

INTERNATIONAL PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 14 No. 41

27th July, 1934

CONTENTS

Politics	
Foreign Political Review of the Week	1046
Ed. Stark: The Re-Formation of the Dollfuss Government	1047
Fifteen Months of the "New Deal"	1048
Germany	
Fritz Heckert: What is Happening in Germany?	1049
Hunger is Approaching	1051
The International Campaign for the Release of Thaelmann	1052
Great Britain	
Peaceful Talks and Warlike Actions	1053
For Unity of Action of the Working Class	
J. Berlioz: The S.P. of France Adopts the Proposals for Unity	1055
D. F. Springhall: The Struggle for the United Front in Great Britain	1056
G. Friedrich: The Offer of Unity of Action by the C.P. of Czechoslovakia	1057
The Labour Movement	
A. G. Bosse: The Battle of Toledo	1058
F. C.: In Support of the Striking Workers of Verviers ..	1059
Fight Against War and Fascism	
Marcel Cachin: The International Women's Congress and Unity of Action	1059
H. Gruenwald: The I.R.A. and the International Women's Congress	1060
S. Angaretis: War Preparations in Lithuania	1061
The White Terror	
J. Avar: Rakosi in Prison	1061
The Legal Lynch Murder of the Scottsboro Boys Fixed for August 31	1062
Afghan Governmental Barbarism in the Service of British Imperialism	1062
Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union	
L. F. Boross: The Power of Collective Work	1063
Twenty Years Ago	
The Twentieth Anniversary of the First Imperialist World War (Conclusion)	1064
Book Review	
R. Page Arnot, R. Palme Dutt: Fascism and Social Revolution	1072

Twenty Years Ago—And To-day

Although the years before the war had seen a fierce armament race, whose speed had continually increased so that one could almost mathematically calculate the day on which the guns would finally go off, although since the first Balkan War in 1912 South Eastern Europe had been a storm centre over which heavy clouds continually riven by warning lightning hung, and although every day after the assassination at Serajevo serious steps on the part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire against Serbia were expected, nevertheless, the great mass of the population of Central and Western Europe did not believe up to the last moment that a war could actually take place between the so-called civilised peoples. All the more easily, therefore, did they finally fall victim to the propaganda of the authorities. They followed the mobilisation orders without resistance, and the majority of them were even caught up in the war fever.

However, apart from these masses there were other sections of the population who, although they were overwhelmed by the rapid march of events, still did not lose their heads and become rabid patriots. For these sections of the population there was still one hope, the *international social democracy*. If the international social democracy had stood by its own past and had rejected the war credits, even that without any further actions on its part would have been sufficient to open the first breach in the united nationalist front, and at that a breach which it would have been impossible to heal. Instead of that, however, the international social democracy committed shameful treachery, and only then was the whole population of the belligerent countries handed over helplessly as the cannon-fodder of imperialism.

To-day the masses of the population no longer harbour the illusions about peace they harboured in 1914. There are, it is true, very many who underestimate the danger of war, but there

are none who consider war to be impossible. However, this does not mean that the bourgeoisie will not be able to sweep the masses off their feet when war does come again, and there is no doubt that the Communist Parties will be hard put to it, but one thing is quite certain, and that is that when the next war breaks out the *Communist International* will not offer the same pitiable spectacle as was shown by the Second International twenty years ago. The bourgeoisie will not even be able to carry out the mobilisation as easily as it did twenty years ago, and in any case it will not have the advantage of civil peace. Without fear of exaggeration we can certainly count of *this difference* between the situation to-day and the situation twenty years ago.

If the international social democracy had done its duty in 1914, if it had utilised the crisis caused by the outbreak of war for the overthrow of capitalism, as decided at the congresses of Stuttgart and Basle, then to-day we should have had not only *one* Soviet Union, surrounded by powerful imperialist States. At the end of the war, and for a long time afterwards, the situation was very favourable for the international overthrow of the bourgeoisie. It was the result of the base treachery committed in 1914 that the international social democracy, which had supported the imperialist bourgeoisie throughout the war, became after the war the chief weapon of the bourgeoisie for crushing the proletarian revolution, disrupting the ranks of the proletariat, demoralising the fighting spirit of the workers, preparing the way for fascism, and finally becoming the lackey of fascism. Without Noske and Severing, without Renner and Dashinski, there would have been no Hitler, no Dollfuss, no Pilsudski, etc. Capitalism, even under its democratic mask, means the suppression of the working class and a constant danger of war, but when capitalism throws off the

mask and appears in its fascist form, then it becomes the real scourge of humanity.

The tragic events in Germany and Austria have now opened the eyes of millions of workers who were still in the camp of the social democracy, and persuaded them to lend a willing ear to the propaganda of the Communists who have repeatedly appealed to them for a united fighting front. In *Austria* and in *Germany* social democratic and Communist workers have since come together under tremendously difficult conditions to conduct a joint struggle against fascism. In *France* and in the *Saar district*, countries with strongly fascist tendencies, they have come to definite agreements for the conduct of the anti-fascist struggle, and thus tremendously increased their potential fighting power. There is no need for us to harbour any illusions. Great difficulties will still have to be overcome before we can secure the maximum utilisation of the strength of the working class in the struggle against fascism. There are still enough leaders in the social democracy, and particularly in the reformist trade unions, who are anxious to sabotage the united front. However, the masses are awake, they feel what tremendous power is in their hands when they are united in action, and they will drive forward those who would gladly hang back. In *Czechoslovakia* and in *Switzerland*, where the Communist Parties have made united front proposals, the leaders of the social democratic parties have rejected them. However, the Communists will not diminish their efforts until in these two countries also a united fighting front against fascism is formed. With this a new and hopeful chapter in the history of the class struggle will be opened up.

It is not true, that the victory of fascism is inevitable everywhere, and it is also not true that a new imperialist war and a counter-revolutionary intervention against the Soviet Union are inevitable. It the workers go into the struggle with united forces, and if they succeed in winning over to their side the masses of the petty-bourgeoisie and the peasantry, then they can block the way to the advance of fascism and prevent imperialist war. Let us not forget that in the rapid march of events in the years 1932-33 in *Germany* and in *Austria*, whenever the Communists appealed for a struggle at any particularly decisive point, the slogan of the social democracy was: Do not let yourselves be drawn into a fight. Reject the slogan of the general strike. And just for this reason the fascists were able to be successful. The united fighting front must and will show other results. Further, the bourgeoisie itself is not absolute master of war and peace. The bourgeoisie also is compelled to take the pressure of the masses into account or it would long ago have attacked the Soviet Union.

If we compare to-day with the situation twenty years ago we see that the attitude of the bourgeoisie has not changed much. The bourgeoisie is equipped for war now as it was then; indeed, it is far better equipped for war to-day than it was twenty years ago. However, a tremendous difference in the situation is that to-day there is a *powerful workers and peasants state*, where twenty years ago there was the *Tsarist Empire*; there is a strong bulwark of peace and socialism, a country which is the hope and pride of the international proletariat, instead of one of the main inciters of war.

If the Soviet Union receives the necessary support for its policy of peace from a *united fighting front* of the international working class then we need not worry.

The events of 1914 will not repeat themselves to-day.

Women's Conference in Poland

Warsaw, July 21.

The campaign for the International Women's Congress has aroused widespread echoes in Poland. On June 29 a great meeting against war and fascism was held by the women of Warsaw. On July 5 this was followed by a **Women's Conference**, attended by delegates from the most important towns and from numerous trade union organisations. At this conference seven delegates were elected, three from Warsaw and Lodz, one from East Ukraine, one from Polish White Russia, one woman agricultural worker, and one intellectual.

Politics

Foreign Political Review of the Week

Like the speech delivered by Hess, the immediate representative of "the leader," in Koenigsberg, the speech of *Hitler* on July 14th was intended to be a diversion from the events of June 30th, a diversion with the assistance of foreign political excursions. However, on the very same day the British Foreign Minister, *Sir John Simon*, declared himself in favour of the Eastern Locarno, and his example was followed by *Mussolini*, not only that, but the British House of Commons unanimously supported the proposal. As a result *Hitler's* plans were foiled, and he had to put on the old record of abusing his predecessors. Like master like man, and the German press, which up to July 15th had conducted a furious campaign against *Barthou*, suddenly dropped it. Only later did it recover its voice and begin to argue, and its arguments were dictated by embarrassment.

The proposed *Locarno Pact* is to guarantee the existing frontiers of the Baltic countries, of *Czechoslovakia*, of the Soviet Union, and naturally of *Germany* also, and in consequence the whole plan is diametrically opposed to national socialist foreign policy. National socialism in *Germany* aims at whipping up the predatory instincts of the German bourgeoisie and of all those Germans who share its views. It proposes the foundation of a huge German empire at the cost of the "backward races," and it hopes to win even the working class over to this ideology of conquest and to persuade it to abandon its historic right to take over the means of production and distribution and to abolish the exploitation of man by man. The German workers are, instead, called upon to assist in the oppression and exploitation of others, whereby they would receive a fraction of the extra-profits expected to accrue from such an undertaking whilst themselves consenting willingly to remain further an object of exploitation for the German bourgeoisie. The conclusion of a temporary pact of non-aggression with *Poland*, whereby the latter's frontiers would be guaranteed, represents a big hindrance to national socialist foreign policy, but the prospect of partitioning the *Ukraine* in company with *Poland* offered a sufficient compensation, all the more so as the carrying out of any such operation would tremendously strengthen *Germany's* position towards *Poland* in the event of subsequent conflicts (the way to the corridor can also go through the *Ukraine*, is the idea in the back of *Rosenberg's* mind), quite apart from the fact that the conclusion of such a pact with *Poland* would immediately strengthen *Germany's* position towards *France* and the *Little Entente* and at the same time remove one of the chief obstacles, namely *Poland*, from the path of *Germany's* expansionist urge towards *Austria*. On the other hand, the conclusion of the Eastern Locarno, no matter with how many *arrière pensées* the signatories might provide themselves with, would be a tremendous blow at the robber plans of the national socialists, and for this reason *Hitler* is obstinately opposed to the proposed pact and closes his ears to the advice even of those who have been his best friends in the European alignment up to the present, namely, *Great Britain* and *Italy*.

The diplomatic statement explaining *Germany's* refusal is to be given shortly by *Neurath*. Naturally, *Germany* will refuse to join in purely on account of its love of peace, and not because it is unwilling to guarantee the frontiers of the Soviet Union jointly with other powers, although it is plain that the whole aim and hope of national socialist foreign policy is to violate these frontiers. Up to the present the German Foreign Office has made two chief objections to the proposed pact, via the slave press of *Germany*. The first objection is: The proposed Eastern Locarno provides for military sanctions. If *Germany* became a party to it *Germany* might very easily, as a result of its central position, become the arena of war, or at least the corridor for the passage of foreign troops. However, the main aim of the Eastern Locarno pact, its very essence, in fact, is to prevent any possibility of war, to prevent the frontiers of the Soviet Union, of the Baltic States, of *Poland* and *Czechoslovakia* becoming an arena of war. Who would be likely to attack if *Germany* did not? This first argument has since been dropped, obviously because it is somewhat too clumsy, and the *Voelkischer Beobachter* declares that the proposed Eastern Locarno is a manoeuvre on the part of *France* to cloak its efforts to secure hegemony in Europe. This argument is apparently a hint to *Great Britain* and *Italy* not

let themselves be misused by France. The *Voelkischer Beobachter* goes even further and declares that the proposed pact is intended as a cloak for the "military alliance" of France with the Soviet Union. If there is to be any pact, declare the national socialists, then let it be a pact between Germany and France. That is the latest argument of the chief newspaper of the national socialists. Now the proposed Eastern Locarno has about as much to do with a "military alliance" as say national socialism has to do with socialism. The world is now waiting to hear what Neurath has to say to explain why Germany rejects any sort of agreement (first of all the Baltic Pact and now the Eastern Locarno), which would make it more difficult for Germany to attack the Soviet Union in alliance with Poland in the event of a Japanese drive against the Soviet Union in the Far East.

It is generally known that Germany is not alone in its deadly hatred of the Soviet Union. During his stay in Warsaw *Barthou* was able to convince himself of the direction in which Poland's real hopes lie. Poland refused to support *Litvinov's proposal* for an Eastern Pact, and it has not abandoned its opposition since Great Britain and Italy have declared themselves in favour of it. However, not only is Poland opposed to the pact, but it is inciting others against the pact too. The Polish Foreign Minister *Beck* utilised a courtesy visit to Estonia and Latvia in order to mobilise these countries against the pact also. These two Baltic States have in fact every interest in the maintenance of peace, because any sort of military operations would place their very existence in serious danger. However, the governments of both these countries are so-called authoritative governments, civil war governments established against the working people at home. They are filled with hatred of the Soviet Union, and prepared for even dangerous adventures. Small wonder therefore that immediately the pact proposal was broached the government in *Riga* had objections to make. *Beck* is also reported to have awakened similar objections to the proposed pact during his visit to *Thallin*. His journey did not take him to *Kovno*, for Lithuania does not maintain diplomatic relations with Poland. However, it is now reported that a Polish delegation is to visit Lithuania, not in order to re-establish normal relations, but in order to incite the Lithuanian government against the proposed pact. Lithuania would burn its own fingers badly if it also discovered "objections" to the pact, but it also possesses an "authoritative" government and one may therefore safely assume that it is not disinclined to indulge in a little adventurism.

Despite the weakening of its chief partner in its anti-Soviet policy, Germany, **Japan** is feverishly continuing its military and diplomatic preparations for an attack on the Soviet Union. Japanese imperialism has already gone so far that it no longer considers it necessary to cloak its intentions. The first point of the latest official declaration of the Japanese government reads as follows:—

"In view of the state of the international situation it is absolutely essential that the work for the defence of the country should be concluded as quickly as possible."

In other words, the work for the conclusion of Japan's planned attack on the Soviet Union. In the meantime the diplomatic agents and the munitions committee of Japan are travelling all over the world to get whatever there is to be got. Japan's offer to Turkey and Persia are well known. Turkey is to receive a port on the Caspian Sea and Persia is to receive half a milliard in gold for armament and other purposes. In return they will be expected to attack the Soviet Union from the South or at least to molest it when the big attacks are launched in the West and in the Far East. Japanese imperialism has an eye for everything, and it does not scorn even the smallest success. As is generally known that in case of a war of intervention against the Soviet Union Hungary would be prepared to contribute ten divisions, a Japanese delegation of highly-placed persons recently made a formal visit to *Budapest*. The delegation was received with great friendliness everywhere and then left for *Paris*, where, however, at the moment there is no inclination for a war of intervention against the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, this fact did not prevent the Japanese doing everything possible to mobilise French public opinion on their side. The French press, notoriously corrupt, seems to have been treated very generously by the visitors, to judge by the hymns of praise which it is singing at the moment on behalf of Japanese diplomacy.

In a speech delivered to a conference of the Conservative Party in Great Britain, **Baldwin**, who represents the Prime

Minister during the latter's absence, explained the necessity for Great Britain's increased air armaments. Naturally, everyone else is responsible for this unfortunate necessity, and in particular Germany, which **Baldwin** declares, is pursuing a dangerous foreign policy. Great Britain is to build 41 new squadrons consisting of 450 new fighting planes and bombing planes. This at least is the amount officially admitted. This big increase in air armaments has been planned for a long time. It may be true that the latest developments in Germany have had some influence on British armaments. A joint attack on the Soviet Union by Germany and Poland in the West, and by Japan in the Far East would have saved Great Britain a lot of trouble and permitted it to pay its bill with other people's money, as it did at the time of the Russo-Japanese war, always provided that the Japanese army would succeed in scoring the same successes against the Red Army as it scored against the tsarist army. For the moment, however, Great Britain does not reckon with any such combined attack on the Soviet Union and in consequence it is compelled to increase its own armaments.

It is interesting to observe how the imperialists take anything and everything as a pretext for further armaments. All diplomatic actions reveal inevitably the growing antagonisms between the imperialist Powers and at the same time their joint antagonism against the Soviet Union.

The Re-formation of the Dollfuss Government*

By Ed. Stark (Vienna)

The tottering structure of the Dollfuss dictatorship has once more been given a new facade. To the complete astonishment of the general public, Dollfuss has reorganised his Cabinet.

In this new Cabinet, Dollfuss holds in his hand not only his usual Ministry of Agriculture, but every political department.

But the new facade merely serves to hide the enormous cracks and breaches in the decaying walls of the Austro-fascist dictatorship. Even in the camp of the government fascists, even in the State apparatus itself, antagonisms are acuter than ever. That Dollfuss has taken over the Ministry of Defence is no sign of his strength, it is rather the expression of extremely strained relations between the Federal army and the Heimwehr. In many places there has already been friction between the soldiers and the Heimwehr members, leading to actual fights. In *Graz* there was a street fight. The Heimwehr organisations therefore demanded the removal of the Minister of War, *Schönburg-Hartenstein*, who is moreover compromised by the fact that his sons are Nazis. They succeeded in having him removed, but Dollfuss has not delivered the War Ministry into their hands. In compensation he has had to appoint a Heimwehr member as Minister of Justice.

The new Cabinet also takes into account the transition into the opposition of the **Land League**. The two Land League secretaries resigned. It is thus obvious that the bridges leading to the majority of the Land Leaguers are destroyed. On the other hand Dollfuss attempts to win over another section of the Land Leaguers by appointing as Secretary of State the engineer *Taushitz*, hitherto ambassador in *Berlin*. *Taushitz* is a former Land Leaguer, and it is hoped that he will place his connections at Dollfuss' service.

His appointment means, however, an increase in the tension of the already strained relations with Germany. *Taushitz* is being called from *Berlin* without being replaced there. For the present the Embassy is to be conducted only by an ambassadorial secretary. The half-hearted denials of the government show the more plainly that a demonstration against the German government is intended, and this for the reason that it has placed Germany's wireless at the disposal of the Austrian Nazi leader **Frauenfeld** for purposes of propaganda. Quite obviously Dollfuss is exploiting here the momentary political isolation of Germany. But it is more than doubtful whether he will be strong enough to win this struggle. Germany will reply to Austria's action by withdrawing its ambassador from Vienna. In no case will the position of the Dollfuss government be strengthened.

The official statement, it need not be said, makes no mention of any tension between the Heimwehr and the army, nor of the rupture of relations with the Land League, nor of the conflict with

* This article was written before the latest events in Austria.—Ed.

Germany. According to the official statement, the reason for the reorganisation of the government has been the concentration of all forces for the removal of the "last remnants of anti-State movements." In pursuance of this object, the Minister of the Security Department, Major Fey, has now been appointed "General State Commissar for extraordinary safety measures for combating anti-State activities." A permanent ministerial committee supports him. A special law has already been passed, placing the death penalty on all offences against the explosives law, including, therefore, the mere possession of explosives. An opportunity is given up to 18th July to deliver up all unlawfully possessed explosives; after this date the death penalty is incurred.

To all outward appearance these draconic measures are directed chiefly against the Nazis. To all outward appearance the final struggle against the Brown pestilence begins. As a matter of fact, Dollfuss is compelled to take some really energetic measures against the Nazis, otherwise his situation becomes impossible. Though the incessant explosives outrages cannot overthrow the government, still they involve great financial and economic difficulties, to say nothing of their moral effect. The hope that Hitler's inner difficulties might lead to a cessation of the outrages in Austria has proved vain. Now Dollfuss is endeavouring to split the Nazi movement. One section, the more sensible and moderate section, is to be drawn into his ranks. Taushitz is to help in this. And the proletarian section is to be intimidated by terror. The Nazi party is not to be destroyed by any means. It is too valuable as a last reserve for the bourgeoisie. But the radical elements are to be suppressed, the party is to be "purged" as it has been in Germany. And if persuasion does not suffice, then by force.

But all the declarations issued by the government must not lead anyone to believe for a moment that the chief blow is really being dealt against the Nazis. It is not the Nazis who are the chief enemy of the government. Its chief enemy is the revolutionary working class and its leader, the Communist Party. It is against these that the terror is directed in reality, however much the pretence may be maintained that it is directed against the Nazis.

It is a characteristic fact that the governmental declaration refers to anti-State movements. And it is equally characteristic that the "*Wiener Zeitung*" emphasises the good work accomplished by Dollfuss against Right and Left. Another newspaper praises Fey as the man who suppressed the February struggles.

Complete clarity is furnished by the law issued as "safeguard against deeds of political violence." This law not only threatens with the death penalty those in possession of explosives or involved in outrages. Point 4 goes beyond this, and threatens with the death penalty anyone who "by means of criminal actions endangers the safety of an undertaking serving public traffic, or supplying the public with water, light, or power."

The government has been reorganised because of the fear felt of the rising revolutionary wave. It is not the fireworks let off by the Nazi leaders which menace the fascist dictatorship, or endanger the capitalist system. The less obvious but indefatigable efforts of the Communists for uniting the toiling masses in the struggle for their day to day interests, and for organising the uprising against the fascist dictatorship—this is what is shaking the system to its foundations. The Dollfuss government is endeavouring to beat this back by means of fresh terror. But the masses of the workers, under the leadership of the Communists, will prove their ability to repulse all attacks.

Fifteen Months of the "New Deal"

The great strike in San Francisco, which is only one link, if a most important link, in the chain of great labour struggles which are convulsing the most important industrial districts of the United States, is an excellent illustration of the results of the much-lauded Roosevelt experiment. The new methods introduced by Roosevelt were supposed if not to abolish the class struggle altogether, at least to diminish its ferocity. The result has been exactly the contrary, and it was inevitable that it should have been. The guaranteeing of minimum wages was a peculiar affair. It might have meant, in name at least, an increase over the old standards of wages, but when as the result of the limitation of production with regard to important raw materials in an attempt to fight against over-production the prices for articles of clothing rise 30 per cent. and the prices of potatoes, flour and rice rise 75 per cent., then it is clear that the new wage rates have more than been nullified by the rise in prices. It is said that real wages in

the United States have fallen by 20 per cent. during the course of the past year.

The Roosevelt experiment was supposed to benefit the trade unions, because they were destined to play an important role as the representatives of the workers in the negotiations with the State and the employers. However, the employers were resourceful enough to get round that proposal. The trade unions are not the only organisations which can serve as negotiating bodies, the yellow "company unions" can also be considered as negotiating partners, and in these organisations the employers are on top. In this way most of the tariff agreements which have been concluded have turned out to be against the interests of the workers. The return of prosperity might have caused the employers to give way, but prosperity is just the one thing which has not returned, despite all Roosevelt's efforts to coax it back. It is now mid-summer, but no new hands are being taken on anywhere. The number of unemployed embraced by the statistics is given at ten millions, although the welfare authorities give the number at 16 millions.

In the coming autumn a section of the legislators are to retire and new elections are to be held in winter. In preparation for the elections, therefore, Roosevelt has come forward with a new programme. He promises the workers a health insurance scheme and even an unemployment insurance scheme, although both these plans must first of all be decided upon by the newly-elected legislature. The significance of Roosevelt's promises lies in the fact that he considers the situation such that such unparalleled social reforms, unparalleled for the United States, are necessary, although formerly the reformist American Federation of Labour Unions violently attacked them in the name of "freedom." However, Roosevelt has promised the capitalists and the Trust magnates much more. In fact, he has not only made promises, but already very definite concessions. He has broken his own laws which aimed at making speculation on the part of the banks and the stock exchanges more difficult; he has chosen his controlling bodies in accordance with the demands of the banks and the stock exchanges, and he has guaranteed tremendous profits to the silver speculators, amongst whom there are many farmers, by decreeing that silver shall be taken as the covering for the currency as well as gold. And in the meantime Roosevelt is reducing the control over the industrialists established by the National Recovery Act—"the independent administration of industry must be strengthened" is the slogan. The right of the President to make production dependent on his permission has been totally abolished. Governmental regulations remain in force for agriculture only, for the farmers are divided and the crisis has hit them hardest of all.

If one ignores the whole ballyhoo with which Roosevelt has surrounded his experiment, it is revealed as an attempt to overcome the crisis and to bring about a new period of prosperity by violence. The fact that this effort has completely failed can be seen not only from the number of workers still unemployed which has already been quoted, but also from the circumstance that United States capitalism has not yet made even a beginning with the renewal and extension of its basic capital which, as is known, represents the beginning of every new period of prosperity. Billiards of dollars have been expended and the public debt of the United States has risen to 37 milliard dollars. The United States currency has been ruined and tax surpluses have been transformed into tax deficits, for instance in the first year of the Roosevelt administration there was a revenue deficit of 4 milliard dollars. To-day Roosevelt has no other recourse but to take up new milliard dollar loans to be expended in big public building operations. Perhaps prosperity may return that way, he thinks.

As distinct from fascism, the Roosevelt experiment was not international in its application, but local; it was confined to the United States. Only a country with such tremendous reserves and resources could have stood the strain of such an expenditure of money. The past fifteen months have shown, however, that it is much easier to spend capital than it is to accumulate it and that therefore this sort of experimenting must have bounds. For the moment, however, the limit has not been reached.

As was pointed out at the beginning of this article, the class struggle has taken on sharper forms since the opening up of the Roosevelt experiment. The working-class movement in the United States has been raised to a higher level. This fact is the actual historical progress which took place during the past fifteen months in the United States.

Germany

What Is Happening in Germany?

Extract From a Speech by Comrade Fritz Heckert

When Hitler assumed power in Germany he declared that the Third Reich meant the creation of a Reich for ten thousand years. It was stated on the international platforms, inside and outside the country, that the National Revolution had united the German people in a way that had never happened before in the whole of its history. Of course now and then there were "unpleasant incidents" in the Third Reich. It turned out that not everything was to be unified. And the Communist Party, of which Hitler boastfully proclaimed that he had completely obliterated it—it was not to be obliterated. Before the end of one year the Hitler apostles had everywhere to declare that the Communist Party was alive and fighting.

On 29th June of this year, seventeen months after Hitler's assumption to power, we lived to see in Germany the supreme leader having the dukes of the National Socialist Party shot down. Quick as lightning, so runs the first government statement of the evening of 30th June, the National Socialist Party leadership had to act in order to smash the rebellious spirit that was pressing towards upheaval in the S.A. On 2nd July the government announced on its own authority a law declaring that all the murders that took place in Germany on 29th and 30th June were to count as legal acts, which took place in the interests of the maintenance of law and order and the prevention of civil war in the country. A man who for weeks and months was the trumpeter in chief of the "second revolution" states that Germany and the whole world owe Hitler a great debt of gratitude because he had crushed the guardians of the "second revolution." For this pretty music Goebbels is, of course, allowed to remain Propaganda Minister of the Third Reich—for the time being, at any rate.

A close observer of events in and around Germany cannot be surprised by what has happened. I want to mention one of the most important indications signalling present events for us: About five weeks ago the German Reichsbank president, **Hjalmar Schacht**, collected together a number of big capitalists for a discussion of the situation in Germany. At this meeting he said that "Germany was getting into a state of insolvency, that her economy was approaching a new crisis, that it was necessary to draw together all forces for a healthy and calm policy. Irresponsible chatter of the kind indulged in by Goebbels could no longer be tolerated." A fortnight later the Vice-Chancellor, **von Papen**, appeared on the scene with a speech at the University of Marburg. He said that the situation in the Reich was not a favourable one; the campaign against the grousers, cavillers and pessimists—that was a matter to which a stop must be put at once because it was leading to a mobilisation of all discontented elements. He went on to say that recently people had appeared who shouted about a "second revolution" and carried on irresponsible, wild social demagoguery among the masses. A stop must be put to such a policy. If a stop was not put to it, he added, threateningly, then one would have to go over from the one-party system to a two-party system. He threatened the National Socialist Party with a split, with the creation of another party. Papen said: It is not a "second revolution" that is necessary in Germany, but a Conservative revolution.

The cannon kings, Thyssen and Krupp, too, are expressing more and more frankly their anxieties concerning the catastrophic development and are crying for the strong man who will protect them against the threatening revolution. In Hermann Goering they see their saviour. Hermann Goering must come more to the front.

In the meantime the gold in the vaults of the Reichsbank became less and less. On 15th June, Schacht declared: "Beginning on 1st July we shall pay nothing more at all abroad, neither the Dawes interest nor the interest on the Young loan."

With the economic difficulties, the foreign political difficulties were growing, too. After the Geneva Disarmament Conference this became quite clear. What was to happen, then? This question kept cropping up more and more crudely in front of German Statesmen and in particular in front of the real rulers, Thyssen and Siemens among others. Schacht counted his gold once more and found that there was no more than 77 million in the till. But how is one to get fresh gold? Trade is falling, there are no more credits, but one has to buy raw material in order to carry on trade

and industry. It is true a lot of iron-ore, copper, zinc, lead, cotton and a lot of rubber and oil has been bought, but not enough to last for a lengthy war. With 77 million and all those debts one cannot go on buying raw materials much longer. One needs gold also, however, to parry the results of the impending bad harvest and, above all, the still worse danger of inflation. When the 77 million are finished, what is one going to support the paper mark with, so that it does not crash completely? Inflation, that is the hellish spectre that the fascists fear most of all, because it trails with it threateningly the danger of the proletarian revolution. The money is dwindling away visibly, and one can calculate the day when this catastrophe of inflation will come.

There are many signs noticeable in the country indicating that the population is facing things with less and less indifference. Already in January of this year the Church conflict showed that the petty bourgeois has become restless. He does not like it when Goebbels says that one cannot carry out the four-year plan so quickly, one needs twenty years for it. For the farmer or petty bourgeois that is rather too long. He becomes rebellious. He tells his parson about his discontent and says: It can't go on like this, where have you brought me to? The parson thinks he is going to lose his influence over his followers, and begins to grouse against Hitler.

Then came the elections of works councils in the factories, with a heavy defeat of the fascists. That was a still graver signal.

Abroad the conclusion was immediately drawn from the results of the works council elections: not only have the fascists not won over the working class, but the working class regards them with hostility. Even the armed members of the Brown Army had not all voted for the Nazis.

On 20th January the "Law for the Regulation of National Work" was proclaimed. The part referring to the wage agreement and its duration is of particular importance. The law was to come into force on 1st May. But when 1st April came it was stated that the law would not come into force before 1st July, and on 1st July it turned out that the old state of affairs was to remain until 1st October. What is the cause of this? In a great many factories where the National-Socialist employers wanted to cut wages, even the N.S.B.O. members, under pressure from the revolutionary mood of the workers, put up a resistance against this. Thus not only the smaller employers, but also the great cannon-king Krupp, were compelled to withdraw wage-cuts and dismissals. The Nazis were no longer in a position to put the law in its most important points into force. Now we understand why Schacht said "No more social demagoguery," and why Papen said "No more talk of the 'second revolution.'" They see suddenly, full of horror, that the National-Socialist workers' organisations can no longer be used in the old way for carrying on the offensive against the working class. Naturally, the revolutionary activity of the C.P.G. contributed substantially to the development of this movement for resistance.

But it was not only in the factories and among the unemployed that there was ferment. **The village, too, was beginning to become discontented.** Hitler said: "We have given you peasants the entailment law." The farmer answered: "You've split the village. You've made a few hundred into kulaks, but millions into landless proles."

But even those who have benefited by the entailment law are by no means satisfied. If the farmer wants now to borrow money he has to pay more interest: 10, 12, or even 15 per cent. So the farmer finds that the Nazis have cast him into a still worse interest-slavery.

For months there has been ferment in the S.A. The S.A. men—they are poor petty bourgeois, who are in a bad way, who believed that Hitler would make a social revolution. They are the sons of the poor farmers, they are landless farmers themselves. They demand passionately that some of the demands in the National-Socialist programme shall now at last be carried out.

In these circumstances Roehm, Heines, Goebbels, Ernst, and whatever they are all called, became frightened. What were they to do if all at once the two million S.A. men were to shout: We want the second revolution, we want the programme demands against the fine gentlemen carried out! But when the fine gentlemen around Papen are supported by Hindenburg and Hess and Hitler, and it is suddenly published: the S.A. men must go on leave for a month—then the S.A. man says to himself: Why go on leave just now, when I want to make the second revolution? This ex-

citement in the S.A. awoke other sections, too. The "grouzers" were directly stirred up by Goebbels' avalanche of speeches. Now one was saying aloud quite unabashed what earlier only was whispered in the ear.

The Reichswehr, too, became talkative. Up till now it had been "neutral." The generals expressed themselves quite openly; 300,000 men in the Reichswehr instead of 100,000 are better than 200,000 men in the S.A. The S.A. was flabbergasted. What do the generals want, then? They made remarks against the Reichswehr, that it was unreliable; one only needs to think of Schleicher, then one knows what's up with the Reichswehr.

In the S.A. there was agitation not only against the "fine gentlemen," but also against the higher ranks of the officers, because they were against the people just as much as the "fine gentlemen," and inclined to sell the S.A. to the foreigners. Unrest and resistance in the factories grows more and more.

On 25th June General Blomberg issued a decree to the Reichswehr in which he said: The Reichswehr has confidence in the Leader if the Leader has confidence in the Reichswehr. On 28th June Hitler and Goering went to Essen for the wedding of Terboven, who, to be sure, is not a great leader, but anyhow they had to go. When they were once in Essen, Krupp von Bohlen-Halbach said to them: Won't you come on a bit to Castle Bredenau. Thyssen is there, too; we want to have a bit of a chat. After this "chat" in Bredenau Hitler and Goering got into an aeroplane. The next morning the dukes of the S.A. were dead. Only a complete ass can suppose that the gentlemen at Bredenau merely had a game of chess.

A deed like that of June 30, 1934, is unknown in modern times; only in the middle ages did such things happen, and then not on this scale.

Social democracy also knew that a different wind was blowing in Germany, and emerged from its reserve. After giving itself a "revolutionary" programme, it declared in the "Neuer Vorwaerts": If General Fritsch establishes a military dictatorship, then social democracy will give its support to this.—"Lesser Evil"—"Papen and Fritsch and the Herrenklub are the lesser evil compared with Hitler." Wels, Stampfer and Co. have already left cards.

In the government statement Hitler said that the S.A. leaders had been exterminated because they were homo-sexual and morally degenerate. Goering, however, explained to the foreign journalists that they had been killed because they intended to make the second revolution. Up till now the moral degeneracy had not worried the Nazi leaders, and the Feme murderers around Roehm and Heines wanted the second revolution just as little as Hitler and Goering.

But now every S.A. man throughout the whole country knows that the S.A. leaders were shot because the S.A. was in favour of the second revolution and their leadership were not strongly enough against it. The calming down expected by Krupp and Thyssen, by Hitler and Goering, will not take place. No problem could be solved by this action against the S.A. Thus the murders of the S.A. leaders and others will become only an element in the further disintegration of the National-Socialist Party and the Third Reich. The S.A. man is not to be calmed down by Hitler's statement. He will share in feeling all the pressure to which the working class, the small farmer and the petty bourgeois are subjected, and consequently will be driven further into rebellion.

Neither at home nor abroad has the Nazi Party gained anything by its stroke. The entire foreign press expresses its discomposure at the mediaeval conditions that have arisen in Germany, at the gangster methods with which the government is governing. Not even the conservative press in England, that hitherto has given its support whole-heartedly to Hitler, can refrain from frowning on these happenings. It has suddenly become very disturbed. This is the reflex of the English small bourgeoisie, which, anxious about its money invested in Hitler Germany, says: "If Hitler suddenly and treacherously has his S.A. leaders murdered, won't he one day do the same to us?"

Thus abroad, too, Nazi rule has got into a still worse situation than it was in any case before. By this stroke they have lost the most important thing at home on which they depended for their power: namely, the faith of the broadest masses in the solidity and durability of the Third Reich. The National-Socialist idea of the invincibility of National-Socialism has suffered an annihilating blow. Perhaps out of his army of millions of Brown soldiers Hitler

can still find a few tens of thousands who once again will provide a guard against the discontented masses. But already to-day it is plain: as a mass basis for the National-Socialist rule the S.A. is lost; reliance for support must be placed more heavily on the Reichswehr, and with that the National-Socialist leader's clique loses a substantial part of its freedom of action. The real rule of the Krupps and the Thyssens, and of the army generals allied with them, will come to the fore much more keenly and much more brutally than has been the case hitherto.

The working class could not react, directly in connection with events, sufficiently quickly and tellingly. It was shown that although the Communist Party had gained a great deal of authority among the masses, it had not yet such an organisational foundation among the masses as to thrust, in virtue of its organisation, the masses forward into the struggle like a motor. It is true that the Communist Party immediately came out in many places with leaflets and also with a summons to a general strike. But at the most this brought the Party fresh sympathy; not yet, however, such an influence that would have enabled it to carry the masses with it into a general strike and an armed struggle against the fascist system.

This weakness is a weakness resulting from the inadequate way the policy of the united front has been carried out hitherto. What was missed here must immediately be made good, for the crisis of fascism goes on and will in the event of an appropriate action on the part of the workers rapidly deepen. It is a question now of linking up the social-democratic and Christian workers much more closely with the Communist Party, and it is a question of drawing into the united front the S.A. men who have now been roused. Therefore the Party did right when it came out at once with an appeal to the S.A. men: "Don't give up your arms! Organise yourselves illegally like the anti-fascists! Ally yourselves in the factories with the workers for the common struggle against the capitalist wage-robbers, against the fascist terror! Set up the united front, in order to sweep away the whole of fascism!"

The S.A. men reacted at once to this appeal. Therefore it is a question now of overcoming the obstacles which in the case of the social-democratic workers are still present as regards joint action. If in the next few weeks it is possible successfully to bring about unity of action by the working class in the factories, then the fascists cannot carry through the Labour Law and the proposed new raid on wages. The struggle for the unity of the working class in the factories must also be utilised for the restoration of the trade union organisations of the working class. The whole action that was undertaken just to guarantee the attack on wages for the employers was prevented by this means. The objective difficulties for the bourgeoisie must increase and bring about more rapidly the moment for the proletarian mass action against fascism.

The social-democratic leaders are alarmed, just as much as the fascists, by this united front that is coming into being. That is why the Prague "Vorwärts," as well as the Saarbrücken "Freiheit" have begun to develop afresh an agitation for the co-operation of social democracy with the bourgeoisie. This step taken by the old leaders so as to prevent the proletarian revolution must be clearly exposed and combated as energetically as possible.

It is important to note one other thing. The petty bourgeois and the farmers, who at the beginning of the fascist dictatorship were almost entirely on its side, have now been drawn into the rebellion against the Hitler system. This makes it possible for the Communists to find access to these sections. The quicker it is possible to establish the united front of proletarians, the quicker, too, it will be possible to strengthen the confidence of these sections of peasants and small bourgeois in the working class and to bring them as allies into the ranks of the anti-fascist front and win them for the proletarian revolution.

What can Hitler do in order to parry the menace to his system? He can give nothing to the now discontented strata of the workers, the petty bourgeois and the peasants. Therefore there remains to him nothing but the sharpening of the terror. Therefore it is to be feared that fresh large-scale arrests will take place among the revolutionary workers, that the comrades now in the concentration camps will again be subjected to ill-treatment and that they will be the victims of many more murders.

Yet no longer can an increase in brutal terrorism in the factories and in the concentration camps prevent the masses from

coming together in greater and greater actions. The working class and the discontented sections of the deceived small people are on the move. It is a matter now of leading them forward into the decisive class battles. I believe that after these events of 30th June the C.P.G. will not waver for one minute and that the Party will undertake everything calculated to cut short the system. Abroad one is saying: The catastrophe of the Hitler Reich is approaching; it is unavoidable. It would come in the autumn or winter. We must realise clearly that to wait for the day when fascism will collapse of itself would be to help directly in the reconsolidation of the Hitler power. Capitalism, fascism—they do not fall by themselves, they have to be pushed down. The C.P.G. will see to it that when the dark predictions concerning the catastrophe of fascism, of which the capitalists in other countries are tremblingly speaking, come to pass, the masses are ripe enough and strong enough to smash the "Third Reich founded for ten thousand years."

Hunger is Approaching in Nazi Germany

After eighteen months of National-Socialist control in Germany a period of hunger is opening up. How great and how near this danger is was suddenly revealed to the working masses in Berlin, Hamburg, the Ruhr district, Leipzig, and the other big towns and industrial centres of Germany when last week the chief item of working-class food, the potato, suddenly disappeared from the markets and prices leaped up to an impossible level. The cheaper sorts of margarine had already become a rarity and imported foodstuffs like rice were becoming increasingly difficult to obtain. As in the last years of the war, on the eve of the November Revolution, queues began to form in front of the food stores and hunger demonstrations took place.

The rumour which began to spread from mouth to mouth a few weeks ago that food cards were already being printed in the official Reich's printing works now finds general credence. The National-Socialist newspapers admit "temporary dislocation" and announce that the difficulties, which have now all been overcome, they declare, were all due solely to the unfavourable climatic conditions and the drought. And, in fact, there will probably be a very serious shortage in Germany this year owing to the bad harvest. The early potato crop is reported to have been very unsatisfactory, but it was impossible to obtain exact figures. Concerning the estimated grain harvest the government is publishing figures which are certainly optimistic, but which nevertheless indicate the threatening danger of food shortage. The official announcements refer to the harvest as "a medium one." This optimistic expression is made possible by the fact that this year's harvest is compared with last year's and not with the average of recent years.

In former years a great part of Germany's foodstuff requirements were met by imports, but during the last three years strenuous efforts have been made to increase the yield of German agriculture by the imposition of fantastically high import duties on agricultural commodities and in this way to make Germany into a self-sufficing (autarchical) country. The development of German foreign trade in foodstuffs in recent years can be seen in the following figures:—

Year	Foodstuff Imports (In Millions of Marks)	Foodstuff Exports (In Millions of Marks)	Balance
1933	1,084	172	— 912
1932	1,493	203	—1,290
1931	1,970	359	—1,611
1930	2,969	479	—2,490
1929	3,822	702	—3,120

If we consider in particular Germany's foreign trade in grain, we see that the import plus in 1929 was one of 700 million marks, but that by 1932 this import plus had fallen to 42 million marks.

In 1933 the proud announcement was made that Germany's own production of grain was already more than sufficient to meet home consumption. However, it must be pointed out that this success for the policy of self-efficiency was obtained only on the basis of a miserably low standard of life for the masses of the German people. In addition, the harvest in 1933 was particularly favourable. If we now compare even the official estimates for this year's harvest with the harvests of recent years we shall see that the people's food supply in Germany is in danger:—

Kind	Estimate 1st July, 1934	Average 24/34 (In Millions of Tons)	Harvest 33	Harvest 32	Harvest 34 comp. 33
Rye	7.27	7.52	8.73	8.36	—17%
Wheat	4.09	3.88	5.76	5.16	—29%
Barley	2.91	2.93	3.47	3.21	—16%
Oats	4.96	6.38	6.95	6.65	—35%
Grain	—	—	—	—	—
Total	19.23	20.71	24.91	23.38	—23%

According to the figures of the government there are sufficient quantities of grain for bread still available from the previous harvest, but the lack of fodder can easily lead to an acute crisis. According to a report from the Schneidemuehl district—and the conditions in the other districts will be much the same—the stores of fodder available are about one-half last year's quantities, so that the peasants are being compelled to slaughter their animals. This means that market supplies of meat and fat, etc., may increase during the next few weeks only to suffer a heavy reverse during the next few months. The import of supplementary food supplies from abroad will be made increasingly difficult when, as is highly probable, the world harvest turns out to be bad and agricultural prices begin to rise as a consequence.

However, this threatening food shortage in Germany, whose first signs showed themselves very clearly during the past week or so, is by no means exclusively a result of an unfavourable harvest. The monopolist capitalist agrarian policy of the German bourgeoisie carried out with bureaucratic methods has led to the acute difficulties in the food supply. The Reich's food authorities have fixed compulsory price levels for the peasants, purchasers appointed by the authorities take the products of the peasants at low prices and these are then sold in the towns at high prices. This method of plundering the peasants must meet with increasing resistance when as a consequence of the shortage of raw materials the prices of important industrial commodities, and in particular of textile goods, begin to rise and the fear of an inflation causes people to invest their money in goods.

The police prohibition of price increases and the threat to put small tradesmen into the concentration camps if they sell their wares at too high prices is causing the traders to sabotage commodity distribution to an increasing extent and to take part increasingly in food hoarding. When the authorities attempt to hold down prices below the level which the economic situation would demand, then underground trading flourishes, despite all the police measures intended to stop it, and the commodities affected practically disappear from the official market. This old phenomenon, well known in Germany from the days of the war, is again showing itself in Germany. The vanished potatoes, for instance, quickly reappeared on the market once the authorities had permitted the prices to rise considerably, up to a hundred per cent. and more. In Berlin, for instance, the retail price for potatoes increased from 9 pfennig a pound to 15 pfennig a pound.

All these difficulties could be overcome, at least in part, by increasing the exports of finished commodities and restoring the active balance of trade in this way. There is already much talk of an energetic export offensive. However, apart from inflationist dumping, which would bring a temporary relief to the situation at the price of a still more complete collapse later on, there has been no effective proposal made. Social dumping on the basis of lowered wages may be tried, but in view of the already acute social and political tension in Germany the employers and the authorities are rather chary about plunging into this dangerous experiment. An example of this nervousness is the fact that the date for the issue of the new factory regulations (including the regulation of the new wage rates) under the National-Socialist labour law has been postponed from the 1st June to the 1st October. This indicates how little courage and confidence the capitalists, who have been appointed "economic leaders" by the fascist dictatorship, have to risk a new and open attack on the standards of life of the German working class.

The Reich's Economic Minister, Dr. Schmitt, has been given extraordinary and dictatorial powers on the politico-economic field. The decree in question declares expressly that the measures taken may deviate from the provisions of the existing laws. In all probability the new powers given to Schmitt are to be used to launch a new trade and social offensive. However, for the moment Schmitt is lying low on his holidays and it is not at all certain

that he will agree to take over the difficult role of economic dictator in an economic system threatened with bankruptcy.

The trade negotiations conducted by Germany with other Powers continue to move along the lines of retreat, as shown in the agreements made with Great Britain and Switzerland. The Franco-German negotiations have not yet been concluded, but it is rumoured from reliable sources that here also Germany is prepared to make similar concessions with regard to the interest payments on the Dawes and Young loans. Agreements with Sweden and with the United States will probably also be purchased with concessions along the lines of those made to Switzerland.

The deposition of Kessler, as "economic leader," shortly after his appointment, is efficiently explained as the result of the fact that he refused to subordinate himself to Dr. Schmitt in the question of export encouragement. This explanation sounds rather peculiar because Kessler is intimately connected with the German electro-technical industry, which is very much interested in the furtherance of the export trade, whereas the official economic policy of the Reich is determined above all by the heavy industrialist group led by Krupp and Thyssen, who are more interested in obtaining government subsidies for the production of war materials than they are in furthering the export trade with these same subsidies. On the other hand, the capital invested in the chemical industry in particular is in favour of the use of these subsidies to support the export trade.

Count von der Goltz, who has been provisionally appointed "economic leader," declared in his first speech after his appointment that the "inner-German raw material basis" must be strengthened and that Germany must not make itself dependent on the uncertain will of other countries to accept German exports. The fact that the economic dictator Dr. Schmitt obstinately remains on his holidays reflects on the economic field the general insecurity caused by the maintenance of untenable government combinations. As a result of the intensification of the economic crisis, the struggle between the various bourgeois groups in Germany is becoming increasingly bitter, although for the moment the rival cliques hesitate to force a decision one way or the other for fear that an open conflict would send the tottering structure of German capitalism toppling to the ground.

The International Campaign for the Release of Thaelmann

GREAT BRITAIN

The Prestwich (Lancs) group of the C.P.G. has shown splendid initiative in the campaign for the release of the prisoners of the Nazis, particularly Comrade Thaelmann. As soon as the news of the People's Courts came through they got busy and had a number of leaflets printed exposing the nature of these courts and appealing for support and funds to send telegrams of protest to the German Embassy. These were distributed throughout the area and enthusiastically received. In the first day money was received sufficient for sending telegrams from the inhabitants of six streets, and the work has been carried on since with similar success by means of street meetings, liberal chalking and house-to-house canvassing.

Literally hundreds of trade union branches, mass meetings, etc., have been deluging the German Embassy with protests during the past week. There is not the slightest doubt that the British masses are thoroughly aroused on this issue.

Ellen Wilkinson, who has just returned from Berlin, which she visited on behalf of the Committee for the Relief of the Victims of German Fascism along with John Strachey, gave a special interview to the working-class press on her return to-day. She says:—

"We were assured that the trial of Thaelmann and his comrades would not take place until September. That Thaelmann will be tried seems certain, but the position of Torgler is doubtful. No one seemed quite sure what was going to happen to him. It is possible that other well-known Communists and socialist prisoners will be tried before the court.

"The constitution of the court makes it clear what kind of justice may be expected. It is a trial of the working class by the ruling class.

". . . The German press has stated that the justice is

to be Hitler's justice, repeating the statement that Goering made to a previous meeting of lawyers. We made it clear to the officials we saw that a formal application would be made for the right of the prisoners to choose their own defence before the court, but it is doubtful to what extent defence will be allowed. It is also doubtful whether the prisoners will even have a copy of the indictment before they appear in court. If we cannot have legal advice given to the prisoners we hope, as in the Dimitrov case, to arrange for qualified legal observers to be present."

SPAIN

The campaign in Spain for the release of Thaelmann has been carried on with great energy from the beginning. All over Spain mass actions and demonstrations for Thaelmann are being carried out. The German Embassy and the consulates are bombarded daily with hundreds of letters, post-cards, telegrams, and protest resolutions from the toiling masses of Spain. The revolutionary musicians have composed a "song for Thaelmann's release," which is now sung with the "International" at all meetings and demonstrations. The campaign was commenced by the organisations and the press of the Communist Party, but speedily the Socialist Party and Young Socialists, a large section of the Republican Left, as also a number of prominent jurists and university professors, found themselves drawn into the campaign by the pressure of the masses. The avalanche of protests rolling in upon the bourgeois press every day from every part of the country is so enormous that the papers have been obliged to provide a daily column "For Thaelmann's Release." Besides the "Thaelmann Release Committee" there is a "Juridical Committee" participated in by prominent representatives of Spanish jurisprudence, including Osorio y Gallardo, ex-president of the Academia Nacional de Jurisprudencia, and Jumenez Asua, professor of penal law at the University of Madrid. The chairwoman of the committee is Mrs. Victoria Kent, one of the barristers who applied to the Supreme Court in Leipzig for permission to defend Thaelmann, but was refused. This Juridical Committee intends to organise a "Thaelmann Counter-Trial" with the aid of the International Thaelmann Committee, to be held in Madrid.

The Socialist Association of Malaga has entered protest against the imprisonment of Thaelmann, and against Hitler's intention of having him brought up before the "People's Court." The Union of Industrial Employees at Valladolid has sent a letter of protest to the German Embassy in Madrid against the imprisonment of Thaelmann, and demands that Thaelmann should be tried by a regular court, and publicly. The Woodworkers' Union of Orense has sent a similar protest to the German Ambassador. The Thaelmann Release Committee of Port Bou publishes in the press a statement signed by 103 persons, including the mayor of this frontier town, protesting against the inhuman treatment of the heroic leader of the German Communist Party and demanding his release, and the release of all other anti-fascists from the concentration camps and prisons of Germany. The Union of Spanish Wireless Operators has sent a protest to the German Embassy on behalf of its 650 members, demanding the immediate release of Thaelmann. It has also sent a letter to the Austrian Embassy, demanding the release of Paula Wallisch and other imprisoned anti-fascists. The Union of the Proletarian Musicians and Composers protests against the prohibition of the Thaelmann release meeting, organised for 7th July by the anti-fascist front, and calls upon all the organisations affiliated to it (workers' choral societies, bands, etc.) to help to make a great demonstration of the meeting for Thaelmann, to be held on 28th July.

The following solidarity actions for Thaelmann have been carried out recently in Madrid: The buildings of the branches of the firm of Siemens and other German firms, and the beer houses in Madrid frequented by German Nazis, were bombarded with stones wrapped in paper with the inscription: "We demand freedom for Thaelmann!" "Long live the C.P.G.!" "Death to Hitler!" Before the eyes of the German Ambassador the workers of Madrid tore up a Nazi flag flown at a sports gala of the German colony. During the last two months there were three great demonstrations before the German Embassy. Delegations presented protests against the imprisonment of Thaelmann and other anti-fascists in Germany, signed by thousands of workers, employees, and students. In the German Overseas Bank in Madrid the bank clerks organised a collection of signatures for the release of Thaelmann.

Everywhere in the streets of Madrid demands for the release of Thaelmann may be seen painted on the walls.

The Central Committee of the Typographical Workers' Union of Spain has sent a protest to the German Embassy against the manner in which persons are persecuted for their convictions in the Third Reich. The typographical workers demand that Thaelmann, and all the other anti-fascist defendants, are accorded at least that minimum of possibility of defence to which every political prisoner has a right.

SWITZERLAND

On 21st July there were spontaneous demonstrations of the workers in front of the German Consulate in Basle. The workers shouted in chorus "Release Thaelmann!" and "Freedom for all anti-fascists!" In Zürich great inscriptions have been painted up in various places: "Release Thaelmann!"

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

At Bruch, near Brüx, a Thaelmann Release Committee has been formed by workers of the Brüx coalfield. The Committee has set itself the task of developing a widespread action for the release of Thaelmann and the other anti-fascists. A lecture on Thaelmann was organised for 21st July. A group of cyclists, delegated by the Red miners, has left for Germany, to present a petition for the release of Thaelmann.

The miners employed in the "Kohinoor" mine in Bruch adopted a unanimous protest against the incarceration of Comrade Thaelmann, and forwarded this to the German Embassy in Prague.

The Prague Thaelmann Committee has issued tens of thousands of post-cards bearing the photograph of Thaelmann. These cards are sold, and pressed into the service of the protest action. Each card, furnished with the signatures of a number of workers beneath the slogan "Release Thaelmann!" is sent direct to the German Embassy in Prague, or to the authorities in Germany. The enormous number of such cards arriving in Germany from Czechoslovakia has aroused much attention and sympathy.

A sports gala held in Oberleutensdorf, and a public meeting held by the Communist Party in Komotau, were utilised as demonstrations for the release of Thaelmann. The C.P. fraction in Reichenberg submitted a motion for the release of Thaelmann to the town council.

GREECE

The Unitary Trade Unions of Larissa (Thessalonica) have sent a protest to the German Embassy in Athens, demanding the release of Thaelmann. A similar protest has been signed by 300 peasants from several villages in the district of Kilkis (Central Macedonia), and others have been sent by the Anti-Fascist Committee of Corinth, the Conference of the Workers' Sportsmen of Athens, the section of the Red Aid at Larissa, and the Young Communist League of the village of Vuvala (Macedonia).

SWEDEN

The International Red Aid has held a great meeting in Stockholm for the release of Thaelmann. 2,500 workers unanimously adopted a resolution demanding the release of Thaelmann and the other anti-fascists imprisoned in Germany. 102 new members were enrolled in the Red Aid. Meetings were organised by the Red Aid in various places in the environs of Stockholm. In one place 900 workers demanded the release of Thaelmann. In Umea 200 workers passed a resolution demanding Thaelmann's release.

FRANCE

On 20th July a mighty demonstration for Ernst Thaelmann, Paula Wallisch and all anti-fascist prisoners was held in one of the largest halls in Paris. Among the speakers were Barbusse, Cachin, and representatives of the Socialist Party. Barbusse declared that the united front of action can and must save Thaelmann. About 12,000 persons took part in this meeting.

In preparation of this meeting, the Paris Thaelmann Release Committee sent two large motor lorries, carrying banners, through the streets to the Wagram Hall. Besides the leaders of the Communist and social-democratic parties, the famous barrister, Moro-Giafferi, spoke at the meeting. His speech has again aroused wide echoes, even in the bourgeois press; the applause gained by his arraignment of Goering will be remembered.

Great Britain

Peaceful Talks and Warlike Actions

By R. Bishop (London).

It is generally admitted that the British capitalist class has few, if any, rivals in the sphere of presenting their most rapacious acts of aggression in a pious light. This tradition goes back a long way in British history, but this century has seen a succession of British Prime Ministers—Lloyd George, Baldwin and Macdonald—who can equal any, and surpass most, of their predecessors in this direction. But seldom has more pious humbug been compressed into a single speech than into one delivered by Lord Hailsham, Minister for War, in a speech delivered by him at St. Helens, on July 21st. Hailsham was engaged in defending the proposal of the British Government, introduced into Parliament two days previously by Stanley Baldwin, to increase the Air Force by 41 squadrons and 5,000 extra personnel.

Said Hailsham:—

"Our Government has no warmongering intentions. No one outside of Great Britain would dream of saying it has. You have never heard any foreign country suggesting that Great Britain has any designs of aggression. You have never heard anyone suggest that Britain's possession of arms was likely to conduce to war. Britain in fact has set an example in disarmament until she has reduced her position to the very verge of risk."

Hailsham continued by blaming foreign governments for having impeded Britain in her self-imposed mission of encouraging universal disarmament and thus imposing upon her the disagreeable necessity of increasing her own armaments.

Such claims are laughable in view of the known fact that Great Britain was more responsible than any other Power for the breakdown of the Disarmament Conference. It is also a matter of history now that the leading opposition to all the peace proposals put forward at Geneva by the Soviet representatives came from Great Britain. What Government has done more than the British to encourage German re-armament under Nazi rule?

The British Government as a pacifist institution—although a pose increasingly adopted of recent years—is a grotesque thought. The expenditure on the fighting services and the National Debt (incurred in payment of past wars) amounts in the current financial year to £327,000,000 (in round figures) or 47 per cent. of the total State expenditure. During the six years of crisis leading to the present financial year, 1934-35, the amount spent directly on war preparations amounted to the colossal sum of £656,000,000. Let us see how the armaments expenditure has been increasing. In 1932-33 the total expenditure on Army, Navy and Air Force was £103,000,000. In the following year it increased to £107,900,000. In the present year a sum of £113,700,000 is budgeted for. And all during this period, and the period preceding it, prices were falling, both for armaments and for supplies of food and clothing to the personnel.

But whilst the pacifist pretensions of the British Government—however little borne out by facts—are no new thing, the present seems a singularly inopportune moment for trotting them out again.

For the speech of Baldwin, on which Hailsham was commenting, provided for the doubling of the British Air Force within the next five years, and Lord Hailsham, the Air Minister, in the House of Lords, made it clear on July 23rd that this programme can only be regarded as a minimum.

Said Londonderry:—

"A bigger British Air Force means peace, because no one will dare attack an armed Britain, and it will never dare to attack anyone else. France is going to spend £15,000,000 on its Air Force. Italy is going to spend £16,500,000, and Britain must reach parity with the strongest air power within striking distance."

Baldwin, Hailsham and Londonderry have all made it clear, without putting it into so many words, that as far as they are concerned the disarmament conference is dead and damned. They are exhibiting their complete lack of faith in pacts as a means

of averting war. They are showing that they regard war in the near future as being absolutely inevitable.

The pretence that the new air armaments are intended for defence and not aggression has been exposed as eyewash no sooner than it was made. *Baldwin* himself in a recent speech declared:—

"We want the man in the street to know that there is no power on earth that can protect him from being bombed. Whatever people may tell him the bomber will always get through."

And during the present week *great air manoeuvres* have been carried out in London, to test the air defences of the capital. That no air defence yet invented can protect a great city from aerial attack was strikingly demonstrated. The headlines of the *Evening News*, as imperialist a journal as there is in Britain, gave the story very succinctly, as follows:—

"How we Bombed London Last Night. It Was Easy!

"Every Attacking Plane Reached Its Objective—And The Defence was Nowhere."

What more is necessary to describe the effectiveness of aeroplanes to ward off aerial attack?

Having secured their way in vast increases of the Air Force, the imperialists are now seeking heavy increases in the *Navy*, whilst the mechanisation of the Army goes on apace.

The great armament firms and chemical factories are working overtime. *Sheffield*, the centre of war-time munitions making, is a throbbing hive of industry. During the past six months over 26,000 of Sheffield's unemployed have been absorbed back into industry, and busiest of all is the well-known Vickers English Steel Trust. Sheffield, the chief war-industry town of Britain, is a good barometer of the extent of the war preparations which are being made.

What is the attitude of the *Labour Party* in this situation? Its recent declaration in favour of supporting "our" Government in the event of a "defensive war" is now notorious. But since then a vote-catch programme has been issued, which declares:—

"It" (the Labour Party) "would bind the Government to submit any dispute with another State to some sort of pacific procedure, and not to resort to force as an instrument of national policy, and to report at once to the League, and to comply with the League's injunctions, on the basis of reciprocity, in case of having to use force in self-defence."

It is interesting to note that the Labour Party is not willing to recognise "force as an instrument of national policy." But what Government is sufficiently bare-faced to declare that "force" is its chosen instrument? Certainly no British capitalist Government. What Government has ever admitted to pursuing a policy of and launching a war of aggression? Not even the Japanese in their attacks upon China. And the Japanese have less regard for diplomatic reticences than most Governments.

In every capitalist country in every war, it is always the other fellow that is the aggressor, if one believes the leading articles of the newspapers and the speeches of the statesmen. But no capitalist country has ever, or will ever, fight a "defensive war." In every case they are fighting for their own imperialist aims—for expansion, for markets, for raw materials, or to strangle a rival that is becoming too powerful.

The Labour Party leadership is composed of experienced demagogues. Since the last war they have gained much experience, and even in 1914 they did not hesitate to abandon all their anti-war pledges on the outbreak of hostilities. To-day they are preparing the ground for participating in the next war well in advance. Their lying propaganda about a "defensive war" is intended only as camouflage to cover their support of an aggressive war.

In every way the Labour Party is aiding in the preparations for an imminent war. An example can be given concerning the "Left" Labour M.P., S. C. Davies, who sits for the Welsh mining constituency of Merthyr. He has come out as a strong advocate for a scheme, propounded by the Government for moving Woolwich Arsenal (the largest State armament factory) from London to some part of the country less liable to air attacks by enemy planes. Said Mr. Davies, at a meeting last week-end:—

"Although a pacifist I am prepared to fight under certain circumstances, and to fight for peace all the time. As long as those responsible for the Government of the country think arsenals necessary for the well-being of the country, I see

no objection to such industries being brought to Merthyr.

"In fact, I will encourage their advent with all my power and with all the influence at my command. Merthyr is free from sea attack and is surrounded by hills, which will give it valuable protection from air attacks. There are derelict collieries in the area which will provide ideal storage places for large quantities of munitions in the event of an attack from a hostile power."

This example is typical of what is happening all over the country. It is typical of the way in which the Labour Party—like the National Government itself—is combining peace phrases with the actual war preparations. In the Houses of Parliament the Labour M.P.s and Labour Lords are putting up a barrage of talks against the proposals of the Government, but in their actions in the country they are doing all in their power to make the war preparations effective.

The Joint Committee of the Labour Party and Trades Union Congress has rejected the United Front offer of the Communist Party in the struggle against fascism and war. They say that "no new situation has arisen to justify a change of attitude on our part."

On every side one sees evidence of the growing war drive, not least of all in the attitude of the Labour Party. Never has it been more necessary for a tremendous effort to be made to expose the hypocritical nature of the Labour Party peace talk and against the actual war preparations that are going on all round. Never has it been more necessary than now to build up a real united front of the workers to fight against war preparations, to expose them to the widest masses, and to be ready to fight against war itself when it comes by transforming it into a war against capitalism and imperialism.

Appeal From Austrian Red Aid

Vienna, July 20.

Terror and death haunt the dungeons of the "Christian" murderers of the workers in Dollfuss Austria.

The fascist courts of justice are imposing terror sentences up to 18 years' penal servitude. By the end of June 900 February fighters had been sentenced. Thousands of years of jail have been imposed. Others, acquitted by the courts, have been sent to the concentration camps. Thousands of workers have been deprived of their liberty without even the shadow of a trial. Fresh arbitrary arrests are made daily. The families of the prisoners are evicted from their homes, abandoned to starvation. The fate of Frau Wallisch, seriously ill, paralysed on one side, but not even permitted a visit from her mother, is only one case out of thousands, only one proof of the brutality and thirst for vengeance of these fascist executioners, who dare to wear the cloak of Christian piety and neighbourly love.

In June a large number of the imprisoned February fighters came out on hunger strike against the barbaric regime. This self-defensive struggle was suppressed with the utmost brutality. The promises made were not kept; on the contrary the frightful conditions are becoming worse from day to day.

On 15th July all the imprisoned anti-fascists, in the concentration camps and prisons, once more proclaimed a unanimous hunger strike. They are determined to stake their lives on this struggle against the mediæval inquisitorial methods, for a political regime in the prisons, for their release!

Workers of all countries! You have followed with sympathy the heroic struggles of the February fighters! Do not desert them in their life and death struggle! Raise once more, as you did in February, a storm of protest against the hypocritical and faithless exploiters of human beings, who venture to call themselves moderate and humane whilst following in the footsteps of the criminal murderers in Germany. Remember Weissel, Munichreiter and all those who fell in the struggle or died on the gallows, giving their lives for the emancipation of the workers from bloody oppression. Remember the women and children of these heroes. Help them! Support the demands of the hunger strikers!

Protest in your millions! Storm the Austrian consulates—Send mass protests to the executioners' government! Demand that the trials of the workers be quashed! Demand the immediate release of the imprisoned fighters! Collect funds for the victims of Dollfuss fascism!

Red Aid of Austria.

For Unity of Action of the Working Class

The S.P. of France Adopts the Proposals for Unity

By J. Berlioz (Paris)

On the 5th of November, 1933, a national conference of the Socialist Party of France expelled some members of the "Action Socialiste," whose only crime was that of actively taking part in the propaganda of the Amsterdam-Pleyel Movement Against War and Fascism. This movement was very largely responsible for bringing Socialist and Communist workers nearer together for united action.

On the 11th of March, 1934, a further national conference of the S.P. adopted a resolution for "collective action of all proletarian elements," which "was not to go beyond local boundaries, and which was never to lead to the formation of permanent organisations which would replace that of the Party."

On the 15th of July an extraordinary national conference, which was called in order to discuss the unity proposals of the Communist Party, adopted the proposals with the tremendous majority of 3,471 votes against 366, with the remark: "It is pleased to see unity of action realised, which was striven for by the masses of the people, and which would put an impassable dam in the way of the fascist danger."

What a distance has been travelled in a few months! We have the right to be proud of this decision which is of significant historical importance. It is the result of a fight, lasting many years, on the part of our Party and systematic work of our organisations for the realisation of unity of action.

The masses have more and more joined with enthusiasm in our political united front, particularly after the demonstration of the fascist danger in the February days of this year. The socialist national conference could not avoid recording this. **Sandra** of the Var Department told of the **unanimous enthusiasm of the comrades of his organisation as well as that of the whole working population, particularly of the population of the countryside, for united action.** **Vielle**, of the Gironde Department, declared: "We do not want our party to resist a stream which represents an irresistible force in the working class."

Numerous unions and many local socialist groups have adopted the united front demands of the Communist Party against the Emergency Orders, against fascism, against war preparations, for the release of Thaelmann, Paula Wallisch and other imprisoned anti-fascists. The tendency towards fighting unity was irresistible, and even the socialist leaders who had put up the greatest opposition were forced to admit this success. Jean Longuet even spoke of the "dynamic force, the powerful current of the masses for unity, from which the party could not keep apart without condemning itself to death." "To-day we can no longer retreat," said a delegate from Puy-de-Dôme, and one from the Gard Department stated: "Events have taken us by surprise." The delegate from the Cote d'Or expressed the thoughts of many when he said: "The national conference must now honestly recognise what has already become a fact."

Naturally, such a development has not come on its own. It is the result of our unceasing efforts to create the united front from below against the capitalist offensive, a result of the efforts of those comrades of the Amsterdam-Pleyel movement, who have succeeded in winning tens of thousands of the members of the Socialist Party for their local committees, it is a success for those Communists who have had the leadership inside trade union groups and who have done everything to organise a united opposition to the officials against the attacks of the State. This development came about because our Party on the 6th of February and on the following days knew how to put itself at the head of the rising of the broad masses against the fascist danger, and because it succeeded in bringing the masses on to the streets. This development surged forward tremendously as a result of the resolution of our national conference at the end of June, which resolved to realise unity of action at any price. It was carried forward by the unity of our Party, which rallied enthusiastically around its central committee in spite of the attempts of disintegration on the part of Doriot.

At the end of May our Central Committee sent precise proposals for united action to the executive of the Socialist Party. The majority of the executive of the Socialist Party tried many evasions in order to draw out the negotiations. Our national conference solemnly renewed our proposals and showed in the clearest fashion the will of the whole party, freed from the remnants of sectarianism which had fettered it, to go forward more rapidly and more enterprisingly on the path of united action against fascism. The socialist organisations of the Seine and of the Department of the Seine and Oise had already organised common demonstrations and meetings with our Paris comrades. Others followed their example. From then on there was, as Blum put it at the socialist national conference, only the following choice: either to let the district organisations and local groups to carry through common action alone, or to hand over the carrying through of this plan to the national organisation.

The socialist national conference has adopted the second alternative. Only **Frossard** and his friends, who still wanted to "wait" and who, above all, were concerned with maintaining the possibility of electoral alliances with the Left bourgeois parties, were against the adoption. It is clear that the final obstacles to the rapid realisation of the united front have not yet been cleared out of the way. The executive of the Socialist Party will discuss with our central committee alterations in the plan of the fighting pact against fascism which we have proposed. Certain speakers at the socialist national conference demanded that the Socialist Party executive surrounds itself with a rampart of protective measures before it signs: Recognition of democracy, the greatest caution in connection with the methods of action which have been decided, the prohibition of any fundamental discussion, the creation of a co-ordinating committee which should control the observation of the pact, etc.

Others again, who without doubt are worried by the fact that the working masses see in our Party the advance fighter for united action, have tried to read into our demands all kinds of machiavellian reasons, as for example an apparent turn in the policy of the Soviet Union, the attempts of the Soviet Union to enter into a military alliance with France, etc. Others again demanded that the Communist International should alter its attitude towards bourgeois democracy and national defence as the price of unity of action.

But all this cannot lessen the significance of the vote at the national conference. It will take effect practically in the immediate organisation of a great common demonstration against war on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the imperialist world war. We are determined to do our utmost to overcome all obstacles which can stand in the way of united fighting action. For example we proposed to the Socialist Party that a delegation of our central committee should speak at their national conference. In a meeting of delegates of both parties on the 14th of July, the Socialist Party executive demanded that we should try to avoid all incidents which could harm common action, and we agreed. If our fighting programme were to be criticised as being too far-reaching, nevertheless the unity pact will not miscarry because we demand agreement on all points. For us the most important question is that we bring the masses as quickly as possible into decisive action, into action for a common aim, even if still very small.

Thorez, in his concluding speech at our national conference, said: "Our policy has created the conditions for the present situation. With the rapid development of events it is our Party, which has grown powerful through its activity in February and through its policy and tactics, conforming with the decisions of the Comintern and our Central Committee, which is responsible for putting its whole weight into making the united front of struggle a reality."

The bourgeoisie recognises the tremendous value for the working class which is represented by the adoption of our proposals by the Socialist Party. Shortly before the socialist national conference the press of finance-capital doubled its "warnings" to the socialists. It cast aspersions on our intentions in order to influence the socialists. It recognised the power of the "mystical united front" which would lead to an "alarming alliance." (Bulletin Quotidien of the Comité des Forges.) But it was all of no avail. Usually the wireless gives full reports of all the debates of socialist congresses, but they maintained a stony silence about the Sunday conference. "L'Œuvre" wrote: "Whatever reservations have been

made by the platform at the national conference, it is impossible not to be clear on the extent of the result."

The paper of the General Staff and of the Church, "*L'Echo de Paris*," threatens: "If their unity were to become real, honest and firm, then there can be only one immediate effect: the rapid crystallisation of the forces of defence and of struggle."

Fascism is not parading with the security of a few months ago, and it is clear that the decision of the socialists will accelerate its efforts to rally together and to attempt to get a broader mass basis. But it is precisely the complete and honest unity of socialist and Communist workers which will build a rampart against which Fascism will be dashed to pieces. This unity will also be a decisive impulse towards the fight for trade union unity, which the leaders of the C.G.T. want to prevent (particularly those leaders who belong to the Socialist Party of Renaudel-Deat). With the formation of unity trade unions, of which we already have a hundred in the country, these efforts, too, have taken great steps forward.

The Struggle for the United Front in Great Britain

By D. F. Springhall (London)

On Sunday, July 22nd, the industrial East End of London was the scene of the biggest working-class demonstration for a number of years past.

Organised by the British Anti-War and Anti-Fascist Movement, contingents marched from all parts of London and, converging upon Aldgate, marched through the streets to the East End, which were densely packed with tens of thousands of East London workers who turned out to greet the marchers, to Victoria Park, where a monster meeting was held. Over 20,000 workers gathered in the Park.

The great march was organised on the proposal of the London District Committee of the Communist Party as the reply of the London workers to the impudent boast made by Sir Oswald Mosley, the leader of the British Union of Fascists, that he intended to conduct a great Blackshirt campaign in the industrial East End of London, preparatory to the organisation of a great fascist parade through the streets.

The demonstration was of a very militant character throughout, and the workers carried many striking effigies and caricatures of the fascist leaders and hundreds of red flags and striking slogans expressing the determination of the London workers to fight fascism. It was a clear proof of the growing popularity of the idea of the united front.

A significant feature was the full-throated cheers with which the workers greeted the several sections of the Labour Party League of Youth and the trade union organisations who marched in the procession. But the greatest cheers, accompanied by the singing of the "International," were given to the fighting speech made by Comrade Gabriel Peri, the representative of the French Communist Party, when he spoke of the united front in France between the French Socialist Party and the French Communist Party.

A week prior to the demonstration, the news which reached London of the united front agreement concluded between the French Socialists and Communists in the Paris region, which was quickly followed by the news of the decision of the National Council of the French Socialist Party, by a ten to one majority, to accept the united front proposals of the C.C. of the French Communist Party, created a great impression upon the London workers. It was the topic of discussion in the factories and trade unions and workers' meetings everywhere.

The day after the C.C. of the British Communist Party sent a letter to the national leaders of the Labour Party and the Trade Unions, the London District Committee despatched a letter to the London Labour Party (which has a majority on the London County Council) and the London Trades Council, in which proposals were made for the united front activity in London.

Sensing the tremendous mass indignation of the London workers against fascism, which swelled up following upon the exhibition of fascist violence against workers on the occasion of the highly successful counter-demonstration organised by the London Communists against the fascist rally at Olympia on June 7th, the Joint Committee of the London Labour Party and London Trades Council announced their intention of organising a great Conference against Fascism early in September. They aim at getting

upwards of 2,000 delegates, and Citrine, the secretary of the Trades Union Congress is being brought in as the main reporter.

In view of this, the first proposal made in the united front appeal of the London Party Committee was that invitations to the Conference should be extended to "The District Committee and local organisations of the C.P., to the Divisional Council and local branches of the Independent Labour Party and to all other working-class organisations which, although not affiliated to the Labour Party, declare their readiness to join in the fight against fascism."

Our letter further stated in this connection that "through such means the Conference could be made the turning point in the struggle of the London working class and could forge a united front which would act as an inspiring example to the rest of the country. Such a Conference could be for England what the United Front in Paris is for the French—a call to close the ranks in unity against the common foe."

Other proposals made were that representatives of the Labour Party and the Trades Council should meet representatives of the Communist Party to discuss:—

(a) The organisation of joint anti-war demonstrations on the 20th anniversary of the war, August 5th.

(b) To examine the question of the organisation of a powerful anti-fascist campaign in the factories, all working-class organisations and the localities and to develop a ceaseless demand for the release of Thaelmann, Torgler, and all other anti-fascist fighters.

(c) To discuss measures for the organisation of working-class resistance to the new Unemployed Insurance Act and the Sedition Bill.

No reply has yet been received from either body to our letter, although to-day the announcement is made that the National Joint Council of the T.U.C. and the Labour Party have rejected the proposals made to them in the appeal of the Central Committee of the Party on the amazing grounds that "there are no new circumstances which justify" them departing from their previous policy on this question.

Whilst the national leaders show once again that they are against the united front of action, there are signs that many local Labour organisations will take a contrary course. Already one important local Labour Party in London has decided for the united front with the Communists. This body is the Management Committee of the East Fulham Labour Party, which endorsed unanimously, amid unprecedented enthusiasm, a resolution submitted to it by the Lillie Ward organisation, who, by 42 votes to nil (one abstention), passed a resolution urging the Management Committee to "vigorously press the National Labour Party to collaborate in the united front on the lines of the Communist Party's letter."

It is worthy of note that this is the Labour Party which scored a big electoral success in a parliamentary by-election earlier in the year against the Conservatives, when the Labour Party candidate made the principal electoral issue a demagogic opposition to the National government's war policy. The vote for the united front, registered in this local Labour Party, is mainly attributable to the workers who joined the Party as new recruits following the successful by-election and who obviously want the Labour Party leaders to implement in action the bold speeches they made against war during the electoral campaign.

Further important evidence of the growth of sympathy for the united front is to be seen in recent happenings within the Labour Party League of Youth.

At the quarterly conference of the London branches of this organisation, held on June 24th, a resolution favouring the united front was only narrowly defeated. Since then the declaration of the National Joint Committee on war, in which they reverse the decision of the annual conference of the Labour Party, and now declare it to be the duty of the workers to be on the side of "their government" in a "war of defence" has aroused a determined opposition on the part of many local sections of the Labour League of Youth.

As a result, the London Advisory Committee of the League has decided, in face of the opposition of Morrison, the leader of the London Labour Party, and the Labour Party rule forbidding the League of Youth to discuss policy to call a conference of London branches on July 29th, at which a resolution will be put forward condemning the line of betrayal of the National Joint Council. A number of leading members of the London Advisory Committee of

the League have also taken the step of setting up an Anti-Fascist Movement within the League of Youth. At the time of writing, four branches of the League have elected delegates to take part in the **National Youth Congress against War and Fascism** which is being held at **Sheffield** on August 4th, and many others are expected to follow suit.

Another example of the feeling for unity was shown on July 8th last, when the Labour Party League of Youth organised an anti-war demonstration in Trafalgar Square, and when the Labour Youth members marched away from the Square side by side with the contingents of the Young Communist League in the most cordial fashion.

The most important task now is for the Communists to do everything possible in this very favourable situation to extend the united front in the localities with the members of the Labour Party.

The Offer of Unity of Action by the C.P. of Czechoslovakia

By G. Friedrich (Prague)

The international events of recent times, above all the happenings in Germany, the barricade struggles in Amsterdam and the realisation of unity of action in France have made a great impression on the Czecho-Slovakian proletariat as well. The Czecho-Slovakian working class sees in Amsterdam and Paris examples worthy of imitation. The will for united common struggle and the demand for strong action with closed ranks is uncommonly great. Numerous examples show how the Czecho-Slovakian working class is coming in ever greater masses into the united front movement, and is working towards unity of action led by the Communists.

In this situation the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia has written a letter to the central committees of the Czech and German Social Democratic Parties, as well as to the Czech Socialist Party, in which these parties are offered common action against fascism and imperialist war.

In this letter the proposal is made to hold common meetings and demonstrations in all the important centres of Czechoslovakia and on the German and Austrian frontiers against fascism in Germany and Austria on the 21st and 22nd July, on those days on which common action is to take place throughout the world, to send a delegation to Berlin to Thaelmann and other anti-fascist prisoners which should be composed of members of the social democratic and Communist Parties.

As a basis for this common action of solidarity with the Austrian and German proletariat, the C.P. of Czechoslovakia proposed:—(1) Release of Thaelmann, Paula Wallisch and all other anti-fascist prisoners in Germany and Austria. (2) Full right of asylum and adequate relief to all anti-fascist emigrants in Czechoslovakia. (3) A stop to be made to all prohibition on the part of the authorities and the police of demonstrations of solidarity with the German and Austrian proletariat.

In order to carry through common action against imperialist war the Czech C.P. proposes, in its offer, to hold in common factory meetings, demonstrations to war memorials and street demonstrations during the week July 29th-August 5th.

As a basis for these common anti-fascist and anti-war demonstrations, the Czech C.P. puts forward the following demands and slogans: (1) Full agreement and support for the peace policy of the Soviet Union and its disarmament proposals. (2) For international proletarian solidarity and fraternisation with the proletariat of Germany, Hungary, Austria and Poland. (3) Against the transport of war material to Japan and fascist Germany. (4) Not a man, not a penny for military armaments. (5) Instead of armaments the money should be used for the unemployed for the help of poor peasants suffering from bad harvests, for the improvement of health insurance, for bread and work. (6) Against military training of youth and the militarisation of the schools. (7) Against the lengthening of the period of military service. (8) For the defence of the Soviet Union, for the defence of Soviet China, against the division of China among the imperialists.

This offer of the Czech C.P. has produced a response never

known before. The whole bourgeoisie press has expressed its opinion in detail on it, and even the Czechoslovakian wireless sent out a report about it. Although no official answer has yet been received from the two social democratic parties, the bourgeois press is already able to report that the offer will be refused. The different small notices in the social democratic press prove that the social democratic leaders will obediently follow the orders of the bourgeoisie. The *Pravo Lidu*, for example, attempts to dispose of the offer of the united front by declaring: "Tovarisch Gottwald would like to gleichschalten," and it shows that Czechoslovakian social democracy considers that remaining in government is more valuable than the common action of the workers. The *Pravo Lidu* writes:—

"Gottwald recommends to the working class what we social democrats characterise as Austrian tactics: not to be in the government, not to bother about the state, about its independence, not to protect democracy and the republic, even at the cost of a somewhat unpopular participation in the power of the state—and this, also, if necessary in a state with a capitalist economy—but to transfer the workers' fight from legal, democratic, self-governing bodies and from the round table of democratic negotiations, to the streets, to make working-class politics through great demonstrations, with strikes of a day's duration, leading the unemployed to demonstrations—the workers would be indeed astonished if all socialist parties were to unite for such actions, as would make the Hodacs and the Dubickys (leaders of the employers' federations, Ed.) 'tremble at the knees.' Well, we agree that they would really tremble at the knees, but in the end there would be the same result as in Austria or recently in Amsterdam."

The determination to protect the rule of the bourgeoisie at any price could not be more clearly expressed.

After the bourgeoisie and the government had already in advance given, in their press, the line for the answer of the social democratic parties to the offer of the united front by the Communist Party, the party itself sent their official answer. Czech social democracy made itself quite clear and declared: "We do not take your offer seriously and therefore we reject it."

The German social democrats, with an eye on their membership, had to content themselves with a longer answer, in which they attempt to use, in a demagogic way, the authority of the Soviet Union among the working class for their sabotage of the united struggle, and, so to speak, to play off the Soviet Union against the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Above all the party executive of German social democracy declares that in any case the offer of the united front is a "manoeuvre" in order finally to produce the following demagogy:—

"You accuse us of having voted for the military budget. Quite apart from the fact that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union agrees to the expenditure of milliards for armament purposes, this accusation, in the present world situation is grotesque, and is in complete contradiction to the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, whom you demand we should support. While the Soviet Union carries on League of Nations politics, is considering its entry into the League of Nations, and makes an alliance with France and the Little Entente for ensuring peace, in order to present a common front on foreign policy to fascism, you demand from us that we should refuse the means of defence against fascism to a member of this anti-fascist front. While the Soviet Union, on the basis of its present foreign policy, which we welcome, although in our opinion it comes somewhat late, must have the greatest interest in a strong, well-armed Czechoslovakian republic capable of defending itself, you stand, not only in opposition to this state, which is the last island of democratic freedom in central Europe, but venture to accuse us because we defend it and have its interests at heart."

The German social fascists in Czechoslovakia will nevertheless not succeed with this kind of transparent demagogy in convincing the working class of the correctness and reasonableness of their anti-working-class attitude. The many examples of the realisation of unity of action between social democratic and Communist workers in many factories and districts also are a proof of this.

The Labour Movement

The Battle of Toledo

By A. G. Bosse (New York).

The strike of the Toledo auto workers, coming in the midst of a series of similarly militant strikes of Pacific and Gulf Coast dockers, Minneapolis teamsters and Alabama miners, presents a typical cross-section of the current revolt against the N.R.A. and Roosevelt's New Deal. It started almost with a spontaneous revolt against a decreasing standard of living and as a struggle for increased wages and union recognition. When the Left wing made its propaganda and participation felt, the strike entered the higher political stage of a struggle against the federal mediators and local authorities, it became a street battle against the state militia and sheriffs' deputies with their clubs, gas and guns.

The strike began May 12th, at the Electric Auto-Lite Co., which makes electrical automobile parts, and lasted for seven weeks. About 1,800 workers in the A.F. of L. Federal Union came out, but under the passive leadership of its officials the strike showed no life, and after five weeks 1,200 workers had returned. An injunction allowed only 25 to picket at a time at one gate. With the application of the Communist policy of mass picketing and mass violation of the injunction, the plant was closed tight and the real struggle began. For ten days these strikers, plus 10,000 and more other workers, battled for possession of the streets against the troops; for two days they actually besieged the plant, shutting in the guards and deputies for many hours at a time. Two workers were killed by the troops, dozens wounded, thousands gassed by tear and vomiting gases, and 3,000 were arrested.

At one time 10,000 workers attacked the plant, smashing every window and some machinery and imprisoning hundreds of scabs and guards, at other times up to 25,000. Frequently the workers drove the troops back for a number of blocks, and only by obtaining reinforcements and shooting could the soldiers hold their ground. Governor White, of Ohio, admitted, "In one company alone every man was injured by missiles and two officers beaten into unconsciousness."

Often the workers hurled back gas bombs before they exploded, using houses and porches as barricades. Throughout the night of May 24th they continued mass picketing around the plant, in the face of rifle attacks by the soldiers.

In February these workers had won a 5 per cent. increase and a promise of study by April 1st by the Labour Board of their grievances, and the question of union recognition. These were disregarded, and the second strike occurred in April. The demands were a 10 per cent. wage increase, union recognition, seniority rights, and extra pay for overtime. The leader was the union business agent Ramsey, who had sold out the February strike, but proved himself a clever "Left" demagogue. When the C.P. and Left wing unemployed councils tried to initiate mass picketing with 100 to 200 pickets, Ramsey pointed out leading Communists to the police. Later, through leaflets and meetings, the picket lines were increased to a couple of thousand (by May 21st) and the next day were doubled, keeping the scabs in the plant. The police and deputies charged, and in the ensuing battle 20 company autos were wrecked, hundreds of scabs beaten up, and all arrested strikers torn from the hands of the police. The following day the deputies attacked with gas bombs and shooting, and the workers, their number increased, charged the plant. That afternoon, all through the night and the next morning, thousands of workers kept up their running battle, tearing up all the streets for blocks around and smashing every window. At times pickets smashed through the plant, breaking down gates and being driven back only by the arrival of new cargoes of gas. From 10,000 to 25,000 participated in the various attacks, closing the plant down tight. On May 24th the National Guard was called in, 19 companies of young men and boys from distant small towns and farming communities. The authorities feared to mobilize the local militia, and even so the leaflets and curses of the workers caused a dozen or more soldiers to refuse to shoot. The presence of the soldiers only made the workers more indignant, and their use of gas, bayonets, guns and bullets, killing two and wounding many, caused the workers to attack them with bare hands and bricks.

Due to the mood of the masses and the propaganda of the C.P. 83 A. F. of L. locals of the total of 103 voted for the general

strike, which the workers came out for during the period of mass battles. The key union was the Electrical Workers' Union, which controlled the power and light of the city. This local voted to strike but the A. F. of L. leaders held them back, using William Green (president of the A. F. of L.), the head of the Electric Workers' International Union, and other misleaders. The sentiment of the masses was such that the leaders dared not oppose the general strike, but delayed it to June 1st, expecting to smash the strike by then. The electrical men had suffered two successive 10 per cent. cuts, and the A.F. of L. bribed them by the promise of the return of one cut as well as by all sorts of demagoguery. Meanwhile, they kept up secret negotiations with the employers and the federal mediators, hoping to break the spirit of the workers and to persuade them to arbitrate. A meeting of officials of 93 A. F. of L. locals was called to set the date for the general strike, but instead voted to appeal to Roosevelt to save Toledo from a general strike. The Press reported that they "have no stomach for the strike that would begin a general strike."

The strategy of all of the enemies of the workers—the employers, arbitrators, Governor White, President Roosevelt, National Guard generals, A. F. of L. Socialist and Musteite leaders, did not kill the movement for a general strike. They could not come out openly against it, so they tried to prevent it by rushing through a sell-out settlement of the Auto strike before the general strike could materialise. They planned a big parade and meeting by June 1st, which would be a "victory" celebration instead of calling the general strike. The Press did its part, writing repeatedly of a settlement even while the workers were voting on it, lying about the troops having been withdrawn. Ramsey announced plan after plan of satisfactory settlement, which the workers continued to reject.

Twelve thousand participated in the parade which ended in a demonstration of 18,000 in the square. Within 20 minutes after the meeting started the workers jeered the A. F. of L. leaders off the platform and the rank and file took over the meeting, demanding an immediate general strike. All the speakers were Communists or Musteites. While the demonstration was on Ramsey tried to call a meeting to get a vote for the settlement he had secretly arranged, but the workers refused to leave the meeting. The next night, at a stormy four-hour session, a settlement was forced through, by dividing the workers of three plants on strike into separate groups and splitting the women from the men. Previously by a secret ballot vote Ramsey had put through a settlement, but mass indignation after the meeting kept him from signing it.

The settlement called for compulsory arbitration; a 5 per cent. increase (soon eaten up by the increase in the cost of living); jobs first for those who had worked during the strike, then for the strikers and then for the outside scabs. The union was to be dealt with on the basis of the number of members they had in the shop (the company union and trade union were both to be recognised); there was no guarantee against discrimination or of employment for the strikers, no demand for compensation for workers killed or wounded, and the union officials who had strangled the strike were to remain in power.

After the settlement only 96 strikers were hired, and at a special union meeting the workers again voted for a strike and mass picketing. Ramsey rushed to Taft (millionaire mediator, son of a former president of the United States) for better terms. Six hundred massed before the local plant and refused to enter unless they all got their jobs back. Those who had gone in came out again. Finally the company was forced to state that all strikers, massed in front of the plant, would get their jobs back. This partial victory was the result of the militant policy of the rank and file.

Throughout the strike, the A. F. of L. officials, local and national, played the usual role of hangmen. The Musteites worked with them, refusing a united front with the "Left" wing workers. They talked radically but acted in the usual manner of "Left" social-fascists. They said little against the N.R.A. and its mediators, and not a word against the A.F.L. fakers, but much against the Communists. The S.P. called the settlement a "complete victory." Its chairman and other socialists were called in to the mass demonstration by the A.F.L. to help put through the sell-out. The Mayor of Toledo and the treacherous "Left" leader of the electrical workers' union are both ex-socialists, but might just as well have still been members.

The lessons of this strike, which received a tremendous amount of attention in the Communist Press, can be summed up as follows: The workers are beginning to learn that to prevent real unionisation the bosses' government will go to any length, including maiming and killing of strikers; that the N.R.A. and its fake right to organise must be fought militantly; that the A.F.L. and socialist leaders who support the New Deal so enthusiastically constantly sell out the workers; that injunctions and the bosses' terror can be smashed by militant mass action; that to-day strikes against the bosses' government can be won only by the general strike.

As for the C.P., its members learned that clear, simple slogans (like "Mass picketing will close the plant," "No arbitration," and "Immediate General Strike") will win the masses; that the red scare can be defeated by active picketing, demonstrations, propaganda and distribution of literature. Before the sell-out the Party distributed 100,000 leaflets, sold 400 *Daily Workers* each day, and 20,000 copies of the special Toledo issue. It initiated the call for mass picketing and violation of the injunction, for the immediate general strike, withdrawal of the armed forces, etc.

Among the errors and weaknesses of the Party in the strike were its failure to build up the contacts (34 workers) it had at the beginning among the strikers, and the failure to develop any contacts among the electrical workers. It showed insufficient boldness in propagandising the demand for the general strike, talking at first only of a sympathetic strike, at a time when the A.F. of L. leaders were already forced to come out for the general strike. In initiating a united front conference it was too narrow, having no representatives of the union or factory workers, calling only A.F.L. bodies and omitting from its call all "Left" wing organisations. It suffered from complete isolation from the A.F. of L. unions and from the factories at the beginning of the strike. It failed to build up the unemployed councils as mass organisations, even when the council members were fighting on the picket line. It did insufficient recruiting, receiving only 40 applications for the C.P. and Y.C.L.

In Support of the Striking Workers of Verviers

By F. C. (Brussels)

The strike of the 16,000 textile workers of Verviers which commenced on February 26, is being continued. Five months of struggle! This model example of persistency and tenacity is the result of the fighting traditions of the proletariat of Verviers. This town was the cradle of the First International in Belgium. In the year 1903 the proletariat of Verviers successfully fought against a lock-out which lasted for months. In the year 1933 5,000 working men and women conducted a strike for three months, and lost it, thanks to the betrayal of their reformist leaders.

In the present conflict the reformist leaders were unable to smash the strike, thanks to the vigilance of the Central Strike Committee which was set up on the suggestion of the Red Trade Union Opposition, and which clearly formulated the demands of the strikers. The number of blacklegs was not very large, but the employers not only provided them with the usual protection of the bourgeois State (police and gendarmes, courts and prisons), but also with the assistance of the fascist members of the National Legion, who were armed with the express approval of the authorities and the Courts.

The struggle has now entered a critical stage.

Under the pressure of the masses, Duchesne, general secretary of the textile workers' union and socialist member of parliament, made an interpellation in the Chamber on May 29 in the name of the socialist Chamber fraction, requesting the Minister for Labour to seize the initiative for investigating the conflict by hearing both parties. The Minister accepted the proposal.

The "Commission of Enquiry" delivered its report on June 30. The delegates of the employers and of the reformists assembled in the Ministry of Labour and the Minister could report that an agreement had been arrived at. Both parties had accepted the findings of the Commission of Enquiry. These findings were not published at all, and also the social-democratic press kept silent regarding it. Bit by bit it transpired that the findings of the report were not in favour of the brutal 22 conditions put forward by the employers for the resumption of work, but unconditionally made sure of their "loyal" carrying out, whilst leaving to the workers the "freedom" to carry them out together with the employers.

The resistance organised by the Central Strike Committee against these decisions, however, was very energetic. The reformist leaders had a cool reception in the trade union meetings preceding the ballot vote. The employers, who realised that the reformist leadership of the strike offered them great advantages, categorically declared in an interview with a delegation of the weak christian trade union that they would not accept any alteration in their 22 conditions, that the strike-breakers would keep their jobs, that the resumption of work would take place according to the wishes of the employers, so that the 3,000 workers who had been dismissed would be left to their fate.

This categorical declaration exposed the whole manoeuvre staged by the social democrats with their interpellation of May 29.

The Central Strike Committee called upon the workers, in mass meetings, leaflets and posters, to decide in a ballot vote: (1) for the withdrawal of the 22 conditions of the employers; (2) for the cancellation of 3,000 dismissals and against any victimisation; (3) for the maintenance of all trade union rights in the factories, for the dismissal of all strike-breakers from the factories, for the immediate release of all workers arrested in connection with the strike.

At the same time four of the strikers, two men and two women, went to the Minister for Labour and submitted the demands of the strikers. The Minister declared that the report of the Commission of Enquiry means an alleviation of the 22 conditions. But the employers wrote on the very next day: "The 22 conditions will be carried out. They are in accordance with the spirit and the principles of the report issued by the Commission of Enquiry."

The ballot vote was taken on July 14. Every striker was informed that while voting he had to consider that strike pay will have to be reduced again if the strike were to be continued. In spite of this pressure exercised on the strikers, 6,190 votes out of 11,648 were cast for the continuation of the strike, 4,971 for resumption of work, and 487 papers were invalid. The reformist leaders declared on July 16 that the strike is being continued, as they realised that it would be difficult for them to say that the necessary majority for the continuation of the strike had not been reached.

Duchesne and company held a joint meeting with the Executive of the Belgian Trade Union Federation and decided to demand the settlement of the conflict by arbitration award. In case the employers refuse to accept the arbitration award, the reformist leaders would attempt to have the award accepted by the strikers, and thereby the strikers would become involuntarily unemployed. In this manner the strike would be actually liquidated. The employers, however, declared on July 19 that they would reject the arbitration award.

The struggle is being continued. The financial solidarity of the Belgian proletariat is very effective. The Workers' International Relief alone collected 100,000 francs. In the present situation the courageous struggle of the strikers of Verviers needs the solidarity of the textile workers of the whole world. This solidarity must be organised and extended everywhere.

Fight Against Imperialist War and Fascism

The International Women's Congress and Unity of Action

By Marcel Cachin

An International Women's Congress against fascism and imperialist war will be held in Paris on the 4th, 5th and 6th August. The success of this congress is already guaranteed to a great extent. It is already clear that over a thousand delegates will be present at the congress. The delegates will come from all parts of the world and they will represent all categories of the toiling masses. Working women from the factories, peasant women, housewives, teachers, students, youth and adults, will meet at the congress. Women delegates from Great Britain, France, Germany, Scandinavia, Spain, China, and many other countries, from the motherlands and from the colonies, will be present at the congress, all filled with a deep loathing of fascism and war. Amongst the delegates will be Comrade Stassova with twenty delegates from the Soviet Union.

The idea of holding this international women's congress origin-

ated with the women's committee of the Amsterdam-Plevel movement. In this way the Amsterdam movement has given us a proof of the fruitfulness of its activity. Under the leadership of **Henri Barbusse** the movement has already rendered great services to the cause of unity of action against fascism and war, but its tasks are by no means ended. It is to be hoped that the congress, which will take place at the beginning of August, will find a powerful echo through the whole world.

For many months now the women's organisations in the various countries, which answered the appeal of the Amsterdam movement, have been busy conducting energetic propaganda. The **Initiative Committee** which opened up this international women's action (consisting of Marguerite de St. Prix, Dimitrova, Anna Lindhagen, Karin Michaelis, Sun Tsin-lin, Dr. Baker, Ellen Wilkinson, and Helene Stassova) has organised meetings and conferences, printed and published leaflets and circulated collecting sheets to defray the expenses of the delegates to the congress in all parts of the world, etc.

The aim of the movement has been reached to a very great degree. The international congress in Paris has been prepared with very great care, and the agenda which has been drawn up is of great importance.

Why must women oppose fascism? Why must they mobilise all their forces in the struggle against war? The delegates will have to answer these questions, and the congress will draw up the slogans and the actions to be carried out unitedly all over the world.

Against fascism? The congress will deal with the economic oppression of women by fascism and will bring forward facts showing how under the Hitler regime in Germany women have been driven out of all public offices, from the universities, from the possibilities of higher study, from the offices and the factories. Servant and slave is the only role which fascism has for the women. Religious education and patriotic and chauvinist propaganda are for the masses of the women in order to make them put up with the wholesale misery introduced by the Third Reich. Fascism wishes to turn the woman into an inferior being, a slave of the man, whose task is to bear the greatest possible number of soldiers. In Italy also Mussolini solved the women's question in his own way by dissolving all women's organisations in 1927 and suppressing their publications.

It is only natural, therefore, that the working women of the world should rise in opposition to such retrogression. In order to save the future of civilisation they must fight with us against fascism and reaction, but at the same time they must fight with the same energy against the forces which are preparing conflicts between the imperialist Powers and leading to new imperialist wars.

In the next war imperialist barbarism will make no distinction between the soldiers at the front and the civilian population in the rear. The mobilisation order will affect the peoples as a whole, without respect to age and sex. The modern military technique will strike at the towns just as mercilessly as at the trenches. The bombing squadrons will drop high explosives and incendiary bombs, will spray the towns and villages with poison gas and ruthlessly slaughter men, women, and children.

It is the duty of the women to take part in the hard and bitter struggle against the regime which is preparing such monstrous atrocities. Is there one woman in the whole world, no matter whether she is a working woman, a peasant, an intellectual, or a housewife, who can remain indifferent to the horrible intentions of the war-mongers?

The capitalist world in which we live offers the young girl or woman three things only: unemployment with its resultant misery, the barbarous dictatorship of fascism, and imperialist war with its welter of slaughter and destruction. The representatives of those women who have realised that they must not remain passive in the face of so many dangers will meet in congress on the 4th, 5th, and 6th August in order to put forward their demands and take their place in the struggle. The Communists will co-operate in this action which has been organised by the courageous elite of the world's women and which is being pursued with zeal and energy. We are very well aware that the proletarian revolution, which will free humanity finally, can only be carried out with the support of the women who have even a greater interest than their menfolk in the destruction of capitalism and the abolition of the enslavement of humanity which accompanies capitalism.

The International Red Aid and the International Women's Congress

By H. Grünwald.

The initiative for convening an International Congress of toiling women against war and fascism on August 4th to 6th in Paris, has met with lively response among the toiling women in all parts of the world. The organisation of international solidarity, the I.R.A. welcomed and supported the convening of the World Congress.

The more the outbreak of an imperialist war is becoming an immediate danger, the more ruthlessly the bourgeoisie is applying terrorist measures against the toilers in town and country. Particularly in the belligerent countries the most cruel terror is raging.

In *Japan* wholesale arrests are carried out almost daily; on the strength of the "law against dangerous thoughts," and sincere opponents of war are cruelly murdered. Many toiling women are among the arrested. On a single day, on October 30, 1933, 107 women were arrested in Tokyo for being suspected of revolutionary activity. For months they have been kept under arrest. An instance of the brutality of the Japanese imperialists against the women is the tragic fate of *Takato Kakonato*. Although she was pregnant she was arrested and maltreated. As a result of continued maltreatment she became insane.

The Japanese imperialists have carried out a monstrous carnage among the Chinese peasants of the Sanhsien province. As the bourgeois paper *I Se Pao* (Tientsien) reported Japanese airplanes bombed on May 2nd the village of Kirni, at the Suangari river, where the peasants had opposed the forcible seizure of their rice fields. More than 20,000 Chinese, mostly women and children, were killed.

The white terror of the Kuomintang government is raging furiously against the Chinese toilers. Many revolutionary women have fallen victims to this terror. In China the execution of young women students at the age of twelve years is not a rare occurrence. The following measures of torture are usually applied: The ironing of the bodies of the victim with hot irons, the breaking of all limbs, mutilation of the sex organs, cutting out of the breasts, etc. A bourgeois Chinese paper reports on the conditions in the prisons:—

"In the women's department of the third prison of Tientsein there are a number of children, among them a number of newly born. (*I se Pao*, May 10th, 1934.)

"The third prison of Tientsin accommodates 18,000 prisoners, three times more than normal." (*Ta Kung Pao*, May 14th, 1934.)

In this connection mention should be made of the fact that Gertrude Ruegg and her husband, the secretary of the trade unions of the countries of the Pacific Ocean, were sentenced to lifelong imprisonment. They have repeatedly been compelled to carry out hunger strikes in order to protest against the cruel prison regime. Comrade Huang-Li, the woman organiser of the Red Aid of China, who was executed in Nanking, is one of the many toiling women who have been executed.

The cruel terror in Germany, Japan, China, in the Balkan countries, in Poland and in the colonies, aims at crushing the growing resistance of the toiling masses against suppression and exploitation and before all the resistance against the preparations for war. Fresh and more stringent laws are being promulgated in all capitalist countries for securing the imperialist preparations for war. By means of terror the wage slaves are to be made "reliable" for the war and secure the hinterland, which is to be rendered powerless to frustrate the imperialist war plans and war operations. The mechanisation of the war weapons makes it absolutely necessary for the imperialists to possess a "reliable" hinterland. The war production in the hinterland will be of much greater importance in the next war than was the case in the last imperialist war.

As we have seen, war and terror are twin brothers, and the struggle against terror is therefore closely linked up with the struggle against the imperialist war, thus constituting one of the most important tasks of the I.R.A.

Immediately after the publication of the appeal for the calling of the International Women's Congress against war and fascism the I.R.A. mobilised all its 72 sections, the 14 million red helpers, in order to rally the toiling women of all countries for this International gathering.

The International Congress of the toiling women against war and fascism must express the will of millions of toiling women of all countries to fight unitedly against imperialist war, for the defence of the Soviet Union, against fascist terror, the pacemaker of imperialist war. The million masses of toiling women will demand through their delegates at this congress:—

Freedom for Ernst Thaelmann! Freedom for Rakosi!

Release Gramsci and Hofmaier from Mussolini's prisons!

Wrest Gertrud Ruegg and her husband from the dungeons of the Kuomintang hangmen!

War Preparations in Lithuania

By S. Angaretis

At the beginning of June last the followers of Voldemaras, the former Prime Minister, attempted to overthrow the Tubjalis government and to set up again a Voldemaras government. This abortive putsch is closely connected with Hitler's efforts to convert the Baltic countries into a place d'armes at the disposal of Germany in a future war against the Soviet Union.

Hitler has his followers not only among the German nationalists of the Memel district, but also among the Lithuanian nationalists, i.e., in the ranks of the government party. Since the fascist upheaval in Lithuania in the year 1926 the fascist government has changed its foreign-political orientation several times; the Polish orientation was followed by the German, the latter again by the Polish. Even to-day there exist both tendencies in the governing party of the nationalists (fascists).

In the other bourgeois parties there also exist leanings towards the Poles and the Germans.

The fascists in Lithuania carried out the upheaval in 1926 under the two main slogans: against the Communists (against the revolution) and against the Poles. The fascists spread provocative rumours that the Poles were backing the Communists, who would start an upheaval, and then Poland would occupy Lithuania. The newly formed fascist government, however, displayed tendencies of a rapprochement with Poland. It was at a time when France was at the head of the war preparations of the imperialists against the Soviet Union and Poland was the next ally of France.

Voldemaras was in favour of a rapprochement with Poland, but he demanded that this rapprochement be better prepared in Lithuania. He repeatedly succeeded in ousting his opponents from the government, but finally he was himself driven out of the government in the year 1929. Even before his resignation from government Voldemaras made a number of economic concessions to Germany, so that Lithuania turned more and more towards Germany. After Voldemaras' resignation from government, relations with Germany became perceptibly cooler, the conflicts with Germany increased, and a rapprochement with Poland set in.

After the fascist upheaval in Germany, when Hitler issued the slogan of a war against the Soviet Union, the Smetana-Tubjalis government made a sudden turn in favour of a German orientation. After Hitler's victory in Germany the number of Hitler's followers in Lithuania greatly increased. When it, however, became apparent that Hitler would not stop short at the seizure of the Memel district, but would also lay his hand on the whole of the Baltic countries, and in the first place on Lithuania, the Lithuanian fascists became perceptibly cooler towards Hitler. An offensive has now set in upon the rights to autonomy of the Memel district. This in turn has led to a strengthening of Hitler's influence in the Memel district.

This resulted in the whole bourgeois press advocating the idea that a common front of Poland and Lithuania against Germany is necessary. An unofficial ambassador, Zubov, has been sent to Pilsudski in Warsaw, and Prystor, an ambassador of Pilsudski, to Smetana. This, however, does not mean that Lithuania is ultimately reorientated towards Poland.

Lithuania is largely economically dependent upon Germany. Formerly half of Lithuania's export went to Germany. At present, the greater part of Lithuania's export goes to Germany and England. Germany, however, wishes not only to carry on trade with Lithuania but also to convert Lithuania to her colony. Lithuania cannot find protection in Poland, as the latter has not only annexed Vilna, but also aims at converting Lithuania to her colony.

During the last few years the fascist government and the bourgeois press have been carrying on the ideological and literature and propaganda material on the achievements of the Soviet Union are prohibited. The militarisation of youth in the schools by means of sport is being carried on on a large scale.

The workers' organisations are being persecuted. The trade unions (among them the reformist ones) are being prohibited, according to a new law only government candidates can be put forward at the elections to the Health Insurance councils, the Labour press is completely suppressed, fascist workers' organisations are being established, Lithuanian Cossack detachments are being formed, recruited from the youth of the big peasants, the first steps are being taken to liquidate all the organisations which are not incorporated in the system of the national organisations.

The sharpening of the crisis has led to a worsening of the conditions of the toilers in town and country. Discontent is growing among the masses of toilers.

The Communist Party of Poland is confronted with the task of strengthening the fight against Lithuania's drawing into a war against the Soviet Union. In this struggle the Party cannot confine itself to exposing the treacherous policy of the fascist government, but must draw the masses into the struggle against the fascist offensive upon the working class and the peasantry, against Lithuania's participation in the preparation for war.

The White Terror

Rakosi in Prison

By J. Avar

The eight and a half years' hard labour which Comrade Rakosi served were filled with uninterrupted attempts to kill him. But it was not possible to "settle" with Comrade Rakosi as was done with Comrades Goegoes, Lowezy, Szaron, and others in the prisons. It was only possible to make him ill. Rakosi contracted heart and lung trouble in the prison. On January 10, 1934, immediately after having served a three months' disciplinary sentence he wrote to his brother: "My health is not in the best condition, I am suffering from heart trouble."

The eight and a half years' hard labour were filled with an uninterrupted struggle against the prison regime of fascism. When Comrade Rakosi was conveyed to the prison of Vacs at the end of 1925 the political prisoners did not possess any rights or privileges. Since the overthrow of the Soviet dictatorship Comrade Rakosi was the first Communist who during the fresh struggles of the Party was arrested and sentenced to imprisonment. He had to fight for every bit of privilege, he really performed pioneer work for the rights of the political prisoners. In the first period of his imprisonment he did not receive any books of his own. The prison director declared that the prisoners must be satisfied with the religious and patriotic books of the prison library. Every prisoner was obliged to attend the church service. When Rakosi refused to go to chapel he was put into a dark cell, week after week. Only by means of a hunger strike Rakosi and Comrade Weinberger enforced the right to have their own books and to stay away from chapel.

During the eight and a half years Comrade Rakosi carried out six hunger strikes, aggregating 54 days. His first hunger strike was carried out at the police station immediately after his arrest, as a protest against the tortures and in order to enforce his transference from the police station to the ordinary court prison. This strike lasted twelve days. At the beginning of January, 1929, he carried out a ten days' hunger strike in the prison of Vacs in order to protest against the sharpening of the prison regime against the political prisoners and applied with particular brutality against Comrade Rakosi. A letter from Rakosi, which he had managed to smuggle out of the prison and in which he bitterly complained of inhumane treatment, fell into the hands of the prison management. Rakosi was punished with six days' solitary confinement in a dark underground cell, which was damp, full of rats and vermin, without a bed, mattress or blanket. This constituted an attempt to murder Rakosi, for he would certainly have contracted tuberculosis had he been compelled to pass six days in winter in this terribly cold cell. After having served this sentence he was condemned to three months' solitary confinement, hard plank bed every second day, prohibition to receive or send letters, to read books, to use pen and ink. When Rakosi started a hunger strike in order to protest against this brutality, the director ordered that he be put into chains, a punishment which was applied by the commanders of the former Austro-Hungarian army and which consisted in chaining hands and feet closely together, so that the culprit could not move at all and his blood circulation was impeded. When the international

working class raised a cry of protest against its inhumane treatment of Rakosi, the Hungarian government sent a commission of enquiry to Vacs in order to examine Rakosi's complaints. But only as a result of a fresh struggle, a hunger strike lasting for 17 days of all the political prisoners in all the Hungarian prisons in October, 1929, Rakosi's transference to another prison, to Szeged, was enforced.

Here he was at last amidst Party comrades. But the political prisoners of Szeged were hermetically isolated from the outer world; they had to perform ten hours' daily compulsory labour, the food was very bad. When the State budget became unstable as a result of the economic crisis the government made economies in the rations of the prisoners. Since 1930 the Communists in Szeged have actually been suffering from hunger. The daily ration was cut down by a third, the dinner consisted of a water soup without any nourishment. Rakosi, who had to work in the filthy atmosphere of a weaving shop, became seriously ill.

There were other mental tortures. The censorship of the books was in the hands of the prison chaplains, who were furious about the Communist-atheists. No book of any progressive tendency was allowed to pass. At the end of October, 1933, the situation became worse. A letter which was smuggled out of the prison, and which fell into the hands of the police, caused the Ministry of Justice to order the most draconic measures against the political prisoners. The use of paper, ink, pen and pencil was prohibited, the censorship of books was sharpened. Even books of Bernard Shaw, Mark Twain, Tolstoy, Gogol, and Hegel were put on the index.

Rakosi again was sentenced to disciplinary punishment: he was sentenced to three months' solitary confinement, with hard plank bed. The prison management had discovered that he had carried on educational work among the political prisoners, he had held a course on the history and the lessons of the two Hungarian revolutions. This disciplinary punishment in the last period of his hard labour imprisonment was the eleventh disciplinary punishment. He has passed a total of three years, more than a third of his whole prison term, in disciplinary cells.

One must realise what this means! To pace up and down in a single cell, alone, in solitary confinement, without any books, without any letters, without the possibility of talking to anybody. In Vacs, Rakosi had served a disciplinary sentence of a whole year (solitary confinement and withdrawal of all "privileges," i.e., books, correspondence, visits). In Szeged his longest disciplinary sentence was only six months. Only a comrade who has acquired self-discipline in the revolutionary struggle is able to control his nerves in spite of such disciplinary punishment.

The Legal Lynch Murder of The Scottsboro Boys Fixed for August 31

On June 28 the Supreme Court of Alabama confirmed the lynch verdict of Heywood Patterson and Clarence Norris which was pronounced by Judge Callahan in December last. The execution has been fixed for August 31. The first time the verdict was confirmed by the Supreme Court of Alabama in April, 1932; now this Court has for the second time confirmed the legal lynch verdict.

The world protest movement, under the leadership of the International Red Aid and the demand for the release of the Scottsboro boys, compelled the Supreme Court of the United States in November, 1932, to quash the first death sentence and to order a new trial. When in April, 1933, again a death sentence was pronounced, the indignant protests compelled Judge Horton to quash this sentence also.

The case was again tried by Judge Callahan. Patterson was convicted for the third time and Norris for the second time. The trial conducted by Judge Callahan is one of the most shameful frame-ups ever staged in the United States. Although death sentences were involved, Judge Callahan declared without scruples that he would only allow three days for each of the trials. The list of jurymen was forged. A petition was submitted to the Court to change the place of the Court. This was endorsed by 500 inhabitants of Decatur and Morgan, who had declared in favour of lynching the boys and their defending counsels. From such a kind of people the bench of assizes was formed. The Public Prosecutor had suppressed important evidence in favour of the accused. The judge constantly interrupted the defending counsels, only examined the evidence of witnesses for the prosecution and obstructed the defence in bringing forward their evi-

dence. When instructing the assizes in the Patterson trial, Judge Callahan declared that the Court of Alabama is of the opinion that if a white woman accuses a Negro of rape, one can assume that the Negro is guilty. As a result of such incitement and open hatred against the Negroes the Supreme Court of Alabama confirmed the sentence and ordered the carrying out of the legal lynch murder of the innocent Negro boys.

It is urgently necessary to strengthen and to support with all means the international Scottsboro campaign of the Red Aid, the protests and the demands for the release of the Negro boys. President Roosevelt must be overwhelmed with protests against the lynch terror which is raging in the United States against the Negroes and of which the Scottsboro case is one of the most barbarous examples. In every mass meeting, in every demonstration against the fascist terror, energetic protest must be raised against the lynch terror in the United States. Every demand for the release of Ernst Thaelmann must be connected with the demand for the release of the Scottsboro Negro boys.

Only the international protest can save the lives of the innocent Scottsboro boys and enforce their immediate and unconditional release. Strengthen the Scottsboro campaign!

Afghan Governmental Barbarism in the Service of British Imperialism

Let there be no doubt about it, if the working-class organisations all over the world had not put so much pressure on the Afghan Government our two heroic Indian comrades, Gurmukh Singh and Pirthwi Singh would have been hanged in Kabul prison long ago. Many Afghan national-revolutionaries have been hanged in the same prison without even a pretence of a trial. Thanks to international pressure the Afghan Government has not dared to hang our two comrades, but it is holding them under conditions so inhuman and vile that if it is permitted to do so much longer it will achieve its end by other means.

Our comrades are loaded with ten pounds of shackles each. They are permitted to visit the lavatories twice a day only, irrespective of what their needs may be. During the intense cold of the Afghan winter they were kept in unheated cells without warm blankets. Their food consists of a badly-baked loaf of inferior bread per day. During the whole eleven months of their imprisonment they have not been given a bath or permitted to change their clothes. Whilst they were ill no serious medical assistance was provided.

Both our comrades have played a prominent part in the anti-British struggle in India, and it is at the behest of the British Government that they are now being held and maltreated in Kabul. Both of them were arrested for anti-imperialist activities during the war and sentenced to death, the sentences later being commuted to imprisonment for life. The first part of their sentences were served in the Andaman Islands, the notorious British penal settlement, and after a persistent struggle they were transferred to Southern India. Whilst being transported to Ballay Prison they succeeded in escaping. Gurmukh Singh crossed the frontier into Afghanistan, but later returned to India and worked against British imperialism for ten years underground. On August 7th, 1933, he was arrested at the orders of the Afghan Government near the Indian frontier, and has been held in prison at the behest of the British authorities ever since, but up to the moment no charge of any sort has been formulated.

The real gaoler of our comrades is the British political agent in Kabul, where British imperialism is again dominant and all anti-British elements are being mercilessly exterminated. Nadir Khan seized the throne of Afghanistan with British assistance, and the present Prime Minister could not remain in office a day without British approval, for the real ruler of Afghanistan is the British political agent. British imperialism is working to subjugate Afghanistan and finally annex it, as it has annexed other countries adjacent to India; it aims at using Afghanistan as a bulwark against the revolutionary movement in India and as a basis for operations against the Soviet Union.

Under these circumstances the fate of our two gallant comrades is given particularly into the hands of the British working class. Send telegrams of protest and forward resolutions demanding the release of our comrades to the Afghan legations. Down with the existing Afghan Government, which is the tool of British imperialism. Long live the fight of the workers and peasants for the emancipation of both India and Afghanistan from the oppression and exploitation of British imperialism!

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

The Power of Collective Work

L. F. Boross (our special Moscow correspondent)

In the Soviet Union this spring commenced by a continuous drought. In many districts not a drop of rain fell during the whole of April and in the second half of May. Everyone who has known old Russia will remember that such a spring aroused the utmost panic among the peasant population. The peasants deserted their farms and crowded into the towns, to seek work, or to escape death by starvation by begging.

This year, there is nothing to be seen of any such panic in the Soviet villages. A few anxious faces, a few sighs for rain, but no abatement of energy—on the contrary, greater energy for the work, this has been the sole psychological effect of the dry spring on the collective peasantry.

What has aroused this confidence?

It has arisen—to speak figuratively—out of the granaries of the collective peasantry, where considerable stocks of last year's record crops still remain. The collective peasants are well aware of the tremendous importance of the weather on the prospects of the crops. But they are equally aware, from experience, that unfavourable weather loses much of its disastrous effects if resisted by a powerful collective, and not merely by an individual peasant farmer.

Last year was a decisive year in the lives of the millions of collective peasants. In the midst of severe struggles against the class enemy, in uninterrupted conflict against the individual peasant ideology and against the individual peasant methods of work and habits, the collective peasants in their millions at last attained to that collective working discipline, to those bolshevist working methods, which helped the working class of the towns to strive forward from victory to victory—that discipline and those working methods without which the collective farm would have remained a form without content. Under the immediate leadership of about fifteen thousand excellent communists, concentrated in the Political Departments of the Machine and Tractor Stations and on the Soviet farms, the collective peasants learnt to appreciate their own power, the power of the collective, and to apply it. This new work was favoured at the same time by comparatively advantageous weather, the autumn brought a harvest such as the endless fields of this great realm has never before seen.

Into the miserable huts of the former agricultural labourers, poor and middle peasants, the first ray of the sunshine of new and prosperous lives penetrated. After centuries of want and misery, these great masses of the peasantry, fighting their way to victory as collective peasants, were able to attain to a higher level of culture. Ample food, better clothing, new kitchen utensils, musical instruments, sport, crèches, better provision for school children. For many of the women shock brigaders the first silk dress and silk stockings of their lives, for thousands of families new dwelling houses, for the collective farms themselves new farm houses and stables, for the collective peasants, bicycles and sewing machines. And books, many, many books. New furniture as fast as the furniture manufacturers could turn it out, and new joy in their own lives, in the collective work. This is what the year 1933 brought to the toiling masses of the Soviet villages.

Nothing demonstrates more clearly the panic felt by the expiring capitalist state of society, in face of the successes of socialism, than the fact that the bourgeois press commenced to circulate its lying slanders on an alleged famine in the Soviet Union pre-

cisely at the moment when the victory of collectivisation extinguished once and for all the last possibility of a famine.

The spring drought will bring indescribable distress, unbearable suffering, starvation, and deprivation, to millions of peasants in many countries—not least in such highly developed countries as the United States. It is only on the collective and Soviet farms of the Soviet Union that the consequences of the drought can be completely eliminated in many places, reduced in others to a minimum, by the collective work carried on under purposeful communist leadership.

One of the requisite factors of this advance has been the steady development of the industrial basis of Soviet agriculture. Every day the Soviet industries send out approximately 200 new tractors and many other agricultural machines and implements.

Whilst in the spring of the years 1930-1932, the area sown by 25th May, was 64-66 million hectares, in 1933 71 million hectares, in this year the sown area covered 82.5 million hectares by the same date. Soon afterwards the area laid down by the Plan—92 million hectares—had been successfully sown, and actually exceeded by almost 2 per cent. Some districts, for instance the Dniepropetrovsk district, commenced sowing grain as early as March. The ploughing of fallow land has developed even more rapidly. By 25th May of this year five and a half million hectares of fallow land had been ploughed, as compared with scarcely more than one million at the same time last year. The efficient organisation of the work made it possible for those fields to be resown where the autumn sown grain had perished owing to the drought.

Fresh tens of thousands of collective peasants have developed into efficient leaders and organisers of their collective farms. Hundreds of thousands of new shock brigaders have advanced to the front in the struggle against drought. The artificial irrigation of the fields has been carried out on a mass scale in many districts, so that when the rainy weather finally set in at the end of May and the beginning of June, the soil was already in a state to derive the greatest possible benefit from it. Had the preparations been less efficient, the tardy rain would have been of little use.

There has been no lack of satisfactory results. In so far as may be judged from reports up to the present, the prospect of the crops are not only satisfactory, but in many districts, in Central Asia, Central Volga district, and other important agricultural districts, actually very good. If the harvesting work is carried out with the same care and energy as the sowing work, there is every prospect, in the opinion of the experts of the Soviet Union—and even, as the 'Neue Zürcher Zeitung' states, in the opinion of the Roman Agrarian Institute, which has certainly no sympathy for the Soviet Union—of the possibility of beating even last year's record figures. And this—special emphasis must be laid on this—under weather conditions which would in all probability have led to an actual catastrophe in an individual peasant Russia.

The Chelyuskin heroes tell the story of the tremendous impression made by their collective discipline on the ice floe upon a scientist accompanying the expedition, who had shown himself during the voyage of the "Chelyuskin" to be a convinced individualist. On one of the most critical days he went to Otto Schmidt and declared to him:

"I have only just properly grasped the power of the collective."

If there are still peasants in the Soviet Union who have hitherto failed to comprehend the power of the collectives, who have remained "individualists" in their farming work or only in their minds, even after the object lesson of last year's harvest, these, too, will now find themselves compelled to repeat—after the victories of the collective both on the arid fields of the Southern districts and on the frozen ice floes of the North—in a chorus of millions of voices: *"I have only just properly grasped the power of the collective."*

Twenty Years Ago

The Twentieth Anniversary of the First Imperialist World War

[Conclusion]

III.—THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE IMPERIALIST WAR INTO A CIVIL WAR

(1) The question of imperialist war, the question of the international policy of finance-capital which is devastating the whole world, which inevitably produces new imperialist wars, which inevitably produces an intense exacerbation of the national yoke, the plundering and the throttling of the weak and backward small peoples by a little group of 'progressive' States, this question has become the cardinal question of the whole policy of all the countries of the world since 1914. It is a question which is decisive for the life or death of many millions of human beings. It is the question which will decide whether in the next imperialist war which is being prepared by the bourgeoisie before our eyes, which is developing out of capitalism before our eyes, twenty millions of people are killed (instead of the ten millions who were killed in the last war from 1914 to 1918 and in the supplementary 'little' wars which have not yet come to an end), whether in this coming war, which is inevitable if capitalism continues to exist, sixty millions of people will be mutilated (instead of the thirty millions who were mutilated in the last war from 1914 to 1918). In this question our October Revolution opened up a new epoch in world history. The lackeys of the bourgeoisie—the Social Revolutionaries and the Menshevists, and the whole petty-bourgeois allegedly 'social' democracy—mock at the slogan of the 'transformation of the imperialist war into a civil war.' However, this slogan has proved itself to be the only truth, an unpleasant, crude, naked and brutal truth, but still the only truth in the darkness of chauvinist and pacifist deceit. . . . We can escape the imperialist war and the imperialist world which produces it, we can avoid this hell only by a Bolshevik struggle for a Bolshevik revolution. . . .

"For the first time in the course of hundreds and thousands of years the slaves have answered the war of the slave-holders with the open proclamation of the slogan: We want to turn this war of the slave-holders for the sharing of the spoils into a war of the slaves of all nations! For the first time in the course of hundreds and thousands of years the slogan develops from an unclear and weak expectation into a clear and definite political programme, into a real struggle of millions of the oppressed under the leadership of the proletariat, into a victory of the proletariat, into the first victory in the cause for the abolition of war, in the cause of the alliance of the workers of the world against the alliance of the bourgeoisie of the various nations, the bourgeoisie which not only conducts its wars, but also concludes peace at the expense of the slaves of capital, at the expense of the toilers." (Lenin: Collected Works. The emphasis is Lenin's.)

(2) The imperialist war is "a war on behalf of the rich for which the poor pay with their lives." "The war forced the whole economic system of the belligerent countries into its service, it created the mailed fist of State capitalism. It drove unproductive expenditure to dizzy heights, it destroyed tremendous quantities of the means of production and living labour-power, it ruined broad sections of the population and loaded the industrial workers, the peasants and the colonial peoples with incalculable burdens." (Programme of the Communist International.) Every bullet and every shell which is fired at the front brings devastation and starvation at home and robs the exploited of bread and meat, boots and clothing, robs the children of milk and life itself and adds millions and millions to the wealth of the exploiters. The expenditure of the Allies totalled 135.2 milliard roubles, whilst the expenditure of the Central Powers totalled 51.4 milliard roubles. Great Britain wasted 34 per cent. of the national wealth taken from the pockets of the masses of the people. Germany wasted 24 per cent., Italy 20 per cent., France 19 per cent., Austria 18 per cent., Russia 13 per cent. This expenditure was covered by the

emission of paper money and State loans to a proportion of 80 per cent. Over a milliard shells were fired during the course of hostilities and their total value was about 50 milliard roubles.

With the help of the military dictatorship, the establishment of "civil peace" and the intolerable military labour service supported by the social-democratic parties, "military galley-slave labour was established for the workers and military protection for the profits of the capitalists." (Lenin.) In Germany 3.5 million workers were employed on war work and at the same time the use of woman and child labour was tremendously intensified. In Russia the figures were 1.8 million, in France 2 millions, in Great Britain 2.3 millions, in Italy 1.1 million, and in the United States of America 3 millions. In Germany and in France these figures represented almost two-thirds of the total working class, and in Russia over three-quarters.

With the blessing of Vandervelde, Henderson and the French "socialist" members of the War Cabinets, strikes were declared "treasonable," whilst the gulf between the enrichment of the capitalists and the starvation and ruin of the masses widened tremendously. In the first year of the war the revenue of the Krupp works increased by 140 per cent., whilst at the same time the working population of Germany was condemned to eat substitute bread, the so-called war potato bread, and by the summer of 1917 the calorific value of the food consumed by the masses had decreased to almost a third of the pre-war volume. In 1918 the mortality rate in France was 16.5 above the birth-rate (per 1,000 inhabitants) and the corresponding figures for Germany were 10.5, and for Italy 14.9. On the other hand, however, the blood-stained extra war profits of the capitalists had swollen by many hundreds per cent. In Japan the extra war profits reached an average of almost 100 per cent. The capitalists extracted tribute from the workers not only in the form of the blood shed at the front and the slave labour at home, but they also rewarded the masses with the organisation of starvation by limiting consumption for the poor, driving the prices of foodstuffs up and up by speculation and cornering the best of everything for the rich. "The intense impoverishment of the masses caused by the war must result in revolutionary feelings and movements, and the slogan of the civil war is intended to generalise these feelings and movements and to direct them." (Lenin: Collected Works.)

(3) The treachery of the 4th August, 1914, which closed the development of the Second International in the pre-war period "assisted the bourgeoisie to split the ranks of the workers by a hypocritical appeal to the necessity for the defence of the Fatherland." (Lenin: Collected Works.) This treachery assisted the bourgeoisie in turning the workers and the toilers in general into cannon-fodder for capitalism. "Social chauvinism is the culmination of opportunism. The economic basis of opportunism and social chauvinism is one and the same: the interests of a narrow stratum of privileged workers and petty-bourgeois who defend their privileged position, their 'right' to the pick of the crumbs that fall from the table of the bourgeoisie, to a fraction of that profit which 'their' bourgeoisie extracts from foreign nations, from the utilisation of their position as a great power, etc. The ideological and political content of opportunism and social chauvinism is one and the same: class collaboration instead of class struggle, the abandonment of revolutionary methods, the support of their 'own' government in its difficulties instead of the utilisation of these difficulties in the interests of the revolution." (Lenin: Collected Works.) After the passage of a further twenty years the social-democratic parties, who have made further great progress along the path of adapting themselves to imperialism and to the fascist reaction, are once again attempting to harness the working masses before the chariot of a new imperialist world war and of a

counter-revolutionary intervention against the Soviet Union. They are still advancing along their old path of class collaboration under the banner of nationalist reaction and imperialist war, under the banner of a struggle against the proletarian revolution.

The social-democratic parties of Germany, France, Great Britain and Belgium, etc., voted in favour of the war credits and supported the world slaughter without reservation. They undertook on behalf of their imperialist governments the role of persuading the neutral peoples to enter the war (Suedekum in Germany, Mussolini in Italy, etc.). They sent their representatives into the bourgeois governments of the military dictatorships, and from this moment they began their open collaboration with finance-capital on an international scale by their participation in the bourgeois ministries. The social-democratic parties carried out all the measures of the military terrorist dictatorships—from the use of provocation and police measures in support of the dictatorships (Henderson, Ebert, Albert Thomas, Jouhaux, etc.) to the armed suppression of revolutionary insurrections (Henderson and the bloody suppression of the Irish Rebellion in 1916, Scheidemann and Ebert in the police service of imperialism), and, finally, their participation in the armed intervention against the first workers' and peasants' revolution. The prophetic words of Lenin: "In every crisis the bourgeoisie will assist the opportunists and stop at nothing to suppress the revolutionary section of the proletariat with the most fearful and illegal military measures"—(Lenin: Collected Works)—have been proved to the hilt.

(4) Whilst the open social imperialists undertook to deal ideologically with the prospective cannon-fodder and hand the workers over to the bourgeoisie (in Great Britain, for example, Henderson and the other labour leaders carried through the military service law and the recruiting campaign, and also the compulsory allotment of workers to the war industries), the supporters of the social pacifist centre led by Kautsky, the Mensheviks, Trotsky and MacDonald, appeared as the fig-leaf of open social imperialism and imperialist dominance and protected both against the attacks of the revolutionary masses. The tactic of the Bolsheviks was correct, it was the only internationalist tactic because it was not based on the cowardly fear of the Soviet revolution and not on the petty-bourgeois 'lack of confidence' in the Soviet revolution, and not on the narrow nationalist wish to defend 'the fatherland,' i.e., the fatherland of the bourgeoisie, and to ignore everything else. This tactic was the only internationalist tactic because it carried out to the greatest possible degree everything that could be done in the individual countries for the development, support and instigation of the revolution in all countries. This tactic has been proved correct by the tremendous success which it achieved, because Bolshevism has become a world-wide Bolshevism. Bolshevism may serve as an exemplary tactic in all situations. (Lenin: Collected Works.)

Lenin pointed out that "the irregularity of economic and political development is an implicit law of capitalism. From this it follows that the victory of socialism may come originally in a few countries, or even in one single capitalist country. After the expropriation of the capitalists and the organisation of socialist production in its own country the victorious proletariat of this country would then rise against the capitalist rest of the world by winning the oppressed classes in the other countries for socialism, by encouraging insurrections in these and other countries against capitalism and, if necessary, proceeding with armed force against the exploiting classes and their States." (Lenin: Collected Works.) This lesson of Lenin was further developed by Comrade Stalin in the struggle against counter-revolutionary Trotskyism and made the basis of the whole work of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, thus guaranteeing the undeniable triumph of socialism.

During the imperialist world slaughter the Leninist Party was an example of revolutionary irreconcilability, proletarian heroism and unexampled Bolshevik tenacity. The Bolshevik Deputies in the Fourth Duma were banished to Siberia for their illegal work. The Bolsheviks ruined the elections to the war industry committees whereby, with the help of the Mensheviks and the social revolutionaries, the bourgeoisie hoped to subjugate the Russian working class. In the hinterland and at the front, not only in Russia, but also in the West, the Bolsheviks carried on illegal revolutionary work amongst the masses against the war and laid the basis for the creation of the Third (Communist) International after they had united the "Left" wing of the working-class move-

ment for the first time at the Zimmerwald Conference in 1915.

In its struggle for the formation of the Third International Bolshevism was supported by the best representatives of the international proletariat, Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht, the German Spartakists, the Polish social democrats, the Scandinavian and Dutch "Left" wingers, and in short by all those who had remained loyal to the idea of international proletarian solidarity. Bolshevism came forward as the pace-maker and organiser of the revolutionary struggle of the masses against the world imperialist slaughter and against the rule of capitalism in general. "The enemy is in our own country," announced Liebknecht, and on account of these words he was sent to serve a term of hard labour. "Either we are national liberal sheep in the socialist lion's skin, or we are fighters for the proletarian international." These words were flung into the faces of the double-faced and treacherous social fascists of the Kautsky, Haase and Hilferding type by Rosa Luxemburg. Supported by the Zimmerwald "Left" and by the increasing revolutionisation of the masses, the Bolsheviks carried on the struggle for a complete breach with the betrayers of socialism and their pacifist supporters, from Kautsky and MacDonald to Longuet and Trotsky. The Bolsheviks opposed the deceitful slogan of a "democratic peace" which aimed at providing the cloak for a re-division of the world and for the conspiracy of the robbers who feared the revolution and were doing their utmost to prevent it. In September, 1915, the Zimmerwald "Left" declared openly and clearly: "Our slogan is not civil peace, but civil war!" The Bolsheviks tore the amateur pacifist demagoguery of Trotsky to pieces and overcame the semi-centrist vacillations in the camp of the Zimmerwald "Left." Against the bourgeoisie they unswervingly carried through a policy of defeatism: "The transformation of a war of the governments into a civil war is assisted on the one hand by military reverses (by the 'defeat') of the governments, on the other hand it is impossible to work for such a transformation without at the same time directly working for such defeats." (Lenin: Collected Works.)

In Zimmerwald and in Kienthal the "Centre" had the majority on its side. This fact condemned the Zimmerwald bloc to impotence from the very beginning. The Zimmerwald bloc as a whole rejected the proposal of its "Left" wing to appeal to the workers for a direct revolutionary struggle against their governments. (Resolution of the April Conference of the Bolsheviks in 1917.)

After the February Revolution in 1917 the Russian social pacifists of Zimmerwald (the Mensheviks and the social revolutionaries) entered the provisional government in order to maintain the power of the bourgeoisie and prosecute the imperialist war. The Bolsheviks carried on the struggle for the October Revolution. The disintegration of Zimmerwald was clear. The October Revolution and the revolutionary wave which arose in the West in the years 1918-19 cleared away the last obstacles to the formation of the Third (Communist) International and disposed of the semi-centrist vacillations of numerous "Left" wingers (in the question of peace and disarmament, the disruption of the Second International, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the role of the Party, the right of self-determination and the alliance of the workers and peasants).

The Leninist International of the proletarian revolution was organised in March, 1919, on a Bolshevik basis at a time when the revolutionary pressure of the masses on the bourgeoisie all over the world had reached its highest point and the idea of the Soviets had been taken up by the masses of the workers in Europe, America and Asia.

(5) with regard to the number of workers taking part in strikes the Russian working-class movement, led by the Bolsheviks, was at the head up to 1917 (1,600,000 strikers in the years 1915-16 as compared with 135,000 in Germany, 50,000 in France and 750,000 in Great Britain). "The Russian Revolution of February-March, 1917, was the prelude to the transformation of the imperialist war into a civil war." (Lenin: Collected Works.) In 1917 there were 650,000 workers who took part in strikes in Germany, and in 1918 600,000. The figures for France were 295,000 and 176,000, for Great Britain 860,000 and 1,100,000. Despite the brutal repression, the fraternisation of the soldiers at the front with the "enemy" began to develop more and more. In an effort to end the war as quickly as possible, before the revolution came and spoiled their game, the belligerent imperialist Powers hounded huge masses of men into senseless carnage. The offensive on the West front in 1916 was termed "carnage" even by the wire-pullers themselves—for in-

stance, Winston Churchill in his "World Crises," page 654.

The offensive which was launched by General Nevill in 1917 was the answer of the imperialists to the February Revolution, and it cost tens of thousands of soldiers their lives. The collapse of this offensive was the signal for a powerful revolutionary explosion in the French Army—an explosion which the French bourgeoisie tried to hush up for years after the conclusion of the war. Together with a number of other divisions, the 16th army corps refused to obey orders and made an attempt to march on Paris under the slogans: "Long live peace, long live the Soviets!" With the support of the French "socialists" the movement was suppressed with draconic measures. In order to deliver a counter-blow both to the revolution in Russia and to the revolutionary movement in France, the High Command of the Allies, with the support of Kornilov, Kerensky and the Russian "Centrists," ordered the provocative offensive on the Russo-German front, where hostilities had almost ceased. In April, 1917, there was a strike of hundreds of thousands of workers in Germany, and in the Autumn of 1917 there was a revolutionary mutiny in the German navy. In Austria-Hungary both before and after the October Revolution a wave of strikes swept through the country, and the naval mutiny of Cattaro took place, together with various military mutinies. The strike movement in Great Britain on the Clyde and the Irish Rebellion in 1916 were signs of the approaching storm.

The Kerensky period in Russia, during which the bourgeoisie, the Mensheviks and the social revolutionaries, including the Zimmerwalders, joined forces, was an attempt to throttle the revolution in the same way as it was throttled in Germany, Austria and Italy, with the active support of Scheidemann, Haase, Hilferding, Otto Bauer, Turati and the rest. Only the fact that the iron Party of Lenin, ideologically united and firmly disciplined, existed, saved the Russian proletariat from the same fate and made it possible for the Russian proletariat to open up a new way for the whole rule of the absolutist large landowners. The October Revolution overthrew the rule of the absolutist large landowners. The October Revolution overthrew the rule of the bourgeoisie. The victorious proletarian revolution expropriated the expropriators, took the means of production away from the bourgeoisie and the landowners and established for the first time in history the dictatorship of the proletariat over a huge country. It consolidated this dictatorship, created a new type of State, the Soviet State, and opened up the path for the international proletarian revolution.

The powerful shock to which the whole world capitalism was subjected, the sharpening of class struggle and the influence of the October proletarian revolution gave rise to a series of revolutions and revolutionary actions on the Continent of Europe as well as the colonial and semi-colonial countries: January, 1918, the proletarian revolution in Finland; August, 1918, the so-called 'rice riots' in Japan; November, 1918, the revolutions in Austria and Germany, which overthrew the semi-feudal monarchist regime; March, 1919, the proletarian revolution in Hungary and the uprising in Korea; April, 1919, the Soviet Government in Bavaria; January, 1920, the bourgeois-national revolution in Turkey; September, 1920, the seizure of the factories by workers in Italy; March, 1921, the rising of the advanced workers of Germany; September, 1923, the uprising in Bulgaria; Autumn, 1923, the revolutionary crisis in Germany; December, 1924, the uprising in Estonia; April, 1923, the uprising in Morocco; August, 1925, uprising in Syria; May, 1926, the general strike in England; July, 1927, the proletarian uprising in Vienna. These events, as well as events like the uprising in Indonesia, the deep ferment in India, and the great Chinese revolution, which shook the whole Asiatic continent, are links in one and the same international revolutionary chain, constituent parts of the profound general crisis of capitalism." (Programme of the Communist International, pages 9 and 10.)

IV.—THE IMPERIALIST PEACE

(6) The "Peace Treaty" of Brest-Litovsk which was forced upon the young and still weak Soviet Republic by German imperialism, thanks to its military superiority, exposed the predatory nature of German imperialism and its claims to world dominance. German imperialism occupied the Ukraine and formed a puppet

government of the most reactionary agrarian elements with the Hetmann Skoropadski at its head. It then began to plunder the country right and left and to suck out all its resources from the rolling stocks of the railways down to the last few cwts. of grain in the barns of the peasants. German imperialism had in fact annexed Finland and the Baltic States and occupied Georgia and Transcaucasia, not without making use of the services of the Menshevik lackeys who later on rendered the same services to the British imperialists. Everywhere in the seized territories German imperialism set up a bloody regime of terror and crushed all national rights. The greed with which it hurried on its campaign of plunder and robbery turned out to be its own doom, for this robbery became intolerable, not only to the masses of the oppressed peoples, but also to the masses of the people in Germany, who were forced completely into the role of slaves without rights and without privileges owing to the military victories of German imperialism. Murderous Hitler fascism in Germany, which has now become the inciter in chief to a new imperialist world slaughter, the re-division of the world, and a war against the country of the Soviets, is now in alliance with the former rivals of German imperialism, Great Britain and Japan, and with them it is striving to set up once again the bloody regime of oppression and reactionary violence which was temporarily overthrown by the revolutionary rising of the peoples.

On the other hand, the division of the world by the victorious imperialist Entente Powers has exposed the whole hypocrisy of the promises of the imperialists and their social chauvinist and social fascist lackeys, who pretended that the world war of 1914-18 was "the war to end war," "a war for freedom and democracy against German imperialist autocracy," etc. Germany has been mutilated by the victors, it has lost great slices of its territory, it has had a crushing war contribution forced upon it, and it has been subjugated to the superior military power of the Entente Powers. The "right of self-determination" which was to be given to the nations of the old Austro-Hungarian monarchy has been used to form a system of vassal States of the Entente, and these States have been rewarded with annexations at the expense of a number of other peoples who have been deprived of their rights wholly or in part. An arrangement was made for the complete partitioning of Turkey between British, French, and Italian imperialism, and this arrangement was brought to nothing, thanks only to the national-revolutionary war of the Turkish peoples against the robbers. The Arabian peoples, who had been inveigled into supporting the military operations of British imperialism by promises of freedom, were treated like slaves by French and British imperialism. Japanese imperialism triumphed in all its marauding and plundering expeditions and its annexations and robber crusades in China were recognised. According to Lansing, "the decision favourable to the Japanese demands was arrived at as the result of secret negotiations with the Japanese delegates, who promised that they would withdraw their threat not to sign the treaty in the event of their demands being granted." (Lansing: "Peace Negotiations.") Versailles was an international exchange and mart where, after over four years of the bloodiest war the world has ever seen, cynical bargainers made free with the lives, the resources and the rights of the peoples of the world.

The common bond which held the victors of Versailles together was the fear of the complete victory of Bolshevism and the proletarian revolution throughout Europe. Lloyd George himself let this slip in his memorandum to Wilson and Clemenceau when he declared: "If the nations are exhausted by a war in which they have had to exert their whole strength, if they are exhausted and bleeding from many wounds, if they are threatened with internal collapse, then it is not difficult to conclude a peace which will last until the generation which experienced the horrors of war has passed away. . . . The whole of Europe, however, is drunken with the spirit of revolution." (Fr. Novak: "Versailles.") Just as the victors of Brest-Litovsk under Hindenburg, Ludendorff and Hoffmann hoped to liquidate the Soviet power by depriving it of decisive economic resources and by letting loose the White Guardist hordes against it, so the victors of Versailles cut and hacked away at the map of the world to fight against Bolshevism and the revolution in Europe and Asia, and to secure the success of an armed intervention against the Soviets. The counter-revolutionary intervention against the first country of the proletarian dictatorship was the continuation of the war of the imperialist robbers, and it aimed at defending imperialist rule and saving

the war booty and the contributions from the threat of the revolution. The insurrection of the Czechoslovakian legionaries, the insurrection of the Menshevists and the social revolutionaries, and the British intervention in Northern Russia, were all organised under the pretext of "continuing the war against German imperialism."

Lloyd George warned Wilson and Clémenceau, in his Memorandum, when he declared: "If Germany falls victim to the Spartacus movement then it will inevitably throw in its lot with the Russian Bolsheviks." (Novak: Page 150.) For this reason the imperialists of Great Britain, France, the United States and Italy gave their assistance to the German bourgeoisie, to the counter-revolutionary bands of officers, and to Noske, Kautsky, Wels and Hilferding, for the fight against the proletarian revolution in Germany. With the weapons of their Rumanian and Czecho-Slovakian mercenaries, and with the assistance of the counter-revolution, supported by the Hungarian and the Austrian social democracy, the Entente Powers crushed the Hungarian Soviet Republic in blood. The country of the Soviets was cut off from the rest of the world with a "cordon sanitaire" under the leadership of Poland, which was given the task of capitalist gendarme in the struggle against the spread of Bolshevism.

Under the slogan, "Defend Democracy against Bolshevism!" and with the active support of the social democracy, all the forces of the bourgeois reaction were mobilised in Europe to maintain the bourgeois dictatorship and to clear the way for a policy of imperialist rivalry and plundering at the expense of the masses of the oppressed and exploited peoples, and to clear the way for Mussolini, Pilsudski, Hitler and Dollfuss. The Versailles Treaty nourished the latest products of fascism in Germany and Austria, and created particularly favourable conditions for the robber crusade of the Japanese imperialists in the Far East and for the insolent claims of the British diehard Tories to play the role of arbitrator in questions of war and peace. The masses of the East, martyred and crippled by the robber war of imperialism, but expectant of fundamental changes, have been enslaved and new chains have been forged for them by the imperialist peace.

However, the battle between imperialism and the land of the Soviets has ended in defeat for the imperialists. "This victory which we won and which caused the withdrawal of the French and British troops was the chief victory which we won over the Entente. We have already succeeded in turning their own soldiers against them. We answered their enormous technical and military superiority by bringing this superiority to nothing through the international solidarity of the proletariat against the imperialist governments. That was our first and our most decisive victory, because it was not only a military victory, indeed, not even a military victory, but a victory for the international solidarity of the proletariat in whose interests we organised the whole revolution and with regard to which we declared that no matter how many sacrifices we may have to make, all these sacrifices will be rewarded by the development of the world revolution which is inevitable." (Lenin: Collected Works.)

V.—THE SECOND ROUND OF WARS AND REVOLUTIONS IS APPROACHING

(1) Twenty years after the beginning of the first imperialist world war the flames of a new war are flickering up in all parts of the world. The capitalist world is on the threshold of a second round of wars and revolutions. The new intensification of the general crisis of the capitalist system has put an end to the temporary stabilisation of capitalism.

The bourgeoisie and its lackeys from the camp of the Second International declared that the temporary stabilisation was the beginning of "a new era of democracy and pacifism." The social democracy, which entered the governments of a number of capitalist countries, announced the triumph of the "peaceful development into socialism" by means of "economic democracy" and "organised capitalism." With illusions about democratic pacifism the bourgeoisie cloaked the fact that it has advanced along the path to new wars and interventions. "In order to prepare for new wars pacifism alone is not sufficient, even when this pacifism is supported by so serious a force as the social democracy. In addition, a number of measures for the suppression of the masses in the centres of imperialism are necessary. Imperialism cannot wage war unless the imperialist hinterland is consolidated. And to this end fascism is there." (Stalin: "On the Results of the

July Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.") Thus in the epoch of stabilisation and with the active support of the social democracy the way for the fascist dictatorship of capitalism was made free. Only the Bolshevik Party and the Communist International saw this development in advance and warned the workers against it. They alone prophesied the circumstances under which the inevitable disintegration of the capitalist stabilisation took place.

The world economic crisis, which intensified the impoverishment of the masses, also shook the structure of capitalism to its foundations all over the world. "The intensified struggle for foreign markets, the abolition of the last vestiges of free trade, prohibitive tariffs, trade war, currency war, dumping and many other analogous measures which demonstrate extreme nationalism in economic policy, have caused the relations between the countries to become extremely acute, have created the soil for military conflicts and have brought war to the front as a means for a new distribution of the world and the spheres of influence in favour of the strongest States." (Stalin: "Report to the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P. of the Soviet Union.")

(2) The process of the disintegration of the Versailles system has already developed very far. The payment both of reparations and inter-allied debts has been stopped. The defeated countries are re-arming. The revision of the frontiers laid down in the Versailles Treaty has been placed on the agenda. German fascism, which is arming itself to the teeth, is now openly coming forward with a demand for a new division of the world. In the struggle to maintain its hegemony in Europe French imperialism has adopted the policy of extending its military alliances. It is striving to improve its relations with Poland and to consolidate the Little Entente, and to form a so-called Balkan Bloc. This policy, which threatens the positions of Italian imperialism in the Near East, where the interests of French and Italian imperialism collide, is being pursued by imperialist France irrespective of the fact that both imperialist France and imperialist Italy are interested in preventing the unification of Austria and Germany. Anglo-American antagonism, which is the axle around which all the imperialist enmities of the post-war period revolve, has been very much intensified by the struggle for the command of the Pacific. The Washington Agreement for the limitation of naval armaments and the policy of the "Open Door" in China have both been destroyed. The struggle for dominance in the Pacific has come openly into the foreground whereby the respective interests of British, American, and Japanese imperialism collide. The resignation of Germany and Japan from the League of Nations has intensified the imperialist contradictions still more. Despite the treaties of peace, which are binding for all countries, a series of "small wars" has begun (Paraguay-Bolivia, Columbia-Peru, Tibet-China, Hedjas-Yemen, etc.), quite apart from the war of aggression being conducted by Japanese imperialism in Asia. The disarmament conference has become more than ever the arena of bargaining between the various imperialist Powers concerning the armament "quotas."

"Again, as in 1914, the parties of bellicose imperialism, the parties of war and revenge are coming into the foreground. Quite clearly things are moving towards a new war." (Stalin: Ibid.)

(3) Japan was the first to begin the robber crusade for the re-division of the world. "Bourgeois-feudalist Japan has taken over the role of the pacemaker of war, thanks to the direct character of Japanese imperialism. The aggressiveness of monopolist capital in Japan is multiplied by the war-mongering adventurism of the absolutist military feudal character of Japanese imperialism. In Japan and in (tsarist) Russia the monopoly of military strength, the immeasurable territory or the particular convenience of exploiting foreign peoples, China, etc., is partly a supplement, partly a substitute for modern finance-capital." (Lenin: 1916.) In its war against China, Japanese imperialism is aiming at providing itself with a basis for operations against the Soviet Union, smashing the Soviet movement in China, turning large parts of China into a Japanese colony, creating a firm economic basis for itself, conquering raw material resources, particularly for the war industries and for war needs, consolidating its position on the Asiatic mainland, and in this way preparing for new wars to dominate the Pacific. "The military drive of Japanese imperialism is directly connected with the acute intensification of all the internal contradictions which has taken place as a result of the serious

economic crisis." (Theses of the Western European Bureau of the E.C. of the C.I. in May, 1932.) At the same time Japanese imperialism is clearing the way for the inevitable collision with United States imperialism.

In the Far East the flames of imperialist war are already leaping up. The partitioning of China with the imperialist sword has already begun. Japanese imperialism has already completely annexed Manchuria and established its control over a considerable part of North China. It is now about to launch a blow against Inner Mongolia, and it is preparing at the same time for an attack on the Mongolian People's Republic and on the Soviet Union. British imperialism has finally established its control over Tibet and has seized Western Szechwan. It is striving to gain a firm foothold in South China, to come to an agreement with Japanese imperialism concerning the partitioning of China, and to create a field of operations against the Soviet Union in Sinkiang, although these last efforts have failed for the moment. French imperialism has established its control over Yunnan as a basis for its efforts to extend its influence in South China. Japanese imperialism has inspired and is supporting the sixth crusade of the Chinese agrarian-bourgeois counter-revolution against the Chinese Soviet districts which have become the decisive bulwark of the Chinese people in their struggle for national independence and for the unification of China. At the same time United States imperialism is striving to strengthen its weakened positions in China as against Japanese imperialism, and it is supporting the Chinese counter-revolutionary armies led by the fascist officers' clique of General von Seeckt in their fight against the Chinese Soviets with arms, aeroplanes, poison gas, etc.

(4) In the Far East it is the Japanese imperialists who are playing the role of the direct organiser of a new world slaughter and of a new counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union. In the West this role has been taken over by the German bourgeoisie.

German imperialism sees itself threatened with a proletarian revolution and, whilst advancing towards a new imperialist war, it is delivering murderous blows against the working class and striving to annihilate the illegal Communist Party of Germany and all other organisations of the German working class.

"The growth of fascism and its seizure of power in Germany and in a number of other capitalist countries means that:—

"(a) The revolutionary crisis and the indignation of the broad masses against the role of capitalism are growing.

"(b) The capitalists are no longer in a position to maintain their dictatorship with the old methods of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy in general.

"(c) The methods of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy in general have even become a hindrance to the capitalists both with regard to their policy at home (struggle against the proletariat) and to their foreign policy (imperialist war for a re-division of the world).

(d) Capitalism is in consequence compelled to adopt an openly terrorist dictatorship at home and reckless chauvinism abroad, both of which represent a direct preparation for imperialist war." (From the Resolution of the Thirteenth Plenary Session of the E.C. of the C.I.)

With the working class filled with a deadly hatred of the fascist dictatorship of capitalism in its rear the German imperialist bourgeoisie is fanning the flames of war in the heart of Europe. Fascism is striving to master its own weakness and instability and at the same time to exploit the instability and the insecurity of the other capitalist States, and to secure for itself the role of advance guard in the coming attack on the Soviet Union.

To this end German fascism is trying to settle its accounts with the French bourgeoisie and to undermine and break up the French military bloc (Hitler Germany's bargaining with Pilsudski Poland and fascist Rumania). In its efforts to establish its dominance in Southern Europe (the plans for a Greater Germany from the Baltic to the Adriatic and from the Vistula to the Danube) and in its persistent struggle to swallow Austria, German fascism collides with Italian imperialism. German fascism whips on the reactionary and extreme chauvinist and imperialist elements in the bourgeoisie of all capitalist countries, it is the pacemaker of fascism in the Baltic States which it finances and supports, and it supports in every possible way the fascist groups in Switzerland, Czechoslovakia and Holland.

Fascism means terror against the working class, counter-revo-

lutionary war against the lands of the Soviets, and a new imperialist world war.

(5) Behind these reactionary robbers are the arch-reactionary **British imperialists**. British finance-capital which obtains enormous extra profits from the supply of war materials (one-third of the international trade in arms is carried out by Great Britain), which watches jealously over its tremendous colonial extra profits and which is striving to consolidate the structure of the British Empire, which has been sadly shaken in recent years (the struggle for the Dominions and for spheres of influence with other capitalist Powers), is doing its best both in the West and in the East to build up a united front of imperialism and fascism against the Soviet Union.

Although the interests of British capitalism collide on all the most important markets with the interests of Japanese capitalism (Japanese dumping) and although British imperialism fears any great growth of Japanese imperialist strength in Asia, Japanese imperialism nevertheless reckons on British support in its war plans against the Soviet Union, and in particular on British financial assistance; without this support it would be extremely difficult for Japan to take any independent action. Already Japanese imperialism is being liberally supplied with arms by British imperialism, and Great Britain is providing Japan with valuable diplomatic support also.

In Europe, German fascism is supported in its anti-Soviet war plans and provocations by British imperialism, and the re-arming of fascist Germany is proceeding with the benevolent encouragement of British imperialism. British imperialism is fighting for dominance in Europe and wishes to play the role of arbitrator as between German fascism and the French bourgeoisie. The policy of secret intrigues and complicated diplomatic manoeuvres which British imperialism is pursuing to-day in exactly the same fashion as before the world war, is preparing the way for a new world war.

(6) The bourgeoisie, which has been perfecting its armaments unceasingly since the first day of the close of hostilities, has now concentrated gigantic destructive forces into its hands. The volume and power of the destructive forces at present in the hands of the bourgeoisie puts everything into the shade which existed in this respect at the end of the last world war. Towards the end of the first imperialist world war the Allied Powers had about 2,000 aeroplanes in the field. To-day the air forces of the most important imperialist Powers could immediately put as least 12,000 aeroplanes into the field. Further, the effective speed of the fighting aeroplanes has increased from 200 to 400 kilometres an hour. The various air forces of the big imperialist countries have powerful squadrons of heavy bombing aeroplanes consisting of real armoured cruisers of the air with a speed of over 300 kilometres, an effective altitude of twelve kilometres, and an effective bombing load of 2,500 tons. Compared with the clumsy tanks which jolted slowly into action during the last war, the various imperialist armies now have huge armies of tanks of various sorts, from the light and extremely mobile tanks for reconnoitring, escort and fighting, to the huge tanks capable of crashing through any obstacle, tanks which are in reality moving fortresses, heavily armoured and heavily gunned. In addition, there are also the amphibian tanks which are as much at home on the surface of the water as in the field. Modern artillery is also far more effective and has a far longer range than the artillery of the world war. The number of machine-guns at the disposal of the various armies, their firing speed, their range and their general efficiency have also increased greatly. The machine-gun has also been supplemented in the form of the light automatic rifle. Motorisation and mechanisation, the use of extended wireless for the maintenance of connections, the increased use of automatic control for artillery fire, the latest listening apparatus for the detection of approaching aeroplanes, and the great variety of new and complicated technical departures on all fields of modern warfare have transformed the modern armies into tremendous accumulations of the most highly modern machines and mechanism. In place of the old fortresses, trenches and dug-outs of the world war, there are now underground tunnels and works of ferro-concrete hundreds of kilometres in extent to defend the frontiers. The possibilities of using poison gases in warfare have also tremendously increased.

At the time of the first imperialist world war the capitalist armies deliberately poisoned the wells and to-day the various imperialist

Powers are preparing to use typhus, cholera and other bacilli on a mass scale to attack both the enemy armies and the enemy population in the hinterland. All the discoveries of science and technique and all the forces of modern scientific thought are being concentrated on the discovery of ever new means of destruction (tele-mechanics, reactive shells, stream-lined bullets and shells of enormous speed, automatic electric control, the experiments with the death rays, etc.), and the terrific destructive powers of the existing and generally known means in the hands of the various imperialist armies fade into insignificance in face of the surprises and horrors which the coming imperialist world war will undoubtedly reveal and which are now being prepared in all secrecy in the workshops and experimental laboratories of capitalism all over the world.

Each imperialist country is desperately striving to get ahead of its rivals by means of some coup. The armament race is headed by Japanese imperialism, which is feverishly equipping its armies and preparing its navy and its air force to carry out its plans for establishing its dominance in Asia. In particular, Japan is turning its attention to the formation of motorised and mechanised fighting units and of poison gas units. It is also striving to bring its naval forces up to the level of those of its chief rivals, Great Britain and the United States. It is filling up its fleet with powerful vessels of modern construction and tremendous fighting force, and already it has considerably altered the relation of naval forces to its own advantage. United States imperialism is now rapidly making good its backwardness in the air and on the sea. The modernisation of the British navy and the building of a series of naval bases (Singapore, Indonesia and Australia) brings the final collision between the great imperialist Powers in their fight for dominance in the Pacific nearer. In this struggle every hand-breadth of land and every kilometre of coast has become a matter of embittered competition. British imperialism has speeded up the building of its air bases in the Near East, in the Mediterranean and in the Pacific. German fascism has adopted a policy of open armament, it is strengthening the Reichswehr by taking picked units from the fascist Storm Troops into its ranks, it is speeding up the building of strategical railways, roads and fortifications, it is forcing the development of the automobile and aeroplane industries, it is developing its artillery and its submarine fleet. French imperialism is also increasing its armaments and is expending milliards and milliards of francs in extra allotments for the speeding up of its frontier fortification work, for the strengthening of its navy, and for the reorganisation and modernisation of its air force.

The material burdens which are being placed on the shoulders of the masses of the people in all capitalist countries as a result of this fury of armaments are innumerable. In Japan the military expenditure for 1933-34 was more than five times as large as the corresponding expenditure for the year 1916-17. In fascist Germany the official military budget represents only a fraction of the huge sums which are being expended both overtly and covertly for armaments under the cloak of "emergency works." Huge sums are being given to the industrialists in the form of subsidies, etc., for the accumulation of military supplies, etc.

Even in the war which ended sixteen years ago all the material and human forces of the belligerent countries were swallowed up by the insatiable monster of imperialist war, but to-day even that is no longer sufficient.

To-day war-mongering imperialism is already organising its whole economic system in advance for the coming war, it is thrusting the whole economic system into the strait-jacket of war economy. The coming war is already casting its shadow over Europe and placing its stamp on all fields of public life in the capitalist countries.

Already "compulsory war work for workers and military protection for the profit of the capitalists" (Lenin) are being introduced.

The militarisation of labour and compulsory labour service have become an important part of the capitalist preparations for war. The hard labour regime introduced by German fascism in its labour service camps has become a model for the rest of the capitalist world. Whilst engaged in "emergency works" and in the camps for the unemployed and for the youth, the workers are already being subjected to the militarist hard labour regime. "Work and sweat for a pittance, put up with all forms of chicanery

and oppression, otherwise you will be sent to the front into a rain of enemy bullets" (Lenin). that was the slogan with which the bourgeoisie attempted to hold the hinterland in submission during the last world war. With the threat of starvation the terrorist dictatorship of capitalism is already presenting the working masses with a militarised hard labour regime in its preparations for imperialist war. Krupp and Thyssen, Schneider-Creusot, Vickers-Armstrong, Beaufort, Skoda and Mitsubishi are already pocketing enormous profits from the supply of war materials to the capitalist Powers. With every new jump forward in the armament race, with every new political happening which brings the danger of war nearer, the share quotations of the war industries climb up, dividends are doubled and trebled, and the business of the cannon kings, organised into a bloody international of armaments, improves.

(7) The bourgeoisie, which by means of terror and deceit compels the masses of the exploited and oppressed to risk their lives on behalf of the perpetuation of the system of exploitation, is engaged in doing its utmost to secure its apparatus of violence and war from the revolutionary indignation of the masses of the people. For the bourgeoisie, "the weakest point in all the wars of history has been the human material engaged" (Fuller), and the bourgeoisie does not and cannot trust its cannon-fodder. The fear of the bourgeoisie of the consequences of placing arms in the hands of the masses of the people explains the trend of modern bourgeois military experts to perfect a system of warfare and military organisation which will reduce the role of the human material involved to a minimum (Fuller, Duquet, Liddel-Hart, von Seeckt, etc.). Picked units of highly-trained and highly-qualified fascist mercenaries, equipped with the last word in modern technical means, are to take over the tasks of modern warfare. The mass "second line" army is destined, according to the modern bourgeois military experts, to play only a supplementary role. However, the tremendous development of war technique which has vastly increased the fighting power of the individual soldier has at the same time made necessary the mobilisation of huge masses of workers to use the modern means of warfare and to keep the modern weapons supplied.

The bourgeoisie will therefore not be able to keep the acid of class antagonisms from eating into its military organisation and disintegrating it. The recognition of this fact accounts for the energetic efforts of the bourgeoisie to subjugate the front and the hinterland to a fascist dictatorship of terrorism, and for this reason also the whole military apparatus of the bourgeoisie has been adapted for a civil war against the proletariat. Knowing full well that the longer a war lasts the more rapid will be the revolutionisation of the masses, the imperialist bourgeoisie is striving to deceive the masses into the belief that the existence of modern bombing aeroplanes, poison-gas units, and fleets of fast tanks will guarantee the speedy ending of any war by a sudden and paralysing blow. The fascist Storm Detachments with picked special troops at their head, the organisations of officers, non-commissioned officers and reservists under the control of highly-placed brass hats, the militarisation and chauvinist-fascist brutalisation of the youth, the militarisation of the schools, the cleansing of the armies and navies from unreliable elements, a widespread organisation of espionage and provocation and a mass campaign of propaganda—all these factors are being used to the full in the capitalist countries to guarantee the organised production of submissive cannon-fodder. "The Germans are a higher race destined to rule over the world." "It is the duty of the Japanese to establish the dominance of imperial morality over Asia." "Poland is the bulwark of the civilised world against Bolshevism." These and similar slogans in all capitalist countries are being used to the full in order to break down the class solidarity of the proletariat and its international solidarity. Chauvinism, imbued with a bourgeois hatred against the proletariat and its international fatherland, the Soviet Union, is hounding the peoples into the abyss of a new counter-revolutionary blood-bath.

(8) "In the midst of these dashing waves of economic collapse and politico-military catastrophes the Soviet Union stands alone like a rock and continues its work of socialist construction and its struggle for the maintenance of peace." (Stalin: Report to the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P. of the S.U.)

From the first day of the existence of the Soviet Power Winston Churchill, Lloyd George, Vandervelde and Otto Bauer raised

the shout of "red imperialism" and "red militarism." At the same time the capitalists and their social-democratic agents have done their best to awaken illusions in the minds of the masses concerning the possibility of abolishing war under capitalism. The economic "successes" of the bourgeoisie have resulted in unemployment, ruin and starvation for scores of millions of toilers and in new slavery all over the world. Capitalism is now on the threshold of a new bout of wars and revolutions, whilst the Soviet Union is on the threshold of the classless socialist society.

The heroes of the bourgeoisie have won their reputation by actions such as the burning down of the Reichstag, the trial of Dimitrov, the trial of Thaelmann, the slaughtering of thousands of workers, the mass tortures and bestialities in the colonies, etc. The heroes of the social democracy have earned their reputation by lickspitting to the fascist military jackboot, by betraying the proletarian heroes of the Austrian barricades, and by the ceaseless fight against the establishment of working-class unity. The heroes of the socialist fatherland, on the other hand, have won their reputation in the ranks of the Shock Brigades, by penetrating into the stratosphere, by harnessing the forces of science and technique in the service of the workers everywhere, and by working for the emancipation of labour all over the world.

Without the gigantic victory of socialism won under the leadership of the Leninist Party, with the great executor of Lenin's genius at its head, Comrade Stalin, the Soviet Union could never have become the granite bulwark of the working class in the struggle for peace. Without the success of the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union and without the victorious advance of socialism in the Soviet Union the capitalists would long ago have turned the whole world into a new bloody shambles in the interests of capitalism. "The insane development of armaments would long ago have led to war did not the proletarian revolution stand closer behind war than behind the armed peace." (Lenin: Collected Works.) The victory of socialism in the Soviet Union is a signpost to the workers and toilers of the capitalist countries in their struggle for emancipation. No single capitalist country is in a position to conduct such a policy of peace as is being conducted by the land of the proletarian dictatorship. "On what does the Soviet Union rely in this difficult and complex struggle for peace?" asked Comrade Stalin in his report to the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P. of the Soviet Union, and answered the question as follows:—

"(a) On its growing economic and political power.

"(b) On the moral support of millions of the working class in all countries who are vitally interested in the preservation of peace."

"(c) On the common sense of those countries which for this or that reason are not interested in disturbing the peace, and which wish to develop commercial relations with such a reliable customer as the Soviet Union. And, finally,

"(d) On our glorious Red Army which is prepared at any moment to defend our country against foreign attack.

"On this basis arose our campaign for the conclusion of pacts of non-aggression and of pacts defining the aggressor with our neighbouring States."

The Soviet Union utilises the imperialist contradictions to defend the cause of peace and of socialism, whilst at the same time it maintains its complete independence of the policy of the imperialist Powers to the last. Thanks to its pacts of non-aggression with Turkey, Afghanistan, with the border States, with Poland and with France, its treaty of neutrality with Germany, and its pacts for the definition of the aggressor with France, Poland, and the countries of the Little Entente, the Soviet Union has succeeded in making the efforts of the war-mongers to deceive the masses and jockey them into imperialist war considerably more difficult, efforts which are being conducted under the cloak of "justifiable national defence." Without falling victim to any illusions about the love of peace of the capitalist States, the Soviet Union is utilising every possibility, including, if necessary, the League of Nations, which has since lost its main significance as the international bulwark for the maintenance of the Versailles Treaty and has become a hindrance to the war-like intentions of Japanese imperialism and German fascism, in order to isolate the war-mongers and assist in the mobilisation of the international proletariat for peace and against fascism. As the guardian of peace and of socialism, as "the army of the emancipated workers and peasants, as the army

of the October Revolution, and as the army of the proletarian dictatorship" (Stalin), the role of the Red Army and the Red Navy is exactly the opposite of the role of the armies of the imperialist dictators and the fascist murderers. The Red Army is the bulwark of peace and socialist construction.

"We stand for peace and champion the cause of peace, but we are not afraid of threats and are prepared to answer the instigators of war blow for blow." (Stalin: Ibid.) Our fighting forces are exactly in accordance with the level of development of our country and they have not remained one step behind our general rapid development, and they will not be permitted to do so." (Voroshilov.) The total volume of mechanical horse-power behind each member of the Red Army has trebled since 1929. Fifty per cent. of the members of the Red Army are either members of the Communist Party or members of the Young Communist Leninist League, almost the half of our corps of commanders are of proletarian origin and over two-thirds of them are members of the Communist Party. This army will be in a position to implement the warning of the leader of the world proletariat to those who should dare to attack the Soviet Union, namely, that such a war would be "the most dangerous war of all for the bourgeoisie." It will be the most dangerous war of all not only because the peoples of the Soviet Union will rally to defend the achievements of their revolution with their lives, but because such a war will be fought out not only at the front, but behind the lines of the capitalist enemy. "Let the bourgeoisie be in no doubt about the fact that the numerous friends of the Soviet Union in Europe and in Asia will do their utmost to deliver a stab in the back against their oppressors who have dared to begin a criminal war against the fatherland of the working class of all countries." (Stalin.) The Soviet Union is the bulwark of peace amongst the peoples and the bulwark of the struggle of the working class and the oppressed peoples for emancipation.

(9) The Second International, patched together out of parties which but yesterday were fighting each other to the greater glory of their respective bourgeoisie, parties which were abandoned by the most class-conscious and most courageous section of the working class at the time of the foundation of the Third International, has utilised the time between the end of the first world war and the approach of the second to do everything possible to destroy the class unity of the workers and of the toilers in general against the robber bands of imperialism and bourgeois reaction. The 4th August, 1914, placed the tombstone on the grave of the pre-war Second International. The activity of the Second International in the post-war period is characterised, above all, by the direct defence of bourgeois rule in an open and direct struggle against the proletarian revolution and against the national-revolutionary movements for freedom. Intrigues and provocations against the Soviet Union, incitement to attack the Soviet Union and the defence of the interests of imperialism form the basis of the activity of the Second International.

The disruption of the ranks of the working class by those whose fate is indissolubly connected with the fate of the bourgeoisie and who drive a new wedge into the fighting front of the working class at every new development, is proving more than ever a hindrance to the struggle of the workers to-day. In the preparatory stages of the new world war the Second International, as distinct from 1914, has provided from its ranks a series of battalions to join the ranks of fascism—the Akamazu party in Japan which declares the reactionary monarchy, the imperialist robber war and the war against the Soviet Union as the "scaffolding for the building up of national socialism," the Severings and Loebes in Germany, the Renners in Austria, the Neo-fascists in France who have sent their representatives into the cabinets of the bourgeois reaction, de Man and his consorts in Belgium who are at the head of the Belgian Neo-fascists, and counter-revolutionary Trotskyism which provides the international bourgeoisie with the vile slogans for the campaign of incitement against the Soviet Union and the Communist International.

The Second International experienced its first historical collapse during the war of 1914-18. At that time it decayed in accordance with the split in the imperialist camp. To-day the Second International is passing through a new crisis and aligns its forces, even before a war, at the side of the imperialist bourgeoisie.

This open war policy of the Second International has caused disruption in the ranks of a number of social-democratic parties

even before the outbreak of the imperialist war, and in a number of countries it has developed into the collapse of whole national sections (Germany and Austria).

The division of the imperialist bourgeoisie into various camps causes the complete international bankruptcy even in the preparatory stages of the new imperialist war and divests it of its character as a united organisation on an international scale. In comparison with 1914 its present bankruptcy is far more complete. The utter confusion which prevails both in the social-democratic parties in the various countries and amongst the various groups in these various countries in connection with the question of the defence of the bourgeois finance-capitalist republican or fascist fatherlands, the differences of opinion and the confusion which reflects the confusion and antagonism which exists in the camp of imperialism are so great that this international of capitulators to fascism, of anti-Soviet war-mongers, and of pacifist deceivers represents the chief source of impotence and demoralisation for the proletariat. On the one hand the social-bankrupts are zealously hanging around the ante-chambers of the bourgeois governments which are preparing for the new imperialist war until such time as they will be invited inside to take part in the "Ministries of National Defence" and crush the revolutionary proletariat, and on the other hand they are doing their best to adapt themselves to the growing revolutionisation of the working masses and are using pseudo-radical and "Left" wing phrases in order to smuggle through their capitulation to the imperialist bourgeoisie. They are splitting the unity of the working class in the interests of their own unity with the bourgeoisie, which is preparing itself for a bloody campaign against the proletariat.

The attitude of the social democracy towards the imperialist war which broke out twenty years ago led to an open split in the ranks of the international working-class movement and it also caused a split in the working-class movements in the various individual countries. The urge of the working class for a joint struggle against imperialist war bears in it the preliminary conditions for unity of action against the class enemy.

(10) "The extraordinary acuteness of the internal class contradictions in the capitalist countries and also of the international contradictions indicate such a maturity of the objective conditions for a revolutionary crisis that at the moment the world has approached to the threshold of a new round of wars and revolutions." (Thirteenth Plenary Session of the E.C. of the C.I.) The unexampled struggle of the Chinese Soviet Republic, the heroic armed resistance of the Austrian workers against the Austro-fascist rulers in February, 1934, the magnificent struggle of the illegal Communist Party of Germany which is rallying millions of workers for the struggle against the fascist yoke and against war, the really Bolshevik fight of the Communist Party of Japan against the military-police monarchy of the Mikado, against the unprovoked attack on China, against the counter-revolutionary war on the Soviet Union, and against Japanese imperialism and fascism, a struggle which has the support of the working masses of Japan and the sympathy of the workers of the world, the revolutionary struggles in Spain, the rapid advance of the proletarian anti-fascist and anti-war wave in France and in all other capitalist countries, the great strikes in the United States, which are developing into pitched battles on the streets—all these are facts which prove undeniably the development of a new revolutionary upheaval against capitalism all over the world.

The Gratitude of King and Country

For four and a half years the working masses of all the belligerent countries sacrificed their all on the altar of capitalist profit interests; for four and a half years they let themselves be slaughtered and maimed; for four and a half years their wives and children slaved in the armament factories to the detriment of their health; for four and a half years the fields of the peasants were devastated and their existence destroyed. And in the same period the possessing classes reaped an enormous harvest of bloody profits at the expense of the toilers.

"Your King and Country will remember you," the soldiers were told when they left for the front. Sixteen years have now passed since the war ended, but if king and country remembered the maimed men and their dependents it was at the utmost as a tiresome burden. Where is the wounded soldier, the war widow, the war orphan who can say that they have not been forgotten by a grateful country? Where is the working class as a whole which can say that the promises made to it were kept?

When the masses of the workers returned from the front and were demobilised they found that production had been completely dislocated, that in many cases their families had been broken up, the factory doors were closed, prices had risen to tremendous heights and taxes had increased in proportion. The war had brought with it a tremendous intensification of the international class struggle. For the ruling classes the war was a fine piece of profitable business, but for the broad masses of the toilers it brought death, hunger, misery, and desperation. After four and a half years of terrible privations and suffering the soldiers returned to their homes with hatred in their hearts against the governments. The women who had remained behind and who had been robbed of husbands and sons also hated the governments, for they, too, had suffered—ruthless exploitation in the munition factories on the one hand and semi-starvation on the other.

The question of proletarian revolution, the question of the seizure of political power by the proletariat was on the agenda, and the ruling classes of all countries would have been hopelessly lost had not the leaders of the Second International taken over the role of "Bloodhounds" of the bourgeoisie and crushed the strikes and revolts of the workers. In Germany and Hungary in Poland and in Finland, in the Balkans and in Czechoslovakia the answer of the bourgeoisie to the demands of the workers was couched in the form of mass terror and mass slaughter. In the "victorious" countries the cry went up: "The enemy will pay everything!" but the tribute payments poured into the vaults of the French, British and American banks. From 1919 to 1923 a serious economic crisis paralysed the capitalist world. This crisis was followed by a short period of relative stabilisation and then again by the most terrific economic crisis which has ever shaken the world, a crisis which continues to exist to-day in a more or less violent form everywhere.

Condemned by the Versailles Powers to pay heavy tributes as the penalty for having lost the war, the bourgeoisie in the defeated countries passed the burdens on to the shoulders of the toiling masses. The building up of the devastated areas and the repair of the other damage done by the war became good business for the capitalists of all countries. For the working masses the tax burden of the post-war period was more crushing than it had ever been before. In the "victorious" countries the working masses waited vainly for a decisive improvement in their situation. The wave of inflation swept over Europe and plundered the workers and peasants, the petty-bourgeoisie and the middle class. The reconstruction of the capitalist productive apparatus in the period of relative stabilisation cost the workers the rationalisation campaign and subjected them to a murderous campaign of exploitation.

The bourgeoisie, which had made concessions to the working class in the immediate post-war period for fear of the social revolution (the eight-hour day, social and unemployment insurance, and certain parliamentary rights, etc.), now began to withdraw these concessions one after the other in a protracted and systematic offensive against the working masses. Unemployment developed into a chronic mass phenomenon as never before. Fifty millions of workers all over the world were flung on to the streets for years, deprived of work and bread and fobbed off with a minimum of support which was not enough to live decently and too much to die of starvation. The young workers leaving school to enter the world of labour found the gates of the factories closed against them. They had no possibility of entering the field of productive labour and their lives developed aimlessly. Millions of workers were placed on short time. Millions of workers were robbed of their wages and of their unemployment support. The bourgeoisie did not even make a halt at the miserable pittance paid out to the wounded soldiers and the war widows and orphans. A systematic campaign of robbery was conducted against them all. When the ex-soldiers and the maimed dared to protest in demonstrations against this robbery they were beaten up or even fired upon by the police.

The post-war period opened up a vista of mass misery for the workers of all countries. Police batons and police bullets were the reward of the workers, not bread. "The gratitude of King and Country" turned out to be a cynical mockery.

The more intense grew the economic crisis and the more violently the revolutionary wave arose, the more desperately the bourgeoisie in all countries clung to power. And, finally, the moment came when the bourgeoisie was unable to maintain its rule with the old

parliamentary and democratic methods, and the shout for a fascist dictatorship went up. The old methods of bourgeois democracy developed into a hindrance for finance-capital both in the struggle against the revolutionary proletariat and in the preparation for the new war to redistribute the world.

Fascism developed out of the bowels of bourgeois democracy and was furthered by the social democracy with its policy of "the lesser evil." For fourteen years the social democracy preached that the path of bourgeois democracy was the path of the workers to freedom and power. With the complete collapse of this policy and the utter bankruptcy of bourgeois democracy the mass influence of the social-democratic leaders began to wane. In these circumstances the ruling classes were compelled to look for assistance not only from the social democracy, but, parallel with it, from fascism also.

To use the expression of Comrade Stalin, fascism has become "the most fashionable article in the stock-in-trade of the bourgeois politicians" and one of the chief reasons for this is the great role which it is able to play in the preparation for the coming imperialist war. Chauvinism and the preparation for war on the field of foreign policy and the terrorist suppression of the working class on the field of home policy as a necessary means for securing the hinterland for the coming war have become the two pivotal points of present-day imperialist policy. Like the adoption of a policy of terrorist oppression at home, the adoption of an open policy of war abroad is a sign of the weakness of the bourgeoisie. The development from fascism has tremendously intensified the general danger of war.

The establishment of an open fascist dictatorship and the letting loose of an unparalleled wave of terror against the working people with a view to robbing them of all economic and political rights represented the culmination of "the gratitude of King and country." The heroes of yesterday quickly became the "sub-humans" of to-day for the fascist bourgeoisie.

In Germany and Italy, Poland, and Hungary and in the Baltic States, fascism is at the helm. It has robbed the working masses of the last vestiges of their rights, and established a mediæval regime of terror. The fascist dictatorship is striving to save the threatened bourgeois order of society with gallows and axe, to solve the economic crisis at the cost of the masses, and to find a way out of the impasse in foreign wars. At a time of revolutionary advance the bourgeoisie was compelled to send its last fascist reserves into the battle, and this was a sign of weakness, not a sign of strength. The bloody mass terror against the working people at home represents for the ruling class the conclusion of the last war and the prelude to the next. "The gratitude of King and Country!"

Book Review

Fascism and Social Revolution*

By R. Page Arnot (London).

Comrade R. Palme Dutt has written a book which should prove of the utmost assistance to all working-class fighters. The title, "Fascism and Social Revolution," indicates that Dutt sees fascism in relation to the whole of social development, and to the great question of our times, the rule of the working class or the rule of the bourgeoisie. This gives the book the necessary wide sweep which, together with its arsenal of facts and arguments, makes it into a weapon for militant workers.

At the present time the danger which showed itself over three years ago of a liberal attitude toward fascism is liable to crop up in anti-fascist ranks, especially in the countries of bourgeois democracy. In Britain and the United States the general widespread opposition to fascism, understood as Hitlerism, can produce a shallow unhistoric and abstract attitude which actually plays into the hands of social democracy.

* R. Palme Dutt: *Fascism and Social Revolution*. Martin Lawrence, London. 5s.

Comrade Dutt, by his whole treatment, destroys this un-Marxist and un-Leninist attitude to Fascism. In his first three chapters he provides the setting that brings out the full significance of fascism. The growth of the productive forces, the conflict of the productive forces against existing society is shown and illustrated with a wealth of material which would suffice a Stewart Chase or a Ludwell Denny, with the requisite padding, for an entire book.

He then deals with the last attempt to restore pre-war capitalism and the collapse of the illusions of that stabilisation period which leads to the economics and politics of the present period, in which not only is there destruction of the productive forces by capitalism, but an ideological revolt against the machine, against Science. The capitalists are revealed as the modern Luddites, and the whole new acute stage of the fundamental contradiction of capitalism is seen to be driving to "national self-sufficiency" and to war. Thereafter comes the analysis of the class-content of fascism, which since the publication of the book has had the effect of revealing that the *New Leader*, organ of the I.L.P., possesses reviewers who neither understand the meaning of class struggle, nor even the manoeuvres of their own party. In attempting to controvert Dutt's analysis, the *New Leader* only shows that it would apparently accept any party which had enrolled large masses in the ranks as thereby expressing the permanent class interests of those masses—a contention negated by the history of the social revolutionaries, as well as by the fascist parties themselves. The I.L.P. reviewer puts forward an argument which, if it were sound, would have been a reason against the original foundation of the I.L.P. The fact that such a review either so muddled, or so disingenuous, could appear in the central organ of the I.L.P., reinforces the need for the widest reading of the Communist argument as presented in a clear manner in Dutt's book.

The remainder of the book could serve as a commentary on the characterisation of fascism and of social democracy, given in the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International and in the succeeding Theses of the E.C.C.I., for which it provides detailed proofs and modern instances. This essential work of popularisation, the lack of which is one of the greatest weaknesses of the movement, especially in English speaking countries, is undertaken in a trio of chapters which tell how fascism came in Italy, in Germany and in Austria. In these three chapters the responsibility of social democracy is clearly brought out with chapter and verse proof from the utterances and actions of the social democrats themselves, and is finally driven home in a special chapter demonstrating how social democracy is the twin of fascism; how, in Stalin's words, "Social democracy objectively represents the moderate wing of fascism."

Contemptuously, and with the brevity it merits, the "theory" of fascism is exposed, and it is shown as a development of demagoguery on a scale and manner never attempted before. A particularly telling exposure is given of fascism and the woman's question. The tendencies to fascism in Western Europe and America are dealt with in special sections on Roosevelt, the National Government and the Doumergue Government that came out of the February days in France.

When the reader concludes the final chapter on the dialectics of fascism and revolution and the fight against fascism, he realises that he has in this book an arsenal of facts, arguments and proofs with which to convince his fellow-workers who may still be bound by the illusions of social democracy. But, above all, in the fighting spirit of this book, in its feeling of class struggle and of the certainty of victory he will find the best antidote to the poison of helplessness, of "we can do nothing," "fascism is inevitable," etc., which social democracy in Britain and other countries is attempting to spread throughout the working class.

With its clear and deep analysis, with its simplicity, compactness and accuracy, and with its spirit of class struggle, Comrade Dutt's book deserves to be translated immediately from English into the other languages of Europe.

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 WILLIAM MASSEY, 249, King Street, Hammersmith, London, W.6, and Printed by THE MARSTON PRINTING Co. (T.U.), 44, Worship Street, London, E.C.2.