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Hitler's Coup d'Etat—A Deed of Desperation

By Wilhelm Pieck.

Nothing is more typical of the extreme seriousness of the situation in Germany and of the tremendous difficulties in which German imperialism finds itself, difficulties which have been greatly increased since the establishment of the national socialist dictatorship, than the sudden proclamation of Hitler as President of the Reich, or Reich's Leader, and the attempt to restore some shine to his halo by a jerrymandered "people's referendum." It is a clear indication that latent crises are about to burst into the open.

Home and foreign policy, economic and finance policy, all fields of public life, are so cluttered up with an immense accumulation of difficulties that desperation will encourage new adventurist undertakings on all fields. In the camp of the bourgeoisie there is such uncertainty and hopelessness with regard to economic affairs, coupled with a desperate search for new solutions, all of which have to be abandoned even before they are formulated, that even the enthusiastic supporters of the fascist dictatorship no longer dare to talk of the "economic boom."

The seriousness of the situation is also indicated by the rapid pace at which "the leading cadres" are being used up. The "moral" dilapidation of the "leading cadres" is tremendous on all fields, and only in rare cases does it become publicly known. This is true, above all, of the economic field. Feder was the first

victim, but he was quickly followed by Kessler, one of the intimate confidants of Hitler. Schmitt, the economic dictator, was provided with full powers on his field of operations, but they have not helped him to weather the storm. He, too, has retired into the background. The retirement of Schmitt was undoubtedly a victory for the Krupp-Thyssen monopolist group. It represented the continuation of the political "course," which began on June 30, this time, on the economic field. The continuation of this policy undermines Hitler's position to an increasing extent, and it is intended to open up a line of retreat for German finance capital when it is no longer able to hide itself behind the worn-out shield of national socialism.

The differences of opinion inside the various capitalist groups, inside the various branches of industry, between the various monopolies, and between the monopolist and non-monopolist capitalists have reached such a tremendous volume that, for instance, a common policy in foreign trading can be obtained only by the exercise of dictatorial powers. This is the reason why Schacht has been appointed Economic Minister. The conduct of Germany's economic and financial policies is now united in one hand, and naturally that hand is guided by the monopolist Krupp-Thyssen group.

Everyone is in favour of encouraging Germany's foreign trade,

the captains of industry themselves, the leaders of fascism, and the economic and trade journals of Hitler Germany. But when it comes to a question of how to encourage it, then the differences of opinion are so great and so violent that an agreement is impossible. Everyone is in favour of lowering the costs of production, in other words, a new and general cut in wages in order to increase the competitive capacity of German industries on the world market, but the difficulties which are connected with such an open and all-round cut in wages are also recognised. In the past these difficulties were so great that the bourgeoisie did not dare to force through an open depression of wage standards, and now, with the increasing disillusionment of the masses and the increasing strength of the working-class front, they have become still greater.

However, the German bourgeoisie is in a desperate situation, and when its own existence is at stake it is prepared to risk much, so that here also it will be compelled to take the necessary measures. June 30 and July 25 showed clearly that the German bourgeoisie is prepared to stick at nothing. Can Schacht save the economic situation? The antagonism between the export capitalists and the big trading undertakings, between the industrial capitalists and the trading capitalists is so great that quite apart from the dangers and difficulties of all-round wage-cuts any solution must seriously affect one group or the other, even assuming that devaluation is carried out. In this connection the fascist press remains silent, but the export capitalists are shouting louder than ever for devaluation. Only recently the association of engineering firms sent a questionnaire on the subject out to its members and almost all of them demanded devaluation up to 40 per cent. However, in this question also there exist such intense differences of opinion in the camp of the bourgeoisie that the government is postponing any decision on the point again and again. The bourgeoisie is well aware that although Schacht is in a position to determine the beginning of devaluation, he will hardly be able to control the end, and that the development of devaluation into inflation at home would no longer depend on the will of the leading monopolist capitalist groups.

But even devaluation would not restore Germany's lost trade positions on the world market. All that remains is an increased dumping campaign by means of the blocked and registered marks, etc., and supported by certain tax revenues which have been allotted for the purpose, in the same way as is being done already to a certain extent with the funds of the unemployment support scheme and the social insurance scheme. However, even then the limits to such operations are so clearly defined and narrow that they could afford nothing more than a temporary manoeuvre.

The foreign trade situation, and thus the currency situation at home, is thus pretty hopeless, and no matter what measures the German bourgeoisie may take, they must lead to an exacerbation of the political situation at home. In addition, the home market itself is threatened with a new economic reverse. This reverse is caused above all by the artificial measures which have been taken by the government to bring about economic recovery.

The work provision schemes and the financial measures taken by the state to support them have now reached the utmost possible limit without inflation. Even the governmental armament drive is threatened with paralysis unless the inflation comes to the rescue. So-called state measures are already being stopped, for instance, the much advertised building of motor roads. The banks and the individual trusts have already reached saturation point with work provision bills of exchange, and for this reason these bills are accumulating to an increasing extent in the hands of the Reichsbank. The total sum represented by these bills is probably already in excess of two milliard marks. Despite all its careful manoeuvring the Reichsbank has not been able to prevent an increase in the volume of means of payment in circulation. Certainly, the increase has not reached any very great proportions as yet, but that is not the main point. The danger signal is the permanent tendency which has manifested itself since the beginning of the year for the volume of the means of payment in circulation to increase. In a situation like this all that is necessary is some sudden and unexpected dislocation, even a dislocation which in itself is not great, and the Reichsbank will then no longer be able to stem the avalanche.

In the meantime industry is carrying on with its production. However, as new investments are not being made, and as the purchasing power of the broad masses is not increasing despite

the taking on of additional labour power in the factories, a considerable dislocation of consumption is taking place, and the disposal of the supplies of industrial commodities, which are greater to-day than they were in 1928, is becoming increasingly difficult. The existing supplies of industrial commodities have been produced on credit, and in this respect also the limits of the possible have now been reached.

Either these accumulated supplies of industrial goods must be disposed of on the world market by means of inflation or they will cause a catastrophic drop in prices. As a result of the shortage of raw materials further production is also meeting with difficulties. The statistics of the fascist authorities declare that raw materials supplies for three or four months are still available, but the fascist economic plans have nothing in common with planned economy, which is possible only on the basis of a socialist mode of production and distribution. Although they are distributed under State control these supplies of raw materials are private property. The result is that some of the big undertakings have sufficient supplies of raw materials to last them for a very long time, whilst, on the other hand, many undertakings have not enough to last more than a week or two. This lack of proportion in the distribution of raw materials must produce new hostility between the various capitalist undertakings. Already some undertakings, not only in the textile industry, have reached the end of their tether with regard to raw materials, and they are being compelled to refuse orders for this reason.

Certain groups of finance capitalists still hope that they will be able to find a way out of Germany's desperate situation by means of a foreign loan. The fiasco suffered by the inland loan floated at the beginning of June is already well known. The fascist State was compelled to pay out more in cash than it obtained as a result of the loan. The prospects of obtaining foreign loans for Germany are nothing if not hopeless. Although the fascist government was compelled to retreat after it had proclaimed its moratorium and make concessions to its foreign creditors, neither the United States nor Great Britain dreams of advancing the German imperialist fascist bankrupts even one brass farthing. True, these countries might do what they have done before, namely, attempt to rescue their old loans by advancing new ones, but in the present situation that would be so obviously throwing good money after bad that it is extremely unlikely that they will do anything of the sort. Loans of this nature are therefore conceivable only under the most onerous conditions. In such circumstances the concessions which the fascist dictatorship would have to make would be so severe and so far-reaching that they would represent the abandonment of all foreign political, foreign trading, and armament independence for a very long time.

Further, any such concessions would lead to the greatest possible internal political difficulties and would greatly strengthen those forces which threaten the fascist dictatorship from within. This explains Schacht's public declaration to the effect that Germany is not considering taking up such loans. However, the hard-pressed mariner will put into any port in a storm, and the unseaworthy vessel of German imperialism is being buffeted by great waves from outside whilst its beams are groaning and cracking within its hulk. Even according to the official fascist statistics unemployment is on the increase. The wave of "land-helpers" who are abandoning the villages and returning to their old homes in the towns is increasing and becoming more and more dangerous. In addition, the process of social differentiation in the villages is intensifying rapidly. The discontent and dissatisfaction of the poor and middle peasants was already great enough owing to the intense economic difficulties, but now the drought has intensified it greatly. Demagogic phrases are no longer sufficient to pacify them. In this situation the urban "land-helpers" work like revolutionary yeast amongst the peasantry.

The working masses in the towns are threatened by a new rise of prices. Not a week passes but that the price of some article of daily necessity rises. One day it is meat and the next day it is vegetables, and this goes on week after week. In addition, the employers are urging the government on to agree to new all-round wage-cuts, whilst in the coming weeks there will be a new wave of dismissals which will result in a further intensification of the mass impoverishment of the German working class, particularly in view of the tremendous cuts which have been made in the unemployment support rates.

However, this new wave of misery will sweep over a working class whose spirit and whose consciousness have been tremendously awakened by the untiring work of the Communist Party and by the steady and fruitful work for the establishment of **unity of action** amongst the social democratic, Communist, and Catholic workers against the oppressive policy of fascism. Even large sections of the lower middle classes are already convinced that things cannot go on as they have been going. When the moment of great social conflicts again arises these masses will no longer be actively opposed to the working class, but will rather sympathise with it and support it. This does not mean that they will go over on their own initiative to the revolutionary fighting front of the proletariat, but that in its tireless struggle against fascism the proletariat itself will create the preliminary conditions for winning over these masses as allies in a great fighting front of the German people.

On the foreign political field the events of July 25 and the subsequent days in Austria demonstrate clearly that Hitler and the clique of adventurists behind him are thoroughly prepared to plunge the world into a new slaughter. There is no doubt that had Hitler's plan in Austria been successful it would have been followed up a few weeks later by a similar coup in the Saar. Everything was prepared for this coup, but as the "Popolo d'Italia" of July 27 pointed out, that would have meant war. That is the state to which the national socialists have brought Germany.

In view of the violent antagonisms in its own camp, and in view of the catastrophic economic situation and the approach of new great class struggles, the German imperialist bourgeoisie is no longer capable of agreeing on a permanent and settled foreign policy. At home its only solution is to intensify the fascist terror. The policy of adventurism must therefore inevitably come more and more to the fore. This adventurist policy has been underlined by the German bourgeoisie in that it has now placed Hitler at the head of the German Reich. On July 25 it was Austria that was chosen for the scene of an adventurous drive to provide German fascism with a foreign political breathing space even at the risk of European war. To-morrow it may be the Saar, the Danish frontier, or the Polish corridor.

The danger which threatens the German working class and the workers of the world from German fascism is tremendous. The appointment of Hitler as "Reich's Leader" makes this danger still more obvious to the broad masses. The German working class thoroughly understands the insolent and provocative attitude of the German bourgeoisie, which is capable of nothing but intensified terror at home and foreign political adventurers abroad. The German working class will not be deceived by the latest manoeuvre of the German bourgeoisie, the "People's Referendum," which will be conducted under terror and intimidation in order to provide Hitler's coup d'Etat with a legal cloak. The German working class, the social democratic, Communist and Catholic workers, will give their answer in joint action. Any attempt to cut wages, to reduce social benefits and to cut down production will meet with the joint resistance of the workers as a whole. All such attempts will produce counter-actions on the part of the workers, and the great struggles which the coming months will produce will demonstrate that the Communist Party, thanks to its heroic struggle, has created the necessary conditions for the decisive defeat of the fascist dictatorship. The prelude to these struggles will be opened when the "People's Referendum" is held. Despite all the fascist terrorist measures the Communist Party will mobilise the masses in order to expose the fascist swindle with a great mass of negative votes. The proletarian revolution must triumph in Germany before the marauder Hitler succeeds in plunging the world into a new imperialist slaughter.

Hungary Refuses Offer of U.S.S.R. to Exchange for Rakosi

Prague, August 3.

The American lawyer, Levinson, has intervened with the Hungarian government for the release of Comrade Rakosi.

The Soviet Union has sent an offer to exchange Rakosi for twenty fugitives, including the Hungarian professor Keneny, and relics from the revolution of 1848. The Hungarian government has, however, rejected this offer, and is determined to bring up Rakosi for trial again. An increasing international protest must force the Hungarian government to release Rakosi.

Politics

Foreign Political Review of the Week

When the movements of Italian troops on the Austrian and Yugoslavian frontiers began to cause a certain amount of anxiety "The Times" did its best to pacify public opinion with the assurance that these troop movements did not represent any danger to the peace of Europe, on the contrary, the various armies represented a guarantee of peace, quite unlike certain political leaders. This was also true of the German Reichswehr. Three days later Hitler was the supreme commander of the Reichswehr.

Hitler's coup d'état coincided with the twentieth anniversary of Germany's declaration of war and with the celebrations which national socialist Germany had organised in this connection. The commander of the Berlin garrison, *Major-General von Witzleben*, celebrated the anniversary by a speech in the Lustgarten in Berlin during the course of which he declared that August 2, 1914 (the day on which Germany declared war), was the birthday of national socialism, the political philosophy of warlike Germany. He declared:—

"When the German people rose like one man in 1914 national socialism was born, and the four years of bitter warfare which followed sowed the seeds of this new German soldierly philosophy in the hearts of innumerable Germans. In the heart of one man who was doing his duty calmly and heroically as an unknown soldier during those war years, the spark burst into a strong, pure flame. In this great hour we swear unwavering loyalty once again to our great leader Adolf Hitler. . . ."

At a time when the whole world is suffering from the practical application of this "soldierly philosophy," national socialist Germany is acclaiming it with glee.

It is not a question of calling up spirits from the vasty deep. It is not the spirits which threaten, but grim reality. Hitler's hysteria and his leaning towards adventurism, which are regarded by British and American diplomacy as a serious danger to world peace, were particularly emphasised on August 2 in Germany. Two weeks before, Hitler had attempted to justify his slaughter of his former friends and comrades on June 30 by declaring that he was bound by oath to the constitution and that Roehm and the others had been striving to make him break his oath, but before Hindenburg had closed his eyes for the last time Hitler had broken his solemn oath on the constitution by ignoring the constitutional provisions for the presidential succession. The "Figaro" described this as "hysteria in zig-zag." And such a man is the supreme leader of a great country which has to contend with enormous difficulties, difficulties which were made clear to the whole world in the recent report of the British trade attaché in Berlin.

In the considered opinion of this British economic expert the German government can save the economic situation only by carrying out devaluation or by a tremendous depression of wage standards or both, to be followed by a great campaign of dumping on the world market along the lines of the Japanese example. In other words, measures which must produce a tremendous intensification of the foreign trade war and a tremendous intensification of the class struggle at home and create a situation in which the wildest adventurism must flourish.

Irrespective of whether the Reichswehr has harnessed Hitler in front of its waggon or whether the opposite has taken place, one thing is certain and that is that, as supreme commander of the Reichswehr, Hitler's word has great weight at a fateful moment in German history and it is extremely unlikely that just the Generals will hold back his arm at such a moment. For this reason August 2, 1934, was marked down in the Cabinets of London, Paris and Washington as a sad day for the peace of the world as was August 2, 1914.

An article in the "Temps" of August 5, the mouthpiece of the French Foreign Office, which is certainly better informed about the trend of Polish foreign policy than any other foreign organ, indicates that in this extraordinarily intensified international political situation *Polish foreign policy* is still proceeding in the wake of Hitler, despite the reverses it apparently suffered in Esthonia and Latvia, and it is still continuing its efforts to prevent the conclusion of the proposed Eastern Locarno pact. The same article reveals to us the fact that Poland has not limited itself to persuasion in its efforts to bend the Baltic States to its will, but that

it has also exerted pressure of another kind. What sort of pressure was actually exerted is not revealed.

In British conservative circles active efforts are being made to undermine Baldwin's position and sabotage his policy of supporting the *Eastern Locarno pact*. Lord Beaverbrook and Lord Rothermere are receiving increased support for their isolationist policy. The latest slogan of this group has been published in "*The Sunday Times*": "What goes on between the Rhine and the Dardanelles has nothing to do with us!" They see clearly that Germany is preparing for war and that it is seeking allies, but as Germany's aims lie in the East and as Germany wishes to expand above all at the cost of the Soviet Union, they observe in this procedure a welcome relief for Great Britain and above all for the British colonies.

Both the liberal "*Economist*" and also "*The Times*" oppose the arguments of this group. If it is correct, they argue, that France and Belgium must be defended in order to defend Great Britain itself, then it is no use trying to draw arbitrary lines on the politico-geographical map. When Austria-Hungary annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908 no one in Great Britain thought of war, and yet this annexation was the beginning of the development which led to the declaration of war by Great Britain in 1914. Great Britain must be defended not only on the Rhine, but also on the Danube. "*The Times*" therefore unconditionally supported the action of the British government in the Austrian question because it was one of the initiators of the Schuschnigg government. In the meantime, the "heroic" Austrian government, which has not the courage to follow the advice of the Western big Powers, has finally granted von Papen his agreement without submitting any conditions. This government, which has no mass basis, is incapable of any foreign political activity.

There is no doubt that there is a close connection between the events in Germany and the announcement of the semi-official Japanese press agency that the Japanese government intends to lodge a formal and serious complaint with the Soviet government, enumerating a series of "unfriendly acts" alleged to have been committed by the latter. The Japanese government feels that the time is ripening for the execution of its long-laid plans. The Japanese government intends to accuse the Soviet government of nothing less than intending to provoke war with Japan! This insolence would provoke nothing but a storm of laughter were the situation not so serious.

Writing in "*L'Humanité*," Comrade Péri declares:—

"It would be difficult to imagine anything more cynical and scandalously insolent than this action of the Japanese government. The Japanese government dares to speak of provocation! Who invaded Manchuria and Yehol? Who broke with the League of Nations in order to have greater freedom of movement to carry out the Tanaka Plan? How often since September, 1931, has the Soviet government offered the Japanese government a pact of non-aggression? How often has the Soviet government made overtures to settle the question of the Chinese Eastern Railway peaceably? The whole world knows that for three years the Soviet Union has made one sacrifice after the other in order to maintain peace?"

In the meantime, however, the Japanese Foreign Ministry has announced that the news is premature. For the moment the Japanese government is not contemplating any such step. "For the moment!" Japan has no intention of abandoning its provocative policy, but it prefers to wait until the international imperialist constellation is somewhat more favourable to its designs.

We on our part must not underestimate the possibility of this more favourable constellation and of the formation of a united imperialist front. The happenings in Foochow must serve us as a warning, although the situation in South China is different from the situation in the North. When the troops of the Chinese Soviet Republic flung back the forces of Chiang Kai-shek in disorder in the interior, there was no immediate talk of imperialist intervention, but immediately the advance of the red troops towards the coast offered the imperialists the possibility of training the guns of their navies on to them, then British, American and Japanese warships appeared in perfect concord. The united imperialist front was created in the twinkling of an eye. However, the red troops have discontinued their advance to the coast (it is not true that they were repulsed by the troops of Chiang Kai-shek), the united imperialist front remains no more than a symbol, but it can

become more than a symbol in the future and not only in South China.

"*The Economist*" concludes its observations on the twentieth anniversary of the outbreak of the world war with the old Roman warning "Videant Consules!" The guardians of the State must be on the watch lest the commonwealth suffer injury. The situation to-day is similar to the situation in 1914. We declare that if war is to be avoided then the working masses must be on the watch, but in joint action to overthrow the "guardians of the State," for the ousting of these "guardians" is the only guarantee of world peace.

Poland Drawn in the Wake of Germany

By J. Sosnovicz

Hitler's coming into power in Germany led at first to a considerable sharpening of German-Polish relations. Out of fear of a revision of the Versailles Treaty, which constituted one of the main points of the national-socialist programme, the Polish government, in 1933, concluded the Eastern Pact with the Soviet Union. But, in spite of this peaceful gesture, the Polish fascists by no means intended to change Poland's position as the anti-Soviet outpost of Western capitalism.

The anti-Soviet foreign policy, the imperialist aspirations of the Polish bourgeoisie and landlords created the basis for the Pact between Polish and German fascism. The joint declaration of Germany and Poland on November 15, 1933, was followed by the non-aggression Pact of December 26 and Goebbels' visit to Warsaw. The Pilsudski government drew nearer to fascist Germany, obviously with the idea of forming a common front against Soviet Russia.

In accordance with this rapprochement, it was decided not to celebrate the anniversary of the plebiscite in Upper Silesia, whilst a few days ago the following significant incident occurred. A big demonstration of workers took place in Polish Upper Silesia on the Polish-German frontier, at which cries were raised of "Down with Hitler!" The Polish police, obviously acting on the orders of superior officers, fired on the demonstrators.

The real aim and purpose of the foreign policy of Polish fascism are revealed by its attitude to Comrade Litvinov's proposal for the conclusion of regional security Pacts, before all to the question of the Eastern Pact. The Polish fascists of all shades, as well as the P.P.S. leaders, veil the imperialist aims and efforts of Polish imperialism and argue that Poland is an innocent lamb which is threatened by its neighbours, who, taking advantage of its geographical situation, want to pounce upon it. The East European Pact, which would be joined in by the Soviet Union, Germany, Poland, the Baltic countries, and the Little Entente as parties with equal rights, would greatly contribute to the consolidation of peace in Eastern Europe. The rejection of the proposed Pact by Poland will prove that she is being drawn in the wake of Germany, that, like Germany, she does not wish to commit herself, and this is a further proof of the imperialist and anti-Soviet designs of Polish fascism. The real motives behind the foreign policy of Poland and the causes of the rejection of the Pact are clearly revealed in an article by A. Romer, the former chairman of the Polish delegation at the International Agrarian Conference:—

"Hitler has, however, freed Europe from the nightmare of the interference of six million German Communists in Polish affairs,"

whereupon, breaking a lance for Hitler, he raises the question:—

"Why should the declarations of Hitler and his Ministers that they desire peace be of less worth than the peaceful declarations of the Moscow leaders?"

He reveals the principle of Polish policy towards Germany in the following words:—

"The world revolution is the unofficial programme of the governing party in the Soviet Union!"

The actual rejection, together with Germany, of the Eastern Locarno, which was so warmly supported by Poland's ally, France, further shows that the Polish-German rapprochement is stronger than the Franco-Polish alliance, which has already been considerably weakened. The attitude of Poland has aroused great indignation in France. It is stated that Barthou, the French Foreign Minister, has pointed out that French policy has recently encountered the resistance of the common front of Germany and Poland. It is no longer possible to conceal in Poland this attitude of France towards Poland's policy. Thus the correspondent of the "Illus-

trowany Kurier Codzanny," which is closely connected with the government, writes from Paris:—

"Before all we must quite candidly admit that the attitude of France towards Poland has been characterised in the last two months by a constantly increasing mistrust. The cause of this mistrust on the part of France towards Poland lies in the false (?—J. S.) interpretation of the Polish-German rapprochement. It is pointed out that numerous outward signs go to show that Poland has replaced the French card by the German card.

"Anybody who has any knowledge of our situation must admit that we cannot permit the oppression of the Polish minority in Czechoslovakia, and that there is reason for a certain reserve on our part towards the Soviet Union." (Our emphasis—J. S.)

These fears of the loss of French friendship are finding expression in the opposition press, especially in the press of the national democrats and the P.P.S. The "Gazeta Warszawska," which reports "alarming news" from Paris, writes that one must not forget that Poland's policy, "if it leads to isolation, is an unwise and risky game at the present time." These expressions of alarm and uneasiness on account of the difficulties called forth by Poland's foreign policy compel the fascist Pilsudki's government to resort to the manoeuvres which we have already described.

The Communist Party is exposing the double game of Polish imperialism; it is pointing out how the rapprochement between the two fascist systems is a threat to the Soviet Union, and is calling for a fight against the anti-Soviet war plans. The Communist Party is imparting an increasingly strong mass character to the fight against anti-Soviet nationalism; it is educating the masses in the spirit of internationalism under the slogan of the international solidarity of the proletariat and of the working masses and the unity of the fight of the Polish and German proletariat against their own fascist governments and for the defence of the fatherland of the proletariat of all countries, the Soviet Union.

Ever broader masses of the Polish proletariat are rallying round the banner of the international fight against war, round the banner of Communism, which will be victorious.

The Skoda Affair and the Sharpening of the Political Crisis in Rumania

By Victor Zitna.

Corruption scandals among higher political circles are a daily occurrence in Rumania. Nevertheless, the Skoda affair, which is now being dealt with by a Special Parliamentary Commission, acquires great importance. In the whirlpool of political struggles into which the ruling class of Rumania has been plunged, every fraction of the bourgeoisie is attempting to utilise this struggle in order to strike a blow at its opponent.

On March 10, 1933, at an unexpected visit of the tax officials to the offices of the Czech Skoda Works in Bucharest, in order to ascertain whether the works had paid all taxes due, documents of the greatest importance relating to the armaments of Rumania were found. Previously the Minister of War had placed orders with the Skoda Works to the amount of 5,000 million lei, a fact which did not prevent the Rumanian authorities from accusing Seletzky, the representative of the Skoda Works in Bucharest, of being a spy and sentencing him to ten years' imprisonment.

The Seletzky trial, which took place last year, gave the toiling masses an insight into the swamp of corruption among the ruling class. From the simple court employee, who, in return for a few lei, falsified the depositions of witnesses, up to the Ministers, who in return for vast bribes were prepared to place orders for weapons with this or this firm—all of them, statesmen of various parties, generals, high officers and high functionaries, are involved in this affair. The background of this scandal, however, is the antagonisms existing between the ruling fractions of the Rumanian bourgeoisie, the National Zaranists and the Liberals. The National Zaranist government at one time placed orders with the Skoda Armaments Works; the Liberals, who are more closely connected with industry and finance capital, wished rather to set up an armaments industry in Rumania itself, based on the already existing metal works in Reschitza, Copsa-Mica and Cagir. For this reason the Liberals made use of the Seletzky trial in order to discredit the peasant party and its leader, Maniu, by letting it be known that Maniu had also had a hand in the game. The disputes

and squabbles which followed revealed the rottenness of the regime and of all fractions of the ruling class.

When the Liberal government came into power, its first task was to deal with the question of war preparations and build up a national armament industry. In addition to the War Ministry a special Armaments Ministry was formed, with Tartarescu, the Prime Minister, at the head. The orders to Skoda were cancelled and measures adopted to set up a war industry in Rumania itself. The purpose of Tartarescu's visit to Paris was to obtain France's agreement to these plans. Whilst in Paris Tartarescu was able to settle the question of foreign debts. The 1931 loan was partly covered by the transfer of 10 million French francs, obtained in February; the agreement concluded relates to the second instalment of 15,000 French francs, falling due on August 10. In this manner the friction existing between the French bankers and the Rumanian government was partly removed, and Barthou's visit to Bucharest drew closer the political and military bonds between France and its vassals, the States of the Little Entente. This visit will certainly help in a great measure to bring about a settlement of the financial question and the creation of a war industry in Rumania.

In spite of all this the future of the Liberal government is by no means secure. It is true, it succeeded two months ago in frustrating the attempt of the court camarilla to set up a government of military dictatorship with an orientation towards Hitler and Mussolini, but the discontent of the masses continues to increase. The trial of the railway men in Craiova has revealed the profound radicalisation of the masses, the growing influence of the Communist Party and of the revolutionary organisations. This ferment finds expression even in the bourgeois parties. Thus a group of Young Liberals, who condemn the methods of open fascisation, was recently formed within the government party.

The National Zaranists have commenced a campaign for the overthrow of the Liberal government. Under the slogan of defence of democracy, of the interests of the peasant masses, etc., they are attempting to form a mass basis in order to be able to carry out their programme of fascisation.

In this situation the Liberal government has decided again to raise the Skoda affair and to make use of it against the peasant party. The government, whilst Parliament is prorogued, is making use of its powers to set up a special commission to investigate the Skoda affair. The commission has to ascertain the responsibility of the various functionaries and higher officers who are compromised in the Skoda affair. The enquiry has not yet been concluded, but new facts have already been brought to light, as, for instance, the case of the former Minister of War Uica, who was prepared to release Seletzky from prison in return for 20 million lei. But the main blow is, of course, directed against the National Zaranists and their leaders, Maniu and Vaida.

The Communist Party of Rumania is making use of the Skoda scandal in order to mobilise the masses against the fascisation of the regime, against wage reductions, against dismissals of employees, especially those belonging to the national minorities, against inner loans which are intended to finance the war industry.

Spanish Socialist Workers Stand for United Action with Communists

Madrid, August 6.

"Mundo Obrero" is receiving letters daily from socialist workers and organisations, declaring their agreement with the proposals of the C.P. for the united action front. The union of the agricultural workers of Salorho (Caceres) has sent a letter to Largo Cabarello, insisting that he must logically follow up the revolutionary campaign which he has been carrying on for some weeks by accepting the proposals of the Communists, this being the sole way in which anything practical can be attained and the example of the Russian proletariat followed.

The union of shipyard workers at Vigo, affiliated to the reformist U.G.T., has sent a letter to the executive of the Socialist Party, stating that at the last members' meeting the union resolved to accept the proposals of the C.P., and to invite Largo Cabellero and a representative of the C.P. to speak at an election meeting, to be organised in Vigo by this union to discuss the question of united action.

Declaration of the C.C. of the C.P. of Rumania on the Recognition of the Soviet Union by the Rumanian Government

The C.C. of the C.P. of Rumania has issued an appeal to the Rumanian working class in which it is stated, *inter alia*:—

"Every worker and peasant in Rumania knows very well that the Soviet Union, ever since its existence, has never ceased to propose to the Rumanian government the resumption of diplomatic relations, just as it has done in the case of the European big Powers and the neighbouring capitalist countries. The undertaking given by the Russian workers' and peasants' government not to settle any conflicts with the neighbouring capitalist countries by means of an armed intervention—an undertaking which has been repeated on every occasion—does not mean, however, the recognition of the oppression of Bessarabia. The Soviet government, which emancipated millions of workers and peasants oppressed by tsarism, which defends the right of the subjected peoples of the whole globe, and remains the champion of the unrestricted right of self-determination of the oppressed peoples. But the problem of the emancipation of Bessarabia, like that of Transylvania, Bukovina, and Dobruja, from the yoke of Rumanian imperialism must be achieved by the revolutionary struggle of workers in Rumania in a united front with the Moldavian, Hungarian, Ukrainian, Bulgarian, and Turkish workers and peasants.

"It is not the Soviet government which changed its policy, which it has unswervingly pursued since the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship, but the ruling classes of Rumania, which, after having rejected the proposals of the Soviet government and until recently pursued a policy of hostility and incitement against the proletarian State, have been compelled to change their attitude to the peace proposals of the government of the Soviet Union.

"The sharpening of the contradictions in the imperialist camp, and in particular the fact that the question of the struggle for an imperialist redivision of the world has now been placed on the order of the day, are compelling imperialist Rumania to resort to various manoeuvres in order to maintain its colonial rule in occupied territories such as Transylvania, Bukovina, Bessarabia, Dobruja. Imperialist Rumania was compelled to recognise the Soviet Union, whose power is increasing daily in the sphere of international politics and which at every opportunity comes forward as a determined guardian of peace, as opponent of any imperialist war of conquest and redistribution of the world. . . .

"The Communist Party of Rumania, the only force which is mobilising the masses for the revolutionary fight against imperialist war, calls upon the millions of exploited and oppressed not to be deceived by the so-called peace policy of the Rumanian bourgeoisie and landowners, and not to cherish any illusions that imperialism has abandoned its hostile policy towards the proletariat. . . .

"Behind the mask of struggle for the defence of peace and democracy, the countries of the Little Entente, including Rumania, are feverishly preparing for war.

"At the same time, Japanese imperialism in the East is ready at any moment to attack the Soviet Union; the aggressiveness of English imperialism and German national socialism against the proletarian State is increasing.

"The revolutionary struggle of the toiling masses of Rumania, shoulder to shoulder with the proletarians of the whole world, against war, constitutes the only serious obstacle in the path of the greedy imperialists; and only this force, accompanied by vigilance and readiness for the defence of the proletarian State, can compel the Rumanian imperialist bourgeoisie to observe the treaties concluded with the U.S.S.R. . . .

"The revolutionary struggle for the right of self-determination of the oppressed peoples, up to the right of separation from the Rumanian State, is the only way to remove one of the constant sources of imperialist wars.

"We call upon the toiling masses to be vigilant and to conduct a daily, incessant struggle against imperialist war. The Communist Party shows to the masses that only the forcible overthrow of the capitalist regime, which is the inexhaustible source of wars, want, misery, and starvation, of social and national exploitation, and the establishment of the government of workers' and peasants' Soviets can put an end to the slaughter in which the working people shed their blood in the interests of the capitalists, the landlords, and the king."

Germany

Hitler as Sole Ruler of Germany

Hindenburg had not yet closed his eyes for the last time when the German Cabinet, hurriedly called together by Hitler, decided that Hitler should be his successor and combine the offices of Chancellor and President. Immediately after the announcement of the death of Hindenburg the German people was informed of this decision of its "leader," and with the same haste the Reichswehr was made to take the oath to its new "supreme war lord." This indecent haste betrayed the anxiety of the ruling national-socialist clique. Without respect to law, the constitution, feelings and traditions, everything possible was done to head off any attempt of a counter-clique to spring into the breach left open by the death of Hindenburg, and to this end a national-socialist coup d'etat was carried out. For what is it but a coup d'etat when the law, passed at the proposal of the National Socialist Party itself in 1932, according to which the head of the German Supreme Court should hold temporary office as Reich's President from the death of the Reich's President to the election of his successor, was simply ignored and by a decree of the Reich's Chancellor Hitler, Hitler himself was declared to be Reich's President?

The oppositional forces in the camp of the German bourgeoisie seem to have made their demands known after this decree had already been adopted and published. The "free people's referendum," which has now been fixed for August 19, was obviously not originally in the programme of the national-socialist dictators. The first announcement made no such hint. Apparently Hitler was compelled to make a subsequent concession to those sections of the bourgeoisie which wish to see some sort of legal forms respected and which appeal to an alleged last wish of Hindenburg. Let there be no doubt about the fact that terrorism and falsification in Germany are still powerful enough to guarantee the desired "overwhelming victory" of Hitler, but, nevertheless, the referendum must not be regarded as a meaningless comedy.

The "people's referendum" of November 12, 1933, which produced not only the 40 million affirmative votes, but also four and a half million negative votes, and the parallel "Reichstag elections," which produced even five and a half million negative votes, were very encouraging to the class-conscious workers of Germany, whilst at the same time they convinced the unpolitical petty-bourgeois and the indifferent workers that the authority of the fascist regime had been consolidated by the "election victory." There is no doubt that this time it will be more difficult for the Hitler regime to jerrymander such a result, for in view of the oppositional spirit in national socialist circles, and in particular in the ranks of the brown storm troops, only very few of whom have actually returned to duty, it will be less of a secret than a year ago or at the time of the factory council elections, when the anti-fascist slogans permeate the working-class quarters. It is true that no one can prevent the Minister for Lies (Goebbels) and his assistants from counting as many affirmative votes as they need, but the local results of the elections, which will be announced by the local anti-fascists, will encourage and stir up the masses in the same way as they did at the time of the factory council elections.

The fact that Hitler has decided to hold a referendum, despite the danger of a weakening of his position as the result of unfavourable results, is due to the fact that the complete ignoring of the people's referendum, provided for in the German constitution for the election of the Reich's President, would be interpreted both at home and abroad as a sign of the weakness of the regime, as a sign that the national socialist dictators feared the voice of the people. Naturally, it is also possible that Hitler has been advised to take this step by people who are really interested in undermining his personal authority. It is rumoured that Hitler's "friends" in the Reichswehr command have worked in this direction. It is even obstinately rumoured that an ultimatum from the Reichswehr secured the decision to hold the people's referendum and to appoint General Blomberg as Vice-President to Hitler with far-reaching powers.

The unification of all power in the state in the hands of Hitler naturally does not mean that the clique and group struggles within the camp of the ruling classes have now been liquidated or even reduced. This can be seen in the strange legal anomaly which is represented by the holding of the people's referendum, after "the leader" has already taken over the office of Reich's Presi-

dent. and in the fact that the ruling national socialists hesitated for days before finally announcing the person to occupy the Vice-Presidency, a position of extreme importance in view of the insecurity of a despot hated by the people, and a position which is expressly provided for in the law of August 2 concerning the succession to the Reich's Presidency. Only one thing seems certain, and that is that Hitler does not want Goering as the Vice-President, although Goering aspired to it. This is very understandable on Hitler's part. During the week before Hindenburg's death there were rumours of a coming attempt on Hitler's life. In a speech delivered a little while ago Goering paid his homage to Hitler as "the leader," but mentioned significantly the apparently all too obvious fact that Hitler would remain so only as long as he lived. If legal provision were made for Goering to step into Hitler's shoes as Vice-President, no doubt Goering would soon find a tool amongst his band of trained terrorists to open the door to the highest honour for his master. Since Hitler demonstrated clearly that the method of political murder can be applied, not only to Marxists and Jews, but also to Ministers and even Chancellors, his own security has certainly not increased.

What is the significance of the unification of all the executive and legislative powers of the State in Hitler's hands as far as the stability of the national-socialist regime is concerned? The foreign press is unanimously of the opinion that thereby the dangerousness of the national-socialist regime for the outside world and its own internal danger have been intensified. Now that Hitler possesses also the functions of the Reich's President there is no doubt that one of the restraining influences against foreign political adventures has been removed. Hitler is now in command of the Reichswehr, he is the sole arbiter of peace and war, and he appoints diplomats, officers, and officials. He is in a position not only to reject the advice of the experts, should they warn him against foreign political adventures, but also to dismiss them from the Foreign Office, from the diplomatic service, and from the Reichswehr, and to replace them by his own adventurers—as far as the bourgeoisie permits him to do so, for, despite his new accession of formal power, he can no more rule against the will of the leaders of heavy industry and the Reichswehr generals than he could before. The fact created by the slaughter of the 30th June and the succeeding days, i.e., that Hitler has no serious mass organisation behind him, still exists. The leaders of heavy industry and the Reichswehr generals have given the "God-appointed leader" this powerful position, but certainly only with the intention of bending him to their will and using him in their interests.

However, the disappearance of the Reich's Presidency as a separate office considerably limits the capacity of the bourgeoisie to manoeuvre. That which happened on June 30 and the subsequent days drew the Reichswehr and the Reich's President into full and open responsibility for the murderous and adventurous action of the Hitler party, that is now quite clear. That section of the bourgeois State apparatus which still possessed a certain independence towards the national socialist regime, which the bourgeoisie hoped to rescue from the inevitable bankruptcy of the national socialist dictatorship, and which was to have been the rallying point for the bourgeois counter-revolution, is now being drawn deeper and deeper into the brown morass. It is possible that as a result of this the life of the Hitler regime will be somewhat lengthened, but it is certain that when the catastrophe does come, as come it must, then it will be all the more catastrophic for the bourgeoisie and that the revolutionary upheaval will be still more thorough and radical in its actions.

There is no longer any possibility of any action on the part of German finance capital, cloaked with legality and utilising the legal State apparatus, to dismantle the national socialist dictatorship and develop other political reserves. The internal conflicts which must develop on the basis of the intensification of the economic and foreign political difficulties will therefore be all the more violent, all the more catastrophic and all the more shattering.

The tremendous increase of Hitler's personal powers at a moment when the mistrust of the whole world against him had reached its topmost pitch as the result of his Austrian adventure, must inevitably intensify the imperialist antagonisms and conflicts. The press of Mussolini has long ago forgotten the halcyon nights in Venice and, in addition to his title as "Reich's leader," Hitler now receives the further titles of murderer and pederast, both borrowed from the armoury of the anti-fascist advocate Moro Giacferi. Both the Italian and the British newspapers have adopted a tone towards the national socialist regime in Germany in connection

with the Austrian adventure such as is normally used only in times of war or when those who use the tone feel convinced that the regime in question stands before a fall.

There can be no question of any consolidation of the Hitler dictatorship as the result of the concentration of the whole of the State power in the hands of "the leader," because it must inevitably intensify the antagonism between the radicalising masses and the venal clique of national socialist leaders who have been bought lock, stock and barrel by German finance capital. What excuses will the inventive Goebbels now be able to find in order to explain to the disappointed masses why national socialism in power does not fulfil the promises it made before it came to power? In the first months of the national socialist dictatorship Hugenberg, the German nationalist, was the whipping-boy responsible for the capitalist policy of the government. And then "those in the know" whispered that it was Hindenburg who had to be considered and prevented Hitler carrying out his promises. However, now that Hitler has the full power of the State in his hands it will become crystal-clear to the masses that he is nothing but the tool of finance capitalism.

The "cleansing action" which began on June 30 is being continued, and national socialist officials and leaders are being arrested and deposed. The district leader in Pomerania, Karpenstein, and the notorious procurator in Hamburg, Kauffmann, are the latest victims. On August 1 the "leave" of the brown Storm Troops came to an end, but there are comparatively few Brown-shirts on the streets. No meetings and no demonstrations were held to celebrate the return to duty. The dissatisfaction in the brown Storm Troops is greater than ever before and it is aggravated by the fact that no one knows when his turn will come to be "cleansed." Following the example of the new chief of the brown Storm Troops, Lutze, Hess has also made energetic threats against "those who denounce meritorious national socialists." However, that means protection for the corrupt national-socialist jobsters and not protection for the rank and file of the brown Storm Troops who are at the mercy of spies and agents of the Secret State Police.

On the whole the band of adventurers which has battered on to Germany will carry on as they have been carrying on, but still more recklessly if that is at all possible, but the broad back of the old Field-Marshal behind which they hid themselves is no longer there to shield them. Hitler bears the full responsibility for everything which happens in Germany now, and with Hitler naturally the German capitalist class which placed this arch-gangster in power and appointed a gang of thieves and murderers to be the guardians of its property and the guardians of its law and order.

That which Marx wrote about Napoleon III applies to Hitler as though it had been written about him:—

"Driven on by the contradictory demands of his situation and like a conjurer who is compelled to keep the eyes of the public on him by continual surprises, he brought the whole bourgeois economic system into confusion, laid hands on all that seemed inviolable to the Revolution, made one man prepared to tolerate the Revolution and the next anxious to bring it about, and produced anarchy even in the name of order, whilst at the same time he deprived the whole State machinery of its nimbus, profaned it, and at the same time made it disgusting and ridiculous."

The third Napoleon ended at Sedan. It is the task of the German working class to see to it that the bloody farce of Hitlerism comes to an end before it drives Germany into a new imperialist slaughter and a still more oppressive Versailles. The "people's referendum" of the 19th August, although it is an insolent mockery to call it "free," is a welcome opportunity for the Communist Party of Germany to carry out a great anti-fascist mobilisation and to establish a united front of all anti-fascist fighters. The slogan "Vote No!" and turn the election into a demonstration for the Communist Party and its leader, Ernst Thaelmann, who is still in the shadow of Hitler's gallows, must receive million-fold support.

No worker in Germany has any illusions about the ballot-box struggle against fascism. Every German worker knows that other weapons are necessary in order to overthrow the unscrupulous criminals who are now in power, but a moral defeat for the megalomaniacal dictator, expressing the criticism of the million masses against the bloody venality of the fascist regime, would be of first-rate significance for the acceleration of the "criticism of weapons" which alone can overthrow Hitler and his regime.

The Wage Problem is a Political Problem of First Rate Importance

By W. Mueller (Berlin)

The fascist dictatorship in Germany has continued the reactionary policy of a permanent offensive of capitalism inaugurated by the von Papen government and intensified it tremendously. The obvious proof of this can be seen in the standards of life of the masses which are now as low as they are in Italy. Fascism is alike in all countries. Hitler's "friend" Mussolini announces that new wage cuts are necessary, and couples his announcement with the cynical prophecy that the standards of living of all the peoples will have to be depressed still further than they have already been. The fascist dictatorship in Germany has depressed the standards of living of the German masses barbarously and it intends to depress them still further. This intention was given force by the slaughter of June 30 and the subsequent days and by the increased activities of the Secret State Police against the Communist Party.

Up to the present the fascist dictatorship in Germany has robbed the German masses of at least five milliard marks, whereby the working class was robbed most ruthlessly. In the figures issued by the fascist "Labour Front," which certainly do not exaggerate, a drop of 50 per cent. is admitted. The depression of working-class wages also means a deterioration of the economic situation of the petty bourgeoisie and of the peasants. These sections of the population are recognising this fact to an increasing extent, and as a result they are showing growing sympathy with the wage struggles of the workers.

At the last congress of the national socialist party Hitler declared that he wanted to turn the unemployment support into wages. When the so-called "Battle against Unemployment" began, many people were deceived and imagined that Hitler's promises meant something. What actually happened was that in order to economise on unemployment support, more workers were taken on in the factories, but at the expense of the workers already employed there. The employment figures and the wage figures of all the big undertakings show clearly that unemployed workers have been taken on at the expense of the workers already employed and to such an extent that not only did the total wage sums paid out not increase, but in many cases even diminished.

However, dividends increased and that is fascist "socialism." The rich man becomes richer under fascism and even when millions of his fellow countrymen are ruined thereby. That is the social feature of fascism.

The murder Chancellor himself has told us in part in his "revelations" to the Reichstag with a view to excusing the slaughter of his friends and comrades, how the sums of which the workers were robbed have been used. The fascist bureaucracy is a plague-boil on the bleeding body politic. The German working people are being sucked dry by a swarm of fascist lice. The sums of which the workers have been robbed are also being used in the insane armament race which is putting millions and millions of marks into the pockets of the armament kings who are Hitler's comrades.

The wage problem in Germany has become a problem of the unity of the working class, a problem of the struggle for the overthrow of the Hitler dictatorship and thereby a problem of the proletarian revolution. It was for this reason that Hitler destroyed the trade unions and formed a so-called "Labour Front," an organisation which has millions of members, but which aims to hold the working masses in impotence. We must foil this aim of fascism by improving our work in the "Labour Front" and organising an opposition which will co-operate in the formation of illegal trade unions.

We must learn from our previous experience in the struggle against Hitler. The first lesson is that even under the fascist dictatorship we can carry on victorious partial struggles. Even the cooked figures of the "Labour Front" reveal this fact. Since Hitler came to power most of the wage struggles of the German working class have undoubtedly been carried on by the metal workers where the resistance to fascist robbery was strongest. For this reason the employers have not yet been able to carry out their wage-cutting campaign to its full extent. The resistance met with by the fascist robbers from the State and municipal workers was also above the average, and this is also shown in the statistics of the "Labour Front." A very important fact is that varied scales of pay for the same work exist in Germany from factory to factory and even within the factories. This has been caused in part by successful resistance on the part of individual groups of workers.

Resistance was offered to the fascist robbers by open protests, by passive resistance and by open strikes.

Counter-actions on the part of the workers were very often successful even in the first stage of the fascist dictatorship when the wave of mass terror and chauvinism was still rising, why therefore should we not have a chance of success with actions for the recovery of the wages lost now that fascism is already weaker and has already lost a great part of its mass basis? We must organise a wave of wage struggles. That is the task of all anti-fascists and indeed all workers.

Where successful actions were conducted by the workers there was usually some force at work in the factory which drew the workers together, whether it was a Communist Party group, a revolutionary trade union group, a group of revolutionary workers or some other body. One thing is clear from the beginning, and that is that the workers are united in their opposition to wage cuts. Even those workers who are still under the influence of the national socialists are prepared to join in. Another thing is that the workers in the factories were prepared to go on strike against wage cuts despite the fact that the social democrats and the Trotskyists are never tired of telling them that "nothing can be done, no struggles can be organised at the moment." In many cases an energetic protest on the part of a united group of factory workers was sufficient to ward off wage cuts. This also stresses the fact that we must work for organised rather than spontaneous action on the part of the workers.

The most decisive factor is united action on the part of the workers in the factory and perhaps in several factories. There are situations which are very favourable for serious drives. Such a situation arose on June 30, for instance. Such opportunities must be utilised in order to put forward our demands at once and to back them up immediately with actions. In many situations police activity prevents the call for action coming down to the workers from above, and in such cases the anti-fascists in the factories must be wide-awake enough to act independently and on their own initiative without waiting for instructions. A favourable situation is presented when the workers of a neighbouring factory are in movement. The fascists fear these strike struggles intensely and we must therefore utilise every possibility of extending them by presenting the demands of the workers in other factories as a signal to enter the struggle on their own account.

Despite the difficult conditions created by the fascist dictatorship we have been able to conduct successful struggles in individual departments of big factories and even in whole factories. How much more then shall we be able to do when the workers of a number of factories act jointly! How is this joint action to be arranged? Arrangements must be made through the councils, through the factory groups of the unions, through anti-fascist and sympathising workers, etc.

Once the unity of the departments has been established by the workers' representatives, the unity of the factory as a whole by the factory group of the union, and the unity of the workers of several factories by the illegal unions, then successful struggles for wage increases, etc., can be conducted.

The organisers of this unity, the organisers of the representative bodies of the workers, and the organisers of the illegal unions are proletarian heroes.

All former members of trade unions, whether they are social democrats or Communists, can make revolutionary history if they form illegal trade unions and establish trade union unity. The Communist Party will welcome and support all efforts in this direction.

Hitler's aim is to split the working class as far as possible. Our aim must be to unite all possible anti-fascist elements into a front of the whole working people against Hitler fascism. To this end the working class itself must first of all be united. Trade union unity can and must be the chief weapon for the establishment of working-class unity. That is the aim of the Communist Party, whose programme can be carried out only with a united working class behind it and the carrying out of the proletarian revolution.

If the workers of all shades of political opinion learn these lessons with us and work side by side with us Communists, irrespective of those political differences of opinion which still exist between us, in order to establish the unity of the working class in the factories and to establish trade union unity, then in the struggle against fascism we shall succeed in winning back our lost wages, in winning the right to organise and the right to meet openly and freely, and in overthrowing fascism once and for all.

Appeal of the C.C. of the C.P. of Germany

August 19 a Review of Fighting Unity against the Fascist Dictatorship of War and Starvation!

Working people of Germany!

While Goebbel's hack journalists were still shedding tears on account of the death of Hindenburg, Hitler, on behalf of the General Economic Council, the financial magnates and junkers, the national-socialist parvenus, and the Reichswehr generals, appointed himself President. He has received his wages from the capitalist exploiters; he has received his blood-money for the murder of workers, for the workers' enslavement law, for the shameful Goering plan, for the slaughter of his own comrades on June 30. It is his intention, by means of a so-called plebiscite, by an even more shameless deception of the people than on November 12, by election forgery and terror, to obtain the "mandate" for carrying out his starvation plans in the autumn and winter, for an even more provocative policy of war and foreign political adventures.

The reply to Hitler, the enemy of the people, on August 19 must be a millionfold "No!" • The Hitler bands will falsify millions of votes AGAINST Hitler into votes FOR Hitler. In spite of all this, every enemy of the Hitler regime of terror and starvation must demonstrate on August 19 with an emphatic "No!" Say it from mouth to mouth! . . . Every one of our countrymen who is suffering under the heel of monopoly capital, every one who loves freedom and hates slavery, shall vote on August 19 with an unshakable "No!"

Hitler means robbery of wages and pensions, disinheritance of the youth, enslavement of women, misery for the peasants and inflation, plunder of the people and war provocation!

We Communists appeal to all enemies of the Hitler dictatorship, to all social democrats, trade unionists, to all Christian toilers, to all groups and organisations which are prepared to fight against fascism, to set up along with us the great anti-fascist fighting unity, the people's front against Hitler, against the fascist dictatorship of capital. Fascism is the enemy! We shall overthrow it if we are united. United in rejecting Hitler, the deceiver of the people, on August 19! United in forming joint anti-fascist fighting committees! United in creating trade union unity in the fight against the Labour Law and deportation of the youth, for higher wages, freedom of speech, meeting, press, combination, and strike!

We appeal to you, you millions of Nazi supporters who are deceived by Hitler, to our fellow-workers in the N.S.B.O., to the S.A., and the Hitler Youth. On June 30 Hitler directed the murderous weapons of the Reichswehr and S.S. officers against the S.A., because you, national-socialist workers, wanted the fulfilment of the promises made to you, the real revolution and socialism. To-day, the murderer of your comrades is trying to cajole you in order to lay your votes at the feet of Krupp and Siemens, the Junkers, and the Reichswehr generals. After August 19 he will proceed to attack the workers in the N.S.B.O., the rebelling youths and maidens in the Hitler Youth, the working rural population in the compulsory fascist peasants' organisations. He intends after August 19 to complete what he commenced on June 30. Reply with a thundering "No!"

We Communists are certain that if voting were free, without fascist election cheating, without terror, **the result on August 19 could only be for Ernst Thaelmann, the imprisoned leader of the C.P.G.!**

Thaelmann is the friend of all the poor and exploited, the enemy of the exploiters, usurers, and armament manufacturers. Ernst Thaelmann is the representative of the unity of the working class for socialism, the unity of all toilers in town and country for the overthrow of the rule of the exploiters. With the millionfold "No!" on August 19 the cry shall resound throughout Germany:—

Release the people's Presidential candidate, Ernst Thaelmann! Release all incarcerated anti-fascists! Release the fighters for the workers' rights, against high prices, oppressive taxation, impoverishment of the peasants, against cultural barbarism, terror, and war provocation.

Working men and women, working youth, peasants and middle

classes! Your "No!" on August 19 shall be a flaming fighting pledge for the overthrow of the system of slavery and starvation, for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship of capital.

Down with Hitler!

Long live the unity of the working class in alliance with all toilers in town and country!

Long live Socialism!

All for a free socialist Germany!

Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany

(Section of the Communist International).

Berlin, beginning of August, 1934.

Thaelmann at the Head of the German People!

Saarbruecken, August 3.

The "Arbeiter Zeitung" publishes the contents of a leaflet distributed yesterday in Berlin by the Communist Party of Germany, as follows:—

"Thaelmann at the head of the German people!

Down with Hitler! For free election by the people!

Long live anti-fascist fighting unity!

All legislative power has passed into the hands of Hitler, the confidential agent of the rulers of economy, of the Reichswehr generals, of Krupp, Thyssen, and Kloeckner, of the men responsible for the starvation of the people, for the executions, for the jail and slavery laws, for the bloody June 30.

Hitler, as president of the Third Reich, is staging a 'plebiscite' on the pattern of November 12, a terror election, a fraudulent election. We Communists raise before the whole people of Germany the demand for the unrestricted right of self-determination for the people. We demand the **free election by the people of the Reich President**. The working people hate the fascist executioners. They do not want any murderers, capitalist lackeys, war-mongers, adventurers, adventurous politicians, at the head of the country. The people demand that their President should be a worker, a fighter for freedom, devoted to the cause of the poor and oppressed, a glowing anti-fascist, a man who is faithful in his allegiance to the principle: Peace in the hut, war to the palace.

Ernst Thaelmann, the leader of the C.P.G., is the candidate put forward for the Presidency by the overwhelming majority of the toiling masses of Germany.

Ernst Thaelmann is the candidate, representing the unity of the working class, the fighting unity of all anti-fascists.

In this hour all, all, raise the cry in Germany: **Down with Hitler! Release Thaelmann! Thaelmann's place is at the head of the people.**

For Thaelmann means: The cancellation of the laws of slavery and exploitation! The end of the enslavement of youth! The end of bloody tyranny, of jails and prisons!

Ernst Thaelmann means: The extermination of exploiters' rule! Freedom for the toiling masses! Bread and work, land and peace, for all workers and peasants!

Mobilise in town and country, in works and factories, in offices, against Hitler, the President, who is the tool of the capitalists and the Reichswehr generals!

Mobilise against the fascist deception of the people! Demand everywhere: Free election of the President! The right of assembly, coalition, demonstration, and strike! The release of the candidate to the Presidency, Ernst Thaelmann!

In the struggle against dismissals, against high prices, against usurious taxation and impoverishment of the peasants, against cultural barbarism and terror, for **higher wages**.

We call upon all anti-fascists, all social-democratic and Communist workers, all groups and organisations, who are ready to fight against fascism, to join in welding **the great anti-fascist fighting front**.

Down with the system of slavery and starvation! Fight for the release of Thaelmann and all imprisoned anti-fascists! Long live socialism, long live free socialist Germany! Down with Hitler!

Long live the candidate for the presidency, the candidate of all anti-fascists, Ernst Thaelmann!"

International Campaign for the Release of Thaelmann

SPAIN

Four hundred and fifty imprisoned revolutionary agricultural workers have sent a letter to the German government, from the prison at Ocana, joining in the protest raised by the exploited of the whole world, and demanding the release of Ernst Thaelmann and the other anti-fascist prisoners in Germany.

Among the many organisations and groups which have sent protests to the German embassy against the maltreatment of anti-fascist prisoners in Germany, combined with a demand for the release of Ernst Thaelmann, is one sent by the union of the municipal workers, numbering 7,000 members.

During the last few days the German embassy in Madrid has been bombarded with calls over the telephone, protesting against the ill-treatment of anti-fascist prisoners in Germany, and demanding Thaelmann's release.

SWITZERLAND

On July 31 a women's conference took place in Zürich-Altstetten, and a delegation was elected to go to the German consulate to demand information about Ernst Thaelmann and to declare their solidarity. On Friday morning the delegation, consisting of five working women, went to the consulate, where they were received by a secretary. They asked to see the consul. The secretary returned in a few minutes with the reply that the consul regretted that "he received nobody with regard to this matter." On this a sharp discussion arose between the delegation and the consulate staff: "Is the consul afraid of us working women? Is he afraid to tell the truth; is the regime which he represents so weak? We shall not rest in our struggle for Thaelmann. We want to know once and for all what the Hitler government intends to do with him, the more that the 'People's Court' has now met, and an even more stringent censorship has been imposed on all communication with Thaelmann." After this discussion, the women handed over a protest letter to be given to the consul. This was taken by the secretary.

Austria

Dollfuss' Last Gift to the Landlords

By Hermin

A few days before his murder, and shortly after having increased the rents of the Vienna municipal flats, Federal Chancellor Dollfuss gave the Austrian landlords a trifling present of 9,500,000 shillings. With this money the government is setting up a fund for the purpose of financing the upkeep and repair of houses. The landlords will receive back from this fund 20 per cent. of the money expended by them for the upkeep and repair of their property.

This 9½ million shillings is only a small gift compared with the vast sums presented to the Austrian houseowners at the cost of the tenants. The systematic surrender of the Rent Restriction Act by the social democracy has brought the following benefits to the Austrian landlords in the last few years: In 1925 the abolition of housing control. In the period from January 1, 1926, to December 31, 1931, in Vienna alone 50,536 dwellings were decontrolled, with the result that the landlords were able to demand ridiculous sums from the tenants before granting them possession of a house and in addition demand greatly increased rents. In 1929, with the aid of the social democrats, a decisive breach was made in the Rent Restriction Act. It was agreed that rents should be increased by stages in a period spread over three years. In order to make these attacks on the rights of the tenants palatable at a time when wages were being reduced wholesale and vast unemployment prevailed, two large-scaled manoeuvres were carried out in Parliament.

Instead of the tenants having to pay a basic rent and also keep the premises in a state of repair, they now had to pay a greatly increased sum, which should include all house repairs. The landlords were now able to pay for all house repairs, which they hitherto shifted on to the tenants as cost of the upkeep of the premises, out of the greatly increased rent. As the landlord had had ample opportunity in the period from 1923 to 1929 to repair their dilapidated houses at the cost of the tenants, it was perfectly clear that this provision was only a cloak for a huge present

of the Parliamentary parties to the landlords. As a matter of fact, from 1929 onwards the landlords systematically cut down expenditure on the upkeep of their premises. From 1929 to 1931 alone the sum expended by the landlords on house repairs fell by 30 per cent. Every landlord naturally endeavoured to spend as little as possible on repairs now that they were no longer paid for by the tenants. According to reliable and conservative estimates, the net profits of the landlords amount at least to 153 million shillings a year. From 1929 the government was compelled to introduce rent allowances for civil servants, who otherwise would not have been able to pay the increased rents out of their miserable salaries. These allowances cost the State 12,800,000 shillings a year. Apart from the income tax, the huge incomes of the landlords were practically exempt from taxation.

The second great fraud which was carried out at the time of the increase in rents in 1929 was the promise of an "action of the Federal government to encourage the erection of dwelling houses." This promised action was warmly greeted by the social democrats. For this purpose a rent tax was introduced for the period of 40 years. The yield from this tax amounts to 19½ million shillings for the whole of Austria, and of this sum the population of Vienna alone had to pay nearly 80 per cent. The corruption scandals in connection with this action for the promotion of erection of dwelling houses are still fresh in memory. Instead of modest dwelling houses, luxurious villas were built; cloisters and catholic associations were given the possibility of erecting buildings on very profitable terms. A person wishing to erect a house need possess only 10 per cent. of the building capital; 30 per cent. he could obtain by means of credits and the remaining 60 per cent. he received as a present from the government out of the proceeds of the rent tax, for one cannot describe otherwise than as a present a credit which has not to be paid back until 50 to 100 years time and the interest on which amounts to only 1 or 2 per cent.

Under the heading "dwellings for single people," clerical private schools, presbyteries and parsonages were built. A rich monastery in Klosterneuburg alone received a grant from the State of 3,018,000 shillings in respect of four dwelling houses which were built at a total cost of 4,930,000 shillings!

Compared with these vast sums paid by the State to house speculators and rack renters during and since the war, the latest present to the landlords—9½ million for house repairs—seems a mere trifle. It is intended, however, only as a temporary sop to the big houseowners, who are impatiently demanding the complete abolition of the Rent Restrictions Act.

Joint Appeal of the Italian Socialist and Communist Parties

The *Humanité* publishes an appeal, issued conjointly by the C.P. and S.P. of Italy against the concentration of troops on the Austrian frontier. The appeal states:—

"The Socialist and Communist Parties of Italy deem it their duty, at the moment when the workers are discussing the question of unity of action on the part of the proletariat against fascism and war, to expose ruthlessly in the eyes of the working class of Italy the war danger, now enormously intensified by the international situation. Both parties feel it to be their duty to pillory the war provocations of Italian fascism.

"... The murder of the executioner of the Austrian proletariat has furnished the Italian government with a pretext for concentrating mighty military forces on the Austrian frontier, so that, in view of the antagonisms between the imperialists, and in particular of the rivalry between Mussolini fascism and Hitler fascism, the smallest spark may cause the war conflagration. We declare it to be miserable hypocrisy on the part of the Italian fascist press to represent this mobilisation as an act in defence of the independence of Austria. We state plainly that it is a war action intended to accomplish the conquest of Austria, the oppression of the Austrian workers.

Mussolini, with the money squeezed out of the starving toiling masses of Italy, and aided by the Vatican, supported the anti-labour and anti-socialist policy of Dollfuss, and thus promoted the massacres in February and the executions of the proletarian heroes. Mussolini, Hitler, and Starhemberg are all united in the aim of holding down the working class. The only struggle for the independence of Austria is the struggle led by the proletariat, at the head of the working people, against the fascist bands of Mussolini, Hitler, and the Catholics. . . ."

The appeal gives a graphic survey of the world crisis, and of the imperialist antagonisms likely to lead to war, and then calls upon all workers and anti-fascists to join in the struggle against an intervention in Austria. . . . "Against the transport of arms and troops to the frontier. . . . For the withdrawal of troops from the frontier!"

"The Socialist and Communist Parties of Italy are firmly resolved to support the peace policy of the Soviet Union, and regard it as their most urgent task to defend the Soviet Union, and to promote the demands of all oppressed peoples for the right of self-determination. . . ."

" . . . To the soldiers whom fascism across the frontiers is endeavouring to send out to oppress other peoples, our two parties say: Fraternise with the Austrian workers, aid them in their struggle against the fascist bands, fraternise with the soldiers of all nationalities, be true to one flag only: The Red Flag of socialist revolution!"

The appeal is signed on July 31 by the Socialist Party of Italy (Section of the Socialist International) and the Communist Party of Italy (Section of the Communist International).

The Labour Movement

The San Francisco General Strike

By A. G. Bosse (New York)

The general strike, which tied up San Francisco and the surrounding region for four days, was the greatest general strike ever organised in the United States. It involved nearly 150,000 workers in 175 unions, and completely paralysed the economic activities of a population of 1,300,000. It was broken by the combined fascist terror of the employers and government, and the treacherous sell-out of the A.F.L. bureaucrats. This sympathetic strike was ended by a vote of 191 to 174, and when one realises by what trickery the reactionary union officials were brought into control of the General Strike Committee, one will see that a great majority of the men favoured continuing the general strike. As this is written, the strike of 30,000 longshoremen and marine workers, which began May 9, continues, as well as a sympathetic strike of street-car men. In Portland, Seattle, and other Pacific Coast ports, the maritime strike also continues, although a vote is being taken by Roosevelt's strike-breaking arbitration board, with indications that they will be able to smash the strike.

The vote to end the general strike was put through by methods so raw that even the hardened conservatives in the dockers' union were forced to protest. Delegates were juggled, registration and roll-call of delegates refused, etc.; those from small and unimportant unions not connected with the waterfront dominated. The general strike committee was hand-picked in the first place, its members being mainly union officials, and the locals being given no chance to meet and elect rank and file delegates. Yet the sentiment for a general strike had been so overwhelming that it was approved unanimously.

Only the electrical workers and compositors refused to strike. The printers were threatened by the international head of their union with dire consequences if they went out, while the electricians' leader pleaded with them to think of the hospitals and fire-houses. The vice-president of the General Strike Committee sabotaged the move to bring out the Southern Pacific Railway workers. Vanderleur, who was head of the San Francisco Central Labour Council (combining all A.F.L. unions in the city) and chairman of the strike committee, immediately and arbitrarily appointed a committee of 25 to lead (and break) the strike.

Even before the general strike was called on July 16, the teamsters had refused to handle scab goods, the machinists and welders to work on ships with scab crews, and food workers, ice-men, butchers, taxi chauffeurs, wholesale house employees, boiler makers, street-car men, etc. (a total of 14,000) had already struck. When the general strike was declared all workers came out, and the capitalist press summed up the situation as follows: "Emptied Streets Make San Francisco a Ghost City. . . . Strike Leaders Show Power as City's Dictators" (N.Y. "Daily News," 7/17). Nineteen restaurants were allowed to remain open, and no means of transportation were available. The strike was so tight that even the U.S. Army had to get a strike committee permit to have the laundry washed for its troops. Nothing was done or moved without such permits, and nothing infuriated the employers so much

as this. Standard Oil and other great corporations had to get permission to move a gallon of gasoline or a pound of ice.

The neighbouring towns of Oakland, Berkeley, and Alameda were also paralysed. In Portland, Oregon, two days before the San Francisco general strike began, 83 out of 86 unions had voted for a general strike, but the A.F.L. top leaders and Roosevelt's mediators were able to hold them back; the maritime strike there, however, was complete. In Seattle the situation was the same.

Vanderleur began to betray the general strike by sending back to work the street-car men on the municipal line and allowing striking sheet metal workers to repair police cars—cars used to shoot down strikers. Over the heads of Harry Bridges and other leaders of the Joint Marine Strike Committee, the General Strike Committee allowed 50 more restaurants to open, under pressure of Roosevelt's arbitrators and the A.F.L. bureaucracy. After that the end came quickly.

An unprecedented terror, initiated by the employers and carried out by their hired gangsters, the police, and the National Guard (State militia), and a "red scare" propagated by the press and radio and local and federal authorities, gave the A.F.L. traitors their opportunity to drive a wedge between the conservative workers and the militants, on the ground that "public opinion" was against the strike and the radicals were fomenting civil war. Seven thousand soldiers of the militia, with tanks and artillery, occupied the waterfront. Over 13,000 federal troops and two warships with guns trained on the harbour were held in readiness. Gangsters from other cities, local legionnaires and employers' thugs, armed with gas bombs, shotguns and aeroplanes, raided all Communist and "Left" wing headquarters, arresting 600 and smashing the interiors of the buildings to bits.

The technique of this terror was one of military precision. So-called "vigilantes" (legionnaires, gangsters, detectives, and members of the Mayor's Committee of 500 citizens, some with teamsters' union badges on them) raided and smashed up the headquarters of the "Left" wing Marine Workers' Industrial Union, the C.P. Western Worker (organ of the C.P. and spokesman for the maritime strikers, whose plant was burned to the ground), I.L.D., Workers' School, etc., under cover of militia machine-guns and bayonets. Following them in their course methodically came police to mop up and arrest those beaten by the vigilantes ("thugs disguised as workers"—N.Y. "Times"). This while the press and authorities claimed to be ignorant of the identity of the raiders calling them citizens rising in righteous indignation against the red menace.

Secretary of Labour Frances Perkins, Roosevelt's representative in Washington, was forced to say in answer to a query by the "Daily Worker" correspondent, that the strike had been absolutely peaceful until the strikers were attacked by the police. In the Milwaukee electrical workers' strike, some weeks previously, the press reported that the employers were planning to "urge police raids on Communist headquarters on the charge that Communist leaders were directing the strike." This was not done in Milwaukee, but it was worked in exactly that way in San Francisco. Even Johnson stated later: "The pressure from a small group of wealthy men (the industrialists and shipowners—B.) to declare martial law was perfectly terrific." (N.Y. "World Telegram," 7/19.) This is a picture of a government rapidly becoming fascised.

The purpose of the terror, and the slander preceding and accompanying it, was to enable the bosses and government to outlaw the C.P., to demoralise the general strike by spreading the idea that the raids emanated from the strikers and public, to separate the militant workers and leaders from the conservative element, and, above all, to smother the real aims and demands of the strikers in a smoke screen of hysteria and violence.

The chief of police stated that since May 9 four workers had been killed, 298 injured (of these 195 were scabs and bystanders and 32 police, and 650 were arrested, of whom 350 were held in 1,000 dollars bail each. Many are being sentenced to 30 days in jail. In all sections of California and up and down the Pacific Coast the same terror and raids were organised.

The background of the general strike is the longshoremen's strike that began May 9 in San Francisco and soon spread along the entire coast. The demands of the men were chiefly, control of hiring halls (where men were hired in rotation, as against the bosses' "fink" or scab halls, where graft and intimidation prevail and militants are weeded out); secondly, union recognition and the closed shop; thirdly, wage increases and improved conditions;

and fourthly, the right to organise, strike and picket. The aim of this strike, and of the general strike, was to win these immediate demands, not, as the employers claimed, to seize political power and make a revolution.

For decades the San Francisco dockers had been working under a "Blue Book" union, i.e., an outright company union, but recognised by the Central Labour Council. At the end of 1932 the militants began agitating for a real union, though with difficulty, since the C.P. Marine Workers' Industrial Union had no members actually working on the docks (all were jobless). By mid-1933, with the wave of organisation starting with the N.R.A., initiative groups began organising real unions and soon the bulk of the dockers on the West Coast were lined up. A rank and file conference met in February, which the reactionary A.F.L. officials controlled, but where militant sentiment was strong enough to put through much of its programme—the fakers had to talk radically to win control. It endorsed proposals for wage increases, cut in hours, union hiring halls, agreements expiring simultaneously all along the coast, against loading Nazi ships, a federation of dockers and seamen, unemployment insurance, against arbitration, etc.

Negotiations with the employers began on March 5 and dragged on till the workers forced a strike vote. Then the A.F.L. leaders got Roosevelt to appeal for arbitration, and the district union leaders at once called off the strike. Negotiations began again on March 28 and continued till the strike broke out. Sell-out agreements galore were made by the A.F.L. misleaders and repudiated by the men. Even after the strike vote the A.F.L. and federal officials urged no strike. Two days after the strike began the entire coast was tied up.

The M.W.I.U. worked for a sympathetic strike of seamen, calling meetings of crews and delegate conferences, and soon most ships were out. The A.F.L. International Seamen's Union stood aside, expecting no strike, but the M.W.I.U. set up its own demands for the seamen and their strike became an independent one, not merely sympathetic. By the third week in May the ships' cooks, stewards, masters, pilots and marine engineers were out, and fraternisation with the truckmen resulted in their refusing to touch scab cargo.

The head of the I.L.A. came to San Francisco, after sending 1,000 New York dockers back to work defeated, and temporarily succeeded in sowing confusion, and passing a treacherous agreement. But on May 26 the men repudiated this. On May 28 the police attacked the picket lines and killed two workers.

The terror against the radical movement during the past year has been great; 7 workers were killed and 900 jailed. But within a few weeks after the strike began the press acknowledged Communist activity in the strike and began a new red scare. Yet the dockers kept the Western Worker as their spokesman, and the M.W.I.U. became part of the Joint Marine Strike Committee. A membership meeting rejected Ryan's attack on the C.P. and voted to "apologise to the C.P. because the sale of the Western Worker was stopped" by unauthorised members. Soon after, Ryan was howled down at a mass meeting of 3,000 and had to beg for three minutes to state his case.

Bridges, who was called a Red and an alien in the capitalist press, had all his proposals accepted, especially that for a rank and file negotiations committee (the weak spot before had been to leave negotiations in the hands of the misleaders). The dockers issued a call for a general strike, and unions began answering it over the heads of the Central Labour Council leaders. A mass meeting on June 19 of 18,000, called by all striking unions, endorsed it, again refused Ryan the floor, and supported the militants.

On July 5 the Industrial Association (employers' group) tried to rush scab trucks through the line of 2,000 pickets, and the police murdered two pickets and wounded many. Till the police were put on the docks even Perkins admitted that the "pickets maintained order and the docks were well policed." The funeral demonstration and parade for the victims (one a Communist food worker, the other an A.F.L. docker) was the greatest labour outpouring in the city's history, over 100,000 participating, with not a policeman in sight. A wave of hysteria followed, the troops being called and ordered to shoot to kill. By now 30,000 strikers were out and the strike was completely effective everywhere along the coast except in Los Angeles, where some scabs were recruited. Ten days later the general strike was declared.

The Party held many open and closed meetings on the strike, and the city was covered by its leaflets and newspapers. It issued

a bulletin and leaflets to the troops, which had some influence in bringing about instances of refusal to attack the strikers. In mass meetings and demonstrations throughout the country it mobilised support for the strike. The workers influenced by the Party and red unions were instrumental in bringing about the general strike, and remain the vanguard of the maritime strike. On the other hand, the strike shows the weakness of opposition work in the A.F.L. unions.

The San Francisco, Toledo, and Milwaukee strikes show that to-day in the U.S. the class struggle is flaring into open battles, that an attack on one section of the workers is coming to be regarded as an attack upon all. Strikes of one union are tending to become general strikes; a few hundred workers striking draw tens of thousands into picketing and street fights against the police and troops. The issues are rapidly changed from economic ones to political struggles (though hardly regarded as such by the workers as yet) against the State power of the capitalists. Growing bitterness against N.R.A. strike-breaking and terror and its company unionisation programme are leading to disillusionment of the masses and exposure of the government as the capitalists' organ of suppression.

Fight Against Imperialist War and Fascism

British Youth in Vanguard of Fight Against Fascism and War

By R. Bishop (London)

August is considered a dead month in the British political world. It is all the greater triumph therefore that this last week-end produced one of the largest conferences of **working-class youth** ever held in this country, a conference to organise the youth for the struggle against war and fascism.

The conference had been pilloried by the reformist Labour organisations as a "Communist plot," constituent Labour bodies had been forbidden to participate under threat of disciplinary action being taken against them. Nevertheless, the ban was broken through in many important instances.

The Congress against War and Fascism was held in the Sheffield City Hall, and was attended by 600 delegates, who came from youth organisations of every kind, from Labour Parties and trade unions, and—last, but not least—from important factories, including some engaged in the production of armaments.

A delegate from the Labour Party League of Youth declared:—

"Before I came I was warned against Communist intrigues. Yet at this Congress I have heard speakers from the Guild of Youth, from trade unions, Boy Scouts' organisations, from the Labour Party, and now I am speaking on behalf of the Labour Party youth. I have not yet heard a speaker from the Young Communist League. I can only contrast this with the position in our own organisation, where the Labour Party leadership tells us youngsters that we must not discuss politics, only blindly follow the lead of our seniors. . . . If we are unable to change the policy of the Labour Party leadership, and I am growing increasingly doubtful if we can, this conference will have at least shown us where we can turn for action when the decisive moment comes."

The practical attitude taken by the young workers and the students associated with them stands out in striking contrast to a number of statements recently made by some university professors to a questionnaire on war issued by the "Labour Monthly." The majority of those who returned answers, including all the workers, saw clearly the close connection between war and capitalism, but the Cambridge Professor of Zoology writes that "war is a necessary result of over-population . . . the best way to prevent war is to spread knowledge, knowledge of the underlying facts of population and its control."

But the delegates to the Sheffield Congress, the workers who marched in London and Glasgow, had different views. "The youth will not allow themselves to be used for cannon fodder again," was the keynote of all the activities this last week-end.

But the working-class activity against war and fascism is receiving no assistance from the reformist leadership of the Labour

Party and the trade unions. The Labour leadership has framed a policy calculated to lead the workers behind a capitalist government of Britain in 1934 as they did during 1914. Spurning a united front with the Communists, they welcome one with the capitalist parties. As with war, so with fascism. Compelled by the growing working-class anger against fascism, generated by the Olympia fascist orgy, the London Labour Party and London Trades Council have been compelled to call an anti-war conference for September, but all organisations have been notified that only such delegates can attend as have stated their acceptance of the programme and constitution of the Labour Party.

The reformist Labour leadership will have nothing to do with the Communist Party, but the working youth at the Sheffield Congress gave a great welcome to its leader, Harry Pollitt. Comrade Pollitt, in challenging vein, said:—

"There is great enthusiasm at this Congress. But is our ability to meet the menace of war as great as our enthusiasm?"

"No," he answered himself, "because war preparations are forging ahead in all the capitalist countries at a far greater pace than the development of militant organisation."

The real work of the Congress, he declared, is the creation of the broadest form of anti-war and anti-fascist organisation in every factory, every trade union branch, every university, every youth club, every organisation where workers are to be found.

"The fight against war," he continued, "calls not for isolated action here and there, but for mass activity, primarily among the working class, and the utilisation of every method of struggle."

He reminded the Congress that the split in the Labour movement originated in the great betrayal of 1914. Now, he said, there are two powerful weapons which did not exist in those days. The first is the consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union, which was retarding the new war while the workers gathered the strength for resistance. The second was the great achievements of the French proletariat which has compelled the leaders of the French Socialist Party to accept the unity proposals.

"We can get the same results if no effort is spared," declared Pollitt, a declaration which brought ringing cheers from the assembled delegates.

Pollitt dealt with the new Japanese threats directed against the Soviet Union and showed how they were connected with the recent great advance of the Chinese revolutionaries and with the renewed wave of war preparations throughout the world.

Pollitt concluded by giving a strong organisational lead:—

"Work," he said, "as never before, with courage and boundless audacity, sweeping aside all obstacles in building the united front till it becomes capable of defeating the National government. The keynote of this conference is to build a fighting organisation against fascism and war which will arouse such widespread mass feeling that the coming Trades Union Congress and Labour Party Conference will be forced to accept the proposals of unity, as the French reformist leadership has been compelled to do."

John Strachey, National Secretary of the Committee against War and Fascism, gave the Congress a very clear picture of what fascism is.

"Is it," he asked, "just an inexplicable outbreak of violence menacing the workers? This is the view expressed by the London Labour leaders in their manifesto, but it is incorrect. Fascism is dictatorial and violent, but this is not its essence, this is not novel. Capitalism has always been dictatorial and violent."

"The spread of fascism is not accidental. Neither so-called national characteristics nor the 'democratic traditions' of France and Britain will avert fascism, which grows out of the most extreme forms of crisis. There are some who say that fascism will inevitably succeed, but that is not true, but that it will be attempted is inevitable."

"An excellent picture of what fascism stands for is to be found in the headlines of that sound Tory newspaper, the 'Observer,' to-day. Here it is: 'The Real Rulers of Germany: The Army, Junkers, and Big Business.'"

"Don't think," he warned his hearers, "that Mosley represents

the sole brand of fascism. It has many faces, both open and concealed. Mosley shows the open face of fascism, the National government the concealed. There is the possibility that full fascism in Britain will be introduced via such cautious and slow moves as those already started, such as the Sedition Bill, the reorganisation of the police forces, etc. But, whatever way it comes, fascism will aim at nothing less than the complete destruction of the working-class movement."

But while the speeches of leaders gave direction to the Congress and clarified the issues, inspiration was also obtained from the reports made by the workers from the armaments factories, by those who are valiantly fighting against war and fascism inside the Boy Scouts and similar organisations, and those from Labour Parties and trade union branches, who are straining every nerve to secure utter and complete repudiation of the treacherous and capitalist line of the leadership.

When a member of the Sheffield District Committee of the Amalgamated Engineering Union announced that their members in the city—the greatest British armaments centre—would see that a working-class line was taken in the munition factories as well as in the trenches in the event of war, and in the meantime would take their place in the front ranks of the struggle, it was an inspiring moment. Twenty delegates from the Sheffield A.E.U. attended the Congress with the full support of their District Committee.

Delegates from the great Billingham factory of Imperial Chemical Industries—the greatest chemical trust in the world—from the English Steel Corporation and from Firth's (two great Sheffield armament firms), from Mather and Platt of Manchester, from Rolls-Royce, etc., told of the great speed-up that has taken place recently in preparation for war. They told also of the rapid growth of the anti-war movement inside the factory, now taking such concrete form as will permit of effective action being taken whenever necessity arises.

Rolls-Royce is a name that conjures up images of luxury motor cars, but the name to-day connotes much more than that. The delegate from this firm told the Congress that the production of limousines now plays second fiddle to the production of Kestrel bombers for Hawker planes, and of engines for armoured cars and for tanks. These are the activities which keep the works operating for twenty-four hours a day, and have been responsible for the introduction of a systematic working of overtime, so that the majority of the workers have to be at the bench twelve hours a day. Seven hundred workers are engaged solely on research work for the Air Ministry and the War Office. Alongside with the intensification of war activity in this factory has gone a rapid rationalisation, with a replacement of adult by underpaid youth labour. To-day 2,500 of the 6,000 workers employed are under 21 years of age. War is profitable for Rolls-Royce; within a year the shares of the firm have increased in value from 20s. to 72s.

In these conditions a strong group of the anti-war movement has been developed among the young workers—a group strong enough to raise the cash to send two delegates to Sheffield and to carry on systematic day-to-day work.

Delegates from Ireland and from the League against Imperialism put the case for the prevention of colonial wars. The Congress pledged itself to take all action that lay within its power to compel the withdrawal of troops and to prevent the export of munitions and arms intended for use against the struggling colonial masses.

The first week-end of August, 1934, marked a big advance in the anti-war and anti-fascist organisation of the British working class, with the working-class youth (allied to a growing number from the universities) well to the fore.

The reformist leadership is paving the way for future betrayals similar to that of 1914. Neither against war nor against fascism are they prepared to act. What is more, they are doing all in their power to sabotage and cripple any action that may be generated by the militant rank and file. But it is obvious that the rank and file are better informed, are more ready to meet such treachery than they have ever been before. It is true that the movement yet is not strong enough, but the Congress and demonstrations of last week-end were a beginning—and a good beginning—towards building up the same comprehensive fighting united front against war and fascism that has been set on foot to such effect by the working class of France.

Anti-War Activity in Great Britain

By W. G. (London)

There is undoubtedly a considerable "break through" taking place in the barriers erected by the reformists against the Anti-War Movement in Britain.

The recent events in Europe have raised very sharply before the masses the urgency of the war question and brought into sharp relief the pro-war policy of the Labour Party Executive and the General Council of the Trade Union Congress.

So much so that a large and thoroughly representative Conference of the **London Labour League of Youth** (the Youth Section of the Labour Party), held despite the efforts of Morrison and Co. to prevent it, unanimously declared against the war policy of the Labour Party and in favour of a policy of open struggle against all imperialist wars.

This is very significant. So also is the article of Alex. Gossip in the current issue of "Trade Union Information," where he attacks the policy of the Labour leaders and the General Council in the strongest possible terms. He says in regard to their war policy:—

"I am not in the habit of using declamatory terms lightly, but if this is not vile treachery to our movement I do not know what it is." Later on he asks: "Are we to be led to the slaughter by your Hendersons and Citrines?"

And he answers: "A thousand times No! and again more emphatically No!"

"If some never realised before why the General Council of the T.U.C. and the Executive Committee of the Labour Party so bitterly opposed the Anti-War Movement and never made any real attempt to destroy the 1927 Anti-Trade Union Act, surely they must have their eyes opened now."

This is very plain speaking, but it is exactly what increasing numbers of Trade Union and Labour Party workers are thinking. How to win them over to the revolutionary struggle against war is the problem that confronts us. For while they are being disillusioned with the policy of the reformist leaders they are still in many cases held back by traditional prejudices from open association with the Communists.

The **Youth Anti-War Congress** in Sheffield is indicative of the advance that has been made in achieving working-class unity. It is true to say that at this Congress all sections of the working-class movement were represented and all were firmly determined to achieve unity of the masses in the fight against war.

In the demonstrations held in different parts of the country the same spirit was evident, although it must be recognised that there was a failure to bring the masses of workers on to the streets and into the demonstrations.

In **Glasgow** and in **Manchester** good activity was carried on around the factories on **August 1** and splendid Anti-War demonstrations staged in the evening. In Glasgow the unemployed bands were out and great interest was aroused amongst the workers. The police were exceptionally provocative, and on several occasions it looked as though there would be trouble. If war does come, if the revolutionary forces are not mobilised rapidly enough to prevent it, Glasgow will be a storm centre from the first day of the outbreak.

In **London** the demonstration was held on Sunday, August 5. While the Anti-War Committee made a big effort to win all sections for support of this demonstration, all the influence of the London Labour Party and the London Trades Council was used in every direction against it. Not only so, but as it happens this week-end, August 4, 5 and 6, is the most popular holiday period of the year. In England, all who can afford it, trek into the country for a day or two—the holiday resorts are crowded. At such a time it is not easy to get a mass demonstration unless all the forces are united for the task.

Nevertheless, the Anti-War Committee succeeded in getting a very enthusiastic and colourful demonstration. While Communist Party and Y.C.L. banners were everywhere in evidence, there were also Trade Union, I.L.P. Guild of Youth, Labour League of Youth, Co-operatives, and others to be seen. There were many striking effigies, as well as a tableau—showing Ramsay MacDonald, Hitler, and Mosley, all being supplied with plentiful finance by a top-hatted representative of the bourgeoisie. Another feature was the

organised shoutings of slogans: "The Youth will not be used for cannon-fodder," etc.

A large troop of **pioneers** won the admiration of thousands standing on the side-walk by the manner in which they shouted the slogans.

Speakers from the Anti-War Committee, the Communist Party, I.L.P., and other organisations spoke to the following **resolution**:—

"War means death, disease and destruction; the sacrifice of the youth for the benefit of the profiteers."

"This mass demonstration of London people declares its uncompromising opposition to all forms of imperialist war and pledges itself to rouse all classes for action against war manoeuvres."

"We declare that fascism, while crushing the masses, greatly increases the danger of war. We therefore make common cause with the progressive masses here and in other countries against this growing menace."

One of the speakers, a member of the **Labour Party**, declared:—

"If anyone had told me six months ago that I would be speaking on the platform in association with Communists, I'd have told him to get his head examined, but things have happened during these six months that have opened my eyes to what is wanted."

Many others are having their eyes opened, and by careful attention they can be won to an understanding of the need for working-class unity. While we are yet far from being in a position to make an effective stand against the threat of war, which is all the time hovering over us, nevertheless we are on the right road to win the masses. Correct methods of work, which we are learning after many bad and bitter experiences, will carry us forward, despite the sabotage of the reformists. The **Anti-War Movement** gains ground every day, and it is for us to see that this progress continues till the mass unity of the workers is able to overwhelm the imperialists and their reformist allies.

The Position of the Women in the Balkan Countries

By Etienne Constant (Paris).

In the Balkan countries the toiling masses have always been subjected to greater oppression than in other countries. As women in general offer less resistance to the offensive of the employers, they are more exploited than men and hardest hit by the crisis. In the Balkan countries the women's wages are 30 to 50 per cent. lower than that of the men.

Women are employed in the tobacco industry and in the match factories (Greece, Bulgaria, Rumania); in the food industry (Greece, Yugoslavia and Rumania); in the smelting and engineering industry, and, just as in the other capitalist countries, they are even employed in the war industries.

Labour protection laws for women have been passed in Rumania and Bulgaria, but these laws have never been carried out. Women are still employed in dangerous trades and on night work. The working day is 10 to 12 hours. There exists no protection for mothers or pregnant women. Women work under inhuman conditions. There are no hygienic or safety measures. The Balkan countries have the highest figures for accidents in the factories.

Mass unemployment has prevailed in the Balkan countries for more than five years. The women are ruthlessly dismissed and receive no unemployment relief. Great misery and distress prevail in the workers' families, as the wages of the "breadwinner" are quite inadequate.

The misery among the peasants is no less appalling. The peasant women live and work under mediæval conditions. In addition to agricultural work, which is very heavy, owing to the primitive means of production, the peasant woman has to weave the linen, to knit and sew, and even make candles. A serious agrarian crisis is sweeping over the Balkan countries. The agrarian products find no market, or only at very low prices, with the result that the peasant families rarely have any money, and the wife has to make and provide everything herself.

In the Balkan countries the women, as a rule, possess neither a parliamentary or municipal vote. In Rumania only women with higher school education, presidents of women's associations and charity societies, as well as war widows, have the right to vote.

Numerous women belong to the fascist students' organisations and to the so-called cultural and sport organisations. Fascist organ-

isations like "Sokol," in Yugoslavia, and the "Iron Guard," in Rumania, have women's sections with an openly fascist programme.

Nevertheless, the revolutionary women are superior, both numerically and in regard to militancy, to the fascist women. They participate in strikes and demonstrations and often lead the revolutionary movement. The militant spirit displayed by the proletarian women of Bulgaria during the struggles of 1924-25, by the striking women in Cavalla and the Rumanian working women during the railway workers struggles in Grivitza, in February, 1933, are still fresh in memory.

A great number of women have been imprisoned and tortured in the Balkan countries. Among the many victims of bloody terror, in the year 1925, were **Anna Maimukova**, who was murdered in prison, **Ghieveva**, who was hung in her cell, and **Sonia**, who was sentenced to death, in spite of the fact that she was pregnant.

Among the 15 soldiers and workers who were recently sentenced to death in Schumen (Bulgaria) were two women. These two women, **Maria Beluva** and **Zvetana**, were murdered in prison before the death sentence was pronounced.

The appeal for the International Women's Congress against war and fascism has met with great response in the Balkan countries. The Initiative Committee for the congress includes working and peasant women, women civil servants, women lawyers, students, etc. Women's committees were set up in Bucharest, Botosani, Cluj, Kishinev, Yassy, and Czernovitz. Many women, **Maria Beluva** and **Zvetana**, were murdered in prison, in spite of the dictatorship. In Sofia a women's committee has been set up, as well as in Zagreb (Yugoslavia) and in Athens.

War Against Imperialist War

Leading Article in the "Pravda" on August 1

Twenty years, a whole epoch, separates us from those August days of 1914, but the workers of the world will never forget the terrible slaughter which the imperialist cliques let loose at the instigation and in the interests of the stock exchange barons, the trust magnates and the feudal dynasties. Even to-day not all the wounds have healed which were caused by the imperialist war which broke out twenty years ago.

What hypocritical and lying arguments were used by the ruling classes of all countries in order to hound the workers and peasants into the shambles! German imperialism provoked the world war under the cover of a struggle against "Russian barbarism." The Tsarist government answered with a call for the "defence of the Slav races!" French imperialism raised the cry, "Defend the great ideas of democracy!" And the armament kings of Great Britain with the twin battle cries of "Progress!" and "Justice!" And the whole of Europe was dotted with the graves of the millions who were sacrificed to the imperialist policy of the ruling classes. In all parts of the world endless rows of wooden crosses show where the victims were buried. Around Verdun, in the Champagne, along the Somme, along the Marne, in the Vosges, in Galicia, on the plains of Poland, in the Carpathians, in the sands of Transjordan and in the jungles of Africa ten millions of souls sleep their last sleep. They were slaughtered because British imperialism wished to keep its booty and rob still further. They were slaughtered because a little clique of capitalists in France, Tsarist Russia, Austria-Hungary, Germany, Japan and the United States demanded it. They were slaughtered because the world bourgeoisie sought safety from the world revolution in war. They were slaughtered in order to weaken the working class and to consolidate the power of a little group of "civilised" exploiters over the hundreds of millions of toilers in the colonial countries. For over four years they were slaughtered in the "war to end war." Both the bourgeois and social democratic pacifists zealously echoed these imperialist lies to deceive the working class.

The war tore the mask from the features of those who had instigated it. In the first years of the war the powerful apparatus of the bourgeoisie, with the active support of the leaders of the international social democracy, succeeded in misleading the workers and causing them to exterminate each other in the interests of their class enemies. How far away the happenings of those war years seem to-day! The generation which has grown up since the war no longer remembers them. With the passage of time the details are becoming more and more difficult to recognise. However, the horrible crime of international imperialism and the vile treachery of the international social democracy are not merely his-

tory. The imperialist war continued even after the signing of peace and it is with us to-day. The class which organised the world slaughter in the years 1914-18 has been striving ever since to complete that which it did not achieve in the war years.

During the sixteen years which have passed since the conclusion of the world war there have been dozens of "little wars," in particular in the colonial countries. The biggest of these wars was the invasion of China by Japanese imperialism. The war of Japanese imperialism against China is the prelude to a new world war. Does not the glare of hostilities in the Far East warn the world of the approach of a new world war? Do not the provocative shots in Central Europe warn the working masses that the fascist adventurers are preparing to set the world in flames again at all corners? Are not the capitalists in all countries shaken by great class struggles dreaming of a new world war?

One country, and one country alone, stands as a bulwark of world peace, the great Union of Socialist, Soviet Republics. In Bolshevism the working masses possess a powerful weapon against war. The peoples of the Soviet Union have built up a great bulwark against war and for world peace. The great significance of the struggle of the Soviet government for the maintenance of peace is now recognised even by the most prominent representatives of various capitalist groups throughout the world. The utterances of **Lloyd George** and others which we publish to-day indicate this. They are all compelled to admit that the Soviet Union is pursuing an unswerving policy of peace, a policy based on the unshakeable power of the Soviets. But for the Soviet Union the imperialists would long ago have plunged the world into another bloody catastrophe. But the Soviet Union exists and the red flag of peace and freedom, the hope of the working masses of the world, waves proudly in full view of the world. The capitalist world, which is planning a counter-revolutionary war, is digging its own grave. The world is divided into two camps and the better part of humanity is already in the camp of socialism. No fascist terror will be able to save the warmongers from the blow in the rear, from the demoralisation of their reserves and from the destruction of their front. The Bolshevik revolution has won peace and freedom for 170 millions of people and it has built up a powerful bulwark against new war. The immortal words of **Lenin** can still be heard above the storm which is sweeping through the world. They call unmitigably to the working masses all over the world because in them lives the unquenchable flame of vital truth teaching millions and millions the Bolshevik way to peace and freedom. The Soviet Union is not alone in its great struggle for peace. When the hour of trial is at hand then those who dare to cross the frontier of the Soviet power will feel the smashing blows of the proletarian armies and that will open up the only just war, the war against the fascist adventurers, the war against the exploiters, the war against imperialist war, the war which will guarantee the victory of a lasting peace.

In Memory of Jean Jaurès

Article Published in the "Pravda" on the Twentieth Anniversary of the Assassination of Jean Jaurès

Amongst those events which prepared the way for the open treachery of the French socialists at the outbreak of the world war and for the establishment of the "Union Sacrée" (the holy alliance of the social patriots with the French bourgeoisie), one of the most important was undoubtedly the assassination of Jean Jaurès. **Lenin's** genius, when he pointed out how great was the secret of the origin of the world war, was shown in this episode which preceded the outbreak of the world war in moving clarity. The assassination of Jaurès is still an object of speculation amongst the social fascists of all brands. To-day Jaurès's name is used to cloak international social fascism and in particular the section of the French social democracy which is most fascist, the "neo-socialists" led by **Renaudel**, **Déat** and **Marquet**. How did it come about that the bourgeoisie which murdered Jaurès was able to exploit his name and his popularity for its own imperialist purposes?

Jaurès appealed for working-class unity and declared that the struggle for peace must be continued, and that in the event of war the struggle must be continued "for the re-establishment of peace." The pacifists of the war period, and in particular the **Longuet** group, used these words of Jaurès to justify their own position. With the slogan of Jaurès, "struggle for the re-establishment of peace," they opposed the slogan of **Lenin**, "Turn the imperialist

war into a civil war for the overthrow of imperialism." The bourgeoisie utilised both the social patriots and the social pacifists. It persecuted the revolutionary left-wingers, but it showed consideration to the social pacifists of the Longuet school. The latter praised Jaurès as a pacifist, but at the same time they eagerly joined with Renaudel in declaring that he was in favour of "the defence of the Fatherland."

It is true that Jaurès often declared himself in favour of this slogan. Why, then, was he murdered by the French bourgeoisie? Because, as Lenin pointed out, Jaurès was not a conscious traitor, but an unconscious traitor who honestly believed that, with the help of pacifist phrases and appeals to the government, war could be avoided. Jaurès hated Tsarism, and at a moment when the general mobilisation became necessary and an impenetrable fog of chauvinist propaganda had to be created, an attempt on the part of a man who enjoyed the popularity of Jaurès to load even a part of the responsibility on to the shoulders of French imperialism, or to deliver passionate speeches on the necessity of the restoration of peace, might prove exceedingly dangerous.

It is known that Jaurès was preparing a series of articles to be published in "*L'Humanité*" to expose the preparations and the responsibility for the war, a sort of "J'accuse!" The honesty of Jaurès' temperament was a hindrance to the French reaction and made it more difficult to mislead the French workers with the slogans of "a just war," "a war to end war" and so on, and therefore the reaction did not hesitate to put Jaurès out of the way once and for all. The most tragic feature of the assassination was the way in which the French bourgeoisie succeeded in utilising the murder for their own ends. Whilst the reactionary section of the French bourgeoisie supported its murderous agent Villain, another section of the French bourgeoisie negotiated with the socialist leaders in order to exploit the assassination of Jaurès for the support of the imperialist war. The "Union Sacrée" was concluded over the murdered body of Jaurès. After voting for the war credits, *Jules Guesde* and other socialist leaders entered the French Cabinet, the "Ministry of National Defence"—a logical consequence of the speeches delivered over the grave of Jaurès. Thus with one hand the French bourgeoisie caused the assassination of Jaurès and with the other it raised his dead body on to the shield of imperialist war with the assistance of the French socialist and syndicalist leaders in order to mislead the workers.

Twenty years after the assassination of Jean Jaurès and on the eve of a new imperialist war for the re-division of the world and for the overthrow of the Soviet Union, the social patriots are again attempting to mislead the workers with the name of Jaurès, but this time they will not succeed. Jean Jaurès, the martyr of the French proletariat, belongs to the workers of the world, who reject his opportunism and his naïve pacifism, but welcome his honesty and incorruptibility as against the conscious treachery of Renaudel, Wels and their hangers-on. The revolutionary proletariat is well aware that the path which Jaurès took in the hope of winning peace can never lead the workers to victory. In order to conduct an effective struggle for peace, to grasp how great is "the secret of the origin of the world war," the workers of the world must follow the path laid down by *Lenin* and *Stalin*, the path to the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the transformation of the imperialist war into a civil war for the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship.

Workers' Demonstrations on August 1st

In the Works and Factories of Paris.—At three o'clock in the afternoon a demonstration was held in the **Citroen Works**, and a Communist deputy addressed the assembled workers, under their protection, directly in front of the factory gates. In **Ivry** there were similar demonstrations. At a demonstration in front of the waterworks an anti-fascist committee was formed. A delegation was sent to the management from the **St. Denis Gasworks** to declare the anti-war determination of the workers. Over 100 workers employed by the **Hispanos Motor-car works**, where military cars are built, left the factory one hour earlier than usual to demonstrate against war. There were demonstrations in many of the streets, especially in the 18th District.

Anti-war demonstrations took place in many towns in the provinces. In **Gerardmer (Vosges)** the **Garde Mobile** was mobilised and several workers arrested. These were, however, afterwards released by their fellow demonstrators. The **Garde Mobile** was compelled to withdraw. In **Cambray** a demonstration was carried out

by 1,500 persons, in **Halle** by 1,000. In **Bordeaux** a **Thaelmann Committee** was elected, after a great meeting. In **Gravelonne** a similar committee has been formed.

SPAIN.

The whole of **Madrid** was placed under a state of seige by police and military guards. In spite of this two demonstrations were carried through in the centre of the city. At the second of these demonstrations the police were received by a hail of stones. At the first demonstration in **Madrid** there was a serious conflict with the police, and a workman was shot by the police. Two big red flags were flown from the bridges. Mass arrests have been made in all the towns, and all demonstrations have been prohibited. This has, however, not prevented demonstrations. In **Seville** a great demonstration marched through the streets for some time. The workers did not disperse till fired upon by the police. In **Bilbao** a demonstration procession of 2,000 workers marched through the main street. In **Oviedo (Asturia)** hundreds of workers assembled in the main square, and were addressed by a Communist speaker. At **Sama (Asturia)**, thousands of miners organised a demonstration. In **Linares (Province of Jaen)** 4,000 miners formed a demonstration procession. The police were powerless.

In **Catalonia**, where all demonstrations were prohibited, the workers held meetings and marched in spite of the ban. One of these demonstrations was addressed by the Communist deputy **Bolivar**.

In **Melinna**, the capital of **Spanish Morocco**, over 100 workers have been arrested. Large red flags were flown from the broadcasting towers.

BELGIUM.

In **Brussels** an August 1 demonstration was organised by 1,000 workers, in **Lièges** by 2,000, and in **Seraing** by 2,000. Demonstrations were held in **Charleroi**. In **Antwerp** two crowded meetings were held. The Communist Party organised anti-war demonstrations in 10 further towns.

SCANDINAVIA.

On August 1 one of the greatest anti-war demonstrations was held in **Copenhagen** which has ever been seen in this city. More than 10,000 workers responded to the call of the Communist Party.

The social-democrat leaders, who organised a demonstration of their own, in order to prevent their members from taking part in the Communist demonstration, only managed to scrape a following of about 1,000.

In **Oslo** an anti-war demonstration was carried out on the eve of August 1, attended by 1,000 persons. In **Stockholm** the anti-war demonstration was organised by the **Anti-fascist Fighting Alliance**. It was attended by 10,000 workers. In **Gothenberg** the anti-war demonstration, organised by **C.P.**, was attended by 5,000 persons. Anti-war demonstrations were carried out in over 30 different places in **West Sweden**.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

"Democratic" Czechoslovakia gave expression of its "will to peace" by prohibiting all anti-war demonstrations. In spite of this, the Czech workers demonstrated against war and fascism. Large flags, **Thaelmann** pictures, and revolutionary slogans, were to be seen all over **Prague**. At **Prague-Zitkov** a great demonstration was carried out. The police dispersed the assembled workers with great brutality, injuring one severely. Another demonstration was held in **Königgrätz**.

SAARBRUECKEN.

On the eve of August 1 a great meeting was organised for women, convened by the **Social Democratic and Communist Parties**. After the meeting, which showed the utmost enthusiasm, and passed a resolution welcoming the **Women's Congress**, the working women formed a demonstration procession through the streets of the town.

SWITZERLAND.

An anti-war meeting was held in the large hall of the **People's House** in **Zürich**, one of the speakers was the **St. Gallen** workman **Thoma**, who has been sentenced by the military court. A storm of indignation swept the hall when the leading speaker of the evening reported on the arrest of revolutionary **German** refugees by the police employed by the social-democratic town council.

Two anti-war demonstrations were held in **Basle**, showing the militant determination of the workers of **Basle**.

Fight for the Unity of the Labour Movement

United Front Agreement Signed in France

By J. Berlioz (Paris)

July 27 has become an important date in the development of the revolutionary movement in France. On this day five representatives of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and seven delegates of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party signed the pact for unity of action against fascism, against war preparations, against the emergency decrees of the government of National Unity, and against the international fascist terror.

Every kind of united action is provided for in this pact: meetings, street demonstrations, and counter-demonstrations, fight with every means against the emergency decrees. The pact provides for the cessation of all attacks on organisations and its members which loyally participate in the action, but at the same time strong condemnation of any slackness. The pact, of course, leaves both parties perfectly free to continue their own propaganda and the recruitment of members.

The strenuous efforts made by our Party to bring about unity of action between the Socialist and Communist organisations have at last been crowned with success. In the course of the recent negotiations which followed the favourable decision of the national conference of the socialist party on July 15, we did everything in order to remove the last difficulties standing in the way of the signing of the pact. We made concessions; thus, for instance, we renounced the formula: "strike against emergency decrees"—a strike which we nevertheless consider necessary—and also made concessions in the question of discussions of fundamental principles at joint meetings. We have been guided solely by the desire to achieve at all costs the united action of the Socialist and Communist masses, no matter how limited this action may appear at first.

Our Party, which has now achieved one of its main aims, will loyally observe the pact. The workers have greeted the signing of the pact with the greatest enthusiasm. The consciousness of the invincible strength of the anti-fascist masses has been tremendously increased, and this feeling of unshakable confidence imparted a new character to the demonstration of 50,000 Paris workers which took place on July 29 at the grave of Jaurès in the Pantheon. Everywhere there was heard the cry: "Up with the Soviets!" We are convinced that this tremendous enthusiasm will overcome the last resistance which many socialist leaders are still showing to the unity of action.

The bourgeoisie clearly recognises the serious threat to it represented by the unity of the proletariat. The capitalist press has been given orders not to mention anything about the conclusion of this pact. Nevertheless in the more exclusive organs there is revealed the fear and hatred against the unity of action. "L'Ordre" writes: "This event is of importance and will have effects on our political life." Newspapers such as the "Debats" falsify our intentions and speak of the redoubling of the individual terror, in order, by way of a few bombs which strongly suggest police provocation, to provide an excuse for further repressive measures on the part of the government.

The united front which has now been formed has a great attractive power for the middle classes. The capitalists are afraid of losing the support of these sections of the population. It does not wish to lose "the most important reserves from which it recruits its armies against the proletariat." (Stalin.) We witness, therefore, the innumerable efforts to set up a third party, which shall keep the middle classes from tending towards the "Left" and lead them back to fascism by roundabout ways. The "Left" bloc is dead and can no longer play any role as a buffer formation.

"Is the National Unity," writes "Notre Temps," the organ of the young radical demagogues, "destined to become a permanent organ which is alone capable of opposing a Socialist-Communist bloc? No, the overwhelming majority of Frenchmen have little taste for one or the other of these coalitions. The formation of a Third Front will prove necessary before long."

This party must, it is stated, be at the same time pacifist and national, anti-capitalist and French: that is to say, it must combine the demagogy of the discredited "Left" parties with unrestricted support of French imperialism.

The originators of this plan reckon that "forces would be found in the depth of the trade unions," because the leaders of the C.G.T. are resisting to the utmost of their power the realisation of trade union unity. They are making use of the warnings contained in the circulars sent out by the C.G.T. to the trade unions against the formation of united trade unions (the number of which is nevertheless increasing from day to day). They write articles belittling the importance of unity of action between the Socialists and the Communists and reviving the old anarchist-syndicalist doctrine that the trade union movement is above all parties and is all-sufficient.

In their efforts to set up a "new Left" they have gathered the most motley elements around a common platform: the patriotic Youth, the "Fiery Cross," uprooted petty bourgeois, neo-socialists, etc. It is clear that the united front pact of July 27 will give rise to a fresh regrouping of the most important parties. But it is equally clear that if we succeed in exerting influence upon the middle classes, the attractive power of the pact will help us to prevent the formation of this new front and, as Stalin says, "to convert the reserves of capitalism into reserves of the proletariat."

The formation of the unity of action will have effects beyond the frontiers of France. The Second International is now sharply confronted with the question of working-class unity. A year ago the debates at the International Conference of the Second International were characterised by fierce attacks against Communism, the Third International, and against the Soviet Union. Since then, however, many things have happened, even in Belgium, where the young socialists declared themselves opposed to national defence under capitalism and demanded a reform of the Belgian Labour Party and of the Labour and Socialist International in a revolutionary sense. The recent events in Austria, which revealed the imminent danger of war, have brought into movement the proletarian masses of all countries, who earnestly desire united action against fascism and war.

Vandervelde asks with feigned innocence: "Has Moscow changed its opinion? Have the danger of war and the lessons of the gruesome events in Germany and Austria had an effect?" Pointing to the French example, the workers in the Labour and Socialist International declare that unity of action between Socialists and Communists is quite possible. We are perfectly justified in asking Vandervelde: "Has the Second International changed its opinion? Will it understand the lessons of the events and revise its negative reply of March, 1933, to the united front offer of the Communist International?"

Ziromski has already done so. In the "Populaire" of July 29 he wrote:—

"We are justified in saying that the unity of action of both parties constitutes the strongest barrier against the fascist danger . . . We regret that the attitude of certain sections of the L.S.I. might prove an obstacle to the extension of unity of action."

For the United Party of the Austrian Proletariat

By Karl Kranz (Vienna)

The decision of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Socialists of Austria and of the leaders of the Schutzbund to accept the proposal of the Communist Party of a united front for the fight against the fascist dictatorship, is evidence of the profound longing of the Austrian working class for the unity of the proletariat. The determination of the workers to close their ranks in face of the approaching fight for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship is growing. The Communist Party, by its bold united front tactics, has strengthened this determination. The courageous participation of the Communists in the February revolt has proved to the social-democratic workers that the Communists are sincere in their desire for the united front. The social-democratic workers have therefore rejected the slanders spread by the Second International that the Communists are only engaging in a manoeuvre, and have formed the united front with them.

The intensification of all antagonisms in Austria has, however, so rapidly increased the political maturity of the working class that ever-larger circles are plainly showing that they do not wish to rest content merely with the formation of the united front, which is undoubtedly a great step forward in the political development of Austria; they are demanding that the united revolutionary party of the proletariat shall be formed. The Communist Party of Austria has taken up this cry and given it expression. At

the Vienna Conference, which resulted in the union of the former "Red Front" with the Communist Party, an appeal was addressed to the Central Committee of the C.P.A. to do everything to bring about the union of all revolutionary workers in a united party. In fulfilment of this demand the Central Committee of the C.P.A. has addressed to the social-democratic workers, and especially to the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Socialists, a proposal for the united front for the common fight, and at the same time suggested the formation of a united revolutionary party. A joint commission of Revolutionary Socialists and of the Communist Party is to be set up in order to bring about unity.

The fact that this far-reaching proposal of the C.P. of Austria has been accepted by the Revolutionary Socialists is a great success for the united front policy of the Communist International. As a matter of fact, if this united front proposal had not been accepted the Austrian workers would have wanted to know the reason why. The programme which the Revolutionary Socialists have adopted and which the social-democratic workers want to realise, even if many of its points are not formulated with the necessary Leninist clearness, includes some of the most important programme points of the revolutionary Communist policy. The Revolutionary Socialists declare themselves in favour of the revolutionary fight for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship and the setting up of the proletarian dictatorship. The Central Committee of the C.P. of Austria has asked the social-democratic workers: "If we are agreed on these most important points, if you wish to proceed along the path which the Russian workers and peasants have victoriously pursued during the past 17 years and which has led to the building up of Socialism in the Soviet Union, if you wish to follow the path which the Communist International has followed since its foundation 15 years ago, why should we not pursue this path together in a united party?" The social-democratic workers in Austria agreed with this standpoint of the Communist Party. Thus the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Socialists has agreed to enter into negotiations on the formation of a united revolutionary party. In the first joint appeal to prepare for the celebrations of August 1 as an international day of struggle, there was already expressed the conviction that the conclusion of the united front constitutes only the first step, and that the next step must be the formation of the united party.

The importance of this declaration extends far beyond the frontiers of Austria. The militant working class of the whole world will follow with keen attention the further course of the negotiations for the formation of the united revolutionary party of Austria, for the example of the united Austrian working class will give a fresh impetus to the united front movement throughout the world.

The obstacles to the formation of a united revolutionary party have not yet all been overcome. It is still a question of mere negotiations. The main work still lies in front of us. Even if the overwhelming majority of the Austrian workers long for unity, and are insisting on its realisation, it still has enough enemies. The bourgeoisie is replying to the united front and to the negotiations for a united party with an enormous intensification of terror, with gallows and wholesale arrests. The former social-democratic trade union leaders, who have openly gone over to the class enemy, are opposing the united front with a flood of lies and abuse. But far more dangerous than these open enemies are those who hypocritically claim to be in favour of unity, but intend to maintain the split in the ranks of the proletariat. Such people include **Otto Bauer** and his friends, who, in their theoretical organ, "Der Kampf" (The Fight), devote no less than 33 out of the 41 pages at their disposal to the fight against the Communists, making use thereby of the dirtiest arguments. And there are also their friends in Austria who, at present frightened by the powerful drive of the proletariat for the united front, are keeping silent but at the same time working against the Communists.

It would be a mistake to believe that the creation of a united revolutionary party in Austria will be possible without a fierce fight against the remnants of reformism and centrism. The creation of a united revolutionary party will depend in the first place upon how persistently the Communists work to free the broad masses of the social-democratic workers from the remnants of their former illusions: how skilfully they expose the manoeuvres of the open and concealed enemies of the revolutionary fight. For sabotage of the united revolutionary party means sabotage of the revolutionary fight against the fascist dictatorship and support of the bourgeoisie.

United Front Realised in Austria

Appeal of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Socialists and the Communist Party of Austria.

Schutzbundler, Young Workers!

Comrades!

In Central Europe fascism has entered a phase more bloody than any before. . . . In Austria the Dollfuss government has been recently "reorganised." It is now concentrating all fascist forces against the working class. Its endeavour is to draw the nationalist elements into its ban and to accomplish a reconciliation with Hitler. At the same time it declares its intention of hanging everyone found in possession of a toy cracker. This executioners' government, with its "determined" attitude, is even more rotten than the rule of bloody Hitler. The brutality with which it clings to its position surpasses anything which any Austrian worker could have imagined six months ago.

In order to overcome the inner difficulties of capitalism, the imperialist states are preparing for a fresh war. The policy pursued by the Austrian fascist government favours every war adventure which would make Austria the military base for other countries.

The Soviet Union has firmly established its position in the struggle for peace. The inner weakness of the capitalist countries does not permit them to embark on war against the Soviet Union at the present time, but the fascists and reactionaries of all countries have by no means abandoned this dream.

We class-conscious workers are fully aware that there is only one effective means of preventing from the very beginning a new imperialist war: proletarian revolution!

In this period of fresh war preparations the question of our revolution becomes a burning one. The unity of the proletariat on a revolutionary class basis is the urgent call of the hour, unity against capital and its bloody rule. The more quickly we attain this unity the more quickly we shall be victorious.

The C.C. of the revolutionary socialist, the C.C. of the C.P., and the leaders of the united Schutzbund have therefore resolved in joint conference to organise common action now, on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the great war.

We call upon the whole toiling population of Austria to fight on August 1:

Against imperialist war!

For the defence of the Soviet Union!

For the release of the proletarian prisoners!

For the overthrow of the executioners' government!

For the revolutionary dictatorship of the working class!

Comrades! We have formed the fighting alliance against fascism. With this we set an example to the workers of the whole world for the joint action of the class-conscious workers. Only insignificant splinter groups stand outside of our fighting alliance, and we shall presently include the majority of these. But those who desert to the class enemy, or fail to understand the signs of the times and combat our fighting alliance with hackneyed phrases, must reckon with being dealt with and fought as enemies of the working class.

We are well aware that this joint action on August 1 is only a beginning. But it is the beginning of a united revolutionary class party of the Austrian proletariat. If this is to be realised you must all help—workers, Schutzbundler, young workers.

The joint action on August 1 will form a decisive step in this direction. Hence our appeal.

Forward to joint action! No matter if our enemies calumniate and rail against us. It is only because they are afraid of us, afraid that the Austrian workers will speak Russian. We, however, are proud to follow the examples of the Paris Commune and the Russian revolution.

C.C. of the Revolutionary Socialists of Austria.

C.C. of the Communist Party of Austria.

The Joint Committee of Action of the Schutzbund.

Trade Union Movement

The International Congress of the Metal Workers

The International Metal Workers' Federation (Berne Metal Workers' International) has at last published the agenda of the 13th International Metal Workers' Congress, which will be opened on August 26, in London. The most important item on the agenda is: Unemployment, reduction of working hours, and wages.

The very wording of the agenda shows that the Secretariat of the International does not expect the solution of the unemployment problem as a result of struggle, but advocates the introduction of a general shortening of hours in order to be able to deal with the question of wages as an item of secondary importance. What is still more striking is the fact that the agenda does not say a word about fascism, although this is the first International Metal Workers' Congress to be held after the events which have taken place in Germany and Austria. Neither is there any mention of a struggle against the feverish armaments of the imperialist states, although the danger of a fresh world conflagration has become very imminent. But in this situation the Secretariat of the Metal Workers' International has nothing to say to the metal workers engaged in the munition factories.

In view of these facts it is urgently necessary that the metal workers belonging to the sections affiliated to the Metal Workers' International demand in resolutions and motions a change in the policy hitherto pursued by the Metal Workers' International, and that the main item on the agenda of the forthcoming congress shall be the organising of the struggle against the offensive of the metal industrialists, the struggle against war and fascism. The metal workers must demand the convening of members' meetings in order to discuss the agenda of the congress; that the delegates to the congress be elected by the members themselves, and that delegates of the German and Austrian metal workers be admitted to the Congress.

There is no doubt that the Secretariat of the International intends to place in the foreground of the proceedings at the congress the question of the 40-hour week in the metal industry. This is evident, not only from the formulation of the agenda, but also from the fact that the leaders of the sections in Czechoslovakia, England and France recently made great propaganda for the introduction of the 40-hour week, without even mentioning increased rates of pay so that the workers shall not suffer a loss in wages as a result. This is also evident from an article in the June issue of the information bulletin of the International Metal Workers' Federation, in which it is stated in regard to the 40-hour week:—

"If humanity is suffering from superfluity and this abundance of goods does not diminish in the future, then it will have to adjust itself gradually to these circumstances (by the shortening of work-time)."

It seems that the leaders of the Berne Metal Workers' International are not yet aware that millions of people are starving, are suffering from a lack of clothes, food, and dwellings. Only the capitalists, who cannot dispose of their goods on the market, can talk of superfluity.

But the Berne leaders are prepared to comply with the wishes of the capitalists also in another question. The article further states:—

"For this reason, the workers and the trade unions are of the opinion that with the introduction of shortened working time the old wage should be paid, if possible."

This sentence reveals the object and purpose of the International Metal Workers' Congress: to induce the workers to abandon their demand for wage compensations when the 40-hour working week is introduced, in the "hope" that such a compensation will be given "later on."

The revolutionary metal workers do not deny the necessity of a struggle for shorter working hours without loss of wages. The revolutionary organisations and the opposition in the reformist unions raised the demand for shorter working hours long before the reformist leaders did. But they emphasised at the same time that this demand can be realised only by the struggle of the workers and that a struggle must be conducted for a wage compensation. The revolutionary organisations and the opposition in the

reformist unions organised such struggles, whilst the reformists endeavoured to throttle these movements. The slogans and fighting methods of the opposition led to the victory of the general strike of the Madrid metal workers for a reduction of the working week to 44 hours with full wage compensation in March last.

The general strike of the 18,000 metal workers of Madrid for the introduction of the 44-hour week without loss of wages began on March 9. In spite of the reprisals of the employers and of the State, in spite of the disruptive policy and defeatist strategy of the reformists and anarchist leaders, the metal workers achieved a complete victory. After a stubborn struggle lasting for months, the demands of the workers were conceded in June and the 44-hour week without any wage reductions introduced.

Under the influence of the C.G.T.U. the united front of the strikers was set up during the struggle. At a huge meeting attended by 8,000 striking workers, the strike committee of eight set up by the reformist U.G.T. was deposed and replaced by a large strike committee consisting of reformist, anarchist, C.G.T.U. and unorganised workers. This strike committee, which enjoyed the confidence of the 18,000 striking workers, led them to victory.

The metal workers of all countries will draw the lessons from this successful struggle of the Madrid workers. They demand that the question of the 40-hour week with full wage compensations be put on the agenda of the Congress, which must be closely linked up with struggle against fascism and armaments, carried out on the basis of the united front of all metal workers.

But the struggle must be continued for the higher demands of the economic and political class struggle of the workers, in the course of which the capitalist dictatorship will be smashed and the preconditions created for the establishment of Socialism.

Trade Union Unity in France

Paris, August 6.

The fishers and seamen of the port of Oran, organised in a reformist and a Red trade union, have now resolved to form a united trade union on the basis of the struggle for their demands. This is the first united trade union of fishers and seamen. A detailed statement has been drawn up of the demands of the united trade union.

The workers employed in the Citroen garage Alesia have formed a united section. In four other garages the amalgamation of the revolutionary and reformist sections, on the basis of the workers' demands, is in full swing.

In Nizza a meeting has been held, convened by the Red trade union cartel, for trade union unity of action. The speakers were the secretary of the C.G.T.U., Monmousseau, and representatives of the autonomous and reformist local unions.

Czechoslovakian Workers Progress towards Militant Unity

Prague, August 5.

The unity demonstration convened on the initiative of the workers of the Matador works in Bratislava was prohibited by the police. The workers of the Bratislava factories are now electing mass delegations to go to the political authorities and police headquarters, where they will demand the withdrawal of the prohibition. Seventy workers employed in the sewerage at Zemy organised a half-hour demonstration strike for unity of action, and sent to the social-democratic parliament club a sharp protest against the worsened social insurance conditions, for which the social democrats had voted. At the same time the social-democratic party committee was called upon to accept the Communist united front proposals. In Lissen a conference was called by social democratic workers, taken part in by 25 social-democratic workers, 6 Catholics, and 29 Communists and non-party workers. All expressed themselves in favour of the united front. The conference adopted a resolution for Thaelmann and Paula Wallisch. In Kojetein a united front conference was held against the will of the social-democratic party leaders, attended by 38 delegates, including 3 Czech socialist workers, 3 social democrats, 8 Communists, and 9 representatives of workers organised in trade unions. It was resolved to organise a joint anti-fascist demonstration. Resolutions were adopted for the release of Thaelmann and against the persecution of the four Communist deputies, members of the Czech C.P.

In the International

Open Letter of the C.C. of the C.P. of China to the Members of the C.P. of Indo-China

DEAR COMRADES,

The frontier separating China from Indo-China stretches for several hundred kilometres. On both sides of this frontier, the imperialists, in alliance with the native landowners and capitalists, oppress the toilers. On both sides of this frontier the workers and peasants, under the leadership of the Communists, have raised the banner of the revolutionary struggle against the oppressors. It is not for the first time that the Communist Parties of China and Indo-China are linked up by the closest fraternal bonds in the struggle against the common enemy. We Communists of China have for more than ten years been bearing the brunt of great class battles. We have accumulated vast experience, the experience of defeat and of victory, the experience of open and underground struggle, the experience of overcoming mistakes and unmasking betrayals, the experience of strikes in the peasant movement, insurrection, the experience of the struggle for the Soviets. In the light of this experience and the experience of the entire world Communist movement, we would like to place before you, comrades, a number of questions connected with your work and struggle.

(1) THE TERROR OF THE IMPERIALISTS HAS NOT DESTROYED THE INDO-CHINESE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

Four years ago, in the situation of the most severe crisis and in response to the savage onslaught of the capitalists, the working class of Indo-China raised the banner of revolt. Headed by the young Communist Party, it led the toiling masses to the struggle against French imperialism and its native confederates. The Communist Party of Indo-China was organised and became strengthened on the background of the turbulent revolutionary movement of the masses of the workers and peasants. The Communists of Indo-China were staunch enough to put an end to the sectarian disputes between the various groups; they formed a united Communist Party which soon became a genuine Party of the proletariat, the leader of the anti-imperialist struggle of the toiling masses of Indo-China.

French imperialism tried to break the revolutionary struggle of the toiling masses by bloody terror, by the policy of intimidating the masses and the physical extermination of the leading detachment of the Indo-Chinese revolution—the Communist Party of Indo-China. You have borne great sacrifices in this struggle, comrades. You lost many on the battlefields during the insurrection and the demonstrations when “civilised” French imperialism shot down hundreds of demonstrators. Many lost their lives on the gallows and many were tortured in the prisons and in exile. Many thousands of devoted revolutionary fighters are now in the jails and convict camps.

French imperialism, together with its native agents, tried to stifle and to suppress the revolutionary struggle not only by means of terror, but by a policy of cunning manoeuvres to deceive the masses. The “reforms” of the hangman Passuier, the “reforms” of Renault, the “reforms” of Bao Dai—the puppet king who batters on the French colonisers—all these so-called “reforms,” as well as other measures like the giving of long-term credits, the organisation of a Bureau of Colonisation, which occupies itself with settling landless peasants upon barren land, have not been undertaken for the benefit of the toiling masses, but for the benefit of their native oppressors so as to consolidate the anti-revolutionary bloc, so as to suppress the revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants of Indo-China. The Hunger March of the Tonkin peasants and agricultural labourers who, in masses, left the villages in Khatin where they had been settled, shows what these so-called “agrarian reforms” of French imperialism really represent.

By means of the physical extermination of the Party cadres and of the Party leadership, imperialism has for a very short period succeeded in disorganising the mass revolutionary movement and

in sowing doubt and panic among the less reliable comrades who came in during the upsurge in the movement, but who did not have revolutionary stamina and training.

But genuine Communists do not lose their heads, do not give way to panic and vacillations in difficult periods. The experience of the world proletarian movement, the many years' experience of our struggle in China, shows that revolutionary development cannot be stopped by repression and terror, shows that the class struggle *cannot be destroyed*. The Chinese Communist Party, suffering a temporary defeat in 1927, persistently and thoroughly prepared a new revolutionary upsurge. It reorganised and strengthened its ranks, getting rid of all violators of Party discipline, of all Right and “Left” opportunists. It developed the struggles of the workers and the peasant masses, extended and strengthened the Soviet guerilla movement, and by all possible ways and means roused wide sections of the toilers of China to the new struggle. The same thing is occurring in your country, and the revolutionary struggle is flaring up with ever brighter flames.

Though in 1930-31 the movement did not go beyond the borders of Cochin-China, Annam and Tonkin, the revolutionary movement is now beginning to spread to all the five districts of Indo-China, embracing Laos and Kamboges. The national minorities of Indo-China are also being drawn into the struggle. The Moys of Indo-China are replying to the policy of “pacification” and the penetration of French imperialism into these districts of the country by unceasing unrest.

Not only the advanced detachments of the working class of Indo-China are being drawn into the struggle, but also its most backward sections. The strikes of the printers, the coolies on the plantations, the miners of Khongai, the Pousse-Pousse coolies, the revolt of the Moys and the peasants of other districts of Indo-China against the monopolies, against taxes, for rice, for land; the incessant strikes of small tradespeople, the strikes of professors, teachers, and students, the meetings of traders—all this shows the maturing of a new revolutionary upsurge.

And in the Party itself, hounded and driven underground, work has already commenced. The re-organisation of the ranks has begun and the Party organisations are being built up. It is now your task, comrades, to study the experience of the past battles, to take into account your past weaknesses and mistakes so as not to repeat them again in the struggle which is developing. Upon the lessons of the past, upon the partial defeats, revolutionaries must learn to prepare themselves and to sustain victories.

(2) THE GUARANTEE FOR SUCCESS IS A POWERFUL, DISCIPLINED BOLSHEVIK PARTY

Throughout the many years of our struggles, comrades, our experience shows that without the leadership of the Communist Party we could not obtain a single victory and could not have obtained those successes which we have achieved at the present time. It was only thanks to the correct leadership of the Communist Party that we now have a Soviet government on a large territory. Ever wider masses of the toilers of China are becoming convinced that the only way out of want, hunger and poverty is the road along which the masses are led by our noble Communist Party. In the process of its growth and development, our Party has eliminated the political mistakes which threatened to break down and destroy the Party if not corrected in time, if the Party had not delivered a crushing blow to all those who tried to distort the line of the Communist Party. Under the leadership of the Comintern, our Party succeeded in strengthening itself and in Bolshevising its ranks, and it is precisely this that explains the enormous gains which we have at the present period.

The Paris Commune perished in blood because the proletariat of Paris in 1871 did not have a leader in their struggle, did not have an iron, disciplined Communist Party. But in 1934 the armed struggle of the Austrian proletariat did not lead to victory because

the Austrian Communist Party was too weak to wrest the masses away from the influence of treacherous social democracy and lead them along the path of the victorious armed insurrection. The working class of Tsarist Russia was able to carry out the revolution and convert Tsarist Russia—the prison of peoples—into the socialist fatherland of the toiling masses only owing to the leadership of a mighty and organised Party of Bolsheviks.

In the period of the revolutionary upsurge, in 1930-31, the Communist Party of Indo-China grew and became stronger. But as the result of bloody repression the number of Communists dropped sharply. Many Party organisations were destroyed, the Party apparatus was broken down and, most important of all, the contacts of the Party with the broad masses were damaged.

There is no task more responsible, more important and more difficult than the further work of *forming a fighting, strong disciplined Party*. We must remember the words of our leader, Comrade Stalin: "The victory of the revolution never comes by itself, it must be prepared and fought for. And only a strong proletarian revolutionary Party can prepare and win it." These words are confirmed by the whole experience of struggle of the world proletariat, by the experience of the struggle of the toilers in the Soviet Union, of the Chinese toilers, and by your own experiences, comrades. Does not your experience show that the success of the entire revolutionary struggle of the toilers of Indo-China depends upon the strength and the weakness of the Party? *The rallying of all the scattered forces into one united whole, the reorganisation of our ranks, the detailed day-to-day work of building up and strengthening the Party apparatus, strengthening the central leadership, preparing and training new strata of Party workers, always ready to take the place of the foremost fighters who have been lost in the battle—this is what you have to work upon, persistently and heroically, day by day.* You are building the Party in conditions of complete illegality and the deepest underground work. This is not easy. Carelessness, neglect of the rules of conspiracy in your work, may lead to the complete disorganisation and destruction of the Party apparatus. More than once French imperialism and its native agents have tried in various ways to destroy the Communist Party by means of provocation. They will repeatedly send their people into the Party to disorganise its work. We must build up the organisation in such a way that the police cannot discover or destroy it, so that the breakdown of one link will not lead to the breakdown of others. But, naturally, it would be a gross mistake to keep the Party so secret that nobody knows of its existence. No, comrades, if you were to do this you would have a sectarian group and not a fighting proletarian Party. The toilers of Indo-China *must know* that there is a Party which is carrying on the struggle, which is organising the masses, which is capable of preparing victory and which will lead to victory.

The Party must be built on the basis of iron discipline. In the conditions of complete illegality, failure to observe Party discipline, the slightest factionalism or groupings, any deviation from the basic line of the Party leads to fatal results. Comrades, you must not forget the history of your Party. You must remember that the first six years since the formation of Communist groups of Indo-China were years of factional struggle and disputes. You must remember that when the Party was united, insufficient work was carried on to sift out and select the best elements of the united Communist groups. And therefore the Party must always be ready for the possible rebirth of factional and sectarian feelings among various groups or members of the Party and to give them a crushing rebuff. *Every Communist must guard the unity of the Party like the apple of his eye.* Only if you have complete unity will you be able to ensure the victory of the revolution in your country.

(3) WE MUST LEARN TO CARRY THE MASSES WITH US

From information received by us, it is evident that you have already again commenced to re-form and consolidate your ranks, which had been disordered by the terror, and to create a Party apparatus, to strengthen the central leadership of the Party. You have already attained some successes in this direction. What is important now for you, comrades, is not to scatter your forces in your work, to be able to pick out the main link which you have to grasp. The fundamental, central task is to *win over the masses*.

The Communist Party of Indo-China must, at all costs, strengthen and extend its contacts with the masses. There cannot be a Communist Party without contacts with the masses. First of

all, the Party must strengthen its basis in the working class. *Every factory must become your fortress.* The past experience of the struggle of the Communist Party of Indo-China showed that this side of the work was always badly organised. While continuing and developing the work in the peasant districts the Party must shift the centre of its efforts to the workers' districts. The mines, textile factories, sugar refineries, rubber plantations, rice and cotton fields, etc., must become real citadels for the Communist Party. *By organising the working class you form an invincible force which, together with its vanguard—the Communist Party—will lead the toiling masses of Indo-China to victory, will drive all the French imperialists out of the country, give the land to the people and, after the example of the U.S.S.R. and Soviet China, will lead them to the further struggle for the construction of socialism.*

The development of the work in the factories will help you, comrades, to get rid of one other shortcoming in your Party. In your Party there are too few workers. Such a situation is impermissible. Without neglecting to attract into the Party the best elements among the peasants and the intellectuals, you must strengthen the *proletarian backbone* of the Party, ensuring the *proletarian leadership of the masses*. What the Party needs most of all is the everyday, detailed, persistent and heroic work of *organising the revolutionary masses*. *You must learn to consolidate every success in the struggle for the masses by a growth in the mass organisations.* In the past period of struggle, there was not in the ranks of your Party a clear understanding of the role of the mass organisations as linking up the Party with the broad masses. The Party must create genuinely mass *trade unions*, peasant leagues, peasant committees, the Y.C.L. and other organisations.

Just as our Party tirelessly organised the struggle of the peasants against taxes and monopolies, forced contributions, usury, slave rent, against compulsory labour service, in the same way, comrades, you must organise and stand at the head of the activity of the peasants directed against their oppressors. When organising the struggle around these urgent economic demands, supporting the partial demands of the peasants, the Party must lead the peasants up to the basic question of the revolution, *the question of land*, and develop a struggle for the confiscation of all land of the landlords for the benefit of the peasants. The struggle of small traders against the continually increasing and newly introduced taxes must be developed.

In Indo-China there are large sections of brutally exploited unorganised youth. The Party must make every effort to strengthen its influence among the youth and organise them into the Y.C.L., utilising the existing youth organisations and forming new ones, legal and illegal. The Party must organise the revolutionary struggles of the national minorities. The Party will not be equal to its tasks if it does not mobilise the toiling masses of Annam to support the struggle of the Moy peoples against imperialist invasion. The Party must expose the nationalist reformists who support the policy of annexation and the oppression of the national minorities. It must expose the manoeuvres of the imperialists who send Annamite soldiers to crush the Moy peoples in order to sow hatred and enmity among the peoples of Indo-China.

In the everyday practical work, day after day, by examples which are close to hand and easy to understand by every toiler, the Party must educate the masses and prepare them for the final struggle for the revolution.

In creating and strengthening the illegal Communist organisations, the Party must be able to utilise all the *legal possibilities* for work among the masses. The Party must not disdain any legal possibilities nor any slight possibility which it can make use of. It must penetrate into the legal organisations—clubs, sports societies, mutual aid societies, etc. It is necessary to form workers' courses, cultural-educational organisations, circles and groups, co-operatives, dining rooms, libraries, reading rooms and clubs, set up legal journals and papers. You must get close to the masses by all available means, getting them under your influence, showing a maximum amount of flexibility and persistence here—this is your most urgent task.

You must learn at every stage of the struggle to carry on propaganda for the idea of the Party and educate the masses by calling meetings, organising demonstrations, publishing papers and leaflets, distributing illegal literature, etc. The Party papers and leaflets which are published by the Party must speak about concrete questions and matters which are near to the lives of all the

toilers. They must be written in simple language which can be understood by all the toilers. They must give information in clear and detailed language on all the facts of the struggle of the toilers in the country. They must hand over the experience of the struggle of one factory to another, of one plantation to another. Vague and "learned" discussions in the columns of our press on the future society, on imperialism and capitalism "in general" are not very comprehensible to the masses and are of little use to the Party. By focussing the attention of the workers on concrete cases of exploitation and high-handed treatment at every factory and plantation, you must educate the masses, heighten their political consciousness, lead them up to the demands of the struggle of the entire working class, to the demands of the revolution.

(4) THE "LEFT" MANOEUVRES OF THE TREACHEROUS BOURGEOISIE

In Indo-China, at the present time, not only is the discontent of the toiling masses increasing against their ever-worsening position, but also their general discontent against the policy of French imperialism and the clique of financiers headed by the Bank of Indo-China and the Governor-General of Indo-China. On the background of the general devastation and impoverishment of the whole country, a handful of financial speculators are piling up wealth, squeezing millions in profits out of the starving and impoverished masses. The Bank of Indo-China buys up thousands of hectares of land for a mere trifle. The peasants lose their last scrap of land. Indebtedness is increasing among the peasants who own their own land. Hundreds of thousands of hectares of good fertile land in Cochinchina are lying idle. Only the big landowners are still able to export millions of tons of rice, even though at a throw-away price, dooming the population of Indo-China to hunger and want.

The dissatisfaction and protests of the planters of rubber and rice, of the native industry and the commercial bourgeoisie, the exporters of rice—all this is the struggle of one part of the exploiters against another part for their dwindling profits. In struggling against various groups of the French capitalists, the Indo-Chinese bourgeoisie do not by any means set themselves the task of overthrowing French imperialism. On the contrary, they preach the idea of a "Franco-Annamite" united front.

Some of the "Left" representatives of the national bourgeoisie go still further. They declare a struggle against the French in general. Not long ago the Federation of Traders and Manufacturers also raised its protest against the "existing regime." It organised protest meetings and is "threatening" decisive actions. There is no doubt that various groups of the national bourgeoisie are utilising the growth of the revolutionary struggle and the feelings of the petty-bourgeoisie who are swinging to the "Left," as well as the radicalised feelings of other sections of the population, and trying to bring these sections over to their side.

All this struggle, which sometimes seems to be very sharp in form, is carried on, in reality, *only* for the sake of receiving various more or less important concessions from French imperialism. The Indo-Chinese bourgeoisie tries to raise prices for itself, to bargain with its French masters and colleagues so as to grab bigger quantities of the profits which are flowing into the pockets of the financial magnates in France.

What does the Indo-Chinese bourgeoisie calculate on? It knows that French imperialism not only firmly holds and frantically fortifies its colonial possessions, but is also hoping to remedy its own shaky affairs. It is dreaming of a "powerful colonial empire." It has set itself the aim of increasing the exploitation of its colonies and, by relying on the colonial resources, it hopes to become an independent and decisive factor in the struggle between the imperialist powers. The French socialists do everything in their power to help it in this. That is why, in the most valuable colony—Indo-China—the French bourgeoisie is drawing native capital into various enterprises, creating for them various possibilities of development, but all this is done within such limits as not to weaken but to strengthen the position of the French imperialists themselves.

With the same aim the national bourgeoisie is condescendingly given governmental rights, and these rights are widened. With the same aim the Hindu usurers (Chetty) are driven out of Indo-China and the local bourgeoisie get rich at their expense. Of course, this is not much for the Indo-Chinese bourgeoisie. They would like to bargain for more. But this policy creates certain possibilities for getting rich. In addition, this policy of the imperialists makes it possible for the local bourgeoisie to manoeuvre,

to adopt the pose of "warriors" and thus delude the masses. This is the real inner meaning of the campaign against the reforms of Bao Dai, against the establishment of the monopoly on nuok-mam, professedly in the interests of the small producers and consumers. This is the source of the thundering words and hypocritical complaints about the bombardment of Ko-Am, the hangman Robain, who was appointed by the conservative government of Tardieu to the post of Governor-General of Indo-China. This is the source of the pretence at sympathy with the delegation of French workers who came to Indo-China. But the toilers cannot be caught with such bait. The Indo-Chinese workers and peasants will not forget that the greedy and cowardly national bourgeoisie betrayed the movement in 1930-31. It helped French imperialism, helped the hangman Robain, whom it now repudiates in words, to shoot down the revolutionary rebels. It is true to itself even now in its position of treachery and conciliation. In your country there cannot be a joint national front against French imperialism at the present stage. Only real anti-imperialist forces can form a revolutionary bloc for the struggle against the imperialists. The Communists must create the *united front of the workers, peasants and urban petty bourgeoisie*, for the struggle to drive out the French imperialists, the struggle for the independence of their country, for land and rice. The offensive of French imperialism against the standard of living of various strata of the urban petty bourgeoisie, the policy of repression and terror leads to unceasing actions and protests. The small officials, craftsmen, small traders, students, teachers, protest with particular energy against wage cuts, against dismissals and unemployment, against heavy taxation, high rates and expensive permits, against monopolies, against the closing of schools, etc. The task of the Communists is to *develop work among these sections, to utilise their discontent, to direct it along the channel of the anti-imperialist struggle under the leadership of the proletariat*. In order to increase the power of the mass pressure against the imperialists and landlords, in order to utilise all the revolutionary possibilities of the petty bourgeoisie, it is necessary to organise joint actions by Communists and the national revolutionary organisations of the petty bourgeoisie. While drawing the petty bourgeoisie and their parties into the anti-imperialist bloc, the Communists must always preserve their *ideological and organisational independence and their leading role*. The Communists must explain and point out to the toilers the inconsistency and vacillations of these parties. The Communists must show that the sooner class forces are differentiated, the sooner the national revolutionary organisations will betray the cause of the working class and will go over to the position of national reformism.

The Indo-Chinese Communists must keenly watch the manoeuvres which are being carried on by the national bourgeoisie to deceive the masses, to utilise the masses for their own aims. The Party must mobilise all the Communists for a systematic struggle against national reformism. It is necessary to explain to the masses by concrete facts the counter-revolutionary essence of the national reforms and show the gulf separating the national reformists from the real anti-imperialist forces led by the Communist Parties. In the conditions of the growth of the general discontent in the country, national reformism will more than once try again to put itself at the head of the mass movement in order to behead it. In its struggle to get hold of the masses, national reformism shows considerable activity and manoeuvring capacity. For this very reason it is necessary day by day to expose all the national reformist groups and parties, no matter what "Left" slogans they may come out under. For this very reason it is necessary to fight ruthlessly against any relics of nationalism and national reformism in our own ranks, no matter what concealed form they may appear in.

It is not the Indo-Chinese bourgeoisie, the hireling lackey of the colonisers, which will liberate the toiling masses of Indo-China from French imperialism and the native oppressors. The toiling masses will obtain real freedom only in the revolutionary struggle under the leadership of the proletariat, led by the Communist Party.

(5) AT THE HEAD OF THE REVOLUTIONARY TOILING MASSES!

Poverty, hunger and want, the intensification of the crisis, on the one hand, and the bloody terror and high-handedness of the imperialists, on the other, forced the masses of the people in Indo-China to revolt against their oppressors four years ago. The insurrection in Yen-Bay was, despite the fact that it was prepared and organised by conspiratorial methods, the first signal of this popular

indignation. But the Indo-Chinese Kuomintang which headed it was not able to withstand the blows of repression dealt by French imperialism. It collapsed immediately after the defeat of the insurrection of Yen-Bay and rapidly pursued the path of internal disintegration and bankruptcy. However, French imperialism did not succeed in beheading the mass revolutionary movement in this way. The masses of the workers, peasants and urban poor, coming into the struggle, found their organiser and leader in the young Communist Party of Indo-China, which had just put an end to its scattered state of existence in groups. The rapid and widespread growth of its influence among the masses was promoted by the conditions of the all-national revolutionary upsurge and the absence of other organised political forces capable of opposing themselves to the mass influence of the Communists as the sole organised force of the anti-imperialist revolutionary front. Without the existence of these favourable conditions, the Communist Party would not have so easily succeeded in getting the leading role in the mass struggles of 1930-31. Nevertheless, it remains an undisputed fact that without the presence of the proletarian vanguard, which was able in practice to lead the mass revolutionary movement of 1930-31, this movement would not have been able to develop with such force, would not have been able to lead to the formation of Soviets in two provinces of Indo-China—Nge-an and Hatin—to the seizure and the division of the landowners' supplies of rice and the land, to the establishment of their own courts, to the introduction of the eight-hour working day, etc.

The working class got its baptism of fire in the battles of Furien and Ven-Bentum, which gave a direct impetus to the Soviet movement. At the highest point of the struggle, the Communist Party of Indo-China came forward as the leader of the entire anti-imperialist and anti-feudal movement in the country. It is true that this did not last long. French imperialism, letting loose its bloody terror and military force, making use of the insufficient military preparation of the masses, was able for a time to suppress the open revolutionary struggle of the masses and deal the Communist Party a number of heavy blows. However, it is unable to erase from the memory of the revolutionary masses the lessons from the events of 1930-31, the heroic example of the open mass struggle under Communist leadership, under the banner of the Soviets. Some comrades incorrectly think that in the battles of 1930-31 "only" the Communist Party and not the working class played the role of initiator, organiser and leader. The very act of counterposing the working class to the Communist Party is fundamentally incorrect. It was only by relying on the support and the sympathy of the masses of the workers, by relying upon their struggle, and upon a correct class line, that the Communist Party of Indo-China was able to attract the very broad masses of the peasants to its side. At the same time, every Indo-Chinese Communist should firmly know and remember that the struggle for the firm winning of the proletarian leadership in the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal movement still lies ahead. The battles of 1930-31 only made the first furrow in the consciousness of the masses, they were only the first test of revolutionary strength.

The Party must take into account the situation which is developing. It must educate the masses in the spirit of the revolutionary traditions of the battles of 1930-31, it must teach them that no temporary defeat will be able to sweep aside the revolutionary proletarian forces which have already shown themselves in the mass struggles of the people. In the conditions of the changing situation, the Communists should develop a struggle for winning over the masses, striving in that way to lead the masses to a new revolutionary attack under the leadership of their proletarian vanguard. *The ideological co-ordination and organisational consolidation of the Party with the vigorous and all-sided development of mass work—this is the central task confronting the C.P. of Indo-China.*

(6) COMMUNISTS OF INDO-CHINA PREPARE FOR NEW BATTLES!

The class contradictions in Indo-China are becoming more intense, the revolutionary crisis is maturing. The revolutionary movement is expanding throughout the country. The Communists must clearly bear in mind that in the course of the revolutionary struggle unexpected sharp turns and outbursts are inevitable, which all at once place upon the order of the day all the basic problems of the forthcoming revolution, and this demands from the Communists a maximum amount of firmness, flexibility and preparedness for battle.

The Party must take to heart the lessons and the mistakes committed in the past struggles and, armed with the accumulated experience, lead the masses. You must not allow yourselves to be caught unawares by the changes that take place, suddenly placing new tasks in the foreground; you must be equal to the great tasks which are placed before you by the revolutionary movement at the present stage.

The masses are rising to the struggle because their situation, which was difficult enough before, has within the past few years become unbearable. The Communist Party must organise the struggle of the toiling masses, rouse all the toilers of Indo-China to the struggle against oppression and high-handedness. The Communists of Indo-China must rouse the masses against the state of poverty and want, to the struggle for rice. The C.P. of Indo-China has no more urgent task than the organisation of the masses of workers, the organisation of the coolies on the plantations of Indo-China, for the struggle for freedom of action, for the class trade unions, the right to strike, the eight-hour working day, against wage reductions, against fines, against bad treatment by the employers and foremen, against mass dismissals, for state insurance and aid for the unemployed, for the immediate stopping of all repression, for an immediate amnesty for all political prisoners. Indo-China must be covered with a close network of agricultural workers' unions, peasant leagues, peasant committees. With the Communists at the head, the workers must lead the peasants to the struggle against exorbitant taxes, against the monopolies, for rice, for land, against foreclosures for debt, for the complete cancellation of rent during the crisis, for the immediate cancellation of all enslaving loans and indebtedness.

All these demands are very near and understandable to the oppressed population of Indo-China. Unless they are fulfilled, the life of the toilers of Indo-China remains a life of slavery. The programme of action adopted by your Party in 1932 has completely justified itself. *This programme of action is a basic document for your struggle.* It develops the fundamental tasks of the forthcoming stage of the revolution, it gives the main tactical lines. You must develop your struggle and mobilise the masses in all the regions and districts of your country, around this programme. By mobilising and organising the masses for partial demands, you must raise them for the struggle for the basic demands of the anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution.

Comrades, brothers!

The banner of the Soviets has already been waving over one-sixth of China for several years. In Soviet China, it is not the imperialists and not the native plunderers who are masters, but the armed workers and peasants. The laws of Soviet China are written and carried out not by the hands of the enemies of the toilers, but by the hands of the toilers themselves. The power in Soviet China now belongs to the workers and peasants, to the toiling people who rule under the leadership of the Communist Party. The general material situation of the toilers has improved. They have thrown off the burden of foreign loans, of usurious deals, of pillaging taxes. The workers now have an eight-hour working day, increased wages, labour legislation, social insurance, state aid for the unemployed, control over production, freedom of activity for the workers' organisations. The peasants who had little or no land receive land that was confiscated from the landowners and also help from the Soviet government. Soviet culture is growing. The women have been emancipated. The Soviet frontiers are guarded by a powerful Red Army of 350,000 men, steeled in battle, and the armed worker and peasant masses.

Comrades, go along our path and the path of the Soviet Union. This is the tried and reliable path which leads to victory. Remember that scores of millions of toilers throughout the world are watching every step of your heroic struggle with sympathy. They know that Indo-China is one of the most important links in the chain of world imperialism and that the Indo-Chinese revolution is one of the decisive sectors in the revolution in the East. The whole world has come close to a new cycle of revolutions and wars. The imperialists are preparing a new world war, a new bandit attack upon the U.S.S.R., new burdens for the toilers, because by means of war they hope to find a way out of the insoluble contradictions in which the capitalist world is becoming more and more entangled. Therefore, armaments are developing at a gigantic pace. French imperialism is frantically preparing for a new world war. It is arming and will arm its colonies and especially its most valuable colony—Indo-China, the chief strategic point in the Pacific Ocean. This circumstance puts before the Com-

munist Party of Indo-China the extremely important task of developing the struggle against the coming war, in defence of Soviet China, in defence of the U.S.S.R.—the socialist fatherland of all the toilers.

The proletariat is preparing for decisive battles. Throughout the world the forces of the toilers are rallying together. The international solidarity of the fighters against exploitation is increasing. The French proletariat and the peasants are broadening their struggle against their own bourgeoisie, who are simultaneously the exploiters of the workers and peasants of Indo-China. Hand in hand with the Communists in France, hand in hand with the Communists of China, Japan, India and Indonesia, the Bolsheviks of Indo-China will be able to arouse the oppressed masses to the victorious attack on imperialism. The boundary between Kuomintang China and French Indo-China will cease to divide our peoples. Soviet Indo-China and Soviet China will unite in the World Federation of Soviet Republics.

Long live the anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution in all the countries of the oppressed East!

Long live the complete independence of Indo-China!

Long live Soviet Indo-China!

Long live the Communist Party of Indo-China—the fighting vanguard of the Indo-Chinese proletariat!

Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

Appetite Grows With Eating

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

Two workmen are talking in the yard of the great motor-car factory in Moscow.

"Just look at that workshop, Vanya, what a sight it is with its wretchedly plastered outer walls!"

"Haven't you anything more important than that to worry about, Andrei? That workshop used to be a miserable shed, and we have made it into a gigantic undertaking, one of the best equipped motor-car works in the world. Are we going to take exception to a trifle like a badly plastered wall?"

The comrade addressed as Andrei looks reproachfully at his companion.

"Vanya, what are you thinking about? Are such ideas worthy of a shock brigadier? Do we want to build up socialism among dirty unfinished walls? Am I to be reminded every time I come into the factory that we have built something imperfect, incomplete, something unworthy of our great socialism? No, my friend, to-morrow at the factory meeting I shall go for the management energetically about that unplastered wall."

Another conversation at a meeting of the tenants of a block of new flats:

"Comrades! At last we have received new and airy dwellings from our proletarian state, from our Red capital city. But the house management is spoiling our pleasure. We have been living for eight months in this house, but there are still no stoves in the bathrooms. And the courtyard is so filthy; it looks as if the whole district had dumped its rubbish here for years."

The house manager endeavours to pacify the tenants:

"Comrade Ivanov, you talk as if you had spent your whole life in palaces. But I happen to know that you lived in a dirty tenement house for decades, as I did myself. Even during the last few years you were living in one room with your wife and three children, and shared a kitchen with three other families, all without complaining. Now you have a comfortable three-roomed flat, and you grumble about a bathroom stove and rubbish in the yard."

Ivanov springs up indignantly and declares, amidst the lively applause of the tenants:

"The house manager is speaking like a class enemy. He is, indeed! For years I lived with my whole family in one small room, without complaining, only waiting till the socialist housing schemes had been carried out and I would get my turn among the many millions waiting for homes. This waiting was a necessity. But the absence of bathroom stoves and the dirty yard are not necessities, but your fault, comrade house manager. And if we

put up with them they are our fault, too. We have not built up socialism in order to go on living in dirt, and to regard an even dirtier past as extenuating circumstances. Comrade Stalin was right when he said that only incorrigible Philistines are satisfied with what they have attained simply because things used to be worse. If you are not prepared to put things in order, Comrade house manager, then we have the means to compel you to do so."

We do not know whether the house manager had to be forced to do his duty, or whether the lesson given by Comrade Ivanov sufficed, but a few weeks later we found the courtyard spotlessly clean. A number of the bathroom stoves had been fitted, and others were "ordered."

Unfortunately there are still many houses whose tenants permit themselves to be put off by such hypocritical references to the past, and have not the energy to insist on their socialist rights. They have already received so much benefit from the revolution that they are ashamed to ask more. But this false modesty is not regarded here by any means as a virtue, but as detrimental to social interests. The Soviet press never calls, like capitalist newspapers, for patience and modest demands, but educates the masses to insist on their socialist rights, and to cultivate their feeling for trifles, their feeling for beauty.

This insistence upon the wretched capitalist past is entirely out of place, from another point of view, among very large numbers of the Soviet population. There is a broad stratum which never went through that past at all—the dozens of millions of Soviet children. The Soviet public is particularly sensitive when there is any question of shortcomings in meeting the needs of the children. Only recently we read in the *Pravda* an open letter from the managers of the children's department store in Moscow, couched in highly indignant terms, to the people's commissars for the light industries and the wood industry. This letter states:—

"The children of our country, the happiness of whose lives has been won by the revolution, become more and more fastidious buyers in proportion as the cultural and material prosperity of our country grows. The school children and young pioneers need first of all suitable and well-fitting clothes and shoes, satisfying at the same time their sense of beauty: pleasing furniture, comfortable beds, and interesting variety of toys. Our trade organisations are, however, not in a position to meet these rightful demands of our young buyers, for the state industries, with the exception of a few factories, lag far behind requirements in the manufacture of articles for children. In the Soviet Union there are 60 million children under 15 years of age. This is more than the whole population of many large European states. And, yet, until quite recently insufficient attention has been accorded to the manufacture of articles for children.

We commercial workers find it particularly hard to have to leave unsatisfied the needs of the young consumers. This fills us with deep concern."

The signatories to this letter cite a number of concrete facts upon which they base their complaints. They point out that many factories are not observing the law which lays down that at least 20 per cent. of all articles of ready-made clothing must be for children. Quality and choice are insufficient. The individual taste of the buyers is not taken into consideration. The writers of the letter make the following energetic demands to the responsible people's commissariats:—

1. Special departments for the manufacture of goods for children are to be organised in every light industrial undertaking (ready-made garments, footwear factories, hosiery trade).
2. The best light materials, with the greatest variety of colours and patterns, are to be used for children's clothes, and the best materials for children's shoes.
3. The manufacture of the most pleasing designs for children's clothes and shoes is to be considerably extended.
4. The blind copying of patterns and designs intended for adults must be absolutely stopped.
5. The manufacture of children's furniture, rubber toys, musical instruments, sport clothes, and sport articles for children is to be greatly increased.
6. Seasonal articles are to be supplied in good time.
7. The department stores are to be supplied systematically with the best goods for children, without the delays which have hitherto hampered sales.

The managers of the department stores undertake on their part: 1. To place the best shops in the district at the disposal of

the trade in children's articles. 2. To equip the department stores in such a manner that they meet all the artistic demands of the young consumers. 3. To arrange for four department stores in Moscow to serve as workshops for the production of the most pleasing models of children's articles. 4. To send in orders for 1935 by the first of October at latest. 5. To arrange exhibitions of children's goods.

We have quoted the contents of this letter at length because it mirrors the quite new style of living of the Soviet toilers. Every day similar sharply critical demands, dealing with various fields of industry and trade, may be read in the press. In private conversations and in the department stores similar criticism may be heard. A factory manager or the head of a department store, who negligently places poor quality goods on the market, has to deal not only with the public, but must often be prepared to face penal proceedings.

Many working parents in the capitalist countries, who do not know whether they will be able to give their children a crust of bread to-morrow, will perhaps shrug their shoulders at this "cry of distress" from the children's department stores in Moscow. Ah, if that were my only worry—whether the children's clothes and children's toys are thoroughly up-to-date! But for the Soviet proletariat, whose children have at their service all the schools, all the colleges, all the possibilities of development, and a future without cares and filled with the joy of work, this is a very serious anxiety. The nature of the cares of the ruling proletariat, the things with which it is dissatisfied, indicate its progress just as clearly as do its joys, victories and successes. They are the cares of the masters of life.

The Week in the Soviet Union

Great Works of Socialist Construction

The new big power works on the River Rion, in Georgia, were opened on July 30. Great technical difficulties had to be overcome in connection with the construction of the coffer dam and the laying of the underground pipe, five kilometres long, conveying the water to the works. However, the Soviet engineers and workers have successfully accomplished their task. The excavation work involved in the building of this power works was no less than in the construction of the Dnieprostroi. The whole of the material employed in the construction of the works was produced in the Soviet Union. The plans were drawn up and executed by Soviet Georgian engineers. The Soviet press writes that the Rion Power Works are the material expression of the Leninist nationality policy. Hence, the opening of the works was a real people's festival. Numerous workers from Tiflis and Baku took part in the celebrations, which took place in Kutai.

August 2 was the first anniversary of the opening of the Baltic and White Sea Canal. Navigation has proceeded without any disturbance: the whole of the hydro-technical plant has functioned perfectly. Since the canal was opened about 10,000 persons have travelled through it. This year the traffic through the canal has increased 50 per cent. New docks and wharves are being erected on the banks of the canal. The huge Baltic and White Sea Industrial Combine, which is making use of the natural wealth of Soviet Karelia, is developing on the canal.

Work has commenced on the erection of a new power works on the River Tulomer. These works will serve the Kola Peninsula, promote its industrial development and render possible its electrification.

Campaign against Wastage in the Factories

The Moscow Electric Combine has carried out a model cultural campaign in all its departments. The Party organisation of the Combine organised a technical conference in which the best shock-brigaders took part. This conference, which dealt with all the problems of production, formed twelve technical sections, each consisting of 20 workers, technicians and engineers. Each section was allotted a special sphere of work: combatting waste in production, utilisation of space, transport, order and cleanliness, etc. The sections have now reported on their activity up to date. The section for combatting waste in production has, for instance, established that the workers often receive faulty material to work up, material which has been stored in the open air and suffered damage as a result of exposure to the weather. Measures are being adopted in order to avoid storing material in the open air. It has also been established that finished products often sustain damage and are rendered useless during transport through not being properly packed or as a result of bad packing material being used. Proposals

have been made for securing improved packing. In this manner a great number of questions, both great and small, have been dealt with by the sections, the solution of which will bring about a tremendous improvement in the whole of production and the working conditions of the staffs.

A Valuable Invention

A foreign engineer working in the Soviet Union has, in co-operation with a Russian colleague, invented a means of producing a substance which renders unnecessary the importation of cork from abroad. The Soviet Union auto and tractor industry requires more and more layers of cork for the purpose of isolating motors and machine parts, so that a substitute for foreign cork renders it possible to strike out a big item from Soviet Union's imports.

The Grain Harvest

Up to July 31, 34,930,000 hectares were reaped in the Soviet Union. This is 13 million hectares more than in the same period last year. With regard to deliveries, the Soviet and collective farms are fulfilling the requirements of the plan. Up to August 1, twice as much was delivered in the Odessa district as last year. One hundred and fifty collective farms in this district have already completely fulfilled the plan.

In the South of the Soviet Union the winter sowing commences already in August. According to plan, the total area to be sown is about the same as last year, but the share of the collective farms is much larger. They will increase the area cultivated by them by 185,000 hectares. The reason for this increased share of the collective and Soviet farms is their increased productive capacity with the support of the machine and tractor stations.

Working Hours in the Soviet Union

The Soviet Union is the only country where the working day has been reduced to seven hours. It need not be said that these seven hours must be utilised in socialist undertakings solely for productive purposes. But in many places the time devoted to productive work is actually less. An inquiry instituted in 110 Moscow and Leningrad undertakings recently showed that the lack of efficient organisation of the work (materials not to hand, tools not ready, etc.), was resulting in only 4½ to 5 hours being left for productive work. In some cases conferences were held during working hours with regard to the affairs of public organisations. The question of the rational utilisation of working hours has now been dealt with by a conference convened under the chairmanship of the People's Commissar for heavy industry, **Ordschonikidse**. This conference has drawn up a number of measures for improving the organisation of work and enabling the seven hours to be devoted entirely to production.

A certain section of the bourgeois press has been recently spreading the slander that the Soviet Union is not even observing the eight-hour day, and that unlimited overtime is the order of the day. These anti-Soviet papers like to seize upon self-criticism appearing in the Soviet press, and to exaggerate and distort it. But they have not reported a word about the conference dealing with the efficient utilisation of the seven-hour day and the shortcomings of work organisation, for to do so would be to admit that the workers of the Soviet Union have the shortest working day, that they are endeavouring to organise their socialist undertakings as rationally as possible, and that this organisation lies in the hands of the workers themselves.

The Settlement of Complaints of the Workers.

After the abolition of the Complaint Bureau of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, the great and important task of examining and dealing with all complaints and requests of the working people falls entirely to the Soviets. In order to perfect this work and eradicate its shortcomings, the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union has adopted a decision according to which the Chairman of the Soviet and the Executive Committees are made personally responsible for the examination of complaints. They are obliged to be in attendance on certain days to receive complaints and to entrust a group of responsible assistants with the task of examining them. These are responsible to the chairman for the settlement of complaints. In especially important cases and in the event of wholesale complaints the whole of the Soviet functionaries must be entrusted with the examination of the matter. The decision provides that complaints must be settled within a brief specified time.

Official persons who do not carry out the decisions concerning complaints, who are guilty of bureaucratism or inattention regarding complaints, will be severely punished.

Twenty Years Ago

1914 - 1934

The world imperialist war which began twenty years ago proved to be a historic landmark, a **turning point**, both in the development of imperialist capitalism and in the development of the world revolutionary and socialist movement.

The war of 1914-1917, a historic product of capitalism which, in the course of its development, passed over into its highest and last stage, that of imperialism at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, represented the explosion of the fundamental contradictions between the imperialist rivals, contradictions which had accumulated for tens of years before the war. On the order of the day there was placed the recarving, the division anew of the whole world, the violent solution, through the medium of war, of the contradictions existing between the chief competitors who were struggling for world domination. This war at once drew all countries and continents into its bloody orbit. The **first world war** in the history of imperialism had begun.

Thus, the war was to have decided the nature of the further development of the domination, competition and rivalry between the imperialist countries. The imperialists and social-chauvinists only wanted a "victorious" war. But history marched much further than these boundaries. Despite the legend spread by the "socialists" and imperialists to the effect that the war was being carried on by the "united nation," the class struggle inside the belligerent countries did not stop during the war but became more intense, while the toiling masses were dragged into the war by those who instigated the war, namely, the ruling classes. And the proletarian and peasant masses determined a different outcome of the war than the one desired by the German Emperor and the Russian Tsar, by MM. Poincare, Clemenceau, Lloyd George, Wilson, etc. The war tremendously speeded-up the oncoming of the revolution.

Up to 1914 the world had not known of war on such an enormous scale. But before the war of 1914-1918 the world had likewise not known a revolutionary movement on such a scale, had not known such a tempest of revolutions as the two revolutions in Russia in the year 1917, the revolutions in Germany and Austria-Hungary, and later the revolutions in Hungary, in Bavaria, the famous "rice riots" in 1918 in Japan, etc. The world not only underwent a battle among peoples such as history had never as yet known, but it also passed through a battle between classes on a scale and intensity hitherto unknown. **The first round of imperialist war was transformed into the first round of revolution.**

The break in the imperialist chain, and the victory of the proletarian revolution took place in Russia alone. But this victory was sufficient to split the world in two, into **the world of capitalism and the world of socialism**. This determined the turning point in the entire development of imperialist capitalism. The war and the October revolution gave rise to the **general crisis of capitalism**.

But the first round of wars and revolutions determined not only the turning point in the development of capitalism, but also something further, which consisted in the fact that the course of development of the world proletarian revolution; the course of development of the working class and socialist movement, were determined in a new manner. A base for the world proletarian revolution was established in the shape of the U.S.S.R., and the Communist International arose on the ruins of the II International. Such were the main results of the entire historic era which was opened up by the world war of 1914.

Twenty years have now passed, and the world is once again faced with the **immediate danger** of a new war and, above all, of a counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R. A **second world war** is knocking at the gates.

The strained character of the contradictions which are leading to war find their expression in a **growth of armaments** in all the imperialist countries, and in frenzied preparations for war. In comparison with 1914 there has been a considerable increase in the numerical strength of the armies; for example, in England the strength of the army has increased from 884,000 in 1914 to 1,027,000 in 1934, in Japan from 236,000 to 320,000, etc. In all countries there have also been formed trained reserves for the

war (consisting of military and fascist organisations—in Germany alone before the events of June 30, 1934, there were 3 million storm troopers), such as the world bourgeoisie did not possess on the eve of the war of 1914. In a number of capitalist countries, and especially in the countries dominated by open fascist dictatorship, so-called "compulsory labour" camps have been set up which are in fact organisations to prepare the youth for war. The twenty years which have passed have thus been twenty years of preparations of mass armies of many millions of men for a new war.

According to figures issued by the imperialist themselves, the co-efficient of armaments had doubled by 1932, in comparison with 1914. It is not for nothing that only one branch of industry—the war industry—continued to prosper during the world economic crisis.

A very important indication of the preparations that are being made for war is also the exceptional growth of the technical equipment of the armies, the organisation of the "rear" for war, and primarily such an organisation of the whole of the industry as will make it possible to solve successfully the problem of war. There is no need to speak also of the great ideological preparations for war, and of the broad wave of chauvinism and nationalism which has arisen in all the capitalist countries, and, above all, in Japan and Germany.

All these things, taken together, show that capitalism is seeking a way out of the impasse of its ever sharpening contradictions along the lines of war. The transition of the bourgeoisie to fascist methods of dictatorship shows best of all that the bourgeoisie have put war on the order of the day, **civil war against the proletariat internally, and imperialist war and counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R. externally**. The parties longing for war are climbing up to the commanding heights of power just as on the eve of the war in 1914.

Fascism, with its unlimited terror, the destruction of all the workers' organisations, nationalist and chauvinist incitement, and primarily its attempts to destroy the Communist vanguard of the proletariat, set itself the task of preparing the rear for war, and of suppressing the forces in revolt against war. Capitalism wants to find a way out of the impasse of its own contradictions along the line of war.

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What are the basic lines of contradictions leading to war, and which imperialist countries at the present day are the main organisers and instigators of war?

On the eve of the war in 1914, the basic contradiction between the imperialist rivals was the contradiction between **Great Britain and Germany**. This contradiction determined the main grouping of the imperialist Powers in the war. These blocs began to be built up long before the world war. The formation of the Triple Alliance (between Germany and Austria-Hungary in 1879, joined by Italy in 1882*), on the one hand, and the Franco-Russian Alliance in 1891 on the other hand, took place at the beginning of the imperialist epoch. The rapid development of German imperialism began evermore to threaten the position of Great Britain. As early as 1911 Lenin wrote: "England and Germany are arming themselves exceptionally intensely. The competition on the world market between these countries is becoming ever more intense. A military conflict is advancing ever more menacingly." The growth of the contradictions between German and British imperialism, on the one hand, and the growth of the contradictions between France and Germany (France seeking revenge for her defeat in the war of 1871), on the other hand, led to the Anglo-French so-called "Entente Cordiale," in 1904. As can be seen, the basic alignment of forces was fixed long before the war.

The eve of the oncoming war is distinguished by another system of contradictions and by a different **alignment of forces**. As distinguished from the situation in 1914, the basic contradiction on the eve of the second round of wars is that between the

* Later in 1902 France succeeded in drawing Italy over to the side of the Anglo-French Entente.

world of capitalism and the world of socialism. This fact places a decisive stamp on the second round of wars.

Thus, in the new round of wars which is being prepared, the main place is occupied by preparations for a **counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R.** In this war, the imperialists would like to solve two tasks at once, namely, their general class task of destroying the base of the world revolution, and that of solving imperialist contradictions at the expense of the U.S.S.R. The successes of the construction of Socialism in the Soviet Union, the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism and the continuation of the world economic crisis, are driving capitalism with special force towards war, and first and foremost towards a war against the Soviet Union.

"Therefore, every time that capitalist contradictions begin to grow acute, the bourgeoisie turns its gaze towards the U.S.S.R., as if to say: 'Cannot we settle this or that contradiction of capitalism, or all the contradictions taken together, at the expense of the U.S.S.R., this land of Soviets, the citadel of the revolution, which by its very existence is revolutionising the working class and the colonies, preventing us from organising a new war, preventing us from dividing the world anew, preventing us being masters of its extensive internal market, so necessary for capitalists, particularly to-day, owing to the economic crisis.'" (Stalin, Leninism, Vol. II).

The basic contradiction in the camp of the imperialists is that between Great Britain and America. It is a struggle for world hegemony between the biggest rivals within modern capitalism. Another very great contradiction among the imperialists is the struggle between Japan and America for domination in the Pacific Ocean. In connection with the struggle around naval armaments and the forthcoming Naval Conference in 1935, the silhouette of war on the Pacific Ocean is taking ever more definite shape. In Europe the main contradiction consists of the struggle for or against the Versailles system (on the one hand, France and its allies—the Little Entente, etc.; and on the other hand, Germany, Italy, etc.).

The role of chief organisers and instigators of a new world war is now being fulfilled by Japanese imperialism, German fascism and Great Britain. Japanese imperialism in the East and German fascism in the West are the pioneers of counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union and of a new imperialist war. This, of course, does not exhaust the list of capitalist countries preparing for war. All imperialist countries are preparing for war—French, Polish, Czech, American imperialisms, etc., are all preparing for war by an ever increasing enslavement of the toilers and fascisation inside the country.

The war of Japan against China, the seizure of Manchuria and a considerable part of Northern China by Japan, are the overture to war against the Soviet Union, an introduction to a new imperialist war. Japan's chief aims in the war which she has begun are the following:—

1. To prepare the necessary place d'armes for an attack on the U.S.S.R. At the present time Japanese imperialism is fortifying Manchuria and is pressing into Inner-Mongolia, preparing for an attack on the Soviets and the Mongolian Peoples' Republic.
2. Japanese imperialism sets itself the aim of smashing the growing Soviet movement in China.
3. To prepare a fighting base for the future war against America.
4. At the same time Japanese fascism regards war in China and a counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R. as preventative measures against revolution in Japan.

In its policy of the military plunder of China, and in its preparations for war against the U.S.S.R., Japanese imperialism receives great assistance from British imperialism (the semi-recognition of Manchuria, the Indo-Japanese Commercial Agreement, etc.). All this leads us to presume that despite a number of great contradictions between Japan and Great Britain (in the struggle for the partition of China, the struggle for markets in the Far East, etc.); an Anglo-Japanese anti-Soviet military alliance is being built up. Japanese imperialism is also seeking military "collaboration" with German fascism, and not without results.

The strength of the Red Army of the Soviet Union, the consistent peace policy of the U.S.S.R., a number of the weak aspects of Japanese imperialism (the weakness of the "rear" as a result of the growth of class contradictions and of the activity of the Communist Party of Japan, the instability of its financial basis,

etc.) and, finally, the existence of inter-imperialist contradictions—all this renders it difficult to develop war immediately against the U.S.S.R. All this, however, does not diminish the danger of war. On the contrary, all these "difficulties" can serve to accelerate the leap by Japan into new adventures.

Twenty years ago German imperialism threw itself into the world war with the firm intention of consolidating its domination in Europe. But Germany emerged from the war defeated and broken. Throughout the whole period of the Weimar Republic, "defeated German imperialism" (Lenin), with the most energetic participation of social-democracy, did not give up its dreams of winning back the positions it had lost, and amassed strength for this purpose. The coming of fascism to power in Germany led to a terrific acceleration of the pace and extent of the preparations for a new division of the world, and primarily to attempts to solve the imperialist contradictions by means of "expansion Eastwards," by war against the Soviet Union. It is clear that for the German fascists, a war against the U.S.S.R. is not only an act of foreign policy aiming at the conquest of territories to meet the needs of German monopolist capital. The task which they set themselves in such a war is to be **the destruction of the centre of world Bolshevism.** While openly ranting about the preparations of war against the Soviet Union, fascist Germany has tried to form an anti-Soviet bloc and to arm itself in the process of its anti-Soviet war preparations. And to-day, as formerly, the basic line of German fascism is to find a way towards the active foreign imperialist political preparation of an anti-Soviet war.

From the point of view of the war policy of the German bourgeoisie, the meaning of the events of June 30, 1934, is that the German fascist will try, at the expense of narrowing their armed mass basis (the storm troops) to find a way towards re-arming the country at a forced pace, by attempts to reach some "compromise" with France through the mediation of Great Britain. It would be most dangerous to think that the squabbles within the camp of the German fascists are in themselves capable of lessening the role of Germany as the chief instigator of war in Europe. On the contrary, the very fact that Germany is moving towards economic catastrophe, and that in the struggle for a revision of the Versailles system, the path has proved to be a more thorny one than the national-socialists had expected and had talked about before they came to power, the fact that the national-socialists will not give up their national social demagogy even after the events of June 30, and will seek for new effective grounds for deceiving the petty-bourgeoisie—all this may incite the German fascists to undertake some kind of unexpected military adventure. The German press has had good reason to give a hostile reception to the proposals of France on an Eastern Locarno which should assist towards consolidating peace in Europe.

Twenty years ago Great Britain's chief enemy was Germany, but at the present time British imperialism sees its main enemy in the Soviet Union, the very existence of which is a menace to its collapsing colonial empire. This explains the active anti-Soviet role played by Great Britain throughout the whole post-war period as the organiser of war against the U.S.S.R. (British intervention during the civil war, the Curzon Note, the rupture of Anglo-Soviet diplomatic relations, the embargo, and the rupture of the Anglo-Soviet commercial agreements, etc.). The part being played by Britain in the anti-Soviet plans of Japan and fascist Germany is no accident. Without the support of Britain, Germany and Japan would not be able to play their present aggressive role to such an extent. We must also pay attention to the independent attempts of Great Britain to form storm centres of war in the East (e.g., Sinkiang).

The démarche made by Great Britain regarding the East European Pact gives no grounds for supposing that the anti-Soviet role of Great Britain is being sharply altered. This action taken by Great Britain does, of course, show that the result of the London negotiations has been a certain strengthening of the position of France, and at the same time a strengthening of those elements in Great Britain itself who are interested at the present moment, from one motive or another, in preserving peace. It is quite evident that the success of the peace policy of the Soviet Union and the tremendous growth of its importance in international politics have greatly influenced all these events.

In respect to its imperialist rivals, the main feature of the foreign policy of British imperialism consists in a prolongation of its traditional policy of maintaining a balance in Europe, and

of striving, under a sham pacifist mask, to play the role of super arbiter in Europe.

Great Britain's policy of support to Germany, as regards its plans for the revision of the Versailles Treaty, and on the question of increased armaments, is determined to a considerable extent by the struggle of Great Britain against the attempts of France to establish its hegemony on the continent of Europe. Great Britain's policy of support for maintaining a balance in Europe, and its policy of alliance with Japan are designed to make it easier for Great Britain to carry on the struggle for world domination against its chief imperialist rival, the United States. The antagonisms between the two Powers have already found military expression in the wars which are taking place in Southern and Caribbean America. The approach of the naval conference will show the intensification of the whole complex of contradictions between Britain and America.

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The alignment of the forces of the imperialist robbers before the first world war was, on the whole, clear long before the beginning of the war. The groups of imperialist powers which participated in the war of 1914-1918 had on the whole been formed many years before the shot was fired at Sarajevo. And now, on the eve of a new world war, despite the rapidly changing diplomatic picture, the basic lines of the contradictions, the outlines of the blocs of powers which will participate in the future war, are marked out quite clearly. The unstable, contradictory and rapidly changing agreements between the imperialists cannot conceal the basic contradictions between the latter, and are leading to a definite alignment of forces in the coming war.

Why, however, has an open outburst of the world imperialist war and the counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R. not yet taken place? What forces stand in its way?

The contradictions which are leading to war are of a much more intensive character than on the eve of war in 1914. But, on the other hand, there is a factor counteracting and restraining the direct outbreak of war which is also immeasurably stronger than on the eve of 1914. The decisive factor is the existence of the U.S.S.R., its peace policy, on the one hand, and the development of the anti-war movement under the hegemony of the proletariat, and the fear of the bourgeoisie that this may unleash a proletarian revolution in connection with the war, on the other hand. The growth of the revolutionary upsurge throughout the world plainly shows what kind of a "rear" the bourgeoisie will have in case of war.

Despite all provocation, the U.S.S.R. is unwaveringly carrying out its policy of peace, its policy of proletarian internationalism. The power of the U.S.S.R., which is increasing year by year, the brilliant victories of its foreign policy, its skilled utilisation of the contradictions between the imperialists—all this has given to the world a prolongation of the "breathing space" between the two rounds of war. While an endless armament race is taking place throughout the world, while the disarmament conference has been wrecked, only the Soviet Union has really struggled for general disarmament, for a reduction of armaments and for the security of peoples. The proposal of the U.S.S.R. to conclude regional pacts, in particular the plan for an Eastern Locarno, must serve as an important factor in the sense of increasing the difficulties in the way of the unleashing of war. In its path of struggle for peace, the U.S.S.R. is prepared to utilise the League of Nations, to the extent that the League of Nations "may become some hindrance which can hold back the outbreak of military operations or can hinder them." (Stalin.) The example of the heroic struggle of the U.S.S.R. for peace is a component part of the ever-widening international anti-war front.

(To be concluded)

The Most Important Zimmerwald Documents

Manifesto of the International Socialist Conference at Zimmerwald

Proletarians of Europe!

The war has lasted more than a year. Millions of corpses cover the battlefields. Millions of human beings have been crippled for the rest of their lives. Europe is like a gigantic human slaughter-house. All civilisation, created by the labour of many generations, is doomed to destruction. The most savage barbarism is to-day celebrating its triumph over all that hitherto constituted the pride of mankind.

Irrespective of the truth as to the direct responsibility for the outbreak of the war, one thing is certain: the war which has produced this chaos is the outcome of imperialism, of the attempt, on the part of the capitalist classes of each nation, to foster their greed for profit by the exploitation of human labour and of the natural treasures of the entire globe.

Economically backward or politically weak nations are thereby subjugated by the Great Powers, who, in this war, are seeking to re-make the world map with blood and iron, in accord with their exploiting interests. Thus, entire nations and countries like Belgium, Poland, the Balkan States, and Armenia are threatened with the fate of being torn asunder, annexed as a whole or in part as booty in the game of compensations.

In the course of a war its driving forces are revealed in all their vileness. Shred after shred falls the veil with which the meaning of this world catastrophe was hidden from the consciousness of the peoples. The capitalists of all countries, who are coining the red gold of war profits out of the blood shed by the people, assert that the war is for defence of the fatherland, for democracy, and the liberation of oppressed nations! They lie. In actual reality they are burying the freedom of their own people together with the independence of the other nations in the places of devastation. New fetters, new chains, new burdens are arising, and it is the proletariat of all countries, of the victorious, as well as of the conquered countries, that will have to bear them. Improvement in welfare was proclaimed at the outbreak of the war—want and privation, unemployment and high prices, undernourish-

ment and epidemics are the actual results. The burdens of war will consume the best energies of the peoples for decades, endanger the achievements of social reform, and hinder every step forward.

Cultural devastation, economic decline, political reaction—these are the blessings of this horrible conflict of nations.

Thus the war reveals the naked figure of modern capitalism which has become irreconcilable, not only with the interests of the labouring masses, not only with the requirements of historical development, but also with the elementary conditions of human intercourse.

The ruling powers of capitalist society, who held the fate of the nations in their hands, the monarchic, as well as the Republican governments, the secret diplomacy, the mighty business organisations, the bourgeois parties, the capitalist press, and the Church—all these bear the full weight of responsibility for this war which arose out of the social order fostering them and protected by them, and which is being waged for their interests.

Workers!

Exploited, disfranchised, scorned, they called you brothers and comrades at the outbreak of the war when you were to be led to the slaughter, to death. And now that militarism has crippled you, mutilated you, degraded and annihilated you, the rulers demand that you surrender your interests, your aims, your ideals—in a word, servile subordination to civil peace. They rob you of the possibility of expressing your views, your feelings, your pains; they prohibit you from raising your demands and defending them. The press gagged, political rights and liberties trod upon—this is the way the military dictatorship rules to-day with an iron hand.

This situation which threatens the entire future of Europe and of humanity cannot and must not be confronted by us without any action. The Socialist proletariat has waged a struggle against militarism for decades. With growing concern its representatives at their national and international congresses occupied themselves with the ever more menacing danger of war growing out of imperialism. At Stuttgart, at Copenhagen, at Basle, the international socialist congresses have indicated the course which the proletariat must follow.

Since the beginning of the war, Socialist parties and labour organisations of various countries that helped to determine this course have disregarded the obligations following from this. Their representatives have called upon the working class to give up the class struggle, the only possible and effective method of proletarian emancipation. They have granted credits to the ruling classes for waging the war; they have placed themselves at the disposal of the governments for the most diverse services; through their press and their emissaries they have tried to win the neutrals for the government's policies of their countries; they have delivered up to their governments Socialist Ministers as hostages for the preservation of civil peace, and thereby they have assumed the responsibility before the working class, before its present and its future, for this war, for its aims and its methods. And just as the individual parties so the highest of the appointed representative bodies of the socialists of all countries, the International Socialist Bureau, has failed them.

These facts are equally responsible for the fact that the international working class, which did not succumb to the national panic of the first war period, or which freed itself from it, has still, in the second year of the slaughter of peoples, found no ways and means of taking up an energetic struggle for peace simultaneously in all countries.

In this unbearable situation, we, the representatives of the Socialist parties, trade unions and their minorities, we Germans, French, Italians, Russians, Poles, Letts, Rumanians, Bulgarians, Swedes, Norwegians, Dutch and Swiss, we who stand not on the ground of national solidarity with the exploiting class, but on the ground of the international solidarity of the proletariat and of the class struggle, have assembled to re-tie the torn threads of international relations and to call upon the working class to recover itself and to fight for peace.

This struggle is the struggle for freedom, for the reconciliation of peoples, for Socialism. It is necessary to take up this struggle for peace, for a peace without annexations or war indemnities. Such a peace, however, is only possible if every thought of violating the rights and liberties of nations is condemned. Neither the occupation of entire countries nor of separate parts of countries must lead to their violent annexation. No annexation, whether open or concealed, and no forcible economic attachment made still more unbearable by political disfranchisement. The right of self-determination of nations must be the indestructible principle in the system of national relationships of peoples.

Proletarians!

Since the outbreak of the war, you have placed your energy, your courage, your endurance at the service of the ruling classes. Now you must stand up for you own cause, for the sacred aims of Socialism, for the emancipation of the oppressed nations, as well as of the enslaved classes, by means of the irreconcilable proletarian class struggle.

It is the task and the duty of the Socialists of the belligerent countries to take up this struggle with full force; it is the task and the duty of the Socialists of the neutral States to support their brothers in this struggle against bloody barbarism with every effective means. Never in world history was there a more urgent, a more sublime task, the fulfilment of which should be our common labour. No sacrifice is too great, no burden too heavy in order to achieve this goal: peace among the peoples.

Working men and working women! Mothers and fathers! Widows and orphans! Wounded and crippled! We call to all of you who are suffering from the war and because of the war: across all frontiers, over the reeking battlefields, over the devastated cities and villages—Proletarians of all countries, unite!

Zimmerwald, September, 1915.

In the name of the International Socialist Conference:—

For the German delegation: **Georg Ledebour, Adolf Hoffmann.**

For the French delegation: **A. Bourderon, A. Merrheim.**

For the Italian delegation: **G. E. Modigliano, Constantino Lazzari.**

For the Russian delegation: **N. Lenin, Paul Axelrod, M. Bobrov.**

For the Polish delegation: **St. Lapinski, A. Warski, Cz. Hanecki.**
For the Inter-Balkan Socialist Federation:—

In the name of the Rumanian delegation: **C. Rakovsky.**

In the name of the Bulgarian delegation: **Vassil Kolarov.**

For the Swedish and Norwegian delegations: **Z. Hoeglund, Ture Nerman.**

For the Dutch delegation: **H. Rolland-Holst.**

For the Swiss delegation: **Robert Grimm, Charles Naine.**

International Socialist Commission at Berne Bulletin No. 1, pp. 2-3. September 21, 1915.

Declaration of the Lefts to the Manifesto

The undersigned declare as follows:—

The Manifesto adopted by the Conference does not give us complete satisfaction. It contains no pronouncement on either open opportunism, or opportunism that is hiding under radical phraseology—the opportunism which is not only the chief cause of the collapse of the International, but which strives to perpetuate that collapse. The Manifesto contains no clear pronouncement as to the methods of fighting against war.

We shall continue, as we have done heretofore, to advocate in the Socialist press and at the meetings of the International, a clear-cut Marxian position in regard to the tasks with which the epoch of imperialism has confronted the proletariat.

We vote for the Manifesto because we regard it as a call to struggle, and in this struggle we are anxious to march side by side with the other sections of the International.

We request that our present declaration be included in the official proceedings.

(Signed)

N. Lenin, G. Zinoviev, Radek, Nerman, Hoeglund and Winter.

Draft Resolution of the Left Wing Delegates

The World War and the Tasks of the Social Democracy

The World War, which has been devastating Europe for the last year, is an imperialist war, waged for the political and economic exploitation of the world, export markets, sources of raw material, spheres of capital investment, etc. It is a product of capitalist development which connects the entire world in a world economy, but at the same time permits the existence of national State capitalist groups with opposing interests.

If the bourgeoisie and the governments seek to conceal this character of the World War by asserting that it is a question of a forced struggle for national independence, it is only to mislead the proletariat, since the war is being waged for the oppression of foreign peoples and countries. Equally untruthful are the legends concerning the defence of democracy in this war, since imperialism signifies the most unscrupulous domination of big capital and political reaction.

Imperialism can only be overcome by overcoming the contradictions which produce it: that is, by the Socialist organisation of the advanced capitalist countries for which the objective conditions are already ripe.

At the outbreak of the war the majority of the labour leaders had not raised this only possible slogan in opposition to imperialism. Prejudiced by nationalism, rotten with opportunism, at the beginning of the World War they betrayed the proletariat to imperialism, and gave up the principles of Socialism and thereby the real struggle for the every-day interests of the proletariat.

Social-patriotism and social-imperialism, the standpoint of the openly patriotic majority of the former social-democratic leaders in Germany, as well as the opposition-mannered centre of the party around Kautsky, and to which in France and Austria the majority, in England and Russia a part of the leaders (Hyndman, the Fabians, the trade unionists, Plekhanov, Rubanovich, the "Nasha Sarja" group) confess, is a more dangerous enemy to the proletariat than the bourgeois apostles of imperialism, since, misusing the banner of Socialism, it can mislead the unenlightened workers. The ruthless struggle against social-imperialism constitutes the first condition for the revolutionary mobilisation of the proletariat and the reconstruction of the International.

It is the task of the Socialist Parties as well as of the Socialist Opposition in the now social-imperialist parties to call and lead the labouring masses to the revolutionary struggle against the capitalist governments for the conquest of political power for the socialist organisation of society.

Without giving up the struggle for every foot of ground within the framework of capitalism, for every reform strengthening the proletariat, without renouncing any means of organisation and agitation, the revolutionary social democrats, on the contrary, must utilise all the struggles, all the reforms demanded by our minimum programme for the purpose of sharpening this war

crisis as well as every social and political crisis of capitalism, of extending them to an attack upon its very foundations. By waging this struggle **under the slogan of Socialism**, it will render the labouring masses immune to the slogans of the oppression of one people by another as expressed in the maintenance of the domination of one nation over another, in the cry for new annexations; it will render them deaf to the temptations of national solidarity which has led the proletarians to the battle-fields.

The signal for this struggle is the **struggle against the World War, for the speedy termination of the slaughter of nations**. This struggle demands the **refusal of war credits**, quitting the Cabinets, the denunciation of the capitalist, anti-socialist character of the war from the tribunes of the parliaments, in the columns of the legal, and where necessary illegal, press, the sharpest struggle against social-patriotism, and the utilisation of every movement of the people caused by the results of the war (misery, great losses, etc.), for the organisation of street demonstrations against the governments, propaganda of international solidarity in the trenches, the encouragement of economic strikes, the effort to transform them into political strikes under favourable conditions. Civil war, not civil peace—that is the slogan!

As against all **illusions** that it is possible to bring about the basis of a lasting peace, the beginning of disarmament, by any decisions of diplomats and the governments, the revolutionary social democrats must repeatedly tell the masses of the people that only the social revolution can bring about a lasting peace and the emancipation of mankind.

International Socialist Commission at Berne, Bulletin No. 12, page 14, November 27, 1915.

Note.—This draft resolution was signed by two representatives of the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. (Zinoviev and Lenin), a representative of the opposition of the Polish social democracy (Radek), a representative of the Latvian province (Winter), a representative each of the "Left" social democrats of Sweden (Hoeglund) and Norway (Nerman), a Swiss delegate (Fr. Platten) and a German delegate.

Draft of Manifesto Introduced by the Left Wing Delegates

(Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P., Polish Opposition, social democracy of the Latvian Province, a Swedish delegate, a Norwegian delegate, a German delegate, and a Swiss delegate.)

Proletarians of Europe!

The war has now lasted for more than a year. The battlefields are strewn with millions of dead, millions have been crippled and doomed to remain a burden to themselves and to others for the rest of their lives. The war has caused terrific devastations. It will result in an unheard-of increase in taxes.

The capitalists of all countries, who at the price of proletarian blood have been reaping enormous profits during the war, demand of the masses that they strain all their efforts and hold out to the end. They say: "The war is necessary for the defence of the fatherland, it is waged in the interests of democracy." They lie! In not a single country did the capitalists start the war because the independence of their country was threatened, or because they wanted to free an oppressed people. They have led the masses to slaughter because they want to oppress and to exploit other peoples. They were unable to agree between themselves as to how to divide the peoples of Asia and Africa that were still independent; they were lying in ambush for each other, watching for a chance to snatch from each other the spoils previously seized.

It is not for their own freedom, nor for the freedom of other peoples, that the masses are bleeding in all parts of the immense slaughter-house called Europe. This war will bring the proletariat of Europe and the peoples of Asia and Africa new burdens and new chains.

There is, therefore, no reason why this fratricidal war should be waged to the end, to the last drop of blood; on the contrary, every effort must be strained to put an end to it.

The time for this has already come. What you must demand first is, that your Socialist Deputies, those whom you delegated to Parliament to fight against capitalism, against militarism, against the exploitation of the people, do their duty. All of them, with the exception of the Russian, Serbian and Italian comrades, and with the exception of Comrade Liebknecht and Rühle, have trampled upon that duty; they have either supported the bourgeoisie in their rapacious war, or else have vacillated and shirked responsibility. You must demand that they either resign their seats, or that they use the platform of Parliament to make clear to the people the nature of the present war, and that outside this Parliament they help the working class to resume its struggle. **Your first demand must be this: refusal of all war credits, withdrawal from the Cabinets in France, Belgium and England.**

But that is not all! The deputies cannot save you from that rabid beast, the World War, that subsists on your blood. **You must act yourselves.** You must make use of all your organisations, of your entire press, to rouse the broadest masses groaning under the burden of war to revolt against it. You must go out *into the streets* and throw into the face of the ruling classes your rallying cry: "**Enough of slaughter!**" Let the ruling classes remain deaf to it, the discontented masses will hear it, and they will join you and take a part in the struggle.

The demand must immediately and energetically be made that the war be stopped; a loud protest must be raised against the exploitation of one people by another, against the division of any people among several States. All this will take place, if any capitalist government comes out victorious and is able to dictate the terms of peace to the others. If we allow the capitalists to conclude peace in the same manner as they started the war, without the participation of the masses, the new conquests will not only strengthen reaction and arbitrary police rule in the victorious country, but they will sow the seeds of new wars, even more horrible.

The overthrow of the capitalist governments—this is the object which the working class in all belligerent countries must set themselves, because only then will an end be put to the exploitation of one people by another, an end put to wars, when capital has been deprived of the power of disposing of the life and death of peoples. Only peoples who shall be freed of want and misery, of the rule of capital, will be in a position to settle their mutual relations, not by war, but by friendly agreement.

Great is the goal which we set ourselves, great are the efforts that will be required to attain it, great will be the sacrifices before it is attained. Long will be the road to victory. Methods of peaceful pressure will be insufficient to overcome the enemy. But it is only when you are ready to make for your own liberation, in the struggle against capital, part of those innumerable sacrifices that you have been making on the battlefield for the interest of capital, only then will you be able to put an end to the war, to lay a firm foundation for a lasting peace, which will transform you from slaves of capital into free men.

But if the deceitful phrases of the bourgeoisie and of the socialist parties that support it succeed in restraining you from energetic struggle, and if you confine yourself to pious wishes because you are unwilling to proceed to an attack and to sacrifice your bodies and your souls for the great cause, then capital will go on shedding your blood and wasting your belongings at its own discretion. In all countries the number of those who think as we do grows daily. It is by their order that we have assembled, representatives of various countries, to address to you this call to battle. We shall carry on this struggle with mutual support, as there are no interests to divide us. It is essential that the revolutionary workers of each country deem it their duty and honourable distinction to serve as a model for others, a model of energy and self-sacrifice. Not timid expectation as to whether the struggle of others will lead, but struggle in the first ranks—that is the road that leads to the formation of a powerful International which will put an end to war and capitalism.

September 5-8, 1915.

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Geneva, October 11, 1915.

The Struggle of the Working People of France During the Imperialist War

By G. Poli (Paris)

Parallel with the massacre at the front the bourgeoisie, during the imperialist war, organised an increased exploitation of the workers at home. For both these purposes they needed the "Union Sacrée," and the reformist leaders, who supported this policy, themselves took over the organisation of the attacks by the bourgeoisie on the workers at home.

Right from the commencement of the war the bourgeoisie opened a broad attack on three fronts: against wages, against working conditions and against trade union liberties. Already in August, 1914, wages in the textile and garment industry, as well as in the metal industry, were reduced by amounts ranging from 15 to 50 per cent. At the same time the Ministry of Labour gradually abolished the social legislation, i.e., the laws relating to working hours, protection of women and child labour, etc.; workers' control practically ceased to function. On the other hand, piece work, the bonus system were introduced everywhere.

In the period following, the conditions of the working people continued to grow worse. The increase in the cost of living and the reduction of wages on the one hand, the necessity of expanding and intensifying war production on the other, worsened the working conditions in the factories and thus created favourable ground for a broad movement for higher wages. Nevertheless, up to April, 1915, there were only a very few strikes, and hardly any in the munition factories. This was due, in the main, to the chauvinistic campaign, which the leaders of the socialist party and of the C.G.T. supported, and the confusion called forth among the masses by the attitude of the leaders.

From April, 1915, onwards the strike movement developed in France. The majority of the 98 strikes recorded in the official statistics for 1915 commenced in this period. On May 18, 1915, there was formed the Under-State Secretariat for Artillery and Munitions, with *Albert Thomas* as leading member. During the period of his activity in the Under-State Secretariat, and later in the Munitions Ministry, strikes did not cease, in spite of his efforts to throttle them.

It was *Albert Thomas* who drew up the "Statutes" for the workers mobilised in the factories. These "Statutes" were posted up in all the munition factories. Paragraph 4 read:—

"Any worker who absents himself from work without permission—for a period less than that fixed for desertion—or reports sick without justifiable grounds, will be subject to disciplinary punishment. . . . On the third occasion he will be sent back to his regiment as a disobedient element."

This paragraph meant that *strikes were forbidden*. For the rest, *Albert Thomas* himself, in the orders of July 23, 1915, signed by him, interpreted this paragraph as follows:—

"There is no doubt that the workers, who from now on are deemed to be 'requisitioned,' are and remain soldiers and must in no way be regarded as persons who can form combinations among themselves or engage in lawful strikes, as the workers are permitted to do in peace time. Should they nevertheless do so, they will not only be liable to penalties to which workers who are exempt from military service are subject under the state of emergency, but will also be tried by court-martial for 'desertion.'"

In spite of this the strike movement experienced a new upsurge in the year 1916. According to official statistics, the number of strikes increased from 98 in 1915, with 9,344 strikers and 44,344 strike days, to 315 strikes in 1916, with 41,409 strikers and 235,907 strike days. The workers in the munition factories were in a state of ferment and a great source of anxiety to the bourgeoisie and also to the socialist *Albert Thomas*.

In 1917 there was a tremendous increase in the strike movement in France. According to the official statistics, there were in this year 696 strikes with 293,815 strikers and 1,481,621 strike days. *Albert Thomas* anticipated the rising strike wave and issued the decree of January 17, 1917, introducing compulsory arbitration. But in spite of the abolition of the right to strike, which *Jouhaux* "provisionally" accepted and only disputed its "legality," strikes broke out. Sixty-five thousand metal workers struck in the year 1917. At the same time these strikes assumed a political character: for the return of the soldiers, against the war profiteers, for peace.

With regard to these strikes, *Malvy*, in his book of war memoirs, "My Crime, 1921," writes:—

"And thus the slightest blunder could cause a riot, the more so as the excitement of the masses had also affected the police, who were frightened by the spread of the movement. . . ."

"The leaders again intervened with me in order to point out the dangerous situation and the necessity of energetic intervention. . . ."

"But from the conversations I had daily with *Jouhaux*, *Bled*, and the secretaries of the Paris trade union organisation I knew how persistently and honestly the trade union leaders were endeavouring to have the demands of their comrades settled at orderly and peaceful meetings. . . ."

"The excitement increased. The president of the Council was informed. A sitting took place at which the military governor of Paris, *General Dubail*, was present. The police and army authorities demanded action, and their programme was plain: restoration of order at any price by the military, closing of the C.G.T. premises and the Labour Exchanges, prohibition of all meetings. . . ."

"I saw *Jouhaux*. I pointed out to him the increasing irritability of the strikers and, on the other hand, the determination to crush their movement. . . ."

"'Trust us,' he replied, 'in the name of the working class we take over responsibility. We will prevent disturbances in the streets.'"

The reformist leaders not only opposed the development of the strikes and the conversion of the wage struggles into political strikes, but at the same time did everything possible to prevent the soldiers from the trenches from fraternising with the workers at home.

The situation at the front, with the defeats and mutinies, the movement of the masses at home, considerably weakened the French bourgeoisie. That the relation of forces during the war was very favourable for the proletariat is proved by the results of the strikes which took place at that time. Whilst in 1915 45 per cent. of the strikes completely failed, the percentage of failures in 1917 fell to 16 per cent. In May and June, 1917, the highest point of the strike movement, the number of failures fell to 11 per cent., and 96 per cent. of the strikes achieved—at least partial—successes. After 1918, however, the percentage of defeats rose to 25 per cent.

In the light of these facts we can better understand the decisive importance of the aid rendered by the reformist leaders to the French bourgeoisie.

Book Review

Fundamental Laws of the Chinese Soviet Republic

By R. B. (London)

It is an astounding thing, but nevertheless true, that a very large percentage of the population in the English-speaking countries is unaware that Soviet China exists. As far as the popular section of the capitalists press is concerned its existence has hardly been mentioned.

Yet Soviet China is no inconsiderable phenomenon. The consolidated central districts occupy one-sixth of all China, and are twice the size of Holland and Belgium combined. Great Britain occupies less than a quarter of the territory of the Soviet districts as a whole. Yet the capitalist world has managed to keep its very existence a secret from the mass of the population.

Not that the imperialist Powers have ignored its existence. Six offensives have been launched against Soviet China by the reactionary Kuomintang and six offensives have been vigorously repulsed by the toilers of Red China, reinforced on each occasion by large numbers of deserters—army corps at a time—from the ranks of the Kuomintang. Each of the offensives has been supported by cash, munitions and aeroplanes from the imperialist Powers, but all that has appeared in the popular press has been occasional references to actions against "bandits" on the Yang-Tse river.

But the truth about Soviet China is beginning to percolate through. If a wide circulation is secured for this book—as it certainly should be—the workers of Britain will learn on what a secure foundation the Chinese Soviet Republic is being built.

The constitution lays it down that its object is to guarantee the

* Fundamental Laws of the Chinese Soviet Republic, with an introduction by *Bela Kun*. (Martin Lawrence, 2s. 6d.)

"democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry in the Soviet districts and to secure the triumph of this dictatorship throughout China. It is the aim of this dictatorship to destroy all feudal survivals, to annihilate the might of the war-lords of China, to unite China, systematically to limit the development of capitalism, to build up the economy of the State, to develop the class-consciousness and organisation of the proletariat, to rally to its banner the broad masses of the village poor in order to effect the transition to the dictatorship of the proletariat."

The expropriation of all big estates has been provided for. Most of the richer peasants were also big landlords or usurers, so their expropriation has likewise been included. But in their cases, parcels of less fertile land may be allotted to them for working.

Eight hours has been fixed as the maximum working day for adults, whilst an unbroken weekly rest interval of not less than 42 hours is also fixed by law. Equal pay for equal work is another basic feature of the constitution, which removes all disabilities—political, economic and cultural—from which women previously suffered.

The backward industrial condition of old China has had to be taken into consideration in framing the economic policy of Soviet China, which is nevertheless the most advanced existing anywhere in the world outside of the U.S.S.R. Here is what the Constitution has to say on this matter:—

"In order to guarantee the full independence of China, the Soviet government shall nationalise all the key positions at present in the hands of the imperialists. . . . Until other provision shall be made by law, foreign industrialists may however continue production if they shall have concluded concession contracts, providing that they shall comply with the laws of the Soviet government, including the 8-hour working day."

But all such concessionaires are made liable to instant confiscation and nationalisation of their enterprises in the event of their deviating by a hair's breadth from these laws.

For the time being industrial enterprises, handicraft and home industries of the Chinese capitalists shall not be nationalised, but be left in the possession of their former owners. Workers' control, however, is insisted upon, through the trade unions or factory committees. Such owners, however, as break any part of the Soviet legal code shall have their property immediately confiscated, when it shall be handed over to workers' artels, co-operative societies or to the Soviet government, as the special circumstances of the case may require.

Freedom of trade is guaranteed, but the law guards strongly against speculation, profiteering, or monopoly price agreements. Consumers' co-operatives are exempt from all taxation and enjoy other special privileges.

The entire Constitution aims at drawing in the broad masses of toilers of town and country into the governance of their country. How far the masses have been rallied, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, in support of the Soviet Republic can be seen from the imposing successes that have been gained in the struggles against world imperialism, whose catspaw has been the treacherous Kuomintang government, centred at Nanking.

The last—sixth—expedition against Soviet China, was wiped out as thoroughly as the preceding five, despite the fact that it had been prepared for on a gigantic scale, on a plan worked out by the German General von Seeckt and two other German generals. Other foreign assistance consisted of 70 officers of the German General Staff, and 150 aeroplanes manned by American aeronauts.

But the Red Army of China has strengthened enormously also. Whole army corps of Kuomintang troops, with their foreign equipment, have deserted to the Soviet side, until the regular Red Army numbers 400,000 men, and the irregulars half a million.

In Kuomintang China, as well as in Soviet China, increasing numbers of toilers look to the Soviet Power as their only path to victory over feudalism and over foreign imperialist intervention.

In the meantime the Soviet Constitution is providing a system of social services second only to that of the U.S.S.R.

The social insurance fund is met entirely by the employers, who have to pay a sum equivalent to 15 per cent. of their total wages bill for this purpose. The regulations with regard to child-

birth are based upon those in the U.S.S.R., although they are not quite so extensive. Article 38 of the Labour Code lays it down that:—

"All women engaged in physical labour shall be granted leaves of absence before and after child-birth to the extent of eight weeks in all" (in the U.S.S.R. it is twelve weeks), "during which time they shall be paid wages in full. . . . After an abortion or miscarriage women shall be granted two weeks' leave of absence with full pay."

Article 39 lays it down that:—

"No woman worker may be dismissed from work during the five months preceding child-birth and the nine months following thereafter. Nor may such women workers be assigned work in a different enterprise without their consent."

The working day is fixed at a maximum of 8 hours for adults, 6 hours for adolescents between sixteen and eighteen years of age, and 4 hours for those between fourteen and sixteen, under which age all children are at school and may not be employed for wages.

Here are a few examples of the development of public education under the Soviet regime, cited by **Bela Kun** in his preface:—

"In the Sin-Kwei district, where at most twenty-three primary schools existed before the Soviet Revolution and those almost exclusively for the children of the wealthy strata, there are now 340 primary schools, 25 evening schools, 449 circles to liquidate illiteracy and eighteen clubs."

Not only is all education free, but toilers' children are fed free of charge whilst at school.

Whilst the United States and Germany have played the leading roles in the campaign against Soviet China, it must not be thought that Great Britain has been standing idly by. Calculating upon receiving the part of China adjoining India and N. Tibet, as well as Sinkiang, British imperialism granted a loan of twenty million dollars to Lu Hsien, a Szechwan war lord, to fight against the Reds.

The imperialists of the world see in Soviet China not only an obstacle to the partition of China and its intensified exploitation, but a beacon light signalling to all the oppressed peoples of the East to join in a war of liberation. Britain fears particularly for India in this direction. Also the imperialists realise that in the event of a war launched by Japan against the U.S.S.R. a Soviet China in the rear of the Japanese armies will form a very serious embarrassment to them.

All these reasons which make for the hatred of the imperialists are reasons why the toilers of the world must nurture the young Chinese Soviet State. First they must get to know of its existence and of its achievements. Nothing can help them more in doing so than a wide dissemination of this book.

Achievements in Engineering.

A new type of electric furnace for 50 kilogramme steel has been completed in the "Elektric" works in Leningrad. This furnace is the first of its kind in the whole world and means a revolution in the employment of electric furnaces without an iron core. It will be of the greatest importance for the smelting industry of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union is taking part in the international engineering exhibition in Smyrna, and is exhibiting a number of machines. The "Max Heelz" works is sending linotypes, tobacco machines and hosiery machines.

The Progress of the Backward Eastern Peoples of the Soviet Union.

An example of the enormously rapid progress made by the backward Eastern peoples is furnished by the Dunganese living in Soviet Kirgis. Whilst their brothers on the other side of the frontier, in Western China, are incited by the imperialists to slaughter one another in fratricidal struggles, the Soviet Power is doing everything to provide the Dunganese with a socialist culture. Since 1929 eight schools for the Dunganese have been erected in Soviet Kirgis. Text books and newspapers in the Dunganese language have been issued. The Kirgis nomads are beginning to settle down. The Council of People's Commissars of the Kirgis Republic has recently allotted 100,000 hectares of arable land and 350,000 hectares of pasture land to the nomads who are settling down to an agricultural life.

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