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## The Meaning of the Indian Constitutional Proposals

By R. Palme Dutt (London)

The proposals of British imperialism for the new "Constitution" to be imposed in India have at last been published—seven years after the original appointment of the **Simon Commission** to prepare them, fifteen years after the previous Government of India Act which was announced as a step towards the rapid advance to "Dominion Status" in India, and seventeen years after the British government's promise in 1917 to establish "responsible government" in India. The present proposals represent the most reactionary constitution that has yet been devised to rivet imperialist rule in India. These seventeen years of constitutional "progress," from the liberal promises of the Declaration of August, 1917, made under the fear of the influence of the Russian Revolution, to the present iron-heel "Constitution," afford a striking demonstration of the "progress backwards" of British imperialism in India.

What lies between 1917 and 1934? To understand this development it is necessary to understand the development of the real situation in India which underlies these constitutional forms and manoeuvres. For between 1917 and 1934 a transformation has taken place in the whole situation in India. This transformation consists in the emergence of the revolutionary workers' and peasants' movement, and the beginning of the transition to the hegemony of the working class, in place of the national bourgeoisie, in the mass struggle. This is the transformation which underlies the change-over of British policy from the liberal promises of 1917 to the cast-iron reaction of 1934.

In 1917-19 British imperialism, terrified at the prospect of the developing revolutionary wave in India and throughout the world, and realising the weakness of its social basis hitherto on the feudal reaction of the princes and landlords, sought the alliance of the Indian bourgeoisie, represented by the Liberals and the National Congress. This was the meaning of the **Montagu-Chelmsford Report**. It is only necessary to compare the extremely polite and conciliatory attitude of that Report to the National Congress, the painstaking discussion through whole sections of all its programme and proposals, with the present-day curt dismissal of the entire national movement as unworthy of detail consideration or potentially seditious, to see the change that has taken place. At that time of panic the most Conservative politicians were the most lavish in their promises. It was **Curzon** who wrote in with his own hand the phrase "responsible government" into the Declaration of August, 1917. It was **Churchill** and **Birkenhead** who broadcasted the talk of "Dominion Status" for India.

But since then this whole plan of British imperialism for alliance with the Indian bourgeoisie has undergone profound modification—to the bitter indignation and disillusionment of the Indian bourgeoisie, who now speak loudly of British "perfidy" and "betrayal" (a cooler consideration of political realities should open their eyes to the fact that the only "betrayal" which matters is, not the perfectly normal tactical change of the imperialist rulers after the immediate moment of danger is passed, but their

own real betrayal of the mass struggle, when they held it in their leadership and strangled it for fear of losing their privileged position, and that the subsequent scant consideration they are receiving from the British ruling class is only the usual traitor's reward after he has done his service). The plan of the Constitution still remains to draw the Indian bourgeoisie into collaboration with a few minor bribes. But the bribes and concessions have been steadily whittled down to minute proportions; the open coercive aspect and domination of the imperialist dictatorship is now heavily emphasised and underlined in every sphere.

Why has this modification taken place? Between these two stages has developed the whole process of the post-war mass struggle in India, and, in particular, the two great periods of mass struggle of 1919-1922 and of 1928-1932. This process, and in particular the post-1928 period, has opened the eyes of the British ruling class to profound changes rapidly developing in the whole situation, and has convinced them of the following lessons:—

First, that the revolutionary workers' and peasants' movement is the real force of the future in India, and that with this British imperialism can hope for no compromise, but can only rely on armed force.

Second, that the Indian bourgeoisie, represented by the National Congress, is becoming increasingly powerless to control the mass struggle, and is compelled to run to the protection of British imperialism against the masses (this was the significance of the unconditional capitulation of the Congress to the government in the Spring of this year, and the legalising of the Congress upon these terms).

Third, that a new leadership of the mass struggle, to replace the bourgeoisie, is developing in the rising Communist leadership, and that this becomes henceforth the main enemy of British imperialism (this was the significance of the Meerut trial, recognising the emergence of the new leadership; it is the significance to-day of the simultaneous legalising of the National Congress and declaring illegal of the Communist Party).

Fourth, that the Indian bourgeoisie, while compelled to unite with British imperialism against the masses in every moment of danger, remains, on the basis of its particular economic interests, irreconcilably hostile to the privileged position of British imperialism, and thus can only prove both a weak and untrustworthy ally. Hence, British imperialism, while utilising this ally for what it is worth, is compelled at the same time to build heavily on the social basis of the feudal reaction (drawing in of the Princes into the Constitution), and to emphasise strongly the open coercive aspect of its power.

This situation governs the character of the new Constitution. **The new Constitution represents the attempt to establish a cast-iron frame of British dictatorship, buttressed by the feudal reaction and by docile bourgeois elements, against the developing Indian mass-revolution.**

For this reason the most prominent feature of the new Constitution is the bristling array of Safeguards, Special Powers, Special Responsibilities, Emergency Powers, etc. (to such an extreme extent that even the semi-official "Times of India" protests that "Many safeguards are overdone").

In the name of the fight against "terrorism" (the convenient label used to cover the entire revolutionary movement), every weapon of governmental terror is put into the hands of the British Executive, and removed from any pretence of constitutional forms, not once, but many times over. Now it is a question of overriding powers in the event of any "grave menace to peace and tranquillity." Now it is a question of the autocratic independence of the police, of the judiciary, of the State services, and, above all, of the Political Police. Now it is a question of the powers of a Governor "for the purpose of combating terrorism to take under his own control any branch of government." Now it is a question of the power of the Governors, in the event of "breakdown" of the Constitution, "to take over as much or as little of the administration as seems necessary." Now it is a question of the power of the Governors "in emergencies . . . to issue Ordinances having the force of law, valid for six months, but renewable for a further six months."

Such heavy over-insurance might seem superfluous, especially as the extreme limitation of the sham "representative" institutions, the restriction of the electorate to 14 per cent. of the population, the over-weighting of the assemblies with official nominees, landlords, representatives of industry, etc., upper houses, indirect

election for the central assembly, communal division, and all the rest of it, might seem to have insured docility. But such heavy over-insurance suggests a fragile ship. **The frantic network of coercive "Safeguards" reveals in every line the overmastering fear of the Indian Revolution.**

The remaining "Safeguards" cover the privileged financial and economic interests of British imperialism in India.

The resultant sphere for the puppet Indian Ministers is small indeed. Thus at the Centre, after the reservation of Defence and Foreign Affairs, and the practical reservation of the Police and Law, there remain nominally Finance, the Post Office, Railways and Trade. Finance is, however, covered by the independence of the Central Reserve Bank under British control, together with the Governor-General's over-riding powers on behalf of "financial stability and credit"; Trade is not only similarly covered by these provisions, but also by the special provisions against discriminatory tariffs or any discriminatory economic measures against British interests; the Railways are to be under an independent Railways Board on "business" lines. Exhaustive examination would thus suggest that the Indian Ministers will be finally left with the honourable duty of conducting the Post Office.

Naturally this munificence will not satisfy the demands of the Indian bourgeoisie, who are already in full outcry over the new Constitution. It is evident, however, that the British ruling class, after the experience of the Congress leadership and capitulation in the past struggle, has formed its opinion of the practical value of the noisy indignation of the Indian bourgeoisie, when separated from the mass struggle, and has assessed their market value at a sixpenny bribe. It is also possible that even this sixpenny bribe will secure the collaboration of a considerable proportion of the bourgeois elements, who are already tumbling over each other to form their parties and enter the new assemblies. But the mass opposition to the whole new Constitution will remain unaffected; and British imperialism has given up any hopes of conciliating the mass opposition to its rule in India.

The driving force to the new phase of British policy in India has been typically the **Conservative right wing**, representing today the near-fascist wing, although the actual policy is the policy of the entire bourgeois bloc. The conflict between the Conservative Party over policy in India has revealed a steady advance in strength of the right wing, led by Churchill and Lloyd, against Baldwin; this fight has been one of the signs of the advance towards fascism in the British bourgeoisie. At the coming Conservative Conference in the beginning of December the issue will be decided between the majority report of the Committee, representing the government's policy, and the minority report of the Conservative right wing, led by Salisbury in the Committee; the differences from the point of view of the degree of reaction of the Constitution for India are of secondary importance, since most of the extreme right demands have been already accepted by the government in the successively more reactionary drafting of the proposals; but the issue for the future of British politics is of considerable importance, since the anti-democratic fight over India has thus been made the key issue for mobilising the Diehard and pro-fascist wing in British politics.

On the other side, the Labour Party representatives on the Committee also put in an alternative report (corresponding to the present position of the Labour Party as "Opposition"; the Labour Party in power exercised the most extreme coercive and terrorist policy against the Indian national struggle). The supposed alternative character of the report disappears on examination to questions of phrasing and details, not to any difference on the basic issues of the maintenance of British imperialist rule in India. The "Times" comment may be noted:—

"On a first reading of the alternative report, it was thought that the Labour group had a very different scheme to offer from that in the Report, but closer study of their proposals has shown that much of what they desire to incorporate in the Constitution is already implicit in the Committee's recommendations."

Governing all three reports is the fear of the Indian Revolution. And with reason. The extreme worsening of the economic situation in India under the conditions of the world crisis, the intensified agrarian crisis, the desperate sufferings of the peasants and of the workers, are driving forward the whole development to breaking point. The Director of Public Health in India, Sir

John Megaw, declared in a paper read before the Royal Asiatic Society in May of this year:—

“Sixty per cent. of the village population are poorly or badly nourished. . . . The country is in a state of emergency which is rapidly passing towards one of crisis. . . . The outlook for the future is gloomy to a degree, not only for the masses of the people who must face the intensified struggle for bare subsistence, but also for the upper classes whose incomes depend on the production of surplus crops and other commodities. If the entire produce of the soil is needed to provide for the urgent needs of the cultivators, nothing will be left for the payment of rent or revenue . . . and the whole social structure of India must inevitably be rudely shaken, if not completely destroyed.”

That is the situation lying behind the Constitutional Report.

The Report provides for the possible revision of certain details after the expiry of ten years. But before those ten years are up, the masses of India will have torn up the whole Report. With every year the path to Soviet India stands out ever more sharply as the only path forward for the overwhelming majority of the three hundred and fifty millions of India.

## Politics

### Foreign Political Review of the Week

The tension with which Yugoslavia's complaint to the League of Nations was awaited relaxed somewhat towards the end of last week. It was proved once again that in politics not only right and justice, but also indignation can be controlled at will. The Belgrade rulers threatened to proceed against all who assisted or encouraged the Marseilles assassinations. They would therefore, have to bring complaints against Italy and Germany, who made use of Croat terrorists for the purpose of their foreign policy. All their anathemas, however, are directed solely against Hungary. Not only that, they themselves propose that the Secretariat of the League of Nations shall place their burning indignation in cold storage, i.e., shall submit their note to the next ordinary meeting of the League.

Yugoslavia was compelled to adopt this attitude in the first place by French, and probably also by English diplomacy, which have effective economic and financial means at their disposal. Italy had to remain out of the game, otherwise it would have meant an end of the attempt at an Italo-French understanding, which would have resulted in a perceptible weakening of the position both of France and Italy as against Hitler Germany. It was intended, therefore, that the present meeting of the League of Nations should not be burdened by the complaint of Yugoslavia, in order to avoid disturbing the negotiations between Mussolini and Laval, which are expected to take place in December. It was desired to rescue what was still left of the Italo-French understanding after the events of Marseilles.

Italy was informed of this game and gave its blessing to it. Mussolini's press—see the leading article of his most important paper, “*Corriera della Sera*,” of November 23—welcomed the Yugoslavian note. The “*Corriera della Sera*” declared that the question was of real international importance and deserved serious consideration, and proposed that it should be dealt with in January. Why not? Yugoslavia's attitude offered Italian fascism, which cynically refuses to extradite Kvaternik and Pavelitch, the best opportunity to proceed against the emigrants, the *fuorusciti*.

The “*Corriere*” writes:—

The hospitality which is granted to suspicious elements, the systematic acquittal of murderers or the imposing of ridiculously light sentences on them, have created a favourable atmosphere for political crimes which result in harm to Italian authorities, from the highest to the lowest.”

Thus a campaign of international incitement is to be launched against Italian emigrants. One must know how to derive, not only foreign political, but also home political advantage from sheltering and encouraging foreign terrorists.

But Hungary also had a word to say. The heroes of the dismembered Magyar empire remembered one of their glorious historical legends, how during the attack on Belgrade the monk Capistran wished to prevent the heathen flag from being hoisted and as he did not succeed in this, dragged the flag bearer down with him into the abyss. What! the discussion by the League of

Nations of the accusations brought against Hungary is to be prevented in order that France and Italy shall be able to carry on their bargaining undisturbed? No! things shall not be so convenient for them! The debate shall take place. Hungary shall drag Italy along with it! Hungary addressed a note to the General Secretary of the League, requesting that the accusations brought by Yugoslavia should be dealt with by the Council without delay. And, lo! two days after the Italian government, through its press, had welcomed a discussion at Geneva, it suddenly discovers that the complaint contained grave charges against Hungary, from which it rightly wished immediately to clear itself, and decides to support Hungary. It should be pointed out, by the way, that this is a cheap gesture on the part of Italy, as Mussolini has calculated beforehand that the majority of the League of Nations will be in favour of postponing the discussion of the Yugoslavian note, or, failing that, will so arrange matters that Italy is kept out of the affair.

The game of diplomatic hide and seek must not cause us to forget for one moment that a very serious game is being played here. The declaration of the representatives of Hungary that the complaint brought by Yugoslavia is directed, not against individual crimes, but against the general line of Magyar foreign policy, against revisionism, is true to a certain extent. We say to a certain extent, for revisionism is the general line, not only of Hungarian foreign policy, but, perhaps, in the first place also of its home policy. And this in a double sense. A policy of ruthless oppression is being carried out in Hungary for the benefit of finance and agrarian capital; enormous sums in the shape of taxes are squeezed out of poor and those least able to pay, and employed exclusively for the purpose of maintaining a band of parasitic officers, brutal judges and bureaucrats. If the peasants are experiencing bad times—the Treaty of Trianon is responsible; if the unemployed receive no relief—dismembered Hungary has to maintain the former officials employed under the Hapsburgs, and there is no money for the workers; the heavy expenditure on the army, on armaments—Trianon, of course, is responsible. In no other country does the ruling upper class lead such a life of luxury and opulence, with hunting, grand dinners, etc., as in Hungary. “We are a civilised country,” declared Horthy, the other day to the troops, which were paraded before him in full-dress uniform.

Can the present rulers of Hungary really think of a revision of the Trianon Treaty in the event of the former inhabitants of the country being given the free choice of union with present-day Hungary? Not a single Slovak, not a single Rumanian, not a single Serb, not a single Ukrainian—the majority of the inhabitants of pre-war Hungary, would vote for them. The overwhelming majority of the Magyars living in Slovakia, Rumania, and Servia would unhesitatingly vote against them. Their revisionism cannot be realised except by means of a world conflagration in which the extreme reaction triumphs; Hitler and Pilsudski, and even then revisionism would not be completely realised, for whilst they would have no objection to delivering over the Slovaks to Hungary, they would be opposed to the handing over of the Serbs and the Rumanians. A new war would have to be waged in which Mussolini and King Boris of Bulgaria defeated Yugoslavia and Roumania, who then, perhaps, would graciously hand over some portions of former Hungary and Transylvania to Goemboes and Horthy. It is not from the standpoint of revisionism but from the standpoint of continual creation of unrest that present-day Hungary is a dangerous neighbour of the Succession States, who do not want to let pass the opportunity provided by the Marseilles assassinations of dealing Hungary a heavy blow. They do not want to wait until Hungary, later on, at a time of international complications, stabs them in the back.

A few words regarding the bargain in Rome and the situation in the Far East. The Saar population are to be delivered over to Hitler Germany in return for hard cash. This is the object for which English diplomacy is striving for all it is worth in Rome. It is English diplomacy which is encouraging Japanese imperialism to proceed against the Soviet Union, to carry out a new coup against the Chinese Eastern Railway, to advance into inner Mongolia. The object is clear, namely, to prevent war among the imperialist Powers by uniting them in a war against the Soviet Union. Peace to the imperialists—war on the workers and peasants State! A dangerous game, to which we must devote our greatest attention.

Things are developing, however, in such a way that it is impossible to say where war will first break out. The Berlin correspondent of the "Times" paints the gloomiest picture of the dangers which will threaten the world from Hitler Germany in the next few weeks and months. And the sober weekly journal of the English liberal bourgeoisie, "The Economist," writes in its issue of November 24:—

"If we look more closely at the situation as it is to-day we shall see that although we may have beached our boats and filled them with tinder and soaked them in petrol, we have not, even yet, burned them. . . . Political wisdom in Europe, even now, is not quite beaten to the ground. And it is therefore still possible that, this time next year, our Continent may still figure on the map in a recognisable shape."

It is possible. . . . Yes, if the Soviet Union and the revolutionary workers of the whole world succeed in frustrating the designs of the imperialist warmongers.

## The Result of the U.S.A. Elections

By Bosse (New York)

The national elections which recently took place in the United States were an overwhelming victory for **Roosevelt** and the **New Deal**, as was expected and intended. Finance capital has built up Roosevelt through its press, church, radio and political machines, just as it made a superman of the unfortunate muddler Hoover before him. It could not afford to swap horses mid-stream of the crisis, and therefore the Republicans lost, although all American historical precedent had slated them to make big gains, if not to regain power. The Roosevelt illusion has become so potent among the people that it was merely necessary for a candidate, no matter of which party, to endorse him or get his support, to be elected. Great expenditures for relief and to build up a powerful political machine supported this illusion.

With 20,000,000 persons on federal relief rolls, and relief and public works funds allocated where they would have the greatest electoral effect, Cabinet officers went around the country pointing out the specific sums spent in the various States and coupling this with political attacks on the opponents of the New Deal. In California the large cinema corporations forced actors getting over 100 dollars a week to contribute a day's pay to defeat Sinclair.

The **Democrats** got the support of most sections of American capitalism, and the masses of workers likewise supported the New Deal. It promised the latter all sorts of benefits: social insurance, housing, unemployment relief, jobs, etc. The farmers had been aided, to a small extent but judiciously, with crop reduction and other funds. Those Republicans who opposed the New Deal were defeated almost everywhere. The newly formed Liberty League was so openly and intentionally reactionary that it was swept aside; Roosevelt was envisioned by the masses as a neo-capitalist, who would eliminate the evil features of capitalism and replace them with a hazy sort of semi-State socialism.

The new Congress will look as follows, as compared with the present one:—

	Senate	
	New Congress	73 Congress
Democrats .. .. .	69*	60
Republicans .. .. .	24	35
Farmer-Labour .. .. .	1	1
Progressive .. .. .	1	0
Democrat majority .. .. .	44	24
* plus in doubt .. .. .	1	
	House of Representatives	
	New Congress	73 Congress
Democrats .. .. .	318*	309
Republicans .. .. .	99	113
Farmer-Labour .. .. .	4	5
Progressive .. .. .	7	0
Democratic majority .. .. .	201	181
* plus in doubt .. .. .	7	8 vacancies

The Democrats will have solid House delegations from 27 States and solid Senate delegations from 26 States. In such elections, in between Presidential years, the party in power has lost on the average about 49 seats since 1870.

The popular vote was as follows: Nearly 48 million registered

(the adults among another 10 million Southern Negroes are disfranchised); of these 28,590,000 voted (as compared with 38,584,000 in the 1932 elections). The Democrats got 15,398,000, or 54 per cent., and the Republicans 12,146,000; in 1932 the figures were 22,822,000 (59 per cent.) and 15,762,000; yet the Democrats got the largest vote any party ever got in an "off-year" (non-Presidential year), and for the first time since the Civil War control the Senate by a two-thirds majority. The few Republicans elected were in most cases New Deal or progressive Republicans. Of 33 governors, 21 were Democrats, 2 Progressive or Farmer-Labour New Dealers, 4 Republicans (1 a New Dealer), and 6 doubtful as yet.

In **Pennsylvania, California, and New York** some of the most significant contests took place. In rock-ribbed Republican Pennsylvania a Democratic senator and governor were elected for the first time in 60 years, defeating Senator Reed, tool of Mellon and one of the ablest defenders of capitalism and leading opponent of the New Deal in the Senate. In the registration the Republicans led by 1½ million, but in the voting they lost by 169,000. In New York City the Republican-Fusion candidate for controller, though popular, lost by some 14,000 votes to the Tammany candidate in the Roosevelt landslide. In New York State the Democrats won control of the entire legislature for the first time since 1913, while the Governor, Lehman, member of the second or third largest banking house in the country, broke all records for an off-year vote.

In **California, Upton Sinclair** was considered the victor until a week or so before the election. He renounced all his socialist ideas about the church, the family, capitalist parties, etc., even writing a poem to show his belief in God. He was so subject in his conversion to the Democratic Party that he swore by Roosevelt, urging that no one vote for him unless they voted for all the Democratic slate, including some of the worst political scoundrels in the country. The Republicans, with the aid of the Democrats, waged against him one of the filthiest campaigns in Californian political history, and defeated him, though he polled a very large vote (798,979 to 1,033,106). In the primary election last August Sinclair got 436,220 to Merriam's 346,329. (This was for the nomination within each party.) Sinclair's defeat was due to the fact that Roosevelt and finance capital felt safer with a Republican than with an ex-radical who had been pledged to abolish poverty in California. Senator McAdoo, son-in-law of Wilson, admitted that Merriam "was elected by Democratic votes."

The nation-wide Democratic victory was followed by a rise in the stock and commodity markets, due to the temporary feeling that inflationary and daring monetary measures might be forced by the new Congress. However, stocks rose only late in the afternoon on a last wave of buying.

A short time before the elections Roosevelt appointed as adviser to the N.R.A. none other than **Stettinius**, son of a Morgan partner and vice-chairman of the finance committee of Morgan's U.S. Steel Corporation and formerly vice-chairman of his General Motors Corporation. Where Roosevelt gets his advice, there he gets his policies. The New York "Herald-Tribune" summed it up by saying: "Both the government and the banks have come to realise . . . that they must work together. . . ."

The masses voted for what they thought were liberal Democrats, as against the black reaction of the Hooverian Republicans. They voted for the lesser evil, for candidates whose party had killed more of them in strikes than ever before in American labour history. The petty bourgeoisie were still under illusions about the regime which ended the anti-trust laws and speeded up streamlined monopoly. But even the New York "Nation" admits that the candidates of the Administration did not speak well for progressivism.

The victory is already being interpreted by Roosevelt as *carte blanche* for intensifying the attacks upon the masses, for a more open alliance with the bankers and big industrialists. Already he has cut his social insurance programme to merely a fake kind of partial unemployment insurance, dumping old-age pensions, and the rest of the programme for general social security until he gets "the economic system to function so there will be greater security generally." As the resistance of the workers to bloody attacks rises, fascist means will be resorted to more and more to meet them.

The third day after the elections Roosevelt gave assurances to the war machine, Buchanan, head of the House Appropriations



Committee, stated they had just agreed on "greatly increased appropriations" for Army equipment, Navy personnel, and air expansion, while "for all other regular establishments, appropriations are expected to be smaller."

As is usual in capitalist elections there was much violence. At least ten are recorded as having been killed, and scores were wounded in a wave of gangsterism and electioneering. In Kalyres, an anthracite town in Pennsylvania, the Republican overlord machine-gunned a Democratic parade, killing five and wounding fourteen. In Holland, Missouri, gunmen trying to keep Negroes from voting killed two and critically wounded two, after a series of anti-Negro demonstrations lasting weeks, in which many were beaten. In Kentucky three were killed, one a Negro. In Pennsylvania and Ohio one each were killed. In Philadelphia a Negro was murdered in front of a polling place. In Chicago there was gunfire in the Negro proletarian section, two persons were kidnapped (one a Negro), and a number slugged.

In San Francisco the C.P. election headquarters was raided by vigilantes, in Detroit the gubernatorial candidate was arrested and beaten, and in a number of other cities violence against Communist campaigners was the order of the day, to keep workers from voting or to cut down the C.P. vote.

The Party vote dribbled in very slowly, and ten days after the elections covered only a few places. The Socialists got a decreased vote. The following table shows some of the C.P. and S.P. votes available:—

<b>New York City:</b>	1934	1932
Governor, C.P. . . . .	42,239	23,092
Governor, S.P. . . . .	79,243	71,000
All Congressional candidates, C.P. . .	43,813	23,467
All Congressional candidates, S.P. . .	96,163	122,955
<b>Ohio (incomplete), C.P. . . . .</b>	<b>14,000</b>	
<b>California:</b>		
Governor, C.P. . . . .	8,799	
Governor, S.P. . . . .	3,491	
Controller, C.P. . . . .	80,000	

The C.P. election campaign showed gains, especially in the industrial sections. The S.P., on the other hand, showed a declining influence.

In Nebraska there was a broad united front ticket; in Toledo, when the S.P. was ruled off the ballot, there was a united front; in Iowa the first Negro candidate in the State history, ran on the C.P. ticket. In Alabama, despite the extreme terror, the C.P. ran a Negro for lieutenant-governor; in New York, Pennsylvania, etc., Negro candidates were also nominated. In New York State 187 nominees were on the C.P. ticket; in New York City over ten million pieces of literature were sold or distributed, and hundreds of rallies and parades held. In Illinois the Party was forced off the ballot by legal tricks, after getting more than the necessary 25,000 signatures. In Taylor Springs, Illinois, the Workers' Ticket (combined C.P. and S.P.) won by two to one, totalling about 300 votes. In Girard, despite the terror of the steel trust, the C.P. polled 849, the Republicans 887, and the Democrats 1,414.

The chief task of the C.P., in view of the fact that the Democrats had to make Left pledges to win, is to expose before the masses the illusion built up by Roosevelt, and lead them in struggles against the New Deal trends toward fascism, toward lowering their standard of living. With great economic struggles recently and more to come, the Party must show the workers the connection between their political and economic struggles. It must expose the reformists and demagogues, especially the S.P. attempts to form a third party. It must draw the S.P. and A.F.L. workers into its campaigns as much as possible. The elections showed that the masses are not yet convinced of its revolutionary way out of the crisis; it must show them its correctness by organizing them for the fight for relief and social insurance, for the right to strike and picket, against war and fascism.

## The Fascist Corporations in Italy

By N. Ferretti

Italian fascism raised the question of a "corporative State" immediately after seizing power, in October, 1922. A corporation Ministry was created. Under the famous Labour Charter of April 3, 1926, the corporations were declared the main institutions for regulating relations between the State and the producers, the basis of the fascist "corporative" State. The Italian fascists praise the results of their policy in the social sphere as "achievements of corporatism."

There is no doubt that this new phase of the corporations contains something new; the corporations are to be given a concrete content by means of a vague National Council of Corporations. Mussolini is setting up twenty-two councils of twenty-two corporations, which will have the task, each in its own particular sphere, of conducting and reorganising, "on a new basis," the whole economic life of the country. All these councils are to form together a Corporation Chamber, which will take the place of the present Chamber of Deputies, this "obsolete" institution.

In the speech he delivered on November 10 from the capitol in Rome Mussolini stressed the historical importance of the establishment of the twenty-two Corporation Councils. At the same time that he admitted it was a question of a tentative experiment and that "no miracles" must be expected, he announced that the corporative assembly represented the whole nation, that it was a "revolutionary gathering" which would bring about "profound political and social changes by reducing in the country itself the contrast between great riches on the one hand and extreme poverty on the other, and by realising "the uninterrupted growth of the global power of the nation," since it is "only on the international field that the races and nations will be measured when Europe some time hence shall . . . have arrived once again at another parting of the ways in her destiny." This stressing of the imperialist, warlike role of the fascist corporations is not due to chance, in view of the fact that every day fresh measures for militarising the whole country are being resorted to, arms and weapons are being transported from Naples to Somaliland and Eritrea, while the fascist papers are indulging in threats in connection with the attack by a group of Abyssinians on the Italian Consulate in Gondar. All this shows with what impatience Italian imperialism is waiting for an opportunity to apply the spark to the powder barrel of imperialist war.

As regards the radical social alteration which is to be brought about by the corporations, the Duce confined himself to generalities. He only repeated what he said in Milan in his speech "to the workers": We are proceeding to a higher social justice; physical poverty must not be accepted as inevitable; the fascist century maintains the principle of the equality of the citizens before the law, but it adds another principle: All have equal right and equal duty to work.

Mussolini's demagogy was, of course, echoed by a crowd of great and small "hierarchs" of the fascist party and trade unions: "Capitalism is condemned to death because it delivers over millions of people to hopeless ruin"; "the corporations have the task of turning the capitalist system upside down," etc. It would be naive to believe that the flood of demagogic phrases which has been let loose, which can be checked only to a small extent by the enlightenment propaganda of the illegal organisations and papers of the Communist Party and revolutionary trade union groups, will not have a certain effect, will not arouse certain hopes among various section of the working people.

Where the fascists know that they cannot approach the masses by direct means, they do not hesitate to make use of former socialists and trade union leaders who still possess a certain amount of credit with the masses. A "Problem of Labour" group, consisting of former reformist leaders of the General Confederation of Labour with Rinaldo Rigola at the head, accepted the corporations with a certain amount of reserve. This group is to-day one of the best propagandists of fascist trade unions among the working class. The former socialist mayor and parliamentary representative of Milan, Caldara, and his group approved of the corporations in principle. In addition, a number of local reformist leaders are being mobilised, whom the fascists will willingly permit to resume activity provided they declare themselves ready to help the work of the corporations.

The Italian fascists are aiming at pressing down the standard of living of the whole of the Italian people still lower, in spite of

the fact that during the twelve years of the fascist dictatorship wages of the workers have been reduced 60 per cent. All the provisions of the recently concluded wage agreements go to prove this. On the eve of the establishment of the Corporative Councils the working week was officially reduced to a maximum of 40 hours, with a consequent reduction of all wages. All workers have had 1 to 5 per cent. deducted from their wages, allegedly for the purpose of rendering aid to parents with large families, and there is a tendency to replace women and young people in the factories by men, who, of course, are not paid higher wages than those whose places they have taken. This means partial unemployment for everybody.

The attack on wages is only the commencement. Such an authoritative person as Alberto de Stefano, former fascist finance minister admitted, in the leading article of "Corriere della Sera," of November 17, that the great problem engaging the attention of all corporations "is the question of reducing costs of production." This means in the first place nothing but reduction of wages.

Demagogic promises made in connection with the fascist corporations, accompanied by increasingly cruel political reaction (it suffices to mention that since October the Special Court has condemned about 100 anti-fascist workers of North Italy to sentences aggregating several hundred years' imprisonment) will not succeed in preventing the defensive action of the working people, which in fact is increasing under the leadership of our Communist Party.

## Alaska, America's War Base in the Pacific

By Samuel Weinman (New York)

The tendency of imperialist antagonisms is to centre more and more in the Pacific. The Roosevelt administration is speeding the execution of plans to make all American bases in the Pacific, Phillippines, Hawaii, Alaska, Aleutian Islands a string of armed camps.

Secretary of the Navy Swanson has already announced that the 1935 manoeuvres of the whole American fleet will concentrate on the defence of Alaska. The high development of aerial warfare gives to Alaska a position of special importance, because of its geographical position in relation to Japan, the Soviet Union and the Far East in general. While Alaskan war preparations were a military secret until very recently, now hardly a day passes without the press announcing some advance in the Alaskan war base. The New York "Times" (October 20, 1934) carried a story of Frank Hawks, the racing pilot, and Igor Sikorsky, airplane designer, urging the President's Aviation Commission to "protect" Alaska from "foreign invasion."

Immediately on the heels of Swanson's announcement of the 1935 manoeuvres around Alaska came protests in the Japanese imperialist press. One Tokio newspaper characterised the Alaskan manoeuvres as aimed at Japan the target. The Japanese Admiralty preferred to soft-pedal the event rather than cause an open rupture at this inopportune moment.

At the same time British imperialism has accelerated the work on the Singapore military and naval base. Originally plans were made for completion in 1939. The MacDonald government has appropriated £500,000 and employed 14,000 Chinese, Malayan and Indian labourers to rush completion by 1935, instead of 1939.

Early in July of this year ten speedy bombing planes, manned by U.S. Army Air Corps fliers, started a mass flight from Washington, D.C., to Alaska, a distance of 7,344 miles. About the same time eleven giant seaplanes left San Francisco for Alaska. The army squadron took hundreds of photographs of Alaskan territory.

Navy Secretary Swanson then insisted that no significance was to be attached to the concentration of naval airplanes, submarines and other naval units at Dutch Harbour, in the Aleutian Islands. Swanson's own announcements since the double mass flight, especially the announcement of the 1935 manoeuvres around Alaska, give the lie to his earlier attempt to cover up the feverish war preparations in Alaska.

Secretary of Commerce Roper made a special trip to Alaska recently for the sole purpose of negotiating for the expansion of "commercial" air lines and landing fields. The Department of

Commerce has since assigned an airway inspector to Alaska. Its increased concern over Alaska's commercial airways is motivated by the fact that commercial planes can be mounted with guns and loaded with bombs.

The last session of Congress appropriated 10,000 dollars for the purchase of geographic and meteorologic data about Alaska from a noted explorer—information that is highly valuable to army and navy fliers during war.

For more than twenty years the U.S. Government has quietly prepared Alaska for the approaching war in the Pacific. The U.S. Army has built a cable system, radio stations, telegraph offices, and a railroad and numerous aviation fields to perfect its military communication and transportation requirements. The Wall Street government pretends to abhor government ownership as confiscatory, but in Alaska it has made an exception. There the U.S. Government owns the cables, telegraph lines, radio stations and railroad. The transportation and communication systems connect military garrisons and outposts.

The very name of the cable system exposes its character and intent. It is called the Washington-Alaska Military Cable and Telegraph System. The cables were built by the Signal Corps of the U.S. Army in 1904. The operators in charge of the thirty-five stations are regulars of the Signal Corps. Congress annually appropriates funds to subsidise the cables since, meeting no real commercial need, they operate at a financial loss.

The Alaska Railroad, owned and built by the United States Government in 1914, was initiated by a commission, including Major Jay J. Morrow, of the U.S. Army, and Civil Engineer Leonard M. Cox, of the U.S. Navy, a second commission included Lieutenant Frederick Mears, of the U.S. Army. The railroad was constructed under the direction of the Army and Navy Departments to serve the ends of military strategy. Every year from 1925 to 1933 it has operated at a deficit, and Congress appropriates the difference to finance this cog in the Alaskan war machine.

The U.S. Navy maintains a radio communication system in Alaska by means of a chain of radio stations at Cordova, Dutch Harbour and St. Paul Island. It is linked with the Army's cable and telegraph. The United States Coast and Geodetic Survey has compiled a vast store of information, useful for military purposes, regarding hydrography, topography tides, currents and magnetic and seismological work.

Aviation facilities thinly disguised as commercial projects have been greatly advanced in Alaska. At least 72 aviation fields and six hydroplane ports have been constructed at spots strategic from a military point of view. In 1932 less than 7,000 passengers were carried by the air lines. In his annual report for 1933 the Governor of Alaska exults, because all that is now required to insure a very prominent place for air navigation are air mail contracts.

Two convincing facts in addition to those already mentioned prove conclusively that Alaska is being geared to fit into Roosevelt's war schemes. First, the population of Alaska is less than 60,000 persons. It is ridiculous to maintain that a tiny population spread over the vast frozen wastes requires 72 air fields, 470 miles of railroad, 35 cable and telegraphic stations, etc., for its normal peacetime needs.

The second fact is the geographic position of Alaska. One glance at the map of Alaska shows that it is a war base of the highest importance.

Imperialist war in the Pacific is imminent. The imperialist conflicts are rushing to a head. At the same time the drive toward an interventionary war against the Soviet Union is an ever-growing danger. In the coming war in the Pacific Alaska is bound to play a decisive role, perhaps as important as Hawaii.

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## Great Demonstration in Argentina for Thaelmann

Paris, November 22.

The International Release Committee is informed from Buenos Aires that on October 6 a demonstration was held in Rosario against fascism and for the release of Thaelmann. Four thousand young workers and students marched to the German Embassy and demonstrated, demanding Thaelmann's release.

## Spain

### The Fighting in the Mining Districts of Asturias

The "Information Bulletin" of the Communist Party of Spain publishes the following authentic report of the fighting in the mining districts of Asturias:—

At ten minutes to twelve in the night from October 4 to October 5 the socialists informed us that the time had come to go on to the streets. Our representatives immediately went to the People's House, where the socialist leaders informed them that the whole of Spain was in uproar. There was nothing further to be done. Each man must now do his duty.

The representatives of the Communists immediately mobilised the Communist Party and the Young Communist League, and comrades were sent out in all directions to alarm the workers and bring them into a state of immediate preparedness for action. In a very short time columns of workers had formed at various strategic points. They were composed of industrial workers from all trades, many members of the lower middle classes and even women, and they waited for the signal to revolt. The number of firearms was unfortunately small. For the most part the workers were armed with improvised weapons, but they had a certain number of pistols and dynamite bombs. Many of the workers had no arms at all, but relied on obtaining them from the Civil Guard after the latter had been overcome by the armed workers.

At about 3 o'clock in the morning messengers from the People's House warned the workers that in ten minutes' time the signal for the attack would be given by three successive explosions. However, the signal was delayed, and long before it came the columns of workers advanced and took up their positions in front of the barracks of the Civil Guards and of the police stations.

The fighting opened with great energy, and the forces of the workers showed daring and heroism in their attacks. The governmental forces had come on to the streets in anticipation of an attack, but they were soon forced into the defensive by the energetic attacks of the workers. Before long the Civil Guards gave way to the attacks of the workers and abandoned their positions, withdrawing into their own barracks. Their retreat was covered here and there by fascists, who fired at the workers from overlooking windows. These men then flung away their arms and fled, but many of them were captured by the workers.

The attacks of the workers on the barracks of the Civil Guards continued incessantly, and after four hours heavy fighting the government forces surrendered. In other parts the surrender took place later, after from 10 to 12 hours' fighting, and in Sama only after 36 hours fighting. This refers to the mining areas.

The losses of the revolutionary forces in the fighting were not great, and most of them were caused by inexperience in the use of weapons. The governmental forces on the other hand suffered hundreds of casualties. In most of the barracks of the Civil Guards prompt surrender saved many victims. The members of the Civil Guard were taken prisoners and kept at the disposal of the Revolutionary Committee.

Particular stress must be laid on the magnificent part played by the members of the Communist Party and the Young Communist League in the fighting. They took an organised part in the fighting in groups of ten under the command of a central committee. Their heroism and daring completely won the confidence of the workers, and everywhere Communists were elected by the insurrectionary workers into leading positions in the Red Army. A Communist from Langreo was elected supreme commander of the insurrectionary forces, which afterwards operated in the town of Oviedo. From the beginning of the fighting to the end the Communist Party was represented in the leading committees. Our comrades enjoyed decisive influence, not only in the district committees but also in the provincial committee, which was reorganised after the treachery of P. and his supporters. The Communists then held almost all these positions.

During the fifteen days in which the Asturian mining area was under Soviet rule supplies, hygiene and the health services functioned absolutely normally, and complete discipline was maintained. The head of the hospital was a Communist.

Over 20,000 workers took part in the fighting for the capital of Asturias, most of them from the mining districts. During the fighting for control of the capital the government forces, which were supplied with aeroplanes, artillery and machine-guns, caused

the workers many losses, over a thousand. However, the workers defied the superior equipment of the enemy and fought obstinately to gain a victory. Their heroism was recognised even by the bourgeoisie and by the commandant of the government forces.

The workers kept up the fight until the 18th when the arrival of forces under General Ochoa and the uninterrupted landing of troops in Gijon, under the protection of the guns of the fleet, together with the lack of supplies, arms and ammunition on the part of the workers, made a continuation of the fighting hopeless. An important part was played by the dropping of leaflets from government aeroplanes. Unfortunately, owing to the cutting off of communications no effective denials of these leaflets could be circulated.

The commander of the workers forces then ordered the front line workers to retreat in an organised fashion. This order was preceded by parleys with the commander of the government troops. The workers were represented by a socialist. The commander of the government troops demanded the immediate surrender of all the arms in the hands of the insurgents, the surrender of one-quarter of the members of the revolutionary committee, and the complete abandonment of all hostilities against the government troops. The workers refused to accept these conditions.

The government troops then advanced into the working-class districts, headed by detachments of the Foreign Legion and Moroccan regular detachments. These troops conducted themselves with fierce brutality, and a reign of terror began. The troops plundered the working-class quarters, entered the houses, raped women, murdered old men and children, poured oil over the floors and set light to the houses. All the time their barbarities were supported by machine-gun fire and aeroplane bombing. By far the greater part of the destruction which took place in Oviedo occurred after the entry of the government troops and was done deliberately.

Many workers fled from their homes. Thousands fled into the mountains in order to escape from the ravages of the troops. However, hundreds of workers fell into the hands of the government forces, and these men were maltreated and tortured with fierce barbarity.

Twenty-seven of the workers captured by the government troops in Langreo were taken out in the night of Saturday, October 20, and slaughtered in the Corumona Square. This mass slaughter was carried out under the leadership of Bienvenido Magadan, the chief of the secret police, who was in the hands of the workers during the fighting and had been treated with great consideration by them. Such cases occurred in numerous places throughout Asturias. The groups of workers who fled to the hills are being systematically hunted, and many of them have fallen into the hands of the government troops under General Doval. The operations against the workers who have fled to the hills are being conducted by civil and military detachments equipped with artillery, aeroplanes, machine-guns and all the resources of modern warfare. The workers are discovered by aeroplanes, who then communicate with the troops and join in the hunt with machine-gun fire. Many of the captured workers are murdered out of hand by the troops.

Many women and children at work in the fields have been killed by machine-gun fire from the aeroplanes and from government troops. The workers in the hills will finally be compelled to surrender owing to hunger and exhaustion.

The total losses of the workers during the fighting and afterwards are estimated at 8,000 killed, wounded and prisoners. Amongst the dead are many of our best comrades, including Sabino Menendez, Marcelino Fernandez (Prin), Comrade Damian's brother, Herminio del Valle and Nazario Alvarez.

Before concluding this report it is necessary to describe the work of the Communists in the various revolutionary committees. At the outbreak of hostilities the socialists occupied all the commanding posts. The Communists pointed out in the course of the struggle that the leadership had neglected to lay the basis for victory, that it had taken no measures to secure the participation of the landworkers, the unemployed workers and the lower middle classes. At the same time the Communists pointed out the deficiencies in the military conduct of the struggle, the lack of military technique and theory, the lack of systematic connections with the workers in the front line, etc., and pointed out how these mistakes could be remedied. The work of the Com-

munists completely won the confidence of the fighting workers, and soon they were clamouring for the Communists to take the lead, particularly in Oviedo.

All the administrative committees, such as the committee for supplies, the committee for hygiene, the committee for health, etc., were elected by the district committees and required the confirmation of the district military committees. When it became necessary to reorganise the provincial committee after its first members had abandoned their posts, the committee was elected by a full meeting of the representatives of the district committees.

## The Fighting in Gijon

By an Eye-Witness who Took Part.

The "Information Bulletin" of the Communist Party of Spain publishes the following report of an Asturian Communist, who took an active part in the fighting of Gijon:—

On the Tuesday before the outbreak of the insurrection the district committee of the Communist Party in Gijon was warned by the provincial committee for Asturias to hold itself in readiness for the outbreak of a general strike at any moment, as a protest against Lerroux's proposed government and immediately such a government should be formed.

The district committee of the Communist Party immediately got into touch with the socialist and the anarcho-syndicalists in order to come to some working arrangement for the expected action. The negotiations were fruitless, for both the socialists and the anarcho-syndicalists refused to make any joint preparations. Wednesday and Thursday passed. On Friday the 9th the order for the general strike came through and by mid-day the strike in Gijon was absolute.

Our district committee immediately set its whole organisational apparatus to work on the basis of its previous preparations. A second district committee was elected to replace the first, in case of necessity. The branches of the Party organised groups of workers in the working-class districts, and these groups were kept in constant touch with each other and with the district committee. A workers' militia was formed. The organisational plan of the party was generally satisfactory, though here and there deficiencies made themselves visible. Apart from a few pistols our comrades were unarmed. Saturday passed in the erection of barricades. On Sunday a number of encounters took place with the government troops, and firing took place in the open before Gijon and in Cimadevilla, as the government troops opened up the attack from the most suitable strategic points. The workers were on the defensive.

On Sunday morning our Party distributed a leaflet explaining the programme of the workers' and peasants' government, and calling for the formation of Soviets and the holding of Soviet election meetings. It was pointed out that the workers had everything to gain from the conquest of power and that the Lerroux government would bring them nothing but misery and starvation. This leaflet was well received by the workers.

First of all we tried to form a Soviet in Calzada, but the attempt failed owing to the resistance of the anarcho-syndicalists and to the inexperience of our own comrades. A committee was formed of representatives of the U.G.T., the C.G.T.U. and the C.N.T., but neither the Communist Party nor the Socialist Party was officially represented. This committee was formed of the representatives of the trade union organisations of the workers, but it was independent of all of them. A committee for food distribution was also formed.

The anarcho-syndicalists were opposed to the workers' militia, the group leaders and a Red Army. They proposed that in each district special committees should be formed to organise groups of action, and that these groups should be connected with each other by barricade delegates. The Communists agreed to this, because for the moment they were not so much interested in the name of the thing as in its proper functioning where the committee worked in conformity with the Communists.

However, whilst the negotiations on the point were still proceeding the workers themselves were carrying out the Communists proposals. They secured food supplies by capturing a packing factory which was near the barricades. This action led to heavy firing between the workers and the government troops. After the capture of this factory a committee for the distribution of foodstuffs was organised in the district. The anarchists

were not represented on this committee because they had no organisation in the district.

On Sunday evening the cruiser "Liberdad" bombarded Cimadevilla, where heavy fighting had taken place between the workers and the government forces. In this situation the Communists began to organise military groups, and they were supported in this by the majority of the workers. Leaflets were distributed amongst the soldiers of the government forces, and on Monday a new appeal was issued to the workers.

On Monday morning a member of the Calzada district committee arrived and reported that two marines had come into the workers lines from the Musel landing stage, where they had been landed with seventy others from the cruiser "Liberdad." One of the marines was a Communist. The two proposed that the landing party should be persuaded to join in the revolt. However, this would have to be done before eight o'clock in the morning when the relief was due.

The district committee issued the following instructions to the Calzada representative: The two marines should return to their company, wait for the relief, return on board, form a sailors' committee and then arrest the officers. When this was successfully done they should hoist the red flag as a signal for representatives of the workers to go on board with further instructions. If this was impossible they should stage a mutiny when the relief arrived in order to draw as many marines as possible into it.

Unfortunately the instructions of the district committee were not carried out. Instead the comrades in Calzada organised a demonstration to accompany the two marines back to their comrades. The demonstration, which included many women, was observed by officers on board the "Liberdad," and a landing party was hurriedly sent ashore and received the demonstrating workers with machine-guns. Forty workers were arrested and one of the two marines, whilst fortunately the other one succeeded in making his escape. These workers are still under arrest.

At 11 o'clock on Monday morning a comrade was sent to Cimadevilla and after much trouble he succeeded in getting into touch with the Communists there. Everything was disorganised. No committee had been formed and many of the workers had been held in readiness for three days and three nights without having been given an opportunity for obtaining proper rest. A provisional committee was then formed at the initiative of the delegate, and members of the C.N.T., the U.G.T. and the C.G.T.U. were elected to it. Barricades were erected and manned by workers' detachments. The food question was solved by requisitions and a leaflet was issued calling for a meeting. The meeting took place at 3 o'clock in the afternoon and about 300 workers were present, most of them women.

A member of the C.N.T. spoke at this meeting and was followed by a Communist, who, after describing the development of the movement, proposed the formation of a committee and stressed the necessity of the workers abandoning the defensive and taking up the offensive. Various other speakers addressed the meeting and the proposed committee was then elected. After seven workers had been elected to the committee they were given power to organise the necessary commissions attached to the committee. The meeting was then broken off because new shooting had taken place at the barricades.

The workers then took the offensive without orders and advanced, occupying the palace of Count Revillagigedo and the house St. Angel, and taking the municipal buildings under double fire. The shooting ended at half-past four in the afternoon. The workers then consolidated the positions they had won and prepared a new attack for the coming night.

Two members of the Communist Party were killed in this fighting including Angel Garcia el Piscao, who was a member of the Party organisation in Cimadevilla. Piscao was specially honoured by the local fishermen for his heroism and self-sacrifice.

The attack of the revolutionary workers pressed the government troops hard and the cruiser "Liberdad" was then instructed to bombard Cimadevilla. The result of this bombardment was a panic amongst the inhabitants of this quarter of the town, but the workers held their positions to the last minute. The bombardment was continued for a long time, and the next day our comrades were surrounded by troops and almost all captured. The working women played a heroic role in the fighting in this quarter of the town and they helped to build the barricades. They carried planks



from a local saw-mill and mattresses from the houses to strengthen the barricades. Many families slept on the bare ground because they had given their mattresses and pillows to build the barricades. The enthusiasm of the working women was very great and many of them fought shoulder to shoulder with the men with rifles in their hands.

On Tuesday Cimadevilla was recaptured by the government troops after a heroic resistance on the part of the revolutionary workers.

## International Solidarity Delegation in Spain

By a Member of the Delegation

The "Society of Friends of the New Spain" sent Lord Listowel and Ellen Wilkinson, members of the World Relief Committee, to Spain to investigate events there and to help the victims of Gil Robles fascism and the military dictatorship. At the instance of the International Union of Jurists, they were joined by the French barrister, Bourthoumieux.

The news of the departure of the commission was greeted in the fascist press of Spain by a violent campaign of abuse. The members of the commission were described as "worthless slanderers of the Spanish people." The commission reached Spain on November 11.

"Legal" Madrid did its best to appear ordinary in the eyes of the visitors. But the Civil Guard patrols, armed to the teeth, which one met at every corner, the squads of the Guardia Assalto (the Spanish S.A., founded by the former radical-socialist Premier Azana), the columns of troops on the march, were unmistakable in their meaning. The cafés, generally overcrowded, are deserted; traffic has been reduced by half. At the mercy of the wind and rain, the newsvendors display their newspapers. Lerroux has deprived them of their warm kiosks as a punishment for being suspected of sympathy with the revolutionaries. For ten days the general strike paralysed the life of Madrid. For ten days the working class of Madrid backed up the heroes of Asturias. Night after night the machine-guns and rifles of the Madrid police were cracking. The government troops were carefully kept in barracks because the government feared they might go over to the workers.

The citizens of Madrid are terrified of a fresh general strike. Revolutionary Madrid is unbroken. Unbroken are the workers' organisations, unbroken the fighting spirit in spite of terror and persecution. A comrade provided contact with revolutionary Madrid. Late at night he led us through the dark streets to a leading comrade. And through other streets, no less dark, he brought us to three revolutionaries from Asturias who had taken part in the heroic struggles of Oviedo.

"Mundo Obrero," the Communist newspaper, has been prohibited. In its place there appear a number of printed papers of smaller size. In the Northern districts of Madrid, "Norte Roja" (Red North) appears. "Bandera Roja" (The Red Flag), central organ of the Party, appears weekly in an edition of 20,000; the Communist Youth publishes "Joven Guardia" (Young Guard), the Red Aid the "Combate." Since the fighting in Asturias and Madrid the Communist Party has addressed itself to the workers and peasants of Spain in a series of six printed leaflets. The Party central organ has devoted three issues to a report on and an analysis of the revolutionary struggles, and in two issues has informed the Spanish workers of the international relief campaign on their behalf. Terror and persecution have failed to hinder the growth of the Communist Party. Thanks to the timely preparations for illegality, its apparatus is intact. Wherever losses by death or injury have occurred its ranks are once more solid. Recruiting is on the increase. On the day when we had our discussions in the illegal headquarters, non-party and social-democratic young workers from all quarters of Madrid issued an appeal for membership in the Communist Party.

The heroes of Asturias are by no means garrulous. They do not speak willingly of their experiences. They had come to Madrid to report and then return to Oviedo. Their report, despite the modesty of its wording, was a heroic epic of revolution and an appalling picture of the brutality and terror exercised by the foreign legion. For the first time in the history of Spain Moroccan troops were used. It is impossible to detail here the hundreds of cases of bestial brutality. Let one instance suffice, which we give in the words of the Asturias miner who related it to us.

"In the quarter of San Estean de las Cruces in Oviedo lived, with his wife and children, Manuel Fernandez Prieto, commonly known as 'The Lawyer,' a man 46 years old. He had a small provision shop where he sold cider and other goods. They were peaceful, inoffensive people. On Sunday, the 14th, some regular soldiers came there whose first action was to break down the door. They stole everything within reach—bed-clothes, kitchen utensils, food, drink, house pets. What they could not take with them they destroyed. We could see how they smashed the suit-cases belonging to the girls. They broke the windows; they ate and drank, and went to the cemetery a few hundred yards from the house.

"Owing to the large number of funerals the 'lawyer' had been working with the cemetery staff. They had already dug a number of graves and hid themselves in the superintendent's building when they heard the Moroccans approaching. Besides Pietro, there were there the superintendent's son, Luis Navarro, 28 years old; the grave-digger, Lucas Fernandez, 60 years old; Manuel Toro, brother-in-law of Pietro, and the road-sweeper, Atanasio Bobes, 70 years old.

"The superintendent, his wife (who is a paralytic), Presentacion Mange, and a boy of 13, the 'lawyer's' servant, had time to hide themselves in a mausoleum, where they spent several hours. The other five men were murdered—two in the kitchen, two at the door of the superintendent's house, and the other a few paces from it, because he had tried to run away."

The revolutionaries held Oviedo, Mieres and other towns of the Asturias for a fortnight. For a fortnight the Soviet flag waved over Asturias. Every pound of bread, every pound of potatoes that they received was paid for or a receipt was given for it. They spared parts of the town that were occupied by the police or military, so as to avoid endangering the few men and women remaining in these districts. The Moroccan troops and the Foreign Legion raged through the miners' villages like vandals. The revolutionaries retired to the mountains; they took their weapons with them, and the struggle is still going on. But the bloodhound of Asturias, Commander Doval, is Disarmament Commissar in Oviedo. Everyone must give up his arms. Anybody who has none has to buy or borrow some, otherwise he is threatened with death. Doval has formed groups of 200 men to carry out disarmament in the mountains. The revolutionaries are in constant conflict with them. The sound of rifle fire is still echoing from the mountains. The hope of Asturias lives in the mountain ranges.

As we walked through Madrid in the early morning inscriptions blazed upon the walls: Free Thaelmann! In the course of their bitter struggle against the enemy at home the Spanish workers have not forgotten the leader of the German revolutionary workers.

The information derived from the illegal struggles made rich material for the forthcoming interview of the commission with Premier Lerroux. The government buildings were closely guarded by the police. Lerroux appears to know the political business through and through. He knows just what demagoguery is worth in gold pesetas. Before the world-war he once, in the market-place of Barcelona, urged on the people to rape nuns, thus providing the pretext for a vicious campaign by the reactionaries against the working-class movement. After the war he founded a "republican" party with the help of the money of Alphonso XIII. Under the republic he sold out to the Jesuit fascism of Gil Robles for a suitable return. People in the know will tell you that he began his career as a croupier in a gambling house and that he still derives a substantial income as proprietor of various brothels in Barcelona.

The arrival of the commission in Madrid occasioned considerable anxiety among the Right. It appeared a little too dangerous to expel the Britishers immediately from Spain. For this reason a complicated farce was staged.

In this farce Senor Lerroux played the gentlemanly role. "The door is wide open," he declared to Lord Listowel. He wrote a letter to General Lopez Ochoa begging him "to provide Lord Listowel with every facility for the fulfilment of his mission."

In his conversation with Lerroux, Lord Listowel gave him to understand in the clearest terms the deep horror with which the world had followed the brutal sentences and executions in Spain. Lord Listowel pressed his point and secured from Lerroux an



assurance that the sailor of Cartagena and five other workers—who had recently been sentenced to death—would not be executed. The Spanish anti-fascists, with the backing of international solidarity, will see to it that this official assurance is carried out.

In the course of cross-questioning by the commission another admission was elicited from Lerroux. He confirmed that the assertion of the fascist press that the revolutionaries had blinded 24 children and disembowelled a priest and hanged him in front of a butcher's shop, were lies. He was not able to give one single documented case of atrocities committed by the revolutionaries in Asturias. But when Lord Listowel quoted to him an outrage on the part of the Foreign Legion, one of hundreds, he had to confirm it. It is a lie to assert that the Asturian revolutionaries had been guilty of cruelty. What is told of the terror regime of government troops is true.

In this preconcerted farce, *Gil Robles* plays the Spanish Hidalgo convulsed with rage. "Are we Negroes," he asked in the Chamber, "that foreign commissions should be sent to us?" "Are we Negroes?" the newspapers asked in their campaign of incitement. The gentlemen are proud of their white skins. They are not Negroes. They do not understand the excitement. What has happened? In Asturias 500 dead and wounded revolutionaries have bled for socialist liberty. Alba, President of the Chamber, calls that the "ordinary struggle of political parties."

On November 14 the commission left for *Oviedo*. There the second part of the farce that *Gil Robles* had prepared was played. The "people" came on the scene. In *Oviedo* the commission went to the government building in order to put certain questions to Commander Doval, the "bloodhound of *Oviedo*," who is in charge of disarmament. The commission had to wait three hours. In the meanwhile all the unscrupulous elements in *Oviedo* had been collected in order to "demonstrate" against the commission. At a pinch there were 150 people. *Oviedo* has 70,000 inhabitants. Commander Doval commands 8,000 troops. But against these 150 he is powerless! He could not, so he said, protect the commission. He asked Lord Listowel to give up his investigation. The commission was determined to stay. Doval said he would have to bring them to the district border—popular feeling was too high.

Popular feeling? There was too much danger that the commission might learn the truth. There was too much danger that the outrages of the "regulars" and the Foreign Legion might become known. Not all the wives and mothers of the victims have been murdered. Eye-witnesses of the bloody events are still alive. They might speak. They might tell the commission how innocent men had been hanged, martyred, tortured; how women had been raped and then shot; how ten-year old children fell dead, hit by the bullets of the regulars. They might tell how the government troops had plundered and pillaged. That had to be prevented at all costs. And that is why the "people" of *Oviedo*, 150 strong, rose up—for good pay—and demonstrated against the commission.

While Doval was repeating his well-rehearsed sentences, the sound of the rifle shots echoed from the mountains. Doval knows his job; he is a specialist in disarmament. He was in it under Primo de Rivera, he is in it under Lerroux.

The commission was taken to the motor-cars by civil guards, to the sound of the "shouts of the multitude." From the mountains comes the greeting of the rifle shots. Revolutionary Asturias lives and fights.

On the way out of the town we passed a house that was undamaged. On the house was the symbol of the Soviets, the Hammer and Sickle, and the inscription "Free Thaelmann!"

In Asturias, too, the name of Thaelmann is the beacon for the revolutionary struggle against fascism.

For hours the cars drove over the hills of Asturias. This is the country where for fourteen days the Spanish Commune ruled. With it were the working people of Asturias, of Spain, of the whole world. The men and women who found death in Asturias, who defended life and liberty against Doval's troops among those hills, are dear to the hearts of the revolutionary working class. Help is wanted for them, help for the victims of Jesuit fascism in Spain! The heroes of Asturias have fought for us too. It is up to us to support them in their struggle and to help them. The fighters of Asturias inscribed the name of Thaelmann on their banners. The world proletariat is writing the names of the Asturian fighters on theirs.

## Germany

### The National Peasant Congress in Goslar

The fascist dictators have convened the second so-called "Reich Peasant Congress," to meet in *Goslar*, in the Harz. Herr Darré, Hitler's Minister of Agriculture and "Reich Peasant Leader," collected several thousand brown mandarins from all parts of Germany to attend this function. In addition, certain doubtful individuals have been invited from several countries and paid to figure as "foreign peasant guests."

This Reich Peasant Congress, held hardly six weeks after the much-advertised great harvest festival on the *Bückeberg*, was overshadowed by the difficulties, the demagogy and the criminal war preparations of the Hitler régime. The growing dissatisfaction on the countryside and in the cities, the growing dissensions among the bourgeoisie itself, and especially the efforts of the fascists to create the necessary food basis for a war, together with extreme nationalist agitation, furnished the keynote of the congress.

The opposition of the rural workers fills the Hitler government with apprehension. The situation of the agricultural labourers is very bad. The computation of the German Labour Front, according to which the average weekly wage of an agricultural labourer should be 20.87 marks, is an absolute fake; agricultural labourers receive hardly a few marks in cash and their weekly wages, including wages in kind, amount to little more than half of the sum quoted. By sending "agricultural helpers" to the rural areas the government does its best to depress further still the low wages of the agricultural workers. The housing conditions of the latter, always very bad, have grown considerably worse during the Hitler régime. The situation of the small and middle peasant is no better.

The agrarian policy of Hitler has brought the agrarian magnates fat profits, but has impoverished the working peasant-farmer. The 740 million marks assigned to the "Osthilfe" (the subsidy for the distressed East Prussian areas), which is to be increased to 1,000 million marks, have almost exclusively gone to the big landowners and rich peasants. The small and middle peasants cannot get credits, they cannot buy fodder for their cattle nor pay the fertiliser prices, still too high in spite of a recent reduction. They are compelled to sell their produce at low prices to the marketing boards, who sell it at a higher price. The intermediate profits are used for the subsidies given to the big landowners, for the salaries and expenses of the higher bureaucrats or for armaments expenditure.

The rural workers are heavily burdened with taxes, to which are added the "voluntary" contributions to such funds as the "Winter Relief." Anybody who does not give enough is held up to public censure and brutally terrorised. The indignation of the peasants at the "Reich Food Estate" law, which compels them to give up their produce in milk, eggs and meat to marketing boards, and to pay dues for this into the bargain, and at the Winter Relief contributions, is tremendous. The following incidents in Hessen are characteristic of this: rumour having gone round that a fee of 80 pfennigs per annum would have to be paid to the Reich Food Estate for every fruit tree, the fruit-growers passively obstructed the taking of a tree census. Further, the fruit exhibition ordered by the chief mandarins was boycotted, because the fruit growers suspected that the fruit exhibited was to be confiscated for the benefit of the Winter Relief Fund. All the efforts and threats of the Hessian peasant mandarins were fruitless and the exhibition had to be cancelled. The owners of "entailed farms," especially the older ones with no children or many children, curse the "Entailed Farm Law," and the difficulty of obtaining credit, caused by this law. Discontent in the villages is at present still restricted in the main to grumbling and criticism, to non-attendance at meetings convened by the Nazis, to individual passive resistance, but the beginnings of collective resistance are already apparent, as in the instance described above. Active opposition is also beginning in South Germany—where maternal distress is coupled with the indignation at religious persecution—in Schleswig-Holstein and in the wine-growing districts of the West.

What were the results of the second Reich Peasant Congress from the point of view of the agricultural labourer and working peasant farmer? The first speaker at the official session, State Counsellor Helmuth Reinke, Reich Commissar for agricultural

labour problems, trotted out a lot of phrases too empty even to conceal anything. They were an insult to the agricultural labourers. He said, among other things:—

"The solution of the problems of agricultural labour . . . cannot be achieved from one day to the next. . . . Financial difficulties, especially in the provision of housing accommodation for agricultural workers . . . still form an obstacle. . . . What is more important than an absolutely high money wage is a true National Socialist treatment of the workers, who are to be given a just return for their labour, i.e., a return suited to prevailing conditions."

In other words, agricultural labourers should be content with miserable wages and dog-kennels, provided they get true National Socialist treatment. State Counsellor Reinke accordingly gave a detailed account of the "soul relationship" that ought to exist between the agricultural labourer and his employer, and in the same breath anathematized trade unionism.

Nor were the results of the Reich Peasant Congress any better from the point of view of the small and medium peasant. The Inspector-General of Agricultural Marketing, Herr Georg Reichardt, dealt in a special session with the numerous adverse comments made on the marketing regulations, but did not succeed in refuting them. The Reich Chief Department Head of Department Four, Herr Karl Vetter, tried to get round the peasants by arguing that last year, when the harvest was abundant, had there been no Reich Food Estate Law and no marketing regulations, the peasants would have had to accept prices insufficient to cover costs, and that this would have jeopardised the production of next year's harvest. Actually, of course, it was only the big landowners who profited by the rise in the prices of agricultural produce, while the small and medium peasants were burdened by the high fodder prices, and the 1934 harvest was much smaller than that of the preceding year.

In the special session of November 12, the Nazi officials discussed credit policy. What had they to offer the peasants? Staff Department Leader Arthur Hermann did not even mention the "abolition of interest slavery," promised by Hitler, but said:—

"A formal socialisation (of the banks) must be rejected from the National Socialist point of view. Besides, it is not even necessary because, in the German banking system, public banking already amounts to two-thirds of the whole system, if reckoning by balance figures. This public banking, however, has only a theoretical unity up to the present; what remains to be done is to give it, in practice, a spiritual leadership by National Socialists."

In other words, banking capital ceases to be capitalist as soon as a brown mandarin is made bank manager and lounges in the easy chairs or rides in the motor-cars of the bank. As to the Nazi solution of the question of credits for the entailed farms, Hermann declared that no details could be given at present. And that was all Hermann had to say about credits.

What the Hitler government attempted to do was this: First, make the industrial workers swallow the agrarian policy pursued under the mask of pro-peasant measures but in reality on behalf of the big landowners, armament manufacturers and big business in general and entailing an increase in the prices of agricultural produce—and then justify the measures hostile to the interests of the peasants and of the whole nation, such as the Reich Food Estate Law, by declaring them to be in the interests of the workers. They thus hope to keep the workers from industrial struggles, to prepare new anti-peasant legislation and to deceive all groups of the working population by means of phrases about the "equilibrium of interests" and the "community of the nation."

In his opening speech Darré attacked the East Elbian agrarians, and declared that the enemies of the National Socialist party had not disappeared, and that they preferred to perish together with Hitler than to surrender to the enemy. This cry of fear was at the same time a threat. Its object was to keep the workers of the countryside from forming an alliance with the industrial working class for the purposes of the anti-fascist struggle. At the same time it was also meant to harness the working peasant to the wagon of the Nazis amidst the differences in the camp of the bourgeoisie. Such differences exist between the big landowners on the one hand and export industry and export trade on the other. Such differences exist between a portion of the big landowners east of the Elbe, represented by Hugenberg's group, and

certain Nazi peasant leaders on the one hand and another portion of the big landowners and big farmers represented by Darré himself and the Nazi party leaders on the other. The bone of contention is the state subsidies and the influence on the state machine. Further differences exist between the Bavarian monarchist-Catholic peasant leaders, who still retain their influence, and the Hitler-Darré faction. The East Elbian Junkers have seen to it that the question of land settlement should not be touched upon at the congress and that the method sporadically applied of giving subsidies only where land has been offered for settlement, should be given up.

But the alpha and omega of the congress was the preparation of the next war. Herr Reichardt, Inspector-General for Agricultural Marketing, said at one of the special sessions that

"only independence with regard to the main articles of food gives the German nation freedom of action."

Freedom of action for war. Staff Leader Reischle announced a further development of the Reich Food Estate Law. On the model of the Federation of Grain Producers, agricultural enterprises engaged in the production, distribution or working up of a certain group of agricultural products are to be organised in federations. The object of the measure is to strengthen the big landowners and wholesale traders and, above all, to extend the food basis for the next war. Herr Backe, Secretary of State, dished up a demagogic rigmarole purporting to be a scientific analysis. He described the Entailed Farms Act and the Reich Food Estate Law as the emancipation of the soil, of the peasant and of the fruits of his labour from the rule of capital—and then through a back door brought in capitalist private enterprise as serving the welfare of the nation and thereby rendered sacred.

Workers and peasants are both required to make sacrifices for big business, and workers and peasants are to sweat and starve in unison for "national defence," i.e., war preparations, and later to be massacred in Hitler's warlike adventures.

During the whole congress week the speeches were full of phrases about "blood and soil," about "spiritual care," which is to be given especially to the young and to the womenfolk of the peasants; a flood of hypocritical and empty phrases intended not to save, but to enslave, the workers of the countryside in the interests of big business and Hitler's war plans.

The second Reich peasant congress represents an effort of fascism—and a preliminary to further efforts—to damp down the opposition existing among the rural and industrial workers and to continue the policy of giving presents to the big landed interests and to big business on the one hand and of carrying on with the war preparations on the other.

But opposition on the countryside is spreading. The Communist Party, which is now giving more attention to work among the rural population, calls for unity of action among the workers of the countryside, for an alliance of the workers in town and village to fight for their demands against fascist dictatorship and war-mongering. The Communists are calling for action, they demand full trade union wages for agricultural labour and the restoration of the wage-cuts ordered by Hitler, formation of trade union groups, granting of trade union wages, decent food and accommodation, and the possibility for the "land-helpers" sent out on task work of returning home any time they wish. They are against the compulsory participation in the marketing schemes, against the distraints and sales, against excessive taxation and tariff duties, they are for abolishing the slaughter-tax, etc. The Communists call upon the workers of the countryside to send delegations to the Reich Food Estate and submit collective petitions containing their demands to the village authorities and the agents of the Treasury. The Communists propose that agricultural produce be sold direct to the working consumers (the marketing boards to be circumvented and boycotted), they propose that the oppressed rural population resist extortion and oppression and demonstrate before the buildings of the village authorities, the big financial offices, the villas of the brown mandarins designated "peasant leaders." The Communists point out at the same time that only the overthrow of the Hitler dictatorship, only Soviet power can bring the agricultural labourers and working farmers a complete victory over poverty and servitude, can achieve the transfer of the land into the hands of the toilers, can give the workers freedom and happiness.

## Increasing Difficulties of the Hitler Dictatorship

Even the Institute for Economic Research, the beauty parlour for German economic conditions, can no longer dispute the fact that matters are going from bad to worse. According to the figures given in the last weekly bulletin of the Institute, though industrial production has increased by about one-fifth in the third quarter of 1934 as compared with the same quarter of 1933, it has remained stationary as compared with the preceding quarter of the current year, with a tendency to decrease. The index figure of industrial production was 87.9 in the second quarter of 1934, and 87.8 in the third quarter.

The output in production goods shows a slight increase. (It is a well-known fact that they must be classed in the main under the heading of armaments.) The output in goods destined for direct consumption has dropped. The Institute for Economic Research gives some details for the third quarter of 1934. Building activities have increased. In so far as this concerns big construction work it is mostly connected with armaments. In so far as dwellings are built, they are mostly comfortable private houses built for gentlemen of independent means, business men, higher officials, the upper strata of professional men, etc., who out of lack of confidence in the stability of the mark invest their money in such real estate. The increase in the output of furniture and domestic appliances is due partly to these building activities and partly to the great number of marriages and purchases on the instalment plan. Its motives are inflationist and the domestic appliances and furniture industry itself is expecting a big slump next year.

The Institute for Economic Research further states that the investments, especially in the substitutes industry, have increased. The output of investment goods in the heavy iron industry and machine industry has fallen off. The non-ferrous metal industry has also suffered a decrease. The output in textiles declined 8 per cent. from July to September, 1934. The motor-car industry and the paper industry show a falling off, and production and employment in the cotton mills continued to decline in October, 1934, as reported by the federation of German cotton spinners.

"The difficulties in foreign trade have increased," states the fascist Institute for Economic Research in the third issue of its quarterly bulletin for 1934. Exports, the total value of which amounted to over a milliard marks, are 13 million marks higher in the third than in the second quarter (of course, with a considerable proportion of armament exports), but are 20 per cent. short of the figures for the third quarter of 1933. Imports have dropped 8 per cent. during the last quarter. The total value of exports in July-September, 1934, was 1,005.4 million marks and the total value of imports 1,057.5 million marks, so that there was an excess of imports over exports of 52 million marks. That the excess is no greater is due chiefly to the curtailment of the imports of raw materials. Owing to this curtailment of imports of raw materials and to the "assisted" exports of machinery and chemicals, the October returns show an export surplus of 16 million marks. The first ten months of 1934 show a total excess of imports over exports of 251 million marks as compared to an export surplus of 573 millions for the same period in 1933. This is a very serious situation for a country such as Germany, whose economic welfare is so largely dependent on its export trade. The scarcity of raw materials due to the curtailment of imports is a further factor tending to worsen Germany's economic and financial position.

*Germany's finances are in a bad way.* The total budget of the Reich shows a deficit of 18 million marks for the first half-year of 1934. This is not much, but expenditure usually increases in the second half-year, and it is also during the latter period that the transfers to the states are made. Besides, the comparatively favourable figure given above is the result of a rapid increase in the taxation burden of the masses and the Reich budget is encumbered by the tremendous liabilities devolving on the following years. Furthermore, the expenditure for the Labour Service already amounts to 177 millions, i.e., 50 millions over half of the yearly estimate, which is 250 millions. For the "work provision" swindle, for which expenditure was foreseen to the extent of 362 millions for the whole year, 503 millions have already been spent in the first six months of the year! The financial position of the municipalities is desperate. The Reichsbank holdings of gold and foreign exchange, which during recent months had increased by a few million marks, have just suffered a decrease of 4.5 millions owing to the payments made on German trade debts to Britain as prescribed by the Anglo-German commercial agreement.

As to the *unemployment figures*, the official faked statistics have become very modest indeed and do not go beyond the statement that unemployment has dropped to 2,268,000 in October (i.e., has decreased by 13,800). According to the health insurance figures, the number of workers employed is supposed to have risen from 15.5 millions at the end of June to 15.6 millions at the end of September. Everybody knows how these figures are produced!

Hours are shortened without a corresponding increase in wages, unemployed men are put to work and wages all round are hardly higher than unemployment pay; under the new labour legislation, men under 25 are dismissed, sent to do task work as "land helpers" in the rural areas, but are registered as employed, while unemployed men are put to work to take their places in the shops. Men doing task work for unemployment benefit are also registered as employed. Unemployed men who are disallowed benefit are struck off the lists of the labour exchanges and cease to figure in unemployment statistics. This is how the brown unemployment figures are cooked. The official figures for September for the whole industry of Germany put the proportion of shifts worked at 56.5 per cent. (of the total capacity) as against 55 per cent. in August; but if regarded in detail, non-ferrous metal foundries and rolling mills have only 58.9 per cent. (no change), vehicle construction 58.2 per cent. (as against 60.2 per cent. in August), the textile industry 58.6 per cent. (as against 58.9 per cent. in August). There can be no doubt that October has brought a further falling off in these figures. In the heavy iron industry, vehicle industry, textile industry and in the seasonal enterprises men have been dismissed and hours shortened. Unemployment is on the increase.

The economic position as a whole may be characterised as follows:

The revival based on the frantic piling up of armaments, on the so-called work provision (also to a great extent serving the purpose of war preparation) and on the hoarding purchases inspired by the fear of inflation has slowed down in the last few months. The factors antagonistic to this revival, the economic foundations of which are unsound and insecure, are making themselves increasingly felt. The stagnation of production as a whole in the third quarter of 1934, despite the continuance of armament production, the collapse of foreign trade, the unfavourable financial and raw material situation, the growth of unemployment, all indicate that this temporary revival is beginning to disappear. Germany under Hitler is approaching an economic catastrophe.

*The discontent among the workers is increasing.* The attacks of the employers, the wage cuts, the curtailment of the social services, the heavy taxes, the "voluntary contributions" rackets, the rise in food prices, the fascist labour legislation—all the measures by which Hitler vainly attempts to remedy the crisis according to the wishes of big business—have increased the opposition of the workers.

A wave of resistance has commenced in the shops. At *Siemens*'s the workers' united action has in nearly every department beaten back an attempt to cut wages by means of a cut in piecework prices. In one department a wage increase was won. At *Bemberg's* in the Wupper valley the workers of the largest department elected a delegation of six (four of whom were Storm Troopers) to interview the manager about wage cuts. The delegation saw the manager and protested against the cut. The manager snapped at the four Storm Troopers and refused to hear the delegation. The department immediately stopped work. After an hour the management climbed down and said it would communicate with the authorities. A fortnight later the management attempted a fresh attack. The workers in the twisting department again stopped work and demonstrated in all the other departments. Communist mobilisation and the formation of a united front in this struggle led to a victory. The strike lasted only an hour and a half; then the management revoked its decision.

At the *Stuelken* shipyards in Hamburg the management ruled that an hour lost through compulsory attendance at a speech made by Hitler should be made up by starting work an hour earlier on one of the following days. The watchword given by the Communists, "No man comes in earlier than usual," was unanimously followed by the entire staff of 700 men; not one of them came earlier, and the impression made by this unity of action was so great that the management refrained from deducting the hour's wage as intended.

In *Velbert* (Rhine district) the management put the harvest

festival badge into the pay envelope of each and deducted the corresponding amount from his wages. The men marched together to the manager's office and insisted on being given their money. Only a very few men did not join in this action and the next day three neighbouring shops followed their example.

Of the 1,200 men employed by the electrical engineering firm *Ludwig Loewe and Co. in Berlin*, only 128 attended the harvest festival, despite the strongest pressure. At *Total's in Berlin-Charlottenburg* only 13 of 160 manual and clerical workers attended the celebration. In an *arms factory at Suhl* the German Labour Front had called a meeting; of 5,000 men employed about 300 assembled at the closed gates of the factory, shouted: "We don't want to hear all this rot!" forced their way through a cordon of firemen and a cordon of police, and despite the attempts of the management to intimidate them by threatening to take their names, they made the doorkeepers open the gates. Another 1,000 men joined them and the meeting was attended by not more than 900 to 1,000 men in all. Resistance is on the increase among the women as well as among the men, and the young workers of both sexes are active in the struggle against the new labour legislation which prescribes the dismissal of all workers under 25 from the factories and their deportation to rural areas for agricultural task work.

Discontent has spread to the urban middle class and the peasants, and is rife among the adherents of the Nazi party and its auxiliary organisations themselves. Discontent is showing again, despite all purgings, among the working-class members of the Storm Troops. Hitler's mass basis is shrinking.

The growing economic difficulties and the increasing opposition of the masses runs parallel with the sharpening of the antagonisms within the bourgeoisie itself. These antagonisms centre round the distribution of profits and subsidies, the economic measures to be taken, the best methods of holding down the dissatisfied masses, the extent of social concessions to be made to them, the influence the several groups of the bourgeoisie are to have on the machinery of the State, etc., etc. Thus, for instance, the journal "*Die Deutsche Volkswirtschaft*" published an article inspired by German exporting interests; the article contained a violent attack on the autarchy policy and demanded that the "disturbance of the equilibrium of foreign trade and exchange" be ended, i.e., that foreign trade be promoted and an open inflation policy adopted.

A few days ago Professor *Lehnich*, Minister for Economic Affairs in Wuerttemberg, following the example set by Schacht, came out against "all the phrases trotted out in books and papers about anti-liberalism and socialism; in reality the 'liberalist' and the national-socialist economic system are both based on the same premises, i.e., private property and private initiative" of the capitalists. On the other hand, Senator *Borchard* of Hamburg and the Lord Mayor of Bremen (who exercises the functions of a Prime Minister) champions of the interests of export trade, were deposed from office and their places taken by old Nazi stalwarts who are to promote an autarchist policy.

It has recently become known that General *Fritsch*, Head of the Army Command, is the author of a memorandum addressed to Hitler. The memorandum never reached Hitler, having been kept back by General *Blomberg*, who wished to avoid an exacerbation of the situation. *The memorandum deals with the menace of Communism and the dangers inside the country in case of war, and states that under the present political conditions nearly half of the army would be required at home to keep down the enemies of the existing order. Considering the present feeling among the mass of the population it would be very dangerous to give out arms indiscriminately, as one could never know against whom such weapons would be used.*

The German Labour Front, *Fritsch* goes on to say, has been a failure and he demands that social-democratic officials be called upon to collaborate, in order to reconcile the workers with the Hitler régime, defeat the inner enemy, i.e., Communism, safeguard the capitalist system and strengthen support for a war policy. The threats uttered by Hitler, *Goebbels* and *Darré* at the beginning of this month mainly refer to the dissension existing inside the fascist camp itself.

The *Church dispute* has also increased in violence. The Catholic and Protestant workers, aroused to action by their growing poverty, are putting up a fight also against the religious oppression they are subjected to by Hitler. They are supported in this by such clergymen as are in close contact with the workers. In con-

nection with the differences in the camp of the bourgeoisie, the antagonisms between the Catholic and Protestant Church leaders on the one hand and Hitler, *Goebbels* and *Rosenberg* on the other are also growing more acute. The strategic retreat executed by Hitler in deposing *Jaeger*, Protestant Church Commissioner, and reinstalling the two State Bishops *Wurm* (of Wurttemberg) and *Meiser* (of Bavaria) have only resulted in increasing tensions, as Hitler naturally continues his church policy and his religious persecution. The same applies to the conflict with the Catholic Church. An indication of this is given by the recent arrest of a Catholic priest, *Father Stuesser*, of Bonn, on a charge of "maliciously insulting the Reich Chancellor and Leader."

The heaviest burden, the nightmare of the fascist dictators, is the *Saar problem*. The unity of action of the Saar workers against reunion with the Third Reich of Hitler is developing well; feeling in favour of a vote for the status quo on January 13 is on the increase and Hitler is seriously troubled by the prospect of losing the game in the Saar. The fascists are quite aware that the loss of the Saar would be a terrible defeat for them; they know that such a result would lend support to the anti-fascist struggle of the German working class, open the eyes of the workers who up to now had been influenced by the propaganda of the Nazis, strike a decisive blow at Hitler's prestige and considerably sharpen the tensions existing within the bourgeoisie and between the fascist leaders. This is why Hitler is speeding-up armaments. This is why Hitler is so desperately anxious to escape from his international isolation by fresh concessions. This is why he formally renounced the Austrian Anschluss; he hoped thus to win *Mussolini's* support for his *Saar scheme*.

Despite all such efforts, the international situation holds out little hope to the brown dictators. *Hitler*, *Goebbels* and their satellites are desperate, and in their desperation are prepared to embark on an adventurist policy which is characterised by their criminal catchword of "better an end with horror than a horror without end."

Thus the difficulties of fascism are multiplying in every direction. The crisis of fascism in Germany is developing fast. The stage is being set for great class conflicts. The situation is unstable and can lead to sudden changes.

## The International Jurists' Conference

By Germain Gautier

An international conference of jurists will meet in Paris at the beginning of December in order to make the final preparations for a larger International Jurists' Conference. We can say without exaggeration that hundreds of lawyers are already busy in connection with this Conference.

The Hitler government is greatly perturbed on account of this conference. When the conference was announced for the middle of November, *Goering* and *Goebbels* sounded the alarm and called a meeting for the same time of Nazi lawyers and Public Prosecutors in Germany to whom *Goering* delivered a speech in order to "stiffen their backs" and render them immune to the influence of the international campaign.

We record this as a success for the International Release Committee, which has succeeded by means of the *Thaelmann* campaign in directing the attention of the whole world not only to the form but also to the nature and content of fascist justice.

The working class of all countries recognises with correct class instinct the importance of this question. But it is our duty not only to extend this powerful proletarian solidarity movement, but also to enlighten all those thousands of intellectuals and lawyers, who are filled with horror at *Goering's* cruelties, regarding the connection between justice and politics. We appeal especially to the lawyers who are fighting actively in our front. They must be the bearers of a great ideological offensive among the masses of intellectuals in order to tear the mask from fascism. But this is impossible without a serious study of Marxism-Leninism, without a study of those trials which have become world-famous. We mention only the Communist trial of *Karl Marx* in Cologne in 1849, the trial of *Ferdinand Lassalle* in *Duesseldorf* in 1849, the many trials under *Bismarck's* Exceptional Laws, the trial of *Karl Liebknecht* in Berlin in 1915, and lastly the trial of our Comrade *Georgi Dimitrov* in Leipzig, 1933.

Hitler justice occupies the attention of the world. If it is true that fascism is a form of rule of capitalism, which, shaken by the crisis, is striving by every means to postpone its doom, it follows



that fascist justice, both in theory and practice, is the "crisis justice of capitalism." In fascism therefore capitalist justice, under the pressure of the crisis, is stripped of all its decorative, deceitful trappings and exposed as the most bestial employment of violence and brutality against the revolutionary working class. And not only against the working class, but against all anti-capitalist forces, all critics of capitalism.

If we succeed in exposing the fascist demagoguery with regard to justice, then our criticism of fascist justice will inevitably lead to a criticism of capitalist justice. Then, however, thousands of intellectuals will come to recognise that fascist cruelty has its roots not in the brains of a special species of "Boche" or "Hun," but in the capitalist order of society itself. Then the study of German fascism and the fight waged against it will help the intellectuals, the students, members of the middle class to join the anti-capitalist fight of the working class, to take their places in the people's front against fascism.

Now we come to a second question. That fascist justice is the most brutal means of securing capitalist conditions of exploitation is proved by the development of justice itself. The more acute the crisis becomes, the less the bourgeoisie leaves the settlement of the wages and working conditions of the working class to "the free play of forces." One thing, however, is clear: our fight against the fascist theory and practice of law would be incomplete if we left out of sight the fascist "labour legislation." Here there often lies the key to the political excesses, the guiding thread of the whole fascist juridical practice. This is a sphere which we have undoubtedly neglected. One of the great lessons we learn from Germany is that fascisation does not commence with a great blood-bath or with a triumphant march of fascist bands, but with "emergency orders," "exceptional laws" directed against wages, working conditions, unemployment support, social achievements gained by the workers, the rights of workers' organisations. Therefore it seems to us that all this question of "workers' rights" is of extremely great importance in the fight against fascism.

A further point: one of the reasons why the militarisation of justice, the setting up of the so-called "People's Courts" in Germany created a sensation was because the majority of the "judges" appointed by Hitler consisted of active Reichswehr officers. This special court has become more and more a regular "Court." Only a few lawyers know that the senates of the People's Court in Leipzig, which hitherto tried cases of high treason, have already been completely dissolved. This means, however, that the highest German fascist Court is a regular military Court. Another fact which is not generally known is, that in the German provinces special courts have been set up in which the regular judges are being replaced by Reichswehr officers, Storm Troop and Special Troop leaders. One of the most important tasks of fascist justice is to secure unrestricted, unhampered preparations for war and also to secure the conducting of a new imperialist war.

We must hammer into the minds of the masses that the great solidarity fight for the victims of Hitler fascism is at the same time a great fight against fascist war preparations. In addition to the conscious revolutionaries and the people who are anti-fascists on cultural and humanitarian grounds we must unite with us the broad masses of opponents of war in all camps and countries. We have always regarded this as an urgent task of the international Thaelmann action.

The Jurists' Conference is faced with a number of urgent tasks: to launch a fresh mass action for the rescue of Ernst Thaelmann, for the release of the thousands of imprisoned anti-fascists who are hourly threatened with murder, for the release of those who are sitting in the condemned cells. A great action is necessary in order to secure and extend the right of asylum for those masses of persecuted anti-fascists who, hunted down in all capitalist countries, are wandering about without means of subsistence.

The brutal preparations for war with all the terrorist means of fascist justice, which brands the fighters for peace as common criminals and traitors and hails warmongers as national heroes, must be combatted with still greater energy.

The fight on the juridical front renders it possible to form and constantly extend the great broad united front and people's front for the defence of all democratic rights and achievements of the people. But our task is greater: to convince the bearers of solidarity, the anti-fascists, that the root of the evil is capitalism, that the anti-fascist must think logically to the end and then, as anti-capitalist, take up the fight together with the working class,

a fight which has produced such splendid results in the Soviet Union.

We conclude with an appeal to our lawyers: become propagandists of Soviet justice, Soviet law, that law which the workers have won and established in order to exterminate the exploiters, the warmongers and the fascists and to secure freedom, bread and socialism for all.

## Great Britain

### Derelict British Capitalism

By E. Woolley (London)

Not many years ago, in the history of civilisation, poets wrote verse reflecting horror at the way early capitalist development was ruining the agricultural village. New towns were rising, South Wales, Durham, Cumberland, and industrial Scotland became throbbing centres of expanding capitalist activity. But to-day these areas have been re-baptised as "derelict areas" by the very capitalist class that has sucked them dry. The National government even appointed a number of Commissioners to visit the areas, to see what could be done. The reports now issued by these trusty experts of capitalism constitute a striking monument both to the wrecking role of capitalism in the imperialist epoch as well as the listing, chapter and verse, of the inability of capitalism to see any hope of prosperity ever again returning to these areas in a manner likely to absorb the unemployed again into industry.

"... It would be little less than a calamity if the investigation should appear to produce nothing of value to West Cumberland. Nevertheless, it is impossible to blink the fact that West Cumberland's unemployed problem cannot be completely solved by what it is here possible to suggest as practical measures," states the Rt. Hon. J. C. Davidson, C.H., C.B., M.P., in his report for the named areas.

"Unfortunately, however," states Captain D. Euan Wallace, M.C., M.P., the Commissioner for Durham and Tyne-side, "markets abroad have not only ceased to expand, but there are indications that the present contraction may continue for some time, and overseas trade, at any rate with foreign countries, finally be stabilised upon a lower level."

Regarding shipping, shipbuilding and marine engineering, Captain Wallace states that

"as far as these three industries are concerned, the conclusion arrived at in the Industrial Survey of 1931 must be assented to. The problem facing them is one of scaling down to meet a diminished demand, which is likely to be permanent, rather than one of expansion."

Regarding the coal industry he states:—

"Taking home and export markets together, it would, according to the Mines Department, be rash to anticipate, even upon the evidence now available, more than a 60 per cent. recovery of the loss in output which occurred between 1929 and 1933; and even this estimate might well prove to be on the high side."

"... 28. It has already been pointed out that mechanisation of the mines in the area is steadily taking place, and that the process considerably reduces the amount of labour required per unit of output. When it is realised that scientific discovery has by no means reached its limit in this direction and that not all the mines are yet equipped with mechanical appliances, it becomes clear that employment cannot be expected to increase in proportion to sales."

"I am fully aware of the inadequacy of my suggestions" is one of the concluding remarks of Lt.-Col. Sir Arthur Rose, D.S.O., in his report on Scotland, in which, after accounting for all who might be absorbed back into industry if "there was a large enough revival," states that the

"permanently surplus labour in the area under review might be visualised approximately in round figures as at least 60,000 men and boys," and that "Examination of the basic industries indicates that the normal labour force is undergoing serious contraction, thereby increasing the number of those who may



be classed as permanently surplus and unlikely to obtain even a share of the employment available in the normal course."

Sir Wyndham Portal in his report on South Wales and Monmouthshire states

"that the employment position obtaining in the year 1927 (and that year was not a year of prosperity) is not likely to be regained. . . . I am going to assume that trade will revive sufficiently to enable industry in the area to work to a normal full capacity, and if this occurred the minor industries (e.g., building works, works of construction—including public works—and distributive trades) would receive a corresponding stimulus and might absorb, say, 3,000 men. It is thus possible that 42,000 of the existing unemployed will be absorbed locally into industry, leaving a permanent surplus of at least 39,000, and the problem arising therefrom is discussed in the paragraphs which follow."

Viewing these areas, where hundreds of thousands of skilled workers have been responsible for the massing of the wealth which gave British capitalism the premier position in the early days of capitalism, through spectacles of capitalist economics, these experts, against their desire to bolster up the discredited National Government, cannot give a single word of hope. As long as capitalism exists, these exponents of the capitalist system admit that the masses in these most industrialised areas of Britain are condemned to be exiled from real production.

The very schemes that they all put forward of allotments, hen runs, etc., are not put forward with any confidence, but with words of caution, that if they commence to throw on the market their produce it will injure the agricultural industry, which is also in a sad plight.

"If it is right to proceed with caution in regard to land settlement as a whole, then a policy which at once induces intensive competition in existing markets must be open to serious objection." (Page 99.)

What has worried all the Commissioners is to find out the reason why the masses of workers in these areas do not leave them and transfer to the more "prosperous" ones. Of course, in a report on derelict areas it would not be diplomatic to explain what every worker in these areas knows, that in all the other industrial areas there are masses of unemployed, otherwise it may become generally too clear that the derelict areas are only some degrees worse than, say, Lancashire textiles (Britain's main export industry), where the spinning masters are at the moment balloting on a scheme for breaking some one-third of the machinery.

While the unemployed of these areas have been living in a semi-starved state for years, they still maintain their trade union principles. They refuse to take the jobs of workers in areas where some industry is operating at less than trade union rates. All the Commissioners discuss steps that need to be taken to effect what they call "transference." They would like the derelict areas to be reservoirs of cheap labour, to be used for reducing the wages of the other workers. So far, thanks to the good work of the N.U.W.M., the masses of unemployed have fought against doing even relief work in their own areas at less than trade union rates, but the National government has passed an Act, which is to be operated next year, for workless men to attend, under threat of imprisonment, camps where they will do work at dole rates.

It was natural, therefore, that His Majesty's Commissioners should base the most substantial part of their report on what could be done for the poor unemployed, in the direction of such camps. As though thinking out some new proposal, Wallace states:—

"I think that many of the unemployed would be glad to accept a proposal to work for Transitional payments, increased by a small additional sum weekly, with working clothes and a mid-day meal."

All that capitalism can hold out to the workers in these areas is work in Slave Camps. To break their trade union spirit, to persuade them to accept work at less than trade union rates.

Since the issuing of the report the National Government has appointed a personnel, with full powers to spend two million pounds on the welfare of the masses in the derelict areas. Under the guise of doing something for the derelict areas, they will start new work camps. They will drain land that has lost its value with labour at dole rates so that the landowners will be able to enhance the value of their land.

The British working class has been roused against the government's Slave Labour Bill by the nation-wide campaign against

Slave Camps developed by the last Hunger March and Congress, along with the more than a hundred of local conferences. The government now hope to get an extension of the Slave Camps under the guise of doing something for the derelict areas. The revolutionary workers are conscious of this move, and the coming year will probably see extensive struggles of the British workers against the proposals of the National Government for creating a blackleg army of workers for use in carrying out the new public plans of the financiers for a general reduction in wages for the British workers.

## The Balkans

### The Hungarian Peasants in the National Revolutionary Fight for Freedom in Rumania

The imperialist rulers of Rumania of to-day are in a state of the greatest excitement. The government, the Court and the great Rumanian parties are holding secret meetings and deciding measures which they are themselves afraid to bring before the public. The Siguranza and the gendarmerie are making new torture chambers which they are furnishing with new and refined instruments of torture. The national chauvinist and fascist bands are making their preparations for pogroms. The imperialist press is sounding the alarm and shouting: Crucify them! All this is directed against the oppressed people of Rumania. The cause of this excitement and these preparations of the whole of the imperialist camp is the resistance of the Hungarian peasants in some villages in Transylvania to national oppression, economic plundering and social slavery.

One October morning all the peasants, men, women and children, of the Hungarian village of *Gymesch* (in the Ciuc district) armed with scythes, forks and spades, gathered round the County Hall in order to expel from the village both the Rumanian school manager, who forced upon their children the Rumanian language and used them for unpaid work on his land, and the tax gatherer, who had seized and set up for auction the property of the peasants for being behind in the payment of taxes and for school fines, as well as to protest against other concrete forcible measures of the government. The assembled peasants beat up the Rumanian school director and the tax collector because they put up resistance, they beat up the chairman of the village and the gendarmes who dared to protect the Rumanian bandits of culture and of taxes against the people's justice, and unanimously agreed upon a programme of demands to the government which they all pledged themselves to hold to and carry through, and, in order to put it through, they set up a *peasant committee of action*.

The demands are as follows: (1) The upholding of the international obligations of Rumania regarding non-Rumanian peoples; (2) establishment of Hungarian church schools; (3) appointment of a Hungarian teacher in every Rumanian elementary school; (4) abolition of distraint for non-payment of agricultural taxes; (5) abolition of payment in kind and labour service duty for the countryfolk; (6) road repairs at the cost of the sawmills and big landlords; (7) county halls, schools and public buildings to be open free of charge on all Sundays and holidays.

The same demands were adopted on the same day at similar peasant meetings in eight other villages in the Gymesch valley. The battalion of gendarmes which was rapidly sent thither ran up against such determination and courage on the part of the Hungarian peasants throughout the valley that the battalion delayed the attack for two days and waited. This small "rebellion" of nine small Hungarian mountain villages has shaken up the whole powerful imperialist state apparatus and the whole imperialist Rumanian camp. The poor Hungarian mountain and forest peasants of Gymesch have attacked them at their weakest point.

Great Rumania of to-day is a state of nationalities, whose non-Rumanian inhabitants form more than a third of the total population. The Rumanian imperialists trample beneath their feet their international obligations and their own constitution. In the occupied territory a colonial regime prevails to which even the Rumanian part of the population are subjected. The Rumanians of the occupied territory oppose the colonial regime with the demand of autonomy. If even the Rumanians of this district look upon the gangsters of Bucharest as fetters and are working to loosen them, it can be well imagined what the position of the non-Rumanian people must be.

With the deepening of the economic crisis and its destructive effects on the capitalist system, the pressure of Rumanian imperialism on the peoples under its yoke has tremendously increased. The economic difficulties of Rumanian finance capital has led it to the most outspoken policy of robbery and plunder of the occupied territory. By means of the so-called "promotion of national work" the middle classes of the oppressed peoples are ruined, the employees and workers in national and private enterprises are dismissed. The law demands 75 per cent. of these employed to be Rumanians; the government puts this at 100 per cent. Employees and workers lose work and position with the excuse of failing in the repeated language examinations; thousands of railwaymen, 600 Moldavian teachers in Bessarabia, 400 Ukrainian and Jewish workers and employees in municipal factories in Czernowitz (Bukovina) have been dismissed. The carrying through of the law for the control and simplification of the government apparatus is turned first and foremost against non-Rumanian employees. This, as well as national-chauvinist incitement, increases national hatred.

The use of non-Rumanian language in offices is a crime against the state; the use of the Ukrainian language in the schools, and by the pupils or teachers in the street, is punished with fines and loss of freedom. Teachers are also not permitted to speak Ukrainian at home. At the General Post Office in Czernowitz the use of any language other than Rumanian is forbidden even when speaking to a foreigner.

These governmental measures, in the fascist atmosphere of to-day, pregnant with war, only leads to an encouragement of national-chauvinist pogrom incitement against the non-Rumanian peoples.

The result of this colonial regime is that the economic and culturally higher developed occupied territory in every way is sinking to the level of backward Old Rumania. In the occupied territory, even according to the statements of the bourgeoisie, there is poverty, hunger, illiteracy and terrible demoralisation such as has never been known before.

The peasants are now rising against this policy. The Hungarian peasants are leaving their national Magyar Party, which has compromised with Rumanian imperialism and supports it; they are taking the cause of their national and social defence into their own hands and carrying it through in an organised and disciplined way. Rumanian imperialism knows that no compromise is possible with the peasants, as was possible with the barons and the bourgeoisie. It knows that other examples will soon follow that of the Hungarian peasants. It sees that a third front is joining up with the class struggle of the proletariat and the ferment among the peasantry, the front of the national fight for freedom.

Rumanian finance capital continues its policy of national annihilation, and its policy of terror against the Communist Party, the only force which is striving for the national freedom of the oppressed people of Rumania from the imperialist yoke, which can unite and lead the three fighting fronts and will bring about the overthrow of the rule of finance capital.

## Against Trotzkyism

### The Departure of a Trotzkyist

By S. (Amsterdam)

Sneevliet has informed his organisation, the Syndicalist Trade Union Federation N.A.S. that he is resigning from his position as president of this organisation and does not want to be re-elected. This "sensational" step is officially explained as being due to reasons of economy. However, Sneevliet's "magnanimous" gesture in renouncing his salary as president of the N.A.S. is prompted by other and good reasons: The Colijn government is preparing a new Act under which trade union officials will be forbidden to serve on public bodies. The "revolutionary" Sneevliet, however, holds nothing so dear as his parliamentary seat. He is resigning from his position in the trade union movement as he considers the Dutch State more secure and stable than the N.A.S.

When Sneevliet was elected president in the year 1924 the rank and file of the N.A.S. evinced strong sympathy for the Soviet Union and Communism. The members demanded affiliation to the Red International of Labour Unions, which demand was carried out against the opposition of the syndicalists. But Sneevliet wanted to conduct his own sectarian policy and to force it upon the Communist Party. He demanded of the Central Committee,

of which he was a member, that the Communist Party of Holland should only support the N.A.S. and abandon work among the reformist workers, which would have meant the complete isolation of the Party from the broad masses of the Dutch proletariat. The Party rejected Sneevliet's demands. Thereupon Sneevliet and a group of trade union functionaries left the C.P. of Holland and also brought about the disaffiliation of the N.A.S. from the R.I.L.U.

Since that time the differences of opinion between Sneevliet and the Bolshevik Party became more acute. Sneevliet founded his "own" political party, the Revolutionary Socialist Party (R.S.P.), which conducted an openly Trotzkyist policy. A furious incitement against the Communists and the followers of the R.I.L.U. set in, and expulsions from the N.A.S. were on the order of the day. Sneevliet initiated a similar campaign of incitement against the Soviet Union, using all the Trotzkyist arguments and calumnies for this purpose. There was no longer any talk of the N.A.S. waging economic fights. On the contrary. The N.A.S. leadership openly advocated the downright reformist standpoint that in the present period partial struggles are impossible and "sheer madness," and that only a "general strike" for the "revolution" has any sense at all. Acting on this theory, Sneevliet and his followers capitulated step by step to the employers, and even went so far as to attack striking workers in the rear, to expel them, as was the case in the building workers' strike in Amsterdam.

Sneevliet pursued only one policy: to split the working class and to frustrate any activity and unity of action. But difficulties increased for him when the government increased its pressure on the labour movement. His closest collaborator, Brandtsteder, secretary of the fish workers' union of Ymuiden, went over with this union to the reformist trade union centre. The new decrees which are directed against the organisations of the State and municipal employees called forth great dissensions among the leaders of the N.A.S., with the result that almost the whole federation of the municipal employees which was affiliated to the N.A.S. simply collapsed. Thus the N.A.S., under Sneevliet's skilful leadership, declined more and more and to-day numbers less members than it did forty years ago, when this oldest trade union federation in Holland was founded. In addition, the organisation is faced with financial bankruptcy.

The revolutionary opposition in the N.A.S. is rapidly growing, the workers are becoming more class conscious and are opposing the Trotzkyist leadership. The revolutionary opposition, in its last resolution, clearly formulated the tasks of this opposition as follows:—

"It is the task of the revolutionary opposition in the N.A.S. to win the workers of the N.A.S. for another trade union policy, the policy of the R.I.L.U., to transform the N.A.S. into an organisation which is conducting a revolutionary struggle, organising strikes and striving for unity of action with the other organised and unorganised workers, and thereby exerting a revolutionary influence upon the reformist and Christian workers, supporting the oppositional movement, in these trade unions in the interests of the class struggle of the whole of the proletariat."

The last few weeks have witnessed some progress in this direction. The meetings called by the revolutionary opposition of the N.A.S. in Amsterdam were better attended than those called by the N.A.S. leaders. This was a clear repudiation of the Trotzkyist policy. The meetings adopted resolutions in favour of the defence of the Soviet Union. In spite of the sabotage of the N.A.S. leaders the workers realised unity of action in the strike in Krommenie and in a number of other strikes against wage cuts and against attacks on the social achievements of the workers.

The Communist Party of Holland repeatedly proposed to the N.A.S. and to the R.S.P. unity of action for the purpose of joint demonstrations on August 1, for the support of the Spanish workers, etc. But Sneevliet avoids any discussion with the Communists and continues his campaign of calumnies against the Soviet Union.

Sneevliet was at one time Trotzky's trump card. But the path of this Trotzkyist also has ended in the bog and in complete bankruptcy. Sneevliet deserts his post and leaves the N.A.S. with a greatly diminished membership and powerless. But the rank and file of the N.A.S. will find their way back to the Red International of Labour Unions.

## Fight for the Unity of the Labour Movement

# For International Trade Union Unity

By A. LOZOVSKY

The fight for unity of action and trade union unity in the struggle against the offensive of capital, against fascism and the war danger, has spread to all the countries and workers' organisations. The trend of the masses towards unity of action has grown to such an extent that many leaders of the social-democratic parties and reformist trade unions are compelled to follow the sentiment of the masses. The most enthusiastic fraternisation of the workers of all tendencies is taking place before our eyes. This sentiment of the masses not only rouses fury and alarm among the bourgeoisie, but also great alarm among the leaders of the reformist trade unions, most of whom are on the extreme right flank of the international reformist labour movement. Ever new facts come to the fore every day, proving that the leaders of the *Amsterdam International* are conducting systematic work directed to the hampering of the united front and trade union unity. Thus the leaders of the C.G.T. in *France* repudiated the proposal of the unitary trade unions for merging the entire trade union movement from top to bottom and for the formation of a unified General Confederation of Labour. *Leon Jouhaux*, the leader of the reformist C.G.T. of *France*, brought pressure to bear upon the reformist trade unions of *Rumania* to make them abandon the united front and unity with the revolutionary workers. The General Council of the *British Trade Unions* does not even want to hear about a united front with the revolutionary workers. The leaders of the reformist trade unions of *Sweden*, *Denmark*, *Holland*, *Belgium* and *Czechoslovakia* proceed along the same line. Thus the leaders of the sections of the *Amsterdam International* are carrying through—with a stubbornness and insistence worthy of better application—the decisions of the *Amsterdam International* made in *Weymouth* against the united front and trade union unity.

We are not going to contend here the right of the leaders of the reformist trade unions to pass whatever decisions they wish. Nor are we going to tell the leaders of the *Amsterdam International* that the decision they made in *Weymouth* to the effect that all the revolutionary trade unions, including the R.I.L.U., should be liquidated, is merely thrusting a sword into water. Such a decision is only apt to make the revolutionary workers of the world enrolled in the R.I.L.U. burst into hearty laughter.

The leaders of the *Amsterdam International* got into a blind alley because their policy and tactic went bankrupt. They hope evidently to come out of the blind alley which they themselves created by demanding the liquidation of the revolutionary trade unions. Any group of people, of course, including the leaders of the reformist trade unions, has the right to adopt absurd decisions. But those millions of workers who are organised in the reformist trade unions should ask themselves: Where are these decisions finally leading us? What is the difference between the resolution of the General Council of the *British Trade Unions* and the decision on this question made by the leaders of the reformist trade unions of *Czechoslovakia*, *Sweden* and *Denmark*, or the decisions against the united front and trade union unity adopted in their time by the leaders of the trade unions of *Germany* and *Austria*? There is no difference whatsoever.

The leaders of all the sections of the *Amsterdam International* are carrying through the same policy as that of the trade union leaders of *Germany* and *Austria*. The workers should draw a logical conclusion, i.e., consequently the results will be the same. This is what every worker should think over. And when the leaders of his trade union pass decisions to the effect that the revolutionary trade unions should be dissolved, every worker not only has the right but must ask: "What for? For what purpose? Of what use will this be to the workers?"

The *Amsterdam International* in *Weymouth* proposed to the R.I.L.U. that it liquidate itself. Why? If the biggest section of the *Amsterdam International*—the *German* trade unions—went bankrupt, does this mean that the R.I.L.U. shall be liquidated? Why should the R.I.L.U. be liquidated? It seems that the R.I.L.U. should be liquidated to enable the *Amsterdam International* to carry on its old policy, i.e., to lead the working masses along the

*Austro-German* way, with more freedom than heretofore. It is losing one's head, indeed, to make such kind of proposals. Anyone who expects that a single person could be found in the R.I.L.U. who would follow the advice of the leaders of the *Amsterdam International* has no head at all on his shoulders. It would be best of all if the leaders of the reformist unions stopped talking about dissolving the revolutionary trade unions and liquidating the R.I.L.U., for nothing will come of such talk except chagrin for the reformist leaders.

The revolutionary trade unions and the R.I.L.U. for many years have been proposing seriously, without any hidden purpose, to build a unified trade union movement in every country and to create later an international trade union unity on this basis. Herein lies the essence of the entire policy of the *Red International of Labour Unions*. But, the leaders of the reformist trade unions are saying, the R.I.L.U. and its sections do not stop their criticism while proposing unity, they do not discontinue their struggle against reformism and the reformist policy and tactic. First of all the R.I.L.U. and its sections have openly declared many times that they are ready to stop their attacks on the leaders of those reformist organisations which will come out together with us in a united front of struggle against the bourgeoisie. The R.I.L.U. and its sections have never conducted a struggle against the workers organised in the reformist trade unions. They have always been struggling against the reformist policy and tactics carried through by the leaders of the reformist unions, which is far from being one and the same thing.

The workers of all tendencies have sufficient reasons now for marching side by side and shoulder to shoulder in the struggle against their class enemies. The offensive on the living standards of the working class is going on. Fascism is bringing unheard-of misery to the broadest working masses, reaction is raising its head in all countries. The R.I.L.U. and its sections have been proposing to all the reformist trade unions to fight together to raise the living standards of the working class, against fascism, for freedom of the workers' organisations, etc. Every joint action in this field is an enormous gain for the working class.

Why are the leaders of the *Amsterdam International*, the leaders of the trade unions of *Great Britain*, *France*, *Sweden*, *Denmark* and *Czechoslovakia*, opposed to the united front? All this can be explained quite simply. If they build a united front with the revolutionary workers, it will make it difficult for them to carry through a policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie. A united front between the revolutionary and reformist trade unions aims at joint action against the bourgeoisie, and a rejection of the united front means unwillingness to come out against the bourgeoisie. Thousands of facts can be given as an illustration of this statement. This is what every worker should seriously think over.

After the smashing of the *German* and *Austrian* trade unions the *Amsterdam International* lost over one-third of its membership, and so it is natural that it is anxious to make up for its losses by trying to win over those national centres which were outside the *Amsterdam International*. The *American Federation of Labour*, the *Norwegian Trade Union Federation*, etc., are among such centres. The *Norwegian trade unions* are going to settle the question of affiliation to the *Amsterdam International* in the nearest future. Three tendencies are at war inside the *Norwegian* trade unions. One is in favour of affiliation to the *Amsterdam International*, the other is for affiliation to the R.I.L.U., and the third wishes to remain outside both the internationals and to take the initiative of building a unified international trade union movement. In its letter to the *Norwegian Trade Union Federation* the executive bureau of the R.I.L.U. expresses its readiness to support the *Norwegian* trade unions provided they engage in the struggle for international trade union unity. The official organ of the *Norwegian* socialists, i.e., the "*Arbeiter Blatt*," advises *Moscow* "to go to *Paris*." It advises the revolutionary trade unions to join the reformist trade unions. But this kind advice was already given in *Weymouth*, and it will hardly become more

convincing after being translated into Norwegian. If the Norwegian trade unions are really eager to build trade union unity, and the "Arbeiter Blatt" states that this is their intention, they have an excellent opportunity to take the initiative, to elect a special committee for contacts, to establish contact with the Amsterdam International and the R.I.L.U., and to display activity in this sphere. But the R.I.L.U. needs no advice in the spirit of Weymouth.

We trust that the Norwegian Trade Union Congress will not maintain a position of liquidating the revolutionary trade union movement, and that it will ward off all those who, going under cover of slogans for unity of the trade union movement, endeavour to drag the Norwegian unions into the Amsterdam International.

The members of the reformist and revolutionary trade unions demand unity. The workers are right. A unified trade union movement is not only imperative, but also possible. It is imperative because it will strengthen the fighting capacity of the working class. It is possible because the revolutionary trade unions do not make any unacceptable demands to the reformist trade unions. The revolutionary trade unions are anxious to organise a joint struggle for the raising of the living standards of the working class, against fascism, for freedom of the workers' organisations, workers' press, etc. Trade union unity is possible because we openly say what this unity is for, on what basis it is to be built, and of what use it will be to the working class. We do not deceive anybody. We state our aims and tasks openly. As a rule, we are accused of manoeuvring when we propose the united front and trade union unity. We answer to this: Yes, it is a manoeuvre against the bourgeoisie, but it is not a manoeuvre against the working class. For it is in the interests of the broadest toiling masses. Refuse to struggle against class collaboration, stop the struggle against reformism, and then unity will be restored rapidly, say the leaders of the reformist trade unions. But giving up the struggle against class collaboration would be an abandonment of our views, it would mean treachery to the cause of the working class. We will never stop the struggle against class collaboration. The revolutionary workers cannot promise, and will never promise, to give up the struggle against reformism. They wish to confine the struggle to the limits of trade union democracy. We want to have the right to express our views within a unified trade union organisation, having a definite programme and tasks. We want the social democratic, Communist and anarchist workers to have the right to express their opinions of the basic aims and tasks of the working class and of the methods of achieving these aims, within the framework of a unified trade union organisation. Is this unacceptable? We believe that these conditions are acceptable to every worker. They are in keeping with his interests, they are a guarantee to the worker that his unified trade union organisation will wage a struggle against the employers and in the course of the exchange of opinion will work out correct methods for the overthrow of the rule of capital. This is why we are for the united front, for trade union unity on a national and international scale.

## Unity of Action by the Proletarian Youth

By Wilhelm Pieck (Berlin)

*Comrade Wilhelm Pieck addressed to all the members and groups of young social-democratic workers an open letter, from which we give the following excerpt.—Ed.*

### Young Friends and Comrades,

Why am I writing you this letter? Why do I feel that it is I who am called upon to do this? To come straight to the point: Now more than ever you have before you the urgent task of creating, with the Communist youth, the united front of all young workers for the fight against the Hitler dictatorship and its measures so hostile to the youth.

Your youth, your existence, your future, your life is in the most serious danger! Hang back no longer! In your own ranks you must take the initiative! Take our hands which we stretch out to you! Let us overcome together the disastrous split in the ranks of the working youth. Let us set up together the brotherly, united fighting front against our enemy, fascism, the dictatorship of Hitler. Let us unite, as before the world war, in one common fighting organisation, in one youth league, in one party, in one trade union.

The party of Hitler would never have been able to set up their bloody hangman empire if we had not been divided, but united,

and had fought, unbroken, against the bourgeoisie which handed the government to Hitler to ensure their rule. We have had to make many a sacrifice as a result. But it is still not too late. We have the power to overthrow the Hitler dictatorship, if we build unity in struggle and unity in organisation.

The world war, with the disastrous policy of the social-democratic leadership of supporting the German bourgeoisie, crushed the hopes that the young social democrats had placed in the social-democratic party. I still remember with pride the courageous fight which those of the youth who were schooled in Marxism conducted at that time against the war policy of the social-democratic leaders. A training course which I carried through with the young comrades of Berlin against this policy was compulsorily stopped by the Party Committee and I myself was removed from my post. But this policy not merely killed the hopes of the young social democrats, but also their unity, and thus the fighting power of the youth was weakened.

As among the youth, so also among the adult workers. In blatant contradiction to the teachings of Karl Marx, concerning the unbridgeable gulf between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat and the necessity of the class struggle, the social-democratic leaders formed a coalition with the bourgeoisie and spread the opinion that it would thereby be possible to realise socialism. By this they hindered the proletariat in carrying through its fight for bread and freedom and helped the bourgeoisie in securing their rule.

We Communists, with *Karl Liebknecht* and *Rosa Luxemburg* at the head, have carried on from the beginning the fight against this disastrous policy and incessantly tried to establish once again the unity of the youth and the adult working class in the fight against the bourgeoisie. It has needed many sacrifices and bitter experience in order to bring to life once again this will to unity.

Late, but not too late, in Germany also, the one-time members of the social-democratic party and of the youth recognise the necessity of again establishing unity under the banner of the class struggle, which has been held aloft unstained by the Communists. Throughout the land of Germany thousands of members of the late social-democratic party and social-democratic youth organisation have joined the Communist Party and Young Communist League. They are active in the ranks of our Party and stand in responsible posts. A sincere, brotherly fighting alliance has been concluded! Shoulder to shoulder, competing in the organisation of the fight against the Hitler dictatorship and against fascism, social-democratic and Communist workers are bound together in unity of struggle and action.

But still tens of thousands of young social-democratic comrades in Germany stand on one side, undecided and biding their time! Now is the time to take the decisive step for unity of action, in order to attain also organisational unity in the German Young Communist League and the German Communist Party, on the basis of the Programme of the Communist International and the tactics of the Communist Party. It is the purpose of this Open Letter to you to help you young comrades, to convince you of the necessity of this unity.

### Young Friends, Comrades!

How dangerous an illusion it was when you believed the statements of your former leaders that the interests of the workers and the youth would be looked after without the class struggle, by the participation of social-democratic leaders in a bourgeois government, and that the working class could attain socialism by way of bourgeois democracy. It is a no less dangerous illusion to believe that one day, as if out of the blue, fascism could be overthrown and that we only need to "bide our time" until it has sufficiently compromised itself. No, the overthrow of fascism must be prepared, must be organised in the daily fights for the tiniest demands of the workers, in the factories, in the labour camps, at the labour exchanges. And the working class and the proletarian youth can fulfil this task only through unity of action. We Communists call upon you to take up the day-to-day fight now, for immediate demands and against the measures of the Hitler government harmful to the youth. We will be victorious in this fight if we are united, and by this unity we will raise the consciousness of power and the class-consciousness of the working class for our decisive battle and for the victory over fascism.

### Young Comrades!

Just as the Hitler party is no workers' party, the Hitler government too does not conduct a workers' policy. It only obeys the orders of the big bank and industrial capitalists and Junkers, for



the maintenance of their rule and for oppressing the workers in order to secure their profits, for carrying through the robbery of wages and the lowering of the conditions of life for all toilers, for breaking down every resistance. The Hitler government is especially plotting against the youth, in whom it has only one interest, to use them for the civil war against the proletariat and as cannon fodder for wars or robbery. That is the purpose of the labour camps and the military calling up of all young people for a year's labour service. That is the purpose of the "Help to the land," that mediæval, brutal, slave statute labour! That is the purpose of drill in the Hitler Youth organisations. In the spirit or rather in the drill of nationalism, of chauvinism, of hatred against peoples, the working youth are to be estranged from the proletariat, to be made ripe for the trenches. On the basis of the "Law for the Substitution of Labour," as it is called, of which the Goering plan is only its application in Berlin, the youth will be thrown out of the factories with the hypocritical excuse of making way for the fathers of families.

The whole economic existence of the youth, their professional training, their entire future is threatened. That is the greatest crime which the Hitler government has committed against the toilers of Germany. The whole of the working class must take up the fight against these fascist bankrupts. In every factory, at every labour exchange, in working-class quarters, the resistance, the open fight against every attack must be organised. That is the common cause of all adult workers and the youth. We must not allow the youth to be driven from the factories and forcibly transported to help on the land, to labour service. Even at the railway stations this transfer must be stopped. We have already had some good examples of this fight.

*(We omit the passages which follow on the war policy of the Hitler government, on the effect of the fascist labour laws and on the narrowing of the mass basis of Hitler fascism, for reasons of space.—Ed.)*

The Hitler government has brought mass misery, hunger and need into Germany. Just as the young workers and the adult workers sink ever deeper into this misery, so, too, the employees, the petty officials, the small business men, the poor peasants and agricultural workers, and their sons and daughters are sinking into the mire. To all of them Hitler had promised help. They believed in these promises and set their hopes on him. But the result of a year and a half of Hitler's dictatorship has exposed to many of them the betrayal which Hitler has perpetrated against them. No improvement, no escape from misery, but economic catastrophe striding on in seven-leagued boots. And no demagoguery, be it ever so lying and flagrant, can conceal it.

#### Young Comrades, Comrades!

The position of the working class and the youth is not hopeless. There is no ground for despair and pessimism. Already stirring among the proletariat are the forces which will bring an end to this situation. The Secret State Police continually shout about the "burrowing work of the Communists." Neither the continual arrests nor the worst terror can suppress this heroic work of the Communists. Hitler has not been able to destroy the Communist Party as he was able to destroy the social-democratic party. If the Communists are forced to work illegally, nevertheless the Communist Party stands visible before the eyes of the whole working class, in every factory, at the labour exchanges and in workers' quarters. It is the only revolutionary fighting Party which is rigidly organised and fills millions of workers and young workers with a new spirit of fight. Throughout the world a united front of all anti-fascists against Hitler fascism has been created for the freeing of our imprisoned leader, *Comrade Ernst Thaelmann*. Under the banner of the Communist International and the socialist victories of the worker and peasant power in the Soviet Union the working masses are gathering together for the fight for freedom against fascism, for the realisation of the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, for the erection of proletarian dictatorship as a condition for the realisation of socialism.

In the country of proletarian dictatorship, in the Soviet Union, Socialism is being made a reality by the tremendous building of industry, by the formation of powerful collective farms, by the raising of the standard of living of the toilers. There the land, the factories, raw materials and machines, villas and castles belong to the toilers alone. There, there is no unemployment, there the welfare of the masses rises unceasingly. There the youth has full possibility for the development of their abilities. All high schools

and universities are at their disposal. In the factories and in the Soviets the youth has full and equal rights of representation. The Communist youth stands at the head of the shock brigades for the construction of socialism. A proud and joyful generation is rising in this youth.

The Soviet Union is not conducting any war policy, but the only true policy of peace. Its economic and political significance in the world is growing continuously. It is the one treasure of the world proletariat. Its Red Army serves as a protection of the country against invasion by the imperialist powers, it serves the building up of Socialism. Under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, with their great leader *Comrade Stalin* at the head, supported by the stupendous work of the Young Communist League, this country is marching towards classless society. Young comrades! Let us create such a country in our Germany.

#### Young Friends, Comrades!

Think what is at stake for you, for us all in Germany in these weeks and months. The will to unity grows in the ranks of the working class and the youth. Let us make the will into the deed. The Young Communist League has made a public offer of a united front to all social-democratic youth groups. Take the initiative in every district, come together at once with the Young Communist League or with the Communist Party, in order to come to an agreement for the common fight in the factories, at the labour exchanges, against the Hitler government's hostile measures against the youth, for an agreement on uniting with the Young Communist League. Follow the example which thousands of your comrades have given you. You can rest assured that you will be accepted into our ranks as full comrades with equal rights. Openly and honestly we stretch out our hands for brotherly union for a common cause. Do not let yourselves be persuaded that we Communists want to manoeuvre with you. Do not let yourselves be induced into thinking that a new Unity Party must be created, that the Communist Party of Germany too has broken down. Whoever says so is not in favour of unity of the working class.

With you, with your fathers and mothers, with your sisters and brothers, we Communists want unity in struggle, unity of organisation, in the youth, in the Party, in the trade unions, in the defence organisations, in sport and everywhere. Let us fight for the re-establishment of the free trade unions! Let us create a joint mass self-defence organisation against the fascist terror! Thus united, we will draw into our fighting union the masses of the young toilers in the Catholic Front and also the youth from the Hitler Front. So united we will defeat Hitler in Germany, destroy fascism, get work and bread for all toilers, create a free, socialist Germany.

*Young members of the Reichsbanner, lads and girls of the old social-democratic young workers' organisation, of the trade unions and sports organisations!* Do not lay this letter on one side, unnoticed! Restore the honour of the first proletarian youth organisation! Form with us Communists the unity of the working youth! On each one of you rests a tremendous responsibility! Let each one be an agitator and an organiser of this great work of proletarian unity of action and of the victory of the working class!

With fraternal greetings,

Your comrade,

**Wilhelm Pieck.**

## The United Front in Poland Must be Extended

By J. Lenski

The bloody experience gained in the struggle against fascism sets the Communist Parties the task of making the united front of the working class the lever of anti-fascist action on the part of the broadest masses of the people.

The advance of the proletarian united front in France has aroused much disquietude among the bourgeoisie of the fascist countries. In Poland, too, we find not only the bourgeois press, but the leaders of the Polish socialist party greatly perturbed.

*Liebermann*, a leader of the Polish S.P. living as a refugee in Paris, endeavours to prove that the proletarian united front is driving the petty-bourgeois masses into the arms of the bourgeoisie.

"In the party"—writes *Liebermann*, in an article on the French socialists, with the significant title "The Disappointment"—"serious voices are being raised, pointing out the not too favourable results of the united front, as evinced on the one hand in the alliance between the big and petty bourgeoisie, and on the other in the lessening of the influence of the



socialist organisation in the rural districts and in the middle classes. We shall see whether these considerations, aroused by the elections, will become intensified in the French party, and will find expression in decisions."

The meaning of the doubt expressed by Liebermann is clear. It is high time to put an end to the proletarian united front in France. This united front has caused much anxiety to the leaders of the S.P. of Poland, for it is infecting the Polish proletariat. Liebermann, a reformist of the purest water, who preached the overcoming of fascism by Parliamentary means, fears the revolutionary consequences of the united front:—

"There remains therefore the street"—he records with alarm—"but can the French socialist party risk this revolutionary leap in the dark after the many experiences of other countries, the more so that the whole mighty state apparatus is in the hands of its opponents?"

The fear of the street has also seized Liebermann's party friends in Poland. They fear the street as the revolutionary fighting ground against fascism. They fear the stronger alliance between the proletariat and the toiling peasantry brought about by this struggle. Liebermann opposes to this alliance the idea of a "centre-left" bloc with the French radical party, *at the price of the proletarian united front*. The idea of a "centre-left" bloc of this kind with the oppositional bourgeois parties of the Polish Seym has been advocated by the Polish S.P. for years with Liebermann's support.

Nothing but the continued development and the increased activity of the proletarian united front in France can accelerate the coming over of the impoverished masses of the petty bourgeoisie to the side of the proletariat. The masses must see in this united front the force which will frustrate the fascist plans of the bourgeoisie and defend their day-to-day interests against the reactionary predatory policy of monopolist capital. The situation in Poland is similar.

The Pilsudski government is aware of the role which can be played by the united front in the struggle of the working class and the exploited peasantry. The tactics of the government aim at splitting the working class and playing it off against the peasantry. The common front of the bourgeoisie is to be extended to the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie of the towns—this is the idea of the "course to the Left" announced by the fascist deceivers. The fascist government is anxious to broaden its basis in the rural districts; it is anxious to gain a pause for breath in order to facilitate for the bourgeoisie a fresh attack on the working class. The further robbery of wages and social achievements, of which the lower prices announced for industrial goods forms the prelude, is to give the industries the possibility of maintaining the present level of production, threatened by the agrarian crisis and the growing export difficulties.

Only the united front of the proletariat can frustrate this attack.

The C.C. of the C.P. of Poland has sent Open Letters to the party committees of the S.P. of Poland and the "Bund," proposing the immediate commencement of united front negotiations. Both these open letters emphasise the necessity of the united front in the struggle for the urgent vital questions, and the exclusion of questions of ideological contention from the negotiations. Referring to the latest decisions of the Central Committee of the S.P. of Poland on unity of action, the C.C. of the C.P. emphasises the necessity of getting outside of the "unending circle" created by the Polish S.P. leaders with their so-called *preliminary* conditions and "tests of good will." These and other manoeuvres are a sabotage of the united front.

The C.C. of the S.P. of Poland sets three main conditions:—

"The cessation of attacks on the Polish S.P., of insinuations and slanders, the cessation of the diversion practice of forming cells in social-democratic organisations, the cessation of separatism and fractions in the trade union movement."

The first condition can give rise to no difficulties, as our Party has never resorted to insinuations and slanders, but has had rather to fight against them. It suffices to formulate the reciprocal obligation in the agreement as has always been proposed by us: abstention from any attack, libels, and abuse.

On the other hand it is by no means clear what is meant by the second condition, since our party has never had anything in common with the splitting practices in the manner of the P.O.W. (Polish military organisation). The condition appears to refer to

the workers' opposition within the Polish S.P., which opposes the splitting policy of the S.P. leaders. But the main cause of this opposition is to be found in the policy of the S.P. leaders themselves. Or is it the idea of this condition to demand the cessation of the agitation for the united front among the workers of the Polish S.P.? To this it must be observed that the realisation and loyal fulfilment of a united front agreement will cancel the necessity of any such agitation. The editorial board of the "Tydzien Robotnika"—in its stupid reply to my pamphlet—stigmatises even an approach by Communists to the workers and organisations of the P.P.S. as an outrage against the inviolability of the S.P. But the joint struggle is impossible without tearing down the Chinese wall between the social-democratic and Communist organisations.

The third condition is formulated in an even more general form. We declare from the beginning that there can be *no inner trade union democracy without complete liberty for the activities of the different trends and without the proportional election to the trade union organs*. This has been proved by the many years' experience of the Central Commission of the trade unions. But if the C.C. of the S.P.P. rejects our standpoint of trade union unity in the negotiations, then the question of the unification of the trade unions would have to be eliminated from the united front agreement. But to-day the actions taken by the trade unions can already be co-ordinated.

The sole means of escape from the unending circle, and from the sole touchstone of "good will," is the joint struggle on the basis of a united front agreement. The immediate initiation of negotiations will be welcomed both by the Communists and by the organisations of the S.P.P., all anxious to take up the fight against the increasingly vicious attacks of capital and fascism.

Nor do we see any obstacles against the resumption of the negotiations with the leaders of the "Bund." But the press of the "Bund" bristles with all manner of attacks on our Party, and the leaders of the "Bund" are endeavouring to introduce an anti-Communist drive into legal meetings and lectures.

The C.C. of our Party had a perfect right—it was indeed its duty—to reject the project advanced by the "Bund," which failed to correspond to the vital interests of the proletariat and did not contain any forms of struggle, nor any joint organs of action, nor any obligation to joint actions. It was nothing but a declaration on paper for the united front, intended to award the "Bund" the title of a proletarian class party—equal to the Communist. The delegation of the "Bund" attached no importance to the actual establishment of the united front, but solely to obtaining a certificate from the Communists that they were revolutionists, and to rehabilitating the Second International. Therefore the endeavours to smuggle into the agreement formulations intended to whitewash the Second International with regard to its policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, which is smoothing the path for fascism.

The essential thing to be noted is that the "Bund," for months *after the conclusion of the provisional agreement*, sabotaged all actions proposed by the Communists on the basis of this agreement. The C.C. of the "Bund" did not move a finger to organise joint meetings in aid of the fighters for the Spanish revolution. The "Left" "Bund" proved a child of the same flesh and blood as the Second International.

In spite of the conclusion of the provisional agreement, the press of the "Bund" did not cease to calumniate our Party, and the "Left" *Alter* did not shrink from taking the exposed provocateurs under his protection, or from joining *Puzak* and *Niedziakowski* in insinuating that the leaders of the C.P. of Poland "eliminated inconvenient Party workers politically under the stigma of provocation."

It is essential to note that the C.C. of the "Bund" broke off the negotiations at the moment when the Pilsudski government has proceeded to the systematic robbery of the last remnants of the social and political achievements of the working class, and is endeavouring to play off the peasantry against the working class by means of demagogic promises. This was the step taken by the C.C. of the "Bund" when the government sent its police against the real champions of the united front.

And it is essential to note that the C.C. of the "Bund" broke off negotiations at the moment when *the members of the P.P.S.* commenced to demand urgently the united front with the Com-

munists, and the P.P.S.—to use the words of the leader of its Warsaw district organisation, *Dziengielewski*—“was seized by the united front fever.” Under the pressure from below, even the C.C. of the P.P.S. has divided into two groups, as we are told by the well-informed Alter in his paper “Nove pismo”: the majority, which “set the Communists pre-conditions,” and the minority, which “adopted a vacillating attitude, and preferred to wait till the situation had cleared up.” At this moment the C.C. of the “Bund” hastened to the aid of the C.C. of the P.P.S. The leaders of the “Bund” feared—as Alter is obliged to admit—that the “action for the united front promulgated so energetically by the Communists” might break down the barriers erected by the manoeuvring leaders. They feared that the P.P.S. organisations would everywhere “form united front committees against the will of their party,” committees which would be likely, in Alter’s words, “to smell at a distance of the united front from below.” During the negotiations the “Left” delegation of the “Bund” rejected the proposal of the Communists to combat the elements disrupting the united front; the “Left” delegates were determined not to abandon their role as intermediaries for the Right leaders of the P.P.S.

The united front cannot be expressed in platonic declarations, but in concrete actions carried out *jointly*. The setting of preliminary ideological and programmatic conditions is a *sabotage* of united action, and plays into the hands of fascism.

We are firmly convinced that every organisation of the “Bund” anxious for an honest understanding with the Communists will share this viewpoint.

The working class of Poland must win over the broad masses of the toiling peasantry and of the oppressed national minorities for the anti-fascist front. In the rural district the united front of the agricultural workers, the small holders, and the impoverished middle peasantry, must be formed against the government, the large landowners, and the kulaks. The Communists, supporting every partial demand advanced by the masses of the peasantry from the depths of their oppression and misery, must propose to the mass organisations of the peasants’ party (“Stronnicwo Ludowe”) the joint struggle for the following demands: against taxes and fines, against the collection of debts by the fascist “debt payment” law, against the violence of the police and the arbitrary force of the fascist agents. On this basis we must build up a network of peasant united front committees, drawing into the movement at the same time the functionaries of the small and medium peasant members of the “Stronnicwo Ludowe.”

Every protest against national oppression and against the Polish occupation of West Ukraine and West White Russia must be organised on the broadest possible basis.

Similar protest actions must be organised everywhere among the urban poor against taxation robbery, against the extortions of the house owners, against evictions, etc.

The struggle against fascist terror, for the release of the political prisoners, against imperialist war, in defence of the U.S.S.R., must be extended and developed beyond the frontiers of the workers’ districts and of the works and factories, and must reach the millions of the poor in town and country, must penetrate into the ranks of the whole of the toiling masses.

The proletarian united front and the anti-fascist people’s front—the fighting front of the millions against fascism and war—this is now the main link in our tactics.

#### Impending Trial of Rakosi

The Rakosi Committee has received information from Hungary that the Public Prosecutor has now brought a renewed charge against Rakosi, who has been “on remand in custody” since April of this year. The indictment has been forwarded to the Budapest Court, and this has decided that the trial is to take place in the middle of January. The contents of the indictment are kept secret; neither the defending counsel nor Rakosi himself have been permitted to see it up to the present.

The Rakosi Committee, which has meanwhile become international in character, having been joined by English, Dutch, and Belgian lawyers, will hold a plenary session of all its members on December 1, in order to adopt a course of action in view of the new situation, and to report to the International Juridical Conference, which begins on the same date in Paris, on its activities up to the present. The Committee will take the opportunity of soliciting the aid of all the jurists assembled at the Conference for the release of Mathias Rakosi.

## Anti-Fascist United Front in Greece

By Komos

The Communist Party of Greece is able to record great achievements in the setting up of the united front. In reply to the united front agreement of the parties (C.P. of Greece, Socialist Party and Agrarian Party), and of the trade unions (C.G.T., C.G.T.U., autonomous trade unions), the fascist organisations decided to set up a national united front and to call a Congress for November 17 and 18. There exist great differences of opinion between the fascist leaders, but the setting up of the anti-fascist united front of the toilers struck such terror into the heart of the government, of the general staff and of the ruling class, that every effort was made to weld the fascist organisations into a united front. The fascist congress was to represent the first step in this direction. The Communist Party immediately called the attention of the workers to this action. The representatives of the anti-fascist parties and of the trade unions met together and adopted a joint decision in which they denounced the organisation of the fascist Congress as a provocation of the toilers and called upon the masses to prevent the holding of this Congress. This decision was signed by the four parties forming the united front: the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the Social-Democratic Party and the Agrarian Party, as well as by the three trade unions. A committee consisting of the representatives of the anti-fascist parties interviewed the Minister for the Interior, protested against the calling of the fascist Congress and demanded its prohibition. Following the proposal of the representative of the Communist Party, the reformist railway workers’ union decided to carry out a half-hour’s strike on November 17. The strike was 100 per cent. solid and the meetings of the strikers discussed in detail the question of the fascist Congress.

These joint anti-fascist actions aroused a great response among the toiling masses, but filled the ruling class with terror. When the representatives of the parties and trade unions held a joint meeting, the premises of the meeting hall were suddenly raided by police, the delegates searched and their names and addresses taken.

A few days ago the fascists belonging to the “Triena” organisation organised a regular raid on the premises of the central organ of the Communist Party “Rizospastis.” About 30 hooligans forced their way into the premises and began to smash everything. The editors and officials who were present offered resistance and drove the fascist heroes out of the building. The police hastened to the aid of the fascists. Two hundred policemen occupied the building. A regular pitched battle ensued, in which the Communists courageously defended themselves. The police, under the command of the Minister of the Interior, who personally conducted the “crushing of the revolt,” proceeded in the most brutal manner. After a battle lasting 2½ hours the police emerged victorious. Twenty-one persons, all of them Communists, were wounded, three very seriously. All the Communists on the premises were arrested, the rooms ransacked and destroyed. The Public Prosecutor himself estimated the damage at 200,000 drachmas.

The bourgeois papers attempt to put the blame for this affair on the Communists. The Communists are said to have provoked the fascists. The working class, the toilers and intellectuals are highly indignant at this brutal action of the police and the fascists. The parties of the working class at once issued a joint protest declaration. The trade unions are preparing for a strike. In Kalamata a demonstration of 2,500 toilers took place. This monstrous provocation by the fascists, who aim at robbing the toilers of the last remnants of their liberties, will not remain unanswered.

#### The Radical Students of Iceland for the World Students’ Congress

Paris, November 23.

The Students’ World Committee reports that the Association of Radical Students of Iceland, which includes in its ranks 60 out of the 180 students of the Reykjavik University, has declared its affiliation to the Congress, and resolved to send a delegate. The Association is applying to the Students’ Council of the University to furnish the necessary funds enabling the student delegate to travel to Paris.

# Students' World Congress

## The Fight of the Students for their Economic Demands

By André Victor

The economic crisis which is shaking the capitalist regime has not only thrown millions of workers out of employment, but also considerably restricted the demand for new technicians and experts. The high schools and training colleges, on the other hand, are continuing to turn out people with degrees and diplomas who only go to swell the army of unemployed intellectuals. The press has repeatedly dealt with the question of unemployment among intellectuals, and has even gone so far as to describe people with diplomas as "candidates for misery." The bourgeoisie realises that the young intellectuals who have no opportunity of work constitute revolutionary inflammable material. Increasing attempts are being made in all capitalist countries to overcome the danger which lies hidden in the unemployment of the intellectuals by limiting the possibility of study and restricting it to a narrow circle. These measures are accompanied by an ideological propaganda against the so-called "excessive growth of the intelligentsia." The fact is, however, that the present capitalist regime is able to make use of the services of engineers, doctors, teachers, etc., only to a limited extent, and this not because the real demands and requirements of the working masses, who enjoy practically none of the benefits of technical and cultural progress, are satisfied.

The bourgeoisie is employing various methods in order to reduce the number of people who are studying. These measures characterise the profound anti-cultural policy of dying capitalism.

One of the simplest methods consists in suppressing and closing schools. It commenced with the closing of various technical schools which immediately felt the effects of the crisis. These were followed, however, by colleges, normal schools, university faculties, etc., whereby it was intended at the same time to effect budget economies. In Paris alone a number of professorships are to be abolished, including that of Greek literature and medical and surgical anatomy.

At the same time the government expenditure on libraries and laboratories is being cut down and grants for scientific research withdrawn.

In order to prevent the students from continuing their studies the number of persons permitted to attend the lectures is reduced. In Hitler Germany the number of students allowed to matriculate at the high schools has been reduced to 10,000. The number of German high school students is constantly declining. In the Summer term of 1933 it amounted to 115,722, compared with 122,847 in the previous Winter term. Particularly striking is the decline in the number of students attending the technical schools. In the Winter term, 1933-34, it had sunk to 17,253 compared with 21,706 in the previous year.

In other capitalist countries attempts are made to achieve the same end by other means. Entrance examinations are being introduced to an ever-increasing extent in order to decrease the number of students. At the same time a systematic policy of cutting down the autonomous rights of the universities is being pursued. Fees are being increased, with the obvious intention of making it impossible for poor students to continue their studies. Scholarships grants are being greatly reduced or abolished. In the Central European and Balkan countries, where the problem of national minorities plays a big role, the attacks of this kind are directed in the first place against students belonging to national minorities.

Under the slogan "the woman's place is the home," young women are being ousted from the high schools. In Hitler Germany the number of women students allowed to attend the universities has been reduced to 1,500. The Paris "Temps" recommends the same means in order to reduce unemployment among the intellectuals. Even when the student has secured admission to the college or university he finds himself up against a number of provisions which render it difficult or even impossible for him to finish his study. One of these provisions is the prolongation of the course of study. The faculty for French literature demands a fourth certificate; in a whole number of countries all students are compelled to take a degree of doctor of law; the French medical faculty has introduced a six years' course of study.

At the same time the examinations are being made more difficult, not, however, in order to increase the qualification, but solely in order to exclude the largest possible number of persons from the learned professions. Another provision that hits the student very hard is that under which if he fails in one subject at an examination he loses a whole year.

In France the decree introduced by Chéron prohibiting the engagement of new government officials called forth such a protest movement that the Association Générale, which is under fascist leadership, was compelled to take part in a strike in order better to betray it. There was a strike of the students in Paris and in several towns in the province which lasted several days. The Association Générale, however, finally concluded a compromise with the Minister for Education and called off the strike.

In the course of the last year a strike movement broke out in the French normal schools against the reduction of the students' maintenance grants. It came to partial strikes in several provincial towns. In Spain the anti-fascist students succeeded in carrying out a strike four times last year against the worsening of the regime in the high schools and against the fascisation of the universities.

A great movement has been launched in China against the fascist educational policy of the Kuomintang. It came to numerous strikes of the students. On June 18 several thousand students demonstrated in front of the Ministry of Education in Tiehuan. There were collisions with the police as a result of which fourteen students were wounded and thirty persons were arrested.

In the Balkans, where in spite of the fact that 50 per cent. of the population are illiterate the fascists and the fascist governments are pursuing their policy of stifling education and culture, the students have often resorted to the strike weapon and organised street demonstrations in order to fight for their economic demands.

In Bulgaria the anti-fascist students' association led over thirty strikes at various colleges and a general strike of students at the college of law against the increase of fees.

In Yugoslavia the students carried out mass demonstrations against the worsening of the regime in the high schools; the universities were closed in order to prevent demonstrations. The students forcibly occupied the university and offered resistance to the police and gendarmes for 36 hours. In the coming term the demonstrations of students will certainly increase.

In Prague the united front of socialist and Communist students, which was organised to fight against the worsening of the regime in the universities, organised a meeting at which 2,000 were present.

In Montreal, Canada, 18,000 students, as a protest against the 25 per cent. increase in the fees, refused to take their matriculation. The action was general and the students succeeded in drawing the professors into the fight, whose salaries had been reduced by 10 per cent.

The World Congress of Students against War and Fascism, which will take place from December 29 to 31 in Geneva, will deal thoroughly with the material situation of the students and with the anti-cultural policy of dying capitalism. The Congress will also at the same time examine the methods of resistance and struggle against this policy. It will sum up the results of the fights waged hitherto and place the economic demands of the students in the fighting programme of the school Youth.

## The Preparations for the International Student's Congress

Good progress is being made with the preparation of the Students' World Congress. The Students' World Committee is daily receiving reports of students' meetings in all countries. We give some instances of these:—

The students of Argentina have commenced the campaign for the World Congress. On the initiative of the students who took part in the World Youth Congress, a national Initiative Committee was set up composed of socialist students, revolutionary students, and a great number of intellectuals. The Initiative Committee sent out application forms for affiliation to the Congress, published propaganda articles on the World Congress in the Argentinian press, and is preparing to send a strong delegation of Argentinian students to the Congress.

The campaign against the Disaffection Bill in England has also roused the students. A joint meeting convened by various

students' organisations was held in Southampton. The resolution of protest, which was unanimously adopted at this meeting, was sent to the members of parliament of Southampton, to the university authorities, and to the Attorney-General. At the same time a committee was formed in order to organise the further protest actions. Fifteen students' organisations affiliated to this committee, including the "Free Church," the League of Nations Union, the Liberal students' organisation and the Socialist League. This constituted the broadest united front action ever realised in Southampton; only the Labour Party and the Trades Council refrained from taking part in the movement. A delegate conference was held at which a lawyer explained the effects of the Disaffection Bill and a demonstration was organised. This demonstration, at which 2,000 people were present, unanimously adopted a resolution of protest. The Attorney-General, who is a member of parliament for a neighbouring constituency, was compelled under the pressure of this mass action to receive a delegation, which also submitted the special demands of the students.

The English students are determined to consolidate and extend this united front and to send a delegation to the World Congress.

The socialist students' organisation, the Clarion Youth Campaign, which received an invitation to the World Students' Congress, will discuss this question in the next few days. The secretary of this organisation, Hackett, in his reply to this invitation, expressed the hope that it would be possible to find some sort of co-operation.

The Students' World Committee have received a letter from Barcelona, in which the revolutionary students ask for propaganda material and inform the Committee that a Catalonian delegation representing all students who are fighting for Catalonian emancipation from Spanish imperialism will attend the Congress.

In the United States the students organised great demonstrations on armistice day. The campaign for the Students' World Congress is being conducted under the same slogans. The League for industrial democracy (socialist students) and the students' section of the war resisters have affiliated to the Congress and, together with the National Students' League (revolutionary students' organisation), issued an appeal for the Students' World Congress.

We are informed from Costa Rica that the students have already commenced the campaign for the Congress. They hope to be able to send a delegate to the Congress in spite of the great financial difficulties.

The French National Committee, as part of the propaganda for the Students' World Congress, issued a Students' Diary for the year 1935, in which data are published on the movement against war and fascism and on the Congress. The November issue of "Front Universitaire," the organ of the Students' World Congress, published an article by a Christian student, in which it is stated *inter alia*:—

"Fascism claims to possess intellectual and moral value. The Catholics must be warned against believing this, for otherwise they will be cruelly disappointed if fascism attains power. We must realise that fascism does not protect religion. In Italy, for instance, in spite of the treaty with the Vatican, the ruling policy is hostile to the spirit of Christianity. I refer to the spirit of militarism, in which the children are trained from their earliest age. We see the same thing in Germany. Everybody knows the struggles and the discontent of religious circles arising from the establishment of a State religion. . . . The Catholics must realise their duty. They must take an active part in the fight against fascism. . . . In order to render this struggle ineffective it is necessary that all Catholic students affiliate to the Students' Committees against war and fascism which were set up in order to embrace all the anti-fascist forces of students. . . . The Catholic students are very eager to take part in the Students' World Congress and to send their delegates to it. For at this Congress all tendencies will be represented, united in one aim: to bar the way to fascism in the whole world."

In addition to the socialist students, the students of the "Front Commun," the students of the "fighters for peace," there has recently affiliated to the French National Committee for the Students' World Congress the "Secular Republican Youth," comprising 80,000 young people, mostly from the middle class. This organisation has proved on several occasions that it is prepared to fight against war and fascism.

## In the International

### The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia for Socialist Unity in Action

By G. Friedrich (Prague)

The Tenth Plenum of the C.C. of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia took place at the beginning of the present month. The main questions dealt with were unity of action and the fight for setting up a socialist fighting alliance.

Pointing out that Czechoslovakian capitalism had not solved a single problem of its critical economic situation, further pointing to the intensification of the antagonisms in the camp of the bourgeoisie, which is already leading to fierce fights between the various groups for decisive power, and at the same time recording the increasing political tension in the territories inhabited by oppressed nationalities, the Tenth Plenum rightly declared that symptoms indicating the approach of a revolutionary crisis are to be seen in Czechoslovakia. At the same time, however, that the bourgeoisie is striving to accelerate the process of fascisation—the most powerful group of finance capitalists (Zivno Bank) is supporting the national fascist movement in every direction, and the national democratic movement connected with this group has united with the Stribny National Fascist League—the revolutionary upsurge is developing in the ranks of the proletariat. This process is expressed above all in the growing resistance of the socialist workers to the policy of collaboration with the bourgeois parties pursued by the socialist parties, also in the increasing endeavours of the socialist workers to act together with the Communists.

In such circumstances the social democratic parties are compelled to carry out new manoeuvres in order to sidetrack the strivings of the masses for the united front. Among such manoeuvres is that of the president of the Czech social democratic party Hampl, who formulated the "conditions" under which the Czech social democracy would be prepared to enter into a united front with the Communists. Hampl wrote as follows in the "Pravo Lidu," the central organ of Czech social democracy:—

"The C.P. of Czechoslovakia does not realise that an approach to the other workers' groups must be preceded by the fulfilment of a number of conditions. Among other things it must declare that it unreservedly stands for the Republic, and must not evade this question. . . . It must further realise that the policy of the various sections of the Comintern, including the Czech Section, cannot be stupidly dictated from a centre where questions are decided by people who are completely ignorant of conditions in Czechoslovakia. It must understand that as a result of the turn in the Russian policy, they have ceased to serve as "cannon fodder" of Soviet policy. The time is past when Russia felt itself threatened by the West European States. The Communist Party must finally understand that a considerable part of the bourgeoisie in our country has an interest in the existence of the Communist Party. . . ."

It is with such "conditions" that the social democratic leaders wish to keep their workers away from the united front with the Communists, to keep them fettered to the policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie.

The Tenth Plenum of the C.C. of the C.P.Cz. therefore had to deal exhaustively with the chief obstacles standing in the way of the setting up of the united front. In this connection it pointed to the obstacles which arise out of the **foreign-political situation** of Czechoslovakia and out of the whole **inner political situation**. The growing aggressiveness of German imperialism increases the fear among the masses of the proletariat of warlike attacks by German fascism, increases the fear for the independence of the Czech nation. It is precisely on these sentiments, which dominate broad masses of the people, that the social democratic leaders base their arguments and agitation, emphasising the necessity of the unity of the whole nation in the fight against Hitler. On the other hand, the social democratic workers still regard the participation of the socialist parties in the government as the lesser evil and as a definite guarantee in face of the increasing efforts of the bourgeoisie to set up an open fascist dictatorship in Czechoslovakia. And it is also on these sentiments that the social democracy base their agitation, by endeavouring to prove to their rank and file followers that any joint action with the Communists



would mean the end of socialist participation in the government, a leap in the dark, and would bring nearer the prospect of a fascist dictatorship. Therefore the decisions of the Tenth Plenum of the C.C. of the C.P.Cz. declare:—

“The Party, by dealing the main blow against the co-operation of the socialist parties with the fascist bourgeoisie, shows the socialist workers the real means and the way which can in the immediate future change the whole situation in favour of the proletariat. In the given situation this means the abandonment of the policy of co-operation with the bourgeoisie hitherto pursued, and united action of the socialist parties, the Communist Party and the organisations of the small peasants. Against the class collaboration of the socialist parties with the bourgeoisie, which leads to fascism, the Party sets up as the main slogan: socialist fighting alliance of the workers' parties and the organisations of the small peasants, which means an immediate way out of the present situation, and to-morrow already a change in the relation of forces in favour of the proletariat, which can become the basis for the advance of the working class.”

This slogan of the socialist fighting alliance propagated by the Party makes the question of the fight for power a question of the united front; combines in the idea of the socialist fighting alliance the fight for the immediate interests of the proletariat with the perspectives of revolutionary fights of the proletariat for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie; shows the working masses how the socialist fighting alliance, based on firm organs of unity of the working class in the factories and localities, will compel the bourgeoisie to fulfil the urgent demands of the proletariat, how it can furnish the guarantee of the liberty of the workers, how it can reply to all fascist attacks of the bourgeoisie by united proletarian action, increase the forces of the working class by winning the middle strata and the small peasants, and can at one stroke undermine the power of fascism. Thus the socialist fighting alliance gives the proletariat the possibility of organising the united revolutionary fight for the overthrow of the capitalist rule and puts the question of the workers and peasants government on the order of the day.

The Tenth Plenum of the C.C. of the C.P.Cz. also reckoned with the fact that the social democratic leaders will endeavour to mislead the workers by pointing to the possibility of a parliamentary combination. And here too the Party, in its decisions, gives a plain answer. It points out that the power and success of socialist fighting alliance, also in its parliamentary work, will be based on the unity organs of the working class in the factories and localities, on the mobilisation and fighting actions of the workers. To the possible objection that even if the Communists, social democrats and Czech socialists act together they would still be in a minority, the C.P. points out that the demand for the holding of new elections can be put, in which these parties, while, of course, maintaining their own lists of candidates, would proceed unitedly on the basis of an anti-fascist and anti-capitalist unity programme, whereby there exists the real possibility of great election successes. The C.P. would, of course, ruthlessly combat any illusion that it is possible by means of elections and without revolutionary mass struggles to suppress the bourgeoisie and its fascist endeavours.

The idea of socialist collaboration is the main basis of a broad anti-fascist front. On this basis the C.P. must conduct and strengthen its everyday fight for the democratic rights of the working people, the fight against all fascist organisations, the extension of democratic rights.

A further important problem in this connection is the **question of war and of repelling the attacks of international fascism.** The Communists must destroy the demagogy of the Czech bourgeoisie, which is also fostered and supported by the social democracy, that its army forms a wall against the attacks of German, Polish and Hungarian fascism. Against this the Communists point out that the Czech bourgeoisie, which oppresses the great majority of the people, which is itself introducing fascism and taking part in all imperialist intrigues, cannot be a guarantee in the fight against Hitler and international fascism. On the contrary, the Czech bourgeoisie is gambling with the independence of the Czech nation and handing over the working people of the oppressed nations to Hitler, Horthy and Pilsudski, in that by its fascist policy at home it undermines the living forces of the working people and by its imperialist foreign policy surrenders the independence of the Czech nation to international imperialist conspiracies. The

Communist Party therefore combats all imperialist endeavours of the Czech bourgeoisie, energetically opposes all attempts to misuse the great sympathy of the working people for the Soviet Union for cloaking and increasing the imperialist armaments of the Czech bourgeoisie, and energetically opposes the lying theory of the social democratic leaders that a strong Czechoslovakian army is the best protection for the Soviet Union. The Communist Party points out that in a different situation the Czech bourgeoisie would very quickly change its “friendship”—in itself very doubtful—for the Soviet Union, and would endeavour to achieve its imperialist aims at the cost of the land of the Soviets.

The Communists will show that it is possible to render real aid to the Soviet Union and to secure a victory only when, by the strength of the workers, all fascist bands are suppressed, all fascist generals and officers removed, and elected organs of the soldiers set up in the army, and when the weapons are placed in the hands of the proletariat. From this there results the attitude of the Communists towards the military budget, which is to-day supported and increased by the social democracy on the demagogic plea that it serves to combat fascism and to secure democracy, whilst the Communists continue to vote against the military budget.

The standpoint of the Communist Party is equally plain and clear in the **national question** in face of the anxiety felt to-day by the masses of the Czech working people regarding the maintenance of the independence of the Czech nation. The Communists of Czechoslovakia insist upon the principle of the right of self-determination of the nation up to separation. When the opponents of national freedom, including the social democracy, now declare that by putting forward this slogan the Communists wish to drive the Germans in Czechoslovakia into the arms of Hitler, the Poles into the arms of Pilsudski, and the Hungarians into the arms of Horthy, the Communists reply quite plainly and openly: We are against any such Anschluss and say to the German toilers that the self-determination of the German people in no way means a return to Hitler Germany, that the self-determination of the Poles means not a connection with Pilsudski, and the self-determination of the Hungarians does not mean connection with Horthy. The Communists emphatically oppose the strivings after immediate union with Germany, Poland and Hungary, for in the present situation this would mean handing over the working people of these districts to German, Magyar and Polish fascism.

On the other hand, the policy of national oppression pursued by the Czech bourgeoisie has had as a result that to-day broad masses of the German people are under the leadership of Henlein, under the influence of German imperialism. The policy of national oppression strengthened the irredentist strivings in the Polish districts, strengthened the pro-Hungarian and pro-Polish tendencies in Slovakia. The policy of the Czech bourgeoisie, based on national oppression, leads to a sharpening of the national fights and to national decay. The decisions of the Tenth Plenum of the C.C. of the C.P. state that

“only when the nations which up to now have been suppressed are granted the most far-reaching rights and liberties, including the right of self-determination, when the working masses of the hitherto oppressed nations are assured a decent human existence, only then will the conditions be given for a brotherly alliance of all nations in Czechoslovakia. And only a government of workers and peasants can replace national oppression by a brotherly alliance of the nations.”

That is the plain standpoint of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia to the questions of the socialist fighting alliance, which also forms the basis for work and agitation among the masses of the poor peasants for achieving a firm alliance of the small peasants organisations and the socialist fighting alliance, and for winning the middle strata of the working people, in which sense also the fight for the organisational union of all proletarian mass organisations, above all of the trade union organisations, must be conducted.

The Tenth Plenum also pointed out that the most important precondition for the fight for the unity of the proletariat is the capacity of action and the political and organisational firmness of the whole Party. The great tasks and the new tactical problems to-day confronting the C.P. of Czechoslovakia demand an increase of the ideological firmness of the whole Party, the fight against all opportunist vacillations.

The Tenth Plenum of the C.C. of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia marks a great step forward in the struggle of the Party for the unity of the proletariat.



## The C.P. of Yugoslavia Leads the Struggle for Freedom

By C. B.

The ruling bourgeoisie in Yugoslavia, headed by Alexander, carried on a campaign of extermination against the Communist Party. One of the most important tasks of the fascist military dictatorship has been the attempt to crush every class movement, finally to annihilate the Communist Party. In this struggle the Communist Party has lost thousands of its best workers. Dozens have been murdered and beaten to death in the torture chambers of the Glavnyacha. More than 2,000 political prisoners and the thousands of sympathisers passing daily through the Glavnyacha bear witness to this struggle.

In spite of the fact that the government has invariably used methods of violence, of fascist terror, of individual murder in its efforts to repress the revolutionary class struggle, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia has never resorted to terrorist action against the bloody regime. These methods used by the fascists have always been rejected and condemned by the Communist Party, for it knows that only the struggle of the oppressed masses can lead to a revolutionary victory. Therefore the Communist Party and all other revolutionary organisations condemn the assassination in Marseilles and have seen no need to make a special declaration with regard to it.

The bloody fascist military regime under King Alexander did not attain its chief aim—that of destroying the revolutionary movement, of exterminating the C.P. of Yugoslavia and other revolutionary organisations. On the contrary, the C.P. of Yugoslavia is stronger to-day than ever, both ideologically and organisationally. It possesses its organisations in all towns, in all large industrial undertakings; its groups are undermining the bourgeois structure, penetrating into the fascist organisations, the army and navy. The number of its members doubled in the course of the first six months of 1934, and will have quadrupled by the end of 1934. Illegal Communist literature is published regularly in all large towns, in Belgrade, in Laibach, in Zagreb, in Spalato. The organs of the district committees and the leaflets are printed in editions of tens of thousands. The Young Communist League has trebled its membership within a brief period. The Red Aid has restored its organisation.

The Communist Party, regardless of the terror and the police has placed itself at the head of the struggle of the toiling masses for their every-day demands. It is setting up the united front in spite of the treachery of the social reformist leaders, these firmest pillars of the Belgrade regime among the ranks of the workers. The industrial workers led by the R.T.U.O. are going over from the defence to the attack against the capitalist attempts to worsen their conditions of living. To name only one example: At the moment of the assassination, the workers employed in the cement factory in Spalato struck work under the slogans of the Communist Party. In spite of the terror and the proclamation of a state of siege, the protest strike was still being maintained when the dead body of the king arrived in the harbour at Spalato.

The fascist military regime under King Alexander has claimed many victims. Shortly before Alexander left for Marseilles, the authorities discovered a Communist cell on board the cruiser "Dubrovnik," and four sailors were shot. The revolutionary movement is growing all over Yugoslavia. The growing class struggle is accompanied by the struggle of the oppressed nationalities.

It is quite understandable that in this inner political situation the ruling class feels as a severe blow the loss of King Alexander, its most authoritative representative. It is therefore intensifying its bloody regime with the aid of the regency Council. States of siege, prohibition of meetings of any kind, pogroms against the national minorities—especially the Croats—arrest of workers, peasants, and opponents of the government, arson and murder, these are the methods by which the fascist military regime is endeavouring to maintain the hegemony of the Servian bourgeoisie, its State, and its monarchy! Once again resort has been had to General Shkvovich, the murderer of Dyakovich! The workers, the peasants, the oppressed nationalities are being persecuted, a war drive is carried on against Italy and Hungary in the name of "national unity," of the struggle against the Croatian fascists, of the maintenance of peace.

At this moment of intensest persecution the bourgeois opposition and the leaders of the parties of the oppressed nationalities

have exposed their true features: The Croats Macek and Trumbic, the Slovene Korosec, the Servian Stanoyevich, the Bosnian Spaho, and the Albanian Begs of Kossovo, have supported the government by declarations and demonstrations of loyalty. The national reformist bourgeoisie has once again betrayed the interests of the oppressed national minorities, and has become fascised along the lines of Pan Servian fascism. This fascisation reveals the fear of the growing revolutionary movement of the toiling masses.

Pribichevich, the leader of the bourgeois Servian opposition, at one time the strongest supporter of King Alexander, the bitterest opponent of the working class and of the right of self-determination of the peoples, represents the last hope of the ruling class of Yugoslavia and of French imperialism to save the Yugoslavia established by the peace treaties and the hegemony of the Servian bourgeoisie.

The C.P. of Yugoslavia and the other revolutionary organisations have been left alone on the battlefield of the revolutionary struggle in Yugoslavia. They will continue their resolute struggle for the social and national emancipation of the oppressed masses, against fascism, against imperialist war, for peace.

This struggle is not only directed against the main enemy, the fascist dictatorship headed by the regent, but at the same time against all imperialist tendencies in Yugoslavia. The C.P. of Yugoslavia fights as resolutely against Croatian fascism, against the bands under Pavelic and Percec, Michailov, etc., who are anxious to hand over the oppressed peoples of Yugoslavia to a fresh slavery under Italian imperialism, against Hungarian revisionism and all other fascist tendencies.

The aim of the struggle will be attained, the problem solved in Yugoslavia, in the valley of the Danube, and in the Balkans, and peace will be maintained by means of the right of self-determination of the peoples, the formation of the workers' and peasants' republics of Servia, Croatia, Slovenia, Montenegro, Bosnia, Vovvodina, and others, in this part of Europe.

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## The U.S.S.R. Is Our Fatherland

By George Dimitrov

In my last speech at the Leipzig trial, when defending the Bulgarian people from the attacks of the fascist press, which described them as "barbarians," I stated: "... Bulgarian fascism is savage and barbarous. But the Bulgarian working class and peasantry, the intellectuals of the Bulgarian people are by no means savages and barbarians. . . . The people which for 500 years lived under a foreign yoke without losing its language or nationality, our working class and peasantry which have fought and are fighting against Bulgarian fascism and for Communism—such a people is not barbarous or savage. The only savages and barbarians in Bulgaria are the fascists. But I ask you, Mr. President, in what country are the fascists not barbarians and savages. . . . I protest against these attacks on the Bulgarian people. **I have no reason to be ashamed of being a Bulgarian. I am proud that I am a son of the Bulgarian working class.**"

While making this statement, at the same time I considered that my real fatherland was the Soviet Union and not fascist Bulgaria. I say "real fatherland," because as long as the country where one was born is under the power of the bourgeoisie, this country cannot be a genuine fatherland for a proletarian revolutionary, for a son of the working class. Fascist Bulgaria once more showed this by not allowing me to return to the country where I was born, though I insistently demanded it.

The fact that my Bulgarian comrades and I were accepted as Soviet citizens after the government of Bulgaria had refused to recognise us as citizens of Bulgaria, secured and accelerated our liberation from the fascist prison. Thanks to the fact that it became possible for me to come to Moscow, the Soviet Union, where I live and work, has become my fatherland in practice also. But this by no means breaks the bonds which bind me to the toiling people of Bulgaria. On the contrary, these bonds have only grown stronger. For the Soviet Union is not an ordinary country. It is the cause of the world proletariat, of the world revolution. Its real boundaries pass through the whole world and embrace all those who live for the working-class and fight for its cause. The Soviet Union, the country where socialism is being built, where the ideals of the world proletariat are being fulfilled, is the Socialist fatherland of the toilers of all countries.

## Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

# The Socialist October Revolution Lights the Way for the Oppressed of All Countries

Seventeen years ago the socialist October Revolution challenged the whole capitalist world. On November 7 (October 25, old style), 1917, the proletariat of old Tsarist Russia, with weapons in hand, overthrew the power of the bourgeoisie and landowners and placed the power in the hands of the Soviets of workers' peasants' and soldiers' deputies. The tremendous October Revolution had repercussions in the shape of numerous revolutionary actions and a whole number of proletarian insurrections in nearly every country in the world. The day on which, under the leadership of Lenin and his Party, the dictatorship of the proletariat was set up in place of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, which act was the prelude to the proletarian world revolution, has become a red letter day in the history of the class struggle of the international proletariat.

To-day, seventeen years after this great event, the country of the Soviets has consolidated its power more than ever, and is advancing to new victories as a proletarian great Power, as the stronghold of victorious socialism, as the brotherly alliance of hundreds of peoples, as the smith's forge of a new type of humanity and a new culture, as a powerful bulwark against the new imperialist world war, as the revolutionary fatherland of the toilers and oppressed of all countries. The capitalist countries, debilitated by the profound economic crisis, are steadily slipping into the arms of fascism and towards a new imperialist war. More than ever the world bourgeoisie trembles at the Communist revolution, at the world revolution. The sublime banner of the Soviets is triumphing not only in the Soviet Union, but also in a large part of China, and is lighting the way to the social and national emancipation of the toilers of India, Indo-China and other colonies and semi-colonies of imperialism. For under this inspiring banner the proletarian united front against fascism and war is broadening every day in Germany, France, Spain, Austria, England and other imperialist countries.

The colossal victories of socialism in the Soviet Union are now recognised even by its worst enemies. The first Five-Year Plan, which already created a firm economic foundation of Socialism, has changed the countenance of the country beyond recognition. The second Five-Year Plan is leading to the complete abolition of classes and raising the standard of well-being of the working masses to a higher level. Poverty-stricken, economically and culturally backward, Russia no longer exists. The working class with its own hands has transformed its immeasurable territory into a country of the most modern industry, of the largest agriculture of the world and of unprecedented rise of culture. The socialist system of economy is now already the sole leading force in the whole of national economy.

Socialist construction preserved the land of Soviets from the crisis at a time when in all capitalist countries the economic crisis condemned millions to unemployment, misery and hunger, to freezing in cold dwellings and to homelessness. The unceasing growth of socialist economy has increased tenfold the number of workers, completely abolished unemployment, and demands every day ever fresh workers. Whilst, under the power of the bourgeoisie, millions of proletarian youth who have grown up in the period since the war have never had the opportunity of engaging in productive work, in the Soviet Union millions of young people of both sexes are learning and producing with enthusiasm in the socialist factories and in the factory schools, and, together with the older generation, are creating new socialist forms of work and a new socialist existence. The proletariat of the Soviet Union faces the morrow full of confidence. With tremendous revolutionary enthusiasm it is strengthening and defending its socialist home as the fatherland of the whole world proletariat.

In the hands of the proletarian State, the increasing national income is employed in raising wages from year to year, in meeting the unceasingly increasing expenditure on social insurance. It is expended in building dwellings and cultural institutions, new

works and factories, in rebuilding old and building new towns. Last year was a year of further unceasing raising of the material and cultural level of the broad masses.

In spite of the calumnious speeches of the Trotzkyists and of the Mensheviks in general about the counter-revolutionary nature of the whole peasantry, the working peasantry of the Soviet Union has definitely and irrevocably chosen the path of socialism. The triumph of collectivisation has already overcome the greatest difficulties. It has forced the individual small farm into the background and thereby secured the final victory of socialism in the Soviet Union. Collectivisation is doing away with the old backward village, abolishing the century-old antagonism between town and country. The socialist village is rapidly catching up to the socialist town in the sphere of technique, culture and acquisition of experience in the organised fight against the difficulties of construction and natural events. Thanks to collectivisation, the Soviet village has overcome the consequences of the partial drought this year, which entailed great suffering for the peasantry in a number of countries of Western Europe and America. Thanks to socialist organisation of work, the collective farms have performed a tremendous work in the fight against the drought, and as a result saved the harvest and in many places achieved a bigger harvest than last year. They have proved once again how great are the advantages of socialist agriculture over individual agriculture.

Thanks to the reconstruction of the whole national economy on a new technical basis, it is becoming every day technically more independent of other countries, the defensive power of the country is increasing, and its importance in the world arena has grown enormously.

The Soviet Union has become one of the most powerful States in the world. The big imperialist States, which a short time ago dreamed of shattering the Soviet country, are now compelled to reckon with it as with a first-class economic, political, cultural and military power. Many bourgeois countries which fear a warlike attack from their neighbours, in spite of their hatred of Bolshevism are to-day seeking a rapprochement to the Soviet Union as the strongest bulwark of peace. The worst enemies of the Soviet Union are compelled to recognise the magnificent successes achieved by it and its active peace policy. The whole world knows that the Soviet Union has had to pursue its policy of peace under the most difficult conditions, in an atmosphere poisoned by intrigues, secret military alliances, calumnies and class hatred. But the whole world also knows that the Soviet Union has achieved these great successes of its policy supported by its tremendous economic and political power in the country and its growing popularity among the broad masses of toilers in the capitalist countries. The successful conclusion of non-aggression pacts, especially with France, the recognition of the Soviet Union by the United States of America, as well as the invitation to the Soviet Union to enter the League of Nations, are great victories of the proletariat of the Soviet Union and of the whole world proletariat. Supported by the unvanquishable united front of the proletariat of all countries, the Soviet Union will pursue an active independent peace policy, both inside and outside the League of Nations, and in every way thwart the warlike plans of imperialism, no matter from what quarter they may emanate.

The unbreakable brotherly bonds between the toilers of the Soviet Union and the toilers of the capitalist world will also in the future be the one sure guarantee of the successful fight of the Soviet Union for peace and for the successful fulfilment of the second Five-Year Plan.

Broad circles of bourgeois scholars, representatives of art and of the best, soundest part of the bourgeoisie intelligentsia are beginning to realise the great importance of the successes of socialism in the Soviet Union. They are particularly astounded by the rise of a new type of human being. The world will not forget the sublime and thrilling story of the Chelyuskin expedition and its

wonderful rescue by the heroes of the Soviet Union. The world is aware that socialism alone has created these and thousands of other new human beings, that only proletarian organisation gives them their invincible power.

The achievements of the Soviet Union are innumerable! But they are neither a miracle nor the result of a happy chance. These achievements demanded of the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union, not only great sacrifices, but also a high degree of class-consciousness, organisation and faithful devotion to the banner of Socialism. These achievements would never have been realised without the firm and correct leadership by the proletarian party, the **party of the Bolsheviks**. And this leadership was correct only because it is based on the sublime teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

These achievements are impossible under capitalist conditions, no matter what clever recipes the politicians and savants of the bourgeoisie and their lackeys in the camp of the social compromisers may think out. For these people will never venture to threaten the foundations of **capitalist property**, this main source of capitalist anarchy, exploitation and oppression. For these people will never raise their hands against the power of the bourgeoisie, which to them is just as sacred as bourgeois property.

The magnificent achievements of the Soviet country have been possible precisely because the insurgent proletariat in Russia smashed the State machine of the bourgeoisie and, based upon its own power, expropriated the capitalists, took away from them their land, their mines, factories, banks, all their capital, and began to rebuild the whole economy and the whole life of the country on a socialist basis. The dictatorship of the proletariat realised the revolutionary way out of the world war, drove out the interventionists and, thanks to its undeviating peace policy, secured the necessary breathing space for successful socialist construction.

The Soviet power annulled all the Tsarist robber treaties with other countries and also annulled the war debts of the Tsar. It thereby broke once and for all with the imperialist policy and the war adventures of old Russia. The Soviet power abolished all the laws by which **hundreds of nationalities** of the old Tsarist Russia were enslaved, united them under the banner of Lenin, and exterminated all the roots of national antagonisms. It emancipated the women and won fresh millions of fighters in the shape of the working women and the women peasants for the front of socialist construction.

The Soviet power organised the formerly unknown forces of a real democracy, a **democracy of millions**. Ninety million electors, enthused by the achievements, successes and the great tasks of the second Five-Year Plan, will take part in the elections for the approaching Seventh All-Union Soviet Congress.

What achievements has the bourgeoisie to show in these seventeen years?

There is no country in which the leaders of the bourgeoisie were able to find a way from the clutches of the crisis, of unemployment, economic chaos, of increasing class struggle and national struggle and of inexorably approaching war. **A way out such as the workers need can only be realised by the revolutionary proletariat after it has taken the power in its hands.**

The bourgeoisie hopes to save its rule by fascism, which, in order to deceive the masses, it has the audacity to declare to be socialism. **Fascism is the deadly enemy of socialism.** Fascism has already shown its face to the proletariat, to the toiling masses in town and country, to broad strata of the petty bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia. The less than two years fascist dictatorship in Germany has shown that fascism means increased hunger and misery. Fascism means the unrestrained plundering of the masses in order to enrich a handful of trust magnates. Fascism is the way to economic disaster and war. Fascism is bloody terror and savage nationalism.

The recipes concocted by the quacks of the bourgeoisie for economic revival in the countries of fascism, as well as in the countries of democracy, aim in the first place at forced labour, at tremendously intensified exploitation of the masses and a return to slavery. These prescriptions cannot rejuvenate the senile, thoroughly rotten and dying capitalist system. It can only prolong its agony. **But the prolongation of this agony threatens the working masses with still more cruel torments.** The physical degeneration of the workers and peasants, the death of millions, and the return to semi-slavery of dozens of millions—that is the price of postponing the final overthrow of capitalism.

**The proletarian revolution is the only means of emancipation from hunger and slavery, to which capitalism condemns the toilers.** Is this not to be seen from the sublime example of the Soviet Union? Has the working class not made sufficient sacrifices since the imperialist world war, which the bourgeoisie of all countries represented as a war of emancipation?

The Japanese imperialists, in alliance with the German fascists, are at present the chief instigators of new imperialist war. They are openly preparing to attack the Soviet Union. Their activity causes the fascist cliques of France, England and other countries, under the pretext of necessary self-defence, eagerly to sharpen their weapons, to prepare counter-revolutionary upheavals in these countries and organise war. The imperialists are placing the war for the redistribution of the world on the order of the day. Japan has already seized large slices of China. The redistribution of China stands on the order of the day.

In order to be able to wage war the imperialist cliques in all countries are destroying all the achievements of the working class, the last remnants of democratic liberties, stirring up nationalism and chauvinism, proclaiming a crusade against the Communist Parties, suppressing the actions of the workers, not only with bayonets and bullets, but also with poison gases, and organising beastly tortures and shootings of revolutionary workers in the prisons. For the purpose of organising war the bourgeoisie is placing its most jingoistic parties in power and everywhere preparing to set up the fascist dictatorship. The more the bourgeoisie becomes entangled, the more complete its bankruptcy, the more it is capable, in spite of its fear of war being converted into revolution, of flinging humanity into the maws of a new imperialist, counter-revolutionary, anti-Soviet war. **The territory of the Soviet Union appears to the imperialists as the most desirable booty. The complete abolition of the Soviet power still remains their most cherished dream.**

**The proletariat of the Soviet Union and also the proletariat of the capitalist countries must not for a single day harbour the illusion that the danger of war is past. It must constantly stand guard over its socialist home, the Soviet Union.**

The discontent and militancy of the masses in all capitalist countries are increasing every day. Even those who only yesterday stood aloof from the great emancipation fights of the workers' movement are ready to-day to march in the united front to storm the walls of the capitalist stronghold.

The commencement of the year 1934 was marked by stormy events. The armed fights of the proletariat in Austria in February signalled the great swing of the social democratic workers to Bolshevism. The revolutionary demonstrations and the general strike in the February days in France showed that the proletariat of France has advanced to the front ranks of the fight against fascism. The past year was characterised by the general strike of the Lodz textile workers in Poland, by the peasant revolts in Galicia, by the great revolutionary events in Cuba, by the bloody fights in connection with the strike of the oil workers and the general strike of the railway workers in Rumania, by the hunger march in England, by the general strike in Greece, by the revolutionary actions of the unemployed in Holland, by the great actions of the Swiss proletariat, which compelled the Swiss bourgeoisie to abandon for the time being a number of measures aiming at the fascisation of the country. In Germany, which is groaning under the heel of Hitler, a strike of 5,000 textile workers in Augsburg, and a number of other revolutionary actions in various factories are to be recorded. The wave of strike actions in the United States, which assumed particularly sharp forms in San Francisco, has this year embraced two million strikers, a figure which has not been attained in the United States since 1919.

This year is further characterised by a tempestuous development of the revolution in China and in Spain.

The Chinese Soviets have already maintained themselves for a number of years on an enormous territory in China, and are brilliantly proving the international importance of the October revolution and of the Soviets.

The Chinese Soviets and the Chinese Red Army are the guarantee of the near victory of the Soviets over the whole of the immeasurable territory of China. The only real force confronting the Chinese bourgeoisie, the Japanese and the whole world imperialists, is the Chinese Red Army and the Soviet movement, which has already spread beyond the frontiers of the Central Soviet district. Chiang kai-Shek organised the sixth counter-revolutionary campaign against the Soviet district, which

campaign was prepared by the Chinese militarists with the support of the German General von Seeckt. However, the heroic fight of the Chinese Red Army against this sixth campaign can already point to great successes. These successes give the assurance that the sixth campaign of the Chinese counter-revolution will be a greater failure than the previous ones. China is the country in which already now revolution and war prevail. It is the country which constitutes a bone of contention between the imperialists. Hence the enormous importance of the **Soviet movement in China** for the whole international proletariat.

The revolutionary struggles which took place in Spain in October last show the ascending line of the world revolutionary upsurge. For two weeks the Spanish proletariat waged armed fights with a courage and endurance which filled the whole world with astonishment. **These were fights for power, for the dictatorship of the proletariat.** These fights have shown once again the **decisive role** which the **proletarian Bolshevik Party** plays in the revolution. The armed fights in Spain raise the revolutionary upsurge to a **higher level.** These fights, apart from their result, will exercise a tremendous influence on the further course of the revolutionary anti-fascist fight in **all countries of Europe** and above all in **France.**

Never was the **split in the working class**, inevitably resulting from the anti-proletarian policy of the Second International, so dangerous to the interests of the proletariat as it is to-day, when everywhere the rallying of the forces of counter-revolution under the banner of fascism is proceeding at a rapid pace. **Only united combined revolutionary actions of all working men and women will secure their firm alliance with the poor in town and country and with broad circles of the anti-fascist intelligentsia.** **Only united action can stem the bloody tide of fascism.** It is not without reason that the successes of the united front in France, England, Spain, Austria have so greatly frightened the bourgeoisie.

**Responding to the appeal of the Communist International, the workers of all countries are extending and strengthening the united front for an effective and successful fight against fascism and war, for the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat.**

On the anniversary of the great October, the **stormy post-October** years live once again before the eyes of the proletarians, the years of the first storming of the walls of the capitalist fortress in Russia and in the countries of Western Europe; the **great lessons** of these fights are again called to mind.

The proletarians remember that the October revolution was victorious in Russia in the first place because the party of the Bolsheviks, with Lenin at the head, isolated the leaders of the Russian social democratic Mensheviks from the masses and **won the decisive majority of the working class for the fight for Soviet power.** The Spartakists in Germany, the Communists in Austria, Italy, and other countries were betrayed by the leaders of the social democracy. Thanks to the social democratic policy of class collaboration, the proletariat was split into two parts. To the great joy of the bourgeoisie each of these parts stood on different sides of the barricades. This fact rendered it easier for the bourgeoisie to crush the revolution.

Now, when fascism has been victorious in a number of countries and the fascist danger is increasing everywhere, one can see quite plainly how dearly the world proletariat has had to pay for these weaknesses of the movement. What would Europe look like now if, not the social democracy but the Bolsheviks had stood at the head of the united front of all workers and the Soviets had triumphed in Germany, Poland, Austria and Hungary, as they triumphed in Russia? This is what every thinking proletarian is realising to-day.

**Not to permit any fresh victories of fascism**—this is a question of life and death for whole generations of the working class. Either **proletarian** revolution, victory of the Soviets and triumph of Socialism according to the example of the Soviet Union, or a fresh postponement of the downfall of capitalism by means of fascism, involving heaps of corpses, the pangs of hunger and the misery of unemployment, white terror, a long and painful path which costs the working class innumerable sacrifices. **That is how history has put the question.**

Taking to heart the great lessons of the past seventeen years, the proletarians of all countries will increase their forces tenfold and exert them in order to consolidate the proletarian united front against fascism and war, for the defence of the Soviet Union, for the successful realisation of the second Five-Year Plan, for the world October.

## The "Good of the Community" and the "Good of the Individual"

By L. F. BOROSS (Moscow)

"The good of the community before the good of the individual"—this is one of the favourite slogans of the fascists. Workers, don't be selfish! Don't strike! Don't ask for higher wages, nor for better working conditions! Remember the interests of the commonweal! Don't put your own egoistic interests in the foreground when the good of the community is at stake!

And the fascists accomplish much in this direction. "Selfish interests" are pressed into the background by means of bloody terror. Where the fascists have come into power, wages have fallen to one-half and less. The "good of the community" has triumphed; it is once again a joy to hold shares and pocket increasing dividends in spite of the growing impoverishment of the masses. . . .

Every class society has invariably played off the "common good" of the rulers against the "selfish interests" of the oppressed and exploited.

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What about the question of the "good of the community" and the "good of the individual" in the land of the proletarian dictatorship? Here there is no exploiting class with interests opposed to those of the masses. But there is a Philistine idea abroad—deliberately fostered by the bourgeoisie—that in the Soviet Union there exists some ideal "good of the community" to which all personal interests, all personal desires, have to be senselessly sacrificed as to a Moloch. Although this legend of socialism is as foolish as the legends of the socialisation of the women or of the village with one great quilt under which all the villagers have to sleep, it nevertheless continues to persist much longer than various other nonsensical ideas.

To be sure, during the struggles for the overthrow of capitalism and for the building up of socialism, the proletariat—especially its Communist vanguard—has shown a readiness for self-sacrifice, a class solidarity, unparalleled in history. Courageously, confident of victory, they have given their blood and their lives for a revolution in which they had only their chains to lose and a whole world to gain. And even after this world had been conquered, the proletariat of the Soviet Union continued during the following seventeen years to make many sacrifices. But is the hypocritical phrase "the good of the community before the good of the individual" ever heard here? Never. It is never heard because it is not true. Because the conception of the good of the community has been given a fundamentally new meaning by the seventeen years of workers' rule, by the building up of socialism, by the expropriation of the exploiters. Because this conception has become fundamentally changed in its relations towards the conception of the good of the individual.

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Let us endeavour to realise this change with the aid of examples. What does Walter Schulze in Berlin, member of a Nazi Workshop Organisation (N.S.B.O.), understand by the good of the individual and of the community, and what does the shock-brigade Ivanov in Moscow understand by it?

Let us assume that Walter Schulze has accepted the fascist slogan that the good of the community (the capitalists) goes before the good of the individual (the worker). He does not go on strike; he makes no resistance when his wages are reduced or his working conditions worsened. What is the result? The capitalist "good of the community" is actually promoted. The factory becomes more profitable again, gains increase. Walter Schulze eats the worst quality margarine instead of butter, and is consoled by a clear conscience, which tells him that he is acting in a manner worthy of an honest citizen of the Third Reich. But meanwhile the capitalist takes the sums saved as a result of the sacrifices made, either voluntarily or under terrorism, by Walter Schulze and his fellow workers for the "common good," and buys himself a new luxurious motor-car, or a new mistress with all accessories, or new equipment for his factory, enabling Walter Schulze to be discharged as redundant. Walter Schulze, by his sacrifices for this kind of "common good," weakens the powers of his own class, strengthens those of his class enemy. And what he has sacrificed voluntarily for the good of the capitalists will never be given back to him voluntarily by the capitalists; his sacrifices are only the first steps towards further and greater "sacrifices" from the working class.



In the course of time Walter Schulze will come to grasp the fact that the "good of the community," preached by the capitalists and their lackeys, is nothing but a fresh chain fettering him more firmly to the selfish interests of his enemies. And when he has grasped this fact then he will say: To the devil with this "common good!" He will strike work, and will call upon his fellow workers to strike when he is dissatisfied with his wages. And when he is told that the factory "cannot stand any wage increases he will reply—even when this is not merely a lame excuse—"What does your factory matter to me, what do your profits matter to me? This whole system must be sent to the devil, for in it the interests of the enemies of my class are called the "good of the community!"

But will the worker destroy the idols of the capitalist "common good" solely for the sake of setting up fresh idols of his own, again representing common interest opposed to the personal interests of the individual? Let us ask Comrade Ivanov.

He is working to the utmost of his powers for his factory. He works himself, and he takes care that his fellow workers, too, pull their weight in order that more metal may be produced, more cloth, more tinned goods, more machinery. This metal, these materials for clothes, these tinned goods, these machines, do not belong to some capitalist, but to the community of the toilers. No capitalist earns any profits on what the toilers of the Soviet Union produce. These products are sold in the shops of the proletarian State, in the proletarian co-operatives, or in the markets of the collective peasants. No capitalist profits by this trade. And everything is sold to toilers, for in the Soviet Union only those who work can "earn money."

And are the wages of the worker determined by capitalists? No, they are determined by the organs of the proletarian State and by trade unions of the working class; in the last instance by himself and his fellow workers. And does that antagonism exist between the amount of wages and the interests of the employers, as under capitalism: "If I pay high wages, my profit is less?" No; no such antagonistic interests exist, for there are no capitalists and no profits. Wages are determined as part of the planned economy, in accordance with the amount of foodstuffs and articles of consumption produced by the working class itself, for this alone gives the wage a real content.

Were the total sum expended in wages to be arbitrarily increased more rapidly than the production of food and articles of consumption increases, this would not enable the consuming powers of the population to grow more rapidly. And it would, moreover, disorganise distribution and trade; one section of buyers would buy everything up, and nothing would be left for the others. On the other hand, were wages to be raised more slowly than the rate of increase in the output of goods, then stocks would accumulate, which would be of no use to anybody. There are no capitalists who would find it to their interest to maintain prices and increase their profits by destroying these stocks. For a proletarian community, to whom such stocks belong, it is a folly and a crime to leave them unutilised. Should some miscalculation in planned economy bring about any such accumulation, then for a proletarian State there is only one solution: either to raise money wages or to increase real wages by lowering prices. A strike or any other form of wages struggle would be neither necessary nor of any use. On the contrary, it would be a struggle of the workers against themselves. The sole useful aim is for the working class to increase its production, to produce more and better goods, for this is the only way to increase the real income of the workers. Here the good of the community is really served. And yet we cannot say: The good of the community before the good of the individual. Here we can only say: The good of the community is the good of the individual.

It need not be said that the identity of the common and the individual good is not always so clear and simple, so obvious at the first glance, as in the above example. Let us take, for instance, the period of the first Five-Year Plan. With heroic endurance, with the exertion of its utmost efforts, the proletariat accomplished an enormous amount of work, such as the building of new smelting plant, of new machine building works, sinking of new mines, and the like, all of which could not lead to an immediate increase of their personal consumption of their products. At that time there were two paths to choose from: The forces of the working class might have been applied in such a manner that a rapid and direct increase in personal consumption would have been possible. This could have been easily achieved by forcing the

manufacture of articles of consumption, hoping meanwhile that the deadly enemy of the proletariat, the capitalists, would be so kind as to provide the Soviet Union with machinery and with the means of protecting itself against the capitalists themselves. The other path was to be content with increasing the personal consumption of the masses more slowly—even at times with stops—but at the same time to ensure the creation of a firm heavy industrial basis, securing the power of the working class against every attempt at attack, and forming at the same time the foundation for the future (and now present) extremely rapid development of the manufacture of articles of consumption for the working class.

It need not be said that the millions of the Soviet toilers unanimously took the second path, pointed out to them by their Communist Party. And what have we to-day? A mighty increase in the power of the toiling masses, arousing the respect and fear even of their enemies. A daily increase in the consumption of goods by ever broader masses of the population. Innumerable new products brought to the tables and the homes of the workers and collective peasants by the works and factories built during the first Five-Year Plan. A tremendous improvement in the material and cultural standards of living of the toiling masses as a direct result of their enormous efforts during the first Five-Year Plan. All this proves that here there is no thought of the good of the community coming before the good of the individual, but that the common good of the working class, of the proletarian State, is indivisibly bound up with the individual good, with the personal interests of every individual toiler.

This general law of socialism, this general identity of common interests with the interests of the individual, has been consciously perfected during these seventeen years by the Communist Party and by the proletarian State. The system of wages and salaries obtaining to-day in the industries, and the system of the division of income on the collective farms, aim at ensuring that every piece of work performed increases the personal prosperity of the worker and collective peasant. And at the same time every rouble of wages, every pound of bread, every new suit of clothes, every theatrical performance witnessed by the worker, every book he buys, every entertainment he permits himself, reacts again for the furtherance of further work performance, and again helps to increase the general prosperity. In this way one wheel fits into another, and socialism, with the inexorability of a natural law, signifies the uninterrupted widening of the possibilities of life and the increase of personal joy in life.

And still another point: It is very likely that presently a rifle will be pressed into Walter Schulze's hand, and he will be told: "Go and die for the commonweal, for the good of the community, which is called in this case your 'native country.'" Walter Schulze has now to kill other people and to let himself be killed for the "good of the community." He is to fight for a "common good," whose victory means only the further strengthening of those who trample his interests underfoot, of those for whom he has always been, and always will be, a mere object of exploitation. But no matter: the good of the community before the good of the individual, and you, Walter Schulze, have got to die, in order that the bourgeoisie may have the more to spend on drink and vice.

And if Ivanov has to resort to arms to defend his Soviet land from an attack? He is not likely to say: "I sacrifice my personal interests for the common good." What he will say is: "I am defending myself and my class." For a defeat would mean that he and his class brothers would lose everything; their freedom, their increasing personal prosperity, the lives worthy of human beings, which they have achieved at such cost, the prospect of the uninterrupted improvement of the standard of living of millions: that they would again be slaves in the hands of the capitalists, their new world lost and their old chains on their limbs, the path to the emancipation of their class brothers in other countries rendered incomparably more difficult. In a word, a return to a life which would be utterly intolerable after seventeen years of free life as a Soviet citizen. The defeat of the army in which Walter Schulze has to serve can, however, only mean that it will be made easier for him and his class comrades to fight for their freedom and a free and happy workers' life.

And Walter Schulze will and must say: "Down with such a 'common good' as this, with such a fatherland, whose interests mean for me chains, misery, poverty, and death." He will stretch out his hand to Ivanov, and join him in fighting for a fatherland

in which the common interests of all cannot differ from his interests and the interests of his class, for a fatherland in which the good of the community is no longer placed before the good of the individual, but where the two are synonymous, and where no enemy class dares designate its own dirty parasite egoism as the "good of the community."

He will and must fight for the Soviet power, for socialism.

## The Soviet Trade Unions on the Soviet Elections

An appeal issued by the Central Council of the Soviet Trade Unions on the Soviet elections has just been published in which it is stated: The three and a half years which have elapsed since the Sixth Soviet Congress are characterised by great achievements in the political, economic, scientific and cultural spheres. The Soviet Union has become the unshakeable bulwark of world Communism. Under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party with the clever leader of the world proletariat, Comrade Stalin, at the head, the working class has fundamentally transformed the face of the Soviet country. The policy of industrialisation of the country and collectivisation of agriculture has triumphed. The socialist system has become the dominating factor in the whole economic life of the country. The last bulwark of capitalism, the kulaks, have been defeated and annihilated. The material and cultural standard of living of the toilers is rising on the basis of the industrialisation of the country and the collectivisation of agriculture. The Soviet system made possible the complete abolition of unemployment and the introduction of the seven-hour day in industry, and has done away with hunger and misery in the village. The working class is growing from year to year in numbers and strength. The number of workers and employees has risen from 17 million in the year 1931 to 23 million in the year 1934. More than 18 million workers and employees, i.e., 80 per cent. of all workers, are members of trade unions. The ranks of the shock-brigaders, the advance guard of socialist construction, are growing. In industry and transport alone the number of shock-brigaders and workers engaged in socialist competition amounts to five million. Millions of workers are taking part in the production conferences, assisting in the work of improving production and participating in the management of enterprises. The shock-brigaders are playing a decisive role in organising production and in the whole social life of the country. Wages are constantly increasing. The wage sum, which amounted to 21,000 million roubles in the year 1931, rose to 41,000 million roubles in the year 1934. The average monthly wage increased from 93.92 roubles in the year 1931 to 148.47 roubles in the year 1934. As a result of the abolition of unemployment and the drawing of all members of the family into the process of production, the income of the workers' family has increased considerably more than the average wage of the individual worker. In the year 1930 one worker had to support on an average two persons in his family; in the year 1933, 1.7. The standard of living of the working class has risen also thanks to the enormously increased State expenditure for social insurance, construction of dwellings, cultural and social institutions—schools, hospitals, crèches, kindergartens, etc. The State has also expended large sums on public dining rooms and extending the factory kitchens. The network of dining halls, breakfast rooms, etc., has enormously increased. This year more than 15.5 million people are taking their meals in the public dining halls. The State and the co-operatives expended 778 million roubles during the last four years on the laying out of vegetable allotments, as a result of which the area under vegetables increased from 333,000 hectares in the year 1931 to 552,000 hectares in 1934. In the year 1931 these allotment gardens yielded one million tons of vegetables and half a million tons of potatoes; in the year 1934 more than two million tons of vegetables and about two million tons of potatoes were harvested.

During these four years 5,552 million roubles were spent on the construction of dwellings, thereby providing new flats for 5.5 million people. The budget for social insurance increased almost twofold during the last four years, increasing from 2,850 million roubles to 5,300 million roubles.

These enormous sums which the government allotted to the trade unions enabled the latter to extend very considerably the network of hospitals, clinics, dispensaries, recreation homes and sanatoria. New large recreation homes were built for the workers, for instance in Smijevka; a convalescent home with 1,000 beds was built for the workers of the Donetz Basin; in Saporoshe a home with 500 beds; in Gorki a home for the workers of the automobile

works with 1,000 beds; in the Ural a home with 2,000 beds; in Chibinogorsk a home with 400 beds. Thus in the year 1934 alone 1,341,000 workers were given accommodation in recreation homes, sanatoria and spas at the cost of the social insurance fund. In no other country has the worker the possibility of enjoying a fortnight's holiday and improving his health in recreation homes and sanatoria.

Particular attention is devoted to the protection of labour and measures for safeguarding the workers. The government spent the sum of 577 million roubles during the last four years for this purpose. These precautionary measures led to a great decrease in the number of illnesses and factory accidents. Thus the number of days when workers were absent from work was reduced from 840 for each hundred insured persons in the year 1931. to 715 in 1933. The number of accidents has also greatly decreased: in the mining industry, in 1933, by 17.3 per cent. compared with 1931; in the smelting industry by 23 per cent.; in the glass industry by 44 per cent. in the leather industry by 44 per cent. The increase in the social insurance budget rendered it possible to introduce a new line of insurance—old age insurance. Old age pensions are now paid out to workers, engineers, technicians in all branches of economy. The pensions for incapacitated workers, engineers and technicians were also greatly increased. The pensions for teachers were likewise increased according to their length of service.

The working woman is playing an increasingly important role in production. In the year 1934 the working women constituted 33 per cent. of all wage workers. Great achievements are to be recorded in the sphere of care for the children and the youth. The number of children in the crèches in the towns and workers' settlements alone rose from 180,000 in 1931 to 352,000 in 1934. The number of children in the kindergartens in the whole of the Soviet Union rose from 366,000 in 1931 to two million in 1934. The number of children who receive a hot dinner at school has increased and the quality of this meal has greatly improved. Out of 5,600,000 school-children who attended the elementary schools in the towns, 4,800,000 received a warm meal. Increasing sums are being granted for pioneer camps, children's excursions, children's sanatoria, children's holiday homes, etc. Whilst in the year 1931 45 million roubles were granted from the social insurance fund for children's care, in the year 1934 the sum of 340 million roubles was earmarked for crèches, kindergartens, milk centres, baby clinics, institutions for children outside the school.

Together with the rising standard of living of the workers their cultural requirements are growing. Therefore the expenditure of the trade unions on cultural work increased from 245 million roubles in 1931 to 609 millions in the year 1934. During the last 3½ years 22 large clubs and cultural palaces were built in the most important industrial centres. New parks for culture and recreation were opened in Stalino, Kadijevka and Prokopjevsk. The number of trade union libraries has increased to 15,000 catering for five million readers. The total number of books in these libraries amounts to 35 million.

The number of students of the universities has increased from 272,000 in 1931 to 420,000 in 1934. The movement for holding socio-technical examinations has developed into a kind of socialist competition. Trade union clubs, red corners and hundreds of thousands of technical circles have been set up in which 2,766,000 working men and women receive technical training; 3,497,000 young and adult workers are studying in the social, political, educational, artistic and military circles.

The amount expended by the trade unions on sport and physical culture increased from 16 million in 1931 to 48 million roubles in 1934. The number of workers and employees drawn into the movement for sport and physical culture has doubled since 1931 and now amounts to three millions.

Whilst the socialist Soviet country is growing and flourishing, beyond the Soviet borders, where the capitalists are in power, an economic crisis is raging which shows the general decay and decline of capitalism. Gloomy despair and hopelessness prevail in the workers' quarters in the capitalist towns. Therefore, the working class and the oppressed masses of the whole world are directing their glances with ever greater longing to that country in which the Communist Party, the Party of Lenin and Stalin, liberated their class brothers for ever from the fetters of capitalist exploitation and is leading them boldly from victory to victory, towards a new, better, richer life. The achievements of the Soviet Union, which are heartily welcomed by the enslaved masses of the whole world, are increasing the anxiety and hatred of

their enemies against victorious Communism. Therefore, the Soviet Union is strengthening its glorious and powerful Red Army and equipping it with the latest technical achievements, for it is the faithful protector of the Soviet country.

The Soviet elections are to give a new impetus to labour activity and to raise the material and cultural level of the toilers. The Central Council of the Soviet trade unions calls upon all working men and women of all works, factories, mines, railways, Soviet farms and machine and tractor stations, as well as all employees, engineers, technicians and scientists, energetically to support the production campaign initiated by the workers of the large factories in order to be able to report to the Seventeenth Soviet Congress the fulfilment and surpassing of the production programme. This means that all workers will be drawn into socialist competition and the shock-brigade movement; it means the stubborn struggle for mastering modern technique, for the complete utilisation of the productive capacity of the machines and lathes. It means the establishment of iron proletarian discipline in all factories, works, mines and on the railways. The production campaign aims at improvements in the factories, hospitals, schools, clinics, kindergartens and creches; it aims at spotless cleanliness and order in the flats of the workers and their supplying with fuel for the winter.

Fresh cadres of workers and employees must be drawn into the work of supervising the factories, shops, stores and vegetable gardens in order to drive out of them the defrauders and class enemies who have crept into these institutions.

The Soviet elections must become a means of further strengthening the organs of the dictatorship, of developing proletarian democracy and self-criticism, a means for better rallying the broadest masses of toilers round the Soviets and the Communist Party and its revered leader Comrade Stalin. The Soviet elections must be utilised in order to carry out one of the most important instructions of the Seventeenth Party Congress: "To organise the supervision by the masses of the work of the administrative organs and to subject bureaucratic excrescences and shortcomings of the apparatus to the severe criticism of the masses."

After the liquidation of the Commissariat for Labour the trade unions were given a number of State functions; social insurance, the protection of labour, etc. According to the decision of the Seventeenth Party Congress, the trade unions were granted the rights of the lower organs of workers' and peasants' inspection in the factories, the management of the supervising boards for the food supply of the workers, as well as of the lower organs of the co-operatives. The trade unions, which collected a large amount of experiences in mass work, are called upon to support the Soviets in their work and to consolidate the groups of Soviet deputies in the factories. One of the main tasks of these groups of Soviet deputies in the factories will be to check up whether the instructions of the electors have been duly carried out by the Soviets. The trade unions must actively take part in the compilation of lists of candidates for the new Soviets. The best shock-brigaders are to be proposed as candidates for the new Soviets by the trade union members.

Under the victorious banner of the Communist Party of Lenin and Stalin we shall gather the toilers round the Soviets for the further struggle for Socialism, for the strengthening of the defensive capacity of the Soviet country and for the carrying out of the great works specified in the second Five-Year Plan.

## The Week in the Soviet Union

### On the Eve of the Third Year of the Second Five-Year Plan— All Branches of Economy on a Rising Curve

The organs of socialist planned economy are now working on the elaboration of the plan for the third year of the Second Five-Year Plan. It is therefore of interest to glance at the figures regarding the fulfilment of the Plan for the current, the second, year of the Second Five-Year Plan. From the economic survey of the three quarters (January to September) of the year 1934 it is evident that great progress has been made in all spheres of national economy. The increase in production in large-scale industry amounts to 20.2 per cent. in the first nine months of the year as compared with the same period of last year. The output of large industry amounts in value to 26,500 million roubles. The increase in production of those branches of industry manufacturing the means of production amounted to 25.9 per cent., for the industries manufacturing the means of consumption it amounted

to 11.7 per cent. Heavy industry recorded a 28 per cent. increase of production, whilst the food industry reached 23.1 per cent. The following table shows the percentage increase in production as compared with the same period of last year:—

Branch of Industry:	Jan.-Sept., 1934, as compared with Jan.-Sept., 1933, in percentage
Fat industry .. .. .	202.5
Mangan industry .. .. .	177.9
Chemical industry .. .. .	150.3
Iron ore industry .. .. .	149.7
Glass and china industry .. .. .	144.8
Coke industry .. .. .	140.2
Iron smelting industry .. .. .	139.0
Power stations .. .. .	131.8
Rubber industry .. .. .	129.6
Non-ferrous coloured metals .. .. .	126.7
Match industry .. .. .	126.7
Engineering and working up metals .. .. .	126.2
Anthracite coal industry .. .. .	124.3
Slate industry .. .. .	123.6
Peat industry .. .. .	122.6
Cement industry .. .. .	122.1
Silk industry .. .. .	121.0
Knitted wear industry .. .. .	119.5
Hemp industry .. .. .	118.5
Naphtha industry .. .. .	115.8
Oil refineries .. .. .	115.0
Cotton industry .. .. .	109.5
Paper industry .. .. .	108.9

It is characteristic that the output of electric power increased by 31.8 per cent. during the first nine months of the current year, whilst the total increase of industrial production amounted to 20.2 per cent. Thus we see that the output of the power stations surpasses the increase in industrial production and the supply of electric energy for the whole country is on the increase.

The iron-smelting industry recorded an increase of 39 per cent., as compared with last year, but the pig-iron industry recorded an increase of 49.7 per cent. The iron-smelting industry recorded an output of 916,800 tons in September last; in this branch of industry the U.S.S.R. now occupies first place in the world and even surpassed the iron-smelting industry of the United States (912,000 tons).

Great progress has been achieved also in the sphere of agriculture. In spite of the unfavourable weather conditions in various parts of the Soviet Union, this year's harvest came up to the high level of last year's harvest, thanks to the collective farm system, which brought about a better organisation of work. Numerous tractors and agricultural machines were placed at the disposal of the collective farms also this year: they received in the first nine months of the year 60,500 tractors and 7,300 threshing machines. The agricultural machine industry supplied agricultural machines and implements to the value of 271.7 million roubles in the first nine months.

The current year saw a turning point in the sphere of cattle breeding; it rose for the first time by 20.3 per cent. in the first eight months of the year compared with last year.

Railway transport, expressed in the number of tons transported, increased in the first eight months by 20.3 per cent. as compared with the same period last year.

The constant growth of all branches of economy requires a greater supply of labour. The number of workers engaged in Soviet industry increased by 10.3 per cent. in the first eight months of the year as compared with the same period of last year. The average monthly wage increased in the same period by 14.4 per cent.

The rising standard of living of the toilers, their increasing purchasing power, finds expression in the increasing turn-over of the country. The retail turn-over of the Soviet Union increased in the first nine months of the year by 30.7 per cent. as compared with the same period last year.

The foreign trade of the Soviet Union shows a favourable balance of 129,701,000 roubles.

These figures show that there exist the best prospects of further great economic progress in the coming year, the third year of the Second Five-Year Plan.

## Book Reviews

### War and Peace and the Soviet Union\*

By R. Bishop

The book contains no new material. All the facts and citations in it have been given publicity before, much of it in the columns of *International Press Correspondence*. But, nevertheless, a recapitulation of the known facts on the war situation from a working-class viewpoint in handy and popular form, fills a much needed gap.

The author starts off with an analysis of the various types of war to which capitalism gives birth—the inter-imperialist wars brought about by a struggle for markets and raw materials, colonial wars, and (a new type created by new conditions), war between the capitalist States and the socialist world as represented by the U.S.S.R.

One of the best sections of the book is that dealing with the changed relations between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. during the past year. Certainly it was, on the face of it, remarkable that America, which has for sixteen years flatly refused all relations with the Socialist State, should suddenly, not only extend recognition to the U.S.S.R., but should also in so doing attempt to give such recognition the appearance of exceptional cordiality, going so far as to appoint as their Ambassador a man who had been a consistent advocate of recognition from the very inception of the Soviet regime.

Why was American recognition delayed so long after all the other big capitalist Powers had made the gesture of restoring relations? Graham gives the answer: Because American capitalism had felt no necessity to do so previously. They had been enjoying what passes for prosperity under capitalism, they were free from the troubles of post-war Europe, and could consequently afford the luxury of boycotting the U.S.S.R. because she was a Socialist State.

But times have changed. The capitalist "paradise" in U.S.A. found itself no more immune from the world crisis which struck capitalism so savagely at the end of 1929 than did the European States. No longer could America afford to be complacent about its position. Even from the point of view of trade, the Russian market was not to be lightly ignored. Between 1930-1932 American exports to the U.S.S.R. fell 89 per cent., as against a drop of only 34 per cent. in world exports to the U.S.S.R. At the same time the Ottawa Conference agreement between Britain and the Dominions was also aimed at American trade. So, from the economic point of view, American recognition is fully understandable.

The broader political reasons are to be found in the struggle for the Pacific—the great battleground of the Imperialist Powers. A clash between Japan and America in this field has long been looked upon as inevitable.

Comrade Graham deals with the whole question of the **American-Japanese struggle** and its relation to the U.S.S.R. in much detail.

Not less detailed and clear is his examination of Japanese policy as a trading nation. Her commercial policy of recent years has been no less aggressive than her policy in other spheres. The author demonstrates in a most convincing manner the war character of the entire Japanese economy. In this connection he quotes from the "*Times*" of December 12, 1933:—

"In the next ten years Japan must find work and food for nearly ten million more people than she employs and feeds to-day. The cheap goods of the factories into which the surplus workers of the farms were drained have found markets abroad. If the process does not continue, how is Japan to avoid an explosion, which will either destroy the social order at home or burst a way to expansion abroad."

The position of Britain towards Japanese policy in Manchuria is described by Comrade Graham as follows:—

"The prevailing British policy is to welcome the creation

\* "War and Peace and the Soviet Union," by Gore Graham, with an introduction by Lord Marley (Gollancz, 5s.).

of a buffer state under Japanese control between China and the Soviet Union, with its consequent isolation of Red China.

... At the same time there are certain misgivings about the Japanese. While not quarrelling with the positive advantages of Japanese aggression against the Soviet Union or the need for suppressing Soviet China, some sections of British capitalist opinion are afraid that Japan will leave nothing for them."

But, on the whole, British imperialism believes the aggressive role of Japan towards the Soviet Union more than compensates for any possible disadvantages.

Gore Graham goes on to an analysis of the war situation in Europe. Nazi foreign policy, French foreign policy, Polish foreign policy, all come under review. A press quotation reveals clearly what lies behind the new "friendship," professed by France for the Soviet Union. When Coty, the fascist millionaire perfume manufacturer declared in favour of a Franco-Japanese-German bloc to attack the U.S.S.R., the newspaper "*Republique*" replied:—

"The idea of an anti-Soviet crusade is directed against the vital interests of France herself. Should this idea be carried out France would be faced in the Far East with a powerful Japan, menacing Indo-China, and in the West by a rising Germany, with the Donetz coal and Baku oil in her hands. France would be powerless against such a Germany."

"The Soviet Union," says Comrade Graham, "has always been a menace to British imperialists because they feared the effects of its infectious example to the millions of colonial people inhabiting the Empire."

It is a pity that this book was written prior to the entry of the U.S.S.R. into the League of Nations. Had it been otherwise Comrade Graham could have done yeoman service in explaining this step about which so much confusion, largely artificially created by enemies of the U.S.S.R., exists. As it is, after demonstrating beyond a shadow of a doubt the consistent leading role that British imperialism has played since 1917 in the vanguard of anti-Soviet intrigue, Comrade Graham explains very lucidly the character and the consistency of the peace policy pursued by the U.S.S.R., and foreshadows the possibility of its entry into the League. "Diplomacy in the Service of World Socialism" is one of the chapter headings, which the author shows to be more than a mere phrase. From the very inception of Soviet Power the Bolsheviks have availed themselves of every contradiction of interests between the capitalist powers, and done their best to turn them to their own advantage and that of the international working class. The entry into the League of Nations at the present juncture is but a logical continuation of this policy.

In his concluding section Gore Graham asks: "What is to be done?" He examines the various policies put forward ostensibly for the purpose of preventing war. He examines that of the Labour Party and the T.U.C.—the pure and simple pacifists, the League of Nations Union, etc.

He shows how the fight against war and the fight against fascism are two sides of one and the same problem, and concludes that the only practical programme of struggle against imperialist war is that laid down at the great **International Congress Against War**, held at **Amsterdam** in 1932. He quotes the pledge taken by the 2,000 delegates from all lands, with the concluding paragraph:—

"All the burdens of war, as well as all the burdens of armed peace and war preparations, are laid on the shoulders of the working class, whose vanguard is formed by the transport and armaments workers. The working class must therefore immediately organise and be on its guard. We swear to fight with all our power against the gathering disaster. And we continue to appeal to all; to appeal to the workers, peasants and intellectuals of all countries, to the exploited and oppressed, to join us, to enter into the pledges we have entered into here, and put them into effect."

A book with such a wealth of material should certainly be made available for all working-class organisations. Working-class organisations which possess libraries should see this book is obtained. Attempts should be made to get it into public libraries, and a cheap edition would be a decided boon.

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