

# INTERNATIONAL PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 14 No. 26

27th April 1934

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## Workers of the World, Unite!

### May Day Appeal of the E.C. of the Communist International

Working men and women of all countries. Toilers, oppressed peoples of the colonies and dependencies.

Class brothers. Comrades.

The situation of the toiling masses in capitalist countries is becoming harder day by day. The slight weakening of the economic crisis has not brought any relief worth mentioning to the workers and the poor peasants. The stagnation of capitalist society promises the toilers only endless sufferings, poverty and misery. Capitalism cannot provide either a real improvement in the economic position or the ending of unemployment. Ever new burdens and taxes are being inflicted on the toilers for more and more new armaments, for the support of big armies, for the support of government officials and the increase of the police forces.

The toiling masses, exhausted and driven to desperation, are rising in struggle against their oppressors and exploiters. The indignation of the masses against capitalism is growing. Everywhere the toiling masses strive more for solidarity in the united fighting front against the capitalist offensive, against fascism, and the danger of imperialist war. The toilers are more and more realising that only by the united fighting front will they be able to prevent being plundered by capital, and to bar the path to fascist reaction as well as imperialist war. The revolutionary crisis is maturing in the whole capitalist world.

This year the working class will celebrate May 1st in conditions of the development of class battles.

In China the revolution advances. The masses of the people of Soviet China, defending the Soviet Power and the land which was confiscated from the landlords, are carrying on a heroic struggle with intense energy against the Kuomintang hangmen who are supported by the leading imperialist Powers.

In Spain the revolution is rousing ever wider masses. One

mass political strike follows another. The peasants are beginning to seize the land. The workers and peasants are offering determined resistance to the offensive of fascism.

In Austria the heroic workers rose with arms in their hands to defend the last vestiges of their economic and political gains, against fascism.

In France four million workers carried on against fascist provocation a general strike unprecedented in this country. Over a million proletarians demonstrated in the streets, raising the banner of struggle against the bourgeoisie.

In Poland the strike movement has taken on a magnitude unknown throughout the whole period of existence of the fascist dictatorship. The revolutionary movement of the peasant masses is widening, the general political strike is maturing.

In Great Britain the movement of the unemployed, no longer looking to the National government for aid, took the form of a mighty revolutionary Hunger March, which received the support of the broad masses of employed workers.

In the United States ever wider masses, hitherto standing aside from the revolutionary workers' movement, are being drawn into the strike struggle against wage-cuts, into the struggle for unemployment relief.

In fascist Germany, despite the brutal terror, the ferment of the masses of the workers is rising against the fascist dictatorship, bursting out in various strikes. The Leipzig trial opened the eyes even of those backward workers who had been deceived by unbridled fascist demagoguery. The ranks of the Communist Party are strengthening in strictly illegal conditions.

In Japan the movement of the toiling masses is growing stronger against the terror of the ruling exploiting classes and against the bandit imperialist war in Manchuria and the war which

the military-fascist dictatorship and Trust capital and the Trust magnates are preparing against the Soviet Union.

Strikes and demonstrations of the working masses, driven to the last stage of want and desperation, spontaneous risings of the ruined and plundered peasants are beginning to spread in an ever-wider wave over the entire capitalist world. The determination of the masses to struggle in a solid united front against capitalism and its fascist dictatorship and against the preparations for imperialist war is growing day by day.

Every day the contradictions between the imperialist Powers are sharpening. The contradictions are increasing between the imperialist countries and the oppressed colonies, which are eager to force their way towards freedom. Nationalism and chauvinism are growing frantically. There is a furious increase in the armaments of the imperialist countries, for which the workers have to pay by less food in their cupboard, the unemployed by cuts in their already meagre relief, the poor peasants and the urban petty-bourgeoisie with the last remnants of their property. Frightened by the growing movement of the masses, the bourgeoisie are destroying the last remnants of democratic liberties and establishing a regime of bestial fascist terror. Fascism and war are the means by which capitalism is trying to save itself from the indignation of the masses. But fascism and the preparations for war increase the exasperation of the masses, among whom has already been accumulated an enormous store of revolutionary energy which breaks through ever more frequently and bursts on the capitalist system.

Fascism secured a temporary victory in Germany and Austria, thanks to the treachery of the social-democratic leaders. It deprived millions of the toilers of their most elementary human rights. Fascism could not and never will be able to destroy the revolutionary workers' movement. The more bloody the fascist terror, the stronger the capitalist oppression, the greater becomes the hatred of the masses against the whole capitalistic system.

The Japanese and the German imperialists are marching in the first ranks of the warmongers. Japanese imperialism is arming itself to the teeth, continuing its brigand war in China, and by unceasing provocations is preparing for a counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union. The German imperialists are frantically arming themselves and seeking throughout the world to find allies for the future war. The British imperialists inspire the plans for counter-revolutionary bandit attacks on the Soviet Union. But the more openly the bourgeoisie prepare for war, the more the hatred of all the toilers grows against the entire capitalist system.

**Working men and women and unemployed workers!**

**Toilers of town and countryside!**

**Oppressed peoples of the colonies and the dependencies!**

Imperialist war, the new nightmare slaughter of peoples, can only be prevented by the increase of the revolutionary struggle of the working masses in a firm united front against capitalism. The path can be barred to the bloody fascist terror only by the revolutionary class struggle of the international proletariat. In reply to the menace of imperialist war and fascist dictatorship the toiling masses must strengthen their fighting revolutionary united front, their class solidarity, must raise higher the banner of revolutionary struggle.

**Proletarians of Germany and Austria!**

**Proletarians of all capitalist countries!**

The social democrats promised to lead you to socialism along the path of bourgeois parliamentary democracy and the collaboration of classes. They weakened the working class by splitting its ranks. They crushed the will of the toilers to struggle, they capitulated to fascism. The path of social democracy was not the path to socialism, it was the path to fascism. In order to prevent fascism, to overthrow the fascist dictatorship, it is necessary to break away from the social democrats, to unite under the fighting banner of the Communist International for the revolutionary struggle, for the power of the working class, for the power of the Soviets!

**Proletarians!**

**Working peasants!**

**Oppressed peoples of the colonies!**

Look at the Soviet Union! See how the proletariat, how the toilers of the Soviet Union, knowing nothing of unemployment any longer in the towns nor poverty in the countryside, know nothing of the capitalist yoke, are building their new classless socialist society. Look at the Soviet Union, where all the wealth

of the country is in the hands of the toilers, where the working class has reconstructed all industry and all agriculture on socialist lines and is creating a new life, unceasingly raising the material and cultural level of the toiling masses. Look at the Soviet Union, at this country which under capitalism was poor and backward, and which has become cultured, rich and advanced under the leadership of the Bolsheviks, under the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin. Follow the example of the proletariat of the U.S.S.R., gather under the banner of the Communist International.

**Working men and women, working youth!**

May 1st is the day of review of the entire international proletariat.

Demonstrate your unity under the banners of the Communist International, under the banners of struggle against capitalism, against fascism, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the Soviet power. Demonstrate against the robbing of the toilers by the capitalists and landlords, against the fascist dictatorship and imperialist war.

Demonstrate for the release of Thaelmann and all the anti-fascist fighters!

**Demonstrate in defence of the Soviet Union!**

**Defend Soviet China!**

Demonstrate your proletarian solidarity with the workers of Germany and Austria, your solidarity with all the oppressed and persecuted!

Struggle against fascism in your own country, against the imperialism of your own bourgeoisie, and strengthen the international fighting front of the proletariat of all countries!

In a revolutionary united front, forward to victory in the struggle against fascism, against capitalism, for the Soviet power, for socialism!

Long live the international day of struggle of the world proletariat, May 1st!

**Workers of the world, unite!**

**Executive Committee of the Communist International.**

#### **THE "PRAVDA" ON THE MAY DAY SLOGANS OF THE C.C. OF THE C.P.S.U.**

Moscow, April 23, 1934.

In a leading article, dealing with the May Day slogans of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U., the "Pravda" writes:

"These slogans reflect the tremendous tasks facing the international proletariat of the Soviet Union: problems of the international revolutionary labour movement, the preparation of a fresh war by the imperialists, the defence of the Soviet Union, the extension of the trade turnover and the collective farm system, Bolshevik self-criticism, demolition of the houses in the old, dirty suburbs and the building of new workers' towns with fountains, flowers, boulevards, parks, palaces of culture, rest homes, theatres, children's settlements, sport grounds, and water sport places. All these problems and slogans of the Central Committee are formulated in detail.

"The preparations for the May Day festival in the Soviet country include the strengthening of social insurance, the raising of the standard of living of the toilers. 'The first of May shall sweep away the old dirty, dilapidated huts' wrote recently the miners of Gorlovka, who moved into new dwellings. This letter from the miners of Gorlovka aroused a lively response in many parts of the Soviet Union. The miners of Prokopjevsk (in the Kusnetzk coal basin) have sent an interesting letter in which they state: 'We understand your joy, for we workers of Prokopjevsk will also move into new dwellings on May First.' A few days ago the town Soviet of Kalinin addressed a letter to the working women of this town, in which the Soviet delegates inform their electors of the measures the town Soviet has adopted for the extension of institutions for the public welfare, to be enacted before and after the First of May.

"The country which has abolished for ever the rule of the capitalists and big landowners, the fatherland of the toilers, must and will become the country enjoying the highest cultural level in the whole world. It is no chance occurrence that in numerous places in the Soviet Union the preparations for the First of May are being carried out by the extension and development of all these institutions serving the public welfare, by the organisation of new cultural possibilities, opening of fresh shops, etc. Let us convert our country into a blossoming garden of joy and creative cultural work."

# The Leader of the World Proletarian Revolution

By V. Knorin

The history of the class struggle contains many noble and unforgettable names. Myhring and Spartacus were leaders of slave revolts against slave owners. Thomas Muenster and Florian Geier, Razin, and Pugachev were leaders of peasant revolts against the feudal aristocracy. Marat and Danton, Hebert, and Robespierre were leaders and directors of bourgeois revolutions against feudalism. These names will always remain in the history of mankind. Campanella, Babeuf, Fourier, St. Simon, Robert Owen, the great utopian socialists, will always shine as beacons marking the path of development of socialist thought.

The toiling masses have risen hundreds of times in struggle against their oppressors, but have always been defeated. The brilliant plans of the utopian socialists remained unreal, impracticable dreams. Social formations and forms of exploitation changed. In place of the slave-owning society came feudal society, to be replaced in turn by capitalist society, but the exploitation and oppression of man by man remained unchanged.

Only capitalism prepared the objective prerequisites for socialism. It created its own grave digger—the proletariat. But for the toilers to be able to throw off the yoke of their oppressors it was necessary for the revolutionary movement of the oppressed masses to turn into an organised conscious socialist struggle for power, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, led by the revolutionary proletarian Party.

Marx and Engels turned socialism from a utopia to a science. They showed the toilers the path towards the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the path towards socialism through the violent overthrow of the ruling classes. They formed the first international party for the struggle for Communism, the First International.

Lenin, the great thinker who continued the work of Marx and Engels, created the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution, the theory and tactics of the dictatorship of the proletariat, formed a mass revolutionary party in Russia for the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism. He led the proletariat and the peasants of the U.S.S.R. to victory over the exploiting classes and to the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat on one-sixth of the globe. He formed a new international workers' association—the Communist International.

Stalin, who took over from Lenin the struggle for socialism, developed Lenin's teachings still further, gave a practical plan of struggle for socialism, and on this basis brought the toiling masses to the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R., and at the same time to the strengthening of the position of the international socialist revolution.

Lenin proved in practice that the victory of the toilers over capital throughout the world is not a dream and not a matter for the distant future. This victory can be achieved in the class struggle if the proletariat of the capitalist countries, following the example of the proletariat of the U.S.S.R., form a party which is strictly centralised, which knows the aim of its struggle, and is supremely faithful to the cause of the liberation of the toilers. Continuing the work of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, Stalin converted into reality in the U.S.S.R. the boldest dreams of the best representatives of mankind of all times on the subject of socialism, smashed the opportunist dogmas of the Second International regarding the impossibility of the construction of socialism in such a country as Russia, a country having only a medium development in economic respects. In Stalin there is concentrated all the best traditions of the international workers' movement, all the experience of the class struggle of many centuries and all the experience of the struggle of the proletariat in the U.S.S.R.

Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin . . .

These four names have penetrated deeply into the minds of the revolutionary masses of the world.

Stalin . . .

He rose from the very midst of the toiling masses. As far back as thirty years ago, in the pamphlet "A Glance at Party Differences," he set out the main problems of the Bolshevik Party

in a way which can be set alongside the works of Lenin, and which should be included in the iron arsenal of Bolshevism. In 1912 he elaborated in detail Lenin's teachings on the national question, and his pamphlet "Marxism and the National Question" can also be compared only with Lenin's work on this question. At the Sixth Congress of the Bolsheviks, deputising for Lenin as the speaker giving the report of the C.C., he gave an interpretation of the basic problems of Bolshevism and the prospects in its struggle for power and socialism which has been put at the basis of all the further activity of our Party.

After the death of Lenin, Stalin took on himself the defence of Leninism against the neo-Mensheviks and Trotskyites who tried to distort Leninism, just as Kautsky and Bernstein had distorted Marxism. It became urgently necessary to present Leninism in such a way as to beat off every attempt to distort and to bring Leninist theory to the forefront. It was precisely this presentation of Leninism which was given by Stalin in his lectures on the "Foundations of Leninism" at Sverdlov University.

The significance of these lectures for spreading socialist consciousness and Marxist-Leninist theory among the masses can only be compared with the significance of such works as the "Communist Manifesto," "Capital," "The Criticism of the Gotha Programme," "What's To Be Done," "State and Revolution," "Imperialism," and "Left-Wing Communism."

Translated into all the languages of the U.S.S.R. and into all the chief languages of the peoples of capitalist and colonial countries, into French and Anamite, English, Urdu and Bengali, Chinese and Japanese, Spanish, Italian and Portuguese, German, Dutch and Malayan, Comrade Stalin's book has become the basic source of Marxist-Leninist conceptions and revolutionary study for the toilers of all countries.

The opportunists strove to stamp Leninism—this international theory of the proletariat—as a product of purely Russian conditions. What did Stalin do? He defended Leninism as the theory of the international proletariat, as the Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and the proletarian revolution, as the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution in general, as the theory and tactics of the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular.

Proceeding from the Leninist theory of imperialism and proletarian revolution, in contrast to all the social-democratic and neo-Menshevik theoreticians, on the basis of the inexorable Marxian laws of the development of capitalism, Stalin in "Foundations of Leninism" formulated three principles determining the course of all world development:—

(1) "The sharpening of the revolutionary crisis in capitalist countries, the growth of the elements of an outburst on the home, the proletarian front, in the 'mother countries'."

(2) "The sharpening of the revolutionary crisis in the colonial countries, the growth of the revolt against imperialism on the external, the colonial front."

(3) "The inevitability of war under imperialism and the inevitability of a coalition of the proletarian revolution in Europe with the colonial revolution in the East into a united world front of revolution against the world front of imperialism."

These three principles of the Leninist theory of imperialism and proletarian revolution which were defended by Stalin in the struggle against the opportunists gave a revolutionary direction and orientation to the Communist International for the whole subsequent period.

Based on the Leninist theory that imperialism is dying capitalism because it carried the contradictions of capitalism to the last boundary beyond which revolution begins, Stalin developed Lenin's thesis on the necessity of proceeding to new methods of struggle of the working class for the destruction of the almighty power of monopolist capital:—

"In the struggle against this mighty power, the usual methods of the working class—trade unions and co-operative societies, parliamentary parties and the parliamentary

struggle—proved to be entirely insufficient. Either submit to the mercies of capital, starve in the old way and sink lower and lower, or take new arms—this is how imperialism puts the question to millions of the proletariat.”

In practice this meant the necessity for a most determined struggle against the parties of the Second International, who, taking advantage of scattered theses and fragments of the theory of Marx, torn away from the living revolutionary struggle of the masses, tried to keep the masses under their influence. Stalin deduced four principles from Lenin's teachings as the programme of this struggle:

(1) The verification of the theoretical dogmas of the Second International in the fire of the revolutionary struggle of the masses, in the fire of living practice, i.e., the restoration of the broken unity between theory and practice, the liquidation of the gap between them, because only thus can a real proletarian party be formed, armed with revolutionary theory.

(2) The verification of the policy of the parties of the Second International, not by their slogans and resolutions (which can not be taken at their face value), but by their deeds, by their actions, because only thus can the confidence of the proletarian masses be won and deserved.

(3) The reconstruction of all Party work on new revolutionary lines in the spirit of the training and education of the masses for the revolutionary struggle, because only thus can the masses be prepared for the proletarian revolution.

(4) The self-criticism of the proletarian parties, educating and training them on their own mistakes, because only thus can real cadres and real leaders of the Party be trained.

These principles of Lenin and Stalin became the basis of the practice of the Communist International.

The ten years which have passed since the appearance of Stalin's lectures, "The Foundations of Leninism," have been full of the greatest changes and events throughout the world.

The U.S.S.R. has become converted from a backward—culturally and economically—country, a country of small peasants, into an industrial country, a country of big collective agriculture, a country which is well advanced in technical matters. In strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat, the U.S.S.R. liquidated the last considerable exploiting class—the kulaks—and is building the first classless socialist society in the history of mankind. The dogma of the Second International, according to which the proletariat cannot and should not take the power unless it forms the majority in the country, if it has not ready-made a sufficient number of cultural and administrative cadres capable of carrying on the proper administration of the country, this dogma has been utterly destroyed. The dogma that the method of the general political strike and the armed insurrection are inapplicable for the proletariat has been finally destroyed.

Who will believe these dogmas now when the proletariat of the U.S.S.R., who form a minority in the country, having taken the power by means of an armed insurrection, without having their own cultural cadres, formed these cadres and are building classless socialist society? Who will now believe the social democrats who, promising to achieve socialism by peaceful methods, in reality in Germany and Austria, led to fascism, led to new imperialist wars and the indescribable poverty of the masses, and who themselves are collapsing under the pressure of the sharpening of international contradictions and of their ally, fascism?

It is not surprising that some of the leaders of social democracy are now passing over directly to the fascists (Severing and Loebe in Germany, Mosley in England, etc.), some are trying to manoeuvre recognising in words the necessity of abandoning reformism and going over to the struggle for revolution. It is not surprising that the masses who not long since followed the social democrats are now turning towards the Communists.

Socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. has tremendously influenced the development of the international revolution. The growth of socialism in the U.S.S.R. is rousing the toilers of all countries to the struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, for socialism in their country. The victory of socialism in our country has become a mighty force accelerating the historic course of the world proletarian revolution.

Leninism decisively destroyed the traditions of the Second International, which accepted imperialist domination in respect to colonial peoples. Stalin elaborated still further Lenin's teachings on revolutions in colonial countries. The great example of the

U.S.S.R. rouses the colonial peoples to the struggle for their anti-imperialist revolution. The teachings of Lenin and Stalin on the national question united and enlightened the young national proletarian cadres who have become the leaders of the revolution in dependent and colonial countries. The Communists of imperialist countries are learning that their struggle is closely connected with the struggle of the colonial peoples.

The development of the revolutionary movement in colonial and dependent countries did not permit capitalism to make firm its stabilisation, but constantly undermined it. The growth of revolutions in the colonial and dependent countries undermines the entire imperialist system. The Chinese Soviet Revolution has already become a powerful international anti-imperialist factor. The limitation to Europe of the workers' movement which was cultivated by the Second International (which in essence was only European) had been destroyed. The workers' movement in imperialist countries is united with the movement of the oppressed peoples in the dependent and colonial countries.

In the "Foundations of Leninism" Stalin gave in a concentrated form the theories of imperialism and proletarian revolution, theories which were elaborated by Lenin and which served as a key to the understanding of the entire development of the world situation. The stabilisation of capitalism which had commenced required that its place be determined in the general process of the development of capitalism and proletarian revolution.

"If an ebb of revolution has begun in Europe, does this not mean that the principle of Lenin on the new epoch, the epoch of the world revolution, thus loses its meaning? Does it not mean that the proletarian revolution in the West is thus abandoned?"

Stalin gives a clean answer to these questions:—

"The epoch of the world revolution is a new stage of the revolution, a whole strategic period stretching over a whole series of years and even of decades. Throughout this period there may be and must be ebbs and flows of revolution." Revolution "... usually develops not along a direct rising curve in the form of an unbroken growth of the rise, but by zigzags, by advances and retreats, by ebbs and flows, which in the course of the development steels the forces of revolution and prepares for its final victory."

At the Fifteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. Stalin said, on the basis of the further development of events:—

"From partial stabilisation will arise an increase in the crisis of capitalism, a growing crisis will break down stabilisation—such are the dialectics of the development of capitalism at the present historic moment."

Further:—

"In the midst of the working class, revolutionary energy has accumulated which seeks and will seek an occasion, sometimes appearing to be a most insignificant occasion, to burst out into the open and fall on the capitalist regime. We are living on the eve of a new revolutionary upsurge both in the colonies and in the dominating countries. A new revolutionary upsurge will arise from stabilisation."

This means that all the energy, all the forces of the international Communist movement must be directed more than ever to winning over the masses, to preparing them for the decisive class battles, because there is no Chinese wall between a revolutionary upsurge and a revolutionary situation.

There was already a world economic crisis at the time of the Sixteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. On the basis of his analysis, Stalin states that: "The contradictions between the chief imperialist countries," "... between the victorious and defeated countries," "... between the imperialist countries and the colonies," "... between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat," are becoming more naked and more acute, that "The stabilisation of capitalism is coming to an end," "that the upsurge of the revolutionary movement of the masses will grow with new force," that "the world economic crisis will grow into a political crisis in a number of countries," that the bourgeoisie will seek a way out of the situation by further fascistisation and a new imperialist war, that the proletariat "will seek the way out in revolution."

Finally, at the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. Stalin stated that "capitalism has succeeded in somewhat easing the position of industry at the expense of the workers," that evidently "what we are witnessing is the transition from the lowest point of decline of industry, from the lowest depth of the industrial

crisis to a depression, not an ordinary depression, but to a depression of a special kind which does not lead to a new boom and flourishing industry, but which, on the other hand, does not force it back to the lowest point of decline." He states that "a result of the protracted economic crisis was the hitherto unprecedented acuteness of the political situation in capitalist countries, both within the respective countries as well as between them," that "quite clearly things are moving towards a new war," that "the revolutionary crisis is maturing and will mature." But at the same time, returning to the idea which he developed even at the Fourteenth Conference, he again emphasised the question of the necessity for a **strong, powerful Communist Party.**

Ten years of the Stalinist estimate of the international situation! But altogether they comprise one whole work. This is because every conclusion of Stalin arises from the exceptionally profound analysis of facts and events based on scientific theory, the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin. This is the only scientific theory which can carry with it the millions of toilers, because it is the theory of the overthrow of the power of capital, the theory of the proletarian revolution. This theory rouses the masses, fills them with confidence, because it is true, because it has been justified again and again, year after year, in the eyes of hundreds of millions of people.

This theory of the proletarian revolution has tremendous strength because it has been proved in practice in the U.S.S.R., because the U.S.S.R. on its basis has become a powerful socialist country. It is a practical guide to action for hundreds of millions of people in all the countries of the world. In a brilliantly concentrated form it was set out in the "Foundations of Leninism" and has been developed further by Stalin uninterruptedly in accordance with the new facts in the development of the class struggle throughout the world.

From the utopian socialists to the powerful Soviet government which rouses the toilers of the whole world by its example to the struggle for socialism; from the spontaneous movements of the masses without theory and guidance, without definite tasks and aims, to the modern revolutionary movements which have the best theory elaborated by Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, such was the path of development of the class struggle and socialism.

## Politics

### The Versailles Antagonisms Threaten a New World War

By L. M.

In its answer to the British government the French government has abruptly rejected any further negotiations concerning guarantees or securities apart from the negotiations at the Geneva disarmament conference. It justifies this refusal by pointing to the increases in the German military budget, the increases in German armaments, the further development of the militarised organisations in Germany, and to the violation of the disarmament clauses of the Versailles Treaty by the German fascist government. The French government demands that Germany should return to Geneva, it refuses to legalise Germany's armaments and insists on the continuation of the disarmament negotiations in Geneva.

The situation in Geneva, however, is quite hopeless. The French government refuses to recognise any increase in German armaments. The British press declares, however, that, faced with the increase of German armaments as an accomplished fact, the British government has no objections to Germany's "defensive" armaments. However, the Italian press maintains a notably cool attitude towards the German demands, although it also rejects the French viewpoint. The fascist press in Germany is anxious to shift the responsibility for the breakdown of the disarmament conference on to the shoulders of the French, whilst the French press is just as anxious to shift it on to Germany. It is not impossible that Great Britain and Italy will make some sort of attempt to mediate between the parties, not in order to save the disarmament conference, but in order to win time for themselves and for Germany's further armaments.

Regarded purely formally, the happenings in Geneva will take the following course: At the end of April the Bureau of the disarmament conference meets. All that the Bureau can do is to recognise that the negotiations which the various governments have conducted outside and behind the back of the conference have produced no results. At the end of May the General Commis-

sion is to meet. On its part the General Commission will be able to do no more than to register the fact that no basis has been found for the conclusion of a disarmament convention. Then perhaps the French government will follow the advice of the socialist leader Léon Blum and come forward with a proposal for a limitation of armaments and secure the adoption of that proposal without Germany. However, this is all nothing but demagogic manoeuvring, and the hard facts of the situation are that Germany is arming and that the French government has decided on an active policy against German armaments.

Pitulescu has already been in Paris as the representative of the Little Entente, and Barthou is at the moment in Warsaw and will afterwards go to Prague. The French government is doing its best to consolidate the French imperialist system of alliances which has been severely shaken of late. Poland is to be recognised as a first-class power. In the Locarno Treaty France secured guarantees for the western frontiers, but not for the German-Polish frontier. This fact caused great dissatisfaction and annoyance in Poland, and this annoyance and dissatisfaction increased when France joined the Four-Power Pact. The Franco-Polish military convention of 1921 was not brought into accord with the new situation. France treated Poland as a vassal State simply, and the aggrieved Poles answered by concluding a pact of non-aggression with the Soviet Union and afterwards with the conclusion of a treaty with Hitler Germany.

The fact that Poland has raised no objection to a possible unity between Germany and Austria, and the conflict which has broken out between Poland and Czechoslovakia serve as signs of the new "independent" foreign policy of Poland. After having worked in Brussels to tighten up relations between France and Belgium, Barthou is now trying to improve Franco-Polish relations, and the relations between Poland and the Little Entente. France, Poland, Belgium and the countries of the Little Entente are to-day almost twice as strong militarily as Germany, Italy, Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria.

The French Note to the British government means that French imperialism has given up all hope of forming a united front with Great Britain against German imperialism. On the other hand, British imperialism is striving to bring about an understanding between Germany and France at the cost of French hegemony in Europe and in order to create the preliminary situation for an anti-Soviet war. However, these attempts on the part of British imperialism to form an anti-Soviet block are frustrated by the intensification of antagonisms between Germany and France. German fascism has done everything possible to line itself up in the anti-Soviet block and to support the efforts of British imperialism, but the criminal war policy of the German fascist government has led to an intensification of imperialist antagonisms.

The basic tendency of British policy in the Far East consists of encouraging and inciting Japanese imperialism into a war with the Soviet Union. But the adventurous policy of Japanese imperialism in the Far East has also led to an intensification of imperialist antagonisms, and the latest Japanese declaration concerning its policy towards China and the other powers has resulted in still further sharpening these antagonisms.

The answer of the French government to Great Britain and also the publication of the Japanese statement regarding China represent a signal failure of British imperialist foreign policy.

In Europe and in the Far East the situation has rapidly worsened and the international proletariat must intensify its struggle against the war-mongers tenfold because the outbreak of the new world war has come considerably closer.

Vandervelde, the chairman of the Second International, has greeted the French Note to Great Britain with enthusiasm. Leon Blum criticises the French Note, but only because Barthou has not succeeded in creating a still broader front of the "Western democracies" against German imperialism and to prevent German rearmament by international action. Vandervelde conceals his support of the French General Staff with the slogan of the struggle against German fascism. Vandervelde and the whole of the Second International are backing the French General Staff heavily.

Despite all its failures and defeats the foreign policy of German fascism has achieved at least one "success": it has pushed forward Germany's re-armament to the full extent of its power and during this process it has been revealed that Great Britain,

France and Italy have opposing interests in this question, that a united front of the Versailles powers against the German armaments was not possible, and that even in the camp of French imperialism itself there were divided opinions on the point. It has even been said that there are differences of opinion on the subject in the French Cabinet itself. Barthou, for instance, was inclined to permit Germany a certain measure of re-armament, and only under pressure from the French General Staff whose representative was the French Minister for War, Pétain, and under the pressure of Herriot and Tardieu, did Doumergue finally decide against Barthou. The French Note to Great Britain and the attempts of French imperialism to renew its system of military political alliances indicate that this "success" of fascist foreign policy in Germany is already beginning to turn into failure. The bloody conflict in the question of German armaments may break out sooner than the German fascists want it to. Hitler is driving Germany into a military catastrophe. The struggle around Versailles threatens to develop into a new world war.

The war-mongers are laying the train for the new war both in the Far East and in Europe simultaneously.

## The Japanese Monroe Doctrine

The Japanese Foreign Office has issued a declaration on Japan's policy towards China. In this declaration Japan defines its policy of "peace and harmony" in the Far East. It declares itself to be "the only guarantor of peace" in the Far East, "the only Power which has the possibility of securing peace with military means." Japan declares that "it will oppose any action of the Chinese government against peace in the Far East." It further declares that "it will raise objection to any measure on the part of other Powers which is calculated to disturb peace in the Far East, as, for example, supplying China with fighting aeroplanes, military instructors, and the granting of loans for non-economic purposes." It is declared at the same time that concerted operations by foreign Powers in China, even if of a technical character at the outset, inevitably acquire a political importance and are likely to end in spheres of influence or international control. Japan places a veto on such undertakings. In addition, it is declared that Japan retains the right to decide what actions of the Chinese government or other Powers are calculated to endanger peace in the Far East.

This declaration of the Japanese Foreign Office is to be conveyed in the form of a Note to those governments which are interested in China. The exact wording of this declaration is not yet to hand, but in any case it means a tremendous sharpening of the situation in the Far East. According to its content and meaning this declaration proclaims that Japan lays claim to a sort of "protectorate," an absolute hegemony in China, and "forbids" the other imperialist Powers to interfere in Chinese affairs. During the world war, when the attention of all the imperialist Powers was concentrated on the battlefields of Europe, Japan submitted its famous 21 demands to China, which meant the conversion of China into a colony of Japanese imperialism. The declaration issued by the Japanese Foreign Office constitutes a repetition of the 21 demands, with the difference that to-day the other imperialist Powers are simply forbidden to safeguard their imperialist interests in China. The difference becomes even more obvious when one remembers that in the Washington Agreement the leading imperialist Powers, including Japan, accepted the principle of the Open Door and equal opportunity in China. With this declaration the Japanese imperialists are endeavouring at one stroke to convert the largest semi-colony in the world, where hitherto all the imperialist Powers have engaged in rivalry for markets, sources of raw materials, spheres of influence and concessions, into an exclusive colony of Japanese imperialism. The Japanese declaration is a monstrous challenge to the Chinese people. It robs China of the very last remnants of independence and converts the Chinese people into colonial slaves of Japanese imperialism.

The Japanese declaration is also an unprecedented challenge to all other imperialist Powers, which have the same robber designs on China. The United States wished to subjugate China to dollar imperialism. This aim of American imperialism was veiled by the principle of the Open Door and equal opportunities. On the occasion of the occupation by Japan of Manchuria the American government proclaimed the well-known Hoover-Stimson principle, according to which territorial changes brought about by

military force cannot be recognised by the United States. The United States insists upon the observation of the Washington Agreement, according to which the territorial unity and administrative independence of China must not be violated.

The Japanese declaration is thus a blow in the face of American imperialism. Japan wishes to forbid any economic penetration of China by the United States.

English imperialism has considerable interests in China, especially in the South, in the Yangtse Valley, and also in certain districts in the North. British imperialism is endeavouring at the present time to consolidate its old positions and to acquire new spheres of influence. Japanese imperialism wishes to slam the Open Door in China in the face of British imperialism.

The Japanese declaration is also a challenge to French imperialism and to all the other imperialist Powers in general who either have or wish to acquire interests in China.

The Japanese declaration is also a monstrous challenge to the Chinese revolution. Japan comes forward as gendarme against the Soviet revolution in China and assumes the right to act as a guarantor of peace.

The meaning of the Japanese declaration so far as the Soviet Union is concerned is shown in "The Times" itself. This organ of British imperialism states that in military circles the opinion is held that the aim of the Japanese warning to China is to prevent China coming forward as a real factor in the event of a war between Japan and the Soviet Union.

The Japanese imperialists have occupied Manchuria. They have conquered Jehol. They are now waging a war of conquest in Chahar. They are converting North China into a sphere of influence for Japanese capital. Now, however, the Japanese imperialists are extending their imperialist claims to the whole of China. Japanese imperialism is setting up a sort of Monroe doctrine for China, and the Japanese militarists are making no secret of the fact that they wish to apply this Monroe doctrine to the whole of Asia. The forces of Japanese imperialism are far from sufficient in order to carry out this policy. The Japanese attempt to subjugate the whole of China will be frustrated by the resistance of the Chinese people. In addition, the Japanese attempt is encountering the resistance of all the other imperialist Powers. The adventurers who are more and more gaining the upper hand in Tokyo can by their policy set the whole world ablaze. The Japanese declaration on the "policy of peace and harmony in the Far East" is the prelude to a new imperialist slaughter; and this danger is all the greater because simultaneously the imperialist antagonisms in Europe are becoming more acute every day.

## France's Struggle for Hegemony in Rumania

By Victor Zitna (Bucharest)

The intensification of the economic crisis in Rumania is to be seen before all in the decline in the value of exports, of which the export of grain, oil and timber is the most important. Whilst the average price of a kilogram of agricultural products amounted in 1929 to nine lei, in 1931 it amounted to not more than four lei, and since then prices have sunk still further. The value of grain exports has fallen from 14,007 million lei in 1926 to 8,953 million in 1929, to 8,763 million in 1931, and to 3,594 million in 1933. The value of oil exports has fallen from 9,532 million lei in 1929 to 6,901 million in 1931 and to 5,897 million in the year 1933. The value of the exports of timber fell from 4,679 million lei in 1929 to 2,366 million in 1931 and to 954 million in 1933.

The representatives of the British and French capitalists are now demanding payment of the foreign debts incurred in connection with the stabilisation of the lei, in spite of the fact that the State finances are in a disastrous situation and the debit balance of the National Bank is continually increasing. The experts are demanding the inclusion of 2,570 milliard lei in the current budget as foreign debts and recommend drastic measures: reduction of wages, dismissals, increase of indirect taxes, etc.

The bourgeoisie clearly realise that the Liberal government of *Tatarescu* which came to power as a result of inner quarrels without having a broad mass basis in the country, will not be able to carry out the Geneva plan. Therefore a large-scale manoeuvre was undertaken a few weeks ago, namely, the reconstitution of the National Peasant Party by the reuniting of the *Lupu* and *Mihalache* fractions which were formed seven years ago. By this reunion the bourgeoisie is creating a "Left" party, which is attempting, with the aid of demagoguery against the dictatorship, to

regain a mass basis in order to secure its succeeding the national government. But the antagonisms among the leading lights of the bourgeoisie are so great that, ten days after the democratic declaration, *Maniu*, *Vaida* and the other leaders of the National Peasant Party, at the trial of the *Iron Guard*, gave evidence in favour of the murderers of the Prime Minister *Duca* and helped to bring about the acquittal of the leaders of this movement, who made no secret of the fact of their immediate connection with Hitler.

The Liberal government, which is increasing the terror against the revolutionary movement, last week caused Parliament to pass the Agricultural Debt Conversion Act. But the Liberals, who represent the interests of finance capital and the big agrarians, could only enact a law in favour of their class. The peasants are paying neither taxes nor debts, a fact which the Finance Minister *Slavescu* had to admit. The leader of the Liberal Party, *D. Bratianu*, was compelled to confess in Parliament that the solvency of the peasant has fallen 53 per cent. since 1928. It was in this situation that Parliament passed the Agricultural and Municipal Debt Conversion Act, by which the former are reduced by 50 per cent. and the latter by 20 per cent., whilst the rest is to be paid off in the course of 15 years in half-yearly instalments. For those who pay the whole of the debts within three years, the rebate will be increased to 75 per cent. The State at the same time loans the National Bank 450 million lei a year.

This law benefits only the big landowners and big peasants, who are able to reduce their debts by three-quarters, whilst the poor peasants, who will not be able to pay the half-yearly instalments, will be sold up as before. Upon the demand of foreign creditors the law provides that creditors who do not live in the country are not to be affected by the conversion.

The struggle between the various groupings of the Rumanian bourgeoisie is rendered still more complicated by the antagonisms existing in the Balkans between the various imperialist cliques.

The bourgeoisie of Rumania can only pursue a foreign policy which guarantees the maintenance of the Treaties of Versailles and Trianon, the retention of the present frontiers and support of France. This is the policy of the Liberal Party and also of the National Peasant Party, the policy pursued by *Titulescu*, the permanent Foreign Minister of the Rumanian bourgeoisie. In the meantime, the antagonisms between native capital and French capital are becoming more acute. In the economic sphere it is chiefly the Liberal Party, the party of finance capital which wishes to set up a native armament industry instead of placing orders with *Schneider-Creuzot* and *Skoda*. In the economic sphere the bourgeoisie of Rumania is energetically demanding a remission of the foreign debts.

The antagonisms are becoming more acute in the purely political sphere. The Rumanian bourgeoisie is following with anxiety the vacillations of French foreign policy, especially in regard to Austria. In no circumstances will the bourgeoisie of Rumania permit the restoration of the Hapsburg empire, but would even prefer the union of Austria with Germany. Everywhere one hears complaints regarding the lack of firmness on the part of France in the Austrian question. Following the example of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, the Rumanian Parliament last week arranged a demonstration against the attempts at revision of the peace treaties. An interpellation was brought in by *Maniu*, to which *Titulescu* replied. The Rumanian bourgeoisie declared through various speakers that an alteration of the frontiers would mean war and the status quo must be maintained at any price.

*Maniu* was compelled to admit that the various State conferences regarding the Danube basin (in Geneva 1930, in Bucharest 1930, in Warsaw 1930, in Stresa 1933) had not led to any practical result. He proposed the resumption of the *Tardieu plan* of a Danube Confederation, the creation of a South-Eastern bloc from Prague to the frontiers of Persia under the hegemony of France. All speakers declared that it was necessary to be strong in order to guarantee peace.

But parallel with this official policy under the tutelage of France, there is to be seen an increasingly clear tendency to demand a change of foreign policy. This tendency is voiced before all by the fascist groups of the extreme Rights, who are immediately connected with Hitler or Mussolini and are conducting a demagogic campaign against the payment of foreign debts and for an approach to Germany, which has promised them territorial compensations at the cost of the Soviet Ukraine. To these are to be added the circles of the Court camarilla, who are connected

before all with British-Italian capital and have immediate contact with the Iron Guard. The acquittal of the leaders of the Iron Guard was immediately enforced by the Court camarilla. It will render possible an increased propaganda by the fascist bands and is an immediate warning to France. *Titulescu* induced the Liberal government to resign, but for the present the King has not accepted this resignation.

The situation appears to be extremely critical. The French imperialists cannot decide to overthrow King Carol because they know very well that in the present situation, once the movement is set going, will not stop at a bourgeois republic. At the same time, French capital and the French Foreign Minister are very apprehensive about any alteration of the foreign-political situation of Rumania, as this would shake the Little Entente and, after the Pact between Poland and Germany, seriously threaten the position of French imperialism in South-East Europe.

The accentuation of these antagonisms expresses the depth of the crisis. The Rumanian proletariat will know how to make use of all these antagonisms in order to accelerate the revolutionary solution of the crisis.

## Germany

### The Fear of Communism

The national leader of the fascist special detachments, *Himmler*, has now taken the place of *Diels* in the leadership of the Secret State Police and *Goering* has found a post as provincial governor in Cologne for his protegee *Diels*. The removal of *Diels* means a very definite weakening of *Goering's* position in Germany and his efforts to secure the whole of the police powers in Germany into his own hands have failed finally. Naturally, the appointment of *Himmler* does not mean any diminution of the police terror, or even a normalisation. *Himmler*, the leader of the most reliable fascist terror organisation, will undoubtedly do his best to outdo not only his predecessor *Diels*, but his superior *Goering*, whom he hopes to replace in time, in point of brutality and cunning.

The change in the leadership of the Secret State Police took place to the accompaniment of threatening speeches which were at the same time a confession of the fear harboured by the fascist authorities at the growth of the revolutionary movement in Germany.

*Goering* declared: "Every enemy of the State must realise clearly that the time has passed when he could go about his criminal activities with impunity."

And *Himmler* answered: "Millions have come to us with honest hearts, but there are still thousands and tens of thousands who have remained our enemies, even if they have outwardly conformed. We must not deceive ourselves, the enemies of national socialism are organising themselves all over the world in order to fight against us with all possible means."

*Himmler* speaks of tens of thousands of enemies. If that estimate were true then each enemy of the State would be covered a hundredfold with military organised protectors of the State, for *Roehm* has again assured the world at a meeting of foreign diplomats and press representatives that the tasks of the millions of men organised in the fascist special and storm detachments are exclusively inner-political ones. However, *Roehm* was incautious enough to add:—

"Any attempt to violate the frontiers of the Reich would be resisted not only by the Reichswehr, but by the whole of the German people down to the last man. In this sense one can speak of our storm detachments as the guarantee of peace in Central Europe."

*Roehm* also declared in the same speech: "We do not flatter ourselves that Marxism is dead," but it was just this belief that was trumpeted to the four winds by the national socialist leaders when they came to power, and now from the same people one hears the contrary. Hard facts compel the professional fascist liars to make such admissions.

After a year of ruthless terror against the revolutionary working-class movement *Goering* is compelled to admit that all the repressive measures have been without effect.

In an interview he declared: "The Communist danger is still acute so long as Communism is fed from abroad." And he added that he had therefore drawn up new and draconic measures against Communism.

The draconic measures which have already been put into operation this year have not prevented the growth of the revolutionary movement and they have not liquidated the energy centres of the Communist movement outside Germany. Even more powerful persons than Goering and Hitler have tried conclusions with the Communist world movement, led by the victorious proletariat of the Soviet Union, and for 17 long years all their efforts have come to nothing. The end result is that world Communism and its advance guard the Soviet Union are stronger than ever before.

In the same interview *Goering* betrays his impotent anger when he abuses and slanders the leaders of the German Communist Party. He declared:—

“Individual judgment would have to be exercised to settle the question of any release of Thaelmann, Torgler, etc. At the moment, however, there can be no question of the release of either of them on account of the processes for high treason which are being prepared against them. Torgler has long ago abandoned Communism. Thaelmann has not done so, first of all because he is much more stupid than Torgler, and secondly because he really doesn't know what Communism is.”

It is not often that one hears such insolent and hypocritical mouthings even from Goering. Now we are suddenly told that there can be no question of release because trials for high treason are pending. Six months ago the Czechoslovakian lawyer Sekanina was in Berlin in order to interview *Thaelmann* and offer him legal assistance. The fascist Public Prosecutor declared, however, that there could be no question of the acceptance of any legal defence for Thaelmann because no charges had been preferred against him. Thousands of proletarian officials have been in “preventive detention” for over a year and there is no question of any legal proceedings against them.

As far as the slanderous accusation is concerned, it is sufficiently disproved by the fact that the fascists are still holding him in gaol despite the acquittal. If Torgler had consented to make public declarations of loyalty to fascism as Severing and Loebe have done, then he would be in freedom as they are.

Thaelmann is certainly not so “clever” as Severing and Loebe, who purchased their immunity with miserable treachery. He is also not so “clever” as Goering himself, who disappeared to Sweden for years when the collapse of the Hitler putsch in 1923 threatened to introduce him to the amenities of prison life. Thaelmann has not the cleverness of these political careerists, for him and for the other leaders of the Communist Party it was a natural thing that at a time of acute danger they should stand shoulder to shoulder with the fighting workers despite the threat of death or imprisonment and torture. It is, of course, grotesque when Goering pretends to know better what Communism is than the leaders of the Communist Party do. This is the same Goering who was permitted to deliver a tirade for hours at the Reichstag trial and whilst doing so gave vent to not one single political idea, but regaled his listeners with hair-raising stories about arson, murder and poison. This same Goering who was unable to answer the questions put to him by Dimitrov and who stood there, in the words of a British telegraph agency, “with foam at the lips, shaking his fists, trembling over his whole body and dancing with rage,” now dares to speak condescendingly of Thaelmann, the leader of the German proletariat, a man of whom the national socialist bandits are so afraid that after a year of preparation they dare not bring him to trial in public.

The workers of the world know how much this abuse is worth. It confirms what the workers already knew, although for months no sign of life has been permitted from Thaelmann, and no visits have been allowed, namely that, despite maltreatment and threats, Comrade Thaelmann is still standing up staunchly to the fascist executioners, and that he is still what he was when he was flung into prison, the example of a steadfast and heroic revolutionary leader.

The revolutionary workers and anti-fascists of all countries have made the struggle for the freeing of Thaelmann into their own struggle. In the factories of the Third Reich committees have been formed to defend Thaelmann and workers of all shades of political opinion belong to them. The furious abuse and the threats of Goering show how much the lives of the imprisoned anti-fascists are in danger, the lives and health of Comrades Thaelmann, Torgler, Neubauer and all the others, and how necessary is the intensification of our international solidarity campaign to rescue them.

## The War Armaments of German Agriculture

By E. Hoernle

### (1) The Socialism of the State Food Supplies Corporation

More determinedly, and backed up by greater experience, than the old Empire of 1914, the national socialist rulers are following the instructions of their financial capitalist masters, and are already including the whole food supplies service in their armaments plans. The “Controlled Economy,” which was not organised till the third year of the war by the Secretary of State, Helfferich, and the great industrialist, Rathenau, on the orders of Army Headquarters, and then only little by little and in an extremely imperfect form, has already been thought out and carried through down to the last detail, this time by the Hitler Cabinet, under the name of a “National Socialist Service for Covering Requirements.”

The basis is formed by the “State Food Supplies Corporation Law” of 13th September, 1933. This subordinates not only all farmers—about 3 million—to a uniform and absolutely dictatorial central leadership, “the State peasantry leader,” but at the same time the whole of agricultural trade, including the agricultural co-operatives, and all industries working up agricultural products, beginning with the landowners manufacturing schnaps and sugar, down to the last small master bakers in the cities. The canning industry and the breweries, the chocolate and caseine factories—these are all equally subordinate to the State Food Supplies Corporation. All agricultural workers are also subject to the commands of this corporation.

The State Food Supplies Corporation, sovereign in this tremendous field of economy, is not by any means content with commanding certain “fixed prices” and “price limits,” but interferes at the same time in production and distribution. This is being done in many different ways. Where the general economic crisis has caused a relative over-production, legal restrictions are placed on production, as for instance in the case of sugar, tobacco and hops; or quotas are fixed for the working up of products, as in the case of flour; or the raw material basis is withdrawn, as in the case of the dairy products and pig-fattening trades. Production, it is euphemistically stated, is adapted to requirements. Where there is a lack of home-produced foodstuffs or raw materials, this production is “stimulated” by means of bonuses, compulsory utilisation, embargoes on foreign imports and price securities of every description. The whole authority of the National Socialist Party and of the State Food Supplies Corporation is thrown into the scale in order to manœuvre the peasant masses onto the line of production desired by monopolist-capital by means of warnings, threats, advice, and promises.

### (2) The Increase of Inland Production of Raw Materials

The “self-provisioning” of Germany with food has already been attained to a great extent (allegedly 88 per cent.), so the national socialists jubilantly proclaim. Even with regard to “fat supplies,” where self-provisioning has only attained 40 per cent. up to the present, we shall be autonomous within a calculable time. Naturally the rulers are not concerned with the fact that this “self-provisioning” signifies starvation for the masses of the working people.

They are much more concerned with the fact of the gloomy conditions existing in the field of agricultural raw material supplies for the industries. Here it is wood, flax, and wool that are the most important products from the standpoint of war economy. By means of energetic measures in the wood markets, timber for building and other industries is covered to 80 per cent. by home products. The effects of the new forestry policy are expected to be felt in about ten years. The government is devoting special care to the planting of walnut trees, less on account of their oil-containing fruit than on account of the wood, which is the only home-grown wood suitable for the manufacture of rifle stocks.

But the greatest attention is being accorded by the government to increasing the production of flax and sheep's wool. These are two agricultural products whose production has sunk to almost nothing in Germany in the course of the last few decades, due to various geographical, climatic, and economic reasons. In 1932 only 4,500 hectares were planted with flax in Germany, and this was chiefly on large-scale farms possessing more than 200 hectares of arable land. The crops scarcely covered 17 per cent. of the normal requirements of Germany. In the case of wool, things are even worse from the war economy standpoint. To-day Germany is producing only about 7 per cent. of the wool it consumes. The German



government aims at increasing the production of these two war-important raw materials at the expense of the areas hitherto under grain and root crops. The present aim is 30 per cent. of the wool required and about 50 per cent. of the flax. The area under flax is to be increased to about 30,000 hectares.

In order to attain this object within the shortest possible time, in spite of the entire unprofitableness of the production of flax and wool in Germany, not only is a price guarantee of marks 6.50 for each double hundredweight offered for flax, but an extra bonus of marks 3.95 without seed, and of marks 4 with seed. The bonus thus offered amounts to approximately two-thirds of the market price, and the flax-growing landowners pocket enormous super profits. The production of wool is also encouraged by a State price guarantee, and by an injunction forcing the industries working up wool to use a certain percentage of home-grown wool. For the sake of encouraging sheep-breeding, even the cotton industry is here subjected to the dictatorship of the State Food Supplies Corporation with regard to prices and price limits. Since sheep-breeding is essentially the affair of the large-scale farms, this war measure, too, is equivalent to a State subvention to the fascist landowners.

### (3) The Control and Distribution of Agricultural Products

The "State Food Supplies Corporation" has not only the task of regulating the products of agriculture in the interests of a military autarchy, but at the same time it carries out in an intensified and comprehensive form the task of controlling and distributing products—the main task of that "compulsory economy" organised in Germany during the war.

This object is served first of all by the compulsory syndicates and compulsory cartels set up by the State Food Supplies Corporation, for instance the obligatory organisation of all milk producers, producers of dairy goods, and their dealers, in dairy associations controlling each of these branches; further the law on fixed prices for grain and the merging of the flour industry, the merging of the tinned milk and caseine manufacturing undertakings, the merging of the sheep's wool producers, the compulsory syndicalisation of the nitrogen industry, the fresh regulations relating to the egg, butter, and cheese markets, and to trade in fats. All these mergers and combines do not by any means merely represent agricultural cartels, with the same rights and the same strength as the industrial cartels and trusts, and able to meet these on equal grounds; they form at the same time an important organisation for war economy.

This becomes conspicuously evident in the formation of State monopolies and "centres," possessing the sole right to buy up and to distribute the goods in question in Germany, irrespective of whether these goods have been imported or are home products. This, of course, is not accomplished by the State centre concerned, for instance, the State Centre for Eggs (injunction issued 21st December, 1933), buying up the goods and putting them on the market itself. The method adopted is that of the "permit certificates" made out to the "legitimate trade" for a certain fee, and valid for a stated length of time. In actual practice this means that the State centres are in a position at any moment to cut out any politically unreliable trader. At the same time they possess an exact survey of the available products in each department of economy, and of the conditions of production. For the fascist State the important point is not the "autonomous economy," but the "leadership" of this economy.

In the case of goods produced mainly by millions of small peasant farms, as for instance eggs, special official collecting and marking centres are organised, the politically most reliable local dealers being appointed as heads of these centres. All producers are under legal compulsion to supply their goods. The elimination of Jewish dealers from all organisations and centres is a matter of course. For products of greater importance from the military standpoint, sheep's wool for instance, special official purchasing centres are organised, where all sheep farmers must state exactly the number of their sheep and must deliver up the wool. These centres must at the same time take measures for ensuring uniformity in the breeds of sheep, so that uniformity may be secured for the quality of the product.

The agricultural co-operatives play an especially important role in this system of military economic control. Their function as agents of the capitalist state, enabling the masses of the peasants to be increasingly exploited and side-tracked beneath a cloak of "autonomous peasant economy," has been greatly extended under fascism. The injunction of 15th January replaces the leading

organs of the co-operatives by the State peasant leader, whose competency extends down to the smallest local co-operative, and who is authorised to convene special "corporative courts" for the "defence of the honour of the corporation." Should this authority pronounce a business manager incapable of holding his position, the co-operative concerned must at once discharge him, and put another manager in his place.

### (4) Canning Industry Speeded up on Military Line. Motorisation of the Rural Districts

That the majority of the above "planned economic measures" of Hitler socialism are more or less camouflaged imperialist military measures is further proved by the rapid forcing of the meat and vegetables canning industry, for which a new basis has been created in the Vistula lowlands near Marienburg and Marienwerder. As early as in the days of Chancellor Brüning, a large-scale factory was opened in East Prussia for the tinning of meat; but in spite of the support of the potash and nitrogen industry, it was soon obliged to close down. Under Hitler it has commenced working again. Within the last few weeks other new undertakings have been opened: a condensed milk factory, a vegetable-preserving factory, and a flax-retting factory. When these measures are viewed in combination with the building of strategic motor roads and the organisation of other undertakings of essentially military importance, for instance an aluminium works, then there can be no doubt of the background of military economy behind all these measures. The new meat and vegetable-canning plants, precisely in East Prussia, are obviously closely connected with the enormous strategic importance of this province as the jumping-off ground for the projected war of intervention against the East. In consequence of the agreement between German fascism and Poland, and of the simultaneous aggravation of the conflict with Lithuania, the role thus falling to East Prussia has been greatly emphasised during the last few months.

Nor is it by accident that the "motorisation of Germany" favours precisely the eastern agrarian provinces—as amply proved by the preparations for the motor-car exhibition in Berlin. According to the statements issued by the motor-car industry, the increase in the number of motor vehicles of every kind averaged 77 per cent. in 1933 for the whole country. In the eastern agrarian provinces, however, the increase was over 100 per cent. everywhere. The increase in the number of motor vehicles in Mecklenburg-Strelitz was 229 per cent., Mecklenburg-Schwerin 120 per cent., West Prussia 111 per cent., East Prussia 109 per cent., Pommerania 99 per cent. As compared with these figures, the increase in such industrial centres as Berlin was only 53 per cent., and in the industrial districts of Saxony actually only 46 per cent. Besides the general taxation alleviations and grants for "replacements," the landowners and large farmers are given special advantages in regard to the purchase of new machines and motors. Tractors and motor lorries on all farms represent enormous facilitations for transport and provisioning in case of military mobilisation.

### (5) Protection of Landowners and Peasant Settlements as a Military Measure

The importance of the big farms for war economy was amply proved by the "experience of controlled economy" gained during the years of the Great War. The inquiries subsequently instituted by the landowners' association, by the "Reform League of the Farms," and by a number of college professors (in Königsberg for instance), established that the supplying capacity and the actual supplies delivered by capitalist farms averaged double and frequently treble the supplies produced by the peasant communities, both with regard to grain and vegetables, and with regard to livestock and milk. This leading role played by the large landowners' farms in supplying both the troops at the front and the population at home has doubtless contributed greatly to that volte face executed by the National Socialist land reformers since the overthrow of Hugenberg in July, 1933, and leading to Darré's assurance to the landowners that he would not lay a finger on the large estates, "however large they might be," and that he even guaranteed to the debt-laden landowners an "entailed farm of 125 hectares." Although fascism, in its preparations for war, of course needs the masses of the peasantry as a "wall against Bolshevist and Slav inundation"—that is to say, as guards for a civil war and as cannon fodder for a war with foreign countries, it needs just as urgently the agrarian capitalists, as the war-supplies purveyors and military political leaders of these peasants.

The tremendous extent to which the peasant settlements, in so far as they are being carried out at all by the Hitler government, are organised from the military standpoint, is demonstrated by the new directives issued by the State Food Supplies Ministry on the "Choice of the new peasantry." (*Westdeutsche Bauernzeitung*, 14th March, 1934.) Here it is stated:—

"In these groups preference is to be given to ex-service men, especially those suffering from war injuries, and to the members of the national formations."

The frontiers on the East, especially Further Pommerania and the Frontier March, are expressly reserved for members of the Reichswehr, who, like the members of the defence organisations, are to be given preference in the granting of land. All members of settlements are subordinate to the superintendence of the State Food Supplies Corporation, or of the nation's peasant leader. With regard to the leadership to be exercised over them, the directive states:—

"If persons causing misgivings are found among them, they are to be caused to resign their office as soon as possible."

In this manner the settlements movement, too, is employed for superintending and disciplining the peasant masses.

#### (6) Trade Policy as War Preparation

The trade policy of the Third Reich, too, is adapted strictly to the purposes of war economy and war food supplies. The struggle in fascist Germany against the customary system of trade agreements, with their main pivot of the "most favoured country," arises not only out of the anxiety for the establishment of a favourable trade balance and for the security of the currency, it is also due to a very great extent to war political considerations. These demand that only those countries be given preferences which come in question as military allies or certain war material suppliers in case of war. This is the point of view—besides the urgent interests of export industry—inducing the agreement made with Holland in December, 1933, the agreement with Denmark and, above all, the conclusion of economic peace with Poland on 7th March, concluding a ten years' tariff war which had inflicted severe losses on both parties. The agreement with Hungary is also among those concluded from the standpoint of war economy and general power policy; according to this agreement, Hungary declares its readiness to grow flax on 30,000 hectares of land, the produce to be bought by Germany.

All such endeavours on the part of the German bourgeoisie are classified, for purposes of agitation, under the headings of "autarchy" or "self-support from our own land." The phrase "freedom of food supplies" show more clearly what is actually aimed at. The National Socialist leaders themselves by no means believe the childish idea which they are anxious to spread among the masses, that highly-industrialised and densely-populated Germany is actually able to provide itself with adequate food supplies. "Self-provisioning" in Germany to-day means starvation food supplies. A comparatively honest word is spoken on this point by the State Minister of Economy, Schmitt, in his much-discussed book:—

"But however carefully agriculture is carried on in Germany, the 65-million population means that there will still be a tremendous demand for agricultural products."

No, the word "autarchy" signifies to the National Socialist leaders precisely what their masters the financial capitalists want it to signify. As early as 4th June, 1933, the head of the foreign trade department in the Foreign Office of the National Socialist Party, Herr von Daitz, let slip this secret in the "*Berliner Tageblatt*." He wrote:—

"... The National Socialist Party understands under autarchy the living right of every people and every nation to organise its economy in such a manner that in case of trade-political, currency-political, or even belligerent complications, this economy shall form a stronghold which cannot be completely starved out. This definition gives the outline of the autarchy. It is self-evident that in case of emergency the life led in such a stronghold cannot be a luxurious one, and that belts must be drawn tightly. But independence must be guaranteed as far as the fundamentals of existence are concerned. This fundamental requirement of 'safety first' leads immediately to the second principle of National Socialist foreign trade policy—that all those further requirements which we can permit ourselves to satisfy in normal times, that loosening of belts, that cultivation of cultural and physical amenities among

the people—that all these possible requirements, too, are confined with the limits set by the tenable political alliances and friendships, and are adapted within the possibilities attainable even when complications arise.

"Autarchy does not mean, therefore, the closing of economic political frontiers, but an adaptation of needs in accordance with the point of view of the policy of defence."

Hence, on their own admission, the National Socialist leaders regard the "point of view of the policy of defence" as the decisive factor both in their home agrarian policy and their foreign trade policy with respect to agrarian products. Secretary of State Posse declared expressly, in an interview given to the "*Niederrheinischen Beobachter*" on 17th March, that Germany would only conclude "neighbours' right preferential agreements" with States with which it is closely connected both "geopolitically and generally politically." Armaments comprise therefore not only the organisation of war economy in the country itself, but the formation of "extended economic bases" for the coming struggles for power.

#### (7) The Militarisation of the Peasantry

The State Food Supplies Corporation forms one great school of unconditional military discipline. It signifies for the masses of the peasants and agricultural workers, the small rural dealers and the food trade, that same force which, for instance, the Labour Front is intended to represent for the industrial workers. In order to accomplish this object, the State Peasant Leader has not only at his disposal a special executive body, the "Staff Bureau," and not only a bureaucratic hierarchy completely dependent on him, but at the same time far-reaching penal powers. The "*Westdeutsche Bauernzeitung*," 11th March, referred as follows to the privileged "fee farm peasants":—

"Anyone failing to pay his debts, though in a position to do so, will be punished by losing the administration and usufruct of his farm, and under some circumstances by losing even his property."

The "peasant leaders" of Hanover and the Rhineland have already fired a number of warning shots in this direction. The privileged owners of the entailed farms, these modern Cossacks of the swastika farm, must be made to realise that over their heads hangs the Damocles' sword of the disciplinary power of their State Peasant Leader.

To this must be added the special "Corporation and Honour Courts," whose task it is to ensure the necessary readiness and discipline of the co-operative organs, dairy associations, compulsory syndicates, etc. By these means not only the economic readiness of the fascist front and home army are ensured, but at the same time their ideological preparation.

The "State Food Supplies Corporation" is not sparing of threats in this connection. At the end of September, 1933, the Rhenish province "peasant leader," Eitz von Rübenbach, declared at a district peasant conference in Gladbach:—

"The day is past when every peasant ran his farm for his own interests. . . . Those who fail to follow the official instructions will hear from us."

A similar threat, somewhat sharper, is uttered by the leader of the Bavarian "autonomous peasant administration" (see *Bayrisches Genossenschaftsblatt*, 13th October):—

"Those who will not learn this, and fail to learn it during the next few years, and join the ranks of the malcontents, will be sent to some of the beautiful districts of Bavaria—for instance, Dachau—in order to be taught the correct conception of the demands of the common good."

Small peasants and handicraftsmen are constantly being penalised for complaining against regulations. In February a number of peasant women were arrested near Mannheim for complaining about the "low milk prices." The National Socialist press advertised far and wide the severe penalisation of a number of small master bakers in the Palatinate, who had raised the price of bread by 2 pfennigs a pound, and were taken into protective custody by the National Socialist district leaders without any trial whatever. The organ of the "German Labour Front," "*Der Deutsche*," published a leading article commenting on this incident, opening with the threat: "Discipline or . . . ! Big headlines announced: "Arrest of saboteurs of Work of Construction!" Were the will of the people to be consulted, this newspaper states, such people would be pilloried and hanged. The article adopts a tone as if the National Socialist district leaders had protected the interests of starving proletarians against insatiable users. The

publicity given to this case shows that the arrest of these Palatinate master bakers is intended as a threat to all small peasants and handicraftsmen. Someone had to be made an example of. Hitler Germany is one vast barracks under martial law.

#### (8) Revolutionary Anti-War Work in the Villages

The Thirteenth Plenum of the Comintern rightly pointed out to the workers of the whole world that fascism signifies both "open terrorist dictatorship in the country itself" and "unrestrained chauvinism in foreign policy".—

"In this situation all capitalist states increase their war production to an unprecedented extent."

German fascism furnishes a striking example of this, for here not only the actual war industries, but at the same time the whole of agriculture, the working up of agricultural products, and the trade in such products, are being made part of the present war economy, and trade policy is being developed into a tool of war policy. Hence the struggle of the proletariat and the poor peasantry against imperialist war armaments must be at the same time a struggle against all those compulsory measures by which the working masses are being starved, pillaged, disciplined, and militarised. The anti-war work of the revolutionary proletariat in the rural districts must therefore by no means be confined to anti-militarist propaganda in the narrow sense of the word. It must be at the same time the struggle of the agricultural workers and masses of the poor peasantry against the straight-jacket of the "State Food Supplies Corporation," against its State monopolies and obligatory organisations, the struggle for the conquest of full rights of assembly, organisation, press, demonstrations, and strike for the agricultural workers and smallholders. And vice versa, every struggle of the agricultural labourers and small peasants against fascist terror in the rural districts is at the same time a struggle against the imperialist war preparations of fascism and for the defence of the Soviet Union.

## A Work Camp Conference in Germany

From a Correspondent (London)

At the end of March the British Committee of the **International Student Service** invited some British revolutionary students to join a delegation to an **International Student Work Service Conference**, to be held in **Rendsburg**, Holstein, from April 9th to 13th. The invitation was accepted and a memorandum was drawn up to be put before the Conference.

This was advanced at the Conference in the name of two students, but the remaining three British delegates expressed their fundamental agreement with it. It declared:—

"Many students refuse to believe that work camps mean a raising of the cultural level of students and unemployed. The culture they produce leads to the burning of books, the persecution and death of culture; the road they tread is from work camps to forced labour camps, from forced labour camps to concentration camps, to imperialist war.

"In the present situation, the work camps are no way for the student out of unemployment into a new culture. The student is called upon to exercise his powers of leadership, but to many British students the falseness of this is being revealed. The student stands mid-way between two classes. The bait of leadership is put out to bind him to the class that needs cheap labour, that needs cannon-fodder, that causes unemployment and starvation.

"We are opening our eyes and acknowledging that our capabilities cannot be realised in such a way, but only by submitting to the leadership of the revolutionary working class, to the leadership of a class that has produced such real leaders as **Dimitrov** and **Thaelmann**."

It might have been expected that the anger of the Nazis aroused by this would lead to the immediate expulsion of our comrades from the Conference. Surely it is a sign of the insecurity felt even by these Nazi student bureaucrats that they dared not risk exposing themselves before the foreign delegations by any open action. In this way our comrades kept up a continual opposition for four days and rallied a certain amount of support from the delegates of other countries. The immediate effect of the memorandum was to alter the basis of the Conference from an exchange of experience in organising work camps to a challenging of the principles on which they are based.

The reaction of the Nazis was to bring all their big guns to bear on the Conference. Under the guise of greetings, appeals

were made by Oberfeldmeister Wils, Reichsinspector Decker, and many others that the foreign delegates should forget what they had heard of Germany in their own countries and judge with their own eyes.

Judgment was made difficult for the foreign delegates by the impossibility of extracting any facts or statistics in the Conference. There were, however, one or two interesting admissions forced. The place of the work camps in the restoration of national economy was admitted to be that of bringing about a general reduction of the standards of living of the mass of the people. For students, it was instructive to hear in the discussion on "Universities and Work Service" a statement from **Prof. Wiskemann**, of Koenigsberg University: "The days of science and the analytical thinking associated with science are dead."

Throughout the Conference the Nazi delegates were very worried by the production of facts unknown to them. They were at a loss to understand how the presence of the "international Jewish financier" Goldschmidt on Hitler's Supreme Economic Council was reconcilable with the Fuehrerprinzip. After one particularly sharp outburst from a Nazi speaker that Hitler and the German people did not want war, he was asked to account for Hugenburg's memorandum to the World Economic Conference.

He had not heard of it! All the foreign delegations arose and assured the Nazi delegation that their national newspapers had reported it.

Throughout the Conference the British students drew lessons from the **Soviet Union** and the unity of theory and practice in polytechnic education. The response was interesting. "It is true that Russia is building socialism, in its own way, and we also will build socialism in our way." It was found in individual cases that a certain amount of sympathy for the Soviet Union exists.

In private conversations great mention was made of **Dimitrov**, and even resulted in the Bulgarian delegate (a government official in the Bremen Consulate) declaring with pride that there were hundreds more like him in Bulgaria. The only reply that the Nazis would give to requests for their opinion of Dimitrov was that they were not responsible for everything Goering did.

Throughout the Conference the Nazis were dispirited. In the evenings they could only console themselves with rum, and when they sang songs they were not triumphant. From what we hear, the British delegates were able to take advantage of their company by singing prohibited revolutionary songs and giving "Red Front" salutes in public places.

During the Conference, visits were paid to the work camps. One very interesting experience is related. A band of trainees from the Leaders' School was seen marching out into the woods near Rendsburg late one night. A Nazi delegate was asked where they were going, and after a moment's hesitation said: "For a drink."

Next morning the delegates witnessed a drill display in which some of these lads took part, and one of them was noticed to have a badly bleeding knee. On being asked how it happened, he replied: "On the barbed wire during drilling last night."

In the work camps themselves conversation with the lads was impossible because of the Nazi surveillance, and the British students contented themselves with describing, whenever possible, the Hunger March and the opposition of British workers to work camps.

In the barracks, 4½ miles from the place of work, notices were found, giving instructions for travel. "If anyone in the train tries to talk to you about the camps, politely change the conversation. It is not your job to talk, and you will thus avoid spreading false impressions about the camps through inexperience."

The closing day of the Conference saw one positive defeat for the organisers of the Conference, in that they stated that the time was not ripe for an international work-camp centre. **The closing declarations of British and Dutch delegations demanded work for the unemployed under trade union rates and conditions, and declared solidarity with the working class in their opposition to work camps.**

The final speech for the German delegation was made by Dr. Hartmann, of Munich, and is worth studying. He thanked the foreign delegations for their interest, particularly the British delegation. It was important, he said, that the youth of every nation should know the views of the others. Speeches had taken place from man to man, and he hoped eventually agreement would be reached. After describing the post-war misery of the German

people, he continued to say that the revolution was only just beginning. It must not be thought that it had ended. In reply to the British students, he completely dissociated the German people from Hugenburg. He was representative of the old nationalist reaction. If the foreign students went through Germany they should not be deceived by superficial appearances. They were fighting against the capitalist and imperialist spirit. They believed in the "revolution in itself," they wanted work and peace.

It will be remembered that a few months ago Hitler condemned this line, which arose in the Berlin student organisation, and said: "The revolution is ended." It cannot be doubted, however, that the demand for the second revolution is as strong as ever among sections of the Nazi rank and file.

The British students returned to England heartened by the Conference and by the evidence of activity they saw from the walls of Hamburg and Bremen. In Bremen also they were able to talk with four unemployed and one employed worker openly in a restaurant, only keeping silence on the entry of an S.A. man. After a few hours they had won the confidence of the workers and were then bombarded with requests for news, about Britain, about Soviet China, etc. The employed worker told how in his factory the opposition in the N.S.B.O. was continually growing under the leadership of the German Communist Party.

He sent a message for the British workers that they should help Thaelmann as they had helped Dimitrov, and continually learn from the lessons of Germany, and every blow struck in support of the German working class was a blow against fascism at home.

He left with a "Rot Front" and the assurance to the students that when next they came to Germany they would feed, not with the Nazis, but the workers in power.

The fact that this conversation of considerable length could take place without much fear that the other users of the restaurant would inform shows the increasing hostility to fascism on the part of broad masses in Germany, and the whole story of these students' visit shows that disintegration is proceeding in the ranks of the Nazis themselves.

## The International Release Action for Thaelmann

Paris, April 20.

The International Release Committee reports the following actions in the release campaign for Thaelmann:—

### The National Congress of the C.G.T.U. Appeals for the Struggle for the Release of Thaelmann.

The National Congress of the C.G.T.U., meeting in Paris on March 28 and 29, adopted a resolution declaring that all revolutionary trade unions must be mobilised to save the life of Ernst Thaelmann and to obtain his release. . . . The National Congress calls upon the whole working class to send protest delegations to the consulates and German embassies, and to send delegates to Berlin to visit Thaelmann.

"There should be no meeting held which does not deal with the Thaelmann affair and mobilises the workers for his release. There must be no trade union newspaper which does not write of the release campaign for Thaelmann. . . .

"Thaelmann is the symbol of the united front. The name of Thaelmann is a programme for revolutionary trade union work.

"The international proletariat released Dimitrov. Now it will release Thaelmann."

### Striking Workers Proclaim Their Solidarity With Ernst Thaelmann

The workers of the Champion factory in Pantin (Seine) have struck work on account of a wage-cut. After six days the strike ended victoriously. Before resuming work the 450 strikers sent a unanimously adopted telegram to Hitler, proclaiming their solidarity with Thaelmann and all imprisoned anti-fascists.

On April 7 the workers of the Paris Telegraph Head Office carried out a protest strike against the emergency laws. They demonstrated in the streets under the slogans: Down with the emergency laws! Down with fascism! Long live Thaelmann!

### Agricultural Workers Write to Ernst Thaelmann

At a meeting held by 200 working farmers and agricultural

workers in Laplume (Lot et Garonne) a letter expressing solidarity was resolved upon and sent off to Thaelmann.

### Women Fight for Ernst Thaelmann

At a meeting held by the Women's League Against War and Want the working men and women assembled, belonging to the 19th Paris district, sent their resolution to the German embassy, expressing their solidarity with the Soviet Union, and demanding the immediate release of the revolutionary leader, Ernst Thaelmann, and all victims of German and international fascism.

### The Building Workers of Paris Write to Thaelmann on His Birthday

On April 10 a letter was sent to Ernst Thaelmann by Paris building workers, conveying revolutionary greetings, and undertaking to exert their utmost efforts for his release.

### The Reformist Trade Union of the Jewellers, Goldsmiths, and Watchmakers Joins the Release Committee

The National Union of the Jewellers, Goldsmiths, and Watchmakers has sent a letter to the anti-fascist National Committee stating that it joins its protests to those of the Committee, and will aid it in its efforts for the release of Ernst Thaelmann and his comrades.

### Thousand Young Spanish Workers Demonstrate Before the German-Spanish Bank

Last week a demonstration took place in Madrid, taken part in by 1,000 young workers, shouting Thaelmann slogans. The demonstrators marched up the Alcala, one of the main streets, then assembled in front of the German Spanish bank and broke the windows. Thaelmann Release Committees have been formed in all the large towns of Spain, and mass meetings have been held and protest resolutions adopted.

### Holland

The Dutch Release Committee states: A Thaelmann postcard has been issued by the Red Aid for the Thaelmann campaign and is being sent in large numbers to the German embassy. Besides this the Red Aid has brought out a pamphlet, entitled "Save Thaelmann," and is circulating this widely.

### The Vice-President of the Radical Socialist Party Writes to the Release Committee

The president of the Radical Republican Party and vice-president of the Radical Socialist Party for the Section Seine et Oise has sent a letter to the Release Committee, declaring on behalf of these parties that they regard the imprisonment of the acquitted Torgler, the imprisonment of the innocent Thaelmann, and the monstrous prison treatment of Renn and Ossietzki as a challenge to the conscience of the civilised world. The letter further expresses solidarity with all the victims of Hitler fascism, and stresses that no human being has a right to rest till the innocent prisoners in Germany have been released.

### A Paris Physician Ready to Travel to Thaelmann

The parisian physician, Dr. Christian Dupinet, has sent a letter to the German embassy expressing his uneasiness at the reports on Ernst Thaelmann's health and declaring his readiness to travel to Berlin to examine Thaelmann. For this purpose he asks for a visa. Up to the present he has received no reply.

### The Painter, Paul Signac, Writes to the Release Committee

"I am entirely with you in your protest against the unworthy treatment to which the representatives of intellectual liberty and human dignity, Thaelmann, Renn, Ossietzky, and many others, are being exposed in Germany.

### Professor René Maublanc Appeals to Public Opinion in Aid of the Release Action

"Experience has shown that the German government is unable to defy international public opinion, and that it has been finally obliged to retreat when honest men all over the world have been aroused to too high a pitch of indignation against the treatment given to political prisoners.

"Why does the German government fall into the same error again, and perpetrate the same cruelties, now that it knows that it cannot maintain this attitude? Does the German government think that there is going to be any abatement in the activities of those who fought for the release of Dimitrov, Popov, and Tanev, now that they are fighting for Thaelmann, Ludwig Renn, Ossietzky, Torgler, and all their anti-fascist comrades?"

# Great Britain

## The Budget of the National Government

By R. Page Arnot (London)

Last week in the House of Commons Mr. Neville Chamberlain, Chancellor of the Exchequer, submitted the Budget, the Annual Statement of Accounts of the British imperialist state, whose policy of exploitation and robbery of four hundred and fifty million of workers and peasants throughout the world is annually reflected in these figures. This year the Budget is balanced at £706.5 million, out of which over £113 million went for military and naval expenditure and £224 million for interest on the debt piled up by previous wars. Thus, the first item in the Budget is a total of £337 million for expenditure on past and future wars.

This year the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced a surplus of £29 million wrung by the National Government out of the intensified exploitation of the working class. Part of this surplus was in itself a witness to the enormous sums amassed out of that exploitation, for no less than one-third of the surplus £10 million was contributed from the death duties on the estate of the shipping magnate, Sir John Ellerman. The extremes of wealth and poverty have reached such a pitch in Britain; the whole of the ruin and misery caused in these last two years by the Means Test in working-class homes in Britain could, so far as figures go, be liquidated by the confiscation of the wealth of a single individual.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer announced that this surplus of £29 million would be devoted to the restoration of the cuts made in 1931, but this promise was not borne out by the facts. In 1931 autumn, when the £ sterling fell from its pinnacle, the Labour Cabinet prepared the Means Test, and by a majority decided for a cut of £56 million in the salaries of State employees and the benefits paid to the unemployed. Actually it was the National Government, headed by Ramsay MacDonald as National Labour Premier, which carried through the Economy Cuts and Means Test. Chamberlain therefore presented this budget as a budget to relieve the poor of the burdens thrust upon them. This is typical British capitalist cant.

Actually the Budget is a rich man's budget. Of the surplus of £29 million, £20.5 million are to be given straight away mainly to the rich by reduction of sixpence per pound in the income-tax, and an additional £4 million are given to owners of motor-cars by a lowering of the tax. Contrast with this the miserable £4 million restored to the teachers, State employees, soldiers, sailors, etc., whose salaries and wages had been cut. Only one-half of the 1931 wage-cut is restored at a moment when cost of living is rising. Contrast this £24 million to the rich with the £3½ million for the restoration of the unemployment cuts of 1931. Actually, under the legislation passed through, children's allowances in the case of the unemployed are fixed at the starvation figure of two shillings per week. The Budget takes no account of this but restores sixpence in the pound to the rich.

Moreover, there is no remission of indirect taxation in the Budget. The British income-tax and super tax produces £270 million in a year, but the indirect taxes, the taxes upon food and other articles of general consumption of the masses furnish £290 million per year. Indirect taxation, borne by the mass of the people and pressing most heavily on them, has been greatly increased since 1931, and this budget maintains this burden on the workers. Since 1931, Britain has turned into a protectionist country; a new home market has been found, temporarily at any rate, and the cost of this has fallen on the masses in Britain. The new Import Duties, the Ottawa Duties and, finally, the duties imposed in the economic warfare against the Irish Free State, all have to be paid by the mass of the people. Thus, essentially, and in item after item, it is a rich man's budget, and to a greater extent than ever before. This is the fact which the Government seek to conceal by its restoration of half of the wage cuts.

Similarly, the restoration of the ten per cent. cut in benefit of 1931 is thrown out in order to conceal the fact that while this £3.6 million is being given in benefits to the insured, £115 million are being charged as a burden this year and for years to come on the Insurance Fund.

Actually, it is a War Budget. Not only is nearly half the Budget devoted to expenditure on past and future wars (war debts plus armed forces), but this year there is an increase of £5½ million more in the estimated expenditure than was spent last year on

Army, Navy and Air Forces: while the Civil Votes, which include social services, have gone down by £2.6 million. But this increase does not comprise all that will be spent on war preparations. Every financial authority that commented on the Budget remarked on the extremely modest figure of £29 million estimated surplus. All expect that the surplus will be much larger than this, and several openly assume that many more millions that will be ground out by taxes this year will be devoted to additional armaments. This has already been hinted at both by the Chancellor of the Exchequer himself and by the representative of the Foreign Office. This means that swollen estimates for the Army, Navy and Air Force estimates will be still further expanded before the year is out as the armaments race gathers speed.

Actually this budget, which expresses so well the cruel and greedy exploitation of the workers and the war preparations of British imperialism, also in itself contributes to the sharpening of the antagonism between British imperialism and its powerful rival across the Atlantic. In America the feature of the British Budget that was noticed was the refusal of the British Government to consider any question of payments on the debt to America.

But in the City of London the Budget was greeted with great joy, and shares went up immediately on the Stock Exchange. The City well understood that a cunning manoeuvre was carried out in this budget by which, under the appearance of concessions to the masses of some of the money that has been wrung from them in the last two years, the rich taxpayers have been relieved at the expense of the poor. The rich man's Chancellor, Chamberlain, has, in the words of the Scotch proverb, "given his ain fish guts to his ain sea-mews."

## Repressive Policy of the British National Government

By Alun Thomas (London)

On the 23rd February (the eve of the great National Congress of Action) Comrades Harry Pollitt and Tom Mann were arrested on a charge of sedition arising out of speeches made at Trelaw and Ferndale on February 18th. Comrade Mann, who was to preside at the opening session, and Comrade Pollitt, who was to move the main resolution, were prevented from participating in the most important stages of the Congress.

The Congress, attended by 1,422 elected delegates from working-class organisations and the 2,000 Hunger Marchers, adopted a resolution which declared that "arrests . . . and other measures 'in contemplation' will not have the slightest effect in deterring it (the Congress) from carrying out its fighting policy." The resolution then called upon "the employed and unemployed to keep the demand for the immediate release of Pollitt and Mann in the centre of the struggle in the factories, labour exchanges, and trade unions," and ended by demanding that the General Council of the T.U.C. and the E.C. of the Labour Party immediately demand from the National Government the immediate release of our imprisoned leaders.

The case for the prosecution rests mainly on the evidence of the police officers who were present at the meetings and took shorthand notes of the speeches of Pollitt and Mann. The line of the defence in the initial police court proceedings has been to show that neither of the witnesses are efficient shorthand reporters, and that the speeches have been distorted and parts lifted out of their context.

When the initial preparations were being made for the Hunger March and Congress the Home Secretary issued a thinly veiled threat which expressed government disapproval of the March and announced that all necessary measures would be taken to maintain public quiet. Just about the same time the Labour Party and the Trade Union Congress issued their official ban on the March and Congress. Despite the threats of Gilmour and the "instructions" of social democracy, the Marchers won through in town after town, wrung concessions from the authorities, and received the warmest support from local Labour Parties and Trades Councils. Simultaneously delegates were being elected from all over the country to the Congress.

The greatest united front movement was not to be retarded by threats or sabotage. The arrests followed.

Since the formation of the National Government, and more particularly in recent months, steady encroachments have been made on prevailing rights of free speech and freedom of working-class organisations.

The Trenchard ban on labour exchange meetings, the case wherein the police illegally entered and searched the premises of the National Unemployed Workers' Movement, the increase of police spying and tampering with correspondence are examples of this extra pressure which show that a concerted drive is being made.

The **Unemployment Bill** at present before the House contains clauses providing for slave labour camps which aim directly at undermining trade unionism, and now the Attorney-General gives intimation of a Bill, entitled "**Incitement to Disaffection**," which aims at further crippling the activity of the working-class press and organisations.

It is in this setting that the Communist Party and the International Labour Defence view the arrest of Harry Pollitt and Tom Mann.

Ever since our comrades were seized, a steady flow of resolutions have been forwarded from trade unions and trades councils, etc., to the Home Secretary and the workers' press.

The Labour Party and the T.U.C. leadership maintain an attitude of apparent indifference. Old associates of Tom Mann, like John Burns and Ben Tillett, have ignored the I.L.D. appeal for their support. The leadership of the A.E.U. are not identified with the fight for the release of their ex-general secretary, who has a record of 54 years' membership in the union.

Similarly, in the case of Pollitt, the leadership of the boiler-makers' union refuse to pull their weight, despite the fact that numerous branches of the union have demanded unconditional release.

The lessons of the events in Germany and Austria may be mangled and distorted by the reactionary leaders of labour, but they raise burning issues for the workers in this country. Attempts at compromise with fascism is fatal. **The menace of fascism is growing and must be fought now.** The fight for the release of Pollitt and Mann and against the new Sedition Bill are the immediate issues around which opposition to fascist encroachments on free speech and working-class organisations can find effective expression.

The campaign of the I.L.D. is being developed along those lines, aiming to raise this issue in the factory and unions and at the labour exchanges, and to secure the establishment of Pollitt-Mann Defence Committees throughout the country.

Simultaneously with the fight goes the demand for the release of all working-class political prisoners in Britain, and Comrade Thaelmann and the victims of German and Austrian fascist terror, and the drive to greatly extend the influence of the organisational strength of the I.L.D.

## Austria Masked Fascism

By Gustav (Vienna)

In addition to the official fascist propaganda of the Patriotic Front, the Heimatschutz and, of course, the Catholic Church, there is being carried on another, much subtler, propaganda, having of course the same end in view, namely, the fascisation of the working class.

This propaganda includes the publication of former popular social democratic papers with the same make-up and appearance as before. Among such papers are the "**Kleine Blatt**," Vienna—whose reappearance called forth great enthusiasm among the working masses, but which enthusiasm immediately died down when the paper showed its fascist tendencies—the "**Bunte Woche**" and the "**Arbeiter-Sonntag**" (both of which appear in Vienna), the "**Linzer Tageblatt**," the "**Innsbruck Volkszeitung**," and the "**Vorarlberger Wacht**." These papers not only appear in their old form and make-up, but they continue the publication of the old serial stories. One can judge from this the "proletarian" character of this literature which was published by the social democrats. These papers do not, like the official fascist press, tell the working class that they have been deceived for decades and that all "Marxist" leaders are criminals. The February days are represented as the commencement of a series of strokes of misfortune for the workers.

The main tendency of these papers is thus reconciliation. The workers are urged to forget what has happened. Every speech by Dollfuss in which, for demagogic reasons, he recognises that the Austrian working class showed steadfastness and charac-

ter both during and after the February days, is published with big headlines. Thus Dollfuss, the murderer of the workers, is represented as a "workers' chancellor."

With the same object in view the fascists are retaining the old names for the workers' organisations which have been incorporated in the fascist State. The co-operative societies have not been dissolved, as their collapse would have had very serious effects on the whole economy of the country. Instead, their management has been placed in the hands of fascist commissioners and their activity has been restricted to the utmost possible extent. They are even forbidden to increase their membership beyond that on January 1 last. Nevertheless, the fact that they are allowed to exist is represented as a friendly act by the government towards the workers. The ex-servicemen's union, as well as the horticulturists and market gardeners' society immediately incorporated themselves into the fascist State and were therefore allowed to exist. The trade unions are now being reorganised one after the other in the fascist "Trade Union Federation." The old functionaries—so far as they are not in prison—are being instructed to resume the collection of membership dues, including arrears since February.

Efforts are also being made to revive the ramblers' union, "Die Naturfreunde" (Friends of Nature). A new organisation is to be set up, which is to take over not only the property and the membership of the old union, but the old secretary, Happich, and the old name. The "**Reichspost**," the government organ, a short time ago revealed the reason why Die Naturfreunde is to receive such special treatment, namely, because it has hitherto helped to divert the workers from politics.

The chief exponent of this policy of "reconciliation" is Dr. Ernst Karl Winter, who has just been appointed deputy mayor of Vienna. Dr. Winter is still young in politics. Already before the February insurrection he came forward as an advocate of "reconciliation," and as such was given the hospitality of the columns of the "Arbeiter-Zeitung."

Since the reappearance of the "Arbeiter-Sonntag," which was formerly the weekly edition of the "Arbeiter-Zeitung," Dr. Winter has appealed in articles, published on the front page, to the working class to co-operate with the patriotic government. In the last of these articles he has even gone so far as to pay tribute to the "historical achievements of Marxism" in having filled the workers with class-consciousness and compelled the liberal State to adopt a policy of social reform. In fact, he even teaches his friends in the christian social party and the Heimatschutz that it is not Marxism with its teachings of the class struggle which divided the people into two camps, for to maintain that means to "confuse cause and effect."

This is rather a remarkable admission for a Catholic politician. Dr. Winter draws from this, however, the following conclusions: To the extent to which the State has adopted a policy of social reform, the idea of the class struggle has lost its justification. Therefore, the working class should turn from the Marxist idea of the class struggle, not because it is immoral, unchristian, and unpatriotic, but simply because it is—obsolete.

Dr. Winter also makes use of the People's Educational Association, which until recently was under social democratic leadership and 90 per cent. of the members of which belonged to the social democratic party, in order to establish direct contact with the workers. He is holding weekly discussions at which full freedom of speech is assured. It should be mentioned, however, that the afternoon paper, "**Die Stunde**" (The Hour) was confiscated for having given a too detailed report of such a discussion evening.

At the first of these discussion evenings Dr. Winter concluded his address with the following words:—

"Don't think that I shall be able to achieve this or that to-day or to-morrow, but nevertheless go with me along the way which I show you, and in the end we will achieve more for the workers than they ever possessed before. Thus we wish to strive with new strength for the old ideals, for the ideals which are common to christianity and socialism: for a decent human existence for the working people, for their share of health and happiness, for their participation in the government of the State, and for their intellectual freedom."

This brief survey will suffice to convey a general idea of the character of these endeavours to incorporate the working class in the fascist State. Their political importance, however, lies not only in the danger that certain sections of the workers will succumb to such demagogy, but more in the confession they imply

that undisguised fascism has not been able to make any headway among the masses.

The fact that fascism has to make use of the old names of the social democratic papers in order to approach the masses means that its own press is not being read. If workers' sport organisations are revived under the old names, but under fascist leadership, this is a sign that the workers are refusing to join the christian and fascist sport organisations. If the dictatorship has had to re-establish the "Trade Union Federation," it only shows that the feverish propaganda of the christian-fascist trade unions since February has been in vain. The cry for reconciliation is only an admission of the hatred which the dictatorship encounters everywhere among the working class.

The official speakers and newspapers of the fascists are simply lying when they assert that the workers regard the victory of the government as a "liberation" and are now going over with flags flying into the camp of fascism. Dr. Winter was nearer the truth when he said in an interview with a representative of the "Telegraaf":—

"Every attentive observer cannot help but recognise that there are two groups in the working class. The smaller group is seeking to join the organisations of its former enemy in order to save its existence; the greater part, however, remains mistrustful."

Fascism has not captured the working class. In spite of gallows and economic terror, the workers remain true to the ideals of Marxism, the ideals of socialism. Fascism is therefore attempting to approach them in a disguised form.

This disguise would, however, have been impossible without the assistance of the social democratic functionaries, without, for instance, the secretary of the Vienna Labour Chamber, Dr. Palla, without the numerous former functionaries and officials of the free trade unions who are now working for the "Trade Union Federation," without Herr Happich, the secretary of the "Naturfreunde," without the many editors of and contributors to the social democratic press, who in order to keep their jobs have sold their pens to the fascists.

It would be quite wrong, however, to draw a dividing line between these renegade elements and the social democratic emigrants. It is only a question of division of roles. Thus Herr Linder, member of the National Council for Vorarlberg, in the first number of the incorporated "Vorarlberg Wacht," called upon the workers to remain calm and reasonable, and then crossed the frontier into Switzerland in order, in emigration, to conduct the illegal work in Austria. In spite of his having kow-towed to fascism, he counts among the big guns of the social democratic emigration.

Concealed fascism is, therefore, that tendency which, in close contact with the social democracy, is attempting to create a mass basis for its dictatorship. For this reason the fight of the Communist Party against all organisational and ideological remnants of social democracy is an essential part of the fight against fascism.

## Cultural Reaction in Austria

By Keller (Vienna)

The cultural reaction which is dominant in Austria to-day is reminiscent of the worst times of the counter-reformation. That Austria has always been considered as one of the most Catholic countries in Europe was not the fault of its population, but of its ruling cliques. The majority of the population of Austria to-day is not at all filled with Catholic fanaticism. There are districts in Austria which are traditionally progressive in cultural questions and in the times of the monarchy this fact expressed itself in the greater political influence of the national parties as opposed to the Christian social party.

The Austrian working class was notoriously free of all religious bonds in accordance with its developing class-consciousness. As the revolutionisation of the working class proceeded rapidly in recent years the number of resignations from the Church grew also. (For the purposes of taxation in support of the churches the population in Germany and Austria are officially members of one church or the other from the day of their birth, and to leave the church requires an official action in the form of a declaration before a notary public.—Ed. "Inprecorr.") Only in this connection can the mass resignations from the Catholic Church, which took place in the industrial districts of Austria after the 15th July, 1927, be understood.

When the liberal Austrian bourgeoisie realised the class significance of this movement amongst the workers, it quickly lost all pleasure in its own "free thought." The free-thinking and liberal German nationalists became national socialists and never tired of expressing their veneration for the Catholic Church. Naturally, this development could not proceed without affecting the social democracy. What might be regarded as a historical tragedy for the bourgeoisie repeated itself with the social democracy as a farce. The social democratic leadership began to discourage the movement of the working class away from the Church. Supported by the leadership of the social democratic free thinkers' organisation they prevented any real anti-religious enlightenment work. At election times they deliberately stopped all activities on the part of the free-thinking workers on the ground that it damaged the social democratic election chances in the rural areas, although in reality a sharp struggle against the Church and against the influence of the priests was necessary in order to win the masses of the poor and middle peasantry. On the other hand, the social democratic leaders began to foster an artificial movement known as the "religious socialists."

The establishment of the fascist dictatorship, and in particular the military victory of the reaction over the working class in the February rising, were utilised by the bourgeoisie in order to carry the cultural reaction to triumph on all fields. It was highly symbolical that after the municipal dwellings of the workers had been battered into submission by artillery fire the work of the Catholic Church commenced. The priests followed close on the heels of the soldiers and fascists. In all the big blocks of municipal tenements shelled by the government, special religious missions were established to complete the work of subjection.

The "Reichspost," the organ of the Dollfuss government, reports triumphantly that this work of proselytisation is meeting with success, although it does not report the methods with which this "success" was achieved. It does not inform its readers that in many private factories and undertakings and in all those undertakings which were formerly under social democratic control, but which are now under dictatorial government control, it has been made a condition of further employment for all workers that they should be members of the "Patriotic Front" and that this organisation does not take persons who are not attached to some church or other. The government organ, which is now celebrating its fortieth anniversary of service in the cause of hypocrisy and lies, does not tell its readers that these "returns to the fold," these baptisms of children who had previously been brought up non-religiously were extorted by the "Joseph's Church" and the "Welfare Action" of the fascists from hungry women and children whose bread-winners have been murdered, flung into prison or concentration camp, or robbed of their work and their unemployment support. Compulsory religious education for all children irrespective of the wishes of their parents is now being demanded and soon we shall see compulsory baptism for all children as in the days of the old Church State. That is the real face of the counter-reformation which is at present taking place in Austria, and it exercises its baneful influence on all fields of public life.

Common prayers and a weekly visit to mass are now obligatory in all schools. When the provisions of the Concordat come into operation, together with the new constitution, the complete control over educational facilities will be practically handed over to the Church. Naturally, the old demand of the clericals for confessional schools, supported by public means, will be carried out. In the Burgenland, where the old Hungarian school laws are still in force and the confessional school is therefore the rule, fascism already demands the dissolution of all the State schools and this was decided upon at a meeting of the eastern Storm Troops.

The old demand of Austrian clericalism, a demand which not even the monarchy was able to fulfil, that a Catholic university should be founded in Salzburg, is now well on the way to fulfilment. Although the founding of such a university is now hardly necessary, because no teacher or professor will be able to teach at any of the other universities in Austria unless Rome approves of him. In all probability it will not be long before Austria sees its monkey processes, and any professor who dares to insist that man developed from a lower form of life and was not ready made by the hand of God in his own image and likeness will be hauled before the courts for blasphemy.

A "school reform" has already abolished the possibility of direct transference from the elementary schools to the higher

schools. The "Reichspost" of the 8th April declared that this "reform" was made necessary because the measure adopted after the revolution making this direct transference possible was intended to flood the high schools with "proletarian elements." The government has now made an end of this "unhealthy situation." The high schools themselves have also been "reformed" and the three rigid pre-war types have again been introduced, the classical high school, the modern high school, and the secondary school for technical subjects.

Naturally, the system of co-education in the high schools has been abolished. The possibility of study for girls in the high schools has been greatly reduced, for women, as far as the employer does not need them as an object of exploitation in his factory, belong in the kitchen.

Austria boasts of the most reactionary marriage laws in Europe. The Catholic dogma of the insolubility of the marriage bond dominates Austrian civil law. After the revolution social democratic and agrarian provincial governors found a way out of the situation by granting special "dispensations" to Catholic divorcees. Marriages conducted with such dispensations, which, by the way, were never recognised by the Austrian courts, were known as "Sever marriages," after the name of the social democratic provincial governor who first adopted the idea. Now that the Christian social party and its Heimwehr allies have obtained power not only in Vienna but in all the Austrian provinces, the "Sever marriage" has been done away with. If at the time a marriage was contracted one party was Catholic, that marriage remains indissoluble for ever, no matter whether the Catholic party may have changed his or her religious convictions later or not.

The whole system of public education, the libraries, the people's high schools, the clubs, everything has been forced backwards. The libraries of the people's educational organisations and of the social democratic organisations are now being thoroughly sifted with a view to destroying all socialist literature and all progressive, so-called disruptive literature of all kinds. The Vienna Commissar for Education, Dr. Lugmeyer, announces that the books removed in this way from the libraries will not be burned, but that all care will be taken to see that they do not fall into the wrong hands. The Index of the Catholic Church is to be the guiding star of the authorities in their efforts to prevent "dangerous literature" getting into the hands of the people.

The wireless programme has long ago been reformed in the interests of the government. Even last year all Austrian cinemas were compelled to show an "Austrian Weekly News" in support of the government. Now a film censorship is being introduced via commercial channels and the performance of all films is made dependent upon the necessary permission from the Ministers for Trade and Education. The final regulation of film and theatre censorship by the police will be laid down in the new constitution.

There is no necessity to speak in this connection of the gagging of the Austrian press because this goes far beyond the field of cultural reaction.

Needless to say, official "morality" is enjoying a boom at the moment. An order has just been issued prohibiting the sale on the streets and the exposure for sale of periodicals which publish pictures of the naked human body. The order also applies to all "immoral" books and to all books which pretend to have an immoral content for the purposes of enhancing sales. And as the sale of preservatives and the widespread knowledge of methods of preventing conception even in the country districts have not only limited the illegitimate progeny of the parish priests, but also threatened to reduce the amount of cannon fodder at the disposal of the Austrian military authorities, this sale and this dissemination of knowledge is being limited as far as possible. As the result of these measures will be a decided filipp to the spread of syphilis and gonorrhoea, the government decree in question is entitled: "For the Furtherance of Public Hygiene."

Even in the period of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy the dominance of clericalism in Austria was an anachronism, and to-day it is still more so, and the fact that finance-capital needs this unholy alliance with the Church in order to maintain its power, shows only how ripe the time has become for its overthrow.

## Declaration of Social Democratic Functionaries Who Joined the C.P.A.

Prague, April 23, 1934.

To all revolutionary social democrats! To all the members of the Republican Defence League! To the organised trade unionists of Austria!

The first heroic drive of the Austrian working class against fascism has been repulsed. The armed insurrection of the Republican Defence League has collapsed. The mass organisations of the Austrian social democracy, the trade unions, and the cultural organisations have been prohibited, just as a year ago the Communist Party of Austria was prohibited.

Democracy has been finally destroyed. But with the destruction of democracy the democratic workers' party, which recognised Marxism only on high days and holidays, has lost the justification for its existence. The social democracy is breaking up into its component and antagonistic parts which it succeeded in keeping together until the 12th February—class-conscious revolutionary workers, petty-bourgeois reformists, and open traitors to the cause of the class struggle who are now running into the camp of the fascists.

The events in Austria have proved that there can be no unity between fighting revolutionaries and reformist leaders, for such a unity is of value not to the proletariat, but to the bourgeoisie.

Tens of thousands of proletarians in Austria who did their duty in the ranks of the Republican Defence Force, or in the general strike, are now faced with a decision: Should they strengthen the cadres of the Communist Party of Austria and by joining the Party help to strengthen the revolutionary Communist mass Party? Or should they "begin again," that is to say, with the old social democratic party, with or without the old leaders, with the old or a new programme within the framework of the Second International? Should they perhaps organise themselves independently of the Second and the Third Internationals and form a Fourth International together with various isolated groups?

The undersigned members of the Republican Defence Force and officials of political and trade union organisations who belonged to the organised "Left" wing in Austria and almost all of whom have fought with weapons in their hands against Austro-fascism declare:—

(1) The Austrian social democracy which organisationally united reformist leaders and revolutionary workers perished in the artillery bombardments of the February insurrection. It was not the heavy artillery of the Christian government of murder which caused the defeat of the Austrian proletariat. The defeat was the consequence of the false, fatal, and criminal policy of the central committee of the social democratic party, and all the members of the central committee are responsible for it.

Despite the repeated urging of the workers, despite the resolutions and demands put forward by the "Left" wingers and by many working-class organisations in favour of an offensive against fascism when it was still in process of formation, the tactic of retreat, negotiations, toleration of the so-called lesser evil, was pursued until the masses were completely worn down. The struggle when it finally came necessarily ended in a defeat, because the Austrian working class was not led by a revolutionary mass party, no preparations were made for a revolutionary general strike, for an armed insurrection, for a revolution. Because no systematic efforts were made to prepare for the decisive struggle for power and for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

When social democratic leaders, whose whole life's work is bound up with bourgeois democracy, suddenly declare themselves



in favour of a "revolutionary dictatorship," because it leads to a "real democracy," then we have little confidence in them, and we refuse to accept slogans from those who were responsible for the heavy defeat. We remember quite well how the same people were horrified when the masses of the workers demanded socialism and the expropriation of the capitalists, and how the same people talked the workers into agreeing to socialism through communal bodies as the only safe and certain method as opposed to the dangerous and difficult "experiment" of Bolshevism.

Austro Marxism is dead, and the idea that the decaying Austrian social democratic party serves as a connecting bridge between Western democracy and Eastern socialism is absurd, and represents nothing but a new manoeuvre. Western democracy has fallen as completely victim to the poison of fascism as Central European democracy has. The proletariat has only one possibility: to take up the fight for the seizure of power and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in a real revolutionary united front.

We don't want to "begin again" either with our old leaders or with their pupils.

(2) We reject the idea of organising the "Left" wing as a special party. Within the ranks of the Republican Defence League and of the social-democratic parties we won the best working-class elements for a programme which in all its salient points is the same as that of the Communist Party.

We remained in the social-democratic party because we thought we could win the masses within that organisation for the revolutionary struggle and in order not to lose our influence on the Republican Defence League which had the arms depots.

In our efforts not to lose touch with the masses in the social-democratic party we very often made all too great concessions to the fear of disruption which was assiduously nourished by the Central Committee, and we stressed all too much the fiction of "unity." As a result the "Left" wing was defeated at the last congress of the Austrian S.D.P. How much this "unity" was really worth was demonstrated by February 12. However, we supporters of the "Left" wing were never democrats. We recognised the necessity of an intensification of the class struggle under the conditions of fascism. We are in favour of the dictatorship of the proletariat exercised by soviets of workers and peasant deputies, because this is the only way to socialism.

We are well aware that a revolutionary policy and a revolutionary party are impossible within the framework of the Second International.

We are therefore finally breaking off our connections with the Second International and with all parties affiliated to it.

However, the inner-political and foreign political situation of the Austrian proletariat demands more than elsewhere international co-operation. It would be hopeless to try and build up an independent revolutionary party and any attempt to do so would disrupt and atomise the forces of the Austrian proletariat still more and waste all revolutionary opportunities in fruitless fractional struggles. No intelligent and revolutionary worker will be won for an independent socialist party or for the Trotskyist dabblings with the idea of a new international. There is only one reasonable solution and that is affiliation to the **Third International**.

Only under the leadership of the Communist International which has remained true to the lessons of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin since its foundation and which has followed a strict revolutionary policy of class struggle, will the international proletariat be able to win the final and decisive victory over capitalism.

(3) For all these reasons we consider that the "Left" wing and all other revolutionary social democrats and trade unionists should join the Communist Party of Austria immediately.

A stream of honest and revolutionary factory workers, members of the Republican Defence League and unemployed workers into the Communist Party of Austria will make it into the revolutionary mass party without which the Austrian proletariat cannot conduct any successful struggle against fascism.

We are convinced that all the officials and supporters of the "Left" wing and all other social democratic workers who go over to the Austrian Communist Party will do their utmost, shoulder to shoulder with the older members of the C.P., to mobilise the working masses around the Party and to give it that

firm foothold in the factories which up to the present it has not possessed and to make it into the mass Party of the Austrian proletariat.

Despite the fascist terror and despite illegality, the Austrian Communist Party will organise and carry through the Red October.

Comrades, make an end of half measures! Let there be no splitting up of our forces, as that can only serve the interests of fascism. All the supporters of the "Left" wing and all revolutionary workers must now join the Communist Party of Austria.

Death to fascism! Long live the proletarian revolution! Long live the Third International!

**Ernst Fisher**, member of the executive committee of the revolutionary "Left" wing in the Austrian social democratic party and editor of the "Arbeiter-Zeitung" up to the insurrection.

**Josef Bruell**, engineer and member of the executive committee of the revolutionary "Left" wing in the Austrian S.D.P. and vice-chairman of the union of industrial employees in Austria.

**Leopold Kuder**, district secretary of the social democratic party in Vienna XIX.

**Leopold Brudna**, chairman of the factory council of the "Isola" works in Vienna X.

**Leopold Ranz**, section commander of the Republican Defence League at the Northern Railway sector of the Vienna front.

**Leopold Poelzl**, member of the factory council of the Wagner-Biro works and member of the national executive of the socialist youth league in Graz.

**Herbert Huetter**, chairman of the factory council of the Niklasdorf paper works (Upper Styria).

**Fritz Schwager**, leader of the socialist youth league in Knittelfeld (Upper Styria).

**Josef Rohrberger**, leader of the S.D.P. organisation in St. Michel (Upper Styria).

**Theo Rackvitz**, manager of the social democratic party printing works and leader of the workers' athletic league in Linz.

**Josef Stern**, municipal workers' representative in Vienna, chairman of the social democratic union of Floridsdorf municipal employees.

#### New Achievements of Soviet Technique

A special laboratory for gas-generating locomotives is being erected at the "Mosheres" works. The first gas-generating locomotive, of which Comrade *Dyrenkov* is the inventor, will be built on April 15, 1935. This gas-generating locomotive is a motor wagon which, instead of a Diesel engine, has a motor engine which consumes three to four times less fuel than a steam-driven locomotive. The traction power and capacity of the gas-generating locomotive, which can be driven with any kind of fuel (wood, turf, anthracite, etc.), will be equal to the strongest "F.B." locomotives in the Soviet Union.

Trial flights are being made at the Moscow Aerodrome of the huge propaganda aeroplane, "*Maxim Gorki*," which, as is known, has been built with funds collected by readers of the Soviet newspapers on the occasion of Maxim Gorki's fortieth anniversary as a writer.

"Maxim Gorki," the biggest aeroplane in the world, has been constructed according to the plans of the Soviet engineer *Tupolev*. It has eight motors and a wing-spread of 64 metres. It has a maximum speed of 150 miles an hour. It can carry sufficient fuel for a flight of 1,250 miles without landing.

This aeroplane contains a printing works, a rotary machine, a cinema, and a photographic laboratory. This latter renders it possible to fix and develop during flight all photographs taken from the aeroplane, so that the film can be shown on the same day. The crew is to consist of 23 men.

The Soviet press states with pride that the whole equipment of this aeroplane has been built with material produced in the Soviet Union and that it represents the highest achievement in aeroplane construction.

## First of May

# Before the First of May in Germany

By L.

Just as last year, this year also the First of May, the international fighting day of the world proletariat, is to be converted in Germany into a national socialist festival in celebration of the "community of the people," i.e., the subordination of the workers to the unbounded dictatorship of capital. Hundreds of thousands of workers are again to be forced by threats of dismissal and internment in concentration camps to demonstrate for their deadly enemies. Hitler will again appear at the Tempelhof Field and utter his hackneyed phrases. The march to the Tempelhof Field is modestly described in the incorporated press as "perhaps the greatest organisational task which the world has ever known."

A new feature this year will be the solemn taking of the oath by the "confidential councillors" as provided in the Labour Law. Thus the workers will be reminded that this time they are to demonstrate not only for the rule of their deadly enemies, but also for a special law which deprives them of all rights.

It will be still harder this year for the Nazi bureaucrats to create a festive mood. The number of people who have hope and faith in the national socialist order has declined enormously, while the number of bitter and resolute enemies, not to mention the number of disappointed and doubtful, has greatly increased.

This is the reason why all the arts of demagogy are now being employed in order to arouse enthusiasm among the working class. That was the sole object of the report of the "victory on the labour front" in March. It is maintained that the number of unemployed in March had declined by 570,000, and is only 2,800,000, half of the figure of the previous year. The month of March is usually marked by a great seasonal improvement of the labour market, but the official figure, 570,000, is also the figure of the decline of unemployment in March, 1929, the last year before the crisis. Herren Syrup and Goebbels have obviously ordered that a corresponding number of unemployed must be struck off the unemployed register, according to the well-known methods of the Nazis.

We have several times explained how the Provision of Work is carried out in practice. We will quote two recent examples in order to illustrate this.

At the Fuerst von Pless pit, in the Waldenburg mining area, all unmarried miners under 25 years of age were ordered to report at the factory councillors' office. Here they were informed that they must report for "voluntary labour service." Those who did not report voluntarily were threatened with dismissal and compulsory labour service. Those who behaved the best were offered the prospect of being accepted in the Reichswehr. In this way places were made vacant for the unemployed workers in receipt of benefit, whilst the younger workers are forced to toil and drill in the labour service camps in return for a basin of soup and pocket money.

Another example: The press made a great set-out on the occasion of the reopening of the Wenzeslaas pit in Neurode, where some hundreds of miners are to be provided with work. But the press report did not mention under what conditions the miners were re-engaged. The workers received 50 pfennigs per shift and the officials one mark a day in addition to what they receive from the poor-law authorities!

This "Provision of Work" is a very profitable business for the mine and factory owners!

The discontent caused by the employment of such methods is to be seen from the confessions which the Nazi leaders themselves make. After Hitler, on March 21, referred to the income of the workers, which in some cases was intolerably low, on April 8 Dr. Ley stated at a demonstration in Cologne:—

"The German labour front must make it plain to the employer that he has a right to profit, but at the present time he has no right to draw profit from his undertaking. At a time when the workers, in the interest of national reconstruction, are being paid starvation wages, the greatest sacrifices must also be demanded from the other side. At the same time the worker must realise that so long as the State is seeking for work and bread for seven million unemployed, he must not demand higher wages."

"Starvation wages" and the right of the employer to profit, and this at a time when there are still unemployed (Ley speaks of seven million unemployed, whilst according to the official statistics they number 2.8 million). That is "German socialism"!

Herr Goebbels, Minister for Propaganda, spoke to the same effect in his broadcast speech on April 13:—

"The German worker must in these months, when we are starting production going again, be content with wages which for the greater part do not suffice to maintain a standard of living corresponding to the level of culture of our people. In recognising this connection he has often shown more reason and clarity than those economic circles which believe that the pacification in the sphere of production, striven for and achieved with tenacious persistence by the government, has been accomplished solely for their benefit and find its most desirable expression in an unjustifiable reduction of wages, supplemented by a still less justified increase of prices and dividends. We would once again remind them that it cannot be further tolerated if one side attempts to sabotage the socialist achievements of our time. . . . The law for the protection of national labour, which is to come into force on May 1st, is to be understood in this sense. A permanent peace is to be established between the economic leaders and the led. A permanent peace, however, is only conceivable on the basis of social justice."

Goebbels speaks of a "permanent industrial peace" because the Nazi bureaucrats are trembling with fear of a mass strike movement against the threatening wage reduction. It is not without reason that in the last few weeks the strike-breaking organisation of the Technical Emergency Aid was subjected to a reorganisation, and reliable Nazis placed at its head.

If, precisely before the 1st of May, the Nazi bureaucrats are compelled to make such statements and mouth sham-radical phrases against the profit-greedy "factory leaders" who on the 1st of May, by the coming into force of the new labour law, are to be made the absolute masters in the factories, it only indicates how greatly the national socialist party feels the pressure of the mass discontent of the proletariat, so that they are compelled to make out that they wish to voice the demands of the workers.

These demagogic attempts to wheedle round the workers is most grotesquely expressed in the May Day badge, on which, alongside the swastika and the head of Goethe, is depicted the symbol of labour, the hammer and sickle, the emblem of the Soviet State, the emblem of the revolutionary workers of all countries. Goebbels, the inventor of this trick, apparently does not realise how ridiculous he thereby makes the Nazis in that, in order to curry favour with the workers, they find it necessary to steal the sign of the slandered, persecuted Communist Party, which has been declared dead a thousand times.

The Nazi bureaucrats are forced tacitly to admit the mass influence of Communism not only by aping its outward forms, not only by cries of alarm against the Bolshevik danger, but sometimes even—strange as it may seem—by direct reference to alleged statements of the C.P.G. We have only now heard for the first time that in Saxony, in the neighbourhood of Dresden, at the time of the Hitler plebiscite swindle on November 12, 1933, a placard was posted up on which it was stated that a former Communist Party deputy, at a meeting, speaking on behalf of the C.C. of the C.P.G., called upon the audience to vote "Yes." Of course, this obviously lying placard failed to have any effect. But what a confession of the moral and political authority of the C.P.G. and its leadership!

If last year, when the mass terror was at its height and the fascist illusions were much stronger than now, the revolutionary workers were able, under the leadership of the Communists, to hold effective counter-demonstrations in a number of towns against the fascist May Day festival, the counter-movement this year will be much broader and more powerful in accordance with the increased revolutionary upsurge, in spite of all the demagogic manoeuvres of the Nazis.

## The United Front in England

By G. B.

On May 1, 1933, the first steps towards a wide application of the united front for the struggle against the offensive of the bourgeoisie and fascism had been made. The Communist Party had just addressed a proposal for a united front of struggle against fascism, war and the offensive of the bourgeoisie to the Executive of the Labour Party and the General Council. The Labour Party and the General Council rejected this proposal. But in spite of them, and over their heads, a united front was forged, based on solidarity with the struggle of the heroic proletariat of Germany against fascism and directed against the aggressive policy of the British capitalists who were endeavouring to break off the relations with the Soviet Union.

A year of a rich experience in united front activities and of a stubborn struggle against the political and economic offensive of the bourgeoisie had passed. The *Hunger March* and the *Congress of Action* were the high point of the steady development of the united front.

Scores and hundreds of T.U. branches and even local Labour Parties participated in the united front with the Communist Party and the N.U.W.M. United Front Conferences and unemployed marches were held demanding the withdrawal of the Slave Bill. The Congress of Action, convened in London on February 24-25, lent a sharper, political character to the struggle against the new Bill, for the question was put at this Congress of the treacherous role of the General Council and Labour Party hampering the united front and thereby rendering direct assistance to the bourgeoisie in its policy of robbing the working class. The Congress stressed the necessity for the preparation for strikes against the new Bill, as a most important weapon of struggle against the attempts of the bourgeoisie to introuce slave labour in this country.

And now the working class is facing the task of carrying out the decisions of the Congress and of developing still more active resistance to the policy of the bourgeoisie.

The workers must bear in mind that the bourgeoisie is energetically pursuing the policy of gradual fascisation. Fascism in England does not develop exclusively along the lines of Mosley's Union and of other fascist and semi-fascist organisations. The government itself is the bearer of fascist tendencies. Is not the policy of Elliot, the Minister of Agriculture, the policy of high customs, quotas, Milk Boards, Big Marketing Schemes, subsidies to the landlords and rich farmers, directed to the creation of self-sufficient agriculture, as one of the economic features of fascism, and an important step to the war preparation? The National government is increasing the armaments of England at top speed. The increase of the armaments budget by 13 million pounds sterling by no means reflects the real extent of armaments. Numerous plants, e.g., metal, chemical, electrical, aircraft, etc., are feverishly preparing to supply material for a new war.

The war preparations and the growth of fascist tendencies in the entire policy of the bourgeoisie is reflected in the measures openly directed against the working class. It is not an accidental slip of the tongue on the part of *Gilmour*, the Home Secretary, who spoke of "concentration camps" for the unemployed thinking of the unemployed "reconditioning" centres. It is precisely in these centres that the training of the unemployed youth and their inuring to drudgery and military discipline is taking place. The new Bill provides for the setting up of a wide network of various "educational centres" for youth who will be used as a reserve army of unskilled and semi-skilled workers, which will help to cut still more the wages of the entire working class.

This offensive of the bourgeoisie on living standards of the employed and unemployed masses represents a most important element of the process of fascisation. The bourgeoisie intends thus to demoralise the working class, to aggravate misery to such an extent as to make a worker willing to accept any conditions to save himself and his family from starvation.

It would seem that under these conditions of the fascisation policy of the bourgeoisie the trade unions should most sharply put the question of how to beat off the offensive of the bourgeoisie and to mobilise the workers for a successful struggle against fascism and war. But in actual fact the trade union leadership is doing all in its power to help the bourgeoisie to carry through its policy.

The government are carrying through in Parliament their

Slave Bill which will bring about a wide network of *Labour Camps*. The T.U. bureaucrats, in their whole campaign for the "improvement" of the unemployment insurance, recommended the setting up of educational centres for unemployed youth under the supervision of the Board of Education. And even now, when the whole working class is in revolt against the Bill and the slave camps, the "*Daily Herald*" finds nothing better to do than to laud the camps and thus plays into the hands of the bourgeoisie.

The government is setting up a special Statutory Committee to deal with unemployment, endowed with dictatorial power. Thereby the government is partly already abolishing the functions of Parliament. The General Council, in its memorandum to the Royal Unemployment Commission, proposed itself to set up such a committee with three trade union representatives on it. And even now the General Council is still striving to get a representation on this committee and to contribute to the operation of this Slave Bill.

The government aims at terrorising the working class; it casts scores and hundreds of workers into jails for the violation of laws passed 300 years ago; it arrests workers participating in peaceful demonstrations and unemployed Hunger Marches. The General Council and Labour Party are supporting this policy, using in their turn repressions against the militant workers, expelling them from the trade unions, not admitting them to trade union congresses, carrying on fierce attacks against them as the "splitters," "agents of Moscow," etc.

Thus, the reformists are becoming active supporters of the fascisation policy of the bourgeoisie. Under cover of various theories, concocted in the interests of the bourgeoisie, they hamper the struggle of the working masses and actively prevent the building up of the united front, which is the only means of successful resistance of the working masses to the economic and political offensive of the bourgeoisie.

The task of drawing new thousands of workers and new hundreds of T.U. branches into the united front of struggle against the offensive of the bourgeoisie and fascism is acquiring all the more importance with the growth of fascist tendencies and the fascisation of the reformist leadership. The experience of the heroic struggle of the workers of Germany and Austria has proved once more that unless a struggle is waged against these agents of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the working class, no successful struggle of the working masses against the bourgeoisie itself is possible. The workers of this country, armed with this experience, must strengthen the united front and sharpen the struggle against the trade union leadership and the Labour Party. It is to the path of the united front of struggle against the attacks of the bourgeoisie and despite the T.U. bureaucrats and Labourites that the revolutionary T.U. movement is calling the working masses of Great Britain on May 1.

## Correction

The following corrections have to be made in the May Day appeal of the R.I.L.U. published in last week's number of the INPRECORR:—

The first sentence of the fourth paragraph of the appeal should read as follows: "There is one country in the world where there is no and cannot be any fascism, a country where there is no mediæval reaction because over there all exploitation of Man by Man has been abolished, because over there capitalism has been completely abolished thanks to the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, because over there the last remnants of capitalism have been eliminated."

In paragraph 11, which begins with the words: "The higher the wave. . ." it is necessary to include at the end, after the words "growing fascism and the menace of war," the following sentence: "To this treacherous policy the workers reply with a mass withdrawal from the social democracy."

Paragraph 17 begins with the words "Remember the fighters," and must be changed in the following way: "Remember the fighters on the barricades of Vienna, whose victory would have been assured had it not been for the social democracy, if the trade union leaders, who broke the general strike, had not dealt them a blow in the back, as the workers, with arms in their hands, marched forward against their enemies."

The fourth sentence of the last paragraph must read: "For the united front for the freeing of Thaelman and all prisoners of capitalism."

## The First of May Under the Austrian Fascist Dictatorship

By Gustav (Vienna)

Austrian fascism, which is incapable of conceiving a single independent idea, in its social demagoguery also imitates its model, Hitler. Accordingly, Dollfuss is proceeding also in Austria to desecrate the international fighting day of labour by converting it into a fascist "people's festival." The First of May will this year be "celebrated" as a State festival. The school children of Vienna will be made to pay "homage" to the Lord Mayor, "cheering and waving flags." There will then follow a procession of all estates, headed by a parade of cavalry, coaches and motor-cars!

According to the intentions of the government, the First of May is to furnish proof that Marxism is dead. The police too have their share, and the lion's share at that, in the preparations for the "people's festival." As the first item in the programme they are carrying out mass arrests of workers. Workers are fetched from their houses; pedestrians in the streets and in the parks are being searched and asked to produce identification papers, so great is the anxiety of the government.

But the workers will prove on May Day that Marxism lives in the C.P. of Austria. Dollfuss was only able to shatter the rotten, social-democratic organisations, but the undaunted proletariat is creating in the C.P. of Austria a much better and powerful instrument for the new organised revolt. This year's First of May will witness for the first time the greater part of the working class of Austria demonstrating not for the democratic republic, but for Soviet Austria. The First of May will be observed by the workers under the slogan of the revolutionary united front. The appeal of the Communist Party for a united demonstration has met with enthusiastic response. "Red Front," the former Left opposition in the socialist party of Austria, has declared its approval of a common struggle. Joint committees of action have been set up for the First of May, which have issued a leaflet and are organising united demonstrations.

Whilst the official social-democratic party leadership do not venture to issue a clear slogan and vacillate between calling upon their members to take part in the fascist demonstrations and advising them to make trips to the Vienna Forest, the committees of action are organising revolutionary street demonstrations in the workers' quarters. They call upon the workers in all factories to strike on May First; they appeal in particular to the Vienna tramwaymen to refuse to work on May First. The First of May must become a display of the forces of the workers; it must prove that the rotten, Austro-fascist dictatorship rests on feet of clay.

The government announces that on May First the new Constitution will come into force: not the corporative Constitution as originally intended, but a transitional dictatorship Constitution. The differences in the camp of the bourgeoisie and within the government are so great that no agreement could be arrived at in regard to this Constitution. These contradictions arise from the critical economic and political situation of Austria. The rule of the Dollfuss government has only resulted in increased starvation for the toilers, but it has been unable to solve a single one of the decisive problems. Even the show piece of the government, the budget, is a statistical swindle. Not only is there an uncovered deficit of 80 million from last year; not only have the proceeds of the lottery loan been swallowed up, so that the solemnly promised provision of work has not yet even been commenced, but the arming of the fascist associations has resulted in a tremendous increase of expenditure, so that the deficit has grown enormously. This is bound to lead in the long run to a catastrophic collapse of the Shilling. The number of employed persons is declining despite the fact that the number of unemployed in receipt of benefit has diminished. Hence the government has ceased to publish the figures showing the number of persons in employment. The captains of industry are giving the lie to the optimistic assertions of the government in regard to a revival of industry, which fact has led to fierce polemics in the press against the unjustifiable complaints and grumbings on the part of the captains of industry.

The Austrian fascists, however, are conscientiously carrying out one item of their programme: the preparation for the next imperialist war. It is with this end in view that the terror is being intensified.

The May Day demonstrations of the Austrian proletariat will be carried out under the slogans for the release of our imprisoned class comrades. Thousands of revolutionary workers are still pining in the prisons, the majority of whom have not yet been brought to trial. The First of May demonstration will be devoted to the struggle for recapturing the workers' rights, against wage cuts, dismissals, victimisation of revolutionary workers and against the destruction of social insurance, for work and bread for the unemployed, for the continued existence of class trade unions on a revolutionary basis. The main slogan of our First of May is the overthrow of the Dollfuss dictatorship, organisation of the struggle for the Soviet Power, for Soviet Austria.

In spite of all the persecutions of the government, the preparation for a workers' delegation to the First of May celebrations in the Soviet Union bears a mass character. Former social democrats in particular are enthusiastically collaborating in these preparations, so that the overwhelming majority of the delegation has been recruited from among social-democratic factory workers. The May delegation will convey to the victors of the October revolution the brotherly fighting greetings of the heroes of the February uprising. The street demonstrations in the workers' quarters on May Day will show to the world proletariat that the fascist dictatorship in Austria is standing on a volcano.

## Irish Labour Leaders Betray General Strike Decision

By Aodh MacManus (Dublin)

Having recovered from their shock at the Dublin Trades Council's decision for general strike action on May 1 against fascism, the Irish Labour Party and T.U.C. leaders have taken effective steps to kill the decision.

A motion was brought before the Trades Council condemning the activities of the Blueshirt fascist agents of British imperialism. To the horror of officialdom, the Council not only declared against fascism in general terms, but adopted the addendum put forward by the Communist and militant members of the Council for the political one-day strike, and calling for a united front of all anti-fascist bodies. So strong was the feeling of the delegates that the officials dared not oppose the addendum; but immediately after the meeting they set to work to sabotage the Council's unanimous decision. First, a deputation sent to the Labour Party and T.U.C. came back with the news that the bureaucracy proposed, not the general strike, but a series of mass meetings, not even on May 1, but on May 6, the anniversary of James Connolly's execution. Official Labour, the Trades Council was told, had now taken up the matter and the workers need no longer worry about the fascist menace.

The last act of the betrayal came at the Dublin Trades Council meeting on April 13, attended by all the prominent reformist leaders. Here *Mr. William O'Brien*, the I.T.G.W.U. and T.U.C. leader, calmly announced that no special action was needed on May 1; the Connolly Commemoration meetings would demonstrate the opposition of the working class to fascism. *Mr. Norton*, leader of the Irish Labour Party in the Dail, said the same thing, after a demagogic speech in which he told the delegates:—

"The workers of Germany never believed that the fascists could gain the upper hand. I appeal to the delegates to let the happenings in Germany be a lesson to you."

Truly, a lesson the Irish workers have to learn. But *Mr. Norton* did not say that the lesson was that the reformist leaders in Germany held back the workers, twice refused to call the general strike, and in every way possible smoothed the path of Hitler to power—just like Messrs. Norton and Co. are doing in Ireland. This is the lesson the Irish workers must and will learn.

That increasing numbers of workers are already learning this lesson is shown by the number of resolutions against fascism and for strike action passed by the trade union branches in Dublin, Drogheda, Longford, Kerry, Cork, etc. The Communist Party and militant trade unionists were able to win wide support for the Dublin Trades Council decision, although not a sufficient mobilisation was gained to defeat the official treachery.

United front demonstrations will still take place on May 1, when mass meetings under the Labour League Against Fascism will be held in *Dublin* and *Belfast*.

## The Youth on May First

On May First this year the masses of workers and of the toiling youth should come out under the main slogans of struggle against fascism, the danger of an imperialist war and the menace of a counter-revolutionary onslaught of the imperialists on the Soviet Union.

In the land of emancipated labour, in the *Soviet Union*, the conditions of the toiling youth are improving every day. Hundreds of thousands of them attend factory and higher schools, they know nothing about exploitation or unemployment, they are working under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, under Comrade Stalin's leadership, fulfilling the Second Five-Year Plan and ever ready to protect their Socialist Fatherland from any predatory attack of the imperialists. Thousands of sanatoria are placed at their disposal, where they spend their four weeks' fully-paid vacation and gather new strength for the building of a classless society. On May Day numberless masses of the youth of the Soviet Union will demonstrate under the slogans of socialist construction and international proletarian solidarity.

In contrast to this, in capitalist countries we have a continually growing economic and political enslavement of the working youth. The bourgeoisie is passing over more and more to fascism and militarisation of the youth. The bourgeoisie needs this because the contradictions among the imperialists are bringing about a new re-division of the world through a new world war, and, on the other hand, because the unprecedented pauperisation of the masses, the direct robbing of the wages and inflation further the radicalisation of the masses and their revolutionary upsurge.

The youth will acquire tremendous significance in a new war. Therefore we see that the bourgeoisie is making strenuous efforts in all countries in the struggle for the youth, most actively supported by the reformist T.U. bureaucracy.

In fascist *Germany*, where the bourgeoisie is doing all in its power to-day to overtake the other imperialist countries in regard to armaments, there exists an all-round militarisation of the youth. All the youth organisations were squeezed into the Hitler Youth Union, which is alleged to number seven million members to-day; the last independent, as yet, organisation, that of the Catholic youth, is also bound to be incorporated in the Hitler Union. The fact that annual conscript labour has not yet been introduced is to be explained exclusively by the fascists' lack of funds. None the less, 250,000 young workers are in the camps, where they are building chiefly strategic roads and are undergoing regular military training.

In *France* the training of "Camelots du Roi," of "patriotic" and other fascist organisations is carried on. In *Sweden* the social-democratic government is taking pains to drive the youth into the labour camps. The greatest efforts in this direction were made lately especially in *Czechoslovakia*, which considered itself greatly endangered by the Austrian events (Anschluss, the Hapsburg danger, as well as the revisionist plans of Mussolini in the interests of Hungary) on the one hand, and by the growth of the revolutionary forces in the country upon the other. Tremendous chauvinistic and nationalistic agitation is carried on among the youth. Days of Defence, Days of Aviation are conducted, organisations for the military training of the youth are set up. And at present conscript labour for all the unemployed youth from 14 to 25 is to be introduced at one stroke. The youth is to be attracted, the same as in Germany, for the building of strategic roads, frontier fortifications and military training. All this is conducted under the slogan of "protection of democracy from fascism." The bourgeois and "socialist" newspapers are quite openly speaking about these aims. The socialist leaders, the leaders of the socialist youth demand that the government speed up the introduction of conscript labour.

The actions of the toiling youth against fascism and war preparations, its militancy in the working-class movements is growing. We know about hundreds of such examples in all the countries. The anti-fascist unity front is growing. This is manifested with particular clarity in *France*, in *Austria*, where after the recent fights the members of the socialist youth have been going over to the Y.C.L. en masse. A considerable number of uprisings and strikes have taken place in the Hitler labour camps, etc. One thousand eight hundred persons from the Lauswacht labour camp organised a demonstration to Duesseldorf, protesting against the lengthening of the working week from 32 to 48 hours. As the result of this the camp had to be dissolved. In the Sandorf

camp, near Mannheim, disturbances took place, which were caused by bad food. The youth destroyed the whole place. Twelve were transferred to a concentration camp. In spite of this, disturbances are going on there.

The demonstration of 120 members of the Hitler Youth Union, in *Cologne*, against the arrest of two of their functionaries shows that resentment is growing even among the masses of the youth, misled by Hitler. Shouts: "We are the revolutionaries of tomorrow!" were heard during the demonstration.

There were a great many anti-war actions of the Czechoslovakian working youth. In *Bruenn* the youth of the Social-Democratic Sport Union, which was under the influence of Y.C.L. members, drove away a reporter from the centre, who was speaking about strengthening the defensive capacity of the youth in the interests of "democracy." In *Prague-Smichov*, the unemployed youth prevented an officer from making a report on a war subject in an unemployed youth home. The Prague youth disrupted a few meetings at which similar reports were to be made. The youth of the Red trade unions distributed 100,00 leaflets, calling for a determined struggle against labour camps—against the threatened introduction of conscript labour at the beginning of May. In all the countries the toiling youth mobilise for national congresses against fascism and the imperialist war.

The Red unions and R.T.U.O. should exert every effort to develop systematic work at once, so as to win over the youth to the Red unions, on the basis of the defence of its vital interests, and to organise it in youth sections. It is especially necessary to strengthen work among the youth in all the factories and chiefly at munition works, labour camps and forced labour centres, and also to develop greatest activity in the reformist and other trade unions and in fascist organisations in order to win over the youth to our front.

On May Day the working youth of the world should come out under the banner of proletarian internationalism. By means of monster strikes, demonstrations, movements, etc., the toiling youth should struggle shoulder to shoulder with the entire working class, against fascism, social-fascism, militarisation and conscript labour, against the menace of an imperialist war and danger of a counter-revolutionary war and intervention against the Soviet Union, for its day-to-day demands, for bread and work, in defence of the Soviet Union and Soviet China, for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of Soviet power.

## Appeal of the International Labour Defence

**To the Members of the I.L.D.! To the Toilers of the Whole World!**

On the First of May, the international fighting day of all exploited, the I.L.D., in the name of its 14 million members, greets all revolutionary, anti-fascist fighters, all revolutionaries, who are pining in the dungeons of the capitalist and colonial countries.

The imperialist world is passing through a severe crisis. The danger of a fresh imperialist war threatens more than ever. The Japanese imperialist bandits are waging a robber campaign, not only against the Chinese people; they are making feverish preparations in the whole of Japan and in Manchuria for a military attack on the country without crisis and unemployment, the U.S.S.R., the country against which they daily make provocations. In all countries the imperialists and their agents are conducting a slanderous anti-Soviet campaign. In *France*, the warmongers are staging a "Soviet espionage" affair in order to intensify the anti-Soviet incitement.

The provocative policy of the Hitler government has accentuated the antagonisms in the whole of Europe. The whole of the capitalist world is like a powder magazine which can explode at any moment.

In order to secure for itself a "quiet" hinterland for the robber war the bourgeoisie is intensifying the terror, the only means it has of holding down the workers and exploited masses and securing its profits. May Day this year will see the best of our comrades pining in the prisons—170,000 in Germany, among them being Ernst Thaelmann, the leader of the C.P. of Germany and of the German proletariat; hundreds of thousands in China, among them being the Rueggs; in Japan, 12,000; in Poland, 15,000; 10,000 in Dollfuss-Austria. Hundreds of thousands are groaning in the prisons as a result of cruel tortures. Tens of thousands of widows and orphans are crying for their bread-winners who were slain by the fascist bands. That is the bloody

balance-sheet of the bankrupt, rotten capitalist rule, which can only maintain itself on the points of the bayonets.

But stronger than the means of power of the blood-stained bourgeoisie, stronger than fascism, are the working class and the suppressed peoples and nations. Their fighting power cannot be broken.

In Germany, in spite of the unexampled, bestial terror, the working class is waging a heroic struggle which is causing ever-greater anxiety to the fascist rulers.

The heroic February days in Austria have furnished a shining example of proletarian force to the toilers of the whole world.

The French proletariat is marching in a powerful united front against the provocations of fascism.

Revolutionary struggles and general strikes in Spain are shaking the whole country. The toilers of Cuba are rising against American imperialism, against terror and exploitation by the native bourgeoisie. The workers and peasants of Soviet China have heroically defeated the sixth campaign of the reactionary Kuomintang government, which was supported by the imperialists of the whole world.

The tremendous revolutionary upsurge is spreading even to the prisons and court-rooms of the bourgeoisie. **Following the glorious example of Comrade Dimitrov, the Lutsk comrades, from accused became accusers, and flung the truth regarding the system of torture in the teeth of the Pilsudski fascists.**

The First of May will be celebrated at a time of revolutionary upsurge of the exploited and oppressed of the whole world.

Toilers! On this fighting day you must not forget the hundreds of thousands who are pining in the prisons! On this day of international solidarity they are more than ever setting their hopes on you, for they know that only your solidarity can help them and rescue them from the hands of their tormentors.

Into the streets on First of May!

Join the demonstrations under the banner of the I.L.D. for the release of the hundreds of thousands of prisoners of capitalism.

Fight against imperialist war, against fascist terror, against bourgeois class justice! Collect money and contribute to the funds for the victims of the fascist terror!

Defend the Soviet Union, the only fatherland of the toilers, the only country of asylum for all those who are persecuted by fascism!

Be ready to defend Soviet China against all the attacks of the imperialists!

Fight against enslavement and exploitation of the toilers in the colonial and semi-colonial countries!

Fight against the bloody terror of German fascism! Remember Comrades Scheer, Luetgens, Steinfurth, Schoenhaar, and others who were beheaded or foully murdered!

Intensify the struggle for the release of Ernst Thaelmann and all political prisoners!

Fight against Dollfuss-Fey fascism, fight against the executioners of the heroic Austrian workers!

Do not forget that the electric chair is still threatening the Scottsboro' Negro boys!

Rally under the banner of solidarity and its organiser, the International Labour Defence! Strengthen its ranks!

Long live the First of May, the day of fighting and solidarity of the toilers of the whole world!

**Executive Committee of the International Labour Defence.**

## May Day Slogans of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U.

Moscow, April 21, 1934.

The press publishes the slogans of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. for May First. The slogans are as follows:—

Long live the First of May—the review of the revolutionary forces of the international proletariat!

Our proletarian greetings on First of May to our class brothers, the victims of fascist terror, the prisoners of capital!

Proletarians of all countries, strengthen proletarian internationalism, rally round the banner of the Communist International.

Forward to new struggles and victories!

Long live the socialist world revolution.

In the countries of capital and fascist dictatorship, millions of

workers and peasants are delivered over to hunger, misery and ruin. In the Soviet Union unemployment is unknown, the impoverishment of the village has been done away with, the material and cultural standard of living of the toilers is rising. Proletarians, toiling peasants of the whole world! Follow the path of the workers of the Soviet Union! Down with bloody fascism! Long live the Soviets!

Social democracy is paving the way for fascism; it frustrates the united front of the working class and collaborates with the fascist hangmen. Working men and women of all countries! Expose and drive away the betrayers of the working class, the leaders of the Second International! Long live the militant united front of the workers against capitalism!

Our brotherly greetings to the working class of Austria! Long live their advance-guard, the Communist Party! Down with the fascist hangmen!

Our brotherly greetings to the revolutionary proletarians of Germany! Long live the heroic C.P. of Germany! Long live Comrade Thaelmann! Let us wrest him from the hands of the fascist hangmen!

The imperialists are arming for new wars and for an attack on the Soviet Union. Proletarians, toilers of the whole world! Down with the war-provocateurs! All out for the defence of the Soviet Union, the fatherland of all toilers!

The imperialists are dismembering, enslaving and robbing China. Down with the war against China! Long live the Soviets and the Red Army of China, the instrument for the emancipation of the Chinese people from its oppressors!

The Japanese imperialists are organising anti-Soviet provocations in the Far East. Workers, peasants and red-armists! Let us consolidate the defensive forces of our country! Long live the Red Army of the Far East! We are not afraid of threats and are ready to reply to every blow of the war-mongers with a counter-blow! (Stalin.)

We do not want war, but we are well equipped for defence. We shall deal an annihilating blow to all attempts of our enemies, so that in future they will have no desire to put their hog's snout into our Soviet garden. (Stalin.)

Long live the Red Army, the bulwark of the peace policy of the Soviet Power, the vigilant guard of the Soviet frontiers and the reliable defence of the achievements of the October revolution!

Long live the second Five-Year Plan, the Five-Year Plan of the consolidation of the power of our fatherland, the Five-Year Plan of the construction of a classless, socialist society! Forward to new victories!

Bolshevist greetings to our shock-brigaders, the pioneers of the great army of the builders of Socialism! Raise higher the banner of socialist competition and of shock-brigade work! Let us achieve in the second Five-Year Plan a life of prosperity for all workers and collective peasants!

“The peasantry of the Soviet country has placed itself finally and irrevocably under the Red banner of Socialism.” (Stalin.) Collective peasants, collective peasant women! Consolidate the collective farm system, annihilate the remnants of kulakdom! Long live the alliance of the workers and peasants who are building up Socialism!

Let us strengthen Bolshevist self-criticism, let us increase the activity, creative enthusiasm and the initiative of the working masses and collective peasants for raising production to a still higher level!

Long live the growing social activity of the toiling women and their promotion to leading positions! Long live the scientists and technicians, who are working hand in hand with the working class for the great cause of the building up of Socialism!

Long live the unity and brotherly solidarity of the toilers of all nations of the Soviet Union! Forward to new victories under the banner of the Bolshevist Party and its Leninist Central Committee! Long live the great, invincible banner of Marx, Engels and Lenin!

# Fight Against Imperialist War

## America Plans for War

By Howard Lindsay (New York)

The basis of all imperialist war preparations to-day is to adapt all industry, transportation and communication for war. The U.S. government, in preparation for the coming war, has the entire country mapped out as a huge arsenal: every important factory which can be converted into the production of arms is part of this scheme. The War Department is conducting an industrial survey to ascertain what items each plant is best suited to produce. The capacity of each plant is carefully estimated in order to determine possibilities of war production. About 15,000 to 17,000 plants have already been surveyed. To each selected plant there is assigned a definite task to be undertaken in time of war. War contracts are prepared by the government with armament firms. All that is necessary is to say "go" and these orders will be produced with feverish haste.

What is strategic in the War Department's Mobilisation Programme is not so much the visible expenditures for war—that is, on the army, navy and air force, although these orders for munitions and sinews of warfare aid in keeping American industry geared and primed for war production. What is emphasised is the necessity of keeping war industries primed for war production. The quantity of warships or planes that the U.S. has is an indication of its potential capacity. This potential capacity for war production is determined by what the government is doing to prepare the country economically for war.

The strength of the imperialist Powers, when war breaks out, will be determined in large measure by its capacity of output and its ability to convert this capacity to war production. General MacArthur, Chief of the General Staff of the U.S. Army, in his annual report to the Secretary of War (1933), points out that although the total air strength of the U.S. is ranked third or fourth in the world, what is more important is that it has an industrial capacity for aeroplane manufacture exceeding that of any other nation.

Bernard Baruch, chairman of the War Industries Board during the World War, stated before the War Policies Commission Hearings that "it is quite possible to prepare, in peace, plans that will make the transition from peace industry to war industry with minimum disruption, to carry on the feverish industrial activity of war. . . ." (Hearings, Part 1). The National Defence Act, amended in 1920, imposes on the Secretary of War the duty of preparing lists of privately owned plants in the U.S. which are capable of manufacturing munitions, and obtaining full and complete information as to the equipment of such plants.

The three essential steps contemplated in the National Defence Act are: (1) The supervision by a central agency of the procurement activities of the several supply firms and services in the War Department; (2) the preparation of adequate plans for the utilisation in time of war of the material and industrial resources of the country; (3) a survey of industry to the end that its capacity for manufacturing the various supplies needed in war may be definitely known.

The plan of the War Department shows that from the moment war is declared the entire industry and whole economic life will be subordinated to a military dictatorship. As soon as war is declared, the President will be dictator. Under a Bill providing for a draft of man power, 4,000,000 men can be immediately conscripted for war service. He will appoint a "director of war industry," who will have the assistance of an "industrial advisory board composed of prominent industrialists."

The plan provides that "labour will be represented in the organisation of the director of war industry by the appointment of its natural leaders to positions on the war service committees." And these "natural leaders" of labour are such renowned persons as William Green, Matthew Woll, Edward McGrady, etc. There will also be a labour committee in the office of the Assistant Secretary of War. The functions of the Administrator of Labour are primarily to see that war industries and essential civilian industries have the labour supply to enable them to function adequately." (Hearings on War Policies, Part 2.) "The primary means of enforcing decisions of the labour administration will be the force of public opinion. . . ."

What will this public opinion be? "Public opinion is the

most potent force in war," declared MacArthur at the War Policies Hearings. This public opinion will be capitalist propaganda emanating from all its sources. Witness the present campaign on "National Defence Week" to ingrain in the minds of the masses war propaganda. "A director of public relations" will be appointed by the President when war comes, to mould "proper information" to the public. Herbert Swope, former editor of the "World" stated quite frankly what this public opinion will consist of: "Censorship and propaganda are the agencies of domination." (War Policies Hearings, Part 3.) In short, all freedom of speech and press will be muzzled and ruthlessly suppressed in the interest of imperialist war.

The Army Ordnance Association works in close co-operation with the Ordnance Division of the War Department to keep alive the "art" of manufacture of munitions. The association is a national organisation of leading representatives of industry and war to insure "industrial preparedness for war as our nation's strongest guarantee of peace." "Peace insurance" in this form is the slogan of the Army Ordnance Association. The recent meeting of the association held in December was addressed by Harry Woodring, Assistant Secretary of War:—

"We have a reasonably accurate knowledge of the capacity of our industries to meet those requirements, and we have allocated over 15,000 industrial facilities a definite task in the contemplated production programme. We have developed many concrete plans for the construction or conversion of facilities where necessary to meet our war needs and are progressing rapidly with the preparation of specification and specific procurement plans for thousands of items."

As a concrete example of what procurement planning means take the following: Usually the automobile is the principal topic when Detroit is mentioned, but it has been pointed out that in the event of another war the U.S. would rely on it for many other things besides cars.

"The government would turn immediately to 484 factories in the Detroit area for the manufacture of equipment and supplies. Fifty-four of these factories would be asked to turn out at once nearly 300,000,000 dollars worth of aircraft equipment—one-half of this to be planes and one-quarter to be engines."

This was the picture drawn by Major William H. Crom, chief of the industrial war plans section of the materials division of the Army Air Corps, reported in the New York "Times," June 14, 1931.

Woodring stressed the importance of the Pittsburg area in the army's plans for war. He said:—

"It is estimated that during the World War about 80 per cent. of all munitions steel came from the Pittsburg district and also that approximately 75 per cent. of bituminous coal consumed by munitions came from mines in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Ohio. . . . Nor are these the only measures of its importance in our plans. Its great rolling mills, its capacity for forging of every kind, and its facilities for the fabrication of many finished items are vital factors in our plans for war procurement."

This means that the fight against imperialist war, now and later, must be borne by the working class, especially that section which is centred in the steel, automobile, aviation, chemical, etc., industries.

Secretary Woodring further stated to the Army Ordnance Association that preparedness connotes not only plans for procurement items required by the army and navy, but it also includes the plans that will insure by essential manufacturing facilities an adequate supply of raw materials, labour, transportation.

"We who are interested in national defence," said Woodring, "must therefore pay particular attention to the present economic situation and to the various measures of the recovery programme as they affect the current activities of the army, especially our plans for industrial preparedness." As an example of this, Woodring stated that the procurement branch of the War Department is "busily engaged in supervising the procurement by the army of supplies for the C.C.C. (Civil Conservation Corps) Camps. Thus Woodring frankly admits the war character of the C.C.C., and describes how the army is testing its war organisation.

In a similar striking manner, the report of the House Appro-

priations Committee on the War Department's Supply Bill as it affects the Organised Reserves, states:—

... many reserve officers have been and still are on extended active duty with the C.C.C. On February 14th last, 5,139 reserve officers were on duty or had been on such duty. As the policy is to substitute regular officers almost entirely with the reserve officers in the C.C.C. camps, before the end of the year is up, a substantial increase will have occurred in the number of 5,139, and, as the camps have been extended until April, 1935, this demand for reserve officers will continue." ("Army and Navy Journal," March 17, 1934.)

General MacArthur devotes the first part of his annual report (1933) to the C.C.C. camps and its effect on army activity and readiness for emergency. MacArthur shows that the War Department has gained valuable experience in the mobilisation of the C.C.C. recruits. He compares this recruitment with the mobilisation and recruiting in 1917. The C.C.C. mobilisation has resulted in an increase in the number and efficiency of the regular officers as well as reserves. Says MacArthur:—

"To epitomise the military lessons of 1933 mobilisation, it has given renewed evidence of the value of systematic preparation for emergency, including the maintenance of trained personnel and suitable supplies, and the development of plans and policies applicable to a mobilisation. Particularly has it served to emphasise again the vital need for a strong corps of professional officers and for an efficient body of Commissioned Reserves."

Woodring further said:—

"The C.C.C. is, however, only one phase of the recovery programme in which we have a special interest from the viewpoint of industrial war planning. The various federal agencies that have been established under the A.A.A., the N.R.A., the Banking and Currency Acts, and the Transportation Acts, all find their counterpart in some form or another in our contemplated get-up for industrial mobilisation. Their purpose, their activities, their method of procurement, and, finally, the results obtained must be studied and evaluated so that we may apply their desirable features to our own (read war) plans."

Thus he openly describes the preparations for industrial mobilisation as including all plans of government supervision and co-ordination of industry, transportation, labour, finance.

As a striking example of what Woodring means by evaluating the desirable features of the New Deal legislation, consider the following facts: The Chemical Alliance, originally formed in 1918 to carry on the work of the chemical committee of the National Council of Defence, has been revived with the idea of co-ordinating the various divisions of the chemical industry for consideration of fundamental problems connected with the N.R.A. Although the Chemical Alliance had suspended its activities in 1919, its charter of incorporation had been retained for future needs. ("Journal of Commerce," August 1, 1933.)

Or take Roosevelt's recommendation for the creation of a unified Federal Communications Commission to supervise the radio, telephone, and telegraph. David Sarnoff, head of the R.C.A. and a reserve army officer, addressed the Army Industrial College in May, 1933, on "Communications Control in War," in which he said that the need exists for the establishment of a "single government agency" with sufficient power "to regulate American communication companies" in order to form a satisfactory plan for "co-ordination and prompt and efficient transfer of our communications facilities from a peace to war basis." Commenting on this proposal, the Joint Army and Navy Board on the set up of commercial communications system in their relations to national defence presented to the Senate I.C.C. (Interstate Commerce Commission) on the Administration plan to regulate telephone, telegraph, and radio companies, the following statement:—

"The commercial communications systems should be capable of being quickly and effectively placed under such governmental control as will meet the needs of national defence upon the outbreak of hostilities." ("Army and Navy Journal," March 17, 1934.)

The N.R.A. is a concrete measure to prepare for war. Both in its personnel and the organisational machinery, the N.R.A. will facilitate the transition to a war economy. The "Army and Navy Journal," March 10, 1934, reports that there are eight army men on the service of the N.R.A.

Out of the National Defence Act and the War Policies Board

which preceded it was evolved the idea of industrial mobilisation and war planning in peace times. Capt. Roy D. Burdick (also connected with the N.R.A. Administration) has written the following about Industrial Mobilisation in the "Military Engineer," March-April, 1934:—

"Even a cursory examination of the provisions of the Industrial Mobilisation Plan causes one to be impressed by their similarity to the measures being taken at the present time to meet a national economic emergency. While the objectives sought by a planned war economy and those which are being sought now are generally opposite in character, the methods and the machinery used are strikingly alike."

The Industrial Mobilisation Plan contemplates the creation of an emergency control establishment co-ordinate with the existing executive departments. This emergency establishment is made up of several agencies which, together with the Secretaries of War and the Navy, constitute an Advisory Defence Council. Such a council, acting with the permanent cabinet, provides the President with an advisory board to keep him informed expertly on every phase of the war effort.

The N.R.A. is Industrial Mobilisation for War on a grandiose scale. The State and economic machine have come closer together in such a way that the control and direction of industrial production, when war breaks out, can be in the hands of the Army General Staff within a very short time.

## Sweep the Warmongers Away!

By G. Friedrich (Prague)

To-day all imperialist States are arming quite openly. All talk about disarmament and disarmament conferences has become out of date. To-day the imperialists at most are discussing the limits to which the so-called victor and vanquished States can arm. But even these armaments limitations, fixed in various treaties and agreements, have long since been exceeded, and feverish preparations are being made for a new war.

To-day every worker must realise these facts and perceive what game is being carried on. Here we give only a few examples of how Czechoslovakia is arming and how manifold are the war preparations of the Czech imperialists. We will cite only the latest facts: Defence days, manoeuvres against air and gas attacks, for which the whole of the population and the various bourgeois and workers' organisations are mobilised, the Sokol (a Czech sport organisation) days, and, last but not least, the Olympiad of the reformist sports organisations, which is to be held in the Summer, serve these war preparations, serve the mobilisation of the whole population. At the same time the strengthening of the army is continued.

The Czechoslovakian military authorities are making use of the widespread unemployment in order to increase the trained cadres of the army. The Czechoslovakian Officers' League has approached the Minister for National Defence with the proposal that those reserve officers who are out of work should be given the possibility of remaining in the army. The number of these officers who in the years 1930-1933 were transferred to the reserve and are now unemployed is estimated at 4,000. These 4,000 reserve officers are to be trained as commanders.

In connection with the increase of military armaments in Czechoslovakia special police air detachments are to be formed. In order to render the whole of the State apparatus of oppression more efficient, steps are now being taken to reorganise the gendarmerie. The Ministry for the Interior has issued a new service regulation for the gendarmerie and taken over the complete control of this body.

The only industry which is flourishing in Czechoslovakia is the armament industry. The armament factories are fully employed, and the number of workers occupied in these factories is increasing. The Bruenn armament factory has received a new order for weapons for China. These weapons are to be used against the Chinese Red Army.

All the means of State of the bourgeoisie are being employed for the purpose of war preparations. Thus the Ministry for Education has issued a decree introducing military training in the secondary schools and teachers' training colleges. The most important provisions of this decree are:—

"Military training is a part of education in citizenship, is an organic constituent part of the educational work in the higher schools and teachers' colleges. The drill shall be on



the same lines as that in the army. The orders are also to be the same as in the army. The pupils are also to be instructed regarding the composition and organisation of the army, its importance for the defence of the fatherland and the duties of the citizen towards the army. The pupils in the highest classes shall be taught the rights and duties of the recruits. The girl pupils shall also be instructed regarding the most important questions of national defence. It is necessary to call the attention of the women to the functions of the Red Cross. This decree has been issued by the social-democratic Minister for Education, Derer.

It is quite a matter of course that, under these circumstances, all the reactionary counter-revolutionary elements and military organisations are coming forward. Thus the Czechoslovakian legionaries' association has decided to summon all its members, "voluntarily" of course, to military exercises in order to perfect their military knowledge. Not only that, the Russian emigrants in Czechoslovakia are allowed to recruit openly for the Japanese army. Thus Professors Ilijin and Curikov, the political heads of the Prague department of the Russian military association, arranged a series of lectures in Prague on the Far East. At these lectures the Russian white-guardists called for co-operation with Japan against the Soviet Union.

Of late the Czechoslovakian social democrats have not been able to put forward enough demands for the acceleration of war preparations: of course, only for the "protection of the democratic fatherland." Following the demand for the setting up of Labour Service camps, they are now demanding the strengthening of the frontier fortifications. The "Sozial-demokrat" of March 29 published a leading article under the title: Protect the frontiers by work and bread!

The Central Committee of the Czech social democratic party has issued an appeal addressed to the whole of the working people of Czechoslovakia dealing with the events in Austria. In this appeal the social democrats attempt to make use of the indignation of the Czechoslovakian workers against the Austrian fascists for purposes of war incitement. It is stated in the appeal:—

"It is necessary that the diplomacy of the big Powers comes into action. It is necessary that the League of Nations comes into action at once. It is necessary to exert pressure in Vienna as well as in Rome and Berlin and to resort to the most serious sanctions against those who, in the bargaining over the Austrian booty, put a spark to the powder-barrel of a new, terrible European war."

Thus, what the social democrats desire is not a fight against the imperialist war-inciters, but the intervention of the League of Nations. In other words, open intervention in Austria and Germany. All these facts throw a vivid light on the war preparations in Czechoslovakia.

It is necessary, on the basis of these facts, to show the workers the threatening danger of imperialist war and to mobilise them against it.

## The White Terror

### A Year of Fascist Terror and Class Struggle in Italy

By F. Furini

In the year 1932 Musolini's special courts sentenced 241 anti-fascists to a total of 1,765 years' hard labour, and two were sentenced to death. Among those sentenced were 204 Communists, members of the C.P. and of the Y.C.L., 24 members of Slovenian national revolutionary associations, an anarchist, 9 members of the left-democratic-socialist association, "*Giustizia e Libertà*," and five persons whose political beliefs were not known.

In October, 1932, after fascism had been in power for ten years, the fascist government proclaimed a sham amnesty. But the special courts were no less busy trying anti-fascist toilers who undauntedly continued the struggle under the leadership of the C.P. of Italy.

The official reintroduction of the Special Court took place in March, 1933. It carried through 28 trials in the course of one year (from March, 1933, to March, 1934). The number of accused was 108, 102 of whom were sentenced to a total of 791 years,

thus averaging eight years for each of the accused. Among those sentenced to imprisonment were 88 Communists, 63 adherents of "*Giustizia e Libertà*," 4 New Guelfs (an anti-fascist Catholic group), and finally six, whose political tendencies were not known. In the first three months of 1934 alone, 41 accused were sentenced to a total of 370 years' imprisonment. It was in this manner that the fascist "elections" were prepared.

Among the Communists who were sentenced to imprisonment were ten who had already spent several years in prison or in banishment. *Putinato*, a Communist from Ferrera, who had already been sentenced to 16 years' hard labour, has now been condemned for the third time by the Special Court. *Ilio Bosi*, a member of the C.C. of the Y.C.L., who had been at "liberty" for six months after having already spent six years in prison, has again been sentenced to 16 years' hard labour. *Giancarlo Pajetta*, also a member of the C.C. of the Y.C.L., who in the year 1928 was sentenced to two years' imprisonment, has now again been sentenced to 21 years' hard labour merely for Communist propaganda and organising the Y.C.L.

The various trials are closely linked up with episodes of the proletarian struggle against fascism. We give below some facts culled from press reports of the fascist police (Ovra) on the trials:

"The police in *Bologna* discovered in July that an anti-fascist organisation had been formed in the town and province, which spread appeals calling on the workers not to pay any contributions to the fascist trade unions. Other leaflets incited the population to revolution and to struggle against the employers for increased wages. These leaflets were distributed in several factories."

The Ovra does not state that the Communist cell of the Bega furniture factory had organised a movement against the reduction of wages and published a factory newspaper, which was enthusiastically received by the masses. In connection with these actions four workers were sentenced to a total of 33 years' imprisonment.—A report from *Milan*.

"In March the Political Police discovered a centre of the anti-fascist movement and arrested some couriers of the criminal association, on whom anti-national propaganda material was found."

Result: six workers condemned to a total of 55 years' imprisonment! The work of these couriers was so effective that the secretary of the fascist trade unions of Milan, at a big meeting which the workers of a whole group of factories were forced to attend, was compelled to attempt to refute the contents of the Communist leaflets. An official communique of the trade unions stated that there was no question of wage-cuts. At the same time the slogan of struggle against the wage-cuts even penetrated the conference of the fascist metal workers' union. All this led to the mobilisation of the police, who arrested hundreds of workers, many of whom were sent into exile.

In the report of the trial on account of the Communist activity in the Viella district (in the province of Vercelli), the centre of the Italian wool industry, it is stated:

"The police discovered that, especially in the neighbourhood of *Santhia* and *Tronzano*, several persons conducted an anti-national activity and secretly distributed printed propaganda material. Closer investigation revealed that an anti-national movement had been organised in Vercelli, that secret meetings were held in order to win new recruits and to distribute the press."

Result: two persons sentenced to ten years' hard labour.

*Gaetano Chiarini*, a Communist, who had already spent five years in exile, was charged with having organised the secretariat of the Central Committee of the anti-fascist youth in the house of an unsuspected person. He was sentenced to twelve years' hard labour.

Let us now turn to the districts "liberated" by the war. It is stated in one of the reports:—

"In March the police were informed that anti-national

leaflets had been found in the *Cotonificio Veneziano* factory (Venetian cotton factory) in Aidussina. Upon investigation it was discovered that a criminal movement had been organised in the province of *Gorizia*.

Three of the accused were sentenced to a total of 26 years' hard labour.

The province of *Reggio Emilia*, which was once a stronghold of reformism, is becoming a Communist province. Therefore 300 arrests were recently carried out and sentences aggregating 218 years' imprisonment passed on 27 of the accused. The charges brought included propaganda for and organisation of the C.P. and the Y.C.L.

Young Communists of Livorno "are uniting in order to print and distribute large quantities of leaflets of an anti-national tendency." As the four young Communists who were brought to trial are still under age, they were sentenced to a total of "only" seven years' imprisonment. But the police did not report that this trial was in connection with a big political, outspokenly Communist demonstration, attended by 3,000 workers, which took place at the funeral of a Communist who had spent several years in prison and died immediately after his release.

Workers who had returned from emigration in France were placed in the dock and charged with "having conducted an anti-national activity by spreading criminal literature." Thirteen workers were sentenced to a total of 70 years' hard labour.

The latest trial is that in *Ferrera*, where the reformists formerly wielded great influence. Now the Communists are beginning to win the masses of this province. The police report on the trial states:—

"The police noticed in the province and town of Ferrera a certain revival of the criminal activity, expressed in the distribution of anti-national pamphlets."

The trial resulted in 12 sentences aggregating 99 years. But the police did not mention that in the province of Ferrera great movements of agricultural workers and unemployed had broken out, which in several places led to the burning of manor houses, storming of barracks of the carabinieri and release of arrested workers. In these movements the Communists played an active rôle.

The counter-revolutionary *Trotsky*, like the fascists, does not mention the fact that almost all those workers sentenced by the Special Court are Communists. He praises the liberal-bourgeois organisation, "Giustizia e Libertà," which is also entrusted by the Socialist Party with work in Italy. According to Trotsky's statement, the liberal-bourgeois and the social-fascists are playing a dominating rôle in the anti-fascist struggle in Italy, owing to the destruction of the C.P.I. by Stalinism. The above cited facts, however, clearly show that the C.P.I. and the Y.C.L. have the hegemony in the anti-fascist struggle.

The petty-bourgeois of the "Giustizia e Libertà," with rare exceptions, behaved like cowards before the Special Court. Their declarations of repentance were broadcasted by the whole of the fascist press. The leaders of this organisation in emigration, however, dissociated themselves in a cowardly manner from the acts of desperation committed by their followers.

The number of persons sentenced to imprisonment declined in 1933 compared with 1932, but this does not mean that the number of imprisoned persons has declined. There are at present more than 1,000 Communists in prison awaiting trial. In addition, there are the people in exile, whose number is steadily increasing, as the fascists want to make out that the number of trials taking place is but few. Hundreds of acquitted Communists are not released but sent into exile to the death-bringing islands of the Tyrrhenian Sea, where there is not even water.

Fascist repression is increasing, but at the same time the anti-fascist struggle of the proletariat and of the toilers is rising. The international solidarity of the proletariat must support the anti-fascist struggle, which is being conducted under the leadership of the C.P. of Italy.

## Canadian Labour Defence Victory

By Sasha Small (New York)

The Canadian Labour Defence League has recently won a very great victory against the forces of ruling-class justice. Not satisfied with their infamous Section 98, which made the crushing of the Canadian Communist Party possible, which was responsible for sending eight of the leaders of the Canadian working class to Kingston Penitentiary, the Canadian ruling class, vassals of British imperialism, tried to behead the militant defence movement by charging the national secretary of the C.L.D.L., A. E. Smith, with "sedition."

But the 43,000 members of the C.L.D.L. immediately swung into action, a huge wave of mass protest swept the country. Wm. L. Patterson, national secretary of the American I.L.D., went to Canada to speak at a mass protest demonstration pledging international solidarity, but was deported from the Canadian border. The American I.L.D. also sent one of its leading attorneys, Leo Gallagher, just returned from a European tour in behalf of the Reichstag trial defendants.

The protest meeting at which Patterson was scheduled to speak was an overflow meeting. More than 2,000 workers were turned away, and these assembled sent the following protest resolution to the imperialist Bennett:—

"We view this act as another instance of the attempt of the governmental authorities to prevent organisation of defence in the Smith trial. We demand that the order of deportation against Comrade Patterson be rescinded, and that he be permitted to enter this country any time he or the labour organisations deem it advisable."

The same determination to hamper the defence was shown when the immigration authorities attempted to turn Gallagher back from the border on the ground that his entry would violate the "contract labour" clause in the immigration law. But Gallagher was admitted. And the jury was forced to bring in a verdict of "not guilty."

A. E. Smith was charged with "uttering seditious words." The seditious words in question were uttered on November 17, 1933, when a delegation, elected by the Eastern Canada Congress for Repeal of Section 98, went to Ottawa to lay its demands before Premier Bennett. Among the demands were cancellation of the deportation of Tom Cacic to fascist Yugoslavia, recognition of political prisoners and improved treatment, investigation into Kingston prison by a delegation from the Congress and indictment of those responsible for the attempt on Tim Buck's life. When Smith introduced the delegation he said: "Our language may not be diplomatic, but it is the language of the working class." Mr. Bennett grew very angry. While the delegation was speaking, Mr. Bennett pointed at Smith and said: "I don't want to hear from you. Show him out. An agitator who stands behind other people and saves his own skin." The delegation was thrown out.

In all these charges of sedition, the government never for one moment denied that Tim Buck was fired at in his prison cell at Kingston prison on October 20, 1932. Last July, when Tim Buck was on trial charged with being responsible for the riot in Kingston Penitentiary, he shouted at one of the crown witnesses—a prison guard: "Mr. Henderson, were you one of the men who attempted to murder me in my cell?" It was not denied.

Preparation was made beforehand to prevent the truth of the attempt on Buck's life to be brought into Smith's defence.

The C.L.D.L. sharply put the issues involved before the Canadian masses. It showed in the leaflets and resolutions it issued that the issue at stake was the endangered life of working-class leaders in jail.

The Bennett government made no attempt to disprove its responsibility. It made only the attempt to railroad A. E. Smith to jail, where they already hold Tim Buck, Tom Ewen, Tom Cacic, Malcolm Bruce, Sam Carr, John Boychuk, Matthew Popovich, Tim Hill. The Bennett government wanted only to break the mighty defence organisation of the Canadian working class—an organisation which has carried through several nation-wide defence congresses demanding the repeal of the hateful and notorious Section 98; which has collected 459,000 endorsements of the Repeal Campaign, including 118 trade union locals; which handled some 1,000 arrests in the year 1933, the greatest majority of which resulted in victory for the C.L.D.L.; which issued 5,000,000 leaflets in the Tim Buck case alone. Taking only one example of

its work, given in the report at its first representative National Convention, it is easy to see why the Bennett government should be especially determined to crush this militant defence organisation:—

“Another interesting episode in Vancouver work: We organised national demonstrations throughout the country against the Tim Buck frame-up on February 20. The Vancouver D.C.C. responded immediately to the instructions of the N.E.C., arranged demonstrations and held mass meetings in four halls. While the meetings were in session, word came that a whole batch of scabs were being brought through the docks to Vancouver harbour to go to Anyox, where the strike was on. Word was passed around and the committee got together and very quickly decided that the meeting should disband, go down to the docks and see that the scabs did not go to Anyox. This was done. A big scrap took place at the docks, a number of police were the worse for the experience, and when the scabs were routed, the workers came back to the halls and finished their meetings. Here you have the real C.L.D.L. participating in strike struggles.”

The C.L.D.L. won a great victory in the Smith case. The courtroom was jammed each day of the trial. The judge was loaded with protest telegrams and resolutions from every corner of Canada. A. E. Smith defended himself with the aid of several outstanding attorneys. The C.L.D.L. has correctly estimated this victory. They have shown that it was not due to any imaginary “fairness of capitalist justice,” but due to the intense radicalisation of the masses, the great mass pressure developed by the C.L.D.L., not only among the workers, but also among sections of the middle class; the beginning of real unity in the ranks of the workers, despite the sabotage of the reformist leaders. They are determined to utilise this victory to strengthen the defence struggle on all fronts, to treble their membership and influence, and to force the release of all class-war prisoners.

## Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

### Soviet Spring, 1934

By Our Special Correspondent, L. F. Boross (Moscow)

When, in the last few years, one spoke of the Soviet Spring one thought mainly of agriculture. The sowing campaigns of the last four years were exciting affairs, were tests of the young collective-farm order. Specially important in this respect was last Spring, which was a sort of test of the maturity of collectivisation. The magnificent record harvest of last Autumn testified to the maturity of socialist agriculture.

To-day, socialist agriculture is continuing its advance outwardly more calmly, because more regularly, but actually much more quickly than last year. The tempo of sowing—which under the climatic conditions of the main districts of Soviet agriculture is the most important prerequisite for a good harvest—was twice as rapid this year as last year. Much which last year was still new has this year become an indispensable constituent part of the collective village. Who can imagine a collective village to-day without a Bolshevik Political Department, which teaches the collective peasants to achieve victory, to work in a new way and to live in a new way? Under its leadership hundreds of thousands of new shock-brigaders have learnt to work in a Bolshevik manner. To the masses of shock-brigaders in the field work there are now being added the masses of shock-brigaders in socialist cattle breeding. State and co-operative stores, well stocked with goods, are arising everywhere, converting the right of the collective peasants, acquired by honest, self-sacrificing work, to a prosperous life into palpable reality in the shape of good clothes, household articles, furniture, bicycles, musical instruments, books, cakes and pastry, toilet requisites, and numerous other articles of daily use.

Industry is likewise achieving hitherto unattained records. The whole of the Soviet Union to-day constitutes a miracle of proletarian creative force. In the Moscow Polytechnical Museum there are exhibited samples and models of those industrial products which were not produced in the Soviet Union before the Five-Year Plan, but whose production is to-day mastered by the Soviet proletariat. The following figure conveys more than would long tables of statistics:—

A cursory view of the exhibits, beginning with the stratosphere gondola, passing to machines for mining, work-benches, locomotive construction, machine-tools, textile machinery, gold-mining machinery, automobiles, measuring instruments, optical instruments, agricultural machines, up to the models of the new giants of the chemical industry—this cursory inspection, without a pause, lasts ten hours.

The masses of the workers who rule the country are not only conquering technique, but also acquiring the highest scientific knowledge. There is taking place at present at the Moscow University a conference of young scientists. From the Moscow district alone there are gathered together 1,500 savants, all of whom are under thirty years of age. They are for the most part sons and daughters of workers and peasants. Had there been no revolution most of them would have remained illiterate. Now the first steps of these talented young proletarians, who have been promoted by the whole power of the ruling working class and have made discoveries of world-wide importance and accomplished other scientific work, are arousing astonishment.

If one then visits the factory dining-rooms, the factory stores, sport grounds, cafés and cinemas, as well as all the public shops and stores, theatres, concert and lecture halls, convalescent homes, etc., and also the workers in their own homes, then one sees that the workers are not only producing goods, but also know how to enjoy what they have produced.

Although the development towards the life of general prosperity is not proceeding at a uniform pace, nevertheless the whole mass of the working population is filled with a sense of absolute security and certainty with regard to the future. Millions of people are living incomparably better than yesterday and in the consciousness that what they still lack to-day they will have tomorrow. And why not? They are producing the things themselves, and what they produce they produce for themselves.

The socialist planned economy is also entering a new higher phase. The plans which are laid down are now guaranteed by the whole of the public. If, perchance, the building of the Moscow underground railway is lagging behind somewhat, if there is a shortage of workers, then the whole of Moscow hastens to give aid. Hundreds and thousands of Moscow workers and employees, from the highest Party and State leaders to the smallest errand-boy, world-famous professors and young students, directors and charwomen, engineers and workers, Moscow proletarians and representatives of the foreign working class who happen to be staying in Moscow, flock in their free time to the places where the underground railway is being constructed, carry stones, shovel sand, mix cement, for their own underground railway, lustily singing and joking the while. Five years after the first socialist competition agreement, the socialist attitude to work, to common property, has already become characteristic of the whole of the toilers.

Not only has work become a matter of fame, honour, and heroism, but there prevails a downright hunger for new and ever-greater creations. The staff of the Magnitogorsk smelting works had hardly brought in the proposal for the issue of a new loan when the workers of the whole country took up the idea with the greatest enthusiasm. In Moscow and other towns nearly all the workers subscribed three weeks' or a month's wages or even more to the loan already on the first day. The loan is being subscribed to with equal enthusiasm by the collective farm peasants. It is not a question of magnanimously contributing to something in which they are not immediately interested, or, as in the capitalist countries, covering the financial deficit at the cost of the toilers, but of consciously investing capital which will return “interest,” partly in the next few months, partly in the next year or so—in the shape of new articles of mass consumption—new workers' dwellings, new schools, workers' sanatoria, kindergartens, etc. The enthusiasm with which the loan is taken up is an indication that all workers have realised this fact; it is an indication of the socialist consciousness of the broad masses who, as a result of their every-day experience, have become convinced that everything in the country belongs to them, that in lending to the proletarian State they are benefiting themselves, that in addition to all the new goods which they can themselves produce with the aid of the loans, they will be punctually repaid what they have lent. This is the most characteristic feature of the new socialist life in the Soviet Union.

Only thus it is possible to understand the great event of this Spring, which has aroused the attention of the whole world: the

heroic rescue of the members of the Cheliuskin expedition. Every social epoch has its self-sacrificing heroes. But the heroism in the Soviet Arctic is something fundamentally different from this individual heroism. A whole number of airmen risked their lives several times a day in order to save their comrades. More than a hundred shipwrecked men and women who lived for two months on an ice floe, with death threatening them every minute, continued their organised socialist life. They continued to hold Party meetings, study the reports of the Seventeenth Party Congress transmitted to them over the wireless, and maintained splendid discipline. For them the fulfilment of every-day socialist duty was not a burden, but an integral part of their life. While stranded on the ice in the Far North they still felt themselves to be soldiers of the world revolution. The few messages they were able to send with the wireless apparatus were used not to call for help, but to ask for more detailed news regarding the fight of their class brothers in Austria. This was nothing else but the consciousness that they occupied an advanced post at the revolutionary front, that the interest of the socialist community is their own interest, and just as they were fulfilling their duty, so the Soviet proletariat would fulfil its duty towards them.

In the capitalist countries the wage slaves are rising more and more against the unbearable misery. They are heroically sacrificing their lives in the fight for socialism, for the only possible way out, which the example of the Soviet power shows them, for the only life which is worth living and which is worth fighting for. In the Soviet country, however, the working people are already joyfully advancing on their victorious, sunlit socialist path to new heights. The masses inhabiting the Soviet Union wish to live no other life than a life of fight and struggle for socialism. They are defending it against the hostile forces of Nature just as they do against the hostile class forces, with a determination—as a bourgeois newspaper expressed it—in the face of which even death is impotent. Every imperialist Power which is preparing to attack the Soviet Union must reckon with this death-defying determination of the masses, numbering millions, who are successfully building up socialism, and also with the determination of the revolutionary masses in the capitalist countries who are fighting for socialism, for the Soviet power.

## The Week in the Soviet Union

### The Subscriptions to the New Soviet Loan

The new Soviet loan of the Second Five-Year Plan, amounting to 3.5 milliard roubles, is being subscribed to with unexampled enthusiasm by the workers and collective farmers as well as by the foreign workers, specialists and toiling intellectuals throughout the whole Union. The magnificent response in the first few days after its issue are the best proof of this enthusiasm.

Already on the first day, in the big industrial towns, the sums subscribed to the loan far surpassed those in the case of former loans. In Moscow 286,563,000 roubles were subscribed. In Cheljabinsk the toilers subscribed on a single day 6 million roubles, of which 2.5 million alone came from the workers of the tractor factory. In Beresniki on the first day 1.5 million roubles were subscribed, chiefly by the workers of the chemical combine. The workers of Rostov gave to the State on a single day 8 million roubles, those of Stalinsk 1.2 million, of Yaroslavl 7.3 millions, etc. Most of the workers subscribed a whole month's wages.

The foreign workers of the Moscow ball-bearing works actively participated in the realisation of the loan. The total monthly wages of these foreign workers amount to 16,167 roubles, but they subscribed the sum of 17,470 roubles, thus more than a month's wages.

The most prominent scientists of the Soviet Union and members of the Academy of Science addressed an appeal to all scientific workers to participate with all their energies in the realisation of the new loan. In their appeal they point out that the investigation of the stratosphere, the conquest of the North (Cheliuskin),

the splendid constructive work in all spheres of technique and science, has been accomplished solely with the means of the workers themselves and will be developed further only with these means.

In the rural districts the loan is being subscribed to with no less eagerness than in the industrial centres.

There is no doubt that the loan will be over-subscribed in a short time. Proletarian Kharkov closed its subscription lists on April 19. In the Kharkov district 65,480,000 roubles have been subscribed.

### Splendid Success of the Sowing Campaign

The Ukraine, the most important grain-growing district of the Soviet Union, completed the sowing of early grain on April 18, and on this day surpassed the plan. Five million seven hundred and sixty thousand five hundred hectares have been sown with early grain. The sowing of later grain and sugar beets is in full swing and will in all probability be completed by May 1.

On April 10, 13.4 million hectares were sown with grain in the whole of the Soviet Union; that is twice as much as on the same day last year. This year the sowing campaign in the Dniepropetrovsk district shows the best results.

### Further Progress of the Iron and Steel Industry

As already reported, in the past few weeks there has been a remarkable progress in the smelting industry of the Soviet Union. Following the good results achieved in the last weeks of March, a further increase in the production of pig iron and steel is to be recorded in the first ten days of April. The average daily output increased to 27,600 tons, compared with 27,300 tons at the end of March. The average output of steel increased from 25,000 tons at the end of March to 25,700 tons. The output of pig iron on April 10 was 28,700 tons, and that of steel 27,200 tons; that is to say, on this day the production plan for pig iron (27,400 tons) was carried out 100.6 per cent., and that of steel (26,800 tons) 97.1 per cent. On April 12 a new production record was achieved by the smelting industry, as on this day the smelting works of the Union delivered 29,042 tons of pig iron.

### Anniversary of the Blood-Bath in the Lena Gold Fields

On April 17, a big demonstration was held at the place where, in 1912, the blood-bath was carried out among the workers of the Lena gold fields. There are still old miners who tell of the experiences at that time and compare their situation now with what it was under capitalist rule. The Lena workers have fulfilled the gold production plan in the first part of April to 103 per cent. At the demonstration they took a solemn oath to hold aloft the banner of Lenin and Stalin and by good work to show themselves worthy of the heroes of Lena.

### For the Artistic Education of the Child

From April 12 to 15 there was held in Moscow a conference of the dramatists and writers of the children's theatre. The conference dealt with the problems of dramatic literature and dramatic art for the youth. A particularly lively discussion arose on the character of the new children's fairy stories. Most of the speakers agreed that the production of dramas for the children is lagging behind.

The conference declared that it was necessary that critics should deal systematically and seriously with the children's theatre. The latest efforts of the central theatre for the youth, which achieved a great success with the production of Calderón's play, "I am my own Guardian," came in for special praise. The possibility of utilising the classic repertoire in the children's theatre was also discussed. In no other country in the world are the problems of the artistic education of the youth dealt with so thoroughly and seriously as in the Soviet Union.

Published weekly. Single copies, 2d. Subscription rates: Great Britain and Dominions, 12s. per year; U.S.A. and Canada, five dollars per year. Remittance in STERLING per International Money Order, Postal Order or Sight Draft on London.

Published by UNTHANKS BOOKSHOP, 370, High Road, Willesden, London, N.W.10, and Printed by THE MARSTON PRINTING CO. (T.U.), 44, Worship Street, London, E.C.2.