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## The Concordat between Germany and the Vatican

## THE CATHOLIC CHURCH ASSISTS FASCISM

By E. H.

"The Conclusion of a Concordat between the Holy See and the government of Germany appears to me to offer sufficient guarantee that Germans of the Roman Catholic confession will in the future place themselves unconditionally in the service of the new National Socialist State."

(Hitler, on the 8th July, 1933.)

The initialling of the Concordat agreement between the government of Germany and the Pope of Rome, which was triumphantly reported to Berlin on the 8th July by the Vice-Chancellor von Papen, has been made the occasion of a number of official celebrations by the Hitler government. The "Voelkischer Beobachter" declares that the conclusion of the Concordat is "a new and decisive act of the Hitler government," and points out that with this the arguments and accusations made against the National Socialist Party by the Centre (Catholic) Party for years have lost all credibility. The Vatican, the newspaper declares,

grants Hitler a Concordat just at the moment when the Centre Party is disappearing from the political arena for ever. And in his report von Papen declares that the conclusion of the Concordat is "historically significant," and goes on to say that "the two highest authorities" upon whose harmonious co-operation the well-being of the people depends, namely, the authority of the Church and the authority of the State, have mutually guaranteed "the provinces laid out for them by God." Hitler himself considered the conclusion of the Concordat important enough to issue an immediate partial amnesty for a number of Catholic organisations dissolved in the so-called battle between Church and State, and for the imprisoned Catholic priests on the express grounds that the Concordat offered "sufficient guarantee" for the future loyalty of German Catholics to his government.

Hitler and his supporters have good reason to triumph, for the Concordat with the Pope not only sanctions the dissolution

and destruction of the Catholic parties in Germany and the seizure of the Catholic trade union organisations, but it also breaks the back of the last remnants of opposition in the Evangelical Church offered by the **Bodelschwingh group**. Hitler even speaks quite openly of the fact that "now the question of peace in the Evangelical Church is only a matter of time."

The conclusion of the Concordat in Rome comes as a surprise not only to the supporters of the Centre Party in Germany, and above all to the Catholic workers of Germany, but also to large sections of the international bourgeoisie. The whole bourgeois world understood and approved the fact that neither the Catholic nor the Evangelical Church made any protest at any time, even the mildest, against the mass murders and bestialities of the Hitler government so far as they were perpetrated against the class-conscious proletariat. Revolutionaries and even workers who sympathise with them are outside the pale not only for the bourgeois politicians, but also for the preachers of Christian brotherly love. However, the fact that the churches made no protest of any sort against the persecution of the Jews and the maltreatment of harmless bourgeois pacifists caused a certain amount of head-shaking. For instance, the "Neue Zuercher Zeitung" reproached the Evangelical Church in Germany for its "lukewarmness" in this respect. But that the Pope would not only tolerate the destruction of his strongest bulwarks in Germany, but that he would even give his sanction to it by a Concordat was more than even the National Socialists themselves expected. The speedy and frictionless conclusion of the Concordat can be explained only by the fact that the Pope considers the danger of a proletarian revolution in Germany to be so threatening and acute that he is prepared to make big sacrifices in order to assist in the destruction of what the Catholic Italian newspaper "l'Avenire d'Italia" calls "the main enemy," Bolshevism. In addition, it must be assumed that Mussolini has not failed to do his fascist colleagues in Germany a service in the matter as a compensation for over-salting their Austrian soup. The Concordat between the Pope and the German government is on the same lines as the Lateran Agreement between the Pope and Mussolini.

The conclusion of the Concordat is also a bitter lesson for the social-democratic workers, for when Hitler proceeded with the mailed fist against the Centre Party, the Bavarian (Catholic) People's Party, the Catholic trade unions and apprentices' associations, the social-democratic leaders informed their followers joyfully that now Hitler would break his teeth on the granite rock of the seat of Peter. It was soon seen, however, that this rock was very well worn and crumbling, and that the terrible Communists were right once again when they declared to the social-democratic and Catholic workers that the emancipation of the working class could come only from a fighting united front of all workers, and least of all from the Catholic or any other church.

The Concordat also means a bitter disappointment for the millions of Catholic workers in the ranks of the Catholic trade unions and the Centre Party. These workers regarded their church not merely as a mediator between the sinful present and the glorious hereafter, but also as a representative of their earthly interests, as the protagonist of that "Christian justice and brotherly love" which is supposed to be the fruit of the Christian spirit on this earth. At least, that was their idea up to the moment, but it has now received a shock sufficient to destroy it for good and all. The Catholic Church, the "infallible" authority of the Papal See, has handed them over to the fascist storm detachments, to the trade union commissars of Hitler, and to the wage-cutting proclivities of the employers without turning a hair. Every new deterioration of their standards will remind them of this fact in the future. It is not often that a loyal army has been so betrayed and shamelessly sold.

Sold? Yes, sold, bargained for and sold. It was not only the fear of Bolshevism, not only because Mussolini has already softened his spine that the Pope abandoned his Catholic followers in Germany to Hitler, but because Hitler offered him a fair price, a price not this time in cash and land as was the case with Mussolini, but

in guarantees for the maintenance of the confessional character of the German schools, for the education of the youth in "Christian principles," for Catholic autonomy in questions of religious instruction, spiritual comfort, services, and the autonomy of the theological faculties, guarantees for the destruction of the free-thinking movement, including even the petty-bourgeois and reformist movement, the introduction of a severe censorship and condign punishments for anti-religious art, literature and science, and, above all, the handing over of the care of the unemployed, the poor, the crippled, etc., to the hands of the church which has wanted this for years. On this field the Catholic party and trade union officials, deposed by Hitler, will undoubtedly find well-paid "unpolitical" jobs.

The problem of subduing the Evangelical Church in Germany certainly cost Hitler far less effort than settling accounts with the Catholic Church, a settlement which has now been concluded so swiftly and satisfactorily. The Evangelical Church in Germany has never had anything like such strong roots in the masses as the Catholic Church had. The only danger for the National Socialist Party so far as the Evangelical Church was concerned was that the German Nationalist Party, defeated and broken on the political field, would attempt to dig itself in under the protection of the clerical robes of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches.

In a situation so tense and dangerous as the present in Germany, even this would be dangerous. The brutality and speed with which the National Socialists have put forward and forced through their "totality" demands is not a sign of their strength, but of their growing nervousness. This is the only explanation of the fact that Hitler permitted the election of Bodelschwingh as Protestant Reich's Bishop, and afterwards, when his own man in the church, the Reichswehr chaplain, Mueller, had made clear to him the dangerousness of the situation, compelled the old gentleman to resign by appointing a fascist Church Commissar.

There is even less likelihood that the Evangelical clericals would undertake anything against Hitler than that the Catholic clergy might. The Protestant clergy would not even have courage enough to accept the martyrdom for their convictions which they are always preaching to their flock. Up to the present there is only one case known in which a Protestant clergyman refused to read a thanksgiving from the altar for the reorganisation of his church by Hitler or refused to hoist the swastika flag on his church. The Evangelical Church also considers Bolshevism to be the chief enemy, despite the flirting of the so-called German Christians under Reichswehr chaplain Mueller with the old Pagan Germanic mythology. Christianity, and in particular Lutheran Christianity with its preaching of "suffering obedience," the absolute authority of the State, etc., is invaluable to fascism. Hangman and priest always went hand in hand. And in any case, the greater part of the young Evangelical clergy are supporters of Hitler.

The revolutionary proletariat of Germany and its advance guard, the Communist Party, is faced with the urgent task of furthering by energetic propaganda the disappointment and disillusionment of the proletariat and semi-proletarian masses who have previously supported the Churches. Its task is not a campaign of generalised abuse of the Churches, but one of concrete enlightenment concerning the role of the Churches as supporters, aiders and abettors of fascism in its bloody tasks, as supporters of the suppression of the proletariat and as organisations bitterly opposed to the emancipation of the proletariat.

The workers in Berlin answered the seizure of the Church with a new wave of resignations from the Church (in Germany, every baptised child is registered formally as a member of the Church, either Catholic, Protestant or Jewish, and when the child grows up it must pay taxes to support the Church. In order to avoid payment of these taxes and to leave the Church, a formal declaration resigning membership must be filed. It is to these resignations the writer of this article refers.—Ed.), and here is the level on which we must bear in order to proceed from propaganda to action. Other points are the struggle against the proselytising of our children in the schools and against the attempt to impose religion on the inmates of the labour service camps, etc. We must convince the members of the Christian trade unions and workers' associations that the proletariat can expect assistance from nowhere outside its own ranks, and we must show them how to act by acting ourselves.

## Politics

### The Gordian Knot of Capitalist Contradictions Draws Still Tighter

Following on Hitler's seizure of power in Germany, strenuous efforts had to be made to prevent the so-called Disarmament Conference from breaking up. The powerful drive of German imperialism aggrivated the armaments fever tremendously. Under the circumstance all further talk about disarmament overstepped the normal measure of hypocrisy which the governments of capitalist countries are accustomed to set before their peoples. However, the Disarmament Conference simply had to carry on in order not to endanger the World Economic Conference before it had even started. For its organisers hoped that it would bring the longed-for enlivenment of economic activity and overcome the crisis. But their efforts were in vain. The Geneva Disarmament Conference could not be saved so it was adjourned, probably for ever. And hardly had the London Conference been deliberating two weeks when it, too, went bankrupt for no other reason than that it tried to get to grips with what is regarded as one of the chief hindrances to economic recovery, the struggle of depreciation between the dollar and the pound, the competition in dumping between the two great Anglo-Saxon Powers.

Last Sunday's number of the London "Observer" publishes a leading article, by Garvin, on the attitude of Roosevelt, the man who was chiefly in favour of the holding of the World Economic Conference and who is now just the one who is prepared to wreck it because it opposes the inflation of the dollar with which the American dictator would like to experiment for a while. Garvin declares that Great Britain must draw the obvious conclusion from Roosevelt's attitude, namely that no matter what happens, no country on earth can save itself from the necessity of doing the utmost it can for itself.

That is naturally the situation in a capitalist system of society, and Garvin's conclusion is therefore correct, but he is not right when he goes on to declare that there is no contradiction between an attempt at a thorough development of all national possibilities and an attempt at international balancing. He compares it with the perfection of the virtuosity of each individual player in an orchestra and the symphonic harmony of the orchestra as a whole. The comparison does not fit.

Let us take the question of disarmament. During the whole course of the conference the armament race did not cease or even diminish for one moment, but a certain amount of consideration for the conference had to be shown unless the gulf between words and deeds were to become all too obvious. In the meantime the conference has been laid to rest. The first consequence was that the United States came forward openly with a new naval programme. And it is now France's turn, and France is not prepared to look on inactively at Germany's armaments. Daladier has already declared that France demands the speediest possible suppression of Germany's military formations. In the meantime France is "pacifying" the Atlas district as quickly as possible in order to have its hands free, and at the same time strengthening its own armaments as speedily as possible in order to be able to exert the utmost pressure on Germany. And what will Poland do? And Italy? The perfection of national armaments will sooner or later lead to the guns going off—it will depend upon a series of circumstances against whom they are fired. The rattle of the machine-guns and the prolonged roar of the big guns will produce a symphony of sound all right, but it will hardly be an harmonic one.

Or let us take the question of the depreciation of the dollar from which Garvin proceeds, declaring that the dollar is going down whilst everything else is going up. We shall soon see the truth. To say that the depreciation of the dollar, which in this case represents Garvin's "thorough development of all national possibilities," is not contradictory to an attempt at international

balancing is a bit too absurd, for the exact contrary is the case. The depreciation of the dollar leads to a tremendous campaign of dumping and to a wild fight for markets, to import bars, to a trade war and to an extreme intensification of the world economic crisis, but certainly not to international harmony.

But the "thorough development of all national possibilities" of which Garvin speaks, is not worth very much even inside the United States. The dollar depreciation has caused a rise of prices for agricultural produce and permits the farmers to pay off their indebtedness in depreciated dollars. But in this case what is sauce for the goose is certainly not sauce for the gander. The savers are being expropriated. A section of these savers are trying to rescue their savings by investing in other than cash values, in coal, copper, textile and other shares, only in order to turn their property from cash into other values. This explains the appearance of a boom. But this boom is not setting production going. Production will proceed smoothly only when there is some prospect of producing at a profit, and for the moment large supplies are in stock. The cotton, wheat and maize sowings have to be limited. The income from the depreciated dollars will be lowered, and if the farmers have no income they cannot pay their debts. Should the farmers not comply with the agreement for limiting their production and permit themselves to be stimulated by the higher prices, then they will increase the unsaleable surplus and again depress prices. What they win on the roundabouts they will lose on the swings. The prospect of dumping is the biggest factor in increasing production, and above all the speculation on lower wages which are already depressed by the existence of a huge mass of unemployment. The capitalists hope that the main factor in the costs of production, wages, will not rise commensurately with the rise in prices and thus make possible a real dumping. However, when all prices rise the workers will not be able to content themselves with their old wage levels and the result will be increased internal social struggles in the process of "thorough national development." And further, as we have already pointed out, the dumping campaign will be answered by the other countries with counter-measures, and the result will be that of the contention that the dollar is going down whilst everything else is going up, all that will remain will be the truth that the dollar is going down.

But if Roosevelt does it, why shouldn't Hitler? When the question of financing the labour service scheme in Germany was up for discussion the Nazi rulers of Germany declared that finance questions could not be permitted to hinder national necessities. This was nothing less than the proclamation of the inflation, but in order to make the dish more appetising the discussion now concerns no longer merely the labour service scheme, but the scheme for providing work as a whole, the scheme for "abolishing" unemployment! And the necessary inflationist measures are already being undertaken. First of all the State railways, with their tremendous deficit, are being used to provide money. Other undertakings will have to follow. When one remembers with what artificial means the mark is being maintained at its present level whilst its actual gold value is minimal, one can prophesy with certainty that the first big drop in the mark will look less like the fall of the pound or the fall of the dollar than like the catastrophic collapse of the mark in the years 1922/23, a collapse which provided the first mass basis for the rise of the Hitler movement to importance. Naturally, the German government will do everything possible to avoid any outbreak of desperation on the part of the masses as a result of this policy, and perhaps in the beginning it will be successful, but there is no doubt that the open inflation will set the lawine in motion.

To sum up, Garvin's proposal will not produce a harmonious international symphony, but an extreme intensification of the existing contradictions, both in the countries concerned and with regard to their mutual relations, and, in fact, in the present stage of capitalist development when there is a fierce struggle for markets and when the necessity of holding down the rebellious wage slaves with brutal violence is becoming a more and more urgent problem, there can be no other result than this. All the capitalist attempts to solve these contradictions can only lead to their extreme aggravation. The Gordian knot of capitalist contradictions is drawing still tighter and finally nothing will remain but to cut it once and for all with the sharp sword of the proletarian revolution.

## Fascist Policy in Austria

By Keller (Vienna)

The Dollfuss government in Austria has got many advantages from the suppression of the Nazi Party, and it is immediately using them for the strengthening of its fascist regime. On one day a whole number of emergency decrees and resolutions poured down on the Austrian people from the Cabinet, which were reproduced by most of the newspapers without comment, but which all the same are of decisive importance.

Of the first importance is the resolution to form a "voluntary Defence corps," 2,000 strong, as a reserve for the Government, from the "patriotic organisations," that is from the Heimwehr, the peasant guards, and other military bourgeois corps. Naturally this Defence Corps is in reality a fascist militia. It has all the marks of one: and the most important of these is that not every citizen can apply to join, but only a citizen of certain opinions, and he only when he has proved his opinions by practical work in a fascist organisation.

Another very important decree gives the government the possibility to destroy what remains of the freedom of the press in Austria. According to this decree the publishers can have the permission to publish papers taken away from them for furthering activity which has been prohibited of any party.

By this new emergency decree the government can forbid the publication of the "Rote Fahne" at any time, by giving the owners of the press at which the paper is printed a corresponding warning by the police.

Another emergency decree, which has the same purely fascist character, makes it a duty of the press to publish official statements up to 300 lines without comment.

Finally, at the same meeting of the Cabinet, it was decided that the War Ministry should call up for a second period of training the military auxiliary corps. In this auxiliary corps the members of the above-mentioned patriotic organisations are given military training by the army. This is nothing else than an undisguised "black Reichswehr." That the Versailles powers are silent about this overstepping of the military decisions of the Treaty of St. Germain only proves that the policy of the Dollfuss government is well suited to the needs of French-Italian imperialism.

The members who have finished the first training period are brought together in labour camps. As head of these State labour camps, Colonel Diakow was appointed. This man is also an out-and-out fascist, who first of all was occupied in Heimwehr circles until he devoted himself completely to propaganda for compulsory labour service. It is further noteworthy that this man, born in West Ukraine, is in the closest touch with the white guard circles of the Ukraine which are hostile to the Soviet Union. All this makes this man worthy of being called by Dollfuss to work with him in a responsible position.

To this there is to be added the compulsory arbitration system, brought in a few weeks ago, the emergency decree abolishing the collective agreement for the building workers, in order to lower their wages, and further the decree under which the management committee of the railways have the right to decide the personnel of the depot representatives, and therewith regulate autocratically questions of holiday, dismissals, etc.; and finally there is the plan of the government with regard to the "voluntary service," which is called "the provision of work," which means the use of hundreds of thousands of unemployed for making of roads and other similar work, which in reality is wage robbery; taking all these things together it is possible to get a complete picture of the path which is being trod by the Dollfuss government.

It cannot be denied that the regime has a certain consistency. It is a clear, open fascist regime, which under cover of the fight against the Nazis is bringing the Austrian proletariat into the same position as the German.

Social democracy, since the closing of the National Council (parliament), has never stopped offering their good services to the government for clearing up the situation. And as National Socialism became ever more aggressive, social democracy brought ever more sharply before the eyes of the working class the necessity of a united front with the Dollfuss government.

On the 15th of June even they wrote in the Vienna "Arbeiter-Zeitung":

"Also here in Austria the task now must be to oppose to the threats of German National Socialism, to its impudent in-

tervention in our affairs, a united front of all those who desire a free Austria. . . . A true, Austrian united front against the pressure which is being brought upon Austria from outside, will be strong only when the working class, when social democracy, the greatest party in the country, joins in."

And to-day social democracy is bringing its whole apparatus into action for the collection of signatures for an "Address of the People" to the federal President of Austria, in which the latter is to be called upon to see to it that a "parliamentary system" should be re-established.

How far social democracy has gone with Dollfuss fascism is shown by the permission given for the entry of the social-democratic gendarme trade union into the "Front of the Fatherland," under leadership of Schabe, member of the Federal Council. The leader of this "Front of the Fatherland" is Dollfuss himself, and the second in command should be Starhemberg.

Already there are signs of the opposition of the broad masses to government fascism. Part of the Viennese building workers have been on strike for weeks. The gas workers of Vienna carried on successful passive resistance. Not far from Vienna, in Moedling, a strike of 24 hours by 160 agricultural workers took place. Here and there in Vienna there are small spontaneous demonstrations. Illegal leaflets, placards appear, which call for opposition to the government. In spite of the prohibition, Red Flags ever and again fly from the highest chimneys and towers in the country. But all these actions are but isolated. And the blame for this, that the spirit of opposition has not yet seized the whole of the working class, that a greater part of the working class see in the Nazis the enemy and in Dollfuss the "lesser evil," lies at the door of social democracy.

The task of the prohibited Communist Party is to make clear to the masses the significance of the fascist path of the government, to co-ordinate the separate actions against the brown as well as against government fascism, and in this fight to unite all the forces of the working people.

## The Fighting Alliance of Hungarian and German Fascism

By Gal (Budapest)

The visit of the Prime Minister of Hungary to Hitler aroused great interest in the whole of the world press. There was good reason for the keen interest shown in this meeting of the leaders of Hungarian and German fascism, for the meeting took place at a time when the feverish competition between the imperialist Powers, the forging of new war alliances, and the general contradictions of imperialism had reached a more intense pitch than at any time since the world war. This fact was illustrated also by the World Economic Conference which is taking place in London where the interests of the leading imperialist States are clashing violently in all fundamental questions at issue.

For the first time since the war German imperialism has again come forward with a far-reaching programme of expansionist tendencies. The memorandum put forward by Hugenberg, but swiftly discredited and withdrawn by the rest of the German delegation, demanded not only the return of Germany's old African colonies, but also the turning of Soviet Ukraina into a colony of German imperialism. The Hitler group is using all possible means to extend the German frontiers towards the East, to incorporate Austria into Germany and to improve the means of communication to the Balkans.

As a result of the extraordinary sharpening of relations between Germany and Austria, Hungary has become an important participant in the struggle of the world imperialist Powers. Austria is wedged in between Germany and Hungary. Hungary is also a neighbour of all three countries of the Little Entente and occupies a central position in the valley of the Danube. Thanks to this central position, Hungary takes on considerable importance with its policy adapted to that of Italian fascism whilst maintaining a certain independence.

The general interest shown in the journey of Goemboes to Hitler can therefore be understood. When the journey became known, at first it was kept secret, the Hungarian government and the Hungarian press declared that it had purely economic reasons. The "Pester Lloyd," the organ of the Hungarian government in

German, referred to the necessity of increasing the sale of Hungarian grain and fruits in German markets. The oppositional newspapers took up the same attitude.

As a matter of fact, however, economic questions did not play a very important role in the negotiations between Hitler and Goemboes, and in fact the German Economic Minister, Hugenberg, did not attend them at all. The only economic question discussed was the possibility of paying off the 5-million mark debt, which had remained in Hungary as a result of the transfer moratorium, in agricultural produce. Goemboes went to Berlin not as the representative of Hungarian agricultural interests, but as the representative of Italian and Hungarian capitalism. One of his aims was to prepare a compromise solution of the Austro-German conflict and thus to pave the way for a united revisionist block throughout Central Europe to the Balkans directed against France and the Little Entente.

Another aim of this journey of Goemboes was to oblige Hitler, who badly needed some sort of foreign political success to counteract in part a series of defeats. The journey of Goemboes to Berlin was to show the national socialist masses that "the new Germany" was not isolated in the world and that, thanks to Hungarian friendship, a door to the East was being opened for German imperialist expansion.

The journey was also connected with the economic and political difficulties of Hungarian fascism. The economic crisis which has been proceeding in Hungary for years and which has reached a tremendous stage of intensification recently has paralysed all branches of Hungarian industry and agriculture and ruthlessly diminished the capacities of the home market. The resentment of the masses is expressing itself despite the heavy terror in stormy demonstrations, in the winning of reformist organisations by the revolutionary opposition in them, and in a series of strikes. In the villages the rich peasants have been compelled to organise citizen detachments against the rebellious proletarians and the poor peasants. As a result of the crisis the internal contradictions in the camp of the Hungarian bourgeoisie have also intensified. In this situation Goemboes vainly strives to awaken hopes of a speedy revision and to soothe down the masses by promises of the organisation of public works. Nothing has come of the public works and the conference of the Little Entente gave the answer to the hopes of a peaceful revision of the treaties.

Agrarian capital, which took the initiative in the development which led to the fall of Karolyi, the predecessor of Goemboes, began, under the pressure of mass dissatisfaction amongst the peasantry, to attack the government more and more aggressively. It regarded the support granted to the industrialists, the system of protective tariffs and the subventions granted to the banks as contrary to its own capitalist group interests. These attacks on the government increased in connection with the question of a Habsburg restoration. The antagonisms between the legitimist rich landowners and the legitimist and clerical Christian Economic Party, which relies chiefly for support on the urban petty-bourgeoisie, and Goemboes, who is in favour of the perpetuation of the rule of Horthy, have become more intense.

In order to repulse these attacks Goemboes began to organise the government party in every town and in every village with the utmost energy. He is also attempting to take the wind out of the sails of the legitimist agitation by encouraging agricultural export and winning new markets at all costs. For this reason the security of the 5-million mark export is important. Still more important, however, is the necessity of countering the connections of the Hungarian legitimists with the Austrian Christian Social Party, which is strongly in favour of a Habsburg restoration, by a pro-German, anti-Habsburg foreign political manoeuvre. The demonstrative alliance with Hitler is intended to be a warning sign both to the Habsburg supporters in Hungary and to the Habsburg supporters in the Dollfuss government. The kite let loose recently by Italian imperialism on the question of a Habsburg restoration and the question of Austro-Hungarian unity, the appearance of which caused great unrest amongst the States of the Little Entente, shows that in its endeavours to consolidate the positions of Italian imperialism in the Danube Valley, Italy is prepared to use not only Goemboes, but also the legitimist movement. This flirtation of Mussolini with the **Habsburg restoration movement** was also indicated in the attack of the Hungarian legitimists on Goemboes

when they declared that Goemboes had gone to Berlin without Mussolini's knowledge and that as a consequence he had been informed by the Italian Embassy in Budapest that for the moment a visit to Rome on his part was not desired. This attitude of the Hungarian legitimists is probably exaggerated and not quite in accordance with the facts. However, there are undoubtedly already strong cracks as regards the question of the Habsburg restoration, the question of Austro-German political union, and the question of German expansion towards the East, in the developing Italian-German-Hungary war block.

The fraternisation of Hungarian and German fascism is the answer of the Hungarian government to the energetic decision of the Little Entente directed against the revision.

But there was another important factor which caused the journey of Goemboes to Berlin, and this was the desire of Hungarian fascism to line itself up in the front ranks of the **anti-Soviet intervention**. The pro-French leanings of the Hungarian bourgeoisie were strongest when France stood at the head of the anti-Soviet preparations for war. The leaders of the Hungarian fascist dictatorship think that the best way to join the anti-Soviet front is to form an alliance with German fascism. It was not without reason that Goemboes at a press reception on his return praised Hitler's role as the saviour from Bolshevism so highly. It is not the first time that the Horthy-Goemboes clique have offered the Hungarian army as cannon-fodder in a crusade against Bolshevism. During the discussion of the budget in Parliament, the Hungarian Prime Minister declared proudly that the Hungarian soldiers were being trained in the spirit of a struggle for the final destruction of Bolshevism. This spirit is also seen in the reintroduction of compulsory military service in defiance of the provisions of the peace treaties, in the production of weapons and munitions (Diosgyoer, etc.), in an uninterrupted smuggling of weapons (Hirtenberg), and in the fact that the pay of officers in the Hungarian army has recently been increased although the state of the budget is catastrophic and the salaries of other State employees have been cut three times recently.

Although the whole Hungarian bourgeoisie believes a new war to be the only way out of the crisis, the journey of Goemboes to Berlin has not secured the approval of all sections of the Hungarian bourgeoisie. Above all it was opposed by the legitimists who are not only opposed to Goemboes, but who also attack Horthy more and more openly. A considerable section of industrial capital is also opposed to the alliance with German imperialism because it sees in German expansionist tendencies a threat to its own expansion and development. **Bethlen**, whose overthrow two years ago was due not in a little measure to pressure exercised by French imperialism and the Little Entente, reckons with increased economic and financial pressure and a considerable intensification of internal economic and political antagonisms, and after a long pause he is once again entering the political arena. His newspaper, "Magyar Szemle," protests against the close friendship with Germany, "a nation in quarantine."

And further, the fraternisation of the Hungarian government with the oppressors of the German working class increases the hatred and bitterness of the masses of the hungry and exploited who have suffered fourteen years of fascist dictatorship. The Hungarian social democrats, the mercenaries of French and Czechoslovakian imperialism, are attempting to exploit this anti-Hitler spirit amongst the masses under the slogan of a defence of "European Democracy against Fascism" and securing their support for French imperialism, the upholder of the robber treaties of Versailles and Trianon. The social democrats, who have betrayed the class struggle of the Hungarian working masses again and again, are now attempting to draw the attention of the masses away from the necessity of a revolutionary struggle by pointing to the danger of Hitlerism and at the same time reducing the struggle to the level of the social democratic "fight" for the general franchise and in defence of parliamentarism. These attempts of the social democracy will not meet with much success however. This was demonstrated at the meetings called by the Social-Democratic Party on the 18th June, when great masses of workers cheered the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union and the leader of the Communist Party of Hungary, Bela Kun.

The Hungarian working masses are in movement. They are rising and seeking the way to revolutionary action. They will find

the path and will advance along it in a revolutionary struggle against national and class oppression, against the preparation of imperialist wars and anti-Soviet intervention. They will be victorious under the leadership of the Communist Party of Hungary, which holds aloft the banner of the proletarian dictatorship and of fourteen years of illegal struggle.

## The Peace Pact between the Little Entente and the Soviet Union

By Karl Ferdinand (Prague)

Czechoslovakia was the first capitalist State to begin a war of intervention against the Soviet Union. Fifteen years ago it was the first to attack, and to-day, together with Rumania and Yugoslavia, its fellow-members of the Little Entente, it is the last to order its relations with the Soviet Union, though since the conclusion of peace there have been no very important differences between the two countries; at least, none so important that it would have represented an insuperable obstacle to the establishment of normal diplomatic relations or to the conclusion of a Pact of Non-Aggression.

The role played by Benes, the Czechoslovakian Foreign Minister, is a sinister one. All he did with regard to the establishment of relations with the Soviet Union was the conclusion of the very insufficient agreement of 1922. And even this agreement remained unratified. When the Foreign Relations Committee of the Czechoslovakian parliament gave its approval to this agreement it also adopted a Communist motion calling upon the government to establish normal diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and to extend de jure recognition. Benes took care that the report of this committee, together with its proposal for de jure recognition, never came on to the agenda of parliament. His only aim was to prevent the discussion and adoption of the Communist motion for de jure recognition.

Benes has excused his own refusal to take any step towards the establishment of normal relations with the Soviet Union by declaring that the resistance of the National Democrats (the party of Kramar) was too strong to permit it. In fact, this was no more than a pretext. Benes patronised a great section of the counter-revolutionary White Russian and Ukrainian emigrants, enormous sums were expended in support of these people, and a nucleus of bureaucrats and officers was formed to take their place in a "New Russia," naturally a bourgeois Russia, when it came. When the success of the Five-Year Plan dashed all hopes of a capitalist degeneration of the Soviet Union the furious attacks on the Soviet Union increased. The motive of Benes' policy towards the Soviet Union was in fact his hope that one day he would be able to play a brilliant role as a "protector" of the "New Russia," which is now obviously not going to materialise.

Instead of the hoped-for collapse of the Soviet power, Benes is faced with the threatening collapse of world capitalism and he, who has so often played the role of a "Herald of Consolidation," is now compelled to recognise that the basis for the desired consolidation of the Versailles order in Europe is being dragged from under his feet. In addition, there is the economic crisis, the increasing difficulties in the way of finding markets, particularly the foreign markets which Czechoslovakian export industry needs, and the increasing discontent of the masses of the Czechoslovakian toilers. All this made some sort of gesture necessary with a view to easing the strained situation. The critical situation in which Benes finds himself has compelled him to agree to the signature of the Pact of Non-Aggression, and it will force him still further along the same path to de jure recognition.

How critical the situation is can be seen from the fact that the foreign editor of the "Narodni Politika," the organ of the Czechoslovakian National Democrats, a gentleman notorious for his anti-Soviet hostility, writes that the conclusion of the Pact of Non-Aggression between the Little Entente and the Soviet Union means that the States of the former have "allied themselves with the Soviet Union against Hitler's programme of dominating Eastern Europe by an alliance of Germany and Italy." He goes on to declare that the Pact of Non-Aggression is in fact an answer to the conclusion of the Four Power Pact, and that the endeavours of Mussolini and Hitler have produced not only a Slav bloc, but a much greater bloc of the whole East against them. He

calls the Pact of Non-Aggression "A warning to Berlin and Rome," and writes:

"Should this warning not be heeded, then the Eastern bloc will develop into a real coalition against any attack on any one of its members."

The same organ of Czechoslovakian capitalism also reveals why the Little Entente delayed signing the Pact of Non-Aggression:

"The possibility of joining the German-Italian bloc was probably considered and also the possibility of remaining with Yugoslavia between the two blocs in order to avoid joining the great Eastern bloc, of which the Soviet Union is also a member.

"However, this latter bloc is a natural defence against German-Italian imperialism, and only on this account was it possible to form it comparatively quickly, despite the former differences of opinion between its present members. The mere existence of this bloc will probably be sufficient to check the imperialist plans. It is not any diplomatic desire to refrain from binding entanglements which can save the peace of Europe, but only the military clarity created by the Pact."

This language on the part of an organ of Czechoslovakian finance-capital shows that the ground is burning under the feet of Czechoslovakian imperialism. They deliberately overlook the fact that the Soviet Union does not dream of functioning as one of the guarantors of the Versailles Treaty, because they are only too glad that the Soviet Union strictly rejects any violent imperialist attempt to secure a revision of the Versailles Treaty. The exaggerations of tone are also to be explained by the fact that the Czechoslovakian imperialists are having a difficult time in explaining to those who are of importance to them the necessity of this somewhat sudden change in their foreign policy. Very little has been permitted to creep into publicity of the urgent desire of a certain section of the Czechoslovakian capitalists for Soviet orders.

The "Narodni Osvobozeni" introduces another line of approach and declares that the Soviet Union has previously not wanted to have anything to do with Czechoslovakia and the other members of the Little Entente, but that now, in view of the dangerous situation in the Far East and "as a result of internal difficulties," it has been compelled to change its policy.

This wriggling is ridiculous enough, but it shows the efforts of Benes and his Czech socialist and social-democratic supporters to prevent the conclusion of the Pact of Non-Aggression resulting in an increase of the prestige of the Soviet Union amongst the masses of the Czechoslovakian toilers and in an increase of the sympathies of the latter for the Soviet Union. However, the toilers of Czechoslovakia, like the toilers all over the world, know perfectly well that the Soviet Union has always pursued a strict policy of peace towards all countries and that it has offered all countries to conclude such Pacts of Non-Aggression with them. They know perfectly well that the capitalist governments in Prague, Belgrade, and Bucharest have previously strictly turned a deaf ear to all such offers. They know perfectly well that the foreign policy of the Soviet Union has not changed, but that under the pressure of a critical situation the governments of the countries of the Little Entente have been compelled to change their attitude towards the Soviet Union. They know that the success of the Five-Year Plan has strengthened the position of the Soviet Union both internally and externally, and they laugh at the ridiculous idea that if the Soviet Union were suffering internal difficulties and experiencing a crisis, the capitalist States, and in particular Benes, would adopt just that moment to assist the Soviet Union by concluding a Pact of Non-Aggression with it. And, further, the toilers of Czechoslovakia know how much the signatures of capitalist governments under peace pacts are worth, particularly when the pact is signed with the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, they welcome the conclusion of the Pact of Non-Aggression as a further victory for the peace policy of the Soviet Union and as an expression of the strengthening position of the Soviet Union in the world. And the toilers of Czechoslovakia will see to it that the government of Czechoslovakia stands by this Pact of Non-Aggression until such time as it is replaced by quite a different pact, signed by quite a different government of Czechoslovakia with the Soviet Union.

## Germany

# How the Position of the Fight Stands in Germany

Four months after the burning of the Reichstag—what is the internal situation in Germany?

It is a fact that Hitler fascism has achieved its object within the ranks of the German bourgeoisie, and has no opposition, at least openly. By means of the "Reichs Reform" National Socialism overcame the separatist and federalist tendencies within the German bourgeoisie, or more correctly said repressed them; by introducing the "Reich Stadtholders" he achieved a centralisation of State power in the most severe form. But the fact that Hitler shrinks from the real unification and simplification of the government of Reich, states and municipalities, that "national Bavarian" interests are taken into consideration as well as "old Prussian," proves that the national socialist "national reform" has remained at mere externals.

It is a fact that national socialism has liquidated all the political parties and organisations of the bourgeoisie; in the next few days it has in view the destruction of the last remnants of the old bourgeois party system, the Centre and its numerous auxiliary organisations. But the opposition in the camp of the bourgeoisie is only repressed and it will remain and increase because the economic and social difficulties which cannot be overcome, produce ever anew such opposition in the ranks of the bourgeoisie. It is correct that the "incorporation" of all economic organisations by national socialism has been completed, but the contradiction between industrial and agrarian capital exists as before and is even sharper. The difference between those industries which are chiefly concerned with export and those which are chiefly engaged in work for the home market exists just as it did before.

But above all the decisive class contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat are experiencing a sharpening which is driving to a revolutionary solution. All the efforts of the Nazis to overcome these contradictions with the theory of the "Community of the People" are condemned to fail; all the more since the crisis of German capitalism develops and sharpens more and more the contradictions.

The real mood inside the German bourgeoisie is precisely the opposite of what appears in the "incorporated" fascist press. With regard to economic development there is a general pessimism, which is fed by the sharpening of the international situation, the failure of the World Economic Conference, the sharpening of all international conflicts, the developments in the U.S.A., etc., which reckons with the threatening international open conflict, considers war unavoidable, but at the same time is completely sceptical of Hitler's "prosperity" policy.

To the German capitalists the "Faux Frais" (overhead charges) of the Hitler counter-revolution are unbearably high; they are asking more and more impatiently when this policy will stop, and Hitler will finally go forward with the lowering of wages, the destruction of all social policy and so cut down all the costs of production that the making of profit once more flourishes. Therefore, they are furious about all "sacrifices" which are asked from them. They rage against the decree of "civil peace," by which the planned general attack on wages is put off for the moment, and demand that a "new line" with regard to wage policy should be begun as soon as possible. They are also furious about the new burdens, for example, the "emergency sacrifice," which they must carry out now in the form of "voluntary gifts" for the creation of work.

As far as the real position of German capitalism is concerned it is to be understood that the greatest fear rules in the widest circles of the bourgeoisie, as to what will be in the autumn and winter, if, as they all expect, the crisis sharpens and social ferment openly flames up. In 1918 the German bourgeoisie could save themselves by means of social democracy, the Centre, which had become "democratic" and the bourgeois "democrats," and above all by the trade unions under social-democratic leadership. But

now all these supports are smashed, and they were smashed by the national socialist adventurers precisely because they attempted to hold themselves in reserve in case of the collapse of the national socialists. Class-conscious members of the bourgeoisie are frequently heard to say pessimistically: What can come after the overthrow of Hitler other than Bolshevism? It is true that part of the German bourgeoisie draw the conclusion—therefore we must support Hitler with all and with the last means in order to prevent Bolshevism. But it is also a fact that a large part of the bourgeoisie no longer believes in such "salvation," and regards collapse as unavoidable, unless a "miracle" came to their aid. This is the real situation within the German bourgeoisie.

But what is the situation among the working middle classes? We must start from the point that these sections of the population, the middle classes of the towns as well as the peasant masses in the country, in March/April were fanatical Hitlerites and actively took part in the national socialist terror acts against the revolutionary working class and its leader, the Communist Party of Germany, or at least greeted them with unconcealed sympathy. In these sections a quite extraordinary change of mood can be remarked. In recent months no single case is known where these sections of the population have actively taken part in the persecution of the Communists; on the contrary, we find amongst them a strong ill-feeling against the Nazis and to a certain extent already a certain sympathy for Communism. It is interesting to find out which factors are responsible for this change of mood. The brutal cruelties of the brown Hitler bands was the first shock: they produced indignation and aversion in certain sections of the petty bourgeoisie. The second shock was given, contradictory as this may well seem, by the horrible methods of the persecution of the Jews, and the worsening of the situation of many small people thereby. But, naturally, the decisive factor was the collapse of the illusions which these petty bourgeois and peasant sections had bound up with Hitler.

Comrades who travelled in the rural districts in April, and who now are coming back from such journeys, can give thousands of characteristic details of the change of mood in the villages.

The reasons for this change of mood are easily to be found. The Nazis have broken all their promises with regard to the wiping out of interest and taxes, lowering of rents, improvement of market relations, etc. The "fat plan" did not help the peasants but only did them harm. The rise in prices hits them hard. Up to now the Nazis could put the whole blame on to the "scapegoat" Hugenberg. But now Hugenberg is thrown out, and the national socialist peasant leader, Darré, himself has taken over the Ministry of Agriculture. Now no more excuses can be made.

Among the middle classes of the towns, the ferment, of which we have already often reported, has moved into a new stage. The first reaction to Hitler's policy, particularly the wave of dearness, was loud cursing. Now they lose their illusions that it would be better under Hitler, and appear to resign themselves to the fact that they will be deceived just as before. In these circles the fear of inflation has great effect, and what is specially important, the fear of the coming war is very strong! The daily collections for all the numerous Nazi organisations, the Hitler gifts, the gifts for the air force, and the fresh "voluntary gifts" of all sorts and descriptions are making a lot of bad blood, they are considered, quite correctly, as new additional taxes. When the collapse of the "prosperity" illusions is obvious then the ferment among these sections will reach new heights.

What the mood of broad sections of the civil servants is is seen best by the repeated declarations of the Nazis against the "grumblers." Not only those who criticise the government, but also those who allow such criticism without immediately denouncing the critic, must be expelled as "Marxist elements, hostile to the State."

The motive for this deep ill-feeling among the State officials is the following:—Instead of the promised increase in salary for many of them there was a big reduction; the Nazi commissars who don't understand anything, jaw at them so arrogantly that they embitter all the old officials; the confusion and contrariness of the orders make any planned work impossible.

This change of mood on the part of these petty bourgeois and small peasant sections is of such great importance because it relieves the revolutionary working class, and particularly the Communists, from part of the pressure which they had to bear in March and April, and which can only be understood by some one who lived through it. The disintegrating bad feeling in these strata of the population naturally affects other sections of the population further; it goes upward right into the heart of the bourgeoisie, paralysing them and increasing the pessimism; and on the other side, into the proletariat, raising their fighting spirit.

(To be continued.)

## The True Position of German Economy

After the official German statistics have been put under the fascist Reich lie Ministry of Goebbels, they have become quite useless for any knowledge of the real position. It is only possible in a roundabout way to look behind the scenes of the swindling propaganda of the fascists and to see the real position of German economy as it is.

The balance-sheets of the big German banks give us the possibility of seeing something. Up to the present they have apparently escaped the "corrections" of the Ministry of Propaganda. Comparatively they mirror well the position of capitalist economy in Germany.

These balance-sheets of the big banks show an unbroken shrinking of economy, which is expressed in figures:—

In Million Marks	Creditors	Debtors	Advances for Goods
Month of March ..	7,106 ..	4,403 ..	920 ..
Month of April ..	6,934 ..	4,312 ..	839 ..
Month of May ..	6,797 ..	4,231 ..	794 ..

This retrogression reflects the further downward movement of economy and shows at the same time that also the tremendous sums in State subsidy could not hold back this development. Industry and trade are in the same process of unbroken shrinking; and therefore their credits are always shrinking, and this development is underlined by the sinking of the exchange of goods, which is all the more remarkable since the price of goods is no longer sinking, but continues to rise. The statement of the Reichsbank for the third week of June shows the same development. The loans have dropped by 133 million marks, of which 69 million are in goods exchange and eight in Lombard. The "**Frankfurter Zeitung**" writes quite rightly:—

"The diminution of the demand for credit is decidedly higher than in the third week of May and is as great as in the corresponding week last year" (27th June, 1933).

The circulation of the means of payment is similarly lessened. In the third week of June last year it reached 5,641 million marks, in the third week of May, 1933, only 5,143 million, and in the third week of June only 5,095 million marks. But one should also keep in mind all that the Hitler government has done in order to raise the circulation of money: paying of numberless extra salaries, creation of new Ministries, the Reichs Stadtholder and similar offices, commissariats, etc., the forcing up of prices, subsidy to the motor-car industry, for the repairing of houses, etc. All for nothing! Economy shrinks further.

Then the "incorporated" Institute for Konjunkturforschung announces with severe mien:—

"In not one of the last three years—i.e., in no year since the boom—has employment risen so high in the spring as in 1933." As proof, the statistics of unemployment and of employment are given which are complete swindles. This deception is clear when we compare the present statistics with previous ones.

In June, 1929, that is the highest point of the boom, according to the official health insurance statistics there were 20,775,000 in compulsory insurance, and 690,000 sick incapable of work, and further 1,260,000 unemployed according to the figures of the

Labour Exchanges. According to this also the number of available workers all told was about 22,725,000. According to the statistics of May, 1933, there are:—

(1) Employed according to the health insurance statistics ..	13,170,000
(2) Unemployed of all kinds receiving support ..	4,029,000
(3) Unemployed receiving no assistance, from the returns of the Labour Exchanges ..	1,110,000
	18,309,000

From the 23 million of 1929 about four and three-quarter millions are lacking! It is clear that in the time of the crisis the figure of those seeking work has not dropped, but as a result of the proletarianisation of the middle classes must be considerably increased. Where have the 4½ million people got to whom we cannot find to-day in the statistics? They are the "invisible unemployment," they are to a certain extent about 400,000—in "labour service," to a greater extent they have become part of the million strong army of beggars, and almost to the same extent they are maintained by their relatives.

But what the comparison with 1929 proves is this: the whole of the unemployed and employed statistics, which fascist Germany publishes to-day, are simple deception and present the opposite of the real position! The leaders of the Nazis know this well enough. Nevertheless they have brass face enough to come into the open like Hitler and say that unemployment under his government has already been reduced by 1,700,000 persons!

But will the inventors of the lie of the "Communist" burning of the Reichstag, the inventors of the swindle of the "hostile aeroplanes over Berlin," be able to reckon on public belief in their boom swindle? They may try for a time to deceive the German people as to the true position of their economy, for they can only learn the truth in the illegal Communist newspapers; but all the more terrible will be the awakening of the masses when the boom swindle of Hitler breaks up!

## From the Struggle of the C.P. of Germany

### The "Rote Fahne" and the "Junge Garde."

Berlin, End of June.

The "**Rote Fahne**," published in the third week of June, four pages, with its familiar heading, is so well made up that the reader almost forgets that it has been produced somewhere in Hitler Germany, under the greatest dangers, and in the profoundest illegality.

On the first page is an appeal, in heavy type, calling upon the toilers of Germaay: Save our brothers—stop the hand of the executioner. The second article—"Hitler's work schemes—a gigantic fraud"—is an annihilating criticism of the "economic" measures of the Hitler government.

The third and fourth pages are devoted to the **Open Letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.G. to all social-democratic workers in Germany**. "Forward in the factories" is the title of an analysis of the trends of feeling existing among the various strata of the population. The concluding article calls upon the unemployed to fight energetically against compulsory labour service.

"Read this and pass it on!" is the militant headline of the latest number of the "**Junge Garde**." The leading article: "After the anti-fascist workers' congress of Europe: the Ernst Thälmann rally for anti-fascist unity," contains a brief report on the Paris Congress, and appeals for increased activity on the part of all young workers for the united front fighting for the release of the imprisoned workers. "Fight for higher wages, against every worsening of your standards of living, for adequate support for all young unemployed workers."

The June number of "**Der Funke**" (functionaries' organ of the C.P.G., Greater Berlin) has appeared in its old form, containing instructions to the functionaries for carrying out their tasks.

The regular publication of these three important organs of the C.P. of Germany is the best proof that the revolutionary movement in Hitler Germany is again advancing and that even the most brutal terror cannot destroy Marxism, cannot force the working class to its knees, but that on the contrary it steels it for the impending decisive struggles.



# India

## The Sham Constitution for India

By R. Page Arnot (London)

"India must become the touchstone of British politics," said **Winston Churchill** recently, and unwittingly spoke the truth. He was only making a grandiloquent assertion of his difference with **Baldwin** as to the best method of plundering India—for, on the necessity of continuing to plunder India, both **Baldwin** and **Churchill** are in full agreement. But the underlying truth in **Churchill's** remark was already brought out in the manifesto on **India**, issued by the Central Committee of the **C.P.G.B.**

The manifesto was issued on the occasion of "the White Paper"—that is, the National Government's plan for a new sham Constitution of India and of the discussion of this plan by a Joint Select Committee of "Lords and Commons."

The **White Paper** arises from a series of Round Table Conferences (1930 to 1932), which followed from the Simon Commission; which in its turn was based on the Government of India Act of 1919. Under that Act, which carried into law the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals of 1917 (hastily put forward after the Russian Revolution), there had to be a statutory commission set up to review the working of the Act of 1919, and to recommend an extension or a restriction of its provisions.

Now in the setting up of the Simon Commission it was of the utmost importance in the eyes of the British capitalists that a united imperialist front should be presented to the masses of India. Therefore **Lord Birkenhead**, then Tory Secretary of State for India, in announcing the appointment of the Simon Commission announced also that he had secured the full agreement of **Ramsay MacDonald**, then leader of the Labour Party. Moreover, when the appointment was to be ratified in Parliament, special pressure was exerted by the Labour Whips to ensure that not a single Labour vote would be cast against it.

The **Simon Commission**, when they landed in Bombay in 1927, were met by the execration of the masses of India: strikes, wholesale boycotts, and hostile demonstrations greeted their progress from province to province. When finally their report was being prepared in the early part of 1930, it coincided with the rise of the great revolutionary mass movement, with the rising in **Chittagong**, the movement of the Red Shirts in the North-West, and the heroic action of the **Garhwali Rifles**.

The proposals of the Simon Commission were, in essence, for a tightening of the grip of imperialism. Their "concessions" can be described as follows:—

The provinces (of British India) are to have Ministers responsible to the Legislatures (but the Provincial Governor chooses the Ministers as he pleases, and can vote or over-ride their decisions). They are to have enlarged Legislatures (but votes in the Legislatures are not necessarily to be binding on the Ministries). They are to have enlarged electorates (but the workers and peasants are excluded, and the Communal basis of representation is to be maintained and extended). The Governor can, in any emergency—i.e., if the Constitution is not working to the satisfaction and greater gain of British imperialism—scrap the whole machinery and revert to unveiled autocracy. Above all, the Government of India has continuous power of intervention: and the Government of India is under orders from the Secretary of State in Whitehall.

These proposals the Simon Commissioners described as a step towards an "ideal of Federation for All-British India"—i.e., a combination of British India and the Indian Native States.

This "ideal" of the summer of 1930 was suddenly added to the Simon Commission proposals in the November of that year, in the first Round Table Conference, called to stem the rise of the mass movement: and the result was declared to be a great step in advance. In point of fact, it was a further step in fraud, for, under the pretence of widening the Simon proposals, it strengthened still further the grip of British imperialism.

The Round Table Conference brought in the Indian Native States, the corrupt oriental despots that are maintained by British bayonets. These **Maharajahs** and **Princes** in the autumn of 1930 announced that they were prepared to come into a scheme of a Federal Government for All-India, provided it had Ministers responsible to an Assembly, in which the Indian States would take part.

Here is the chief difference between the Churchill group on the

one hand and **Baldwin**—i.e., the Liberal, Labour, and Conservative Parties—on the other: **Churchill**, **Lloyd George** and others prefer the **Simon Report**, in which the "mailed fist" stood forth more obviously than in the "velvet glove" proposals of the Round Table Conference now set forth in the **White Paper**.

Under **Simon**, the Central Government of India was to have no responsible Ministers, but was to be carried through by the direct autocracy of the **Viceroy**.

In the **White Paper**, with its fraud of a Federal (really feudal) Central Government, the Central Government of India becomes, in words, "responsible Government," while, under these trappings, British imperialism not only maintains its grip of the "mailed fist," but actually strengthens its own social support by the introduction of the Indian princes and landlords.

Let us examine the **White Paper** further in this one main point (the Central Government), in which it differs from the **Simon Commission**.

First there is to be a Federal Government, chosen from an elected Assembly, containing representatives of the Indian States, as well as representatives of the bourgeoisie, etc. (no votes for workers or peasants!), of British India—but this Government has no authority, not even paper authority, over the Army or External Relations. The armed forces remain directly in the hands of the British capitalist class.

Secondly, the Governor-General can govern India completely separately from the Ministers. He can take things out of the hands of the Ministers, and can veto any Bill of the Assembly. More than that, he can push Bills through the Assembly, and, despite any majority against them, they become law under the name of the Governor General's Acts. Already, in 1924, the entire budget was "passed" in this manner.

Thirdly, the Governor-General can dispense even with this sham and can govern directly, issuing whatever legislation he wishes under the title of Ordinances.

Fourthly, there is the Governor-General as Viceroy, dealing directly with the Indian princes; and outside the whole of these schemes, controlled directly by the India Office in Whitehall.

Is this not enough? No. There is a whole further series of provisions to make this hollow sham hollow still. Thus the Federal Government will only be competent to deal with such subjects as the Indian princes (oh! those princes!) agree to give over to its jurisdiction. Thus the Federal Government will not come into being until half the princes agree, until the Federal Reserve Bank "outside political control" (by Indians, that is), has been set up, until the normal trade balance of India is restored.

And the Indian Civil Service? This "steel framework," as **Mr. Lloyd George** called it, is to be provided for by decisions neither of the future Federal Assembly, nor of the Ministers, nor even of the Governor-General himself—but by the decree of the Secretary of State.

Thus an examination of the **White Paper**, in the preparations for which Liberal, Labourites, and Tories worked in harmony, shows it to be a sham, which only increases the grip of British imperialism and leads to a further development of poverty and slavery for the toiling masses of India.

Compare this reality with the hypocritical resolutions of Labour Party Conferences promising self-government for India.

Compare these hypocritical resolutions with the reality of Labour rule in India, with the Meerut trial, with the shootings and floggings, and the jailing of 50,000 political prisoners.

The **Manifesto** of the **Central Committee** tears through all these shams, and calls the attention of the whole working class to the importance of the struggle of the Indian people for independence. But it does more: it shows that the struggle of the Indian masses for emancipation is bound up with the struggle for a free Socialist Britain. In fighting against the new slave Constitution, in fighting for the complete independence of India, the workers of Britain are acting in their own class interests.

In this sense, of the fight to overthrow the capitalist system, it is indeed true that "India must become the touchstone of British politics." And in this sense the immediate demands put forward in the **Manifesto** (for the release of Meerut and other prisoners, for withdrawal of British troops, for freedom of speech, press, etc., for the right to strike, etc.), should be taken up and pushed forward by every class-conscious worker. In this way a united working-class front can be built against the new sham Constitution, and for the full independence of India.

## First of August—International Fighting Day Against Imperialist War

# Raise Higher the Banner of Proletarian Internationalism!

By Bela Kun (Moscow)

This year the international proletariat and the working masses of all countries will be called upon for the fifth time to demonstrate on **International Anti-War Day** against imperialist war and military intervention. When the Communist International first called on the workers of the world to make the first day of August into an anti-war day, when it presented the question of the intensifying danger of imperialist war and new militarist intervention against the Soviet Union in all its urgency, pacifist honey was still dripping in great quantities from the mouths of the bourgeois and social-pacifists.

No very keen eye is necessary to-day to observe that all this pacifist talk had no other aim but to prevent the working class and the working masses from interfering with the preparations for imperialist war. The "disarmament" conference in Geneva, this painted screen for military armaments and the regrouping of the imperialist Powers for a new imperialist war and for a new military intervention against the Soviet Union, was opened amidst the thunder of Japanese cannons in the Far East and will probably end its shadow existence amidst the cannon thunder of a still nearer war. The robber crusade of Japanese imperialism in the Far East, conducted with the support of France and the toleration of Great Britain, the drive through Manchuria into North China, the attack on Shanghai, means nothing less than the military occupation of Chinese territory totalling over three million square kilometres and the foundation of a military basis in Manchuria and in Mongolia for a coming drive against the Soviet Union. The world knows practically nothing about the war going on in West China and in Chinese Turkestan on the Central Asian frontiers of the Soviet Union. After all, it is only "a very little war" and the area involved is only two or three times as big as the United Kingdom of Great Britain.

In the meantime the intervention of the Kuomintang butchers, under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek, against the Chinese Soviets is continuing in Central and South China. However, Chiang Kai-shek's sixth anti-Soviet crusade will end as unsuccessfully as his previous five did.

The whole capitalist world is seized with war fever and this fever is strengthened by the increase of production in the capitalist countries caused by the temporary inflation. In Japan the whole of industry has been marshalled into the service of the war. During the last three years the production of pig-iron has increased by 110 per cent. and the production of the steel industry by 70 per cent. A big Japanese chemical industry is being developed in Korea. A number of new factories have been built in Japan itself for producing motor-cars and assembling motor-car parts from the big motor-car works of General Motors, Ford and Citroën. In the United States of America the increase of production is, apart from the inflation, due above all to the increased activities of the war industries. The tonnage of the U.S. war fleet is already half as high again of the Japanese war fleet and it is being still further increased by the building of modern cruisers, aeroplane mother ships, and other types of war vessels.

Great Britain's fighting forces, which are often underestimated, are being mechanised with the assistance of Britain's great development of industrial technical science. In France General Weygand has just inspected the concluding operations on the most modern fortress lines which have been constructed along the German and Italian frontiers of the French Republic, whereby it must not be forgotten that these lines are intended to serve more as a basis for a strategical offensive than as the basis for strategical defence. In the countries allied with France, in Poland and the countries of the Little Entente (Rumania, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia) the optimal war strength, so to speak, of peace

times has already been reached. These countries linked up in the French system of military alliances have an army of not less than 1,600,000 men at their disposal. In case of war they can put an army of about five million men, 6,000 tanks and 12,000 military aeroplanes into the field.

The other bloc of European Powers, the bloc Italy-Germany-Hungary, is not yet so firmly welded as the French bloc, but it is making strenuous efforts to make up for its military inferiority to the States of the French bloc by feverish armaments. This anti-Versailles bloc already has an army which totals admittedly at peace strength 700,000 men. The anti-Versailles bloc is also technically inferior to the French bloc, but it reckons with the "secret" reserves of Germany and Italy and calculates that German and Italian industries would make it possible for them inside two or three months after the beginning of a war to put over four million men into the field, with about 15,000 guns, several thousand tanks and thousands of military aeroplanes.

The race between the two wars, between the war amongst the imperialist Powers themselves and the war of military intervention against the Soviet Union, is proceeding at full pace.

The antagonisms of the imperialist Powers are intensifying daily. The World Economic Conference began its deliberations under the shadow of the intensified imperialist contradictions which led to the bankruptcy of the "disarmament" conference in Geneva. The debt problem is an insoluble one for the capitalist Powers at the moment. Great Britain and Italy no more want to pay their war debts than the United States wants to strike them off. The economic war in the Far East between Great Britain and Japan for the Chinese and other Eastern markets is intensifying. The economic war in South America between Great Britain and the United States is more violent than ever and the wars between the South American States show clearly where such economic wars between the big imperialist Powers lead. In Europe the autarchical tendencies of the fascist dictatorship in Germany have led to the formation of a series of subsidiary fronts in the world economic war. In London the World Economic Conference is dominated by a conflict on a gigantic scale between the United States and Great Britain, whilst in Geneva the "disarmament" conference is primarily the scene of a struggle between the Versailles and anti-Versailles blocs in the European countries.

It was never clearer how right Comrade Stalin was when he declared that the more the antagonisms between the imperialist States and imperialist groupings intensify the more they would endeavour to solve their differences in a military intervention against the Soviet Union. The history of the development of the Four Power Pact shows this with glaring clarity. When the antagonisms between the various European Powers, and in particular between France and Germany, approached boiling point, conservative Britain, under the leadership of the one-time workers' leader MacDonald, interfered in order to guide the efforts of the imperialist countries into a common channel against the Soviet Union.

The imperialist antagonisms show themselves even in the preparations for a military intervention against the Soviet Union. Each participant in the Four Power Pact has its own aims in view in the organisation of the anti-Soviet war. Great Britain, which has become the chief organiser of military intervention against the Soviet Union in place of France, which feels that its hands are full enough in defending the Versailles frontiers, wants an anti-Soviet war to pursue quite different aims than those of France, whilst Germany's aims are quite different from those of Italy. A common fear for the fate of dying capitalism in a period when Socialism in the Soviet Union is winning new victories

almost every day, binds them together in a united front against the country of Socialism.

The forced pacifist speech of Hitler on the 17th May in the Reichstag was not only the preliminary to the signing of the Four Power Pact without having previously obtained any guarantees for a revision of the Versailles Treaty, but at the same time the preliminary to an adventurous campaign of incitement in Germany against the Soviet Union, and to the economic memorandum of Hugenberg which suffered shipwreck at the World Economic Conference in London. This memorandum did not come from Hugenberg alone, but also from the National Socialist Foreign Office, where personal friends of Hitler hold the reins. It was worked out with a view to persuading the leading conservative circles in Great Britain to adopt a more conciliatory attitude towards Hitler Germany. It was a product of fascism's policy of adventurism, but despite its adventurism it lies in the same line as the policy of the "deadly serious" English conservatives towards the Soviet Union. The Hitler government feels compelled to adopt this adventurist policy because it knows that it cannot avert the economic catastrophe in Germany, and also because it is prevented by Italy from solving the question of Austro-German unity.

The fascists are no less able to veil preparations for war with pacifist speeches than are the democratic or socialist pacifists. This can be seen not only by Hitler's speech in the Reichstag on the 17th May, but also by the fact that Mussolini has now become a candidate for the peace prize founded by the former dynamite manufacturer Nobel. And if the fascist bandit chief actually receives the prize he will deserve it no less than all the other manufacturers of pacifist honey who received it before him. The pacifist MacDonald and the fascist Mussolini worked together to prepare the Four Power Pact in preparation for a war of intervention against the Soviet Union, and the radical socialist Daladier signed this pact together with the fascist Hitler. In the fascist Grand Council of Italy the followers of Mussolini approved of this pact for the preparation of a military intervention against the Soviet Union as enthusiastically as did the French socialists through Frossard.

Therefore the struggle against imperialist war and military intervention must at the same time be a struggle against fascism and against the social democracy, a struggle for the winning of the broadest masses of the working class, the clerical employees, the peasants, the petty-bourgeoisie, the intellectuals, the toilers of the oppressed countries. It must be a struggle to win those sections of the population who are marked down to bear the costs of the preparations for imperialist war and military intervention, and to bear the sacrifice in blood which this war and military intervention will bring with them. It was never so clear as now that the interests of capitalism, which form the basis of all imperialist wars, and the interests of the workers and of all other oppressed and exploited sections of society are fundamentally and diametrically opposed and irreconcilable. Already at a moment of terrible economic crisis the bourgeoisie and its leading section, the finance oligarchy, is beginning to enjoy the benefits of a war period which will force the working masses deeper and deeper into the pit of impoverishment and misery. War means also the rise of all prices for food and clothing. It means dismissals in all branches of industry not working for war requirements. It means the growth and strengthening of fascism in a number of capitalist countries.

"War means work!" This criminal slogan of the social democratic and reformist trade union leaders has been refuted even in the period of preparation for war. Imperialist war, even in its preparatory stages, means intensifying misery and impoverishment for the toilers, increased exploitation and increased oppression in order that dying capitalism can lengthen its life by exterminating the superfluous and therefore dangerous sections of the population.

The reckless nationalist incitement and unscrupulous chauvinist demagoguery of the fascists only supplements the empty pacifist phrases of the bourgeois apostles of peace and of the Second International. The chauvinism of the fascists and the "internationalism" of the social democracy are only two methods of working the same trick with a view to drawing the workers over to the side of their own bourgeoisie.

At this advanced stage of the danger of imperialist war and military intervention against the Soviet Union **proletarian internationalism** must be opposed with all possible energy to the chauvinism of the fascists and the pacifism and so-called internationalism

of the social democracy. The basis of proletarian internationalism is the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, the class struggle of the working class of each nation against its own bourgeoisie. Proletarian internationalism is a joint struggle of the working class of all countries against the **world bourgeoisie**, against **world imperialism**. Proletarian internationalism is the joint struggle of the workers of all countries for the Socialism which has already been put into practice in the Soviet Union, for the defence of the Soviet Union, for the defence of Soviet China, and for the defence of all oppressed and exploited colonial slaves in China, India, and all other countries where imperialism is carrying on its wars.

The campaign for the demonstrations on the 1st August will be conducted under the banner of this internationalism, the proletarian internationalism of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin.

Whilst the dirty wave of nationalism and social chauvinism is being whipped higher and higher by the bourgeoisie and its agents in the working class, whilst the preparations of the international bourgeoisie for a military intervention against the Soviet Union are being rushed on at ever-increasing speed, our slogan must be:

**Raise higher the Banner of Proletarian Internationalism!**

## Preparations for War in the British Empire

By Tom Bell (London)

Not the least important part of imperialist war preparations is mass propaganda. It is as necessary for the bourgeoisie as the guns, airships, cruisers, and gas bombs, and other technical means of warfare. Indeed, the nearer the war the more extensive is the propaganda among the mass of the civilian population to prepare them for the day when they will be called upon to support "their" government.

A most elaborate network of war propaganda has been spread so that millions of even the most backward sections of the population, including the remotest hamlets in the country, are being touched with militarism in one form or the other. The cinema, boys' and girls' brigades, scouts, territorial fêtes, air races, tattoos and pageants—all are engaged in the most intense activity. The manner in which the "great events" are arranged reveals an organising general staff at work that ensures a spread-over in the summer months, so that there is always a "grand attraction" running—the Aldershot Tattoo, the Hendon Air Display, the Greenwich Naval Carnival, etc.

The contest for the King's Cup Air Race at Hatfield Aerodrome has just come to an end. This marks the twelfth successive contest. And this year, in addition to the cup, a prize of £500 is presented by Lord Wakefield to the winner. Fifteen different types of aeroplanes were entered, including the debut of a new Morriss aero engine. The principal object of the race being a test of navigation, of engine, speed and endurance. With these are combined the appeal to popular mass interest in British aircraft.

At the moment of writing, 4,000 marksmen are engaged in rifle competition at Bisley, in Surrey. This competition is organised by the National Rifle Association and has been held annually since 1860. The marksmen include schoolboys, soldiers, sailors, airmen, ex-servicemen, territorials and civilians. The prizes include £250, with gold medal and badge from the King. In all, the Bisley meet, including other competitions, offers £12,000 in prize money, and cups valued £10,000.

This year overseas teams competing in the Imperial Meeting of the National Rifle Association include teams from Canada, India, the Falkland Islands, Kenya, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, the China Treaty Ports, and the Sudan, with individual entries from Uganda, the Federated Malay States, South Africa, and Australia, so that practically the whole British Empire is represented. It may be safely said 100,000 people will be attracted by this event to the course. A cynical touch will be added on Sunday, 16th July, when the Bishop of Guildford will invoke the blessing of the Almighty on the competitors, the British Empire, and the justice of British might!

But the most important of all is the Royal Navy's "At Home," which opens on August 5.

Instituted in 1927, these Navy "At Homes" have attracted 1,370,000 visitors. Special railway facilities are provided to run people from all parts of the country to look over the ships under specially-conducted parties led by officers, as Captain Bernard Acworth declares: "To become better acquainted with the officers and men that man them."

This year "realistic" reproductions of incidents of naval operations will be given at each of the ports. At **Portsmouth** a Chinese junk, to hold sixty men, has been built, and this vessel, as a "pirate junk," will reproduce the recent events that took place in the Yangtse-Kiang River.

At **Chatham** there will be a "revolt" in a small imaginary country, the king of which will appeal for British warships to come to his assistance to restore order!

At **Devonport**, exhibitions will be given of remarkable escapes from submerged submarines by means of the Davis escape apparatus. Devonport has more than once in recent years been the biggest sufferer from submarine disasters, and the promoters have not only the visitors from the country in mind, but the widows, wives and potential widows and orphans of Devonport in view.

Captain **Acworth**, in a special article on the "At Home" in the "Observer" (25/7/33), naively explains:

"In earlier days, when British sea power 'under the good providence of God,' was accepted without question as the sure guarantor of British prosperity and freedom; there was less need to lift the veil of mystery and silence that surrounded the Royal Navy. . . . In recent years, however, the memory of the wholesale destruction on the Western Front, and a growth in the belief that air power has adversely affected the implications of sea power, has made it desirable, if not actually necessary, to rekindle in the public mind an appreciation of what British ships and British seamen mean to a nation utterly dependent upon food and raw material from overseas."

The Captain then writes:

"It is well to remind ourselves that of the apparently considerable fleet of 15 battleships, 50 cruisers, 110 destroyers, and 41 submarines allowed to us in 1936 by the London Treaty, 3 battle cruisers, 17 cruisers, 45 destroyers, and 1 submarine will be 'over-age' and worn out if not obsolete.

"The gradual replacement of old ships by new is a burden which, if heavy, is likely to be borne more cheerfully as a result of the intimate acquaintance which successive Navy Weeks have established between the general public and its Navy."

Here, more clearly expressed than usual, is shown the purpose of these pageants.

From the foregoing will be seen we are by no means exaggerating the activity of the preparations for war in England. Yet, in the midst of all this, **Lansbury**, the leader of the Labour Party, His Majesty's loyal opposition, speaking at a Peace Congress in Oxford (7/7/33), declared: "The longer I live the more certain I am that absolute refusal to take up arms is our only way to salvation." ("Daily Herald.")

Almost at the same time as **Lansbury** was uttering this banal pacifist nonsense, Lieutenant-Colonel **E. R. Ewart** was taking **Handley-Page** of the great aircraft ring to task for saying at a company meeting in a great war the trained forces would not waste its energies on attacking "comparatively useless targets such as the civilian population." ("Evening News," 6/7/33.)

Lieutenant **Ewart**, speaking from four years' active service during the great war, when **Handley-Page** machines bombed up and down the Rhine, declares there will always be excuses for bombing and terrorising the civilian population and that "It is well known to experts to-day that more bombs could be dropped on London in a day now than were dropped on it in the whole of the great war."

He further stated:

"The hope of air-bombers being 'abolished by Pact' leaves me cold; because I remember that before the war there was a Geneva Convention, signed by all the Powers (including Germany), barring the use of poison gas." ("News," 6/7/33.)

The lieutenant is an ardent militarist. He is an outspoken advocate of a big air force, but his frankness, though brutal, is to be preferred to the poison gas of the pacifist **Lansbury**. It is because thousands and thousands of workers in England take the same realistic views on imperialist war that they are rallying to the **Anti-War Committee**, which has just been added to the list of "Communist" organisations by the Labour Party and the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, and all local Labour Parties and Trade Union branches have been told to have nothing to do with it.

The "refuse to fight" propaganda of **Lansbury** is a case of

aiding and abetting the imperialists, or to use a phrase noted by **Lenin** when reading **Brailsford's** "War of Steel and Gold," "the pacifist who speaks to-day of peace and disarmament will belong to-morrow to a party completely dependent on armaments." **Arthur Henderson** has already proven it.

## War Preparations of the U.S.A.

By **A. G. Bosse** (New York)

**Roosevelt** will soon be characterised as a war president, as "pacifist" **Wilson** was. A review of the manner in which **Wall Street** had **Roosevelt** elected and of the legislation passed and powers conferred upon him since his inauguration would show the basis for this statement. We are nearer to a new world war than has been the case at any time since 1914.

More warships and war planes are now projected or under construction than ever before. Thirty-seven ships and hundreds of planes are being built or appropriated for over the next three years, costing 250,000,000 dollars, while 658,000,000 dollars was previously legislated for the army and navy for this year. The navy will absorb 440,000,000 dollars this year. The armaments manufacturers are getting the bulk of the spoils. Land and water manœuvres are being carried on openly and secretly on an unprecedented scale.

In April the press reported that the "big navy" crowd of armaments manufacturers and professional patriots were working overtime to put across an appropriation for 32 new warships. In June the press was able to report their success. As part of the 3,300,000,000 dollars appropriation under the Industrial Recovery Act, 238,000,000 dollars was set aside for the 32 ships, the explanation being that it was for public works, to restore prosperity and employment. 9,362,000 dollars was then assigned for 290 war planes for these ships. Another 17 warships are now under construction, and for five more 21,000,000 dollars had been appropriated, but construction not yet started. Two battleships and six destroyers are being modernised, and this, together with shore construction will take 84,000,000 dollars this year. The 54 new warships are the answer of American imperialism to the navies of Japan and Great Britain, and its threat to the Soviet Union.

It usually takes some 42 months to build a cruiser or aircraft carrier, but those to be built will be speeded up so that the time will be cut down to 36 months. All will be allocated at once and construction started at once in navy yards, and by August 1 in private yards. The latter group will get the bulk of the ships—otherwise, why the armaments trust? Secretary of War **Swanson** has enunciated the government's policy in this matter: It "will build to the fullest capacity of both public and private yards for two years." The hypocritical explanation he gives is that it will aid economic recovery:

"I know of no more effective and praiseworthy way of giving our industrial life that country-wide stimulus which it so sorely needs than by devoting a portion of the money and energy which is to be used for public construction to this vital arm of our national defence." ("N.Y. Times," June 16.)

This "relief" was to entail an expenditure of 46,000,000 dollars this year, but it is already intimated that double that sum will be used, and the balance in the next two years.

The 32 ships to be built include 2 aircraft carriers (one was recently completed, making the fourth now built), 4 10,000-ton cruisers with 12 planes each (3 have just been completed), 20 destroyers, 4 submarines, and 2 gunboats, especially built to operate in Chinese rivers. The 17 ships now under construction include 1 carrier, 6 heavy cruisers, 8 destroyers, and 2 submarines, some of which were up to 80 per cent. completed on June 1. Incidentally, we might mention the fact that Britain has 50 warships under construction, including those of the 1932 programme.

Representative **Vinson**, head of the House Naval Affairs Committee, is pushing for the construction of light cruisers, destroyers, and submarines up to the London Treaty limits. **Swanson** also is fighting for this programme to be completed "as soon as possible." One estimate of what this entails is 287,000 tons, to be built by the end of 1936, to cost a billion dollars, and to include 119 ships. If the other Powers did likewise, Britain would build 189,000 tons, France 38,000, Japan 21,000, and Italy 60,000 tons.

The status of the navies of the chief Powers is as follows, ac-

ording to an estimate by Adams, while Secretary of the Navy:—

	U.S.	British Empire	Japan
Battleships .. .. .	15	15	9
Aircraft carriers .. .. .	4	6	4
Battle cruisers .. .. .	16	15	12
Cruisers, light .. .. .	10	26	18
Destroyers .. .. .	127	105	76
Submarines .. .. .	53	43	47
Total .. .. .	225	210	166

—("N.Y. Times," Feb. 5.)

The tremendous number of airplanes and tanks in the U.S., England and France, as compared with 1918, was estimated by Comrade Kuusinen (Twelfth Plenum Report, Prepare for Power, page 53) as follows:—

Military airplanes in active Service:—	U.S.	Britain	France
1918 .. .. .	750	1,500	5,000
1932 .. .. .	10,000	5,000	7,000
Tanks in active service:—			
1918 .. .. .	280	2,000	2,700
1932 .. .. .	8,000	5,000	5,000

The far more rapid militarisation of the U.S. than of the other countries is obvious from these figures. The chief of the Army Air Corps, Foulois, claimed on April 1, that the army had only 1,012 serviceable planes, with 1,800 being built under the present 5-year construction programme, and that the need of the army is 3,600. But these figures doubtless disregard many more war planes, and the enormous number of commercial planes which can be converted or pressed into service, just as all merchant ships are built for gun emplacements, etc.

Some examples of the scale upon which the U.S. has been spending money on war preparations are the following:—At the beginning of the year it bought 38 high-speed bombers, the most powerful yet devised, to carry 2,000 lb. of bombs at 200 miles an hour. It also contracted for 111 pursuit planes at about the same time, both groups to cost nearly 4,000,000 dollars. It is putting landing decks on one-quarter of the cruisers. The government arsenal at Rock Island is doubling production and expects to exceed the war-time rate. Millions of pairs of shoes are being ordered, and large quantities of uniforms, guns, bullets, etc. Already in 1931 the War Department had allocated plans and orders to 1,700 factories for war production, and the entire country is divided up into military production areas.

In May the high seas fleet had been put on a one-third rotating reserve basis, effective July 1, but toward the end of June Swanson cancelled most of this, "finding" suddenly that the economy would not be as great as expected.

Though a billion dollars has been slashed off the wages and compensation of war veterans, the cuts in the pay of naval reserve officers have just been restored by Roosevelt. The **Aleutian Islands** have been "surveyed" for geological purposes, and naval bases have been built there—a splendid outpost for war on either Japan or the U.S.S.R. The **Philippines** and other Pacific islands are likewise being fortified. After the tremendous Pacific manoeuvres in February, involving 140 ships, 325 airplanes, and 34,200 men, further secret manoeuvres were held in March and April off California. At Louisville the most elaborate army and air manoeuvres ever organised in peace time were held in May. At the end of March the "N.Y. Enquirer" was able to write:

"Meanwhile American mobilisation of defence plans are more complete than ever before, with plans perfected for the calling of 2,000,000 men within 24 hours."

Early in June all rules were suspended in the House to speed the passage of the McSwain Bill, to establish a national guard of the U.S., merging all the State militia with the regular army and doubling the size of the latter.

That war is near is being openly admitted by even bourgeois journals. Thus, the "N.Y. Times Annalist" wrote on March 17:

"That there is a large possibility of a European war (it is always European, never American—A. G. B.) in the very near future can hardly be denied. . . . It would be a curious (!) repetition of function if another European war should again come to our industrial rescue."

And the press reports that Lord Esmondon, civilian adviser to

the British Admiralty, was buying up or chartering all ships possible, just as Kylsant had done in 1914 in preparation for the World War.

On another front, the "N.Y. Sun" reports:

"Japanese Expect War With U.S.—Millions of Japanese now regard war with us as inevitable. . . ." (June 6.)

On still another front, equally intensive preparations are being made. At New York's most exclusive hotel army officers held a secret anti-Soviet meeting on April 20, where pictures of Soviet fortifications were shown, and the layout of the Polish-Soviet frontier, the Bessarabian front, various Soviet rivers and harbours, etc. Many of them were airplane views. Among those present was General MacArthur, Chief of Staff of the Army and murderer of the Washington veterans last July. He had just returned from a trip of countries bordering the U.S.S.R., to prepare the anti-Soviet campaign.

In all his requests for legislation and practically all his statements, from the inaugural address on, Roosevelt has based himself on preparations for war. The banking legislation, forced labour camps, attempt at press censorship, Industrial Recovery Bill, arms embargo shipment proposal, etc., have all boldly used war-time phraseology in their text and in supporting arguments.

## The First of August and the C.P. of Poland

By G. D. Aronski

The campaign for the 1st of August, which centres round the struggle of the international proletariat against the threatening imperialist war and, before all, against the counter-revolutionary intervention, is of special importance for the toiling masses of Poland. The further aggravation of the world economic crisis, the antagonisms between the imperialists, the profound crisis which is undermining before all the Versailles system, are leading to a feverish activity of all imperialist States and their vassals which are preparing for the inevitable military collisions to bring about a redistribution of the world and a change in the State frontiers.

All the efforts of the imperialists are now directed to postponing, if possible, the day of the general collision among themselves and concentrating all the counter-revolutionary forces of the capitalist world against their chief enemy, the Soviet Union, the country of Socialism.

The toiling masses of Poland who are rallying in the fight, under the leadership of the Communist Party, are very well aware of the historic mission taken over by bourgeois white Poland, a mission which Lenin characterised in the following words:—

"The Peace of Versailles created in Poland a buffer State which is destined to prevent Germany forming an alliance with Soviet Russian Communism and which the 'Entente' considers to be a tool against the Bolsheviki."

In spite of the most senseless terror of the fascist dictatorship the illegal Communist Party of Poland is uninterruptedly conducting the struggle against fascism, mobilising the masses of workers and peasants against imperialist war and for the defence of the Soviet Union. By organising the resistance of the working class against the offensive of capital, the C.P. of Poland succeeded in launching a big-scale strike movement. The big strike struggles of the working class, the heroic fights of the miners and the textile workers, clearly reveal the unshakeable will of the toilers to oppose to the attempts of the bourgeoisie to find a way out of the terrible crisis at the cost of the toiling masses, their revolutionary way out under the leadership of the C.P. of Poland. During the campaign organised by the C.P. for the Amsterdam Anti-War Congress hundreds of mass meetings, conferences, etc., took place, which were attended by tens of thousands of workers; anti-war committees were elected and delegates sent to the Congress. The C.P. of Poland succeeded in extending this campaign to the barracks, where meetings and discussions took place and a considerable number of soldiers expressed in special resolutions their solidarity with the Anti-War Congress, their readiness to fight under the leadership of the C.P. against the imperialist war and for the defence of the Soviet Union.

The campaign of solidarity with the German proletariat, which at present is in the midst of a fierce struggle against fascism and social-fascism, found expression in the Polish-German workers' committee, set up on the initiative of the C.P.s of Germany and Poland. This committee has already conducted a great mass work among the toilers of German and Polish Upper Silesia

against the chauvinist campaign of incitement of Polish and German imperialism. This campaign culminated in a congress at which 350 Polish and German worker delegates proclaimed their proletarian international alliance against fascism and chauvinism. Likewise the C.P.s of Germany and Poland are conducting a joint campaign in Pomerania and in Danzig for internationalism and against chauvinism.

Hitler's seizure of power provided the Polish fascists with fresh possibilities of enhancing the campaign of chauvinism and nationalism in order to divert the attention of the masses from the inner front of the class struggle. The chauvinistic slogans are being carried into the working masses by the Socialist Party of Poland (P.P.S.), which is a faithful lackey of its bourgeoisie. With the outcry "Danger to independence" of imperialist Poland the social-fascists try to strengthen the reactionary united front with the bourgeoisie in order to combat Communism. The Polish social-fascists are calling upon the Pilsudski government to proceed energetically in Danzig and Pomerania, and at the same time attack the Communist Party on account of its fight against Polish and German chauvinism, on account of its proletarian internationalism.

The main tasks of the Communist Parties of Poland, West Ukraina, Western White Russia for the First of August campaign are: Increased work in exposing all kinds of preparations for imperialist war and intervention; exposure of the true imperialist character of the pacifist declarations and gestures of Polish fascism; systematic fight against social-fascism by exposing its bourgeois imperialist slogans, such as those for the defence of the fatherland, defence of integrity, fight of the democratic countries against fascism, etc.; the setting up in the factories of anti-war committees in order to organise mass meetings, fighting demonstrations in town and country; short political strikes on August 1; the mobilising and organising of the Polish and German proletarians in Upper Silesia and Pomerania. In mass meetings, demonstrations, frontier meetings, the banner of international struggle, of the brotherly fighting alliance between the C.P. of Germany and the C.P. of Poland is to be raised under the Leninist slogans of the ruthless revolutionary struggle against the imperialist Versailles system, for the right of self-determination of the peoples, against Polish and German fascism and chauvinism, against social-chauvinism, for a brotherly alliance of the toilers of Poland and Germany against imperialist war; for the defence of the fatherland of the international proletariat—the Soviet Union—for a Soviet Poland and Soviet Germany!

## Fight Against Fascism

### Fenner Brockway's Subterfuges

In order to retard the drive of their followers towards Communism the right-wing leaders of the **Independent Labour Party**, and in particular **Fenner Brockway** in "**The New Leader**," have asserted that of all the parties of the Communist International only the Communist Party of Great Britain has made an offer of a united front to the socialist organisations of its country, whilst the Communist Parties in the other countries have refrained from doing so. Our readers will remember, however, that in Nos. 14, 15 and 18 we published the united front appeals and open letters of the Communist Parties of other countries to the Social Democratic Parties and their members there, including Germany, Austria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, France and Spain. To-day we publish extracts from the united front appeals by the Communist Parties of **Holland, Denmark and Sweden**, showing that the Communist Parties in the smaller countries also carried out the decision of the C.I. contained in the United Front appeal issued by the Executive Committee of the C.I. on March 9th and published in No. 11 of the "International Press Correspondence." These extracts should convince the rank and file members of the I.L.P. that if no united front has yet been formed in other countries then this is solely due to the reactionary class-harmony policy of the leaders of the reformist parties.—Editor.

On April 17th the C.P. of **Holland** published the following proposal directed to the **Oppositional Socialist Party of Holland** for a united front on May 1st:—

(1) The C.P. and the O.S.P. of Holland shall publish a joint appeal to all socialist, communist and non-party workers for the

formation of joint First of May Committees in the factories, at the Labour Exchanges and in the working-class districts.

(2) The C.P. and the O.S.P. shall immediately appeal to all workers to organise a strike throughout the country on the 1st May. The First of May Committees shall take all measures necessary to organise this strike in their factories and secure the support of the local unemployed for picketing, etc. In particular, forces should be joined to secure May Day strikes in the forced labour camps and meetings in the open air.

(3) These May Day meetings and demonstrations shall be organised jointly by the C.P., the O.S.P., and any other working-class organisations agreeing to co-operate.

On March 20th the Central Committee of the **Danish Communist Party** issued a united front offer to the **Danish Social Democratic Party**. The following is an extract from this appeal:

The victory of Hitler fascism in Germany and the menacing development in Austria represent an attempt on the part of the capitalist class to establish a bloody dictatorship over the working class and save capitalism by throwing the burdens of the economic crisis on to the shoulders of the workers. The victory of fascism in Germany is a warning to the workers of the world to join together in a struggle against fascism and capitalism.

On the basis of the appeal of the Communist International we call upon all workers and all working-class organisations to join together in a united front on a class basis against fascism, the danger of war, and against capitalism. We propose the organisation of a working-class united front in Denmark on the following basis:—

(1) The organisation of joint meetings and demonstrations and the organisation of a joint campaign to assist the German workers in their fight against fascism, including a fight for the full right of political asylum in Denmark for fugitives from Hitler Germany;

(2) The organisation of joint anti-fascist committees all over the country to conduct this anti-fascist campaign and to form a working-class defence force against fascism; and,

(3) The organisation of a joint counter-offensive against all attempts to lower wages and deteriorate working conditions.

We ask the leaders of the Danish Social Democratic Party whether they are prepared to come together with us and discuss the basis for the realisation of the proposed working-class united front, and at the same time we appeal to all workers to bring up this proposal in the meetings of their organisations and work in favour of it at every possible opportunity.

The following is an extract from an Open Letter from the Central Committee of the **Communist Party of Sweden** to the executive of the **Swedish Social Democratic Party**, published on the 24th March in "Ny Dag":—

The victory of fascism in Germany and the horrors perpetrated against the German working class which have accompanied it mean that the capitalist class is striving to drive through its hunger offensive by means of a brutal and bloody dictatorship, bringing increased poverty and misery to the working class and creating the preliminary conditions for imperialist war.

In view of the urgency of the situation the call for a united front of the working class against fascism is being raised everywhere, and not least in Sweden. The formation of a united front is a vital question for the workers of all countries. In accordance with the appeal of the Communist International the Swedish Communist Party calls on all working-class forces to form a united front on the following basis:—

(1) The organisation of joint meetings, demonstrations, and other actions in support of the German workers. The immediate formation of joint committees of action in the factories and Labour Exchanges, etc. The joint organisation of the First of May as a fighting day against fascism, hunger and war.

(2) The organisation of a joint campaign to secure a general and unconditional amnesty for all proletarian political prisoners, and to secure the full right of asylum for all refugees from Germany.

There then follow a series of proposals for joint action to secure various working-class demands peculiar to Sweden and to secure joint action against wage-cuts, etc. This Open Letter expressly points out that the **Kilbom**, so-called Communist Party, is included in the united front offer, and calls upon all workers to take up the offer and bring it forward at the meetings of their organisations for discussion.

# The White Terror

## For the Defence of the Political Prisoners in Poland!

Against the Fascist Regime of Terror in the Prisons!

From the Open Letter of the Communist fraction in the Polish Sejm to the workers and peasants of Poland, of the Western Ukraine and Western White Russia.

Workers and peasants! Intellectual workers! One of the gloomiest aspects of the system of terror that is continually being perfected in Fascist Poland is the prison regime. In this respect Polish Fascism will long remain a model for the executioners of all bourgeois countries.

The legal bourgeois press is silent with regard to what is taking place in the jails. The social-fascist gentlemen (the P.P.S. Polish Socialist Party) and the peasant fascists ("Stronnictwo Ludowe," the Peasants' Party) are also silent, for they are raising an outcry, it is true, against Hitler and the fascist terror . . . but only in Germany; they attempt at the same time, however, to whitewash the fascist dictatorship in Poland in the eyes of the masses of workers and peasants.

The Communist fraction in the Sejm, robbed of the opportunity of addressing the working masses from the tribune of the Sejm, appeals to you, workers and peasants, to the entire working population of Poland in an open letter, to break down the wall of silence with which fascism surrounds its torture chambers and to disclose to the working masses the truth with regard to what is happening in the Polish prisons.

More than 12,000 political prisoners are subjected to a prison system that in its effects is equivalent to a death sentence. The basis of this system is the new prison regime, which is in reality an extension of the criminal code of 1932. In the civil war against the workers and peasants, in the struggle against the growing revolutionary movement it is no longer enough for fascism to rob the revolutionaries of their liberty, to tear them from the ranks of the fighters. Fascism is determined to exterminate its victims physically, because it fails to destroy them morally and to turn them into its instruments.

One of the chief principles of the new prison regime is the "non-recognition" of political prisoners, i.e., putting them in actual fact on the same level as criminal prisoners. The degrading of political prisoners, people whose cultural niveau is high, to the level of ordinary criminals, the majority of whom are recruited from the scum of society, is in itself a despotic act without parallel. The political prisoners were, to begin with, robbed of their most elementary right which they had won for themselves in the bloody struggle: the right to books, literature and newspapers. The libraries of the prisoners that had been laboriously got together over a long period of years, were removed or even burned. To humiliate the political prisoners still more, they are put into prison clothes, put in one cell together with ordinary criminals, and compelled by blows and tortures to pay military marks of respect to their torturers. Female political prisoners must submit like prostitutes to an examination.

The prison fare is continually and systematically deteriorating. To hasten the starvation process, deprivation of nourishment has latterly been employed as a "punishment." Another "punishment" that has repeatedly been employed for some time past consists in forbidding the prisoners to receive packets of food from their relatives. This prohibition sometimes lasts for some months. Even the sharing of food with prison comrades is not allowed, and "offences" against this regulation are punished by imprisonment in the dark cells. In the prison of Grudziadz, nourishment of all kinds was withheld as a punishment from the prisoners (200 in number), amongst whom were many suffering from tuberculosis and heart disease, for four days on end. Medical assistance does not in effect exist.

Physical terror—the bloody system of Lutsk—has been introduced in all the prisons of Poland: beatings, tortures, butchering of the political prisoners by maddened warders. And this only because they wish to defend their dignity, their most elementary rights, because they will not submit to the refined cruelty of the regime.

The attempt to introduce the new regime in the prison having met with stubborn resistance on the part of the prisoners, a con-

centrated attack, ordered from above, has been embarked upon, which is still continuing. This attack is accompanied by bloody, protracted massacres in nearly all the prisons. They are taking place in the prisons of Grudziadz, Lwow, Warsaw, Fordon, Grodno, Lodz, Piotrkow, Wronki, Sandomierz, Siedlce, Luck, Plock, and in many others.

Numerous letters that have reached us by illegal methods from the prisoners of the fascist dictatorship in Poland, bear moving witness to the cruel, inhuman treatment of political prisoners, providing a heart-rending account of the bloody deeds carried out by brutish bands.

Workers and peasants!

The shocking reports of the political prisoners reveal only a trifling part of the bloody reality from the torture dens of political fascism, only a trifling part of the relentless and heroic struggle that the political prisoners are carrying on against their executioners. This struggle, a struggle for life, will remain hopeless, unless it is supported by the broad masses of the workers and peasants, by the entire working population of Poland, the Western Ukraine and Western White Russia.

Organise everywhere mass meetings against the prison regime, organise protest demonstrations in the workers' quarters, in the villages and before the prison walls! Gather around you all the workers and peasants without distinction of party or creed—against the will of the leaders of the reformist parties and the agents of fascism, who by remaining silent cover up the crimes of the fascist terror and so share the responsibility for these crimes.

Workers, peasants, intellectual workers! The heroic political prisoners, who are condemned to a slow death from starvation by the fascist dictatorship, also need your material aid. Their children and relatives, robbed of their breadwinners, are abandoned to misery and starvation.

The campaign for the defence of the political prisoners against the fascist terror and the campaign for the collection of funds for the benefit of the prisoners must be carried out by the workers' and peasants' committees elected for this purpose. In every factory, and mine, in every workshop and in every office, in all the villages, committees of struggle must be formed against terror and fascism, for the defence of the political prisoners.

The struggle against the fascist terror, against the new regime of murder in the Polish prisons, can only be successful as a part of the growing revolutionary struggle of the masses of the workers and peasants, under the flag of the struggle against fascism and its disguised agents, the social-fascists and peasant-fascists.

Warsaw, June, 25, 1933.

Communist Fraction in the Sejm.

## The Fresh Wave of Persecutions in Turkey

By F.

During the last few months the Kemalist government has carried out a number of fresh manoeuvres in order to facilitate an agreement with international finance-capital. After Turkey joined the League of Nations the Turkish government came to terms with French imperialism with regard to the questions of the Turkish State debt, the Anatolian railway, and, finally, the prolongation of the concession for the Ottoman Bank, which represents one of the key positions of foreign capital in Turkey.

The Kemalist government thereby hopes to overcome the difficulties resulting from the aggravation of the economic crisis. At the same time the government is carrying out a number of measures which are directed against the toiling population and are aiming at casting the whole burden of the crisis upon the shoulders of the toilers. Ruthless exploitation of the peasants by means of taxes and usurious interest, wage reductions, worsening of labour conditions, fiercest crushing of every attempt of the workers in the towns to organise themselves—this constitutes the inner-political activity of the Kemalist government, which of course is arousing increasing dissatisfaction and resentment among the masses. Great unrest in the agricultural districts, workers' demonstrations against the Kemalists in the towns (as, for instance, as a protest against the increase in the price of bread decreed by the Kemal government) prove the growth of mass resentment. The Kemal government is replying to these outbreaks of dissatisfaction by reprisals, above all against the revolutionary workers and its advance-guard, the Communist Party.

Immediately before May 1st wholesale raids directed against revolutionary workers took place in Constantinople and in a num-

ber of provincial towns. Many houses were searched, several hundreds of workers arrested, and many of their number were mishandled. In spite of numerous protests and the hunger strike carried out by the Communist prisoners, the most ruthless, mediæval treatment of the political prisoners is being continued in the Kemalists prisons. The Kemalists newspapers are filled with incitement and calumnies against the Communists in order to "justify" the reprisals of the Kemalists.

The Turkish bourgeoisie also knows how to make use, in its fight against the Communists, of various groups of petty-bourgeois renegades, before all the Trotskyist opposition group of Hikmet Nasim. This group has not only a hand in the campaign of calumniating the Party, but it has been ascertained that members of this group have frequently been used as police spies. This is of course discrediting the group, which still claims to be a Communist one, among the workers. Hence the police proceeded recently to arrest members of this group also in order to mislead the workers. Actually, however, the arrested "oppositionists" (members of the Nasim group) as soon as they have made their depositions and told everything they know about the Communists, will soon be released. With regard to the leader of this group, the well-known Turkish poet Hikmet Nasim (in former years he had been frequently arrested by the police, then he was released, designated himself as Communist for a time, but afterwards came forward as a speaker in Kemalists meetings), the Kemalists government intends to treat him in the same manner as the British government did with the petty-bourgeois renegade Roy: Hikmet Nasim is to be brought to court in order to represent him before the masses as a "revolutionary leader."

This manoeuvre is intended to render it more difficult for the C.P. of Turkey to expose this renegade and to arouse fresh illusions among the honest workers about the Nasim group.

The C.P. of Turkey is continuing its struggle with undiminished energy against the Kemalists dictatorship, in spite of all calumnies and reprisals. It is carrying on the struggle against the reprisals of the Kemalists government, for the release of all arrested workers and revolutionaries. In this campaign the Communists of Turkey are counting upon the support and solidarity of the international proletariat.

## The World Economic Crisis

### The Decline of the French Economic System

By J. Berlioz (Paris)

The French Chamber of Deputies has just spent a whole week discussing two very important questions: the organisation of the grain market and the organisation of the wine market, both of which are stifling under a flood of "over-production." The assembly was naturally unable to offer any final solution of the problem, because it is only the leaders of the Socialist Party who believe that production can be rationally organised under a capitalist regime. However, the debates in the Chamber were extremely interesting because they clearly revealed the urgent seriousness of the agricultural crisis and the social consequences which this crisis brings with it. The debates raised the curtain and showed the acrimoniousness of the quarrelling between capitalist groups over a limited amount of profit, and showed further the signs of a real decline of the economic system of the country.

The bourgeoisie is under strong pressure from the masses of the peasants, who are becoming increasingly dissatisfied by the depreciation of food prices, which hits them hard. Grain which was sold a year ago at 150 francs the cwt., fetches no more than 80 francs to-day, despite ineffectual measures which have been taken for grain storage. It is calculated that the grain producers, and in particular the small-scale producers, have suffered a loss of from three to four milliard francs. The prospects of a rich harvest this year threatens to lower the prevailing prices down to 50 or 60 francs a cwt., or about half pre-war price levels.

As far as wine production is concerned, the law of 1931, which limited production and prohibited new plantings altogether, has produced no results whatever. The market capacity was estimated at 60 million hectolitres and it is steadily sinking. The home production of France completely covers this estimate, but then there is Algeria, which has doubled its production during the

last ten years and now throws 20 million hectolitres on to the market. The danger of a rapid fall in prices is therefore imminent.

The unrest in the agricultural districts is considerable as a result of this situation and the Agrarian Party, which has fascist tendencies, has succeeded in exploiting this unrest to its own ends. For months now tremendous demonstrations have been taking place in the agrarian districts, and in the wine-growing areas of Southern France hundreds of municipalities have resigned as a protest. All the bourgeois parties are of the opinion that the situation may lead to the most serious consequences. The position is aggravated by the circumstance that the class involved, the peasantry, is the firmest pillar of "capitalist social balance."

Fear was therefore the emotion which dominated the recent parliamentary debates. The aim of the government was to offer the peasants at least the appearance of something which would satisfy them for the moment. It therefore proposed, and found the almost unanimous support of both Chamber and Senate, that the minimum price for the grain in storage and for the new harvest should be fixed at 115 francs per cwt. However, this decision is purely demagogic because a ridiculous sum was voted for the organisation of the market. If the State is not prepared to buy up the surplus grain, then the poorer peasants will be compelled to sell their produce under the fixed minimum to speculators who will pocket the difference; but if the State is prepared to purchase such a surplus, then it would need large credits for this operation, credits which its budget resources are not in a position to supply. In any case, the result will be a direct rise in the price of bread.

Another point is that the promise of a fixed minimum will cause the peasants to increase their production as far as possible, whereas the ideal of the bourgeoisie is to lower production.

Industrial capital is already protesting energetically against this rise in the cost of living and against the prospect of budgetary inflation, both of which are opposed to its aim of keeping the costs of production down. A lively discussion has developed in "l'Ordre," the organ of the Comité des Forges, between the leaders of the Exports Association and the leaders of the Chamber of Agriculture. The former point out the necessity of lowering agricultural prices and rationalising agricultural production, whilst the latter declare that the industrial mass export of industrial goods at present carried out by France is an unhealthy result of the disordered post-war economic situation, and that the future economic policy of the country must be autarchical, or self-sufficing. The questions at issue are not new, but the debate is being conducted with unusual violence. The answer of the experts to both of them is that there is no time for a choice, that decisions must be made at once. One of the experts points out that a price of 50 francs per cwt. for grain means the end of individual peasant property. A hopeless financial situation, declare the experts, is preferable for the moment to hopeless economic disorder, and the only method of defence available at the moment is to utilise the time afforded between the various phases of the process of disorder.

This antagonism between the rich agrarians, who will gain most by the fixing of minimum prices, and the industrial exporters shows itself in the wine question also, but is complicated still further by serious differences between the home producers of wine and the colonial producers of Northern Africa. During the past ten years the wine growing area of France has diminished somewhat. In Algeria production has increased from 175,000 hectolitres in 1922 to about 350,000 at the present time, whereby the quality is better and, thanks to the tremendous exploitation of the native workers, a very low price can be fixed. This has gone so far that a pamphlet issued by the association of wine producers in France refers to it as one of the reasons for the crisis and declares: "The great vineyards of Algeria are worked with enslaved labourers. The native workers have neither the vote nor the right to organise and are unable to defend their wage levels."

The rich vintners of Southern France have succeeded by various manoeuvres in securing the support of a million small wine growers in France, who produce from about 15 to 20 million hectolitres, by conducting a fierce campaign against their competitors in Northern Africa whom they accuse of all sorts of unpleasant things, although in reality the rich vintners of Southern France are equally responsible for over-production.

The draft under discussion proposes a limitation of production and gives Algerian wine production a very insufficient margin,



introduces in fact a system of quotas for wine imports into France. The answer of the colonial growers is a threat to stop purchasing French industrial goods and to purchase elsewhere. The industrialists, on the other hand, point out that Algeria is one of their best customers and that the competition between Southern France and Northern Africa lowers the price of wine and is therefore good. Naturally, they clothe their arguments in solemn praises of the unity of empire, that the colonies must have equal rights with the motherland, and so on.

It is not only with regard to wine that these conflicts of interest can be seen. A draft which proposes to retard the steady ruin of the **Senegambien** and **Tunisian** producers of oil-bearing plants by strictly protecting such products on the French market is meeting with fierce resistance from the employers in the woollen and other industries which use such products and can obtain them much cheaper from Germany and the United States. The exporters of finished goods oppose the intention of the government to set up a quota for the import of rice from **Indo-China** in order to protect the French grain producers. They point out that their market in the colonies would be endangered and might be won by Japan or the United States. The brilliant idea of the French bourgeoisie to organise its **Ottawa** has suffered a severe reverse and **Daladier** has been compelled to postpone the proposed Empire Conference.

The Socialist Party of France is continuing its slavish co-operation in the work of "restoring social peace." It voted for the fixing of minimum agricultural prices in order to create illusions amongst the peasantry. In France it is in agreement with the rich vintners who want protection from Algerian competition, and in Africa it is in agreement with the rich colonists—the result of inability to adopt a clear class policy.

The French Communist Party has exposed the illusion of "increased prices" and the formula "France against Algeria." It demands crisis support for the poor peasants, the necessary funds to be provided by taxing the large-scale producers and by taking sums from the gigantic war budget. It also demands the lowering of taxes affecting the poor peasants. In the wine question the Party has not forgotten the interests of the workers in the vineyards of Algeria. It demands the abolition of the present intolerable labour code and the granting of equal rights in all respects to the native workers. A little while ago the Party founded an association of small wine producers in Southern France in order to fight against the agrarian block which the rich landowners are attempting to form with the support of the socialist deputies.

The Algerian district of the Communist Party is also carrying on a campaign in order to wrest the small producers and the vineyard workers from the influence of the rich colonists.

Nothing has been solved by the laws adopted by the French parliament in an atmosphere of panic and fear. The capitalist solution remains the expropriation of the poor peasants, the depression of the standards of the landworkers and the depression of the wages of the industrial workers. The French bourgeoisie and its socialist helpers aimed at creating new illusions amongst the peasantry prior to the parliamentary recess. However, they have done nothing but delay somewhat the moment when these questions will demand imperatively to be solved. They are questions which cannot be solved "harmoniously" and they are producing fierce struggles between the various capitalist groups.

## Mass Poverty and the Question of Over-Population in Japan

By T. N.

One of Japan's leading diplomats, travelling abroad and being interviewed in Berlin by a reporter of the "Börsenzeitung," attributed the present crisis in Japan to the "over-population" of the country, contending that the only way out of the crisis is the acquisition of additional land—naturally land that already belongs, not to Japan, but to some other country. "The crisis," he said, "is the cause of Japanese expansion." And, going further: "The basic cause of the present crisis lies in the constant growth of population."

Thus, the argument is that—the "over-population" causes the crisis; the crisis causes the expansion; and—the expansion causes the war.

The statement that the "basic cause" of the crisis lies in the constant "growth of population," however, is a new departure in

logic, in view of the fact that the crisis has struck every capitalist country, without excepting those where the birth-rate is declining. It might be observed that, though the population of Australia, for example, is by rough guess about one human being and three kangaroos per square kilometer, there is nevertheless a crisis in Australia.

If we follow the diplomat's argument, anyhow, we hear the contention that the trouble all arises from the peasantry. That because of the "shortage of land" owned by the peasant population, the peasant masses are unable to maintain themselves on the yield of the land, and that, consequently, the "only way out" of the crisis, and the "only way" to ease the lot of the peasant masses, is to make war, conquer foreign land, colonise it and thus reduce the density of population and, presumably, the crisis.

This question is of deep interest to Japanese peasants, and workers as well, especially to the vast mass of poor peasants who endure an inhuman existence.

Is not the cause of the mass impoverishment of the Japanese peasantry to be found in the feudal landlord system of exploitation of the toiling peasants, the whole bourgeois-landlord regime of exploitation of both proletariat and peasantry, and the unbearable burden of taxes levied by the monarchy which supports and participates in the exploitation of the toiling masses of city and country by the bourgeois-landlord classes?

It is true that the density of population in Japan is higher than the density of many countries. But it is also true that it is lower than in some other countries. It is also true that Japan's peasant masses are starving. But it is not at all true that this is due to the density of population, because it is easily proven that other countries with a higher density of population than Japan have nowhere near the mass starvation among the peasantry as has Japan, nor the miserably low standard of living for the city workers.

For example, while Japan's population density is 437 per square mile, England's is 490, Belgium's is 688, and Holland's is 607 per square mile. Yet it is well known that the standard of living of the peasants (and workers also) of these countries, in spite of the fact that they too are robbed and exploited by capitalists and landlords, is much higher than in Japan. Such ghastly poverty as exists among Japan's peasant poor is almost unknown in these countries.

It may be said that both Belgium and England are predominantly industrial countries, and that the bulk of their population live from industrial and not agricultural activity, whereas in Japan 58 per cent. of the population is engaged in agriculture, fishing and lumbering, and therefore what applies to England and Belgium does not apply to Japan. But this contention evaporates when we consider **Holland**, a purely agricultural country, where the percentage of population engaged in agriculture is greater than in Japan. Nevertheless, the peasant masses of Holland live on a higher standard than not only the Japanese peasants, but also higher than the peasants of, for example, Poland, where the density of population is much lower than in Holland, being only 214 per square mile. It is likewise true that some of the most thinly populated countries, such as Inner Mongolia, where there are great unpopulated areas, are at the same time countries of low standards of living for the masses, even lower than in Japan.

These well-known facts show that the so-called "density of population" has nothing to do with the question of the impoverishment and misery of the toiling peasant masses of Japan, and that it only furnishes an excuse for the robber imperialist war against the Chinese people on the one hand, and on the other for the merciless exploitation of the toiling peasants, and industrial workers also, of Japan by the bourgeois and landlord ruling classes of Japan.

The diplomat, above quoted, let the cat out of the bag when he said in the same interview:—

"There is an unending struggle between the landlords and the peasants. The peasants are unable to meet their contracts and obligations with regard to the landlords. Their hopeless position finds expression in the innumerable strikes, conflicts, riots, etc."

The Japanese Department of Agriculture and Forestry has been conducting exhaustive investigations of the agrarian communities throughout Japan. The interim report published on March 14, 1933, and referring to conditions at the end of January,

1933, reveals how the peasants are robbed on all sides by parasite agents of finance-capital.

Thus, when the small owners, after being forced by poverty to sell their daughters to brothels and factories have nothing left to sell but their plot of land—and thousands of them are thus forced to sell—the price they get is always lower than the market quotation. The difference between the market price and the price they get is: 24 yen per “tan” for field land, 58 yen per “tan” for truck farm land, and 19 yen per “tan” for mulberry farms.

Again, when the peasants sell their crops, they usually get 11 per cent. less than the market quotation when selling at their farms. On the other hand, when peasants buy fertilisers, they are obliged to pay from 6 to 16 per cent. more than the market price, because they are unable to buy for cash. Robbed by the land broker, the rice dealers, the fertiliser dealers, the poor peasant is further robbed by swarms of moneylenders. When he borrows money under security, the credit guilds charge him 9 per cent. interest; the ordinary banks, 9.6 per cent.; the special banks, 7.2 per cent.; individuals, 12.2 per cent.; the landlords, 10.8 per cent.; and the fertiliser dealers, 11.9 per cent.

Thus, the banks which, like the factories and the land, are owned or controlled by the financial barons, the Mitsuis and Mitsubishi, together with their lesser agents, the usurers and rich peasants, are squeezing the life-blood to the last drop out of the Japanese peasant, as well as the Japanese industrial worker, robbing them of their last “koku” of rice.

The utter enslavement of the poor peasant masses is further revealed by the constantly mounting debt of the peasants, aggravated by ever-mounting taxes, both regular and special. At the end of 1932 the total debt of the Japanese peasantry reached the staggering sum of over 5,500,000,000 yen. The report of the Department of Agriculture and Forestry gives the following figures on the peasants' debts according to their landholding status:—

	Debts (in Yen)	Farm Area (in Tans)
Land Owners .. .. .	2,949	49.7
Peasants .. .. .	1,441	15.6
Peasants and Tenants ..	1,039	6.5
Tenants .. .. .	523	10.7

These figures show that while the indebtedness of the land owners is only about 60 yen per “tan,” the debt of the peasants is 88 yen per “tan,” and that of the peasants and the tenants is 173 yen per “tan,” or almost three times as great as that of the land owner—to whom much of the tenant debt is owed.

When it is remembered that the bulk of the peasants are peasant-tenants, who in many cases pay at least as much as a fourth of their income for the land rental, the causes of their dire misery become perfectly clear. And it is equally clear that the fable of the “over-population” of Japan as “the cause” of the mass poverty of the Japanese toilers is nothing but a reactionary fabrication, an apology for merciless exploitation at home, and for imperialist military adventures abroad.

By presenting this fable, the apologists of the ruling classes hope to postpone the day when these ruling classes will be overthrown by the rising wave of revolution.

## Trade Union Movement

### British Woodworkers' Union Expulsions

By W. G. Shepherd (London)

An action which will rouse the whole of the militant workers in the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers and in other trade unions has been taken by the London Management Committee of that union this week.

They have expelled twelve well-known militant London members on the grounds that their activities have been directed against “the interests of the Society.”

All the members expelled hold office in their various branches with the exception of two. One is a secretary, four others branch presidents, and three branch vice-presidents.

They were summoned to the Management Committee under

Rule 27, Clause 1, of the General Rules, which empowers the Executive to “fine, suspend from all benefits, or from holding any office, or exclude from the Society any member, branch or committee who by his or their conduct act against the interests of the Society or refuse to carry out the decisions of the governing bodies as at present in operation under the rules.”

This action has been taken against them following a conference on June 11th of this year, called by an inter-branch committee for the purpose of discussing the situation in the industry and taking steps to organise on the basis of a fighting programme which includes the following demands:—

- (1) Forty-hour week and no wage reductions.
- (2) Abolition of all overtime.
- (3) Abolition of the “sliding scale” (at present in existence, and under which regular yearly reductions of  $\frac{1}{4}$ d. per hour have taken place).
- (4) Hundred per cent. organisation of job and shop stewards.

This conference called by the rank and file was attended by 44 delegates, representing 30 branches of the union, in London. The officials attached great importance to this conference, as is shown by the fact that they saw fit to send along five members of the Management Committee in London to hold “a watching brief.”

A committee was established at this conference and charged with conducting a campaign to rouse the whole of the membership to the serious situation in the building industry and to organise their ranks on the basis of the policy outlined above.

It is clear that the officials realised the support forthcoming for this fighting policy and so took immediate steps to charge the committee.

The twelve members concerned met the Management Committee and a two-hour discussion ensued. The spokesman for the M.C. laid it down that they would not countenance such a committee and that they intended to govern the Society against such things. Five charges were preferred against the twelve, all of which centred around the question of the right of members to organise such conferences as that on June 11th.

The twelve answered the charges against them by declaring that they were not acting “against the interests of the Society,” but only doing what was very necessary at the present time: “rousing the whole of the London membership to the serious situation in the building industry.”

“The justification of the inter-branch committee,” they claimed, “lies in the fact that 30 branches were represented by 44 delegates and the Management Committee saw fit to send five members to hold a watching brief.”

The statement of the twelve traced the history of the activities of the London membership during the past three years to secure a fighting policy. They declared:—

“Because the Executive and M.C. fear the growing revolt of the membership against their policy they aim to stifle it by such action as they have taken in calling us here to-night.

“We are against the present policy of the leaders of our Society, which has led to continued worsening of conditions in the industry, loss of membership, and the Society brought to the verge of financial bankruptcy.

“There can be no withdrawing on our part; we are loyal members of the Society, fighting to organise our ranks for the bitter struggle ahead. We intend to go forward. If you decide to exclude us, we predict that such a storm of revolt will sweep the Society that you will be forced to rescind such a decision.”

It is rumoured that one of the determining factors in the swift action against these militants is the fact that two militant candidates had secured great support in recent elections.

It is true to say that the expulsion of the twelve is a bomb-shell to the members of the union concerned and trade unionists generally. It is part of the policy being pursued by the General Council of the Trades Union Congress in, as Mr. Citrine, its secretary, declares, “cleaning up” the unions. The bureaucrats, fearing the growing strength of the revolutionary workers in the union, aim to split the union, disintegrate the ranks of the working class, and aid the capitalist class in the development towards more open and brutal dictatorship in this country.

## Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

# Concerning the Tasks of the Soviet Labour Unions

Taken from the Report of Comrade Shvernik to the Plenary Session of the Central Council of Labour Unions on the 29th June, 1933

The amalgamation of the People's Commissariat for Labour with the Central Council of Soviet Labour Unions (C.C.S.L.U.) and the handing over of the functions of the P.C.L. to the labour unions is a measure of tremendous importance for the whole of the working class. The chief significance of this decision is that in their efforts to increase the material well-being of the workers our Party and the government have handed over all matters affecting social insurance, labour protection and labour legislation completely and directly into the hands of the labour unions, the biggest mass organisations of the workers in our country.

The role and the significance of the labour unions in the work of socialist construction increased considerably during the course of the first Five-Year Plan. The right-wing opportunists who had crept into the leading organs of the labour unions hindered in every possible fashion the work of mobilising the masses for the carrying out of the tremendous tasks connected with the fundamental socialist transformation of our economic system and for the overcoming of the difficulties which arose in the course of this work. The right-wingers acted in the interests of class elements hostile to the proletariat by striving to exclude the labour unions from the socialist offensive and in this way they weakened the offensive.

Under the leadership of the Party, its Central Committee and Comrade Stalin, the labour unions got rid of the right-wingers and reorganised themselves. Only because the labour unions completely carried out the line of the Party were they able to take up and develop the initiative of the masses for the carrying out of the tasks of the first Five-Year Plan, and to organise the socialist competition and the shock brigade movement.

The Fifth Plenary Session of the C.C.S.L.U. played a considerable role in strengthening the connection with the masses. At this session the question of decentralisation of the labour unions was discussed. The decentralisation of the labour unions, which took place at the initiative of the Central Committee of the Party and of Comrade Stalin, made it possible to reorganise the ranks of the unions so that they were able to take over the practical leadership of the productive activity of the masses in the various branches of industry. In this way the unions were better acquainted with the specific working conditions of the masses and on this basis they were better able to serve the material and cultural desires and needs of the masses.

Formerly we had 23 labour unions; to-day we have 47 unions. The session also adopted a very important decision concerning the fundamental reorganisation of social insurance, a highly important guarantee and defence for the workers of our country. On the basis of this decision payment offices of the social insurance scheme were opened in the factories, in the transport depots and in connection with the big building jobs. The decision to open these offices has proved to be completely correct. To-day we have no less than 3,500 such offices all over the Soviet Union in the factories, in the transport depots and attached to the collective farms.

The work of these offices is carried on under the control of the factory or other council in question. These councils have formed a body of worker officials around these offices and thus assured that the workers in the factories themselves take part in controlling and administering the social insurance scheme.

The Fifth Plenary Session also decided to open up 11 branch payment offices in the leading branches of industry. These branch offices have now been at work for almost two and a half years and they have completely justified themselves. These branch offices have given the central committees of the unions, the district committees and the factory committees the possibility of becoming thoroughly acquainted with the administration of the social insurance scheme.

The session also pointed out the necessity of the election of

persons into the organs of the social insurance administration by the labour unions, and also the necessity of securing the approval of the unions for the social insurance estimates.

In this way the labour unions take a direct part in the administration of the social insurance funds. This assisted the unions to draw the working masses into the control of the daily work of the organs of the P.C.L. and the organs of the social insurance scheme, and in this way bureaucratic abuses which sometimes cropped up in the work of these organs were very quickly abolished.

The session also adopted very important decisions relating to the question of labour protection. It decided to establish the institution of public inspectors of labour in the factories, etc. We have already about 40,000 working men and women acting as such inspectors and taking an active part in applying the labour protection measures in the factories, etc.

We have 50,000 insurance delegates in the factories, etc., and these delegates are working under the direct leadership of the unions. These delegates in the factories, the mines, etc., are carrying out the decisions of the Fifth Plenary Session of the C.C.S.L.U. and of the Ninth Congress concerning the improvement of the social insurance scheme, whereby they are drawing the masses of the workers into these tasks.

However, it must be pointed out that the work of the unions in connection with social insurance and labour protection was not of a directly operative character, but consisted in participation and control over the organs administering social insurance and labour protection.

The growth of the national economic system and the abolition of unemployment altered the problem of finding labour power. "The situation has fundamentally changed," declared Comrade Stalin in his speech on the six historical conditions. "The result is that we can no longer reckon on a natural stream of labour power into industry. We must therefore proceed from the policy of taking what comes to the policy of **organised recruiting** of labour power for industry." The sum of all this is that the functions of the P.C.L. in connection with the regulation of the labour market and the allotting of labour power have ceased to exist.

Let us take the question of wages and we shall see immediately that fundamental changes have taken place here also and have affected the work of the organs of the P.C.L. The tremendous growth of productive proportions and the increasing complication of technical equipment made the question of the struggle against labour fluctuation an urgent one. In this connection the old system of wage agreements, the tendencies to wage levelling, etc., had to be abolished and the workers had to be given an incentive to increase their qualifications. Experience proved, however, that the P.C.L. was not the organ to carry out this task and that the economic organisations must do it with the active participation of the labour unions.

The growth of the national economic system and the growth of the working class numerically led to a tremendous increase of the social insurance funds and demanded a complete reorganisation of the social insurance administration in direct touch with production. This meant that the peculiarities of the individual branches of industry had to be taken into account, and also the peculiarities of the various categories of workers and even individual trades. Further, this demanded the participation of the broadest masses of the workers not only in the control, but also the administration of the social insurance measures.

The experience of the eleven branch payment offices convinced us that the labour unions would be better able to administrate the social insurance scheme than the organs of the P.C.L. and the existing social insurance organs. These eleven branch offices administered social insurance for six million workers and expended 930 million roubles. However, these figures alone do not tell us all. Thanks to the fact that the central committees of the unions and

their district organisations were brought into direct touch with the work of these branch offices considerably more was achieved than could have been done by the other offices of the social insurance institution working on a territorial basis.

All this means that the P.C.L. and its local organisations, which up to the present have been elected by the C.C.S.L.U. and the local union organisations, as also have the organs of the social insurance scheme, have been completely absorbed by the labour unions. (Applause.)

Past experience has proved conclusively that only by carrying out the line of the Party and under the leadership of the Party will the unions be able to adapt themselves, speedily to all the changes in all stages of the proletarian dictatorship, to consolidate their authority amongst the masses of the workers and to place themselves at the head of the workers. (Great applause.)

Only because after having got rid of the right-wingers the unions followed the line of the Party were they able to develop into such powerful organisations and to embrace 17,260 workers and clerical employees, that is to say, almost the entire working class of our country.

The social insurance budget for 1933 totals 4,431 million roubles. The whole State budget of Poland totals only 510 million roubles, that of Latvia 48.8 million roubles, that of Rumania 279.2 million roubles, that of Italy 1,870 million roubles, etc. Further, the social insurance expenditure in our country is continually growing. Quite the contrary is the case in all capitalist countries where social insurance expenditure is being cut down ruthlessly.

In the Soviet Union the functions of the labour unions in connection with the care of the workers are being tremendously extended and enormous sums are being handed over to them for administration. In the capitalist countries on the other hand the trade unions, even the compromising reformist unions, are being robbed of all the remnants of their former power and influence won by the workers in long years of political and economic struggle with the bourgeoisie. The working class of the Soviet Union is in a position to point out to the workers of Germany and of all other capitalist countries that in fifteen years of struggle the workers of the Soviet Union have proved the correctness of Lenin's insistence on the necessity of the proletarian revolution, the necessity of the seizure of power by the working class. (Applause.) Our whole struggle is a proof that when the working class has seized power, and when it has taken over the factories under the leadership of the Communist Party, it can build up socialism and carry on industry without any capitalists. (Applause.)

We are going to become the real masters and administrators of the social insurance scheme, and this places a tremendous responsibility and heavy duties on our shoulders. What has happened is not merely that the social insurance funds have been poured into the treasury of the unions. (Laughter and applause.) We have a big and complicated task before us. Let us take a look at the distribution of this 4,431 million roubles. Support on account of temporary incapacity to work and supplementary forms of insurance account for 814 million roubles in the social insurance budget for 1933, the expenditure for pensions and other things totals 532 million roubles, treatment in sanatoria and health spas accounts for 203 million roubles, dieting treatment accounts for 35 million roubles, medical treatment and hospitals for 920 million roubles, the building and maintenance of various institutions for children accounts for 189 million roubles, the building of workers' homes for 600 million roubles.

The organs of the social insurance scheme have 311 recreation homes with 73,000 beds, and 98 sanatoria, including those in the various spas, with 19,925 beds. The value of these recreation homes and sanatoria, including their equipment, totals over 150 million roubles. With two weeks' holiday each, 1,140,000 persons can attend these recreation and holiday homes. With a month's treatment 141,330 persons can go to the sanatoria. The new buildings will also come into our care. 50 new recreation homes are being built with a capacity for 16,745 persons, and 29 sanatoria with a capacity for 10,925 persons. Investments in this new building work total 158 million roubles. Attached to the recreation and holiday homes and to the sanatoria there are supplementary agricultural undertakings with an area of 41,000 hectares. Already these undertakings have 5,000 head of cattle, over 10,000 pigs, and several thousands of poultry, etc.

Eighty-one million roubles a year are being expended for children's creches, and 366,100 children are being looked after in them. Forty-eight million roubles are being expended for the maintenance

of kindergarten, and 1,500,000 children are being looked after in them. Twenty-five million roubles are being expended for looking after school-children. Three million roubles are being expended for the care of children under school age and for pioneers. 4.5 million roubles are being expended for milch cows, and 5,196,000 roubles are given as a supplement for the children's creches during harvesting.

We must develop the social insurance scheme into a powerful lever for the improvement of the material situation of the workers and for increasing the productivity of labour. All bureaucracy and all levelling tendencies must be rooted out of the social insurance administration. We must administrate social insurance from the point of view that shock brigade workers and old cadre workers are to be given preferential treatment. The struggle against labour fluctuation must be made one of our chief points. In order to encourage the shock brigade movement and socialist competition we must make certain alterations in the existing social insurance laws concerning the security of the worker, temporary incapacity to work, pensions, etc. These alterations must permit us when calculating the rates of benefit, pensions, etc., to take into consideration not only the length of time served in industry, etc., but also the length of time served in a particular factory, etc. Only workers and clerical employees organised in their unions may be sent to recreation and holiday homes and sanatoria, and only then when they have worked at least two years continually in the same factory, etc. Above all, the shock brigade workers must be the first to be sent. Further, the children of shock brigade workers must be privileged with regard to places in the creches, kindergarten, pioneer camps, etc.

With regard to labour protection measures: In order to improve these measures the practical leadership must be handed over to the central committees of the unions and on the spot to the factory committees, etc., which will take over the work of inspecting the labour protection administration, the safety devices and the question of industrial sanitation. The funds for labour protection measures will be in the hands of the economic organs which will expend them in agreement with the labour unions. The direction of the public inspectors of labour protection must be taken over by the factory committees, etc. The number of these inspectors must be increased as much as possible. We have 40,000 such inspectors now, but we need hundreds of thousands who are really prepared to learn the job and carry it out with understanding.

Social insurance must be reorganised according to the principle of industrial branches. The territorial district and area offices must be liquidated immediately and all their functions taken over directly by the unions. The experience of the eleven branch payment offices must be utilised and such offices established immediately attached to the central committees of all labour unions. The Central Council for Social Insurance must be liquidated and its functions taken over by the C.C.S.L.U. All sanatoria, recreation and holiday homes must be taken over by the district councils of the labour unions where the former are of local importance only, where the homes, etc., are of national importance they must be taken over by the C.C.S.L.U.

The decision to amalgamate the P.C.L. with the C.C.S.L.U. gives the labour unions a powerful weapon in the struggle for the improvement of the material and cultural situation of the workers and for the increase of the productivity of labour. At the same time, however, the responsibility which rests on the unions is greatly increased. In the future, if the social insurance scheme works badly, we shall not be able to blame anyone else for it; let us remember that. (Laughter and applause.)

In order to carry through our task successfully we must also carry out a complete reorganisation of the work of the semi-union and union organisations. We must not only carry out the inevitable reorganisation of the apparatus of the C.C.S.L.U. and of the semi-union and union organisations, etc., but we must also achieve a thorough strengthening of our whole labour union work. Above all, we must strengthen our work to draw the broadest masses of the workers and clerical employees into the active work of our unions.

I am convinced, comrades, that every one of you, every labour union official, every worker and every working woman will meet the decision of the Party and the government to amalgamate the P.C.L. and the C.C.S.L.U. by increasing your work tenfold for the building up of socialism and for the satisfaction of the material and cultural needs of the working masses of our country. (Storms of applause.)

## The Tenth Anniversary of the Constitution of the Soviet Union

Czarist Russia, a country of rich landowners and capitalists, was one great prison for the peoples in it. The October Revolution smashed down the walls and doors of the prison. Only the proletariat, only the dictatorship of the proletariat born in the working class centres of Russia and led by the Bolshevik Party, was able to break the chains of national slavery. Only the proletariat was able to emancipate the many peoples of Russia groaning under an absolutist autocracy. "It was the emancipation policy of our Party which won for it the sympathy and support of the broad masses of these peoples in the struggle against Czarism and against the imperialist Russian bourgeoisie. There can be no doubt that this sympathy and this support formed one of the decisive factors which guaranteed the victory of our Party in the October days." (Twelfth Party Congress.)

The peoples of the Soviet Republics have united for the military defence of the Soviet system as peoples enjoying equal rights. And at the end of the civil war they united as peoples enjoying equal rights in order to carry on a peaceful socialist constructive work.

Ten years ago the Declaration and the Agreement for the formation of a Union of Socialist Soviet Republics was approved and adopted. The Declaration announced the opening of a new stage in the development of the Soviet State. The Declaration announces that the Union State "guarantees the external security and the internal economic well-being of the peoples and the freedom of national development for the peoples in the Union."

Ten years in historical development does not represent a very long period, but the creative power of the proletarian dictatorship has altered former ideas of time. In the ten years of economic and cultural development, under the dictatorship of the proletariat in town and country, the forests and steppes, the rivers and land of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics have changed out of all knowledge. Hundreds and thousands of cables now run from powerful new electrical stations to big new factories and other works, to railway lines and to new Soviet farms. They have all been erected during the last ten years and particularly during the period of the Five-Year Plan. It is impossible to enumerate all the industrial undertakings which have been built on the territory of the autonomous and federal republics of the Soviet Union.

The dormant treasures of the earth in Kasakstan, Central Asia, the Far East, the Far North and Siberia have been awakened to life by the dictatorship of the proletariat and harnessed into the service of socialist construction.

Since the existence of the Soviet Union, new, big and important centres of industrial activity have been built in the territories of the formerly backward national areas. The basis of these areas, the agriculture of Usbekistan, Turkmenistan, Grusinia and Kasakstan is as different from the agriculture of the pre-revolutionary period as night from day. A powerful collective agricultural movement has embraced the poor and middle peasants of the seven federal republics of the Soviet Union. Not only in the central areas of the R.S.F.S.R., but also in Siberia, Kasakstan, Central Asia and Transcaucasia the collectivised land is being tilled by tens of thousands of tractors.

Only now, under the dictatorship of the proletariat and collective agriculture have the most valuable agricultural products reached a high level. In the republics of Central Asia the lack of water hindered the growth of cotton. The existing water supplies had been cornered by the rich landowners, the Emirs, the Mullahs and the Kulaks. The water supplies which irrigated the cotton fields were guided by dams and other water works away from the fields of the poor peasants and onto the land of the rich landowners and kulaks. Now the Soviets control the water supplies and the water now pours copiously over the fields of the Soviet and collective farms. Powerful works of irrigation, electricity power stations, tractors and modern agricultural machinery have altered and are still altering the face of agriculture in the Soviet Republics. The Soviet Union has become the leading country of large-scale agriculture in the world.

The face of the Soviet Republics has altered. The people, the creators and workers in our country, are altering, too. The terrible, almost complete, illiteracy of the great masses of the peasantry, particularly in the remote national districts, is being successfully abolished. Almost one-third of the population of Tadshikistan can now read and write in the national language,

although formerly only very few individuals could do so. About 2,000 schools are now open in Tadshikistan. In 1912 the Czarist State expended a sum amounting to 25 copecks per head of the population in Usbekistan for public education. To-day the Soviet Union expends a sum amounting to 28 roubles and 26 kopecks for the same purposes.

About twenty peoples on Russian territory have received an alphabet for the first time under Soviet rule. Newspapers and books for 60 different peoples appear in 60 different languages, all printed in the new Latin alphabet, which Lenin termed: "The great revolution in the East." Prior to the October Revolution there was not a single high school in Armenia, whilst to-day there are nine such schools turning out the material for Soviet specialists. Over a million and a half persons in Aserbaidjan are now studying at the schools, the high schools, the technical schools, and by means of postal lessons, that represents three-fifths of the total population of the country. Dozens of peoples in the East and in the North of the Soviet Union, peoples who prior to the October Revolution lived in a primitive patriarchal social order, possess to-day, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, a high level of culture, national in form and proletarian-socialist in content. These peoples have jumped over the capitalist stage of development and caught up centuries in their march forward.

The Tenth Anniversary of the Constitution of the Soviet Union will be celebrated in a period in which the collective farms have become the dominant form of agriculture, in which the collective agricultural movement has consolidated itself firmly, and in which its final victory in the villages is guaranteed. This has accelerated the final overcoming of the remnants of national inequality. The alliance of the proletariat of the formerly dominant nation with the peasantry of the formerly oppressed peoples of our country has been consolidated on a new basis.

The great achievements gained by the proletariat of the Soviet Union, under the leadership of the Bolsheviks and their leader, Stalin, by no means exhaust all the tasks in connection with the socialist transformation of the country. The roots of capitalism have been dragged up all over our country. Does this mean that the resistance of the class enemy within the country, and above all the resistance of the kulak to the work of socialist construction, has been finally destroyed and the struggle concluded? Nothing of the sort. The class struggle is continuing and one of the most important features of the present period is that the methods of this class struggle against socialism and against collective agriculture have become more cunning.

Amongst these methods of class struggle against socialism we have observed lately an increase of sabotage with regard to the cultural development of the national peoples. The chauvinism of the more powerful peoples still remains the chief danger. The steadily consolidating economic and cultural alliance of all nationalities in the Soviet Union is declared by these chauvinists to be the approaching destruction of all national distinctions, and under this flag they are hindering the development and growth of national culture. At the Sixteenth Party Congress, Comrade Stalin dealt thoroughly with this interpretation:

"The theory of the amalgamation of all nations, let us say the transformation of the Soviet Union into a country inhabited by one Pan-Russian nation with a common Russian language is a national-chauvinist theory, an anti-Leninist theory, and violates the basic principle of Leninism. This basic principle declares that national distinctions cannot disappear in the immediate future and that even after the victory of the proletarian revolution all over the world they will continue to exist for a long time."

The Party carries on an irreconcilable struggle against all such chauvinist tendencies as the chief danger in the present era. At the same time it must not be forgotten that the class enemy is striving to exploit the pseudo-national flag for his own purposes. More and more frequently we observe that the class enemy is trying to sow the seeds of national enmity between the formerly oppressed peoples. The bourgeois anti-nationalist elements in White Russia, Kasakstan, and also to some extent in the republics of Central Asia, have done not a little towards this end.

The masses of the toilers in Soviet Ukraina and in the other republics of the Soviet Union know perfectly well that our Party and the Soviet Union have carried out the real emancipation of all the peoples who groaned under Czarist tyranny, and that only under the dictatorship of the proletariat can a culture develop, national in form and proletarian in content, in all the republics of

the Soviet Union, in all the autonomous districts and in all the national areas.

Referring to the "culture" which now prevails in the countries of capitalism and in the countries of colonial slavery, the Declaration of the Soviet Constitution declared ten years ago:

"There, in the camp of capitalism, national hostility and hatred, colonial slavery and chauvinism, national oppression and pogroms, imperialist barbarity and wars prevail."

Our Constitution sets the following against this "culture":—

"Here, in the camp of socialism, mutual confidence and peace, national freedom and equality, peaceful and fraternal co-operation of the peoples prevail."

Our Constitution, the fundamental law of the Soviet Union, is unshakeable as the proletarian dictatorship is firm and unshakeable. On the basis of our Constitution, on the firm basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat, our Soviet Union, under the leadership of the Party of the Bolsheviks, will carry the work of socialist construction to final victory and carry out the tasks of the Second Five-Year Plan.

## The Way of the Soviet Village to Socialism

V. The History of the Commune O.G.P.U.

By Our Special Correspondent, L. F. Boross

The Commune O.G.P.U. was founded towards the end of 1918 in the village of Novomichailovka. The founders were land workers and poor peasants and they did their work in a strongly kulak environment. All they had in the beginning was the bare earth, one or two draught horses and a few primitive agricultural implements. But in addition to this they had strong arms and a strong will to make an end of misery and exploitation.

Three or four Bolsheviks, followers of Lenin and participants in the Great October, placed themselves at the head of a hundred, or so embittered and desperate peasants determined to fling off the capitalist yoke, and with this material they accomplished wonders of real heroism. To-day there are several dozen members of the Party in the village and 80 per cent. of the youth are organised in the Komsomol. The prosperous Commune O.G.P.U. is one of the finest monuments to the revolutionary energy, revolutionary courage and revolutionary enthusiasm of the emancipated peasantry. And to-day the number of such collectives is legion.

I quartered myself on the sixty-year-old widow Yevgenia Shatochina, an interesting old peasant lady both in appearance and personality. Her appearance is such that one could believe her a living symbol of the two worlds which she has experienced, the old world and the young new one. One of her eyes is covered with a white film, but the other shines still with youthful vigour. Her face is old and full of wrinkles, but her voice and her manner of speaking are that of a young, fresh Komsomolitz. She told me the story of her life and it is worth while recording it in her own words. In reply to my question:

"How do we live?" she repeated good-humouredly. "We live well, my friend, very well. We help the Soviet power and the Soviet power helps us. Formerly we lived badly, very badly. To-day we have enough to eat and no one oppresses us. To-day I can go into a sanatorium if I need it, I was there once. It was a wonderful place. They looked after us there like a cat looks after its kittens."

"Wouldn't you like to tell me something about how you lived formerly?"

"My life formerly was a hard one, a very hard one. I don't like to think of it much. My father and mother were very poor and there were four children. I had to take a hand when I was about nine years old to look after my sisters. When I grew up I married a peasant. We hadn't even got the necessities of life, and then to make things worse he was called up and I had to carry on our little place alone. Apart from my own sisters I had to look after the five children of my brother-in-law. When my husband returned from doing his military service I carried on our place alone still because he had to go and work for a kulak. We slaved and slaved and finally we got a small piece of land and later on a horse. And then came the war with Japan and my husband had to go off again to fight.

"What could I do alone? I gave over the place to my brother-in-law and went into service. When my husband came back it was a bit better for a time. We were even able to buy a calf. And then came the German war (the Russian peasants speak of the world war in this fashion) and my husband had to go off

again. He was taken prisoner by the Germans and did not come back until 1918.

"In the meantime the Soviet power had been victorious and we began to organise our commune, but for a long time we were unable to work peacefully. No sooner had we built up our commune a bit and then came the Whites—I don't know whether it was the Czechs or the troops of the Ataman Dulov. They raided us three times and burnt down everything we had. Our men fled and joined the Red Army. When the Red Army was victorious and the men returned we thought we could at last settle down properly to work. But in the meantime the kulaks with the help of the Whites had seized our land and whilst the men were away fighting in the civil war they had stolen everything the women possessed. Of course, with the assistance of the Soviet power we should have settled accounts with them all right, but . . ."

At this point Shatochina lost some of her directness and energy of expression. She seemed to be struggling to find the right words, as though she were fighting with bitter memories.

" . . . The terrible famine year 1921 came. The kulaks buried their supplies and the poor and middle peasants fled. We couldn't leave, we wouldn't leave. We had defended our commune against the Whites. Thirteen of our best men, including my own husband, were killed in the struggle. We couldn't leave our commune. We hung on, but we had to kill all our young cattle and eat them in order to exist at all. And then we sold everything we possessed, except the clothes we stood up in, in order to buy grain in Siberia. State help then came, but we had no draught beasts any longer. One ox was all that remained.

"But the Soviet power gave us grain and money with which we bought four horses. With these we produced the first crop after the famine year. And from that moment on we worked steadily, and you can see what we have now. New houses to live in, new farm buildings, a school, a kindergarten; in fact, everything we need. Where we had one old ox we now have 375 milch cows, 162 draught horses, 210 pigs, 1,300 sheep, 262 calves and 800 head of small cattle of various sorts, and, in addition, the Tractor and Machinery Station provides us with all the tractors and other agricultural machinery we want."

Shatochina's nephew confirmed the old lady's tale. "But don't believe that the women were always as courageous as they are now," he said. "What we had to put up with from them in the beginning! But it doesn't matter; they're our best now. In 1930 they did wonders when the struggle began to secure complete collectivisation in our area. They formed a women's brigade and went into the surrounding villages as "Red Recruiters," agitating in favour of collectivism."

Only the countryside reminds one here that one is in a village. There is nothing in this commune reminiscent of the old peasant customs and habits. The spirit of the workers, their relation to their work and to their struggle is just the same as in a big factory with a great revolutionary tradition.

An interesting type is old Borodin, 73 years old. He does 320 normal working days in the year, although in fact the commune would gladly keep him without work. On the 1st May he was solemnly declared "a hero of labour" because he did 17 days' work in 15 days.

Another interesting individual is Proskurina, an old peasant woman. She lost both her husband and one of her sons in the civil war fighting on the side of the Reds. According to the commune statutes she, too, is entitled to live without working, but she works as good as the young ones and is a shock-brigade member. Her second son is a very successful soldier. He is a "Red General" and commandant of the air station in Sebastopol.

"I suppose you are very proud of your son?" I asked her.

It was Shatochina who answered. "Of course she is, but she won't admit it. In any case, what about it? The little devil (she referred to the commanding general) was lucky he wasn't born twenty years earlier. If I had had the same possibilities as these boys under the Soviet power I think I should have been a general at least."

"Well, you've certainly got the stuff in you for ordering people about," her nephew teased her.

The Red Recruiters are now all veteran collectivists. They have a fifteen years' struggle against the bourgeoisie, against famine, against the Whites and against the kulaks behind them and they have come through it with honour. Their fight was a straight one and they feel happy to have fulfilled the historical mission of pioneers for the now victorious idea of collectivisation.

## The Spring of Socialist Farming

### (Impressions of the Spring Sowing Campaign in the U.S.S.R.)

By N. Buchwald

#### III.—Commune "World to Come."\*

The Commune "Griadushshy Mir" ("World to Come") is considered as a fair-to-middling farm community in the Evpatoria district of Crimea. Its form of organisation differs from the artel-form of kolhoz in that the commune members have no private income-producing property, such as cows, or pigs or garden patches, while members of artels have such things. The communard personally does not sell any of his surplus on the free market. His private belongings are confined to his home, furnishings and personal effects. In this respect it is a "purer" socialist organisation than the primary form of the kolhoz, the artel.

"Griadushshy Mir" is one of the older communes, formed back in 1921. Its history dates back to a lone donkey as the sole source of draught power of the newly-formed community. It was after the famine that struck the country in 1920-1921. The poor peasants saw before them another difficult year, since they had neither seeds nor horses to work their land with. The country had been bled white by years of intervention and civil war fought on several fronts. Industry and agriculture were alike in a state of ruin. The young Soviet Republic succeeded in beating off its enemies on the fields of battle, but the state of economic ruin inherited by the revolution still had to be overcome. Under those circumstances the Soviet Government could not, as it does now in similar cases, provide the famine-stricken communities with food and seeds to tide over the bad times and get a new start. Faced with the prospect of another hard year, a number of peasants in that district got together and organised the commune—with the idea that by concerted effort they might pull through. The Soviet Government gave them every assistance and encouragement possible under the circumstances, but—the lone donkey still stands out as a reminder of those trying days, as a symbol of the ruin prevailing in that section of the country. I spoke to several of the communards of "Griadushshy Mir" and not one of them failed to mention that historic donkey. A hundred or so men and women half-spent with hunger, a ruined estate of a former landlord and a sole donkey—these were the assets of the commune "Griadushshy Mir" in 1921.

Now the commune is among the prosperous collective farms of the district. It is all clear of debts, having made the last payments of 180,000 roubles during 1933. The commune now possesses a dairy farm of 168 milk cows, a hog farm of 60 breeding sows, 44 horses, in addition to ample farm machinery and equipment. Its population counts 325 souls, of whom 170 are adults fit for work. The name "World to Come" adopted by the commune at its formation has already justified itself to a considerable extent. The farmers of "Griadushshy Mir" are no longer afraid of the ghastly spectre of starvation. Their estate is well fortified against crop failure or famine, their crops being fully insured with the state insurance agencies and their own emergency stores of grain and fodder being large enough to tide them over a bad year. The income of the commune is divided on the basis of the number of work-days put in during the year—the same as in other kolhozes. Last year the income of the estate amounted to 400,000 roubles, and although nearly a half of this sum was paid in to wipe out the indebtedness of the farm, the communards received something like 3,000 roubles per family. The food bill was very small—about sixty kopeks per day per adult for three square meals.

The communards and their families either take their meals at the communal mess-hall or fetch them home from the communal kitchen. No cooking at all is done in the homes. The commune inhabitants are well dressed and lack no comforts in their homes. The outlook for the coming year is very bright. With the debts cleared and the business enlarged, the income from the dairy farm, the pig farm and the 1,800 hectares of land under cultivation promise to more than double the share per work day. By a conservative estimate, this share could amount to six roubles a day—a good deal more than a communard needs to live at a well-to-do level.

The programme of extension and improvement to be carried out during the current year includes a new pigsty, a large cow barn, new homes for forty families and rebuilding and fitting out the nursery and kindergarten with up-to-date equipment. Next

year's programme calls for the installation of electricity in all the homes and farm buildings.

But the commune is not doing as well as it should. The crowded condition in the homes, the lack of a bath house, the inadequate farm buildings cannot be explained entirely either by lack of funds or shortage of building materials. The low yield of wheat, the basic crop (last year it was only eight centners to the hectare) is certainly not due to the low fertility of the soil. Things did not go as well as they should have in the management of the commune. There was a good deal of loose business practices, of lax discipline. The Party nucleus brought the matter to a head by presenting serious charges against the management. The old management was unseated and a new manager elected. It does not speak well for the commune that a man had to be found in from the outside to take the affairs of the estate in hand. Under the new management things have been going much better, and "Griadushshy Mir" is well on its way to prosperity and efficiency.

During the spring sowing the commune has made a name for itself not only in the Crimea but throughout the country. An article in "Pravda," the central organ of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which does not hand out praise or blame lightly, complimented "Griadushshy Mir" for the feat of sowing its corn at an unusually early date. It happened to be on the day of my visit when the sowing of corn was started. The agronomist (agricultural expert) of the commune was in a state of agitation. He had just been through a row with an official of the district Agricultural Office, who as much as forbade him to risk the early sowing of corn in view of the uncertainty of the weather. The young agronomist, an energetic, self-reliant man of peasant origin, told the official to go hang, or words to that effect, and ordered his men out to the field. While neighbouring kolhozes were still busy winding up their schedules of sowing the early spring crops, "Griadushshy Mir" had already finished this part of the sowing programme and was busy planting corn and ploughing for the autumn sowing.

The young agronomist was not the sole hero of this victory over the changeable weather. The tractor brigade of "Griadushshy Mir" was entitled to a large share of the honours. The local Machine and Tractor Station put four tractors at the disposal of the commune for the spring work, but the tractors had to be manned by the communards themselves. It is the usual arrangement in such cases: during the winter months kolhozes send several of their members (usually young men and women) to the Machine and Tractor Station for a course of training as tractor operators and mechanics. In the spring these tractorists operate the tractors working on the land of their kolhoz. Bad work and delay in the sowing and harvesting is often caused by the poor condition of the machines, but more frequently the operators and mechanics are at fault. During my journey through the Ukraine and Crimea I saw many a broken-down tractor standing idle in the fields, with perplexed peasant lads scratching their heads, unable either to assign a cause or find a remedy for the breakdown. The tractor brigade of "Griadushshy Mir" knew their machines and had the will to work them to their utmost. Though the nights were still chilly, the tractorists braved the cold and the night-shift drove their tractors through the night. Instead of the ten hectares per day which was considered the "norm," they turned out an average of 18 hectares per day per tractor.

I was told that the tractorists of "Griadushshy Mir"—mostly children of commune members—were nearly all members of the Komsomol. This explains a lot. An interesting feature of the Komsomol nucleus (22 members) of "Griadushshy Mir" is that their leader, the secretary of the nucleus, is a former "besprisorni." From the streets he had been in a home for "bad boys" and came out of it a fine, upstanding, educated lad, bent on doing his bit for the building of the socialist world to come.

So this is the story of "Griadushshy Mir," a collective farm that still has much to learn and much to forget, a live, growing "big business" run entirely by the peasants for their own benefit, for the benefit of the socialist fatherland. Here you could see before your very eyes the new type of men and women brought into being by the new order. The individualistic proprietary cravings, the sense of personal greed are disappearing. A new spiritual force, a sense of collectivism has come to animate and illumine the lives of these people on their way to "the world to come," as the name of this commune, "Griadushshy Mir," implies.

\* See for No. 1 and 2 "Inprecorr" Nos. 26 and 28.

## Book Reviews

### Emile Vandervelde's Latest Revelations

By A. Fogarasi

(Conclusion)

M. Vandervelde devotes a special chapter to the question: "Is Socialism being built in the Soviet Union?" The Mensheviks and the Communist renegades, Friedrich Adler, Yugov, Panait Istrati, Eastman, and, before all, Trotsky, are furnishing the arguments with which the chairman of the social-fascist International wishes to "prove" that Socialism is not being built in the Soviet Union. Vandervelde presses Trotsky warmly to his heart:

"Seen in the light of theory his thesis on the impossibility of realising Socialism in one country, in Soviet Russia, undoubtedly represents the line of traditional Marxism." (Page 194.)

Vandervelde thus calls the opportunist tradition of the Second International, the tradition of dogmatic, vulgarised Marxism against which Lenin and the Bolsheviks conducted a victorious struggle, the "tradition" of Marxism! It is not the tradition of Marxism, but the tradition of the falsification of Marxism, which Vandervelde and his confederate Trotsky are continuing. It is not revolutionary Marxism which is bankrupt, but the Second International along the whole line, and the victory of Socialism in the Soviet Union means not a contradiction to the bankruptcy of this tradition, but its complete confirmation.

After this "proof" against the possibility of the construction of Socialism in the Soviet Union, Vandervelde collects data from bourgeois and social-democratic newspapers and books in order to prove for the thousandth time the failure of the Five-Year Plan. Vandervelde does not make use of a single report on the economic situation in the Soviet Union originating from Soviet sources. His sources for the explanation of the Five-Year Plan are, apart from Menshevik pamphlets and books of renegades, the reports of unknown (!) personal friends and acquaintances who allegedly have been in the Soviet Union, the reports of the Berlin "Börsen-Courier," "Daily Express," the Vienna "Arbeiter-Zeitung," etc. His informations, originating from such doubtful sources, constitute the basis for his conclusions, which are in accord with the well-known anti-Soviet line of the Second International. On the other hand, Vandervelde realises very well that the workers would not listen to him if he would openly incite to war against the Soviet Union, like Kautsky. Hence he pays his respects to the Soviet Union. He declares that it is finally a case of "definition" whether Socialism is being built in the Soviet Union, but this is a "bureaucratic, dictatorial, hyper-State Socialism," and has nothing to do with the democratic Socialism of Marx and Engels!

Vandervelde glorifies, in the name of freedom and democracy, the Menshevik counter-revolutionaries, in the name of "freedom and democracy" the propaganda for intervention in the Soviet Union is being conducted. In Germany "democratic Socialism" has proved to be the path to fascism. Vandervelde's book glaringly reveals the second function of "democratic Socialism": the preparation for the new imperialist world war, the preparation of the war of intervention against the Soviet Union.

\* \* \* \* \*

"Democracy, war and peace," is the subject of the last portion of the book. In this chapter is revealed still more openly than in the preceding chapters the role of the Second International as the organ of French and English imperialism and the role of M. Vandervelde as agent of French imperialism.

The latest theory of Vandervelde is the thesis of the two Europes. One Europe is the world of "old democracy," before all France and England. These democracies managed to hold on, whilst the democracies established after the war were unable to withstand fascist and reactionary attacks. The fact that the fascisation of the bourgeois State is becoming a general process is being falsified into a new political geography of Europe in the following manner: There are (1) Countries with a stable democ-

racy, (2) countries without democracy, (3) countries in which democracy is conducting a struggle with fascism for the right to existence. In the countries with a "stable democracy" the peaceful seizure of power by parliamentary and trade union means is possible. In the countries "without democracy" other means must be adopted. And in the countries of the third type, to which in the first place belongs Germany?

Here a very interesting and important confession of the chairman of the Second International follows, in which he openly defends Braun and Severing and their attitude on July 20, 1932:

"It is quite obvious that the socialists (Vandervelde has Braun and Severing in view) have not had the possibility of acting in a different manner than they have done."

To-day, after the open capitulation of the German social democracy to fascism, it has become customary in the camp of the Second International to "criticise" their attitude. This deceitful game is being exposed by Vandervelde against his will.

With this cynical frankness Vandervelde far surpasses the official documents of the Second International. The same can be partly said of his remarks on the war. Vandervelde's shameless war-incitement against the Soviet Union, which he accused of "red imperialism" on the occasion of Japan's attack on Manchuria, is still fresh in our memory. This same line is now being continued. Vandervelde opposes the Communists because they declare the danger of a war against the Soviet Union to be the main and immediate danger.

"It is even very doubtful whether in the hypothetical case of a new world war Soviet Russia would be on the one side and the coalesced 'imperialist Powers' on the other." (Page 243.)

The shamelessness with which the social-fascists are conducting their dirty craft is really without limits. After such slanderous attacks Vandervelde then solemnly declares that in the event of a military attack on the Soviet Union the whole Second International would stand behind it, but the workers must realise that such assurances are only made in order to lull and mislead them.

M. Vandervelde is a convinced pacifist. He declares in the name of the Second International that every war is abominable and therefore it must be combated. But if the war breaks out in spite of everything, just as in 1914? The chief thing is, we are informed, to avoid open bankruptcy. Vandervelde declares:

"If war breaks out again, the International must not despair; it must be kept up, no matter at what expense, and must not collapse as in the year 1914." (Page 254.)

Vandervelde and his crowd are now relieved of the fear of the threatening bankruptcy of the Second International. In the meantime the bankruptcy of the Second International has become a fact. The "democratic" garb must not hide from us for a moment that the process of dissolution of the Second International along the whole line—that is to say, also in countries of "stable democracy"—is proceeding as a result of accelerated fascisation. The sooner the Belgian, French and English workers, for whom Vandervelde's book has mainly been written, realise that Vandervelde and his ilk in all countries will follow the path of the German social-fascists, the sooner they will be spared from having to pay the high price with which the social-democratic workers of Germany have now to pay for their trust in their treacherous leaders.

"Under the cloak of 'paying homage' to the proletariat is hidden an anti-revolutionary, anti-proletarian content," wrote Lenin on Vandervelde's "Socialism against the State," which was published in the year 1918. No better characterisation can be given to-day, fifteen years later, on Vandervelde's new book. The worst enemies of the proletariat were always those who came forward in the garb of friends and protectors, as defenders of the cause of the workers in order to make the proletariat defenceless and to bring about its defeat. Among them Vandervelde takes a leading place. It is urgently necessary to create clarity in this respect among the workers.

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