well, call upon us in the following words: "Spanish sisters; follow our example!" The Russian people were the most backward people in Europe but, possessing the Bolshevik Party, the party of Lenin and Stalin, which was able, with amazing perspicacity, to overcome all the difficulties of revolution, true, at the price of many of the best fighters for communism, they achieved victory in spite of everything. (*Applause.*)

Knowing that our children, having obtained help from the working people of the Soviet Union, will not go hungry, we say to the enemy: "*No Pasaran!*" "They shall not pass!" for if Germany, Italy and Portugal are providing the enemy with tanks and airplanes, this only increases our courage and enthusiasm. (*Applause.*)

We have been saying for a long time that Madrid is being defended not only from inside, but from outside, and a few days ago the Communist Party published an appeal to the people of Spain, and in particular to the Communists. "It is essential," runs the appeal, "for a Communist to be the leader and organizer, for him to be the Political Commissar, for him to sacrifice himself, first and foremost." Following up this slogan of the Communist Party, we toured the provinces and only yesterday were we in the Levant regions, rousing the masses to aid Madrid. And the population there, which has been sending a constant supply of food to Madrid, took up the work of aiding Madrid without any hesitation; they know that if Madrid falls, these regions will also soon be menaced.

Comrades, people of Madrid! In 1917 one people, by acting resolutely, became the masters of their country. Inhabitants of Madrid! Let us once more repeat the feat of taking the "La Montagna" barracks,* which is a feat worthy of the epoch of wars for independence.** Our

* Fascist militarists, having occupied the "La Montagna" barracks in Madrid, tried, on July 18, to make a military putsch, but the attempt failed the same day thanks to the heroic resistance offered by the Madrid proletariat led by the Communist Party.

** The war against the invasion of Napoleon, which ended in victory for the Spanish people.

slogan "*No Pasaran!*" will become a reality, for our men and our women, fighting and conquering, desire it.

THE FIFTH REGIMENT ON THE MOST DANGEROUS SECTIONS

Henrica Lister

A few days ago a meeting of the Fifth Regiment took place at which a solemn oath was sworn that fascism would not penetrate into the streets of Madrid. Today we can say already that the Fifth Regiment, thousands of its fighters, have successfully carried out the promise given to the Madrid people, by fighting with great courage on the most dangerous sections.

Comrades! I bring you greetings from three thousand combatants fighting under my command. I will tell you briefly what they are doing. The enemy captured Villaverde and wanted to pass on to Mansanares, but they were pushed out of their positions, with heavy losses, though our ranks were small in number.

Yesterday the enemy concentrated large numbers of troops, cavalry, infantry, guns, machine guns and tanks on that sector, and started the offensive. I ordered my units to retreat, and we did this, defending each inch of the soil. The victory of the enemy was short-lived. Today, early in the morning, our forces made an attack with such courage that they captured the positions from which they had retreated yesterday, and gained even more advantageous ones. The field of battle was studded with the bodies of the enemy and the men were eye-witnesses of how the fascists run away.

In the morning, the men again saw the flight of the rebels. In our ranks there is no more disarray. For instance, we learned that eighteen comrades had not fought properly face to face with the enemy. They were detained, and when they were disarmed and the order came for them to be sent back to Madrid, they wept and implored us to send them to the front and not to disarm them. It was pointed out to them that they had fled in a moment of weakness and that such a thing is not to be tolerated in the republican army. Ashamed of their actions, these eighteen comrades today behaved like real heroes. This proves that a new morale is being set up among the men, they are beginning to understand that the fighting front must not be abandoned under any circumstances.

You may all rest assured that on the section which I am commanding, the enemy will never pass Mansanares. People stand there with machine-guns, bombs, rifles and great courage, firmly determined that the enemy will never be allowed to penetrate into Madrid.

(From the Fifth Regiment Colonel Kabala and Commander Valentine Gonzales also delivered speeches.)

VICTORY REQUIRES ORGANIZATION, ORGANIZATION AND STILL MORE ORGANIZATION

Francisco Galan

One of the Commanders of the Fifth Regiment

A few months ago I was training guards to use a howitzer captured from the enemy. Our guards had no conception of the latest armaments and could hardly manage the rifle. They had an incorrect conception of warfare and, in particular, of civil warfare. They thought the war was nothing more than an outburst of enthusiasm and that there would immediately follow a favorable denouement. But what I saw today on the Madrid sector was simply amazing. The enemy artillery was showering cross-fire on our positions to the south, north and northwest, on all sides, but I was convinced that these three months had radically changed the psychology of our fighters, had given them a true and exact idea of what civil war really is. . . .

The Fifth Regiment could not exist if our glorious Communist Party did not back it up. Under the leadership of the Communists, the Fifth Regiment has displayed examples of discipline when so many were reckoning that the war could be won by guerilla warfare. . . .

On behalf of these fighters, I greet you and declare that we have great confidence in you. It is clear that we are standing at the gates of Madrid not in order to open them to the enemy. The enemy would have to pass over our bodies. Have faith in victory, which is not far off, and we will be victorious not only because we are right, for the people and the workers have always been right, and yet have lost the battle. *We shall win because we have organizational strength, weapons, and the heroism of the men, which victory needs.*

Be steadfast and the enemy will be compelled to retreat as far as the Portuguese frontier, where we shall annihilate them! (Stormy ovation.)

BY DEFENDING THE FREEDOM OF SPAIN, WE ARE DEFENDING FREEDOM THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

Nicoletti

Political Commissar of the International Brigade

Let international fascism help the Spanish fascists; Republican Spain has the aid of all the anti-fascist forces of the world. By defending its freedom, Spain is defending the freedom of the proletariat throughout the world.

The International Brigade, fighting near Madrid, is a sign of the real solidarity which exists among the proletariat oppressed by fascism. The International Brigade will fight side by side with you to the last minute, until the dawn of victory which will signify the liberation of the Spanish people and of all the peoples of the world.

People of Madrid! The eyes of all the world are upon us and anti-

pate our victory, the victory over Spanish and international fascism!
(*Ovation.*)

* * *

Antonio Mije made a speech in reply, on behalf of the Madrid Committee of Defense, and greeted the glorious International Brigade which represents the anti-fascist movement of Germany, Italy, Poland and other countries of Europe.

* * *

Then Antonio Jaen, a Left-Republican Deputy, who had just returned from Valencia, addressed the meeting. He expressed his admiration at the heroism of the Spanish women, and declared that the Republic and the revolution would triumph.

WHILE THERE REMAINS ONE COMMUNIST ALIVE, THE
STRUGGLE WILL GO ON

José Diaz

Secretary of the Communist Party of Spain

Comrades! I shall be brief, and say only a few words. The whole population of Spain is tensely following the heroic defense of Madrid, minute by minute, second by second. During the last few days I have been visiting the people of the Levant, in connection with requirements for the war, and for the purpose of discovering the state of affairs in the rear in order the better to organize victory. And there, all the people, men, women and children, are anxiously watching the heroic defense of Madrid. The people of Catalonia are also mobilizing to ensure that Madrid has everything required for its successful defense. The number of people signing on as volunteers and learning to use rifles is very great. *Soon all of them, whatever their number, will possess rifles*, and those who are waiting impatiently for the fascists to enter Madrid, will be compelled in a few days time to turn their eyes to another front, because the rebels will find themselves up against the defense barrier of Madrid, and in their own rear there will be a second barrier. (*Applause.*)

Inhabitants of Madrid! Your heroism will not be in vain! All the anti-fascist people of Spain know of your heroism. The anti-fascists of the whole world feel it. *The campaign of international aid to our republic is developing as never before.* You must know already that on the approaches to Madrid there are *3,000 to 4,000 people, not Spanish*, who are fighting in defense of the same cause as you, and with the same heroism as you. And this does not exhaust the international solidarity available. Thousands of people will cross the frontier to take their places side by side with us in the struggle, for the struggle that is developing in Spain "*is not the private affair of the Spanish people*", to quote the words of Comrade Stalin, the great leader of the international proletariat. And here you can see it clearly. There will be no shortage of people, the solidarity of the anti-fascist peoples is growing stronger and stronger.

Up to now the Spanish people have not felt the war at close hand, because they thought that the enemy would not dare to come so close to Madrid. But when the enemy actually approached, the people mobilized to the utmost, because they realize what would happen to Spain if Madrid were to fall. Madrid cannot be taken, for millions of inhabitants live there, and its guards possess the same fighting spirit as the anti-fascists in Catalonia, in Asturias, and in other regions. Our Party has said, and I repeat it here, that "When the fighters have the proper commanders, the Republicans will fight as anti-fascists fight wherever they may be". When new commanders arose from among the guards, from among the workers themselves, from among honest army men, there appeared also heroic fighters who *destroyed tanks with the aid of hand grenades*. And so, there is leadership, there are heroes on the Madrid front, both among the commanders and among the men. We also said that the population of Madrid will not lag behind the proletariat of Asturias, the international proletariat, and that out of every ten inhabitants of Madrid, nine heroes would join up to defend Madrid.

Comrades! We have staked everything on the struggle against the rebels. If it is required, we must lay down our lives for our cause. People of Madrid! The enemy is at the gates of Madrid!

Defending the capital, defending their wives and children, the people of Madrid have shown that they will stop at nothing in order to bar the way against fascism. Here, for example, is a fact which occurred in Villaverde. Yesterday, at 9 o'clock in the evening, in consequence of an unexpected attack by the enemy, we lost part of Villaverde, and the other part of the town remained in our hands; but today Lister's fighters captured the town a second time. It has been proved that when we say we shall march forward, we actually do advance, and advance to the final victory. (*Applause drowned the end of the sentence, and rose into an ovation.*)

Side by side with all parties, with all the anti-fascist forces, we shall continue to lead the struggle. And rest assured that while there remains one Communist alive, the struggle will go on. We shall fight together with the Republicans, the Anarchists, the Syndicalists, the Socialists and the National Confederation of Labor, to liberate the Spanish people from the claws of fascism!

Comrades, remain at your posts, so that fascism will be unable to take a step nearer to Madrid. We, for our part, will continue on the road till the final victory! (*Stormy applause and greetings to Comrade José Díaz, the Fifth Regiment and the Communist Party of Spain.*)

* * *

The next to speak was Carlos Contreras, Military Commander of the Fifth Regiment. He told of the resistance offered against the enemy on the threshold of Madrid by the Republican troops, and added: "Among us there must be no giddiness from success." The enemy still stands at the gates of the capital. Every house must be turned into a fortress. Every man, every woman, must become a fighter! Prepare for the struggle for the final rout of fascism in Spain!

Comrade Contreras' speech met with a stormy ovation.

The Offensive Against Suiyuan—First Fruits of the Japano-German Alliance

By L. LIAN

FOR several months negotiations have been proceeding between Japanese diplomats and the Nanking government on the subject of regulating the "incidents" which took place during August and September (the murder of a number of Japanese citizens in Chinese towns). The negotiations are strictly secret and no official information has been issued, in particular, concerning the demands put forward by Japan. However, Japanese statesmen are openly admitting that it is not a question merely of adjusting "incidents" which have already taken place, but one which concerns Japano-Chinese relations as a whole.

When the negotiations first began, the newspapers published a list of Japanese demands which, as we are assured by Japanese diplomats today, if not literally true, at least correctly reflected the desires of the Japanese militarists; the list included the demand for autonomy under Japanese tutelage for the five Northern provinces of China (Hupeh, Chahar, Shantung, Shansi and Suiyuan), the right to maintain Japanese garrisons on the Yangtse River and the island of Hainan, the right to establish Japanese inspection of schools in order to eradicate anti-Japanese propaganda, the dismissal of a number of members of the Nanking government for anti-Japanese activities, reduction of tariff duty on Japanese goods, recognition of Manchukuo, the appointment of Japanese advisers, etc.

It is difficult to estimate what role all these questions played in the Sino-Japanese negotiations; however, two of the chief demands of the Japanese are in the nature of an ultimatum: recognition of Japan's "special position" in North China, and the conclusion of "the alliance for struggle against Communism".

An illustration of the "friendly" atmosphere which surrounds the negotiations is the unbridled campaign that is being waged by the Japanese press against China, against the Chinese in general, and against individual Chinese statesmen. Thus, when the new Japanese Ambassador to China was about to leave, the *Yomshuri Shinbun* wrote: "His first meeting with the Chinese authorities will indicate whether he is astute or clumsy, for he will have to negotiate with people who are notorious swindlers." The same newspaper stated that "*China only reacts to two things: the armed fist and money.* Mild expressions of international friendship or collaboration have never moved her. The present position is tense for China only because Japan confronts her with her armed fist ready."

At the same time, the newspaper assures us that the Japanese attitude to Chiang Kai-shek is one of the greatest respect, but, considering,

apparently, that to show respect to a Chinese is beneath the dignity of the Japanese Samurai, the paper hastens to add that many Japanese are convinced that Chiang Kai-shek is not a mere Chinese, but undoubtedly of Japanese origin!

Another Japanese newspaper, the *Shanghai Mainichi*, demands outright that the Kuomintang drive out from its ranks the "terrorist band" represented by several *members of the government* and leaders of the Kuomintang, who are to blame for defending the independence and territorial integrity of their fatherland against Japanese encroachment.

However, neither threats nor insults, nor persuasions have as yet brought about the desired effect upon the Nanking government, which continues to resist the Japanese demands. The explanation of this is that although the Japanese militarists are bringing pressure to bear upon the Kuomintang government, it is nevertheless also faced with *tremendous pressure* from public opinion throughout China, which is demanding that resolute *resistance* be offered to the Japanese aggressors, and armed resistance to their fresh attempts to enslave China.

The wave of anti-Japanese feeling has never risen so high in China as now. The anti-Japanese movement involved not only the Shanghai textile workers, not only the entire student body of China, not only the liberal intelligentsia of the country, but also separate strata of the Kuomintang army and many of its prominent leaders. Recently, prominent representatives of the Kuomintang army such as the Governor of Shantung, Hai Fu-ju, and also Feng Yu-hsiang, have declared themselves prepared to offer armed resistance to the aggressor, not to mention the Kuomintang generals who are already now actually fighting against the Japanese in Suiyuan. Besides this, the more progressive representatives of the Chinese people are raising their voices in favor of setting up a united front on a national scale against Japanese imperialism (the slogan raised by the Communist Party of China) and collaboration with the Chinese Communist Party and the Red Army of China in the struggle against the aggressor.

All this narrows the basis on which the Nanking government can maneuver, and makes it more difficult for the Japanophile elements to pursue their capitulatory policy. The Nanking government is faced with the choice either of sacrificing the national interests of China and hurling the Chinese people under the heel of Japan, thereby covering themselves with ignominy, or of placing themselves at the head of the movement of the people to resist Japan.

The Nanking government continues to waver. They still hope for a peaceful way out of the negotiations with Japan. They are trying to utilize, in particular, the fact that Anglo-Japanese relations have sharpened somewhat, in order to avoid the necessity of giving a reply to the dilemma which confronts them.

It is true that the last few months have brought about a distinct worsening of Anglo-Japanese relations. The ruling classes of England are convincing themselves in practice that Japanese aggression is directed not only against the U.S.S.R., but also against the vital interests of Great Britain in the Pacific and Indian Oceans, the more so since

these interests are defended worse than the Far-Eastern frontiers of the U.S.S.R. The Japanese imperialists, as is known, in their attempt to create for themselves a military base, are moving in that direction from which they are likely to meet with the *least* resistance.

The sharpening of Anglo-Japanese relations has found expression recently in a number of petty diplomatic conflicts and a certain amount of sword-play, during which British diplomats have been trying to force Japan to reckon with the existence of British interests in the Far East. Things even went so far as a direct demonstration on the part of Great Britain (the official meeting between the British Governor and Chiang Kai-shek in Canton on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of China's national disgrace, namely, the seizure of Manchuria on September 18, 1931). The British diplomats gave the Japanese to understand that the British government is vitally interested in the contents and development of the Sino-Japanese negotiations, and to this they received a public reply from the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the essence of which was for the English not to poke their noses in other people's business. A representative of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs declared that "if the British government decides to adopt positive measures, that is no concern of the Japanese government, because it will be the domestic affairs of the British".

The "positive measure" with which England replied was the negotiations for England to afford to China credits for export to the sum of £10,000,000. Rumors of these credits, confirmed in Chinese circles, caused much irritation in Japan, whose official representatives declared that "*no country friendly to Japan should have begun negotiations concerning the granting of credits to China at a moment when the negotiations to regulate Sino-Japanese relations are not yet completed*".

However, there is really nothing to show that all these British sallies are causing serious concern among the Japanese imperialists. On the contrary, the latter continue to act in a way which shows that they have no desire to reckon with England. It is enough to call to mind the last Japano-English incident on the island of Formosa, when three English sailors were tortured.

The Japanese militarists, seeing the tolerant policy adopted by Britain in relation to the aggression in Europe, consider, not without cause, that she is also not in a position in the Far East to offer any real resistance to the aggression of the Japanese imperialists. *They are beginning to talk to England in a no less insolent tone than that adopted by Hitler Germany.*

The agreement between Germany and Japan for a struggle against the Comintern, which conceals a military alliance, has still further animated the Japanese militarists; hitherto they will reckon still less with England as a serious force in the Far East. It is no accident that even the usually restrained *London Times*, this time on hearing the news of the conclusion of this agreement, made severe attacks against Japan. However, it is hardly likely that these attacks will cause any anxiety to the Japanese imperialists, since they are not followed up by resolute actions.

Japan is acting much more boldly in her new military adventures, because she regards the alliance with Germany as a guarantee that all the other Far Eastern powers will be occupied in Europe by her partner. She has begun another new offensive against the most important of the Mongolian provinces of China, which as yet have remained outside the zone of Japanese occupation, and moreover this time the offensive against the province of Suiyuan is being carried on not only with the help of the hired Mongolian princes and the Manchukuo troops, but also with the direct and *open* participation of dozens of Japanese airplanes, tanks and other types of weapons.

Judging by the *Times* report, certain British circles are inclined to look upon the new Japanese advance in Suiyuan as a demonstration which aims at forcing the Nanking government to make concessions. Apparently, it seems that references to the Japanese origin of Chiang Kai-shek are not sufficient to persuade the latter and the Nanking government of the good intentions of Japan, and so the Japanese have to resort to heavyweight arguments, like tanks and airplanes.

It is possible that there is a fragment of truth in this assertion, but it would be absurd to believe that the military activities started by the Japanese are *no more* than a demonstration. They are, *first and foremost*, part of a plan carefully elaborated by the Japanese which aims, on the one hand, at *completely surrounding the Mongolian People's Republic*, and building up around it "a new great Chinese wall" (as the *Times* puts it) in preparation for an attack upon the U.S.S.R., and, on the other hand, at preparing a military base for a new campaign which will completely enslave China. In striving to seize Suiyuan, the Japanese are trying to make the way easy for gaining access to the province of Shansi, which is inaccessible from the East and Northeast, and then from there to press along the Yangtse valley, into the heart of China.

The Chinese people are well aware of this. And many prominent statesmen and Chinese military officials are also beginning to understand it. The troops of the Suiyuan Governor, Fu Tso-yi, are stubbornly resisting the attacks of the Japanese bandits. According to the latest information, it was decided at the military council held on October 17 in Juikin, the capital of Shansi, at which Chiang Kai-shek was present, to send troops from Shansi to help Suiyuan. These troops have arrived in Suiyuan, and with their aid, Chinese units occupied Bailoinmyao at the end of November, and on December 10 they occupied Damiatzy, the most important strategic and military base of the Japanese hirelings.

Events in Suiyuan convince all honest Chinese patriots and democrats that the slogan of the Communist Party demanding resolute resistance to Japan and the creation, for the purpose, of a united front on a national scale and a united Chinese democratic republic, is a correct one. The slogan demanding resistance to Japan has become the most popular slogan in China. *The campaign for aid to the defenders of Suiyuan embraces all sections of Chinese society*; even the Chinese nationalist bourgeoisie have been compelled to react to the events in Suiyuan.

The Japanese militarists, however, are trying to wreak vengeance.

Together with their agents in the ranks of the Kuomintang, they have brought about the arrest of the foremost leaders of the Chinese "Save the Fatherland Association" by English and French authorities in the foreign concessions of Shanghai. Some of these prominent politicians, who are by no means Communists, have already been handed over to the Chinese authorities by the English. Thus, these anti-Japanese leaders have become prisoners in the hands of Japanophile elements of the Kuomintang. These arrests have called forth tremendous indignation among the whole of Chinese society as well as a strong wave of protests. The Chinese people cannot tolerate a state of affairs whereby the best defenders of the independence of the country are handed over to the enemy, at a time when the Chinese troops are resisting the armed attacks of aggressors. Many Kuomintang leaders understand full well that this "double-dealing" in the policy of the Kuomintang, which is the outcome of the bitter struggle that is going on inside, cannot last long. What can there be in common between the Kuomintang commanders and their soldiers fighting in Suiyuan, on the one hand, and a clique of Japanese agents who arrest anti-Japanese leaders, on the other? The course of events, namely, the Germano-Japanese agreement, the offensive against Suiyuan, the recognition by Italy of Manchukuo, are forcing the Nanking government and the Kuomintang to adopt at once a clear and firm position, for every form of vacillation in the present circumstances is fatal for the Chinese people and the Kuomintang itself.

Those who support the policy of wait-and-see in the Kuomintang are hoping that the Japanese offensive against Suiyuan will turn out to be an episode, and that it will be possible to come to terms with Japan. Chinese public opinion, however, is coming to a sober understanding of the fact that the Japanese offensive can be an episode only if the bandits meet with stubborn resistance on the frontiers of Mongolia. *The weaker the resistance* of the Chinese troops and the Chinese government, the *more insolent* will be the behavior of the Japanese fascists, and this insolence is the direct consequence of the immunity which they have enjoyed up to now.

“Will You Walk Into My Parlor?” Said the Spider to the Fly

By R. P. ARNOT

THE National government of Britain, under the pretext of curbing Mosley's "foreign" fascism, is forging in the Public Order Bill a weapon against the working class and thereby preparing the way for "native", "British" developments of fascism. Under the pretext of disrobing Mosley's Blackshirts a new set of fascist garments are being made ready for the British Constitution's wardrobe. Meanwhile, the Liberals and the reformists, as though they were historic understudies of Prussian Social-Democracy, are all rushing pell-mell into the National government's trap.

The reason for this bill is to be found in the activities at the beginning of October of Mosley's Blackshirt army in the East End of London and his attempt to stir up (for the first time in England) an atmosphere of pogroms against the Jewish East Enders. It is on this ground that all parties claiming to support democracy called for measures to be taken against Mosley, with the Communist Party, in particular, demanding concrete steps in the shape of the dissolution of the fascist bands.

But actually the danger was not confined to Mosley. An equal danger lay in the way in which the police consistently favored the Blackshirts. For well over a year there has been a systematic anti-Semitic campaign carried on in the East End of London. Ronald Kidd, Secretary of the National Council for Civil Liberties, writing in the November *Left Book News* (a recently issued journal whose mushroom circulation of over 30,000 bespeaks the existence in Britain of strong elements of a People's Front) states that *the Home Office and Scotland Yard have tolerated Jew-baiting* and in support of this gives instance after instance assembled by the National Council for Civil Liberties as well as copious quotations from the Parliamentary debate on this question on March 5 of this year. Thus there was strong feeling arising amongst all democrats not only against Mosley, but against the National government.

Suddenly the government announced it would introduce a Public Order Bill. The strong feeling of the Liberal and Labor democrats changed immediately to the warmest praise of the National government, and the bill was introduced with the general consent and approval of all the large parties in the House of Commons. The bill contains six clauses, one of which forbids the wearing of political uniforms and another the carrying of offensive weapons. But all the other four clauses are such that they can be used against the working class and be dangerous even to those very Liberals and Laborites who tumble over one another to support it. Clause 2 suppresses private armies which it de-

fines as "members or adherents of any association organized and trained . . . for the display of physical force in promoting any political objective or in such manner as to arouse reasonable apprehension that they are organized . . . for that purpose."

It is clear that this elastic "definition" is so drawn up that it can easily be applied not to Mosley's Blackshirts, but to any political party, for instance, to the Communist Party organizing a hunger march. The penalty for this new "crime" is the confiscation of the funds and the dissolution of any association committing such a "crime". Moreover, the proof of this "crime" is to be "words written, spoken or published by persons appearing to be members or adherents" which, as the onus of disproving lies on the officers of the association, entitles this sub-section to be called "a mass production of informers and provocateurs", as William Gallacher, Communist M.P., stated in the House of Commons.

Mr. D. N. Pritt, K.C., in his analysis of the bill in the *New Statesmen and Nation* of November 14, 1936, shows how the prosecuting authorities can use this.

The men caught shouting "incriminating slogans" may have been people "conveniently sent to do this by political opponents, or even, it may be, by the police themselves".

Clause No. 3 enables through the action of the Chief of Police any procession to be forbidden, a proviso which members of the government would ardently desire to have already been in existence since it would have enabled them on legal grounds to ban the recent tremendous hunger march. As D. N. Pritt says:

"Here, again, the common law power, with its liability to being checked by the Courts, is ignored, the Courts are excluded, and the executive is supreme. If at any moment public indignation at the Means Test, or at some new breach of faith in foreign or home affairs, becomes sufficient to embarrass this or some other government, some high officer of police may quite conveniently be alarmed, and within a day or two the populace will not even be allowed to demonstrate. It is the police state, more clearly and more crudely than ever."

What folly induced the Liberal and Labor members of Parliament in the main to give their blessing to this bill which strikes such a heavy blow at working class liberties, maiming the right of meeting, the right of procession, the right of free speech and establishes instead the new right of the agent provocateur and even in the very clause that forbids the wearing of uniforms gives powers by a special sub-section to the Chief of Police to permit the Blackshirts to wear their uniforms. There can be no mistake about it. The government speakers themselves were open and clear. Sir John Simon introducing the bill said it was against fascists and Communists. The *Times* stressed that it was against fascists and Communists. Herbert Morrison speaking at the Labor Party Conference the day after the East End demonstration against Mosley attacked both the fascists and Communists. The *Daily Herald*, the organ of the Labor Party, welcomed the bill as being against fascists and Communists. The government speakers state this with their tongue in the

cheek. The Labor and Liberal speakers state it on the apparent belief that they were fighting on two fronts. Thus the famous fallacy of the German Social-Democrats in the pre-Hitler period is repeated. The way is prepared for fascism, either Mosley or in another form, by the insensate assertion that "supporters of democracy" have to fight on two fronts. The result in Germany was not the preservation of democracy: the result was—fascism. The first stage was the strengthening of the police state—against the working class. The law against private armies in Germany resulted in the banning of the Red Front fighters: the Brown army of Hitler was not touched. Later, by the logic of events the Social-Democratic Reichsbanner was disbanded, and all other "democratic fronts" together with the political parties that sponsored them. Too late the German Social-Democrats and Liberals realized that in their hatred of the Communists they had laid a rod in pickle against themselves.

Mr. Baldwin, of course, is happy. He is getting so accustomed to spreading snares in sight of the Labor and Liberal leaders and then to seeing his birds walk into the trap, that he is becoming more and more candid about this time-honored technique of the British ruling class. When Mr. Winston Churchill asked why Baldwin did not start the rearmament program two years earlier, the Prime Minister of Britain blandly explained (on November 12) that because of the strong feeling for peace in Britain he had not been able to do so until he had been able to stage an election with himself in the role of chief defender of peace in order thereby to get his mandate for rearmament. Consequently, we may expect that Mr. Baldwin is already thinking out a similar speech to deliver in 1940 in which he will calmly and blandly explain that it was impossible to have stifled British democracy any earlier and that he was compelled to wait for the opportunity of staging himself as the defender of democracy against fascism in November, 1936, in order to get a "mandate" to carry through the suppression of working class liberties which was so successful by 1940.

To prevent this conspiracy against the working class being put into effect, to compel its withdrawal, must now be a prime objective of all workers, of all defenders of democracy against fascism. But if this fight is to be carried through successfully it requires the destruction of the wrong Social-Democratic theory of a defense of democracy by fighting on two fronts. There can only be one anti-fascist front, only one broad democratic front which, as has been realized in France and in Spain, is indicating the uttermost test against all the devils of war and fascism.

That People's Front can be formed in Britain and in every other country of bourgeois democracy and in all the colonial countries. But it cannot be formed as long as there persists the notion of democracy as some "middle way" between Communism and fascism. That way lies disaster. That way is the path trod by German Social-Democracy, that led to the defeat of the German working class. The immediate lesson for the workers of Britain to learn is that they have before them not three, but only two paths; one which will precipitate them into fascism, the other the path of working class unity of the world People's Front that can rescue democracy and exterminate fascism.

The Nobel Peace Prize for Carl Ossietsky

THE Committee elected by the Norwegian Storting (Parliament) presented the Nobel Peace Prize for 1935 to Carl Ossietsky, the prisoner of German fascism. A history lies behind this choice. In 1934, all peace-loving and advanced people began demonstratively to demand the Nobel Prize for Carl Ossietsky. But in 1935 the Committee of the Norwegian Storting did not yet dare to satisfy the strong desire of many millions of people and to defy the German fascists.

Meanwhile the world movement for peace had made considerable progress. The stubborn fight of the Soviet Union for the maintenance and guarantee of peace, the provocations which were daily becoming more impudent, the war preparations of the fascist aggressors with which the world is threatened, and which want to drown in blood the freedom and independence of the Spanish people, have given tremendous impetus to the mass movement for peace. Communists and Social-Democrats, bourgeois democrats, bourgeois and Christian pacifists in many countries are today fighting together for peace.

For everyone the brave fighter Carl Ossietsky, who, suffering for years from heart and lung trouble, was arrested, ill-treated, sent from one concentration camp to the other by the Nazis, has become a symbol of peace. If the Committee of the Norwegian Storting found the courage this year to give Carl Ossietsky the Nobel Peace Prize this is due to the pressure of the millions of masses in all countries.

This decision is a grievous blow for fascism, and it is understandable why the German fascists scream with rage.

On the day after the decision became known, throughout the controlled fascist press of Germany there appeared the following note:

“The presenting of the Nobel Peace Prize to a notorious traitor to his country is such a shameless challenge and insult to the new Germany that a correspondingly clear answer will result.”

The Hitler government through its ambassador in Oslo expressed its “extreme astonishment” at the “conscious and insulting challenge”.

The “notorious traitor to his country”—Ossietsky—even before the war came forward as a bourgeois pacifist. After the war he was active in the Hamburg peace movement. Later he became the ideological leader of a small group of radical pacifist bourgeois intellectuals. From 1927 on he was the publisher of the *Weltbuehne*, which became the voice of the Left bourgeois radical-pacifist intellectuals. For a long time Ossietsky's attitude to the working class movement was petty bourgeois, “critical”, and the revolutionary labor movement was foreign to him. Herein lay the weakness of his courageous fight against the fateful development of Germany towards a new blossoming of aggressive im-

perialism which began even during the Weimar Republic. He hated the Social-Democratic coalition policy during the period of the Weimar Republic and he wrote quite a number of biting satires of the Social-Democratic "statesmen" of this time, Herman Mueller, Otto Braun and Carl Severing. After the bloodbath of Neukoeln on May 1, 1929, he carried on a great campaign against the reaction led by the Social-Democratic leaders. But at the same time he opened the columns of his paper to all manner of individuals who tried to cast suspicion on the policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet Union.

In the years just before Hitler came to power, Carl Ossietsky, like many other bourgeois intellectuals, underwent a gradual change. He who was always the deadly enemy of the Nazis and all other fascist currents in Germany realized the fascist danger and especially the fateful role of the policy of Social-Democracy at that time. He came out for a united front against fascism. He also realized ever more clearly that the fight for peace must be inseparably connected with the fight of the working class for its emancipation, for socialism.

Carl Ossietsky had got to know the inside of German prisons even before Hitler. He exposed in his paper the plans of reaction and of fascism for civil war, the connection of the fascist preparations for civil war with secret armaments. In 1931, under the Bruening government, "tolerated" by Social-Democracy, he was sentenced to one and a half years' imprisonment for "betrayal of military secrets". These revelations contained nothing new as far as the general staffs of the foreign powers were concerned; but they represented a courageous effort to rouse the German people.

At the end of 1932 after Ossietsky was released from prison (it was the Communists who were continuously demanding his release), he continued his fight against fascism and imperialism. His friends pressed him to leave Germany. He remained and was arrested the night the fascists set fire to the Reichstag.

Then began for Ossietsky a period of real martyrdom, which he shared with so many heroic, anti-fascist fighters. The fascists, who feared him, who saw in him a symbol of the liberty-loving, anti-fascist, peaceful forces of the German people, desired his death. They tormented and ill-treated him to the point of complete physical exhaustion. It is only thanks to the vigilance of liberty-loving, progressive mankind that this plan was not carried out to the end.

The German fascists are filled with rage at the decision of the Nobel Prize Committee. But their arm does not reach far enough to vent their rage on the Nobel Prize Committee or on the thousands of scientists, artists, on the millions of workers, who demanded the Nobel Peace Prize for Ossietsky. But there is still the danger that these barbarians—who have murdered Edgar Andre in spite of the protests from all corners of the world—will try to revenge themselves on Ossietsky.

Ossietsky must be freed so that he can take the place he deserves in the first ranks of the fighters against war and fascism, for peace.

The fight of civilized mankind for the release of the victims of barbaric German fascism, for the beloved leader of the German workers—Thaelmann and the thousands of other fighters—must be strengthened.

The Basque Catholics Fight for Democracy and Freedom

By FRANZ LANG

IN the bloody civil war which the rebel generals have forced on the Spanish people the Basque Catholics are defending democracy and freedom with their lives.

The Basque people, immediately after the outbreak of the fascist rebellion, took to arms. The Basque national party, the Catholic Party, the great majority of whose functionaries are priests, did not belong to the People's Front before the civil war, but never for a moment did they hesitate to rise against the fascists together with the people. Its leader, Manuel Irujo, the big Catholic industrialist, in the first days of the fighting, personally led the military operations against the rebels in Bilbao. The Basques sent him as their representative to the Republican Government.

Many Basque priests have paid for their loyalty to democracy and national freedom with their lives. At the beginning of October the rebels shot a number of Catholic priests after their occupation of San Sebastian, because they, as Basques, had taken their stand on the side of the Republican Government and for the independence of the Basque country.

In a mass meeting held during the first days of November by Irish Republicans in Dublin, the Catholic Ambrose Martin, the accredited representative of the Basque Government, read a letter from George Gilmore, an Irishman staying in Bilbao, in which it was stated that *the fascists in the San Sebastian District shot twenty-five Basque priests and that the Bishop of Vittoria was forced to flee from the rebels in order to save his life.*

Not a word is to be found in the press of the Vatican about these proved bloody orgies.

For tens of years the Basques, about 400,000 in number, have fought for national liberation. Both the monarchy and the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera oppressed them and limited their right to use the Basque language.

It was only the People's Front Government under the Presidency of Largo Caballero, to which, as is known, two Communists belong, that put an end to the oppression of the Basque people.

On October 1, in that important session of the Cortes, the Bill on the Autonomy of the Basque country was passed unanimously amidst great applause. In this session, the Catholic Antonio de Aguirre, in the name of the Basque nationalities, made a great speech of accusation against fascism. He stated that the church is also responsible for this rebellion against the lawful government and declared:

"Above all for me it is of importance that we Catholics take our part against this exaggerated Spanish spirit, against this distorted caricature of our fatherland and against fascism, just because we are true Christians. Christ never preached the activity of force and those who today use force against the people are criminals."

The Basque statute passed by the Cortes provides for the formation of a provisional government, which is to attend to the affairs of the Basque country for the period of the civil war. The President of the Provisional Government is elected by the Basque mayors.

On October 8, in the small Basque town of Guernica* the election of the President of the Provisional Government was held. In this election the Catholic Antonio de Aguirre received 291, 871 votes (the mayors had as many votes as they had obtained on their election, according to the temporary Basque statutes). A declaration was made after the election, which contains the following:

"We are seeing the crowning of the just demands of the Basque country. In the government which will be formed, men of the most diverse outlooks will be closely bound together, for the defense of freedom. They will encourage social advance and prove that the word 'democracy' means neither vulgarity nor disorder. It is our aim to fight for victory. We are a War Government in the true meaning of the word.

"We will respect the rights of the individual, their social rights and the free exercise of divine service for the different creeds. . . . The government will give new impulse to social advance with regard to existing laws. . . . Freedom of education will be guaranteed and the Basque language will be permitted in all schools. . . . The government will defend freedom and respect spiritual and social values. . . ."

The Provisional Government of the autonomous Basque country is composed of four Catholics of the National Party, three Socialists, one Communist (Comrade Juan de Astigarrabia, Minister of Labor), one Left Republican, one member of the Republican Union and one member of the "Left National Action".

The central organ of the Communist Party of Spain, *Mundo Obrero*, of October 8, wrote as follows on the formation of the government:

"The just desires of the Basque people for autonomy have been fulfilled by the People's Front government. . . . In the government of the Basque country are represented without exception all truly honest Basques. Our Comrade Astigarrabia sits peacefully by the side of the Catholics who do not forget the dignity of man and their duty. Together with them he will fight until victory is ours."

* In this little town, from olden times (up to 1876) under an historic oak, the symbol of the unity of the Basque people, were held the sessions of the People's Council. During the 1931 coup d'etat, the Basque nationalists declared the "Basque Republic" under this oak. However, when the representatives of the Basque provinces reached the governor at Guernica on April 24, 1931, he answered their request by sending down soldiers to these provinces and hindering the Basques from realizing their plans.

The Basque Provisional Government took measures for ensuring victory—the militarization of the militia was carried through and a united general staff was established. At the same time it is conscious of the fighting solidarity with the Spanish fighters for liberty. At the end of October the fishing fleet of Bilbao journeyed to the north coast in order to supply the Militia fighting in the Asturias.

The Catholic Basques, in common with the entire people of the Basque country, are not frightened away by difficulties! Luiz Ortuzar, the commander of the fighting forces of the autonomous Basque country, at the beginning of November, made a declaration to representatives of the press:

“We have liberty now and we will guard it. Order? Order rules in Bilbao! Peace? If God wills, it will soon return completely. . . . There is complete agreement in the ranks of the government. . . . We know that if Franco becomes master of Madrid the Basque country, even before Catalonia, will have to bear the brunt of his troops. We are fighting not only for the freedom of the Basque country. May our brothers who are scattered throughout practically the whole world know this and pray for us.”

Many words which express the feelings and thoughts of honorable Catholics, faithful to their duty, devoted to their people and the cause of freedom! They are conscious that the victory of fascism would be the grave of their independence, of their freedom of conscience and opinion, and therefore they are “in the midst of a bloody struggle for God, Freedom, Fatherland and Democracy”, as Ambrose Martin said in the Irish demonstration in Dublin.

* * *

Visitors who are received by the President of the Provisional Government of the Basque country, Antonio de Aguirre, find him sitting at a table on which stands an ivory crucifix. The oath which he took on taking up his post contains the words—“Before God . . . I swear . . .” The Catholic fighters for freedom see in him the embodiment of their wishes, their hopes and their belief.

For what are these Catholics, like the Catholics of Spain, fighting? No one will believe the fascists that the Basque Catholics are staking their lives for the “Bolshevization”, for the “dechristianizing” of Spain and of the Basque country. Wherefore then do these Christian believers fight? The Catholic writer Antonio Salcedo from Santander, one of the most influential Catholics of the Basque country, who said of himself, “I am nothing if not a believer in Christ and a Catholic, my greatest book is dedicated to Saint Francis of Assisi”, answers this question:

“There is no greater treachery than to state that in Spain it is now a question of a war of religion, of a war for or against religion. If the official church . . . is for the fascist generals, who have broken the holy oath to the Republic which they swore by God, that is not on religious grounds, but on purely worldly, purely private, I would say purely business grounds.”

And he adds:

"The Republic has given us, Catholic Basques, national self government and that, for us Basques, means also the freedom of our Catholic church. But the fascist generals . . . they want to rob us Basques once again of autonomy."

This great Catholic regretfully maintains that from the churches of Spain "the hungry people were shot at", which led, as needs must, to the destruction of such nests of conspiracy. In the Basque country, where the church and the priests are on the side of freedom, "no church has been destroyed, nor the hair of one priest been touched".

Salcedo emphasizes that the Catholic people are for freedom "which does not rob them of belief and religion".

"We respect the ideas of the Socialists and Communists and we know that they will respect ours. On this basis we have joined the People's Front and on this basis we are fighting in common against the common deadly enemy of the people and of freedom, fascism."

Thus speaks an upright Catholic, who, holding firmly to his belief, does not betray the cause of the people!

The Basque Franciscan Father Sarasola, who is making an anti-fascist propaganda tour in the United States, in public meetings and in the press is accusing fascism of a crime against the people and calls for a fight for "the destruction of corrupt society. A true Christian cannot be a fascist."

The same position is taken up by the well-known Spanish Catholic leader Ossoric y Gallarde:

"Because I am a Catholic and a defender of freedom of conscience", he declared at an international conference in Paris, "and because I know that justice, liberty and belief are defended by the Republicans, I am on their side and will defend Spain against fascism. And with me there are many other Catholics. . . ."

The Catholics of the Basque country are not allowing themselves to be forced from their right path by any campaign of lies, by any calumnies and cunning rumors. They are not allowing anyone to rob them of the knowledge that their place is not on the side of the fascist enemies of the people, but are fighting shoulder to shoulder, arms in hand, disciplined, under a united command, with all friends of the people, of democracy and freedom.

And in this severe struggle of theirs they recognize more and more who are their true friends. Embittered by the horrors of the fascist rebels and oath breakers, they receive with enthusiasm the energetic action of the representatives of the Soviet Union in support of the Spanish people. The President of the Provisional Government of the Basque country, after he received the well-known Soviet note to the London Committee of Non-Intervention, declared:

"In this note what pleases us most is the firmness of the tone and the energy in the voice of Soviet democracy. Only thus

should one speak to the fascist destroyers of peace. And it is a pity that the timid tone of other democratic states has begun to accustom the fascist governments to the feeling of . . . complete immunity for any act of theirs."

The military parade on November 7, which was held in Bilbao by the Basque government in honor of the anniversary of the great Proletarian Revolution, took place in a mood of tremendous enthusiasm. The troops paraded amid scenes of wild enthusiasm and shouts of "Long live the Soviet Union! Long live the Spanish Republic! Death to the fascists!"

The masses of the Catholics recognize with thankfulness the great help which the Soviet Union, under the leadership of the great leader of the people, Comrade Stalin, has rendered. The fascists want to fasten the chains of slavery onto the people, onto the Catholic people of the Basque country. Soviet democracy hastens to the aid of the masses, hinders the disturbers of peace, raises the flag of solidarity with those whose national freedom is threatened.

* * *

The people of the Basque country fight for their independence, fight against the fascist pest. Socialists, Communists, Catholics, non-party workers and peasants are fighting in a closed People's Front for democracy and freedom. The Catholics of the Basque country are sealing with their life and with their blood the defensive alliance against all the enemies of fascism.

Let the Catholics the world over consider this. May they realize that the reactionary heads of the church want to misuse their conviction, to force them into the arms of the enemies of the freedom of conscience, the enemies of the right of the masses to decide their destinies. May they see that in Spain it is not a war of religion which is being conducted, but that a people is rising up against its rebellious, power-seeking tormentors who want to drive them into slavery.

May they see that the People's Front in Spain and everywhere, where it is formed or on the way thereto, will not touch their religious convictions and liberties. May they see that the People's Front guards their own interests, defends them against their enslavement by fascism, and for the safeguarding of peace against the robber financiers. May they not allow themselves to be misused and incited against their brothers.

May they take their place in the ranks of the people against the small group of fascist power-seekers and war incendiaries.

“Clear Out of Belgium!”

By C. GENTENAAR

TWO Spanish Catholic priests—the Canon of the Cathedral at Cordove, Jose Manuel Gallegos, and the Cure of the San Gines Church in Madrid, Abbot Leccardia Lobo—recently arrived in Brussels from their native land.

They came to tell the truth about Spain, to relate about the outrages committed by the fascist rebels, to tell of the heroism of the Spanish people, laying down their lives to defend their rights, their liberty and their future. They came as witnesses of the fact that not only the Basque Catholics, but the masses of the Catholic people in all parts of Spain have thrown up a wall of defense around their lawful, freely-elected government.

They came to Belgium because it seemed important to them for the Catholic population of that country to hear the truth from their lips, from the lips of Catholic priests. They chose Belgium as their destination, because they were convinced that the government of that country, of which the Prime Minister, Van Zeeland, is a Catholic, and in which there are six Socialist ministers, colleagues in the Second International of their own Prime Minister, Largo Caballero, would not and could not put any obstacles in the way of their peaceful, benevolent propaganda.

They were mistaken. A few days after their arrival in Belgium, Belgian gendarmes put them into a train going to the French frontier. The government of Van Zeeland and Vandervelde turned them out of Belgium as “undesirable aliens”.

What sort of crimes were these priests and republicans able to commit during their sojourn in Belgium?

They delivered talks on Spanish events at a meeting convened by the “Spanish Children’s Aid Committee”. They intended speaking at a meeting organized by the Vigilance Committee of the anti-fascist intelligentsia. They intended to—but were unable to attend in person. For at the last minute they were prohibited from doing so by force of the discipline of the Catholic Church, by the Archbishop of Mechlin, Cardinal Van Rouy, the head of the Catholic Church in Belgium. And the indignant meeting had to listen to a reading of the speeches they had prepared beforehand.

On receipt of the order of the Belgian government for their deportation, the Spanish priests tried to seek protection against this arbitrary act from Ossorio y Gallardo, the Ambassador of the Spanish Republic in Belgium, who is also a Catholic. But he was powerless to do anything. For, as he informed them, despite the fact that he has been officially appointed Ambassador, since his arrival in Belgium over two weeks ago,

the Belgian King has not deigned to receive his credentials, and the authorities continue to regard him as a private individual.

The *Pays Réel* (*The Real Country*), organ of the Belgian Rexists (fascists), is carrying on a daily campaign of outrageous calumny against the Spanish Ambassador; and it was this paper that demanded the immediate deportation of the Spanish priests. And apparently the influence of this filthy rag, published on money obtained from shady sources, not only reaches the Archbishop and the Royal Throne, but also determines the policy of "strictest neutrality" of the Clerical-Socialist coalition government of Belgium.

Canon Gallegos and Abbot Lobo have been put to silence and thrown out of Belgium. This gesture will undoubtedly open the eyes of many Catholic believers among the working people of that country. And what has become a fact in Catholic Spain, namely, that the masses of believers have joined the ranks of the anti-fascist People's Front, will also take place in Catholic Belgium.

The People's Discussion of the Draft Constitution of the U.S.S.R.

By N. REBROV

THE draft of the new Constitution of the Soviet Union was published in June, 1936. Immediately following its publication there opened up a broad people's discussion. Never in history has any document been discussed by so many million, been so discussed on all sides, so thoughtfully, so conscientiously, so passionately. The draft Constitution was discussed in factories and workshops, at general meetings and in special study circles. It was discussed at general meetings as well as at lectures and in circles of collective farmers. It was discussed as a special point on the agenda at plenary sessions of the urban and rural Soviets, at departmental meetings of these Soviets, with the broad participation of Party and non-Party workers. This historic document was discussed in the pages of the entire press, in numerous articles in the daily papers, in magazines, pamphlets, and in dozens of different languages of the peoples of the U.S.S.R.

According to incomplete figures collected on November 15, 1936, the draft of the Stalinist Constitution of the U.S.S.R. was discussed at 59,000 plenary sessions of Soviets and Executive Committees; 705,000 sessions of the sections and groups of deputies of the Soviets and Executive Committees; about 500,000 meetings in factories, collective farms and offices.

According to figures covering not more than one half of the U.S.S.R., a total number of about 40,000,000 adult persons took part in the discussion of the draft of the Constitution.

The draft of the new Constitution of the Soviet state was not merely studied and discussed. Almost 200,000 additions, amendments and proposals were introduced by Soviet citizens.

According to the material at the disposal of the Secretariat of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R., 169,000 additions, proposals and amendments of this kind were introduced and registered. And that is only part of all the amendments and additions introduced by citizens of the U.S.S.R. in all corners of the populous country of socialism.

In Leningrad alone, 2,999,536 persons took part in the discussion of the draft of the Stalinist Constitution, and in the course of the discussion, the workers of Leningrad introduced 9,580 proposals.

At the Kirov Works (former Putilov Works) in Leningrad, during the whole of the period during which the draft Constitution was under discussion, 758 reports, lectures and discussions were held, in which 33,733 people took part. At the Krasnyi Treugolnik (Red Triangle) Works, 232 meetings were held.

In a number of localities, the draft Constitution was discussed also at meetings of Stakhanov workers, at the conferences of the 18-year-old youths (*i.e.*, those who have just reached the voting age), at meetings of the engineers and technical workers, at family gatherings, etc. It goes without saying that the draft was discussed as well at Party meetings and meetings of the Young Communists.

The draft Constitution was translated and published in all the languages of all the peoples who inhabit the U.S.S.R., including even the smallest peoples, and was distributed in millions of copies among the urban and rural population.

In the U.S.S.R. there is no plant, factory, mine, quarry, collective farm or Soviet farm, there is no office, where the draft of the Stalinist Constitution has not been discussed.

Only in the truly democratic Soviet state is the discussion of the new draft Constitution by literally all the people possible on such a tremendous scale.

* * *

The people's discussion of the draft Constitution of the Soviet Union in its turn became the lever for a hitherto unseen productive and cultural rise in the country.

The output of socialist industry during this year increased by 33 per cent as against the corresponding period for the previous year; the car loadings on the railways increased by 32.4 per cent as compared with the previous year.

Despite the drought, the total collection of grain and technical cultures was no less this year than in 1935.

The average output per worker in large-scale industry in 1936 increased by 25.5 per cent as compared with the previous year.

The people's discussion of the draft of the Stalinist Constitution of the U.S.S.R. added to the creative power and initiative of the working masses.

The wave of industrial activity among the working masses in connection with the people's discussion of the new Constitution and the approach of the Special Eighth Congress of Soviets increased day by day. The Stakhanov movement grew and extended.

In Leningrad, in connection with the people's discussion of the draft Constitution, over 1,482 Stakhanov brigades with 23,036 workers were organized and named after the Congress.

Thousands of rural Soviets and collective farms pledged themselves to mend the streets and roads, to improve the sanitary conditions in their homes. Thus, the members of the advanced collective farm Rogatino (Leningrad region) began a campaign to improve the conditions in their village and called on other collective farms of the district to compete with them.

The collective farmers pledged themselves to set in order all the territory of the village and to keep it in exemplary order, to plant trees and bushes, to mend the bridges and fences, to improve the fire brigade of the village, to give the homes of the collective farmers a cultured appearance.

During the period in which the Constitution was being discussed in the Lizandergeisk canton (German-speaking population) the number of Stakhanov workers increased from 50 to 281 and shock brigaders from 150 to 426.

Almost all those who spoke in connection with the draft said that the new Constitution makes it obligatory for them to work still better for the prosperity of their glorious native land.

Alexei Stakhanov, the initiator of the people's Stakhanov movement, in a letter to the editorial board of the *Socialist Donbas*, expressed the feeling of the broad masses of the people when he declared: "We are now obliged to begin to work still better. With such a Constitution, we cannot lag behind with the supply of coal, with such a Constitution we must fulfil the Donetz Basin five-year plan in four years."

The entire body of factories, works, mines and collective farms pledged themselves to fulfil different obligations, and fulfilled them with honor by the opening of the Special Eighth Congress of Soviets.

* * *

The unfeigned enthusiasm, the enthusiastic attitude toward the Constitution, in which is reflected the joyful, happy life of the working people of the U.S.S.R., the feeling of profound love to the great Stalin, the creator of the Constitution, the father and friend of all working people, was the common feature of the hundreds of thousands of the most varied utterances of the workers in discussing the draft Constitution.

"The draft Constitution is cut out to suit our lives, and therein lies its strength and verity." "Every article of the Constitution speaks of our might, in each line we feel the care for living people of our leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin." "The draft Constitution was drawn up under the guidance of our wise leader, Comrade Stalin. It is a rousing document, in which the results of the self-sacrificing and heroic struggle of the workers and peasants of our country are recorded with great simplicity and tremendous force, and which gives the right to free and joyful labor." These are the words of the working people of the Ivanovo industrial region.

The older workers when speaking involuntarily compare the present with the pre-revolutionary past. "I have been working in the oilfields for fifty years," said a borer, Comrade Shakhverdiev (in Azerbaidjan). "Poverty and hunger, perpetual fear of unemployment was my fate and that of millions of workers in tsarist Russia. The Soviet government alone, our Party of Lenin and Stalin, gave the workers the right to labor, to rest and to be educated."

Berman, an old worker in the Dniepropetrovsk region, declared in his speech: "They say that we were young once, but that is not true. In my past I can remember no youth, I had none. Youth came at an old age. I am young because I only finished the technical school in 1934, I am young because of my sons; one is a professor, the other is director of a factory, the third is a mining engineer, and the fourth is a student

in the Institute of Transport. I am young because it is a joy to live in our country."

Through the speeches of all the workers there shines forth a warmth of feeling for the socialist fatherland, a readiness to defend it against all the attempts of the enemy.

A Don Cossack, a collective farmer from the Morozovsk stannitza (Cossack village) delivered a speech full of great emotion at the meeting of the collective farmers: "We, Cossacks, Voroshilov cavalymen," said he, "are studying the Stalinist Constitution. We involuntarily call to mind the old tsarist 'constitution'. What an abyss divides these two legislations! Under capitalism the Cossacks were considered a privileged people. But the poorest Cossacks were fenced off from the rich and did not participate in the stannitza elections and in the discussions of regulations in the village. An Ataman* was elected for three years from among the senior officers of the rich Cossack officials. Many years have passed since then. Now the Party and the government have recognized the loyalty of the Soviet Cossacks and not only removed the restrictions in connection with service in the Red Army, but have formed a Cossack division. Any Cossack can be elected not only as president of the stannitza or district Soviet but also to the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. If need be the Cossacks are ready to give their last drop of blood in return for the confidence placed in them, for the most democratic Constitution in the world, and for our happy fatherland."

The speech of a collective farmer of the Moscow region, Comrade Zakharov, bearer of the Order of Lenin, is characteristic: "It says in the Constitution," says he, "that every worker has the right to an education. Aye, we are all accustomed to the fact that our kiddies go to school. Our village has produced two engineers, one doctor, an agronomist, and a director of a factory. And before, at the price of a measure of potatoes, only a few of our children were taught by a semi-literate clerical."

The women workers and women collective farmers speak with enthusiasm about the draft Constitution: "Our hearts are glad," says N. Nikitina, a woman collective farmer from the Leningrad region, "when we mothers read in the new Constitution about the state safeguarding the interests of mothers and children."

"Only in the U.S.S.R. have the women equal rights with the men in all spheres of our economic, state, cultural, social and political life," says Comrade Khokhlova, a woman who works in the Sergo Orjonikidze Works, Ivanovo region. "This article of the Constitution pleases me in particular. Aye, and how can we not be glad when we women have the right to work, to rest, to be educated. This rouses us to still greater activity and a greater desire to work better."

The foreign workers living in the U.S.S.R. speak with emotion about the draft of the new Constitution.

A foreman in the ski factory in Karelia, Comrade Sasstomainen, who came to the U.S.S.R. from Canada, says: "I came to the Soviet Union in 1931. Before that I lived in a small town in Canada. I was

* Ataman—the head of the Cossack village in pre-revolutionary days.

often unemployed and my family, there were five of us, were half starving. The children only finished the elementary school. They could not study any more, because I could not pay for their education. Could we ever think of studying, when the question confronting me daily was what was the family going to eat today? I found a new and happy life in the Soviet Union. I work as a foreman in the ski factory. My eldest son is studying in a pedagogical institute. The state not only teaches my son free of charge, but pays him a stipend. I am 48. I have experienced much in my time, but only in the Soviet Union am I at peace about what tomorrow will bring, only here have I found my happiness."

Greek collective farmers—foreign citizens—from the Kalinin collective farm of the Novo-Rossiisk region, when they studied the draft Constitution, declared that "the Soviet Union is the only state which defends the interests of all workers". Eleven Greek families from the collective farms have asked to be given citizenship of the U.S.S.R. The president of the collective farm said: "The day I am made a citizen of the U.S.S.R. will be a most joyful one, for I have found a fatherland—the great Soviet Union."

A German carpenter in the workshop of the Thaelmann collective farm, Comrade N. G. Loebe, said: "We read the draft of the new Constitution time and time again. It is imbued with life itself from the first to the last line. What a degree of warmth and fatherly care for the people is to be found in the government! We know perfectly well the state of slavery to which the Hitler fascists have reduced the workers and peasants of Germany. Our real fatherland is the Soviet Union. And death to those who stretch out their foul hands toward it. Death to those who want to deprive the people of their happiness, of my happiness and the happiness of my children."

The speeches on the draft Constitution delivered by workers and collective farmers whose parents were kulaks are of great interest.

Comrade Malov, the son of a kulak, and now a worker in the Kazakhmekhostroi, says: "When I read the draft I felt a new flood of energy. I felt I was a member of the socialist family having equal rights with all others, and I shall take to my work and studies with still greater zeal." Frikolotin, another kulak son from the village of Taloverovo, said: "I want to shout for joy and express the painful bitterness I feel for the cursed past which previously, through my father and grandfather, linked me up with the exploiting class. I am no longer the son of a kulak, but a full-fledged citizen of the Land of Soviets. . . . If the enemies of the workers try to attack our country, they will find in me their enemy, self-sacrificingly fighting against the capitalism which I hate. I do not want to recall my past any more. It is past and will not return. Thank you, great Stalin, for the wise Constitution of the U.S.S.R., which has given me the right to be a citizen of the U.S.S.R."

In the course of the discussion of the Constitution, the workers of the Nemtzi-Povoljia (Volga German) Republic made a comparison between the structure of the higher administrative organs in Germany and in the Soviet Union: "Hitler, the head of fascist Germany, where oppression and license prevail, where the workers are languishing in poverty,"

said they, "is responsible to nobody under the law, and enjoys the same rights as an absolute monarch, as the Kaiser before him. At the head of the Soviet socialist state there stands the Supreme Council, elected by all the workers, through universal, direct, equal and secret balloting!"

In their speeches and letters, many citizens of the U.S.S.R. refer to *the international significance of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R.*

Citizen V. Markov (Moscow), who has spent the greater part of his life living abroad, and therefore, as he writes, has a full opportunity of judging the new Soviet Constitution, writes: "The new Stalinist Constitution will not only become the property of the peoples of the Land of Soviets. The first Constitution of the classless society ever known in the history of mankind will act as a banner around which the oppressed peoples of all countries will rise up. As a program of action, as a symbol of struggle for a happy future, the Stalinist Constitution will accompany the workers of all countries in their struggle against capitalism."

The international and national significance of the Stalinist Constitution is immeasurably great. Comrade Stalin spoke of this most forcefully in his report at the Eighth Congress of Soviets:

"It will be a document testifying to the fact that what millions of honest people in capitalist countries have dreamed and still dream of has already been achieved in the U.S.S.R.

"It will be a document testifying to the fact that what has been achieved in the U.S.S.R. is fully possible of achievement in other countries also."

The Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of Belgium

THE Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of Belgium, held on October 31 to November 2, 1936, recorded big successes of the Party. After the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, the Belgian Communists, led by Comrade Jaquemotte, energetically took up the task of working on new lines. While overcoming the sectarian feeling in the ranks of the Party, they launched forth with energetic, stubborn work among the organized trade union workers, who form the basis of the Labor Party. During the interim between the Fifth (April, 1935) and Sixth Congresses the Communist Party more than tripled its membership: from 2,500 to 8,000 members. A short time before the Congress, the Party began to publish a daily newspaper *Voix du Peuple* ("The Voice of the People"), the circulation of which is already over 20,000. The increase in the influence of the Party among the masses found expression in the fact that the Communist Party candidates at the May, 1936, elections obtained 143,000 votes as against 65,000 at the previous elections.

Comrade Lahaut, who delivered the report of the Central Committee, and the delegates of the local Party organizations who spoke in the discussion, related about the first successes of the Party in the application of new methods of work among the masses in the struggle for the united and People's Front.

Comrade Lahaut pointed out the fact that the overwhelming majority of the membership in a number of regional organizations of the Labor Party, including large organizations like the Brussels, Liege, Ghent organizations, are supporters of the united front with the Communists. There are 150 local united front committees in the country. The fusion of the Y.C.L. and the Socialist "Young Guard", which has taken place in spite of the resistance of the reactionary leaders of the Labor Party, is a great success in the struggle for working class unity in Belgium. The reporter stressed the point that the Communists must continue in the future to follow unswervingly the line of unity and devote their attention in the main to the work in the trade unions, the basic organizations of the working class movement of Belgium. In defending the trade unions against fascist attacks, in fighting for the demands and needs of the working people, the Communists must themselves be the most disciplined, most active members of the trade unions.

The peculiarity of the labor movement in Belgium is that the Belgian Labor Party consists of a number of different kinds of organizations amalgamated together: the trade unions, cooperatives, and benefit societies. By working in the trade unions, the Communists are at the same time most closely connected with the mass membership of the Labor Party.

Hence it follows that the most natural and effective method of uniting the working class movement of Belgium is for the Communist Party to join the Labor Party as an autonomous organization. This task was put before the Communist Party in the report of the Central Committee.

The chief point of the agenda of the Congress was the report of Comrade Relecom: "Working Class Unity and the Struggle Against Poverty, War and Fascism."

Comrade Relecom gave a complete characterization of Belgian fascism. The revival of fascism in Belgium, the attempts to consolidate the fascist groupings there, are merely part of the international fascist offensive. The Belgian fascists of different shades are the agents of world fascism, and first and foremost of German fascism. The Belgian fascists give their members military training, thus preparing for civil war against the working people. They have their own people in the police force, the gendarmerie and the army.

How should the Belgian working class react to these preparations for a fascist coup d'etat?

"It should be clear to everyone even now," said the reporter, "that the working class will declare a general strike in the event of any attempt whatsoever at a fascist coup d'etat, even if it takes on the form of a parliamentary coalition."

But in order to prevent even the possibility of such an attempt, it is essential for all the anti-fascist forces to be united. United efforts must be made as quickly as possible to obtain the arrest of the fascist leaders, the dissolution of their organizations, prohibition of their press, an investigation into the sources from which they obtain money, and their connections abroad, and a purging of the state apparatus of all fascist agents. These are the demands of the Communist Party which all honest anti-fascists cannot fail to support.

The policy of the Van Zeeland government as a whole, continues Comrade Relecom, is reactionary and anti-democratic. The government despatches gendarmes against the strikers, brings charges against anti-fascists in court, organizes searches in the people's houses, at the same time closing their eyes to the arming and military training of fascist bands.

"Through the united action of the masses, we must form a democratic government, based upon the Belgian Labor Party, the Christian Democrats and liberals. Such a government, supported by the masses, can defend Belgium against attempts at fascist coups d'etat."

Turning to the tasks connected with the struggle for peace, the reporter recalled the words of Romain Rolland to the effect that peace means death for fascism. To fight for peace is to weaken the positions of fascism at home and on an international scale. It stands to reason that the Communist Party of Belgium, now more than ever before, is against a "sacred alliance" with Belgian capitalism. If the Belgian

bourgeoisie were to attempt a new war of aggression, the Communist Party would strain all its efforts to prevent it. The Belgian working class is deeply interested in defending the independence of its native land against fascist aggressors.

"For this reason," said the speaker, "we condemn the government's policy of 'neutrality', a policy which plays into the hands of Hitler and leaves Belgium, isolated, at his mercy. We must understand once and for all that peace is indivisible. Our country requires the help of the big powers more than any other country. When the King, Van Zeeland, and Monsieur Spaak advise the country to turn away from the League of Nations and collective security, they are playing into the hands of the fascist states and causing disarray among the bloc of powers which support peace. . . . Neutrality means war!"

In order to safeguard the security of the country, the Communist Party considers it necessary to strengthen collective security within the system of the League of Nations, to clear out the fascist elements from among the officers, to improve the living conditions of the soldiers, to strengthen the ties between the army and the people, and the physical education of the youth, and not to adopt the measures for militarization pursued by the government or to increase the term of military service.

With regard to the economic demands for which the Communist Party is prepared to fight side by side with all the workers, Comrade Relecom put forward the slogan, "Make the Rich Pay!" The financial sources which should provide the government with the possibility of improving the conditions of the workers must be a high tax upon the big capitalists, confiscation of 90 per cent of the profits gained by the devaluation of the Belgian franc in 1935.

Is it true that it is not possible to have a People's Front in Belgium, because there is no Radical Party in Belgium? Of course not! For the Belgian petty bourgeois, be he liberal or Catholic, is no less desirous of peace and freedom than his class brother, the French radical.

Is it true that it is not possible to have a People's Front in Belgium because it is not compatible with support of the Van Zeeland government? Of course not! For the People's Front is composed not on the lines of support or opposition to this or that government; it must unite all anti-fascists, all friends of peace.

Is it true that the People's Front in Belgium will be directed against religion at the same time? Of course not! It is the fascists who insult the religious feelings of religious people. We Communists, while remaining atheists, defend and will defend the right of the working people to freedom of conscience.

According to the speaker, the most expedient organizational form the People's Front should take today is a network of local People's Front committees. It is not necessary to insist upon any definite organizational form. We must adapt ourselves with the maximum flexibility to the traditions and customs of the working people of each given region and district.

Unity in the working class movement should be the basis of the People's Front. And in this part of his report Comrade Relecom indicated the immediate tasks of the Party in the struggle for the united front with the Socialists, and for trade union unity.

He pointed out that certain revolutionary trade unions, which have only a comparatively small membership, for instance the Revolutionary Miners' Center, should once and for all overcome their sectarianism, which is still to be found even among the leadership, and join the mass trade union organizations led by the reformists. The experience gained from strikes and demonstrations carried out jointly has shown that there are extremely favorable prospects for establishing trade union unity, despite the resistance of the reformist trade union leaders who wish to maintain the split in the working class ranks.

Comrade Relecom gave detailed reasons for the expediency of applying the slogan put forward last year demanding that the Communist Party of Belgium affiliate to the Labor Party. He stressed the point that the Communist Party has no intention either of losing its identity in the Labor Party, or of carrying on disintegrating work therein.

The discussion on the report of Comrade Relecom revealed a unanimous desire and readiness on the part of the Communist Party to carry out the militant tasks facing it of uniting all the progressive and democratic forces of the Belgian people against fascism. The delegates approved the proposal to join the Labor Party and for the revolutionary trade unions to join the mass trade unions. A number of delegates spoke with great indignation about the treacherous, undermining work against the united and People's Front which the remains of the counter-revolutionary, Trotskyist groupings still endeavor to carry on.

The report of Comrade Van den Boom was devoted to the Flemish national question. The fascists are trying to play upon the national feelings of the Flemish people with a view to separating Flanders from Belgium and converting it into an appendage of the Hitler "Third Empire".

Comrade Van den Boom gave a detailed exposition of the position of the Communist Party on the question of the national demands of the Flemish working people. Between the Flemish and Walloon (French-speaking) peoples, there are, and can be, no conflicting interests. Any attempt to sow strife and enmity between these peoples is directed toward weakening the power of resistance of Belgium in the face of possible fascist aggression. The Communist Party of Belgium is fighting for unity between Flanders and Wallonie on the basis of equal rights for both peoples, their right to complete self-determination. However, in the interests of Belgian independence, it is inexpedient for these peoples to exist as independent states: the Communist Party therefore advocates the autonomy of Flanders and Wallonie within the framework of the Belgian state.

In order that the work of the Party in Flanders should better correspond to the needs and requirements of the Flemish people, the Congress decided to form an independent Communist Party of Flanders within the framework of the united Communist Party of Belgium, which

independent party will be able to come closer to the masses of the Flemish working people and offer resistance to the demagogic agitation of the fascists.

The Congress was conducted in the spirit of revolutionary internationalism. In the discussion, again and again the question arose as to how most effectively and expediently to organize aid for the Spanish people. Delegates from different localities told of what they had already managed to do.

The Congress heard with great interest the speeches of the delegates from fraternal Communist Parties—Comrade Monmouseau of the Communist Party of France, and Comrade Shields from the Communist Party of Great Britain.

The Congress sent hearty greetings to the leadership of the Communist International, in a telegram addressed to its glorious helmsman, Comrade Dimitroff:

“The Congress of the Communist Party of Belgium sends fraternal greetings to the beloved and admired leader of our International.

“We pledge ourselves to continue the struggle for closer unity of the working class and for an alliance with all democratic forces, in order to bar the way against fascism, to defend peace, the bread and the freedom of the working people of Belgium. We pledge ourselves to launch a mighty campaign of international solidarity among the working people.”

With indescribable enthusiasm and never-ending ovations, the Congress expressed its love for the Soviet Union and the leader of the people, Comrade Stalin, and despatched the following telegram:

“The Congress of the Communist Party of Belgium sends heartfelt and fraternal greetings to the genius and leader of the peoples of the Soviet Union and of the glorious Communist Party of the U.S.S.R.

“The Congress declares itself in solidarity with the measures of safety and state defense adopted by the responsible authorities of the U.S.S.R. with a view to ensuring the victorious development of socialism in the Soviet Union, the great land of peace, the fatherland of the working people of all countries.”

Swiss Democracy Threatened by Fascism

By K. MAYER

UNDER the pretense of the "guarantee of peace, order and security" the Swiss Federal Council by *administrative methods*, at the beginning of November, decided on "measures against Communist intrigues" and *put them immediately into operation*. Accordingly the Federal prosecutor and the police were empowered to seize all Communist, Anarchist, anti-militarist and anti-religious propaganda material coming from abroad, as well as native writings "which endanger the security of the country at home and abroad"; to forbid educational classes which serve to spread Communist propaganda and tactics; to forbid Communist meetings, "if there is a suspicion that they will lead to a disturbance of the peace and of security"; foreign speakers are obliged to register with the police; and finally the International Labor Defense is forbidden all political activity and its further "activity is to be put under observation—in case of refusal the organization to be dissolved".

Apart from this, the Federal Council has introduced in Parliament a so-called "Law and Order Bill" which also provides for an eventual prohibition of the Communist Party. This outright violation of the constitution is presented as a harmless "constitutional amendment".

These measures are an open violation of the constitution on the part of the reactionary circles. The old democratic rights of the Swiss people, such as the right of organization, freedom of the press and of meetings, the freedom to express political opinions, are now placed under the heel of the police.

In 1932, as yet, when one of the canton governments prohibited Comrade Humbert-Droz from appearing at meetings and speaking, this was declared by the highest federal court to be contrary to the constitution and the prohibition was annulled.

In the present bill submitted by the Federal Council the strong course towards fascism can be seen. This has been grasped by Left bourgeois circles as well. The Committee for Democratic Freedom sent the following protest to the Federal Council:

"As free Swiss citizens we feel it is our duty to raise our voice in time against such a deadly incision into democratic principles. We use deliberately the word 'deadly', for with the prohibition of the Communist Party the last short act in the life of democracy is begun."

That is absolutely true. The measures of the government are not only directed against the Communist Party, but also against Social-

Democracy, the trade unions and the whole democratic movement of the people.

In order to have a direct excuse for this decision, an actual hunt for anti-fascist emigrants was instituted by the Federal Council. In Zurich alone fifty houses were searched and, in violation of the right of asylum, a number of emigrants were arrested. By this means, reaction tried to construe a "foreign conspiracy". But the "proofs" with which the Federal Council tried to represent the C.P.S. as an "organization conducted from abroad" were so untenable that it did not dare to bring the prisoners to trial and *secretly* deported them. It also did not succeed in declaring the Communist Party an enemy of democracy, since the Party at its Sixth Congress in May proclaimed publicly, with all clarity, that the most important political task at this time is the defense of Swiss democracy and the independence of the country from fascism, which it is also carrying out in its daily struggles. Therefore the Federal Council also did not dare to hold a referendum on its decisions as required by the constitution.

This behavior is in line, on the one hand, with *foreign influence* and, on the other hand, is the expression of the process of the development of fascism *in the country itself*. From abroad it is Hitler fascism first and foremost which threatens Swiss democracy and exercises severe pressure on the country. Its imperialist lust for two-thirds of Swiss territory is well known. Repeatedly the Nazi government and Goebbels demand that a muzzle be put on the democratic Swiss press and that measures be taken against anti-fascist activities. These demands have already been partially fulfilled by the warning issued to the press against "insulting a friendly government", by the prohibition of meetings directed against the Hitler terror, as well as by deporting well-known anti-fascist and democratic people and speakers. This is done while the N.S.D.A.P. fascists sent from Berlin, can, for their part, freely preach hatred against Swiss democracy. The widespread Nazi spy and informer system is trying to penetrate into every pore of Swiss life.

Dozens of facts of Nazi interference and of threats to Swiss independence prove that Hitler has had his hand also in this present edict of the Berne government. Even the bourgeois *National Zeitung* of Basle writes "*that this whole act must appear as official approval of the Nuremberg advocated crusade. . .*"

Instead of the protection of the democratic institutions in Switzerland against the efforts of the Hitler and Mussolini fascists and their hirelings of Swiss origin, as is demanded by the masses of the people, the Federal Council through the violation of the constitution smooths the path for the gravediggers of the freedom of our people. The tendency of the foreign policy of the Swiss government is more and more leaning towards the fascist powers. The anti-Soviet attitude, the support of Mussolini's robber war in Ethiopia, and now the actual support of the rebel generals in Spain (the Swiss authorities forbid the organization of activities in aid of the democratic republic of Spain), along with the present reactionary outcroppings in home policy, form links in a single chain.

The fascist danger which threatens the Swiss people has its roots also in the reactionary tendencies of the native big bourgeoisie and their parties. For a long time now in the old Swiss capitalist parties, in the Free Thinking and the Catholic Conservative Party, tendencies have been developing towards fascist methods of rule, for oppressing the people and for unlimited exploitation. At the same time, with the strengthening of fascist ideology in the above-mentioned bourgeois parties, they are also going through a process of "renewal" in the direction of fascism.

How far this "renewal" has as its purpose the declaration of war on the Swiss working class movement was recently stated quite openly by the leading organ of the financial magnates, the "free-thinking" *Neue Züricher Zeitung*. In an article on the possibilities of a policy of coalition with Social-Democracy, it stated:

"The most firmly based democracy cannot get out of a decisive conflict with Marxism sooner or later. For Swiss democracy, with the deep-going changes in the *surrounding* world, it has become a life and death question." (*Neue Züricher Zeitung*, Oct. 28, 1936.)

It can be seen that the fascist aims on the part of the Swiss big reactionary capitalists are by no means small, if they take as models the North (Hitler Germany) and the South (Mussolini Italy). The Catholic Conservative Party has already declared that the Italian-Austrian pattern of state form is to be the aim for Switzerland also. To this must be added the fascist-infected officers' societies and the open fascist groups like the "National Front", the "National Union", etc., which form the Swiss training school for Nazi recruits.

The more all of these call for a "strong hand", the louder they shout for "order", the more does their economy sink into disorder and chaos. The past year shows the highest figures of unemployment. The 30 per cent devaluation of the Swiss franc at the end of September has already led to a marked increase in prices. The masses of the workers are increasingly resisting wage reductions and are demanding wage increases. The peasants are demanding higher prices for their products. It is very characteristic that the leaders of the peasants underline these demands with the remark that "otherwise the peasants will no longer be able to guarantee the prevention of events similar to those in Spain". The peasant leaders know that the opposition peasant groups are inclined towards a People's Front and are warning the ruling circles of the stormy growth of dissatisfaction among the masses of the peasants. Leading circles are trying to turn aside the dissatisfaction of the people by an anti-Communist campaign; meanwhile the police are to suppress the coming wage struggles, which are certain to break out in spite of the fact that the Federal Council has appointed itself as the only authority in the arbitration court.

The drive of Swiss reaction is directed against the united front and the People's Front. The French and Spanish examples are finding a great response among the Swiss people. The reaction is now trying "to

prevent" any further development. It is actually assisted in this by the obstinate rejection of the united front by the Right-wing leaders of the trade unions and the Social-Democratic Party. At the time that reaction has chosen for the attack these leaders have broken up, with the exception of Geneva, joint bodies for action which existed in the different localities such as Basle, Zurich. At the Congress of the Trade Unions which took place a short while ago, the "Scandinavian path" was put forward in opposition to the policy of the united and People's Front. In view of the sharpening situation in the country, the opponents of the united front tried to save themselves by "demarcation from the Communists" and unconditional collaboration with the bourgeoisie. But the first reply of reaction as a result was the violation of the constitution.

Immediately after the enactment of these laws by the Federal Council, the Communist Party once again proposed to the Socialist Party of Switzerland to carry on united action, joint demonstrations and meetings, to mobilize together the other democratic forces in order to fight to prevent the passing of the proposed "Order Bill" and to get the necessary signatures for the referendum on two proposals: one proposal on the freedom of the press proposed by the Socialist Party and the other proposed by the Communist Party prohibiting the federal government from issuing exceptional laws and enforcing the obligatory referendums. Because of the mass pressure the Socialist Party felt bound to publish statements against the police measures and in some districts to hold protest meetings. Nevertheless, the C.P. proposals for unity of action were rejected by the S.P. leadership.

In spite of this refusal, the C.P. recognizes the "Directives for Reconstruction of Economy and for Defense of Democracy" put forward by the Trade Union Congress, together with some Left bourgeois groups, as a basis for cooperation. The answer of the Socialist Party to this contained the ridiculous objection that the Swiss Communist Party has no longer any basis for existence side by side with the S.P. "Not the united front but the liquidation of the C.P. is therefore on the order of the day" is the conclusion of the S.P.'s reply.

The earlier lying "arguments", which said: "Because the Communists are opponents of democracy it is impossible to cooperate with them", have been turned upside down in order to continue the split further. And in order to disperse any suspicion on the part of the bourgeoisie, which could destroy the present confidential negotiations for the entry of Social-Democracy into the Federal Council, the S.P. press declares that: "There is no question of a fusion or of absorption of Communist policy in the Social-Democratic Party. Even the entry of Communists individually is connected with quite definite regulations."

First of all, therefore, the reactionary leaders of Social-Democracy demand that the Communist Party of Switzerland should liquidate itself and go into the Socialist Party. But on account of the frowns of the bourgeoisie they immediately revise this attitude and declare that there is no question of the entry of the Communist Party into the Socialist Party, although the Communists, of course, have not the slightest intention of giving up their Party. The policy of the reactionary and

Social-Democratic leaders in Switzerland brings to mind the worst period of the policy of capitulation of German Social-Democracy in the endeavor to ward off their fate by continual yielding to reaction by giving up the vital rights of the workers and working people. Meanwhile, in the ranks of the Social-Democratic working class, sympathy with the French and Spanish People's Front is growing, as well as the desire for a united and People's Front in Switzerland. The reactionary Social-Democratic leaders who are giving themselves such airs at the present time were then forced to use more and more threatening language against the adherents of the united front in their own ranks and particularly against the Geneva working class.

The C.P.S., supported by the growing pressure of the Social-Democratic working class, is carrying on unhesitatingly its fight for unity, its fight for the united and People's Front. It knows that, in view of the danger of fascism and of war, the united and People's Front have become an urgent necessity, that they will be put through, regardless of all the demagogy and maneuvers of the Right Social-Democratic leaders. It is carrying on the fight against the reactionary, anti-democratic resolutions of the Federal Council as part of its fight for the united front.

Lower Social-Democratic and trade union organizations are joining in our fight. The Social-Democratic and Communist youth are carrying through joint action. Many bourgeois-democratic voices have also been raised against the violation of the constitution.

Meanwhile the government is putting its reactionary measures into operation. Apart from the scientific works of Marx and Lenin, during the month of November, 1936, a whole number of books of a general anti-fascist character have been confiscated: for example, the Social-Democratic-pacifist *Death in Dabos*, a book by the well-known writer, Emil Ludwig, and a second book, *The New German War*, which is only just in print from the ex-German officer, Dr. Klotz. And just recently *l'Humanité* has also been prohibited.

Such police laws are hated by the Swiss people. Already such measures have been rejected twice in election struggles. Even now the workers and working people are ready to defend the democracy and legality of the working class movement. The most advanced workers will strengthen still more their drive for the united front, they demand the referendum on the violation of the constitution. A heavy responsibility will lie on Social-Democracy for the further development of fascism in the country if they continue to reject the united and People's Front. The reactionary attack can only be defeated with the aid of the united and People's Front and thus the protection of Swiss democracy against domestic and foreign fascism. It is high time!

Concerning the Mistakes of the Communist Party of Latvia

IN THE beginning of August, the International Control Commission examined the case of a number of members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia. Serious political and organizational mistakes of the Party leadership, which had arisen out of its sectarian tendencies, formed the basis of the case.

The greatest defeat of the Latvian people, ever since the fall of the Soviet government in Latvia, was the fascist coup d'etat on May 15, 1934. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia pursued a sectarian line in its political activities, in consequence of which it was unable to mobilize the masses and take over the leadership of the movement against the menace of fascism, and was actually caught completely unawares when the coup d'etat took place.

A serious mistake had previously been made in the Party in 1929, when the Central Committee regarded the reactionary parliamentary government of Tselman as "open fascist dictatorship". The Central Committee of the Party failed to understand that, in the struggle against the fascist danger, it must rise in defense of the democratic republic, striving to rally together all the anti-fascist elements. While correctly exposing the collaboration between the Social-Democratic leaders and the bourgeoisie turning fascist, the Party nevertheless underestimated the swing to the Left which was in process among the Social-Democratic working masses, and did not apply the tactics of the united proletarian front as the most important weapon in the work of gathering all the anti-fascist forces. More than once the Party made the most serious mistakes in identifying the Social-Democratic leaders and even the Social-Democratic workers with the bourgeoisie. Through the sectarian line it pursued in relation to work in the trade unions, the Party found itself isolated from the Social-Democratic workers.

After the fascist coup d'etat, it was pointed out to the Central Committee that it must immediately rectify the mistakes it had made. However, these instructions were hidden from the Party organizations; moreover, the instructions received were not even collectively discussed at a meeting of the Central Committee. Having taken the road of sabotaging the carrying out of these instructions, the Central Committee glossed over its mistakes. It failed to understand the new situation which had arisen in the country and the new relation of class forces which existed after the fascist coup d'etat. In particular, the Central Committee failed to understand the changed role of Social-Democracy and the importance of the united front in the struggle against fascism, and for improvements of the conditions of the working class, for the concrete partial demands of the working masses. The Central Com-

mittee continued to treat even the illegal Social-Democratic organizations as social-fascist bodies, regarding the united front tactics as a maneuver.

The sectarianism and self-satisfied attitude of the leadership also seriously affected its organizational work, as well as the selection of cadres. For over sixteen years there had been no serious verification and purging of the Party ranks. The Central Committee did not even know its own leading Party cadres. People of whom the Central Committee had absolutely no knowledge at all, and who, indeed, did not deserve any confidence, were sometimes promoted "from below" to responsible work. And finding themselves in responsible positions in this way, these Party workers were still not verified from the viewpoint of their loyalty to the proletariat and the Communist Party, and their ability to cope with the work entrusted to them.

Admission into the Party took place without any serious check-up. Sometimes provocateurs who had previously been expelled from the Party again wormed their way into the Party.

As a result of such an extreme blunting of Party vigilance among the leadership of the Party, some of the Party organizations were found to be infested with doubtful elements and provocateurs. One of the most serious defects in the work of the Central Committee was that it did not study and investigate the reasons for the breakdown which occurred. In consequence of this, the causes for the majority of the breakdowns were never discovered. In general, no really serious attention was paid to the systematic struggle against treachery and provocation.

There was systematic, serious violation of the elementary rules of conspiracy not only on the part of the rank-and-file members of the Party, but also among a number of the members of the Central Committee and other responsible Party workers, which aided the secret police in its fight against the Party.

The International Control Commission has established the fact that the chief responsibility for the situation which has arisen in the Party lies upon Comrades Martin-Ozol, M.K., a member of the Party since 1917, and Pauser, F.P. (Krukis), a member of the Party since 1920.

Comrade Pauser did not fully realize his serious guilt before the Party. Even when the case was under investigation, he continued to try to lay the blame upon others.

The International Control Commission has issued a strict censure to Comrade Martin-Ozol, and a strict censure and a warning to Comrade Pauser, and prohibited him from occupying any responsible Party position for a period of two years.

The Murder of Edgar Andre and the Fight for Peace

THE fascists have murdered Edgar Andre. On November 5, 1936, in Hamburg, after three and a half years of inhuman torture in the torture chambers of the Hamburg Gestapo, Hitler's hangmen executed this popular leader of the Hamburg working class, one of the devoted fighters of the German Communist Party, the fearless anti-fascist representative of the people.

In Edgar Andre, the German and with it the international proletariat have lost one of its best and most loyal fighters for the cause of the people, for the cause of peace. The murder of Edgar Andre was committed at a time when Hitler's bombing planes are bringing death and destruction to the women and children of Spain, when German warships are threatening Spanish ports and when Hitler, in alliance with Mussolini, is preparing to put into action his criminal war plans against the freedom and independence of the people of Europe. The murder of Edgar Andre shows that the Hitler fascists, the fomenters of war in the international arena, are introducing a new wave of terror against the German people.

The death sentence on Edgar Andre was passed on June 10, 1936, after a farce of a trial. Between the death sentence and its execution there developed a great international fight for the rescue of Edgar Andre, and the whole of advanced mankind passionately fought for the defense of freedom and democracy in Spain, for the maintenance of peace in the world.

After the death sentence, the *Baseler Nationalzeitung* wrote:

"If Andre's head is really to roll, all those in Europe who are ever ready to allow sand to be thrown in their eyes will then truly know what they can expect from the present earnest efforts of the leading gentlemen of the Third Reich for closer relations."

The fascists have murdered Edgar Andre. They have flung their bloody provocation in the face of the whole of civilized mankind, they have answered the protest of the most famous lawyers, scientists, artists, working class organizations and peace organizations with the murder of one of the best fighters for peace.

* * *

Edgar Andre, born in 1896 in Aachen, became one of the most passionate fighters for peace through his experiences during the imperialist war. He was drawn into the war as a volunteer, and in the butchery of the imperialist war he realized that the fight against the criminals of

war, the fight for the guarantee of peace demanded the complete absorption of the individual in the ranks of the working class movement. After the war he did not remain long in the ranks of Social-Democracy, whose policy of class collaboration he fought against even as a Social-Democrat. He realized that only the unity of the workers, on the basis of the class struggle, would lead to the emancipation of the working class and all the oppressed. It was no accident that Edgar Andre, when he was still a Social-Democrat, revolutionary in spirit, became the leader of the Hamburg unemployed movement. His courage in the struggle for the interests of the poorest of the poor, his incorruptibility, his frankness and readiness to help, won for him, even at that time, great popularity and the growing confidence of the Hamburg working class. The passionate accusations which Edgar Andre made in the membership meeting of the Social-Democrats, in the general meetings of the unemployed and in public meetings against anti-working class measures, bear witness to the fact that Edgar Andre had through his experiences in the post-war period ripened into a revolutionary.

At the end of 1922 he became a member of the Communist Party of Germany. He, the revolutionary closely bound to the masses, through his tireless work in the ranks of the Communist Party, by his devotion to the cause of Communism, through his steadfastness in the face of the provocation of the enemies of the working class, was a shining example to the workers of Hamburg and of the water front.

He never lost touch with the Social-Democratic masses. He went, whenever it was at all possible, to Social-Democratic meetings in order to speak with the workers and functionaries about the joint struggle. But Edgar Andre was not only an example in his comradely relationship with the Social-Democratic workers, but also in his tireless initiative in representing the interests of the small handicraftsmen, the small tradesmen, salesmen, etc. Wherever there were public meetings which interested the masses, there was Edgar Andre, were it the Free Thinkers, the Teetotalers or the pacifist women's organizations, etc. The reactionary parties, the German Nationalists and later the Nazis feared his polemical speeches, in which he understood the art of making the working people, who belonged to these parties, think.

Edgar Andre, from the very first day, in the Hamburg Party organization, was a devoted fighter for rooting the Party in the masses. He was utterly devoted to the Communist International, the world party of Lenin and Stalin. Through his daily mass work, by his ability to keep in contact with the most varied strata of the working people, he fought successfully against the sectarianism of Ruth Fisher and Maslov who afterwards fell into counter-revolutionary Trotskyism. He was an unswerving fighter against all sorts of opportunism. Edgar Andre stood loyally by the Party under the leadership of Ernst Thaelmann, when, after the heroic October of 1923, Urbahns and others, who today belong to the scum of international Trotskyism, made the attempt to confuse the Party organization and to spit it. When, in 1925, the counter-revolutionary Urbahns-Maslov clique in Hamburg took to vile methods of struggle, they centered their criminal hatred above all on Edgar Andre, who had

won back for the Party by his revolutionary power of conviction those organizations which had wavered.

The love and confidence which Ernst Thaelmann always had in Edgar Andre were based on the devotion which Edgar Andre had always shown to the cause of the Party and of the proletariat.

Edgar Andre made the Red Front Fighter's League on the waterfront, the leader of which he had been elected in 1929, a real mass organization of struggle against imperialist war, for the maintenance of peace. Tens of thousands of workers were united by Edgar Andre in the service of peace and against impudent fascism.

It is enough to mention such shining names as Fiete Schulze, August Leuttgens, Wolff, Tesch and Fischer, names such as Arthur Retzlaff—all Hamburg and Altona workers, who have been executed by Hitler—in order to show what magnificent revolutionary cadres grew up under Edgar Andre's leadership and in the closest community with him. Edgar Andre led the Red Front Fighter's League up to its prohibition in 1931. Then Edgar Andre took up trade union work on the waterfront, among the dock workers and fishermen, the agricultural workers and small peasants, chiefly in the Cuxhaven district. Later he was active in the Seamen's and Dockers' International in Belgium and France at the very time when he is supposed to have committed those acts which the Nazis put forward as the "excuse" for murdering Edgar Andre. In Spain, also, where now German and Italian fascism, in league with Franco and Mola, are striving to destroy the rights of the workers, Edgar Andre agitated for trade union organization, served the cause of peace and international solidarity.

Edgar Andre had always one aim, the defense of the working class and its organizations against bloody fascism, the maintenance of peace and the fight for socialism. For this the fascists hated him. More than once they tried to murder him by an ambush so as to rob the Hamburg workers of one of their most popular leaders. The fearlessness with which Edgar Andre met the fascist provocations at the meetings in which they forced their way in, armed, the bravery with which he defended the masses from the attacks of the armed Nazi bands in the streets of Hamburg, gave courage to the masses to defend themselves against the ever more impudent provocations of the fascists.

When Edgar Andre, owing to the confidence of the workers in him, was elected to the Reichstag for Hamburg and from that tribune also brought forward the demands of the exploited, the Nazis organized that shameful attempt, in a bus in the suburbs of Hamburg to which not Edgar Andre, as was intended, but our Comrade Ernst Henning, a member of the Hamburg Council, fell victim.

The brutality of this infamous crime infuriated not only Hamburg and Germany, but all honest, right thinking men. It will never be forgotten that at that time, Hitler, just as he greeted the murderers of Potempa* so he also took under his protection the scoundrels entrusted with the murder of Edgar Andre. This murderer of Ernst Henning, after

* In 1932 in the mining village Potempa (Upper Silesia) a farm laborer Pitsokh was brutally murdered by the fascists in front of his family.

Hitler came to power, became a high official in the Hamburg police force. It was they who tormented Edgar Andre during his forty-four months of imprisonment.

When Edgar Andre was arrested on March 6, 1933, the Nazis announced openly that they would brutally revenge themselves on Edgar Andre. They, who always cowardly ran away whenever he met them—although he was armed only with courage and fearlessness—gloated over the sufferings of their unarmed prisoner. The highest dignitary of the fascist state—Hitler's deputy, Kaufmann, senators and chairmen—personally took part in this brutal treatment, visited his cell at their whim. None can describe what Andre, the fighter for peace, had to endure in those forty-four months of barbarous imprisonment. But we know one thing—that Edgar Andre, after indescribable ill-treatment, suffering unbearable torture, never lost his courage, and that he, as the last photograph (in the court) shows, always looked his torturers and executioners boldly in the eyes. The comrades who sat in the same prison with Edgar Andre lived through terrible hours when it was known that Edgar Andre was to be put through fresh tortures. But Edgar, whenever it was possible, always found a word, a look, a stolen greeting for the comrades who suffered with him and whom he often saw mount the scaffold, with heads held high like him, steeled by his bold example.

The so-called indictment which Hitler's judges forged against Edgar Andre surpassed all previous ones in villainy and cynicism. The methods which were used in Andre's trial make us terribly conscious of the danger in which Ernst Thaelmann stands as long as the Hitler murder gang has him in their grasp. The Hamburg blood-stained court simply obeyed the order of Hitler and Goering that Andre's head must fall. Edgar Andre stood before the court as a revolutionary, he tore the indictment to bits and his steady voice rang through the hall:

"You know that the charges brought against me are false; say what this is all about; say that you want to destroy me because I fought for the cause of the working class, because I belong to the Communist Party as long as a drop of blood is left in me!"

Edgar Andre's courageous speech to the court, the proud bearing of the fighter who had the heroic example of Georgi Dimitroff before his eyes, aroused throughout the world hatred of fascism and admiration for the anti-fascist accuser. It also increased the wrath of the fascist murderers and their determination physically to destroy the man of the people. The collapse of the last "judicial" link of the so-called indictment was brought about when the "chief witness for the prosecution" withdrew his forced evidence. There only remained the naked, brutal murder of an unarmed opponent.

The murder of Edgar Andre calls aloud to the whole world to strengthen with all energy the fight for the release of Ernst Thaelmann. Every effort must be made so that the tremendous sympathy which is felt by the masses throughout the world for the imprisoned leader of the German working class can be expressed in the organization of an inter-

national movement, which must grow ever more powerful. The remark of the fascist Minister of Justice, Frank, that Ernst Thaelmann is responsible for 400 alleged murders of National-Socialists shows clearly that *Ernst Thaelmann's life was never in such danger as now.*

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany, expressing the feelings of millions of German anti-fascists, in its appeal issued in connection with the murder of Edgar Andre by the fascists, declared:

"The murder of Edgar Andre proves that the life of those who are hostages in the power of the Hitler regime are in the greatest danger. The world must know that this regime which tortures and executes German fighters for peace, which simultaneously sends its bombing planes against the peaceful Spanish people, is capable of unimaginable cruelty towards other peoples. Just as today in Madrid, it will prepare with the same recklessness, tomorrow, death and destruction for the populations of Paris and Prague. May the innocently shed blood of our dear, unforgettable friend Edgar Andre be a reminder to all working people, to all right thinking people in Germany and in the world, to gather together all forces, to shrink from no effort, in order in common to free the prisoners of the Hitler regime. Ernst Thaelmann, the symbol of peace and of a free Germany, is in the greatest danger."

May Hitler, Goering, Rosenberg and Company learn that the blood of Edgar Andre which they have shed will awake further hundreds of thousands and millions in the world to determination in the fight for peace, against the fascist warmongers, for the freedom and independence of the peoples, and particularly for the emancipation of the German people from the yoke of barbaric fascism.

THE LAST LETTER OF EDGAR ANDRE

Hamburg, November, 3:24 A.M.

MY DEAR BROTHER,

So here is my last letter. Don't let it upset you. I remain courageous to the last and have only one regret: that I have not seen you for so long. But I am looking at your photo now and see your good face, dear old brother and comrade.

I am spending my last night with my lawyer who has done so very much for me. As for myself, I have fought to the last to prove my innocence; but all to no purpose, and in two and a half hours I go to the scaffold.

I have always tried to do my duty and believe I have managed to do it pretty well.

I die honestly, a man devoted to his opinions.

Think sometimes of me. A thousand thanks for all your trouble during these last months. Give my love to Julia and my friends and, a word in closing, be courageous like me and accept the last embraces of one who has always loved you well as a brother.

Wholly yours, and last greetings,

EDGAR

Japanese Expansion in the South Seas

By A. GEVE

IN SPEAKING of the lines along which Japanese aggression is proceeding, Comrade Dimitroff established the fact that "Japanese imperialism is striving to subject all the peoples of Asia, including India, and to seize the Philippines and Australia. It is preparing for a decisive encounter with the United States and Great Britain." ("The United Front of Struggle for Peace", *The Communist International*, No. 6, 1936, p. 719.)

In a recent issue of the quarterly *Tikhyyi Okean (Pacific Ocean)*, No. 3, 1936, published by the Pacific Cabinet of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., there appear a number of articles, basing themselves on Japanese sources of information and analyzing the penetration of Japanese imperialism into the Southwest Pacific.

As everybody knows, five years ago Japan declared that her seizure of Manchuria was undertaken out of motives of "self defense", the necessity of defending her own "course of life". Today the Japanese imperialists, having concluded an agreement with German fascism, cannot conceal the fact that their desires, the direct purpose of their foreign aggression, go much further than the seizure of Manchuria and the North of China, and even reach beyond the bounds of China. The difficulties with which Japan is confronted in assimilating the enormous territories she has already seized, and in pushing further into the mainland, have not mitigated her aggressiveness, but are pushing her into the South. In view of the fact that "the Manchurian undertaking is not profitable", the question has been raised point-blank in the Japanese bourgeois press during the last year of the necessity of simultaneously proceeding into the South—into the neighborhood of the South Seas.

It is first of all important to establish *what exactly* the Japanese imperialists mean by the "South Seas". The former Japanese ambassador to Washington—Debuti—gives us the answer to this.

"We assert," he writes, "that all the territory to the South of us in the Pacific Ocean (including the Philippines, Dutch Indies, former German colonies and French Indo-China, Siam, Burma, Australia, New Zealand and so on) are of real importance to Japan. All the islands, big and small, in the Equatorial zone, are extremely valuable to Japan. From this point of view, all these regions situated to the south of us, which are American or British possessions, I call South Sea regions." (Quoted in *Tikhyyi Okean*, No. 3, 1936, p. 160.)

The same applies to the American and British colonial possessions, declares the Director of the Ishihara Koyitsiro, a well-known Japanese firm:

"During the time of the Manchurian events there was a tendency to proceed to the South; however, the events of the last few years have taken a turn which has compelled us to proceed to the mainland. But the movement on to the mainland aimed at solving those tasks which would have had some effect in solving the vital problems of our country. However, our achievements on the mainland do not fully solve the tasks which confront us. This is explained by the natural conditions in the North: the North with its severe climate is not favorable to the development of agriculture. For example, there is only one crop of rice annually in the North, while at the Equator, rice can be harvested three times a year. It is not for nothing that the European historians say: 'To rule over the Equator is to rule over the whole world.'" (*Ibid*, p. 161.)

The slogan which the Japanese imperialists put forward today in connection with realizing their task of establishing their "rule over the Equator" runs as follows: "In occupying the South, we must not forget the North, and vice versa, in occupying the North, we must not forget the South."

Naval circles and sections of the Japanese bourgeoisie, who are particularly interested in raw materials for the textile industry in the monopolist control of export markets in the South Seas, put forward the same slogan in a different form: "Defense in the North and advance into the South."

In preparation for this advance, the Japanese imperialists are conducting extensive propaganda calculated both to deceive the masses inside Japan itself and to supply their agents in colonial countries with ideological weapons. The Japanese newspapers point out that the solution of the problem of overpopulation in Japan is possible only at the expense of the South. In a recently published compendium on the South Sea countries we find the statement, for example, that the density of the population in these countries is equal to 15 persons per square kilometer, and in Australia, even 1 person per square kilometer, which makes it possible for Japan to settle millions of colonists there.

While drawing a bright picture of the natural wealth of the countries situated to the Southwest of the Pacific Ocean, the Japanese imperialists prove their right to possess them by "historical" and "racial" reasons. It appears that Annam, Siam, Borneo and Celebes ought to belong to Japan because as far back as the sixteenth century (in 1586) there were Japanese living there. We are assured by the ideologists of the Japanese "racial theory" that the Japanese are linked with the peoples inhabiting the countries of the South Seas by "blood relationship". Captain Ikuno of the Japanese navy writes:

"In the veins of the Japanese people runs the blood of the ancient Japanese who settled in Japan, the blood of the Turanians who came to Japan from the mainland, and the blood of the peoples of the South Sea countries." (*Ibid*, p. 163.)

The Japanese imperialists promise to liberate these "compatriots" from the yoke of the "white race".

Saigo, one of the leaders of the Kokumin Domei Tsakan, a party rapidly turning fascist, made the declaration that Japan must free India, Siam and other countries from the British yoke. The statements of Isihara form an argument characteristic for the Japanese militarists and fascists.

"The rapacious policy of the white race towards the countries of the South" writes Isihara, "is unlawful. All the islands of the South are colonies of America and Europe. These countries protect their monopolist rights on the lands in the South of the Pacific and have deprived the Eastern peoples of all access thereto. . . . The greedy enslavement of the peoples of the South by the white race cannot continue for long. This enslavement resembles a tower built on sand, which, at the slightest vacillation, must fall to the ground. Facts illustrating the instability of the white race are evident. The policy of exploitation by the white nation is coming to an end, for the time is arriving for Japan's advance into the South." (*Ibid*, p. 263.)

This propaganda against the "white race" is accompanied by direct and absolutely unambiguous threats against America and England. "If the states with which Japan comes into conflict in realizing her Southern policy are unreasonable", writes the *Nichi-Nichi* of May 29, 1936, in its leading article, "and encroach upon Japan's course of life, then we Japanese will have to adopt measures which will bring them to their senses." (*Ibid*, p. 265.)

The Japanese imperialists by no means restrict themselves merely to propaganda concerning their mission to liberate these peoples, but are energetically preparing for aggression in the South. Information is once more in the Japanese press concerning the degree to which Japan is "interested" at the present time in the countries in the South of the Pacific Ocean. The Japanese magazine *Dayamondo* in its issue of January, 1936, publishes the information that capital investments in "the countries of the South Seas" amount to 4,644 million yen, and that Japan's share is 1,113.5 million yen; Holland, 1,314.7 million; England, 1,235.3 million; China and other Asiatic countries, 663.6 million; the United States, 76.8 million; France and Belgium, 121.3 million; Switzerland, Germany and Italy, 118.8 million yen. According to the magazine, the information concerning American investments is definitely an underestimate.

The growth of Japanese investments illustrates the increased penetration of Japanese finance capital into the British, American and Dutch colonies in the Pacific Ocean. We can take as an example Siam. The President of the Japanese Economic Mission, Isukawa, who returned in June, 1936, from a journey to Siam, asked Japanese journalists, in an interview, to refrain from giving a too bright picture of "Japan's plans of economic advancement into the South". He said: "Over-bright descriptions of the tasks of Japan in the countries of the South Seas will create the impression in those countries that Japan is preparing to make territorial seizures in the South of the Pacific Ocean." (*Ibid*, p. 163.)

Besides the economic penetration of Japan into the South, there is

an increased building of military bases for future aggression and a furious race in naval armaments. The newspaper *Asahi* wrote that today Japanese naval circles consider it extremely important "to complete the defense of Formosa by erecting sufficient fortifications". Konisi, a First Rank Captain in the Japanese Navy, wrote the following on the need for preparing for aggression in the South:

"The advance into the South first of all dictates to us the necessity of creating military bases. If we are left without these military bases, our Southern policy is doomed to failure. Where is it essential to create military bases? We consider that these bases should be created not on Japanese territory, but outside its borders."* (*Daiaziasugi*, December, 1935.)

This demand is now being carried out by the Japanese imperialists, who are building military bases not only on Formosa and the Mandated Islands, but in South China, Siam, etc., as well.

As far as naval armaments, one of the most important premises for aggression into the South, are concerned, growth is determined by an increase in the naval budget of from 550,000,000 yen in 1936-37, to 770,000,000 yen in 1937-38. ". . . In Japan all the shipbuilding companies are engaged in building warships. The Mitsubishi iron and steel works . . . the Kawasaki shipbuilding company (Dsiugo Bank), the Uruga Doki, Osaka Tekkodzio (Kurkara), the Fudsanato (Dsiugo Bank) . . . The Isikawadsima (Sibudsava) . . . Mitsui . . . Yokohoma . . . Harima Dzozen (Dsiugo Bank) . . . all these enterprises possess equipment for the building of warships." (*Chuokoron*, August, 1936.) New capital investments in naval arsenals, which amounted to 14,800,000 yen in 1933, equaled 31,800,000 yen in 1936; the number of workers in these arsenals increased from 37,842 in 1932 to 78,723 in 1936.

Preparations for "the advance into the South" have become an extremely profitable enterprise for the Japanese capitalists. While in 1932 the enterprises catering to the Admiralty made a profit of 3,989,000 yen, these profits increased to 44,919,000 yen during the first half of 1935 alone.

The so-called "Third Program" to reinforce the Japanese Navy, according to the Naval Minister, Nagano, drawn up "in connection with the fact that the terms of operation of naval agreements and naval programs of the Powers is about to expire", provides for the expenditure of 3,000,000,000 yen, *i.e.*, the same amount as demanded by the Army for the realization of its armaments program.

The alliance between Japan and Germany will, without doubt, intensify the policy of expansion of the more aggressive elements of Japanese imperialism. The plans of the so-called Marinists, who consider it essential for Japanese imperialism to advance immediately into the sphere of the "Southern Seas", may be put into operation at any moment.

Fascist Germany has already for a long time incited the Japanese military clique to more decisive action against England on the Pacific.

* According to Article 9 of the Washington Agreement, Japan has no right to fortify Formosa and the Mandated Islands.

The German newspapers all the time indicate to the Japanese militarists the need to go over to the offensive against England.

Thus, in the same number of *Tikhvi Okean* (page 24), the following interesting excerpt is given from the German *Berliner Tageblatt*:

“Japanese influence, with Siam as its starting point, has penetrated into all the Malay States, thus creating a powerful concentrated force, a ‘menace which threatens Singapore, Britain’s key position in the Far East.’”

Realizing the tremendous military and strategic importance for the British Empire of Singapore, with its entire system of military, naval and air force equipment built there during the last few years, German fascists are increasingly spreading the opinion that the Japanese have already cut the Kra Canal through the Siamese isthmus.

“Singapore will lose an extraordinary amount of its strategic importance [after the Kra Canal is cut—A.G.],” the *Voelkischer Beobachter* assures us, “because the Japanese fleet will be able to menace British India, while, at present, the route to India through the Malay Straits is barred by powerful coastal artillery.”

The fact that the German fascist press makes the most noise about the Kra Canal acquires special interest precisely now that the existence of the Japano-German agreement is known.

It can be said with confidence that in the not far distant future British imperialists will become convinced of the fact that their policy of concessions to the German fascists and their hope that it would force Germany to direct its aggression only against the East of Europe, will produce quite unexpected results: a Japanese imperialist offensive against England in the Pacific area.

The same number of *Tikhvi Okean* contains the correct notion that Great Britain, in trying to strike a balance in different parts of the world, will inevitably find itself in conflicting relations with the Dominions. The voice of the ruling circles in Canada and Australia can already be heard declaring that, like the U.S.A., they will observe neutrality in the event of any menace of war against England in Europe or Africa. On the other hand, Lord Lothian, a well-known advocate of the need to afford German fascism freedom of action in Eastern Europe, declares that England will not fight on behalf of Australia, while Lang, in Australia, declares that Australia will not fight on behalf of England’s interests in Europe.

This policy of concessions to, and actual encouragement of, the German fascists in Europe, which has already borne fruits in the Pacific, continues to strengthen the most adventurist elements among the Japanese militarists.

The reactionary policy of the British government encouraged to no small degree the agreement between Japan and fascist Germany, and is now encouraging Japanese aggression in the Pacific.

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