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## Hands Off the Soviet Union!

### The Defence of the Revolution, the International Proletariat—and the Second International

The abolition of capital punishment was one of the first acts of the great October revolution of 1917. A country in a state of revolution, with armed enemies within and without: it was clear that the new power could only maintain itself with the aid of force. But feeling triumphed over reason. The oppressed class, fighting for humanity, inspired with humanitarian ideas, discarded too quickly an indispensable weapon. It had to pay for this ill-advised act with streams of blood. But the Bolsheviki, who showed how to capture power, afterwards gave a splendid example of how the revolution must be defended.

To capture power and at the same time to shatter the old State force and defend the revolution with all means became the touchstone in the fight for Socialism. The Second International, which during the war carried out the policy of their own bourgeoisie, after the war carried on reconstruction on the old bourgeois foundation. Whilst it continued to pay lip-service to Socialism, it became the defenders of so-called democracy, conducted an unrelenting fight against all who stood for the dictatorship of the proletariat, and fiercely combated the so-called Bolshevik terror. It conducted this fight in speech and writing, with police truncheons and machine guns, and, whilst not identifying itself with the white counter-revolutionaries, it fought side by side with them. In the name of humanity and in order to save the rule of the exploiters, it committed the greatest cruelties, which demanded greater sacrifices in

human life than a victorious revolution in Central Europe would have cost.

In the meantime world history brilliantly confirmed the correctness of Bolshevik policy. The proletarian revolution triumphed, Socialism with all its cultural and material advantages is being built up before our eyes, whilst at the present time, in the whole of the capitalist world, a devastating economic crisis prevails which plunges the working population into ever deeper misery and increases to the utmost the enslavement of the masses. This is especially the case in those countries where the Second International, by holding out the prospect of a so-called democratic Socialism, succeeded in restraining the proletariat from overthrowing the bourgeoisie. It is precisely in these countries that the proletariat has to submit to the most bitter political oppression, which in many countries has assumed the form of bestial fascism and threatens the best elements of the proletariat with physical extermination. On the one side we see Germany, Austria and Spain, and on the other side the Soviet Union. This new world of free creative humanity which is arising proclaims in flaming letters to all the oppressed and exploited: By this sign shalt thou conquer!

Broad sections of the international proletariat, taught by bitter experience, have already learnt the correct lesson. They no longer allow themselves to be incited against Communist workers; they

wish to make common cause with them, first in the immediate fight against fascism in the countries where fascism has triumphed, and in barring the way to fascism where it is about to go over to the attack—and in all countries for combating the capitalist offensive, for opposing the preparations for new imperialist war and of the new war of intervention against the Soviet Union. The Second International is placing the greatest difficulties in the way of this fight. So far we have succeeded only in single countries in creating the first foundations of the united fight. But these foundations are being rapidly consolidated and offer the best prospects for the future fight, a fight which to-day is still a fight for immediate demands, but which to-morrow will be a fight on a broad front for the emancipation of the working class and the whole of humanity.

In this fight the international proletariat was startled by the shots with which the murderer in the pay of the class enemy killed one of the best Bolsheviks—Comrade Kirov. The situation was lit up as if by a flash of lightning. Contrary to the assumption that with the increased successes of the proletarian revolution a so-called pacification would ensue which would permit the revolution to weaken its means of defence, there is once again inexorably revealed the dialectical course of development: the more successes the proletarian revolution achieves, the more desperate efforts the class enemy makes to take revenge for the freeing of its slaves, to carry confusion into the ranks of the victorious army and to check as far as possible the rapid course of development which is leading to its final annihilation. It will be remembered that a debate arose on this question already before the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U., and that Comrade Stalin maintained that the growth of Socialism in no way implied that the Soviet power could reduce its defensive measures.

The proletariat in the Soviet Union and also the fighting proletariat in the other countries immediately grasped the situation and stood with a determination, devotion and unanimity, such as the world had never previously witnessed, behind the leaders of the revolution and their measures of defence. **In face of this firm will every hope of the counter-revolution is bound to be shattered.**

In this situation the Second International saw fit to put forward Leon Blum, the leader of the S.P. of France—the Party which is carrying out a united action with the Communist Party to prevent the advance of fascism—in order to defend the Russian white guardists who wish, by means of murder and sabotage, to prevent the victory of Socialism. Leon Blum borrows the argument of the Rothermere press and of the so-called Riga correspondents, according to which this murder was an act of revenge and has nothing to do with politics. Personal revenge—we have heard this before. The same thing was said on the occasion of the murder of Comrade Vorovsky in Lausanne and of Comrade Voikov in Warsaw. Leon Blum had to learn from the columns of the Paris "Temps" that in the case of Comrade Kirov such personal motives for the crime are quite out of the question. But at the same time the cannibal howls of the white Russian press from Harbin to Minneapolis, from Haparanda to Capetown, must have taught him that the Leningrad assassination was hailed by the rotten reactionary white guardist bands, not as an act of personal revenge but a sign of "liberation."

Does the Second International wish to repeat the game which it played in 1922, when it wished to make joint action of the proletariat dependent upon decent treatment being accorded the social revolutionaries who assassinated Volodarsky and made an attempt on the life of Lenin? The leaders of the Second International must be told that twelve years have passed since then, twelve bitter years in which the proletariat has got to know the methods of the Second International and also the methods of the Bolsheviks. An "action" against fascism while at the same time undermining the defence of the proletarian revolution in the Soviet Union, that is an action for capitalism and fascism. And if the proletariat has not yet completely realised this, we must take care that it does. On this question there is no bargaining. On this question there can be only one standpoint: unconditional defence of the Soviet Union, defence of the revolution, that revolution which at the same time is a guarantee for the overthrow of reaction, the overthrow of capitalism and the victory of the whole of toiling humanity.

Hands off the Soviet Union !

## The White Guardist Calumnies Against the Soviet Union

In its issue of December 7, the "Isvestia" writes:—

The Soviet Union is so strong as a world power that the bourgeoisie of the countries interested in the maintenance of good relations cannot spread too obvious lies and calumnies against it. A German proverb says, Lies have short legs. After so many failures it is unpleasant to be exposed again as a liar. The press of the Russian white-guardists, however, does not feel itself in any way hampered in this respect. Therefore all these Riga, Estonian, Finnish and Harbin white-guardist papers reacted as if at a given signal to the shots fired in Leningrad. These lie factories immediately started work at high pressure. One cannot say that the white-guardist hypocrites overtaxed their inventive faculties. They began by simply repeating that which they had already printed many years ago. Stories immediately appeared of "gigantic conspiracies," of "a revolt in the Baltic Fleet," of "a battle between the regular troops and the troops of the Cheka." The Harbin "Nash Put" immediately declared that the murder of Kirov was committed by Russian fascists.

The white-guardist press, however, writes not only in order to keep up the spirits of the white-guardist public abroad, but it supplies news to various telegraph agencies and press bureaus which serve the press of the neighbouring States of the Soviet Union, and the notorious "Riga correspondents" of the reactionary English conservative press and of the German fascist papers. It would not be uninteresting to see how the white-guardist inventions are reflected in this press. This campaign met with a particularly big response in the Finnish, Polish and Swedish press. The "Aftenbladet" reported "a demonstration of the Kronstadt garrison against the Soviet Power." "Stockholms Tidningen" reported that the "workers in the Karelian forest have left their work places." "Svenska Dagbladet" even reported that North Russia wishes to separate from the Soviet Union. These lies were regarded even by a part of the bourgeois press of Sweden as exaggerations. "Ny Dagligt Allehanda" was compelled to declare that, according to telephone conversations with the Swedish Consulates in Leningrad and Moscow, tremendous demonstrations of the population were held on the occasion of the murder of Kirov. As, however, they did not wish to lag behind their competitors, these reputable papers did not neglect to publish the idiotic inventions from white-guardist sources. The government organ had to warn public opinion against these sensational reports and point out that they "emanate from Helsingfors, Riga and Tallin and serve purely agitational purposes."

The Dutch press also spread the white-guardist inventions. It began to declare that the murder of Kirov was an expression of the "unstable situation in the Soviet Union." These wiseacres in Holland should read what the arch-reactionary "New York Herald" wrote on the same day: "Political murder is rather a weapon of a weak, desperate minority and is not evidence of a strong, powerful movement." Why is the Dutch newspaper unable to understand that which a reactionary New York paper understands? The answer to this question can be given in one word: *Deterding*. Sir Henri Deterding has been in a very difficult situation in the last few years. His oil trust has been severely shaken by the crisis. Why should he not try to improve his business prospects by reporting that "something is going to happen shortly" in the Soviet Union? If North Russia separates from the Soviet Union, why should not South Russia, i.e., the Baku oil wells, come into Deterding's hands? This is the reason for the publication of the reports from Riga, Helsingfors and other "Dutch" sources in the arch reactionary English press. All the Riga canards are found in the "Daily Mail," the "Morning Post" and the "Daily Express."

It is most interesting, however, to observe the attitude of the German fascist press to the murder of Kirov. All papers publish the lies of the Russian white-guardists. The "Angriff" states: "According to the latest reports it appears that it was not an act of individuals, but a big well-organised action." The fascist "Zwoelf-Uhr-Blatt" reports of "confusion," of "state of siege" in the Soviet Union, and that "the garrisons are forbidden to leave the barracks." All this is printed in a newspaper which is under the strict censorship of the Ministry of Propaganda, although this notorious Ministry is well informed by telegrams from the German Consulates regarding the perfect law and order obtaining in the

Soviet Union and regarding the imposing demonstrations of the people, in which the Red Army also took part. A fine state of siege where millions of workers, collective peasants and members of the Red Army demonstrate on the streets for the Soviet Power!

Needless to say, the *Hungarian* press, which defends the fascists and terrorists responsible for the assassinations in Marseilles, is now full of indignation on account of the terror exercised by the Soviet Power, and justifies the murder of Kirov. This attitude results from its solidarity with the German fascist press.

Finally, we must not fail to mention the Japanese journalist *Tanaka*, who comes forward in the columns of the "Charbin-skoje Vremja" as a "Russian-Manchurian publicist." With reference to the murder of Kirov, he writes: "There is no place for morality and humanity in the fight against Bolshevism; everything is permissible that weakens the Bolsheviks and strengthens the means for combating them."

We have intentionally quoted these inventions, concludes the "Isvestia," as we consider it necessary that the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union should know who in foreign countries rejoices and who weeps at the tragic end of one of the best sons of the working people. There is not a single honest proletarian in the whole of Europe who does not share our grief. On the other hand, the old gang of manufacturers, landowners and officers who were kicked out by the proletariat, is jubilant. It would, however, be a mistake to draw only these conclusions of a general social nature from the international bourgeois press. The Paris "Temps," in an article on the murder of Kirov, points to a factor which deserves special attention. It writes: "It should be pointed out that anti-Bolshevist terrorism is directed less towards venting hatred against the leaders of the revolution, as prejudicing relations between the Soviet Union and other countries. This is shown by the assassinations of which the German Ambassador Mirbach, the supreme commander of the German troops in Kiev, Eichhorn, as well as Vorovsky, Ahrens and Voikov, and finally the German Ambassadorial Councillor Twardowski and the French President Doumer were victims."

This observation by the official French paper is very important. Every terrorist action of the Russian counter-revolution serves some foreign-political purpose.

Is it possible to find in the comments of the bourgeois press on the murder of Kirov any indications of similar foreign-political considerations? They can be found, for instance, in the Helsingfors paper "Huvudstad Bladet" of December 4. The yarns of this paper regarding "discontented 'Left' radical groups" and "discontent among the troops" are just as true as the invention regarding an "independent North Russia." But significant is the hint that, in the opinion of the editor, the rapprochement between the Soviet Union and France goes too far.

We are convinced that the counter-revolutionary elements which are instigating terrorist conspiracies are seeking at this moment to disturb the rapprochement between France and the Soviet Union. They realise that such a rapprochement is the most effective means for consolidating peace, which means their inevitable end. They have set all their hopes on war. They are trying by means of terroristic acts to make it appear that the strength of the Soviet Union, the order prevailing in the country, is only on the surface, that behind it strong forces are at work which are only waiting for a blow from outside in order to proceed against the Soviet government. The same aim which was pursued by the assassination of Kirov is now pursued by the campaign of lies conducted by a part of the bourgeois world press under the slogan: "Unrest in Soviet Russia."

The Polish paper "Tchass" of Cracow writes: "The increase in oppositional trends in Russia aroused by the accumulation of inner difficulties has become so apparent that all influential international circles who, proceeding from the fact of the stabilisation of the Soviet Union, commenced to make plans, will be compelled to think over that fact. We do not conceal the fact that in connection with the latest events in Soviet Russia more than one doubt will arise in the mind of the Central European public."

The Hungarian clerical paper "Ujsag" welcomes "the dawn of a new counter-revolutionary movement in the Soviet Union" and calls upon the European States to abandon collaboration with the Soviet Union and set up an anti-Soviet united front in support of the counter-revolutionary movement.

We shall not examine here the question of the foreign-political relations of the scoundrel who murdered the leader of the Lenin-grad Bolsheviks. The courts will deal with this aspect of the matter. We only wish to raise the political question: cui prodest? i.e., what purpose was served by the assassination of Kirov? A survey of the international press gives the exact answer to this question. The assassination aimed firstly at undermining the power of the Soviet Union; it aided all enemies of the working class. Secondly, the assassination was directed against the cause of peace; it was directed against the peace policy of the Soviet Union. It served the cause of war and assisted those who are working to weaken the Soviet Union and for a war against it.

## Politics

### Foreign Political Review of the Week

The London "Observer" of 9th inst. publishes a letter from Paris in which the rivalry of the various tendencies of French foreign policy is set forth. According to this letter, Laval, contrary to his predecessor, Barthou, is the supporter of the so-called German tendency which wishes to come to an understanding with Hitler. Behind this tendency there are certain military and industrial circles which, partly inspired by anti-Communist feeling, partly proceeding from other cool calculations, wish by this means to preserve the interests of France. This statement by one who has a good knowledge of French foreign politics gives a correct explanation of the policy pursued by Laval since he took over the office of Foreign Minister and will doubtless throw considerable light on his future attitude. In any case, Pertinax, of the "Echo de Paris," was right when he declared after the arrival of the reports from Geneva that the relatively favourable settlement of the Saar question was achieved not thanks to but in spite of Laval.

Already last week we mentioned the declaration made by Laval to the German Ambassador, according to which he did not intend to pursue "a policy of internationalists and Jews." Sir John Simon, when called upon in the English House of Commons to fix a second plebiscite in the event of the Saar population deciding for the status quo, emphatically refused to do so. After the conclusion of the negotiations in Rome the "Temps," the mouthpiece of M. Laval, reported on the results and pointed out that the Committee had kept in mind only one possibility: the return of the Saar to Germany. As a matter of fact, things turned out quite otherwise. The report dealt in detail with the constitutional conditions of the Saar population in the event of a victory of the status quo. Its official interpretation by the chairman, Benes, according to which the whole Council was unanimously of the opinion that in the event of the Saar population deciding for the status quo a second plebiscite must be held in the future, is not only a definite defeat for Hitler but also of the Anglo-French attempts to come to terms with him.

That the Council adopted this decision is due in the first place to the tremendous united action developed by the Saar workers. A commission which has dealt with the Saar question for weeks could not pass over this movement in silence. Great credit is also due to the Soviet delegation in this connection. Here there was shown quite plainly that the participation of the Soviet Union in the League of Nations, which involves sacrifices, is not only indispensable from the point of view of maintaining peace, but also brings great benefits to the international proletariat. Comrade Litvinov took at their word the gentlemen who talk so much about a free vote and the right of self-determination, but in reality are only concerned about their own imperialist interests. After Litvinov, Laval, too, was bound to say yes, as otherwise he would have placed himself in an impossible position. The exceedingly valuable declaration by Benes was thereby first rendered possible.

In the meantime we must not forget that the chairman of the Saar Commission, Baron Aloisi, who by broaching the question of the legal position of the Saar population caused the pronouncement on the second plebiscite to be made, at the same time acted as a tool of Mussolini, who does not see what advantage it would be to him for Hitler to achieve a great foreign-political victory in the Saar question, as a dazzling victory in the Saar would also involve a victory in the Danube basin. Why, therefore, should Mussolini play into the hands of Hitler?

It is true he is also for a sort of pacification of Europe, that is to say, he advocates at the same time that the Saar Commission

should do everything to banish the immediate danger of war between Germany and France on account of the Saar. How true it is it is impossible to say, but it is said that Mussolini intends to propose a European peace pact for five years—a European peace pact in order that he shall have a free hand in Africa. It is not due to chance that for the second time within a short period news has come of a collision between Italy and Abyssinia. This time it is not a small incident but a regular war-like action, and each side is accusing the other of being the aggressor.

Mussolini has long been in need of a diversion, as he is unable to show anything for his twelve years of rule except that the trains are punctual except when they are late! The financial burdens are becoming more oppressive every day. The small citizen, at one time his main support, is disappointed and resentful. Dangerous discontent prevails among the workers in town and country. Abyssinia is the only country where Mussolini still hopes to win laurels. For this purpose he needs the favour of France, this rich country which could grant financial aid. He also needs France, however, in order that it shall secure his Eastern hinterland for him. If the assassinations in Marseilles had not taken place then it would have been possible to have come to an agreement which would have included Yugoslavia. To-day the matter is incomparably more difficult.

We know that France has exerted enormous pressure on Yugoslavia and the Little Entente in order to induce them not to bring complaints against Italy in connection with the Marseilles assassinations. Yugoslavia has given way. It thereby also declared that it agreed to the discussion of its Memorandum being postponed until January. Hungary, however, upset the calculations and succeeded in getting the matter dealt with at once. It thereby compelled Italy to come forward in its support. Laval, of course, supported Yugoslavia, declaring that a removal of frontier posts in Central Europe would mean war, but—obviously on the inducement of Italy—he refrained from demanding that on which Yugoslavia insists, namely, that Hungary should be censured. It is said that the Yugoslavian delegation were greatly incensed at this and threatened to take their departure. The Little Entente succeeded, by open threats of war, in inducing the whole of the League Council to administer a rebuke to Hungary, to which also Hungary agreed. It was obliged to do this under the pressure of Italy, which, owing to the sharpening of the situation in Abyssinia, has to pay more consideration to France and also Yugoslavia.

The speech delivered by Comrade Litvinov is of great importance in this connection. Whilst all the delegations, including even Hungarian, commenced their speeches with nauseating praise of the murdered king, Comrade Litvinov, in his declaration, showed no sympathy for crowned tyrants, set forth the Bolshevik attitude to individual terror and showed the special importance of the assassinations committed since the war, all of which serve reaction and are often used as a means in order to bring about international conflicts and fresh wars.

While these lines are being written the world press is full of praise of the victory of the idea of peace. Garvin, the editor of the "Observer," is jubilant because it will not come to a war between Germany and France on account of the Saar, that in fact the way is free for a German-French understanding—an aim for which British diplomacy has been striving ever since Hitler came to power. One might remind these gentlemen of the big debate in the House of Commons on German armaments. They could reply to this that "the important thing is not armaments but against whom they are directed." If they are directed against the Soviet Union . . . A Franco-German understanding can, however, have no other aim.

Comrade Litvinov has upset this plan by getting Laval to sign a treaty in which France pledges itself not to sign any treaty with Hitler, with the exception of the Eastern Pact.

The fact is that the danger which Hitler Germany constitutes is in no way removed by the Saar agreement; that the Yugoslav-Magyar antagonism, in spite of all agreements at Geneva, is becoming more acute, as is proved by the wholesale expulsions from both countries; and finally, that Mussolini will probably in the next few months launch a colonial war.

It is also a fact, however, that the Soviet Union and the international proletariat have gained a certain amount of time, time which the Soviet Union must make use of for the purpose of socialist construction and increasing its defensive measures, and the international proletariat for mobilising all toilers against war and fascism.

## Speech of Comrade Litvinov on the Saar Question

Geneva, December 7, 1934.

"I agree with the compliments addressed to Baron Aloisi and to his colleagues on the Committee of Three. They have done good work, not only for the Council, but for the cause of peace, in helping to abolish causes of friction between two great nations.

"A country like the Soviet Union, which is not party to a Peace Treaty, is interested in the question both as a member of the Council and because of its effects on the cause of peace. No question can be of greater interest for members of the Council than the fate of the Saar population.

"In a short time they will have to decide their own destiny, in accordance with the right of self-determination for peoples, one of the fundamental principles that the Soviet government has proclaimed from the commencement of its existence. The decision of a free and untrammelled plebiscite must be respected.

"But the Saar people has not only to choose between two states; it might decide in favour of the prolongation of the status quo which was originally intended to be provisional. Such a decision could only be taken for special and temporary reasons. It is natural that questions should be put to the Council as to the legal meaning of the status quo, and whether such a decision would be final or not.

"The Council's Committee was led necessarily to reply to these questions, and quite rightly took the view that, in principle, the League would become sovereign and might dispose of this right and permit any modification in this status, provided the nations chiefly concerned did not oppose.

"The League has no interest in maintaining these sovereign rights, save in the interests of peace. Therefore, if, in the future, the Saar population spoke definitely in favour of a change in its legal status, the League could not refuse. Who can raise any objection after the solemn declaration of the Foreign Minister of one of the nations chiefly concerned? Must we expect objections from the other nation concerned if one day, as we all hope, she resumed her seat on the Council?

"As regards the other members of the Council, it cannot be imagined that they will oppose the wish of the Saar population to go back on its first decision. I therefore agree with the conclusions of the Report, which seem to me to be in harmony with the right of self-determination. I hope that the acceptance of the Report will satisfy the wishes of the Saar population and the interests of all."

## Speech of Comrade Litvinov on the Question of the Conflict Between Hungary and Yugoslavia

Geneva, December 8, 1934.

"The Council must look into the documents supplied by the two parties and then give a decision. For the moment I reserve my opinion on the facts. Even if the evidence of fact had been insufficient, Yugoslavia and France would have been entitled to bring before the Council a complaint against an unknown person and demand satisfaction.

"There is no doubt as to the fact that the events in Marseilles have been rendered possible at any rate through the complicity of certain unknown authorities in an unknown country. But there is also a problem of international value. Yugoslavia has done a service by drawing attention to terrorism.

"Regarded as individual method of violence, terrorism is well-known in Russia. Before the war revolutionary parties committed acts of terrorism against the tsarist regime. But beside them there existed a revolutionary party from which the present Russian government has sprung, and which condemned terrorism. The same negative attitude in regard to terrorism was adopted in other countries by revolutionary parties which, like that in Russia, followed the teaching of Marx.

"But at that time terrorists confined their activities to their own country. No attempt was made on the life of a representative of the tsarist government abroad. Russian revolutionaries regarded terrorism outside their own country as cowardice and an abuse of the right of asylum. But whilst at that time Russian terrorism was condemned because it was useless, we can only regard post-war terrorism with contempt.

"This terrorism is inspired by the most reactionary ideals and is endeavouring to re-establish unpopular regimes that are con-



demned by history to disappear. The nature of this new terrorism is that it is almost always practised abroad, financed by foreign money, and often used as a method of foreign policy. This is the point which must have the Council's attention; for here is a danger to peace. During recent years certain States that have been victims of terrorism have needed extraordinary patience to avoid disputes. The glorification of terrorists in the press has created the intellectual movement without which terrorism could not exist.

"In this way, the U.S.S.R. has suffered the loss of two of her diplomatic representatives abroad. The Marseilles crime has shown how great is the danger to peace. The League must find a means of countering this evil. But they must not limit themselves to cases of terrorism in the limited sense of the word. M. Benes has rightly referred to the organism of armed bands, and the toleration of military formations amongst emigrés as being highly dangerous. A country which permitted such organisations on its territory might, in its turn, be a victim of such organisations.

"Certain States allow emigrés of one shade of opinion to remain in their territory, and not those of another shade. It is clear that there must be international solidarity in this field.

"If to-day's discussion leads to the conclusion of general agreements to prevent this menace to peace, the credit will be due to the Yugoslav government. But if the peace of the world were established on sound foundations, the League would not have to deal with terrorism. It is because the present peace is unstable that relatively unimportant events might endanger it. The League has therefore a duty to reduce the number of occasions when peace might be imperilled. In this matter it is certain that the Council will do its duty."

## A New Stage of the Hapsburg Question

By G. Grau (Vienna)

The official communique regarding the conversations which took place on November 19 in Rome between Dr. Schuschnigg, the Austrian Chancellor, and Mussolini contained a sentence which, with all its intentional vagueness, makes clear the intentions harboured by the Austrian Government. In the middle of the phrases and platitudes it is suddenly stated:—

"An examination was made of the conditions necessary to enable Austria, consolidated in her political and economic structure and supported by the friendship of Italy and Hungary, to resume in full at the earliest possible date her true **historic function** as holding the equilibrium between the forces that converge in the basin of the Danube."

This sentence called forth considerable excitement in the Succession States of the old Austrian monarchy and led to fierce polemics in the press. From here the movement was transplanted to the foreign ministries and to the press of the great Powers. Commenting on the official communique, the Rome correspondent of the London "**Times**" wrote:—

"The words are clearly susceptible of the most far-reaching interpretation, and to judge from a few rather excited comments uttered here to-night will cause not a little perturbation among the Succession States."

The only thing to do was to wait and see whether the authors of the communique might not in subsequent comment render more clear the meaning of this sentence. But neither the Italian nor the Austrian government have so far gone beyond what has already been said. Schuschnigg on his return from Rome contented himself with repeating the sentence in other words. He stated:—

"The universal task of the German people in the Danube remains exactly the same, and we must endeavour to fulfil, as in the past, the tasks which has been set us."

Schuschnigg and Mussolini wish to create unclarity only in regard to their **immediate plans**, for the official statement on the Rome conversations leaves very little doubt as to the aim in view. Mussolini thereby only expressed his support of Schuschnigg's political programme of the restoration of the Hapsburgs and the expansionist aspirations of Austria in the sphere of the old Austrian monarchy. The idea of the "German mission of Austria" is expressed even more plainly in Schuschnigg's comment than in the communique. For the first time in the post-war period this phrase emerges from the secret conventicles of the Legitimists and the columns of "**Der Christliche Staendestaet**" (The Christian Corporate State)—a periodical which is unknown to the broad public—into the arena of international politics. The "task of the German

people on the Danube," "the historical task of Austria," what else are they but the domination of the Slav nations in the Danube Basin by the German bourgeoisie of Austria under the glorious leadership of the Hapsburg dynasty? The aim is the old one; only the ideological cloak is a new one, adapted to the changed situation.

Italy, by its betrayal of the Triple Alliance in 1915, contributed not a little to the shattering of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. To-day its dictator is playing with the idea of a new miniature edition of this prison house of the peoples. One cannot say more than "playing," for it is one thing to recognise a thing in words, and quite another to realise it in fact.

In spite of Mussolini's protection, the chances of the extension of Austria in the Danube Basin are absolutely unfavourable. The bourgeoisie of the Succession States are just as little inclined to share the exploitation of their own people with anybody else as the toilers of these countries are desirous of having the yoke of national oppression added to their social misery. Mussolini and Schuschnigg are probably thinking for the time being rather of an economic expansion of Austria—which means Italy—in the Succession States. But the imperialist and economic antagonisms prevent even the conclusion of an ordinary commercial treaty between Czechoslovakia and Austria. This latest move will only intensify these antagonisms the more so as the first part of Schuschnigg's programme, namely, the restoration of the Hapsburgs, is assuming a more serious character every day. Regarded by Dollfuss as the last reserve, the Hapsburg restoration determines the whole political programme of Schuschnigg. All preparations are being made by the Austrian rulers for the return of the Hapsburgs. The banishment of the Hapsburgs, it is true, is not yet formally withdrawn, but the law in question has been deprived of its constitutional character and can therefore be repealed at any suitable moment. Archduke Eugen is travelling round the country as deputy of "Kaiser" Otto and receiving the freedom of various cities.

In spite, however, of all the efforts of the monarchist agitators, they have not succeeded in rousing a real mass sentiment in favour of the Hapsburgs. The Austro-fascist system is so hated that the masses oppose anything propagated by it, if for no other reason. Not even the hints made in the press that the monarchy would be "democratic" and "social" have so far made any impression whatever. The protagonists of the Hapsburg restoration must therefore reckon that any attempt to restore the Kaiser will encounter resistance not only in the foreign-political field but also in the **country itself**.

In the main, however, Schuschnigg is reckoning on international support against the opponents of the Hapsburgs at home and abroad. In view of the increasing class struggle, Austro-fascism cannot maintain itself for long in a war on two fronts unaided. Schuschnigg reckons with the possibility that one day the imperialist Powers who support him now will be faced with the choice: either Hapsburg or Hitler against the proletarian revolution. And he speculates that for Mussolini and France the Hapsburgs would be more tolerable than Hitler. These two States must then obtain the approval or tacit consent of the Little Entente.

Mussolini and Schuschnigg are gambling with the peace of Europe. In spite of all the diplomatic negotiations, in spite of all the moves and counter-moves, a peaceful solution of this question is quite impossible. The workers of Austria and of the whole world must be on the watch in order to stop playing with fire.

## Six Months of Fascism in Latvia

By L. Arbo (Riga)

Six months have passed since the fascists seized power in Latvia. For more than half a year the population of Latvia has been groaning under the rule of the Ulmanis-Balodis government, which is a branch of Hitler fascism in the Baltic States. The fascist dictatorship of Ulmanis-Balodis is the rule of the most reactionary and chauvinistic section of the big bourgeoisie and of the rich peasants.

Just like Hitler and Dollfuss, the Ulmanis government commenced its work with pogroms against the workers' organisations. The latter were prohibited, the whole of the workers' press and the press of the radical bourgeoisie were gagged, the workers' clubs, workers' associations and workers' savings banks were confiscated and handed over to the fascist bands. Thousands of workers, young workers and intellectuals were thrown into the

dungeons and torture-chambers of the Latvian bourgeoisie. The best sons of the working class of Latvia, the best intellectual forces of the Latvian people, are being shamefully tortured and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. A large concentration camp was established near *Libau* (Lijeja) in which hundreds of workers and friends of the working class are interned.

The terror in the basements of the Political Police (Ochra) can only be compared with the bloody terror of the Hitler fascists or with that of the Kuomintang murderers. The fascist beasts make no distinction between children and adults: children of thirteen are tortured just the same as 50-year-old adults. The leader of the Ochra, *Friedrichson*, is one of the chief instigators of these savage orgies. In all the prisons of Latvia, in the concentration camp of Libau, heroic champions of freedom are being systematically destroyed.

The members of the workers' and peasants' fraction in Parliament were thrown into prison and each of them sentenced to eight years' imprisonment.

In Latvia also fascism has revealed itself to be destructive of culture. The new education law completely bars the toilers from science and knowledge. Just as in Germany, thousands of books have been placed on the index, among them being the Brown Book of the Hitler Terror.

By means of unbounded demagoguery, by hypocritical phrases about "unity of the nation," "class harmony" and "community of the people," the fascists attempt to divert attention from the great misery, hunger and suffering of the whole population.

The social democracy had rejected all seven proposals of the Communist Party of Latvia to set up the united front against the fascist danger. The leaders of the social democracy repeatedly rejected the struggle of the Communist Party and promised the workers to bring about socialism by means of bourgeois democracy. At a time when the fascists were already on the point of seizing power, *Menders* declared on May 8, at the Nineteenth Congress of the social-democratic party:—

"Fascism cannot come in Latvia! Keep quiet! Do not let yourselves be misled by the Communists!"

The leaders of the social-democratic party sabotaged the slogan of a general strike issued by the Communist Party. They delivered over the working class bound hand and foot to the fascists. Only the Communist Party has conducted and is still conducting a struggle against fascism, for a Soviet government in Latvia, for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The masses of the toiling people of Latvia have been suppressed and exploited for centuries by the German barons and priests, by Polish junkers and Swedish feudal lords, by the Russian Tsar and the German imperialists. But the Latvian bourgeoisie and the Latvian fascists are also unable to achieve the social and national emancipation of the Latvian people. Only Soviet Latvia, the power of the workers and peasants can and will emancipate the toiling people of Latvia from social and national subjugation. In spite of terror and prohibition, the Communist Party of Latvia is leading the toiling people to victory, to Socialism.

## On the Conclusion of an Agreement Between France and the Soviet Union

Moscow, December 8, 1934.

Commenting on the conclusion of the agreement between France and the Soviet Union, the "Pravda" writes:

There is no doubt that the sincere friends of peace in all countries will welcome the conclusion of an East-European Pact. Quiet and peace in Eastern Europe are the necessary preconditions for the consolidation of peace not only on the European Continent, but far beyond it. This is clearly realised by the imperialist groups which are striving for fresh war adventures and therefore they are in every way interested in a failure of the East-European Pact.

These anti-peace groups are exerting all their efforts in order to achieve their aim. Particular attention should be paid to those attempts to represent the matter as if the Soviet Union and France had changed their attitude in regard to the Pact, and to those attempts to sow mistrust between the Soviet Union and France and to undermine the basis of the Pact.

The agreement which was concluded between Comrade Litvinov, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, and Laval, the French Foreign Minister, is of tremendous importance precisely because it establishes perfect clearness on the question of the

East-European Pact. The agreement is evidence of the firm intention of the governments of both countries to continue working for the realisation of the Pact, for securing peace and normal neighbourly relations between all interested states of Eastern Europe. Both governments continue to be of the opinion that the Eastern Pact is the indispensable precondition for achieving this aim. Hence the agreement means an annihilating blow for all those who engaged in speculations, based on their imagination, regarding a change in the attitude of the Soviet Union and France. Secondly, the agreement must put an end to all intrigues aiming at sowing mistrust between France and the Soviet Union. We know that certain political bagmen of certain imperialist groupings have wasted a lot of labour and eloquence in order to frustrate the realisation of the Pact by means of intrigues. The Franco-Soviet agreement shows that these intrigues have suffered a fiasco. On the contrary, it is proof of the further consolidation of the good relations between these two countries. Thirdly, the agreement frustrates all attempts of the above-mentioned groupings to replace the Eastern Pact by agreements which are less effective and which do not bind anybody or even pursue contrary aims. Hence the report of the conclusion of the Franco-Soviet agreement will cause great satisfaction to all champions and friends of peace.

## Germany

### New Revelations in the Reichstag Fire Affair

The Paris "Journal" publishes a sensational document, which for the first time reveals all the details of how the Reichstag was fired by National Socialists. The document is a confession of **Karl Ernst**, Berlin chief group leader of the Storm Troops, shot by Hitler's orders on June 30. Karl Ernst wrote out his confession on June 3—that is, nearly a month before his death—and had it witnessed by two of his friends, Fiedler and Mohrenschild.

Ernst sent the document to Sweden, hoping thus to protect himself from the attacks of the powerful enemies he at that time already possessed in the party. This hope proved vain, Ernst was put to death by Hitler before he could make use of this dangerous weapon. . . .

We give some excerpts from the confession:—

"I, the undersigned, **Karl Ernst**, chief Storm Troop leader of Berlin-Brandenburg, Prussian State Councillor, born September 1, 1904, in Berlin-Wilmersdorf, declare that I give here an account of the Reichstag fire in which I took an active part. I do this on the advice of my friends, for there is a rumour that Goebbels and Goering intend to play me a nasty trick. If I am arrested Goebbels and Goering are to be informed that this document exists and is outside Germany. This document may be published only if I or one of the two comrades whose names are appended (Fiedler and Mohrenschild) shall order its publication or if I should die a violent death.

"I declare that on February 27th, 1933, I with my two subordinate Storm Troop leaders named herein set fire to the Reichstag. We acted in the conviction that we were serving the cause of our leader and the movement. We did it in order to make it possible for the Leader to strike a smashing blow against Marxism, the worst enemy of the German people. . . .

#### Goering and Goebbels.

"A few days after we took power I was summoned by **Helldorf** to **Goering's** house. I went there with **Helldorf**. On the way Helldorf said that the Leader must be given the possibility to take action against the Communists. Goebbels was present at the interview and explained his plan to us. Here it is: at an election meeting in Breslau, where the Leader was to speak, an attempt on the life of the leader was to be staged as he left his aeroplane. This attempt was to serve as a signal for an anti-Communist drive. Heines had already been summoned to Berlin to work out the details of the attempt. . . .

"Two days later we met at Goering's place. This time without Goebbels. Goering was against the idea of an attempt on Hitler's life because he was afraid it might find emulators. He also said that Goebbels was vain and would cling to his plan and asked us to dissuade him. The day after this I was summoned to Goebbels by telephone. When I arrived, the comrades who had been present at the previous meeting had already decided to drop Goebbels' plan. Goering thought something else ought to be tried, perhaps to set fire to the royal

palace. Goebbels answered smiling that it would be better to set fire to the Reichstag. We could then make a show of defending the talking-shop. Goering immediately agreed. Helldorf and I opposed the plan because of the difficulties of putting it into practice, but allowed ourselves to be persuaded by Goebbels. After a discussion it was decided that Heines, Helldorf and I should lay the fire on February 25th, a week before the elections. Goering declared that he could supply us with very effective combustible material that would take up very little space. On February 28th we should hold ourselves in readiness in the fraction room of the party and when the Reichstag was vacated for the day, we could get down to the job. I was put in charge of the preparations.

"The next day I saw Goering again. He had thought the matter over and was of the opinion that it would be a mistake to let well-known Storm Troop leaders take part in the firing of the Reichstag. In case of discovery everything would be lost. We summoned Goebbels through the telephone and told him this, but he thought our fears were without foundation. But our plan had to be given up, because the Communists, whose meeting room was opposite the meeting room of the National Socialists, remained in conference until 10 p.m."

Karl Ernst then describes in his confession how Goering suggested that the passage leading from the residence occupied by him as President of the Reichstag should be used to gain access to the Reichstag building and how he and Helldorf examined the premises. It was also decided to postpone the fire a few days. He goes on:—

"Two days before the fire we hid the combustible material in a side passage. We were supplied with the material by Goering. It consisted of a number of canisters containing a self-igniting preparation of phosphorus and a few litres of paraffin. I was undecided for some time about the right people to entrust with the laying of the fire. I finally decided that I would have to do it myself with a few very reliable comrades. I succeeded in convincing Goebbels and Goering of this. To-day I believe that they gave their consent only because they thought that they would thus have me in their power."

#### The part played by Goebbels.

Ernst then describes that he chose his friends Fiedler and Mohrenschild for this work and made them swear an oath of secrecy. A few days before the fire Count Helldorf drew his attention to a young Dutchman of the name of Van der Lubbe who, they had learned, was entertaining confused ideas of arson. Through a certain Sander, Van der Lubbe was persuaded to enter the Reichstag from the outside and to lay a fire there. The decisive part of the business was, however, entrusted to the National Socialists who were accordingly equipped with all the requisites.

"I met my two comrades at 8 p.m. at the corner of the Neue Wilhelmstrasse and Dorotheenstrasse. We were in mufti. A few minutes later we stood at the entrance to the palace, where we got in without being noticed. We wore goloshes so that we should not be heard. We got into the underground passage. At 8.45 we were in the Plenary Chamber. One of my two comrades returned to the underground passage to get the rest of the combustible material while the other man and I set to work in the lobby before the statue of Kaiser Wilhelm. We prepared several fires here and in the Plenary Chamber. We poured the phosphorous fluid on the chairs and tables and soaked the curtains and carpets with paraffin. A few minutes before 9 p.m. we again entered the Plenary Chamber. At 9.5 p.m. our work was done and we hurried to the exit. It was high time, for the phosphorous mixture takes only thirty minutes to ignite. At 9.15 p.m. we climbed over the encircling wall."

Finally Karl Ernst declares that the versions which were published in the world press were incorrect, as only three men had fired the Reichstag. With the exception of Goering, Goebbels, Roehm, Heines, Killinger, and later Hanfstaengl and Sander nobody else had any knowledge of the plan. It is said that the Leader himself was informed of the fire only after the event.

Ernst concludes: "As to that (i.e., the part played by Hitler) I cannot say anything. I have followed the Leader for the last eleven years. I shall be loyal to him till death. What I have done every Storm Troop leader would have done for our leader. But it is inconceivable to think that the Storm Troops should be betrayed by the same men whom the Storm Troops put into power. I confidently believe that the Leader will be able to frustrate the sinister

machinations set on foot against the Storm Troops. I write this document in order to protect myself against the plots of Goering and Goebbels. I shall destroy it when the traitors shall have received the reward they merit."

## Chauvinistic Demonstrations

The Hitler government organised nationalist demonstrations during the last few days of November, culminating for the first time under the Hitler regime in a march past foreign representatives' headquarters. At the universities of Cologne and Berlin the students were assembled, chauvinist addresses were given, and then the students, reinforced by specially ordered Storm Troops, were marched in demonstration processions past the Czech consulates and embassies.

The fascist German government took the chauvinist actions in Prague as pretext for its chauvinist excesses. The opportunity was seized upon eagerly, for of late the Hitler government has been fishing and angling frantically for occasions for developing nationalism. One day we have the twentieth anniversary of the battle of Langemark, celebrated suitably as the Day of Langemark, and the next day we find the insignificant war episode of Brzeziny glorified by a great chauvinist demonstration, participated in by Hitler by the side of the old and the Reichswehr generals. Scarcely a day passes without some nationalist celebration of greater or lesser extent, at which the persistent nationalist note is struck as loudly as possible, whether it is the Nazi member **Oberlinder**, who proclaims at an exservicemen's demonstration in Wilmersdorf that the "defender of his country is the leading man in the State," or **Vice-Admiral von Trotha** makes propaganda for "Germany's right to the sea" in his address to the German Academy in Berlin, or the Reichswehr chief, **Fritsch**, reviews the troops of the Watch Regiment, or the Nazi writers declare themselves at the German Press Day meeting to be the "political soldiers of Hitler," or "war honour badges" are issued, or **Hess**, Hitler's deputy, preaches at the Peasants' Congress the close connection of the workers and peasants with the "defence forces."

The demonstrations in front of the foreign embassies in Berlin and Cologne represent a fresh intensification of this systematic chauvinist campaign, running parallel with the energetic armaments of the Third Reich.

The demonstrations possess a double significance, at home and abroad. The difficulties of the Hitler regime are increasing, the want and poverty of the toiling masses are growing, the discontent of the masses is deepening, movements of resistance are multiplying, and the differences in the bourgeoisie itself are increasing. The Brown agents of monopolist capital are endeavouring, by means of this Chauvinist agitation among the masses, to divert the attention of the toiling masses from the class struggle for their day to day demands and against the fascist capitalist regime, and to point out the "means of escape" offered by war (and at the same time to strengthen the forces of the bourgeoisie under the aegis of Chauvinism and war preparations). The toiling masses of Germany, starved and pillaged by Hitler, are to be side-tracked from all opposition against the Hitler regime and its capitalist wire-pullers, and harnessed to the chariot of Hitler and German imperialism—whether in Prague or in the Saar—on behalf of the "defence of German interests."

The anti-Czech demonstrations in Berlin and Cologne are signals of the intensified action of German imperialism in the European arena. Hitler is endeavouring to exploit the increased tension between Yugoslavia and Hungary, between France and the Little Entente and Italy, and England's policy of maintaining the balance of power in Europe, with the object of alleviating Germany's isolation. The demonstrations in Berlin and Cologne, which will scarcely have been organised without contact with Hungary and Italy, are intended to strike not only at Czechoslovakia but at the same time Yugoslavia and especially France, and to take effect as a demonstration of power on the part of German imperialism. The demonstrations move along the line of concessions to Mussolini in the Austrian question, with the idea of gaining the support of Italy, Hungary, and Austria, especially for Hitler's struggle in the Saar. The demonstrations characterise the intensification of imperialist antagonisms, and the increased danger of war, towards which Hitler, the chief instigator of war in Europe, is staggering.

It is no contradiction, but an essential constituent of the

Chauvinist agitation in the Third Reich and of the fascist war-mongering, that the Nazi leaders operate at the same time with peace phraseology, that Hitler asseverates his "will to peace," that Goebbels appears to draw a line of demarcation (Berlin Sport Palace, 23rd November) between the jingo patriotism of the Kaiser's days and the Brown "new nationalism," and announces a desire for "reconciliation" rather than the old determination to "beat France victoriously," that Hess presents himself in the machine hall of the General Electric Works as the embodiment of the dove of peace with an olive branch in his mouth. The object of these hypocritical protestation of a will to peace is to absorb in the first place the anti-war trends prevailing so widely among the masses in Germany, for the purpose of transforming them on the well-known imperialists methods into war trends, and in the second place to present Hitler's war adventures as the efforts of a peace-loving regime to defend its native country. And the peace phraseology is intended at the same time to weaken the effect at home of national betrayals on the part of Hitler, of the foreign-political retreats to which he is inclined (such as the return to the League of Nations), and such failures and defeats as he may encounter for instance in the Saar. These can then be represented as having been carried out "in the interests of peace." And in the third place all this talk of peace has for its object to camouflage in the eyes of the foreign public the facts of the Hitler-German rearmaments and war-mongering. To talk of peace, whilst carrying on Chauvinist agitation and arming feverishly, has always been the method employed by the imperialist war-makers, and is particularly the method of the most unscrupulous of all war incendiaries, Hitler and Co.

The effect of this Chauvinist mobilisation, effected in part by the insidious poison of peace phrase-mongering, and in part by nationalist demonstrations, on the toiling masses, must not be under-estimated. In spite of the widespread opposition to war among the masses, still other factors, such as the recruiting of 12 per cent. of the Berlin population, even under pressure, in the Air Defence League, and the clever presentation of the manufacture of arms as a "relief to unemployment," show plainly the dangers of the Chauvinist agitation carried on by the Hitler government.

The most urgent call of the hour for the working class and its leader, the Communist Party, is to reply to the Chauvinist mobilisation and war-mongering by mobilising the workers for unity of action, by exposing the peace phrase-mongering and "provision of work" swindles, by opposing to the prevention of wage struggles and the taxation plundering the struggle against militarism and armaments, and for the defence of the U.S.S.R.

## Important Developments in the Saar Territory

By Kopp

The political situation in the Saar territory has entered into a new phase which raises all issues sharper than ever before. Two blows have been struck against Hitler fascism, two blows which may induce decisive numbers of the hitherto vacillating sections to vote for the status quo. Hitler's prospects in the Saar have suffered a serious set-back and he has lost several of his most effective demagogic trump cards.

In the French Chamber the possibility of an ultimate reunion with a liberated Germany has at last been admitted. At the same time oppositional Catholics, among them seventy priests, have met in Saarbruecken to put forward the slogan "Against the German Front, for the status quo!"

This simultaneity was, of course, not a chance one. Pious Catholics have always stressed very emphatically that they as Germans could not take it upon their conscience to vote for the status quo if that meant voting for France. They were opposed to Hitler, but if after a victory of the status quo there should be no possibility of a subsequent return to Germany, they would be compelled, in spite of all the atrocities, to vote for the reunion with Hitler Germany. Again and again leading Catholics of the opposition and numerous Catholic priests declared that only the authoritative announcement of an ultimate possibility of returning to Germany would solve their conflict of conscience.

French imperialism was well aware of this weak point in Hitler's position. That was quite evident from the last speeches of Barthou. After the Marseilles assassinations the Nazis built their hopes on the thesis that Laval would be "less imperialist" than Barthou. Their Saar paper, the "Saarbrueckener Zeitung," wrote in the last weeks of November that Laval was no longer in-

terested in the Saar. But that very same week matters came to a head in Rome. Not only economic advantages but strategic reasons as well make a buffer state wedged in between the frontiers appear desirable to French imperialism. The plan of annexing this territory has long been given up by the French bourgeoisie in view of the intransigent attitude of the working masses on this point. Meanwhile the mighty united action of the anti-fascist workers has with increasing insistence raised the demand of an ultimate return to a liberated Germany. That there would be an almost unanimous majority for such a solution is a fact of which M. Laval is well aware. This is the reason why France no longer delayed yielding to the pressure and this is why the French Minister of Foreign Affairs announced on December 1 that a subsequent return of the Saar to Germany would be possible and that France would raise no objection to this. It is only in the last month preceding the plebiscite that the French imperialists have seen themselves compelled to make such a concession. The issue was raised through a direct question to the Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Chamber of Deputies:—

"If the population of the Saar in its majority decides on January 13 to maintain the present international regime, i.e., the status quo, would this mean that it would lose for ever the right of some day returning to Germany? If, for instance, the Hitler regime were ended in Germany and the inhabitants of the Saar intimate their desire of being again allowed to vote, would there be a possibility of this being done?"

Laval gave this answer:—

"As to the question which has been put to me about the situation which would be created if the Saar population should in its majority decide in favour of the maintenance of the League of Nations government, I declare that if at any future time the population of the Saar should express the desire to be incorporated with the German nation, it will not be France alone, but the League of Nations Council which will have to decide, by force of the sovereignty accorded to it by the maintenance of the status quo. *France will not raise any objection in any case.*"

The first announcement of the right of the Saar population under the status quo to re-decide the issue by a second plebiscite and join Germany was the article of *Pertinax* on November 27 in the "Echo de Paris." He stated that M. Basdevant of the French Foreign Office had submitted such a proposal to the Commission of Three in Rome and that the proposal had been approved by that body.

There is no doubt that the leading Catholics of the Saar, who have close contacts with Rome, had also received advance information of these proposals and decisions. At last, on November 30, at a demonstration held in Saarbruecken, they came out into the open with the lead against Hitler. The delay in making this decision was connected with serious internal conflicts within the Catholic ranks. *Johannes Hoffmann*, formerly chief editor of the Catholic "Landeszeitung," who had not accepted being "brought into line" when the paper he edited went over to Hitler, had already come out in favour of the status quo a few weeks ago in his new paper, the "Neue Saar-Post." But the counter-influence of the Bishops of Treves and Mayence and of the group centred in Prelate Kaas in Rome (who capitulated to Hitler) immediately made itself increasingly felt. However, the unmistakable change of feeling brought about by the anti-fascist united front among the great masses of the workers and in public opinion in general during the last two months left its mark on the Catholic workers as well as on the others. The hard-won decision against the German Front taken in the Catholic Metal Workers' Union is well known. In subsequent great meetings of the miners' functionaries in Neunkirchen and of the Roechling workers in several localities, Catholic functionaries already spoke from the same platforms with socialists and Communists. A few courageous Catholic priests such as *Father Doerr* and *Father Helfferich* had by their pioneer work helped to break through the barrier of distrust surrounding the faithful Catholic population. Their courage brought about such excellent results that they were put under injunctions to restrain them from public speaking, the one, *Father Helfferich*, by the Governing Commission, and the other, *Father Doerr*, by a French Bishop!

The repeated mass demonstrations in the great halls of Saarbruecken and Neunkirchen, the creation of a "Peace Committee,"



of committees of the middle classes and tradesmen, of numerous peasant committees, the appearance of a new paper, the "Saarwacht," voicing the ideas of the young Catholic peasants and quite recently the publication of the joint appeal of the two parties to join the People's Front show that the eleventh hour has come for all those who wish to play a serious part in the struggle against Hitler fascism. The leaders of the Centre, i.e., of the Catholic party, saw with increasing clearness that their former adherents—who constituted the majority of the Saar population—would definitely desert them for other camps if the old Catholic leadership did not come out into the open with a clear-cut lead.

So six weeks before the plebiscite the so-called "*German Popular Union for Christian-Social Community of the People*" was formed by a demonstration in Saarbruecken. The organisation is to comprise Catholics and Protestants who are in open opposition to national socialism. The new party has as its motto: "For Christ and for Germany, against national socialism and neopaganism." Beside seventy clergymen a great number of officials and teachers took part in the initial demonstration. The Chairman of the Union is *Dr. Tinnes*, an old Saarländer. Among the speakers were *Herr Kuhnen*, formerly a member of parliament for the Centre (Catholic Party) and General Secretary of the Catholic trades unions of the Saar until they were "brought into line" and *Herr Imbusch*, an old member of the Centre and the recognised leader of the Catholic trades unions in Germany before Hitler came to power. The composition of the platform and audience at this function, the whole situation in the Saar territory and the inference that can be drawn from the mass movement indicate that a strong and perhaps decisive change is now taking place in the feeling of the Catholic population. And because this is possible, every effort must be made now in order to intensify the struggle in the Saar and for the Saar, for if these efforts really succeed in tearing this territory from Hitler's grasp they will have inflicted a decisive defeat on him.

From the very beginning of the status quo campaign the Communists have generously and openly declared that they were ready to make common cause with every opponent of Hitler barbarism and fight together against Hitler without regard to partisan or religious affiliations. The Communist Party has in a short public announcement declared in no equivocal terms that in contradistinction to Hitler, the Communist Party respects and recognises religious freedom. On this basis the Communist Party has untiringly called all Catholic workers and others forces of the opposition to join in the common struggle against the common enemy, Hitler. In the "*Appeal for the People's Front*" the Communist Party, together with the social-democratic party, now calls upon all strata, groups and organisations, including the Catholics and Protestants, to form the People's Front as a *Defence League* against Hitler. This will lay the foundations for a political fighting alliance the strength and impetus of which will be able to mobilise the last reserves against Hitler and for the victory of the status quo.

## Anti-Fascist Jurists Meet in Conference

The International Release Committee and the International Jurists' Association, which is closely collaborating with it, are able to record a great success. The result of the meeting of jurists in Paris on December 1 and 2, the decisions, the reports and discussions constitute a great step forward. We will first deal with the practical results.

It was unanimously decided that the great **International Jurists' Conference**, which is being prepared in Paris, shall take place at the same time as the **Thaelmann trial**. Thereby all speculations of the Nazis on the slackening of interest in the Thaelmann case, of deceiving the world public are frustrated.

The Conference completely refuted the fascist lies that the supporters of the status quo in the Saar are separatists, exposed the Nazis as the real betrayers of Germany and the German people, and furnish abundant arguments with which the international anti-fascists can support the struggle of the status quo adherents in the Saar.

It was also unanimously decided to launch immediately a relief action for the **Austrian, Spanish, Italian, Hungarian and German anti-fascists**. A number of lawyers who were present declared their readiness to take part in delegations.

In connection with the adoption of the **resolution on the right of asylum**, it was decided to make representations to the French,

Dutch, Portuguese and Danzig governments, as well as to issue a call for joint international action in support of the threatened right of asylum.

In accordance with the report of **Mr. Neil Lawson**, who also spoke in the name of **Mr. D. N. Pritt, K.C.**, it was decided to intensify the fight against the People's Court in Germany and for the rescue of the anti-fascists who have already been sentenced to death.

These practical fighting measures resulted from a debate in which clearness was established in regard to the question: What actually is fascism? Does it prevail only in Germany, Italy, Poland, Hungary, Spain? All the delegates present agreed with **Marcel Willard**, the chairman of the International Jurists' Association, when he stated in his concluding speech:—

"No, fascism does not begin with a march on Rome, with a Reichstag fire—it commences with exceptional laws for reducing wages, workers' pensions, unemployment relief, etc., and with the restriction of political rights and liberties . . ."

At this Conference the overwhelming majority, that is to say nine-tenths of the delegates present represented bourgeois, democratic, radical-socialist, social-democratic and non-party lawyers. This conference, in answer to the question what is fascism and when does it begin, **unanimously stated:—**

"Arbitrary imprisonments, wholesale prison sentences and death sentences for **anti-fascists and anti-imperialists**—setting up of concentration camps, wholesale arrests—oppression of national minorities, **Jews, coloured people and colonial people**, systematic employment of **torture** for the purpose of extorting confessions—prosecution for high treason of **people and associations which defend peace**—exceptional laws which cut down and abolish the political liberties and social achievements of the **working masses**—endeavours to carry out 'reforms of the State' and 'alteration of the Constitution.'"

Thus fascism begins in bourgeois democracy! With these statements the Conference addressed itself to the jurists, to all intellectuals, to all toilers who do not yet see how in their countries, which they still consider to be democratic, under their eyes, democracy is being converted into fascism and the way prepared for open, insolent, bloody dictatorship.

We believe that here a great ideological advance is to be recorded. If this resolution is propagated in England, France, America, Scandinavia, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland and Czechoslovakia, then the Conference will help to create clearness among the great masses who are still vacillating.

The Conference of Jurists called for practical mass solidarity action, and at the same time the ideological, anti-fascist offensive.

"We must win Ernst Thaelmann like a battle," **Henri Barbusse** passionately declared. But with the fight for Thaelmann we must and can win thousands of intellectuals for the anti-fascist front. This is proved by the Jurists' Conference.

The Conference has commenced the ideological offensive. It made the most effective attack on fascist "jurisprudence." "Nulla poena sine lege" (no punishment without law). This principle of jurisprudence does not suit the Reichstag incendiaries and June murderers. Because it is formulated in Latin, Rosenberg, Kerrl and Franck raged against "foreign Roman law," which is incompatible with the "Germanic conception of law."

Amidst the derisive laughter of the whole Conference, **Déline** proved that the leading lights of the fascist justice have not the slightest idea of Roman law—for this legal maxim was set up at a time when the bourgeoisie revolted against the absolutism of the feudal barons. It was also a principle of the German bourgeoisie. For fifteen months the Nazis have shown themselves to be complete ignoramuses. Then foreign jurists exposed the swindle. The National Socialists, who are never short of an argument for their murderous activity, cold-bloodedly declared: Then this principle is **a rudiment of Liberalism**, the worse for it, away with it, we always were in sympathy with the Roman law.

These shameless demagogues declared through the mouth of the Minister of Justice:

"that it is in accordance with the peculiarity of the Aryan peoples not to consider the deed but the will." ("German Justice," 1934, page 480.)

The Conference exposed the axioms of fascist jurisprudence to the derision and hatred of the world. Proceeding from this basis **Mr. Neil Lawson**, speaking also in the name of **Mr. Pritt, K.C.**,

showed the bloody arbitrary character of the so-called "People's Court of Justice." Proceeding from this basis **Campinchi** delivered a wonderful speech on behalf of Ernst Thaelmann. It was an impressive moment when the greatest lawyer in Europe exclaimed:—

"I hope that all decent, honest-minded persons will unite in order to save this man. Here stands the culture of humanity against the barbarism of fascism."

It is impossible in the space of this brief report to deal with the wealth of material contained in the speeches, the terrible facts reported from Spain, Hungary, Italy, Austria and other countries.

There were no political differences at this conference, no haggling about words. The anti-fascists who had been beheaded or shot were elected honorary members of the Presidium. The idea of this Conference was: Down with fascism, save those who have been condemned to death, away with the exceptional courts, arbitrary justice and concentration camps. Freedom for all our imprisoned brothers and equality for all members of the human race.

May the call of the Conference arouse a powerful echo!

## The German Red Aid and the Fascist Terror

The mass basis of Hitler fascism is growing ever narrower. Many who a few months ago honestly believed in Hitler's "socialism" and were convinced that all would be well once the enemies of National Socialism were annihilated, now have themselves turned into such enemies. People who a short time ago were quite prepared to denounce to the police and to the Storm Troops every suspect neighbour, and even their own kith and kin, who were not only prepared to do so but did so in practice—have changed their attitude and watch the unsavoury activities of the Nazi bureaucrats with growing vigilance and disgust.

The activities of such voluntary informers are replaced to an increasing extent by the organised terror of the Secret Police. Millions of marks are wanted to keep up and develop this machinery of the terror.

On the pretext of traffic control, continual round-ups of cyclists, passenger and goods vehicles take place, the object of which is to discover illegal leaflets and papers. Gas and electricity inspectors, who are at the same time agents of the Secret Police, go into houses ostensibly to read the meters and by engaging the consumers in conversations on the high food prices and the scarcity of raw materials spy out the feeling existing among the housewives. Within the Storm Troops themselves special groups have been formed with the function of finding out and denouncing the adherents of the "second revolution." In the big cafés microphones are installed to allow the Secret Police to listen in on the conversation of the customers.

The workshops, and especially the armament plants abound with individuals, who are paid and trained to act as agents provocateurs.

Hand in hand with these subterranean methods of oppression goes the undisguised open terrorism of the Defence Corps and the courts. The execution of the workers, **Voit**, **Rapier** and **Schidzik**, the legal assassination of the innocent young working lad **Reitinger**, the "death sentences against some person or persons unknown," the continuous series of mass trials with their draconic penal servitude sentences, the worsening of the prison conditions with the object of physically exterminating the prisoners, all this is meant to act as a deterrent on the workers and discourage them.

In the persecution it is subjected to at the hands of fascism, the German Red Aid is second only to the Communist Party. For the I.R.A. is the mass organisation which considers the struggle against fascist terrorism to be its principal task. It assists the prisoners and their families, helps refugees and outlaws, stigmatises the outrages and the atrocities of the barbarous Hitlerite jurisdiction. All these activities are implicit attacks against the men who rule in the Third Reich.

A concomitant of the persecution of the defence and relief organisations is the conspiracy of silence that envelops the proceedings of the People's Court and all other trials of revolutionaries. Only the sentences may be published but no reports given of the proceedings themselves. The Red Aid breaks through this silence, by its own reports published in its numerous illegal papers (of which seven are published in Berlin alone). One of the methods by which fascist justice fights working-class solidarity is to inform the families of prisoners too late, or not at all, of the day of trial.

The object of this is to prevent relatives from attending trials, and particularly to prevent any mass mobilisation. Owing to the tireless efforts of voluntary helpers, the Red Aid is increasingly successful in frustrating these intentions of Hitler justice. An example for many was the trial of "**Willi Rumpf** and his accomplices."

Willi Rumpf and twenty-three others were accused of having "pursued certain activities with the object of building up the Communist Party and the Red Aid" in the district surrounding the Stettiner railway station. The court was crowded with relatives of the prisoners. When the latter appeared and the judge was opening proceedings, Willi Rumpf stood up and cried in a loud voice:—

"We, the prisoners, greet our relatives, friends and acquaintances with a triple 'Red Front!'"

Willi Rumpf's fellow prisoners all got to their feet with him and echoed his revolutionary greeting with a will. A tremendous commotion ensued among the public, but the judge was so non-plussed that he lacked the presence of mind even to call them to order.

When one of the prisoners said in evidence that he had been man-handled while in custody, the judge ordered the proceedings to be continued in camera, so that the public should not hear details of this. The audience left the court under protest and remained in the lobby, and so learned everything that was said in court, where Willi Rumpf, speaking on his own behalf and on behalf of the other prisoners, made a speech lasting an hour and a half. The public was admitted again to hear sentence being pronounced. The long terms of penal servitude and imprisonment inflicted on them did not intimidate the accused anti-fascists, and when the proceedings were ended, Willi Rumpf cried:—

"We say good-bye to our relatives and friends for a short time!" The audience answered his greeting and threw chocolate and cigarettes to the prisoners. Their resolute and united action prevented the court from interfering.

In order to gain admission at such trials, even the nearest of kin of the prisoners must carry on an obstinate guerilla war. At the trial of a number of Communists in Frankfurt, the public was not only searched for concealed weapons, but the women had to let down their hair to show that they had nothing hidden there.

To the great regret of the judges of the "People's Court" there are still some cases when it is impossible for them to pronounce sentence of death and when they can "only" sentence the prisoners to five to ten years' penal servitude because they had been arrested before Hitler's "murder Act" was promulgated. But the amnesty given by Hitler after the death of Hindenburg has made room in the concentration camps and prisons for such prisoners, who though not sentenced to death, are no better than dead men. They are marked down as "particularly dangerous" because they continued to fight against the Hitler dictatorship and undermine its foundations.

Persons arrested after the "murder Act" entered into force are subject to the new German jurisdiction, the most arbitrary and discretionary ever conceived. The prosecution simply assumes that the prisoner had the intent to kill, and that is sufficient to condemn him to death, even if nobody has been killed at all.

This fate threatens **Claus**, an official of the I.R.A., a disabled ex-serviceman, who was arrested in Berlin in August. Claus is accused of murder, but he has not even been told who it is he is supposed to have murdered. He has never killed anybody or done anything even remotely connected or capable of connection with a murder. But the Hitler courts are out to take his life because he is an honest fighter for his class, who had already been arrested a year ago and then released again. He has merely done his duty as an anti-fascist. When he was first arrested, Comrade Claus was horribly mauled, and now his life is in the greatest danger. The I.R.A. has mobilised all its forces to save Claus and has published a number of illegal leaflets and papers in his defence.

To come out in defence of Claus means at the same time to fight for the release of **Thaelmann**, and to fight for Ernst Thaelmann means to fight for the life and liberty of every imprisoned anti-fascist.

The I.R.A. made good use of the Hitler amnesty to take steps in this direction. There were no illusions in any quarter as to the character of this amnesty. Anti-fascists did not come under it from the start. But the I.R.A. initiated a campaign of mass petitions for every single prisoner. The public prosecutors and judges, the prison directors and the Ministers were flooded with mass peti-

tions; women and children besieged the offices of the authorities demanding the release of their husbands, fathers and sons.

The winter brings great tasks for the I.R.A. The exposure of the fascist "winter relief" swindle, the disclosure of the corruption among the Nazis, the drive for funds for their own winter relief scheme of the I.R.A., which is to mitigate the worst sufferings of the prisoners and their families, are the foremost of these tasks. This work of the Red helpers not only means an improvement of the material conditions of the prisoners. It also offers excellent avenues of contact with broad masses which, though disappointed by Hitler, cannot as yet fight against him, but want to express their sympathy with those who do. The Red helpers do their best to draw these sympathisers into the great united front of solidarity and thus lead them on to the road of anti-fascist struggle.

The women have been especially successful in this work. In Berlin several women's groups of the Social Democratic Party are linked up with the I.R.A., and a special women's paper of the I.R.A. is published in addition to the general I.R.A. press. The women mobilise the workers, especially on behalf of the woman prisoners, to save **Else Steinfurth, Selma Beimler** and the numerous other women kept behind prison walls by Hitler fascism.

The struggle of the I.R.A. is focussed on the campaign for the release of Thaelmann and the struggle against the executions and assassinations. With leaflets and handbills, with newspapers and street chalking the workers are roused to save Thaelmann and defend the comrades lying in condemned cells. The I.R.A. participates in the formation of Thaelmann committees and helps them in their work. It organises the sending of postcards and letters expressing sympathy with the imprisoned anti-fascists.

The heroic struggle of Red helpers, who work under the heaviest handicap of illegality, will help to make this winter a winter of united mass struggle against the fascist regime of bloodshed and a winter of extensive mass assistance for all victims of the terror and their families.

## United States

### National Social Insurance Congress in U.S.A.

By I Amter (New York)

One of the most important steps in the struggle for unemployment and social insurance in the United States will be the National Congress for Unemployment and Social Insurance, to be held in Washington, D.C., on January 5, 6, 7. This is planned as one of the **broadest united front efforts** ever put forth in this country. Initiated by the National Unemployment Council, a broad arrangements committee has been set up, composed of trade unionists, representatives of unemployed organisations, fraternal, professionals, Negroes, youth, farm, veteran organisations, etc. Plans have been made for approximately 5,000 delegates.

The Congress Committee is setting up local arrangements committees in all industrial centres. The aim is to get together not only delegates from the organisations that have already endorsed the Workers' Unemployment and Social Insurance Bill. The success of the Congress is predicated upon our ability to reach new organisations on the question of genuine unemployment and social insurance and to draw them into the struggle.

The occasion for calling the Congress at this time is the opening of the 74th session of the U.S. Congress, which unquestionably will deal with the problem of unemployment insurance. This is due to two factors: (1) the deepening of the crisis and its effects on new sections of the population; and (2) the effectiveness of the drive that has been conducted by the Communist Party, which drafted the Workers' Bill, and by the National Unemployment Council.

Let us examine these factors. During the election campaign of 1932, which resulted in the election of Roosevelt, the outstanding issue and "promise" of the Democratic Party was unemployment insurance. The Republican Party of Hoover considered unemployment insurance "un-American." This, among other things, unquestionably cost it the election. When Roosevelt became President in March, 1933, there were 17,000,000 unemployed. For a few months after the inauguration of the new President, there was a sudden and striking rise in production. This was not due to the market, but to the fact that the employers decided to lay in stock, and in anticipation of speculation. As soon as the industrial codes

were introduced under the National Industrial Recovery Act, there was an immediate drop, which continued to October of last year.

In October of last year, facing a winter of tremendous joblessness, the government instituted a system of "civil works," which consisted of road building, cleaning parks, etc. This put more than 1,000,000 to work at weekly wages of 12 dollars to 15 dollars. This continued for three months, and then was demobilised. The purpose of "civil works" was to increase the workers' buying power at the expense of the federal government in the hope that this would bolster up production. But the net result was small. Even the bonuses to the farmers who were ordered to cut down production of foodstuffs, owing to an over-supplied market, did not help. The domestic market did not revive to any extent, foreign trade has lagged owing to the international situation, the forging ahead of Japan, etc. The result in November, 1934, is that there are 16,000,000 unemployed—and the tendency is **not upward but downward** as far as employment is concerned.

This figure is disputed by capitalist statisticians and economists, who contend that there are no more than 9,000,000 unemployed. William Green, who was accustomed to go along with the capitalist economists, only a month ago asserted that there are 11,000,000 unemployed. But Green is wrong, for he does not include the youth that have grown up in the crisis. According to the U.S. Commissioner of Education, Dr. Zook, 7,000,000 boys and girls have graduated from high schools and colleges in the last five years. Of these no more than one-third, according to Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War under Wilson, have obtained work, and most of them only part-time work during these years. This leaves fully 4,500,000 youth who must be added to the army of unemployed.

The relief situation is frightful. Although the federal government upon adoption of the N.I.R.A. last year attached a "public works" section to the Act, with an appropriation of 3,300,000,000 dollars, this fund has not been used for public works. On the contrary, the greater part has gone for war purposes. Thus nearly 700,000,000 dollars was used for the semi-military Civilian Conservation Camps for the youth, 425,000,000 dollars to build a "navy second to none," tens of millions for building an air fleet "superior to any," and millions more for building barracks, dredging harbours, etc. Only 550,000 workers were given work on federal public works at the low rate of about 50 dollars a month.

In many parts of the country, all relief is based upon work, for which the workers have to put in 24 to 30 hours a week. In other sections, in order to reduce the relief expenditures, the greater part of relief is home relief. The latter is much lower. In some parts of the country it is as low as 4 dollars a month for a family of four. This is especially true in the South, where there are many jobless Negroes. A general system of forced labour is being introduced throughout the country.

This situation becomes specially alarming when one considers that although through the N.I.R.A. the scales of the unskilled workers in industry were raised somewhat, the wages of the semi-skilled and skilled were dragged down almost to the same level. When one considers that the cost of living in the year of the "New Deal" has gone up **more than 30 per cent.**, then one can see that the condition of the whole working class has been worsened.

This accounts for the militant strikes and for the struggles of the workers on relief jobs and on home relief. During the summer, when it is easier for a working-class family to live, the struggles generally are not so sharp. This year we experienced the opposite. Not only did militant strikes occur during this period, involving tens and hundreds of thousands of workers, but the struggles of the unemployed also have been of a very sharp character. And just as in the strikes, so too in the unemployed struggles, the terror has been savage. Police clubs, gas, machine-guns, imprisonment and slaughter were attempted by the government in order to quell the struggles. This has not daunted the workers, but the struggles went on. The most recent experiences of Minneapolis, Cleveland, Austin, Rochester, Oklahoma City, Albany, Denver—all point to the rising militancy of the unemployed. Even though the size of the struggles cannot compare with those of workers on strike, nevertheless taking place in all parts of the country, they show a widespread, growing discontent.

In spite of the misery of the unemployed, they have militantly taken part in all the strikes that have occurred. This has been due in the main to the work of the National Unemployment Council, which not only has conducted the principal fights for the unem-

ployed, but has resolutely led the unemployed on the picket lines in support of strikes.

The relief situation is becoming critical. The federal government has been furnishing the largest part of all relief. The federal relief director, Mr. Harry L. Hopkins, states that 4,200,000 families are on relief, thus demonstrating that only a fraction of the unemployed get any relief. While admitting that by next February 5,000,000 families will be on the relief rolls, nevertheless, in face of the rising unemployment, the government is cutting down relief expenditure. The federal government is shifting the responsibility to the States and municipalities. The latter also take their instructions from the bankers, who demand not only no increase but a decrease of taxes on the capitalists, and a "democratising" of taxation, by means of sales taxes, taxes on fares, etc. This is a direct attack on the already lowered conditions not only of the unemployed, but also of the employed. This becomes of ever greater importance to the employed, whose work is highly seasonal and whose income and existence the capitalists threaten to undermine by the installation of machinery.

The character of the unemployed should be emphasised, for it also shows the cultural as well as the industrial decline of the country. Ninety-five per cent. of the architects, 85 per cent. of the engineers and technicians, 80 per cent. of the building trades workers, 50 per cent. of the railroad workers, 250,000 school teachers, tens of thousands of actors, doctors, artists, musicians, journalists, etc., are unemployed. And yet the government programme for the youth is to have their parents keep them in school; the government has established schools of "higher learning," teaching the boys and girls professions—but without promising them the slightest outlook of employment!

In this situation, just before the close of the last session of the U.S. Congress, Roosevelt announced that he intended to set up a committee to make a "comprehensive study" of a "full system of social insurance." Bills for which he would introduce in the next Congress. Many Bills were before the last Congress—not only the Wagner-Lewis Bill, which Roosevelt supported, but which would not furnish any insurance to the present unemployed. The Workers' Unemployment and Social Insurance Bill was introduced on February 2, 1934, only to be followed three days later by the Wagner-Lewis Bill. The very introduction of the Wagner-Lewis Bill three days later was in itself significant.

But the forces behind the Workers' Bill were not yet sufficiently strong to compel Congress to act. On the contrary, Roosevelt was glad to be able to forestall action, in order, as editors of capitalist papers admitted, to have an issue, a "promise," to hold forth in the Congressional and State elections which took place this year (November 6). In the meantime the Republican Party also endorsed unemployment insurance. Hence it no longer was a Party issue as far as the Republicans and Democrats were concerned. Both of these parties reject any kind of real unemployment insurance, and agree on unemployment reserves, which would cover only workers who now have jobs, and if and when such a Bill would go into operation would grant them a few weeks of compensation and then throw them into the army of the unemployed, who are denied insurance.

Hence the struggle between those who favour genuine unemployment and social insurance and their enemies is on in full force.

The Workers' Bill is the only Bill before the people of this country and before the U.S. Congress, which embodies the basic principles of unemployment insurance. Behind this Bill are more than 2,400 locals of the American Federation of Labour, Railroad Brotherhoods, independent and T.U.U.L. unions, 50 central labour bodies, five State Federations of Labour and five international unions affiliated to the A.F. of L. The endorsements of the A.F. of L. unions have been given despite the most rabid attacks, slanders and misrepresentations of William Green and the other leaders of the A.F. of L. The endorsements have come from the rank and file of the reformist unions, who make this one of the points of attack on their reactionary leadership. In carrying on this work, the A.F. of L. Committee for Unemployment Insurance and Relief has been most effective. In addition, numerous large fraternal and unemployed organisations, veteran, youth (First American Youth Congress, representing 1,700,000 organised youth), Newspaper Guild, farm, Negro organisations, clubs, churches, etc., endorse the Workers' Bill. Furthermore, 68 municipal and county legislative bodies, including the city councils of St. Louis, Minneapolis, Buffalo, Toledo, Milwaukee, etc., have endorsed the

Workers' Bill. Fully 4,000,000 people stand behind the Workers' Bill.

Roosevelt's position on the question, however, was stated to the bankers at their convention on October 25. All other pronouncements of the President went out over the radio, in so-called "fireside chats"—Roosevelt's method of having a "heart-to-heart talk" with the people. In his speech to the American Bankers' Convention, Roosevelt assured the capitalists and money lords of the country that the capitalist system and the profits of the exploiters would not be tampered with.

Why did Roosevelt make his speech? Because he had made many demagogic promises to the workers and farmers. The democratic platform in the Congressional elections repeated these promises. Because of the radicalisation of the masses, political groups in the central and Western States brought forward even more "radical" programmes, in order to meet the radical demands of the population and to keep them from going over to the Communist Party.

How far the capitalists feared this radicalisation can be seen from the revelations of General Smedley Butler, who states that in September he was approached by people closely connected with Wall Street, and particularly J. P. Morgan, with the idea of setting up a fascist dictatorship in the United States. They intended to make Roosevelt show colour—either to accept the rule of the military clique acting in the interest of the Wall Street bankers, or he was to be deposed and a fascist dictator appointed by the militarists at the behest of Wall Street was to take his place.

At the conference called by the National Committee on "Economic Security," which was held on November 13 (after the elections), Roosevelt again made his position clear. The conference was held for the purpose of affording the committee which Roosevelt had appointed an opportunity to make a preliminary report, and to try out the proposals on a selected assembly. Reports were made—but they were nullified by Roosevelt's emphatic speech that nothing would be considered except a plan for unemployment insurance. All capitalist newspapers report that the Bill that Roosevelt had in mind was the Wagner-Lewis Bill, above dealt with.

The Socialist Party was invited to participate in the sponsoring committee for the Congress. They did not reply, but Norman Thomas, "militant" leader of the Socialist Party, declared that he "sympathises" with the idea, and that he endorses the Workers' Bill. Beyond that the S.P. leadership has not gone. In the localities, however, branches of the S.P. are participating in the preparations for the local conferences and for the National Congress. The Farmer-Labour Federation of Minnesota, which won the elections in Minnesota, already endorsed the Workers' Bill, but has done nothing about it.

Practically all important unemployed organisations have endorsed the Workers' Bill. The Socialist and Muste controlled unemployed organisations ignored the call for participation in the committees for calling the Congress, even though they, too, under pressure of their rank and file, endorsed the Workers' Bill. Still, in certain parts of the country, the local units of these organisations have been drawn into the Congress preparations.

The Congress promises to be the largest and broadest united effort yet undertaken in the country. This is due to the pressure of the crisis on the masses and to the increased work done by the Communist Party and militant organisations.

Immediately following the National Congress, the Fourth Convention of the National Unemployment Council will be held on January 8-9. The N.U.C. approached the Socialist and Muste controlled unemployed organisations on the question of unification of all the unemployed organisations into one body. The other unemployed organisations had already stated their position on united front and unity with the N.U.C. At the convention of the National Unemployed League (Muste) in July, in Columbus, Ohio, they, together with the Socialists, declared that they would "unite with anybody except the Communists and the N.U.C." These people also had undertaken a day of united struggle for relief and the Workers' Bill, but excluded the N.U.C. The N.U.C. on the other hand proposed that this day of struggle should be a day of the united front of all unemployed organisations, and should be regarded as a step in the direction of merging all unemployed organisations. Despite the refusal of the reformists, the N.U.C. locals and county organisations are participating in the marches and demonstrations, with or without invitation. In Chicago, East



Ohio, Pittsburgh, the N.U.C. organisations are playing a significant part in these united front activities.

The coming winter promises to be a winter of bitter struggle of the unemployed masses, with every outlook that the shop workers as well, facing wage cuts will be out in militant strikes. The threats of the government of fascist terror will not daunt the workers, who in the past year have shown true proletarian colour, fighting with all courage. And the fight for real unemployment and social insurance reaches a higher and broader level.

## Preparing Fascist Pogroms in U.S.A.

By C. B. S. and M. N. B. (New York)

Jew-baiting handbills have been littering the New York subways. Synagogues and shops are defaced with the black swastika. Nazis have been invited to preach hatred of the Jews from the pulpit. The Jews have been viciously slandered in the United States Congress. Jewish shops are raided and boycotted. Swedish immigrants on the West Coast are whipped up against the Jews by their language newspapers. Recently a mob of young Bostonians ran through the streets shouting: "Kill the Jew!" Street meetings in New York are disrupted by the cry: "Kill the nearest Jew!" Before an election, the Forty-third Ward was flooded with hand-bills, reading:—

**DANGER !**  
**DO NOT ELECT A JEW FOR**  
**REPUBLICAN WARD**  
**COMMITTEEMAN !**

**EDWIN B. FEDERMAN IS A JEW !**

As the United States enters the sixth year of the depression, organised anti-semitism is preparing to strike again. Backed by prominent bourgeois civic leaders, societies are springing up under patriotic guises to plot American pogroms. Many of them operate in close connection with Hitler agents both in Germany and in America.

In recent weeks the revolutionary weekly magazine, *New Masses*, has been publishing a series of articles exposing these activities. The result of skilled investigation by **John L. Spivak**, these articles have awakened thousands to the pogrom danger and have served to explain what is behind the many typical manifestations of anti-semitism which crop up in America.

"The threads of the web of anti-semitism reach out in many directions," says the *New Masses*. One starting-point was Col. Edwin Emerson, a "patriot" shipped back from the Spanish-American War in irons. It was he who first acted as Hitler's agent in organising the "**Friends of New Germany**" in New York and other cities. From Emerson's office in the German Consulate issued the anti-semitic, pro-Nazi paper, *Amerika's Deutsche Post*. The Friends of New Germany held meetings with "storm troopers" in full uniform. Jews were viciously arraigned and the hymn of hate was swelled by the voices of visiting officials and sailors from German ships. Propaganda smuggled in from German boats and the notorious and long discredited "Protocols of Zion" (employed in a previous anti-semitic campaign by Henry Ford) were widely distributed. Temporary failure to spread anti-semitism fast enough led to orders recalling Emerson to Germany. He returned with instructions from Goebbels to reorganise the Nazi front.

Shortly afterwards the **Order of '76** was established under the joint leadership of Emerson and Royal Scott Gulden. Its degraded policy is that "all Jews are Communists and all Communists are Jews." Its demagogic appeals to property-owners and to their petit-bourgeois victims who have been dazed by economic troubles.

"I don't believe in anti-semitism," Gulden lied to the *New Masses* investigator. "I don't believe in poison, but you get it. Our main work is patriotic, chiefly against Communism. And when we find that Communism and Judaism are one, then we fight Judaism. The Jews are making economic pogroms against us. They are taking our businesses, our professions away—and if that continues, pogroms will start. And when they do, you can bet the Order of '76 will be there!"

The work of Emerson and Gulden has spread. Military intelligence officers, clubmen, detectives, bankers and business men join. They receive cards addressed to police-officers and designed to give them *carte blanche* as "vigilantes" engaged in putting down strikes. The leader of the anti-semitic Silver Shirt band, William Dudley Pelley, saw a chance for advancement and put his evil skill at the Order's command. The Order of '76 is putting through an elaborate campaign against "Church Termites, Peace-treaty Termites, Termite Litvinov, Bullitt, etc.," and against "Jewish

ritualists" held responsible for the deaths of Senator Morrow and Col. Lindbergh's infant son.

Emerson's son, Sidney Brooks, became an active member of the Order. He is also a member of the Republican Senatorial and Congressional Campaign Committee, which conducts the Republican Party's campaigns independently of the national committee known to the American public. The Tory Republican agitation against the Roosevelt administration on the score of "radicalism" is of political significance here. Brooks can lobby effectively for German-American credits in Washington and slander the Jews in the government. The *New Masses* has proved he made secret trips to the German Consulate and secretly arranged a meeting between Gulden and Pulley so that the Silver Shirts could be affiliated with its new partner in anti-semitism, the Order of '76.

The Chicago centre of anti-semitic propaganda is the American Vigilant Intelligence Federation. Its director is Harry A. Jung, protégé of Col. Robert McCormick, publisher of the influential and reactionary *Chicago Tribune*. It formerly functioned as a labour-spy group, but when Hitler popularised Jew-baiting abroad, Jung saw possibilities for gain and transformed the Federation into an anti-semitic organisation. He realised, too, that wealthy Jews would not finance anti-semitism as such. Accordingly, he went to them with the time-worn "Red scare," and received funds with which to combat Communism. With Christian capitalists, of course, no such deception was necessary. They openly subscribed to a Jew-baiting campaign.

Among the rich Jewish firms contributing to the Federation were the Florsheim Shoe Company, one of the largest in the country; Sears Roebuck and Company, one of the world's largest mail-order houses, headed by Lessing J. Rosenwald; and the General American Tank Car Corporation, which has become the General American Transportation Corporation since the last contribution was made. Directors of these firms include members of the predominantly Jewish banking houses of Kuhn, Loeb and Company and Lehman Brothers.

The largest and most influential "patriotic" organisation in America disseminating the "hate the Jew" creed is the **National Civic Federation**, headed by Ralph Easley, Matthew Woll and James W. Gerard. Matthew Woll is vice-president of the American Federation of Labour, which favours the boycott of goods from Hitler Germany, but Easley secretly sought to have the Civic Federation function as a propaganda group working to break the boycott. Gerard, a former United States Ambassador to Germany, warns the Jews that if they do not abhor Communism they will be the victims of pogroms "the like of which the world has never seen." The *New Masses* establishes Easley's implication in Nazi activity directed by George Sylvester Viereck, a paid agent of Hitler, who imported twenty thousand copies of the anti-semitic book, *Communism in Germany*, by Adolf Ehrh. Easley, the responsible "100 per cent. American," and his wife distributed this book through the Silver Shirts and other groups and tried to get well-known rich Jews to endorse it. These Jews were as eager to combat Communism as anyone else in their class, but they perceived the bald anti-semitism of Ehrh's book and refused to support it. Easley is another anti-semitic who makes much use of the "Protocols of Zion."

Last year hatred of the Jew rang out in the halls of Congress. It, too, was based on the "Protocols of Zion." The speech was made by Representative McFadden of Pennsylvania. Under the title, "In the United States To-day, the Gentiles Have Slips of Paper While the Jews Have the Gold and Lawful Money," bundles of this race-hatred speech were sent to organisations working closely with secret Hitler agents. Three thousand copies were sent without expense by McFadden to the Order of '76 in government mail-sacks and were distributed by this organisation with his name on the envelope, thereby saving postage expense through use of the Congressional franking privilege. In view of McFadden's record as a dishonest banker, as proved by the *New Masses*, it would be foolish to suppose that he acted in this instance without financial profit. Actually, McFadden has been in close relation, not only with Gulden and his Order, but with the notorious William Dudley Pelley. Telegraphic correspondence between the Congressman and the Silver Shirt leader has been reproduced in facsimile by the *New Masses*. Partially on the basis of the magazine's exposures, McFadden has just been defeated for re-election.

Yet another unsavoury revelation is that of the American "**Youth Movement**" and **Viola Hima**, who called a national cou-

gress of youth and tried to capture it with a programme containing definite fascist tendencies. Fortunately, the participants saw through her scheme, organised an opposition that embraced the majority of those present and thoroughly discredited her attempt to organise American youth for support of anti-semitism and Hitler. For it has since been established that Miss Ilma is uncertain of her citizenship, that she went to Germany last year with money from a mysterious source and conferred with Goebbels, Hanfstaengl and other Nazi officials. Her letters of introduction to these Hitlerites were supplied by E. A. Rumley of the Committee for the Nation, an organisation of American business men propagandising for devaluation of the dollar. Nazi Germany, because of its huge debt, would be the chief gainer if the dollar were devalued.

American capitalism, writhing in the grip of the crisis, daily strains nearer fascism. As its problem of holding power becomes more crucial, the expedient of anti-semitism is increasingly called into use. Anti-semitism would be inevitably a part of American fascism. The revelations in the *New Masses* illustrate once more the universal truth that attacks on racial minorities arise as a means of shackling the workers to oppression. The struggle against anti-semitism is an integral feature of the struggle against capitalism in which the American workers are now engaged.

## Great Britain

### The Conditions of the British Working Class

By R. Bishop (London)

The decision of the British government to allot a paltry £2,000,000 for the relief of the derelict industrial areas throws into bold relief the desperate plight of a large proportion of Britain's industrial areas, despite the "prosperity" which the National government spokesmen are never tired of boasting they have brought back to Britain. Once again the unemployed figures are mounting, as are the number of those unregistered workless who are driven by the Means Test on to the tender mercies of the Public Assistance Committees.

A couple of months ago an important speech was made by Dr. J. R. Marrack, Professor of Clinical Pathology in the University of London, at Oxford. He said:—

"Thirty-five per cent. of the children of Southampton workers belong to families who cannot afford the absolute necessities of life. There is an attempt to make out that poor people are buying cheap and nasty food out of ignorance or perversity. Some of the Public Health authorities are playing up to this suggestion. No amount of education in food values or instruction in cooking will make it possible to feed a child on 2s. a week or a family on 3s. per head per week. The best protection against disease is to be the child of well-to-do parents."

The interesting thing about this statement is that *Southampton* is by no means a scheduled "depressed" or derelict area. On the contrary, it is the one port in Britain which has made great advances since the war. In the last few years it has completely knocked out Liverpool as the main trans-Atlantic port. As a consequence it is reckoned as a comparatively prosperous town. If its plight is as described by this eminent disinterested pathologist, that of the really derelict areas can be well imagined.

Evidence as to their condition is afforded not alone by the report of the government commissioners who visited them, but in a series of articles which have been published in the "*Morning Post*," the most reactionary of British national newspapers. Says the "*Post*" of *Maryport*, which ten years ago was a busy port and also an active mining centre:—

"All its major industries, and most of its minor ones, have dissolved like the morning mist across the Firth, and nearly three-fifths of its men have no work of any kind. . . . Sound seems muffled; there is little heavy traffic; men linger in the roadway; here miners who have not seen the coal-face for years; dockers needed no longer on the quays; labourers who cannot win their hire. . . . No ships ride in the Firth; not a man moved on the wharves of Maryport. The docks, now almost derelict, have ceased to matter in Maryport. . . . So the industries melted: shipping, engineering, brewing, and then, mining. One after the other the coal pits closed."

All that is left of Maryport industries is one small colliery, understaffed, and a smaller tannery.

Now a word as to conditions throughout this derelict industrial district of *Cumberland*, from the same unimpeachable source:—

"Here in this twilight land of the North-West, by the forsaken iron mines, are men who have done nothing—literally nothing—for seven or eight years; children who must face a rigorous Cumbrian winter with one garment only; families of fifteen or sixteen people without a single wage-earner; youths of 20 who have never worked and—this is the chilling fact—who have ceased to wonder why. . . . I heard of the two-pennyworth of bones boiled down for fat; the hearthrug used as a blanket; the fragments of coal gleaned from a refuse tip and carried six miles home; the boots patched and patched again till none of the original leather remained; the Black Thursday without food; the one full meal of the week on Friday night."

The same picture can be painted of all the derelict areas, and of many that are officially scheduled as such. Take this admission, also from the "*Morning Post*," of conditions in *Durham*:—

"The budget of an unemployed miner leaves no margin for replacements. Sheets and blankets are in shreds—but they must serve. Underclothing is in rags—then leave it off. Shoes are split—then stay at home. It is not easy to smile in mining Durham."

And yet this same "*Morning Post*" which makes these admissions—no doubt duly startling their comfortable readers in so doing—roars its head off with indignation every time there is a hunger march, or that an unemployed demonstration from these self-same areas demands an improvement in the conditions of the workless. It says, and repeats time and time again, that the best-paid workers in the Soviet Union are worse off than those on the "dole" in England. Yet its own columns show that the plight of the workless has sunk to unimaginable depths.

Let us leave the derelict areas. For the *Scottish iron* and coal districts and those of *South Wales* present the same picture as we have seen of *Cumberland* and *Tyneside*. Let us examine the situation in *London*—the capital of the Empire, the richest city in the world—or so the imperialists proudly boast.

In 1932 a Survey of London Life and Labour was published by the London School of Economics. The truly respectable *Sir Hubert Llewellyn Smith*, G.C.B., presided over the investigation. Nevertheless the conclusion is reached that in East London one in seven of the population are "subject to conditions of privation which if long continued would deny them all but the barest necessities of life, and cut them off from access to many of the material and cultural benefits of modern progress."

That the privation is "long continued" is shown by the fact that after three years of alleged "recovery" a very large proportion of East London's unemployed have been in that condition for any period between two and five years.

Twenty-four point one per cent. of the population of the Borough of Poplar are below the poverty line set by the Survey, and that is a line which allows only of the barest necessities of life. Eighteen per cent. of the population of Shoreditch are below it and 17.8 per cent. of that of Bethnal Green. These have an aggregate population of 380,000, of whom, on the admission of the official survey, approximately 75,000 are denied even the barest necessities of life. Overcrowding characterises the housing in these boroughs. Streets condemned as unfit for human habitation at the end of the nineteenth century still stand and are thronged with inhabitants in 1934. The population are, in the main, compelled to eat the cheapest and the most adulterated foodstuffs, their clothing is of the shoddiest. As for their cultural amenities, let the following quotation from the Survey speak for itself:—

"*Shoreditch* was once a famous centre of the theatre.

To-day there is no theatre, only one music-hall and eight cinemas. There are 191 public-houses—one for every 546 of the population. There is no large open space in the borough, only a few gardens, squares and children's playgrounds amounting to a mere 9 acres in all."

The death rate of Shoreditch is 13.3 per 1,000 of the population, its infantile mortality rate is 75 per 1,000 live births. Compared with a dormitory borough like *Lewisham*, one sees how the conditions of working-class life in Shoreditch take their deadly toll. For in *Lewisham* the death rate is but 10.5 per 1,000, and the infantile mortality rate but 47.

Let us make a few more comparisons with *Lewisham*. Whereas

Shoreditch has 9 acres of open spaces per 100,000 inhabitants, Lewisham has 279 acres per 100,000 inhabitants. Whereas in Lewisham there are 79 persons per 100 rooms, in Shoreditch the number is 143.

Go to the iron-mining district of *Shropshire*—there you will find within a one-mile radius of Oakengates there are 200 derelict shafts and mounds. Mining in that valley has almost ceased. Those who earned their living at it are unemployed, have been so for years, or have moved to other districts, where they have found the situation little better. Go to the tin-mining districts of Cornwall, there the same picture confronts you. Not only in the great industrial districts, but in the backwaters of industry also, destruction has capitalist Britain in its grip.

In a few centres industry is booming. The armaments industry in particular is doing well. A high tariff wall and a depreciated currency have given a temporary stimulus to the motor-car and kindred industries. But the basic industries of Britain are at a virtual standstill.

And this is the earthquake that the National government propose to cure with the pill of a £2,000,000 subsidy.

The report of the four government commissioners who investigated conditions in the "depressed areas" demonstrates that the only prospect which British capitalism has to hold out to the masses is one of increasing poverty, starvation and bankruptcy.

Capitalism has no remedy for the state of affairs described in the reports and amplified above. That is a fact which even the Commissioners themselves faintly recognised. Said *Sir Arthur Rose*, the Commissioner for Scotland:—

"I am fully aware of the inadequacy of my suggestions."

What are these suggestions? In the main they boil down to this, that work of some sort (even if only digging holes in the ground and filling them up again) should be found, to stem demoralisation, and paid for at "dole" rates. Faint suggestions are made that some new industries might be transferred to these areas, and that employers might be subsidised to some extent if they reopened a proportion of their closed-down pits, blast furnaces, etc.

Two million pounds! Whilst millions are being spent on new ships of war, new bombing planes, new tanks and armoured cars.

The hope of the working class of Britain lies in none of these fancy schemes. It lies alone in the struggle to bring about the overthrow of capitalism, and the taking of absolute power into the workers' own hands. The path to the fulfilment of this hope lies in the building of a comprehensive *united front in Britain*. It lies in intensifying the fight for the workers' needs and the strengthening of the revolutionary class struggle all along the line, with a powerful mass Communist Party to guide and lead it, and the carrying forward of that struggle for capitalism's overthrow and the establishment of Soviet Power in its place.

Then alone will derelict areas become a thing of the past. Then alone will the wheels of industry revolve again. Then alone will unemployment, mass misery and poverty disappear.

## The Balkans

### A Fascist Coup by the Government of Rumania

By M. Dunkan

The Rumanian government has disbanded and prohibited all organisations that have declared themselves for the **united front against fascism and war** established in Rumania. The following organisations were affected by this ban: The Workers' League, which formed the core of the United Front, the Anti-Fascist Committee, the Women's Committee Against Fascism and War, the trade unions which had joined up with the United Front, the associations of intellectuals and students, peasants' militant organisations, Ukrainian and Bulgarian organisations against national oppression, the Jewish Cultural League, the Friends of the Soviet Union, the Pro-Biro-Bidjan organisation, and the Workers' United Front—altogether 32 anti-fascist and anti-war organisations. The inclusion of the C.P. and Y.C.L. of Rumania, which were already banned ten years ago by a special anti-Communist law (the so-called Marcescu law), in the list of the banned organisations cannot conceal the fact that this reactionary fascist measure of the government of Rumania is an attempt to put an end to the anti-fascist movement and the growing proletarian united front.

The anti-fascist movement, the United Front Against Fascism and War, which strongly influenced the growth of the militant

proletarian united front, was developing into a threatening danger for precisely those two main tasks of the Liberal government in which, after one year of office, it had achieved something, for which reason it was allowed to remain by finance-capital at the helm of the State. These two main tasks are the **fascisation of the regime and armament for war**.

In spite of every effort to give an upward movement to the capitalist industry of Rumania, the government could not and cannot overcome the difficulties and solve the most burning questions in present-day Rumania. The last government crisis was caused by these growing difficulties. The Minister for Trade and Industry, the Industrialists' Association's agent, introduced that crisis and resigned from the government. The change in the direction of this Ministry did not alter the situation in the least. The government's failure to find a way to economic improvement has found expression in violent struggles between various capitalist groups and in the increasing insecurity in the position of the new Minister for Trade and Industry and, in fact, of the whole government. This found marked expression in the fact that the convocation of Parliament was postponed and then that, immediately after its opening, it was adjourned for a considerable period.

The present government is tolerated because it bases itself upon rearmament and the suppression of the working masses. The tottering economy of the country is harnessed to the fascisation of the State and rearming. The war budget has been immeasurably increased. The internal loan is mainly utilised for armaments.

This policy includes also strong fascist measures for the exploitation and enslavement of the toilers. The government has kicked on one side the inadequate workers' insurance laws. It is destroying the social services and protective labour measures and is removing them from the domain of social insurance to that of the police—namely, the Ministry of the Interior. It promotes the establishment of nationalist-fascist trade unions, thus leaving the reformist unions with merely an apparent existence and even dissolving them in government factories and in war industries. Political prisoners are subjected to a murderous regime.

Employers are permitted to cheat, mishandle or rob their workers with impunity. In Rumania—which has ratified practically every convention of the International Labour Office relating to labour conditions—the workers must work from 10 to 14 hours daily for starvation wages while the cost of necessities has quadrupled. Thus the exploiter is securing a return from the worker several times greater than before. Naturally, such a policy swells unemployment while providing the unemployed with nothing but brutal repression.

For the strengthening of this enslavement and of that great national prison which is Rumania, the government created by the so-called law for the protection of the State a legal fascist measure, the carrying out of which it entrusted to the police and gendarmerie, equipped with the weapons of murderous repression, and whose ranks—on the basis of "emergency measures against social disorder"—have been materially increased. The toiling masses are resisting this policy of plunder and repression. A severe class struggle is convulsing the whole of Rumania. In hundreds of resolute united front strikes, breaking out day after day, in all parts of the country, the proletarians are repulsing the economic attacks of the employers. Cases are becoming more and more frequent of peasants chasing off tax-collectors, rejecting the government's measures for economic exploitation and putting forward demands of their own for State aid against starvation and want. In innumerable demonstrations the poverty-stricken classes in the towns, the middle classes and clerical workers, are protesting more and more loudly against impoverishment and oppression.

The working class heads this struggle with the fight for the realisation of the united front of all workers against exploitation, war and fascism. Under the banner of the United Front the workers of hundreds of undertakings in Bucharest, Ploesti, Cluj, Targu-Muresch, Brasov, Kishinev and other places have forced, by means of strikes, wage increases, re-employment of discharged workers, collective agreements and often, too, recognition of factory committees by the employers. In the fight to bring about a militant united front the proletariat has begun to free itself from the tutelage of social democracy and to resist its policy of splitting the proletariat and of playing into the hands of the capitalists. Under the pressure of the workers, social democracy has started negotiations concerning the United Front with the C.P. of Rumania, so as

to avoid being thrown overboard at the trade union congress. Under this pressure the United Front Against Fascism and War between the Workers' League, the Anti-Fascist Committee and the Left-Social-Democratic Socialist Unitary Party was formed in reply to the invitation of the Workers' League.

Every day this United Front was joined by reformist and independent unions, whole factories, whole groups of peasants, intellectuals and petty bourgeois. The organisations, which before the formation of the United Front were numerically weak, grew in numbers by hundreds and thousands on the realisation of the United Front. Despite martial law and censorship, the United Front won for itself dozens of public meeting-places in many towns as well as ten legal publications, the circulation of which grew rapidly from week to week and, just before the prohibition, had attained the one hundred thousand mark.

The entire capitalist camp demanded the dissolution of the united front movement. The government realised that the United Front could not be prevented by those repressive measures hitherto in force. The concession of free activity to the previously "forbidden" Iron Guard among the workers, the establishment of yellow trade unions, the prohibition of newspapers, meetings and other activities of the anti-fascist and revolutionary organisations, continual arrests and brutal handling by the Siguranza (political police) and the gendarmerie, the policy of the gradual extermination of political prisoners—all these methods were found to be inadequate. The summary condemnation of the railway workers to 15 years' imprisonment, the arrest of over one thousand persons previous to 7th November, the nation-wide raids on Communists and anti-fascists upon the transparent pretext of suppressing Croat terrorism—none of this could hold back the toilers from the United Front. Therefore it was decided to deal a death blow to the United Front.

The fascist reactionary coup of the government was arranged together with the S.P. and had been for some time in preparation. The S.P. was not able to put an end to the United Front with its own efforts. The time set for the attack was during the days following the Trade Union Congress so that the arrangement with the government would not be revealed. The S.P. provided the government with the pretext for the decree of dissolution, inasmuch as they characterised all anti-fascists and other organisations adhering to the United Front as "Communist" and secretly denounced to the police all anti-fascist functionaries. Thereupon the government prohibited all anti-fascist cultural and trade union bodies with the exception of those with affiliation to the Social Democratic Federation.

By means of this prohibition of anti-fascist organisations the government hoped to have removed the last obstacle in the way towards an open fascist dictatorship. The advance of fascism in Rumania must be checked. This is not only the cause of the toilers of Rumania, but of the anti-fascists of the entire world. A storm of protest from the anti-fascists of the world must be brought to aid the re-establishment of the anti-fascist organisations of Rumania.

## The Situation in Bulgaria

By D. Vlachov

The overwhelming majority of the population of Bulgaria are decided and irreconcilable enemies of the military-fascist dictatorship. And in the camp of the bourgeoisie itself, among the officers who have been the firmest pillars of the Bulgarian regime for eleven years, there exists no unanimous sympathy and support for the fascist dictatorship. A large section of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie, a large section of the active and reserve officers, the greater part of the national fascist group of the Macedonians, Dobrudjans, Thracians, and the population of the Western regions (Zaribrod) are opposed to the present military-fascist regime. This is shown in part by the following facts:—

The internment of a number of bourgeois leaders (for instance the former Ministers Smilov and Gitshev), the subordination of other leaders to police control (Vergil Dimov), the internment of some officers of high rank (General Sdravko Georgiev, Colonel Porkov, Major Goranov), the arrest of the first aides-de-camp of the executioner Michailov (Dyoro Nastev and Drangov), the internment of other executioners of the Macedonian people (Chatrov and the former deputies Philippov, Marmev, Vassilev, etc.), the enormous publicity given by the government to its discoveries of hidden arms (whereby fascism would like to give itself the appearance of

being the enemy of banditry and terrorism)—all these facts and many others show the acute antagonisms obtaining in the camp of the bourgeoisie. The ground trembles beneath the feet of fascism. Its social basis is extremely weak. The military-fascist government under Georgiev is making the utmost efforts to extend this basis and to consolidate its position. But how?

The financial situation of the State is disastrous. The Bulgarian State is faced with bankruptcy. It is not even able to pay the interest on the State loans. Only recently the government ceased these payments. At the same time the Bulgarian National Bank has requested the Finance Committee of the League of Nations, which controls the activities of the National Bank, to accord it permission to reduce the gold cover from 33½ to 25. Last year the deficit on the State budget was one and a half milliard levas. The government is now preparing its new budget, which it demagogically pronounces to be "balanced." It is true that the government has made brutal cuts in the expenditure for cultural, educational and social purposes. It has abolished a number of institutions, closed hundreds of schools, discharged several thousand civil servants, including more than 2,000 elementary school teachers. It has greatly reduced the salaries and wages of workers employed by the State. But at the same time it has increased expenditure for the police, army, and navy. It has increased the expenditure for the preparations for war now proceeding with increasing rapidity. But it has not succeeded in balancing the State budget for the current year, not even on paper. And it will not succeed in this, for there is no possibility of reducing expenditure further or of increasing revenue.

Trade has come to a complete standstill in Bulgaria. The warehouses are full of goods, but buyers are lacking. Foreign trade amounts to scarcely one-third of that of 1929. Most of the industrial undertakings are closed down or working part time. Handicrafts, an important factor in the economic life of Bulgaria, are declining. The handicraftsmen are in debt, and lead a wretched existence. Unemployment is spreading steadily. At the present time there are 350,000 unemployed in Bulgaria. The government is circulating the lie that there is practically no unemployment in Bulgaria, that the number of unemployed has diminished from 40,000 to 23,000. These figures are pure invention. 3,000 unemployed are officially admitted for Sofia, but in reality the number is 30,000. In the case of one small town, Chaskovo, the government admits 5,000 unemployed. In Varna there are supposed to be only 3,000, though the actual figure is over 10,000, owing to the closing down of the most important industrial undertakings. The situation of the unemployed in this important town is viewed by the government with serious misgiving. It has found it advisable to send the Minister of Labour to Varna, that he may investigate on the spot the position of the industry there. It should be emphasised that the unemployed receive no assistance from the State or the municipalities, but are dependent on charity. The wages paid those who have work are starvation wages. And what is the position of the villagers? In the mountain regions famine reigns. There are great tracts of country where drought and hail have destroyed the crops. The peasants in the other districts live lives of poverty and wretchedness. Hunger and bitter distress prevail among the toiling masses of Bulgaria! This intolerable situation confronts the military-fascist dictatorship with insurmountable difficulties. Unrest and discontent have seized the whole country and find expression in the struggles of the revolutionary organisations of the toiling masses, assuming many forms. The government is endeavouring to dam back the discontent, as it rightly fears that its rule is threatened.

The present rulers of Bulgaria make all sorts of promises to the various strata of the population, especially to the toiling masses. The government promises the workers work and adequate wages, and a cheapening of the cost of living. To the handicraftsmen it promises cheap credit, protection against the competition of the industrial undertakings, speedy legal proceedings enabling them to recover outstanding debts. The peasants are promised higher prices for wheat and rye. An energetic combat against speculation is announced.

The whole fascist apparatus of the State has been set in operation for the propaganda of these demagogic promises. The government organises meetings in constant succession. Every Friday great meetings, organised with every possible ceremony and set out, are held in 200 to 300 villages and in 10 to 20 towns, glorifying the "new saviours."



The dictatorship accompanies its lying reforms and unbridled demagoguery by brutal and bloody terror against the vanguard of the workers and peasants, against the champions of the workers organised in the workers' organisations which were legal till 19th May, against the Communist and other revolutionary organisations and movements. The object is clear. The dictatorship, utilising the methods of cruellest terrorism, is endeavouring to exterminate physically the vanguard of the toiling masses and to prevent the upsurge of the revolutionary movements. For months the Terror has raged in its most abominable forms, and day by day its violence increases. The champions of the working class are arrested, murdered, cruelly tortured. Many of them are brought before the courts of the military dictatorship and are put out of the way "legally." 2,000 persons have been arrested since 19th May, 1934. Besides the 21 persons murdered in Sofia, Starasagora, Chaskovo, and Kasanlik, six soldiers of the Sofia garrison have disappeared during the last few weeks—in other words, they have been murdered. The death sentences passed by the court-martial in Plovdiv have been confirmed by the Sofia Court of Appeal. The declaration of the Bulgarian Minister of War that these sentences will be carried out, and the execution of the Bulgarian revolutionist Lassarov and of the six defendants of Plovdiv, have aroused the utmost horror and indignation among the working people of Bulgaria, and call for the utmost vigilance. The lives of these anti-fascists have been forfeited, and the lives of eighty soldiers, sailors and workers, sentenced in earlier trials, are in the utmost danger.

According to the latest reports, six Communists who were sentenced to death two weeks ago by the Military Court for forming cells among the soldiers, were executed by hanging on December 9.

A fresh alarm calls for greater watchfulness. The court-martial at Starasagora, before which 40 soldiers and 85 workers are being tried, intends passing 18 death sentences.

On 10th December the trial commenced in Sw. Wratsch (Macedonia) of 26 young people charged with being members of the united Macedonian revolutionary organisations, and with having fought for the release of Macedonia from its oppressors.

Mass trials of anti-fascists will be held shortly in different places in Bulgaria: in Sofia the trial of 40 anti-fascists, including a number of editors of the labour press and four women; in Novosseltzi (Sofia district) the trial of 25 anti-fascists; in Borissovo-grad the trial of 90 anti-fascists (to come before the court-martial at Plovdiv); in Swilengrad the trial of 57 anti-fascists; in Chaskovo of 800, in the village of Dalboski (Starasagora district) of 60 peasants and anti-fascists, in Pleven of 70 anti-fascists, in Lovech of 30, in Varna or Russe of 20.

The brave Bulgarian anti-fascists, whose lives are in the utmost danger, are in greater need than ever of the support and solidarity of the anti-fascists and all right-thinking men and women all over the world. Hasten to the aid of the revolutionary Bulgarian proletariat and of the Macedonian national revolutionists!

## Students' World Congress

### The Path of the Students

By Georg Dimitrov

The rise of a growing movement against war and fascism among the students of the big capitalist countries such as England, France and America during the last two years constitutes one of the most noteworthy phenomena in our time, which is so rich in great events. In the period of imperialism, strong revolutionary tendencies among the students were to be seen only in the colonies, the semi-colonies and among the oppressed nationalities or in the countries where the students are for the greater part recruited from the ranks of the working people. In the highly developed capitalist countries where study has become the privilege of the children of the bourgeoisie and of the well-to-do petty bourgeoisie, the students constituted a more or less reactionary mass. The students perceived in the maintenance and the defence of the capitalist regime the precondition for the realisation of the hopes and aspirations with which they began their studies.

It is not a matter of chance that war and fascism dealt a blow to this conservative outlook of the masses of students. The general crisis of capitalism had to develop into these extreme consequences of the capitalist system, the victory of Socialism over one-sixth of the world had to demonstrate the tremendous advance of technique

and science in order that a growing number of students should learn to see the world with other eyes.

The example of Germany, where the national socialists are systematically reducing the number of students, quartering the students into barracks, replacing serious scientific study by military drill and drumming in of mediaeval dogmas of Rosenberg and Rust, and finally on June 30 shot, together with Roehm and consorts, dozens of former students who had taken the whole madness seriously—this warning example resulted in the students realising that which we Marxists and revolutionaries always maintained:

Capitalism in its final stage leads to a decline of culture, technique, science, art, and robs the masses of students of any hope of being able to employ in a fruitful manner that which they acquired with great pains and sacrifices. Only Socialism opens up vast perspectives for technique, science and art, places those who were degraded by capitalist society to be instruments of exploitation and oppression, again in the service of toiling humanity and thereby again imparts a meaning to study.

Whilst twenty years ago this assertion was only a theory—it is true, a theory based on scientific principles—this theory has been put into practice in the first socialist country, the Soviet Union. In the Soviet Union there is not even any talk about "intellectual overproduction," which is said to exist in the capitalist countries. On the contrary, the tremendous upsurge of the economic and cultural life of a 160 million people creates such tremendous possibilities for the use of scientific, technical and artistic forces, that the high schools and universities are hardly able to train these forces as rapidly as the general development demands it. And this in spite of the fact that the number of high schools and students is continually increasing.

No limits are set to studying and learning, but on the contrary the boldest research work is encouraged and supported to the utmost. The student who leaves the university in the Soviet Union is sure to have not one but many posts offered him where he can usefully apply his knowledge for the benefit of the whole society. And the tasks in front of him, the possibilities which are opening up for him are so grandiose that the boldest dreams of the Utopian poets and scholars of the 19th century are rendered pale in comparison.

The ruling class in the capitalist countries realise the tremendous attractive power which this example of the Soviet Union is exerting on the students of the whole world. Hence they are continuing their efforts, by means of fascism, to misuse the student youth for their aims, making use of national demagoguery in order to exploit their longing to perform "heroic" deeds. It is urgently necessary to resist these efforts of the fascists. The representatives of the students who have already commenced this struggle will come together at the forthcoming International Students' Congress in order to discuss the methods of their struggle and the extension of their front.

I welcome this Congress and say to its delegates:—

Study and recognise the capitalist roots of fascism and of imperialist war!

Study and recognise why and how decaying capitalism, even before it has recourse to fascism and war, stops progress and throttles science and art.

Study and recognise why and how, in every branch of science, technique and art, declining capitalism erects an apparently insurmountable wall to all progressive ideas and the execution of boldly conceived plans.

Study and recognise why and how, in the Soviet Union, this wall has been removed and new prospects opened up for scientific and technical study and new, undreamt-of prospects opened up for their application.

Study the methods of the most effective fight against fascism and war; take an active part in the mass fight which is proceeding!

For the students, for all intellectuals who do not wish to be misused for purposes of destruction and barbarism, but wish to devote themselves to the service of humanity and its progress, there is only one way: to come over to the side of the fighting proletariat and to take up the fight against the capitalist system in the ranks of the united front against war and fascism.

The student from the ranks of the people who acts in this manner serves the cause of human progress as well as his own true interests.

## India

# What the Congress Socialists Want

By Ben Bradley

### (1) WHAT THE CONGRESS SOCIALISTS PROMISE

The disappointment felt by the national masses of India in the policy of the National Congress is, indeed, great. The workers openly express their hostility towards the leadership of the National Congress, which always has cared so much about negotiations and bargains with British imperialism, which always did take such great interest in the well-being of the Indian bourgeoisie and always has been so deaf to the protests of the workers. The peasant masses, reduced to abject want and pauperisation, are no longer inclined to have faith in Gandhi and his followers. The broad strata of the urban petty bourgeoisie, who most keenly feel the blows of the imperialists, openly begin to turn aside, and it is precisely at this time that part of the Congress leaders organised the All-Indian Congress Socialist Party! At the conference in Patna, held in May, 1934, it was decided to create such a party, and there also its programme was drawn up.

The National Congress up till now did everything in its power to defend the interests of the Indian bourgeoisie and landowners, connected with Indian capital. To-day, in the camp of the National Congress, they begin to speak loudly about socialism. People who for years at a stretch had dragged along in the tail-end of Gandhi, of the textile manufacturers and merchants, suddenly flame up with great love for the workers and peasants. The Congress Socialist Party promises to the workers and peasants of India to turn India from a British colony into an independent socialist State.

But what is Socialism? Socialism is such an order whereby all instruments of production are in the hands of the workers, organised, united and led by the Socialist State. The dictatorship of the working class is the basic and positive condition for winning socialism and for building up socialism. Socialism means the destruction of classes. And the destruction of classes and all sources breeding the division of society into classes and exploitation of one class by the other, is impossible without the most advanced and revolutionary class, the proletariat, coming to head the whole of the social reconstruction, without it uniting the majority of the toilers of town and village under the banner of the struggle against capital.

In our days it is impossible to speak about socialism and simultaneously ignore the great Land of the Soviets, where socialism has been established, where the national freedom and independence of peoples, formerly oppressed by the Russian bourgeoisie and landowners, to-day lean for support on the Soviet Power and socialist construction.

India suffers under the heel of British imperialism, which sucks all it can out of it. India is exploited not only by the foreign capitalist-conquerors, but also by the native despots, by the landowners and usurers; and side by side with British capital bending the workers' backs there is Indian capital, somewhat weaker, but no less rapacious and fierce.

It is quite natural, then, that the toilers of India, and first and foremost the Indian proletarians, anxiously and hopefully look to every bit of news about the victories of the Soviet Union. It is quite plain why the workers and peasants of India desire to learn all they can about the lessons of the victorious struggle of the working masses of the Soviet Union.

The Congress Socialists, however, prefer to gloss over the victories of the Soviet Union. Neither do they say anything about the fact that their task is to hamper the working class and broad toiling masses from rallying to the side of the Communist Party and its fighting programme. By means of sweet phrases they call on the workers, peasants, students and urban poor to join their ranks. They promise quite a lot. Let us see what they promise.

- (1) To transfer all power to the producing masses.
- (2) Development of economic life of the country to be planned and controlled by the State.
- (3) Socialisation of key and principle industries, for example,

steel, cotton, jute, railways, shipping, mines, banks and public utilities with a view to progressive socialisation of all instruments of production, of distribution and exchange.

- (4) State monopoly of foreign trade.
- (5) Organisation of co-operative societies for production, distribution and credit in un-socialised sections of economic life.
- (6) Removal of princes and landowners as well as all other classes of exploiters.
- (7) Redistribution of land to peasants.
- (8) State to encourage and promote co-operation and collective farming with a view to ultimate collectivisation of all agriculture in country.
- (9) Liquidation of debts of the workers and peasants.
- (10) There shall be adult franchise which shall be on functional basis.

The programme is extensive, it is full of good intentions and promises. The Congress Socialists even promise to persuade the National Congress, i.e., its leaders who so eagerly guard the interests of Indian capital against the claims of the workers and peasants, to endorse this programme. But is this a programme of promises or is it a fighting programme? It is one thing to speak about socialism and independence, and quite another thing really to fight for these.

The newly-appeared Congress Socialists call themselves Congress Socialists. They, evidently, suppose that socialism can be attained only with the aid of the National Congress.

The Indian worker is inclined to be mistrustful of everything that comes from the camp of the Indian National Congress.

Dozens of times the National Congress called for action, only in order afterwards to seek for side-tracks in order to conclude the basest and most treacherous bargains with imperialism, with the landowners and usurers. The National Congress boasts that it represents the whole of the Indian nation, but it did nothing whatever to help the heroic struggle of the Indian textile workers. It helped to disrupt this struggle in the interests of the capitalists. The leaders of the Congress never begrudged promises. Promises always remained unkept, while instead of the old forgotten promises, new ones were made. The Indian worker is incredulous, and he wants to know what is this new programme of the Congress Socialist Party—is it a programme of fresh promises or is it a real fighting programme?

What does the first point of the programme of the Congress Socialists say? "Transfer all power to producing masses"! The Congress Socialists cunningly say nothing about the means for gaining power in the country, which is pressed under the iron fist of British imperialism. They speak about transferring the power to the "producing masses." Well, who are these "producing masses" in the opinion of the Congress Socialists? It is no secret to anyone that there were socialist-utopians in the history of the labour movement and Socialism, who ranked also industrial employers who exploited the workers among the producing classes. They wanted to gain socialism, not with the aid of the class struggle, but with the aid of class conciliation.

In all countries of Asia the young nationalist bourgeoisie, competing with the bourgeoisie of the imperialist countries and fighting for independence in the name of the prosperity of national capital and exploitation of the workers, shouts that it is the "salt of the earth," that no independence is possible without its own strong industrial capital. In India the Indian bourgeoisie has already shown its claws to the workers. It brutally exploits the workers of the textile and other enterprises, it sweats them to death and lowers their as-it-is starvation earnings. In order to struggle against the workers, it has nothing against the aid of the imperialist ravishers.

The Congress Socialists fear to declare openly in their programme that they rank also this plundering bourgeoisie among the producing masses. However, all of their conduct and speeches

at meetings show that they propose to the workers and peasants fraternally to divide power with the capitalists, so that the capitalists could, of course, get the lion's share of it.

The Congress Socialists vaguely promise to "remove all princes and landowners as well as all other classes of exploiters" and to "re-distribute the land to the peasants," but they say nothing about how it will be done and whether all land, all pastures and forests will really be handed over to the disposal of the peasantry. They will say nothing about which power could guarantee this transfer and render harmless the ravishers and exploiters from the camp of the imperialists, the native despots, landowners and usurers. The general promises of the Congress Socialists to lead India directly to Socialism screen the desire, by means of loud phrases, to evade the real revolutionary struggle.

In China, the workers and peasants, under the leadership of their Communist Party, established in a number of extensive regions their Soviet Power. This Soviet Power has raised as its immediate and direct task the national liberation of China from the yoke of imperialism, the expropriation of the landowners and usurers and the distribution of all land to the toiling peasants. Soviet China successfully copes with this task, and millions of oppressed workers, coolies and peasants render every possible aid to the gallant struggle of the Chinese Soviets and Chinese Red Army. There is no room for exploiters in the Chinese Soviets; the Chinese Soviets realise the power of the workers and peasants. The Chinese Soviets have still not raised the question of their agenda of collectivising agriculture, inasmuch as economic conditions and the consciousness of the peasant masses are still not prepared for this.

The Congress Socialists say nothing about the revolutionary seizure of power, about the establishment of a revolutionary dictatorship. They say nothing about Soviets. It is quite easy to understand why the Congress Socialists avoid replying frankly to the most urgent and vital questions. They desire to utilise socialist slogans for keeping the masses from going over to the side of the revolution.

Compare their programme with the programme of action of the Communist Party of India. The latter is a programme without any evasions, without any conciliatory lies and bourgeois deceit. This programme indicates the path of struggle.

But the Congress Socialists do not desire to fight. They want to hamper the mass revolutionary struggle, and this is why they fight against the Communists. The Congress Socialists are akin to the British Socialists, are akin to the British Labour Party. Both the first and second British Labour government obediently, upon the order of capital, carried through pacification in India, in China, in Egypt, everywhere where the power of imperialism was threatened. The British Socialists, just as all social democrats, are against violence with regard to imperialism and the capitalist ravishers. But instead, they are for violence with regard to the oppressed and exploited.

## (2) PURNA SWARAJ AND SOCIALISM

The Working Committee of the National Congress, after having familiarised itself with the programme of the Congress Socialists, began to rage about it. No programme of class war is compatible with membership in the National Congress; and, of course, the Congress Socialists made haste to remove all misunderstandings in this connection. Their leaders published a statement:—

"The Working Committee supposes that confiscation and class war contradict the faith of the Congress in non-violence. This is a most unexpected statement which will hardly be adopted by the majority of the Congressites. The symbol of faith of the Congress is the achievement of Purna Swaraj, with the aid of legal and peaceful means. There is nothing in our programme adopted in Patna which would in the least contradict this. We also want to win independence, and the very fact of our being in the ranks of the Congress proves the *peaceful and legal means which we apply.*"

Again, the Secretariat of the Bombay Congress Socialist Party found it necessary to emphasise its loyalty to non-violence:—

"In view of some misunderstandings, the party considers it necessary to clear this matter up; it recognises both the aim—complete independence, as well as the method—non-violence, comprising part of the Congress symbol of faith."

It is quite known to all how false the assurances of the Congress leaders are about their being for complete independence. If

it were so, then why would they be always bargaining with the British imperialists?

Purna Swaraj—this is merely a false label needed for misleading and doping the masses. Gandhi and his agents do not seem to explain clearly just what they mean by this Purna Swaraj. Does it refer to winning real and full independence for India, or does it mean a bargain with British imperialism, that the latter should permit in India a particularly powerless parliament, preserving at the same time its former power in the country? The Gandhists are doubtlessly against the forced overthrow of British rule, and this means that they, when speaking about complete independence, want that imperialism should merely give some alms to the Indian capitalists and landowners.

The Congress Socialists are wholly and indisputably for Purna Swaraj. Every sincere and honest adherent of the cause for the emancipation of India from under the yoke of British imperialism will understand that this position of the Congress Socialists is the position of the Indian conciliatory bourgeoisie. Indeed, less than a couple of weeks were needed to expose the real essence of the extensive programme mapped out by the Congress Socialists! These people swear that they do not even dare to think of rough revolutionary seizure of the land in favour of the peasants from the imperialists and landowners. They swear that they will never dare to confiscate the enterprises of the Indian capitalists or even the enterprises belonging to British imperialist capital. These people do not regard in any way seriously the struggle of classes and they have no intention whatever to fight seriously even against imperialism.

True, there are lots and lots of preachers of non-violence in the ranks of the National Congress! The preachers of non-violence close their eyes to how British imperialism suppresses and stifles downtrodden India, utilising for the purpose its armed fist, tanks, bombardments, machine-guns, rifles, police clubs. Under cover of preaching non-violence they defend the existing regime, playing into the hands of the British plunderers. Gandhi, Nehru and others have long since been bargaining for getting concessions from these British plunderers. Moreover, they help the ravishers chain the hands of the workers and peasants, condemning every single manifestation of the masses.

It is high time for the toilers of India to think this matter over carefully, to see what is behind the Congress preachings of non-violence. For hundreds of years, thousands and millions of acres of land had been seized by the imperialists, landowners and usurers from the Indian peasants. These ravishers took advantage of the pauperisation and impoverishment of the masses to oppress them and bend them down to the very ground. And Gandhi, "young" Nehru and others at this same time loudly called on the peasants not to have recourse to methods of violence!

They exposed themselves as adherents and defenders of violence of the imperialists, landowners and usurers with regard to the peasants. They do not dare to say frankly that they support the violence of the parasites and oppressors, and this is why they advise the oppressed not to resist the most brutal torture and mockery. The Congressites in their preachings of non-violence unite open support of the oppressors of the peoples of India with the worst sort of hypocrisy. The National Congress applied the tactic of civil disobedience in 1921, and gave up even this when the revolutionary masses in town and village left the framework of British "legality." Then the National Congress became frightened at the outburst of indignation among the national masses against the imperialist plunderers, and it became even still more frightened at the going over of the peasants to the struggle against the landowners. In 1922, at Bardoli, the National Congress solemnly declared that its aim was not to support the struggle of the peasantry against the landowners, but conciliation between them. After this the leaders of the Congress returned to take part in powerless legislative assemblies for petty bargaining with the British robbers. In 1930-31 the civil disobedience drive was also only a step towards betraying the liberation struggle of the masses, a step towards a bargain between Gandhi and the Viceroy. The recent campaign for civil disobedience represented a whole chain of waverings, betrayals and bargainings. Now the Congress leaders call for participation in the Provincial Legislative Councils and the Assembly for carrying on negotiations and concluding bargains with the British bourgeoisie.

These preachers of non-violence have always paved the way

for their negotiations and bargains with the agents of British imperialism through the medium of mass movements. Paltry dwarfs and miserable cowards, they have always been in need of the struggling masses for the purpose of getting on to their backs and utilising them as a pedestal from which to start negotiations with the bosses of the British exchange.

During the recent years of the desperate offensive of capital against the workers, these preachers of non-violence always declared all attempts at resistance to the plunderers to be violence with regard to the capitalists. Workers' strikes, the refusal of peasants to pay taxes to the imperialists and rent to the landlords, resentment of the small artisan worker and storekeeper against the force used by the policemen who smash them in the face—all of this is "violence" and is condemned.

The Congress Socialists have gone through the school of Congress conciliation. They solemnly declare that they are always for "peaceful and lawful means." They do not tell the oppressed and exploited what kind of peaceful and lawful means could be applied in a country where there is absolutely no inviolability of personal freedom, where freedom of the press, assembly, unions and strikes are mere empty phrases, where the arbitrariness of the British sahibs, feudal princes, parasite landowners and the boss's truncheons reign supreme. These fake socialists dare to call on the masses to fight by "lawful means." Lawful—from the viewpoint of what law? The law that consists of the lawlessness of the parasites and oppressors?

The Congress Socialists mock at the enslaved and downtrodden masses. They use the same fake means which have been used by the Congress in the struggle against the national-liberation movement for many years at a stretch.

The Congress Socialists promise to establish socialism in India and do not wish to mention even one word about the forced overthrow of the basest slaveholders and plunderers.

Experiences acquired in the struggle of all nations for their national liberation indisputably prove that under the domination of imperialism only a real national revolution, a revolution of scores and hundreds of millions can liberate the oppressed masses from the chains of colonial slavery. The example set by China is particularly instructive for India. Plundering Japanese imperialism seized Manchuria from China, spread its greedy paws over North China and hopes to turn China, with its four hundred million population, into one of its colonies. Simultaneously it is feverishly preparing for war against the Soviet Union, which it fears owing to the latter's creative power and the force of the example it sets. The British, French and American imperialists also rend the national territory of the Chinese people to pieces. All imperialists desperately attack the Chinese Soviets, considering that Soviet China serves as the chief prop of the struggle for the national liberation of the Chinese masses.

The national masses of China have been waging a struggle for national liberation since the first Chinese Revolution, since the year 1911. The bourgeoisie and landowners in China have long since become the hangmen's agency of imperialism in the country. Only throughout the territory of Soviet China is the imperialist bayonet powerless, because there the freedom of the workers and peasants, national freedom of the Chinese nations, are being defended by the *Red Army*.

In India the British robbers have for scores of years endeavoured to imbue the national masses with the idea of passive subordination to their plundering domination. The force of the armed fist is the basis of their domination, and quite naturally, by means of shooting and torture, they try to show this force everywhere. Let the colonial slaves convince themselves of the invincibility and irresistibility of the British fist! This is necessary even from the viewpoint of economy. British imperialism subjugates and enslaves the three-hundred-and-fifty-million population of India with the aid of its 150,000 army. To imbue the slaves with slavish habits so that they would not dare to think even of an uprising against the slaveholders—is this not the basis of the whole of British policy? For this same end British imperialism spreads the tale about the unfitness of most of the peoples of India for war, and for this same end it invents the legend to the effect that the British fist in India is the only power able to prevent the mutual destructive struggle among the peoples of India.

In India no movement of the peasants refusing to pay taxes to the imperialists and rent to the landlords, no one strike, no mass demonstration, ever occurs without the toilers being shot

down. However, the Gandhist prophets continue to convince the toilers of village and town that the best means for gaining freedom is to beg for it on their knees.

To-day India can be congratulated with a new achievement. The Congress Socialists suddenly discovered that it is possible to impetrate not only freedom and independence, but even socialism also, remaining on their knees before British imperialism. The Congress Socialists are of the opinion that India can become an independent socialist State with the aid of Purna Swaraj, with the aid of non-violence. This would be comic if it were not tragic!

Only yesterday, striking textile workers were shot down on the streets of Bombay. The whole of India, especially during recent years, is soaked with the blood of thousands of the finest sons of city and village. For years hundreds of Indian villages have been suffering from compulsory military orders and mockery of the British imperialist soldiers. Scores of thousands languish in British prisons, prisons which can very well compete with the bloody torture-chambers of German fascism and the prisons of Japanese imperialism. The prison-bars cast a terrible shadow over the whole of India, for India to-day represents one huge prison for the enslaved and enchained masses. You must not dare to break the chains which hurt your hands and feet, shouts Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Bose and their like. You must not dare to break the chains, for this would mean violence!

Then Jawaharlal Nehru and his adherents move one step away from Gandhi in order to make it easier to mislead, and *promise to introduce socialism in India, which is bound in chains, by peaceful and lawful means!* The British jailers could not find any better assistants for themselves than these falsifiers, masquerading under the cloak of socialism!

However, the fakers are fakers precisely because they defend the interests of the class of exploiters which fears most lest the destruction of the British prison in India might lead to a Soviet regime. The Congress Socialists cannot give even one example from the history of humanity when radical changes in the whole of the State and social order have occurred without a violent struggle, without bitter resistance having been put up by the classes being overthrown, without the latter waging an armed struggle against the majority of the oppressed peoples.

The programme of the Congress Socialists promises to introduce a planned economy in India, but where is this economy going to be planned—in London or in India? With the permission of the MacDonaldis, Baldwins and Churchills, or without their sanction? What guarantee can the Congress Socialists give that London, this world financial leviathan, this monster octopus, will suddenly turn into a peaceful lamb and renounce milliards of superprofits for the sake of—Purna Swaraj? Only during the crisis years, British capital pumped over two milliard gold rupees out of India, not counting the tremendous quantities of depreciated peasant raw material. Due to this open robbery, hundreds of thousands and millions of Indian peasants have been compelled to leave their last strips of land and hand them over to the plundering landlords, usurers and urban speculators.

Indian raw materials are pumped out in tremendous quantities by England through the medium of a complicated system based on the domination of the British fist and rich landowners. The Indian peasant is forced to sell the fruit of his labour for a mere trifle and then hopelessly starve, only because he is obliged to pay taxes in favour of British imperialism, only because he has to pay usurious high rent to the landlords, only because he can never rid himself of his debts to the moneylenders.

The Congress Socialists promise to "remove all princes and landowners as well as all other classes of exploiters." These pseudo Socialists who so loudly rave about their Congress Socialism did not dare to call the bourgeoisie by its right name! However, they do not say how and by what means they intend to remove at least the princes and landowners. As far back as 1931, Jawaharlal Nehru solemnly declared that he had never aimed at forced expropriation of the Indian landowners, while when he referred to the raj of the workers and peasants, he meant merely rule by the panchayats.

The Congress Socialists promised to the bosses of the Congress to fight against confiscation and forced expropriation. What does this mean? Obviously this should mean that not only the socialisation of key industries and banks, but also the transfer of the land of the landowners to the peasants in India must be carried through *with the aid of ransom*. Then permit us to ask how



many dozens of generations of Indian toilers will, in the way of Purna Swaraj, have to pay tribute to the London banks and joint stock companies, to the Indian Rajahs and Marajahs, to the land-owners and usurers?

Socialism through Purna Swaraj represents not only charlatan jugglery, but it is a plan for robbing the masses, which might be to the liking of many parasites. Is it not for this reason the Congress Socialists express such certainty that their plan for establishing socialism in India would be endorsed by the Congress, i.e., by its bosses, who always and everywhere are so loyal to the interests of Indian capital, to the interests of the parasite-land-owners and urban and village usurers?

### (3) NON-VIOLENCE AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE

The Congress Socialists adopted a resolution of sympathy with the textile workers' general strike, when this struggle had reached its highest pitch.

The general strike of 130,000 textile workers continued for over two months, it being the greatest event in the history of the Indian labour movement. Textile capital, national Indian capital, fiercely attacked the standards of living of the Indian working class. Wage cuts, new methods of exploitation, fresh intensification of the speed-up system—all of these were had recourse to.

The Congressites did everything in their power during the period of the strike to disrupt the ranks of the working class. Outwardly they made believe that they wanted to interfere in the conflict between labour and capital. However, it proved to be only for the purpose of discouraging the workers from fighting for their vital demands and interests. The Congress Socialists merely marched to the left of the Congress camp.

The textile workers' general strike immediately showed up the degree to which the relations of the different classes with imperialism were interlaced. British imperialism, by means of volleys, cleared the streets of the workers; it persecuted the leaders of the workers and loudly called for the struggle against Communist instigators. The textile blood-suckers, the Indian textile manufacturers, breathed more freely and declared they would have been prepared to negotiate with the workers, but why do so if it is of no use, if only out-and-out Communist-Bolsheviks get the benefit, who always urge the workers to strike? The Congress leaders called for conciliation and they also shouted at and cursed the irreconcilable elements. This rendered it possible to break the strike in the third month, splitting the ranks of the weaker and more backward strata. This untied the hands of the British imperialists. They immediately introduced their "Conciliation Bill," enforcing compulsory arbitration by a representative of the British administration, and the right for the latter to refuse to deal with all undesirable representatives of the workers. According to this Bill the workers are actually *deprived of the right to strike*. The strike is declared to be unlawful. The workers must appeal first to British arbitration bodies.

And what is the opinion on this very vital question of the Congress Socialists? Let us give the floor to *Jhabwala*, one of their leaders—

"I was against the last textile strike, not that the workers had no complaint, but because we were not prepared in the true sense of it to fight a strike. The socialist party may help a great way in eradicating the irreconcilables from the ranks of labour. Then the Congress must revive its relations with the millowners and other industrial companies by giving them a guarantee of consumption of manufactured goods on the strength of proper Swadeshi propaganda on the owners' acceptance of a gradual socialisation of all the industries."

It is, indeed, hard to imagine that *Jhabwala* comes from the ranks of the Meerut prisoners, who inscribed one of the principal pages in the history of the proletarian revolutionary movement of India. He can unceremoniously speculate with his Meerut past as much as he pleases, but one thing is certain, that his way and the way of the workers part.

*Jhabwala* is for conciliation between labour and capital. Moreover, he believes that a true labour movement consists precisely of the fact that the workers should move . . . towards conciliation with capital.

However, *Jhabwala* does not dare to say openly that he had been against the textile workers' strike due to reasons of principle. No! The strike had not been practically prepared. Practical

reasons—this is precisely what any misleader of the workers is apt to say when pressed for an explanation.

In spite of this, the Congress Socialist principally is for conciliation between labour and capital. As a matter of fact, Congress Socialism was born for driving out all that is impure, in other words, all irreconcilables from the workers' ranks. Congress Socialism strews the path leading towards conciliation between labour and capital with socialist phrases.

The Congress Socialist in his clumsy endeavours to help Gandhi and his followers out of the difficulty of explanations with the workers, at once blabs out things which throw a surprisingly vivid light on the very essence of the Congress Socialist party. He proposes Swadeshi propaganda, propaganda in favour of buying Indian-made fabrics, as a means for moderating the appetites of Indian capital. The Congress Socialists play the role of commercial travellers and promise the Indian manufacturers, attacking the workers, to advertise their goods as best they can. Buy Indian cloth, buy in the name of the prosperity of Indian national capital! This is what was preached by the National Congress for many years and, true, the Indian capitalists reaped in some good profits from this propaganda! But to-day the situation is different and more complicated. The contrast of class interests comes clearly to the fore. The resentment of the working masses grows and so does their will to struggle and the stubbornness of their resistance to the capitalist robbers. And the Congress Socialists draw the natural conclusion; it is essential to cover the commercial advertisements of Indian capital with socialist forms. Let the capitalists, bossing the Congress, superficially and with a thousand reservations, endorse the non-committal phrase about the "progressive socialisation of all industries." There will always be time enough to say that they mean first of all the industry belonging to British imperialism.

It is necessary to reorganise the commercial advertisements of Indian capital on a socialist footing. Let the workers become travelling salesmen and petty salesmen of their manufacturers, who brutally lower their wages and throw them out of their jobs. Let them, in the role of lackeys of their manufacturers, console themselves with the idea that in this way they will finally reach the distant harbour where all power will be transferred to the "productive masses," when industry and agriculture will be "socialised."

But the Congress Socialists have one argument covering all against the damned Bolsheviks—non-violence. The Congress policy of non-violence has indisputably been refuted by the whole course of the political struggle not only in all countries of the world, but also in India proper. Beginning with 1929 India witnessed revolutionary mass movements the like of which it never knew before. A new revolutionary force is being born in India, a new revolutionary India is coming into being.

The bankruptcy of the Congress policy of non-violence and its continuous evasion and dodging of the struggle for the sake of conciliation with imperialism stands out boldly before all. However, this bankrupt policy has its deep class roots. The Indian bourgeoisie and its agents fear most of all a real national revolution. They are bound in a thousand ways with the rich land-owners and usurers—economically, politically and by ties of blood. Indian capital would not have been able to wage such a fierce attack if the Indian peasants had not been enslaved by the land-owners and usurers.

In the scope and swing of the labour movement the Indian bourgeoisie clearly saw the face of the impending danger. It saw real signs of class awakening and self-organisation of the Indian proletariat. In the powerful peasant uprisings against imperialism, against the feudal despots and parasite landowners and usurers, the Indian bourgeoisie saw the danger of an agrarian-peasant revolution, the danger of revolutionary victories for the peasants, the danger of the latter winning their land. Precisely this is why the bourgeoisie has been so anxious to welcome the Congress Socialist Party, looking upon it as a new weapon for deceiving the masses.

All experiences acquired in the international revolutionary struggle teach us that only under the leadership of the working class consolidated by its struggle and its political line can the toilers of town and village counterpose bourgeois lies and victoriously fight for emancipation. This is what developing events in India lead to, where a Communist Party has already crystallised, which, in spite of all its shortcomings and mistakes of the

early period of its existence, has the only real and practical programme of revolutionary struggle for the liberation of the country.

Everywhere, beginning with the City of London and on to the trading offices in Bombay, then to meetings of trade union lawyers from the camp of the Congress, everywhere the cry can be heard: bullets for the Communists!

The enemy scents the growth of revolutionary activity, the awakening of consciousness and organisation of the masses. And precisely for this reason, capital, while depriving the worker of his last penny, makes kind gestures and sends its faithful wolves, in sheep's clothing, into the ranks of the proletariat. It is quite easy to recognise these wolves in sheep's clothing, these lawyers with their babbling tongues and generous promises. They can easily be recognised wherever they go.

They are for the class struggle, but against strikes; they are for socialism, but by means of non-violence; they are for independence, but within the framework of Purna Swaraj. They are . . . Congress Socialists!

#### (4) CONCILIATORY GAME IN PARLIAMENTARISM OR AN IRRECONCILABLE STRUGGLE AND ORGANISATION OF THE MASSES ?

The national masses of India doubtlessly crave for complete independence and for full emancipation. However, they are hampered in their struggle by the conciliation of the bourgeoisie going under cover of the National Congress. The Congress pseudo-socialists do not represent these sections of the honest petty-bourgeois democracy to which many millions and tens of millions in town and village belong. The rank and file representatives of the petty-bourgeois population of the cities, of the intelligentsia, of the peasant masses, honestly and sincerely want to fight for the liberation of India from the imperialist yoke. They are anxious to bring about a full and final victory of the national revolution. In this regard their interests coincide with the interests of the working class. However, the Indian bourgeoisie does not want the national revolution. It fears the leading role of the working class in the impending revolution. It fears the prospect of the working class organising and consolidating its ranks under the leadership of the Communist Party. It fears the Soviet anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution, which would really serve as a preliminary stage along the path of creating an Independent Socialist India.

The Indian bourgeoisie hopes to enfeeble the working class, to divide the ranks of the workers and peasants, to put obstacles in the way of spreading proletarian revolutionary influence in the midst of the village and urban toilers.

The bourgeoisie mostly shouts about the necessity of the united front and constantly drives a wedge in the ranks of the struggling masses, disrupting the struggle against imperialism, disorganising the peasant rebellions and stifling the workers' strike action.

The Congress Socialists are its tamed agency. They appeal to the will of the majority, they always refer to this will of the majority of the people, but only for the purpose of preventing the destructive blows of the revolution from reaching imperialism and its chief props—the feudal despots, the landowners and usurers.

In the camp of the Indian bourgeoisie to-day there is quite a lot of confusion and serious differences. One section of the Indian bourgeoisie openly marches with unfurled Swaraj banners towards collaboration with British imperialism. Another section of this bourgeoisie makes out it is inclined to continue the struggle and simultaneously tries to get into the hybrid "legislative assembly" for further bargaining and gaining concessions from British imperialism. In the midst of this bourgeoisie there are also differences on the question of municipal curias, etc. Finally, there are some bourgeois groups who fear to sell too cheaply the premature concessions and, considering the approach of fresh military clashes in the camp of imperialism, parade before the masses with phrases about independence, without, however, undertaking any practical steps for the struggle of independence.

The National Congress leadership does its best to liquidate these contradictions in its midst, simultaneously endeavouring to get the support of the masses for carrying through its bourgeois conciliation policy.

The National Congress has announced its intention to participate again in the legislative assemblies. This will not rouse sympathy in the ranks of the national masses. The broad strata of adherents of the National Congress are dissatisfied with its conciliation policy.

The framework of the Congress has come to be too narrow for them, and they spontaneously, half-consciously, aspire for an independent political organisation for the struggle against imperialism, without the protection of the bourgeoisie and landowners, who support the Congress.

Attempting to distract attention from the fact that the Congress evades the struggle against the slave fake-constitution, the Congress leaders developed a mass drive for the "democratic revival" of the Congress, for the purpose of further preparing a "constituent assembly."

A constituent assembly—such is the latest prescription of the Congressites. The constituent assembly will have to draft a constitution which would reflect the interests of "all" strata in India. The constituent assembly will have to submit a promissory note to British imperialism; instead of a "white paper," India must be given a "real constitution"!

The Congressites pretend that they believe that from the thunder of this revolution all citadels of British imperialism will tumble down. Here the base speculation with the will of the majority of the people screens a rather crafty class policy: to pave the way for more extensive trade with the slave-holders. Precisely for this the slogan has been issued: a constituent assembly!

The National Congress talks about the convocation of a constituent assembly at the time when India is being severely attacked by imperialism, when British imperialism, utilising the whole of its hangmen-repressive apparatus, mercilessly suppresses all manifestations of struggle against its domination, all action of the peasantry against the plundering landlords, all strikes of workers against attacking capital!

The national masses are craving to fight, but the National Congress, with inimitable grace and cynicism, tells them to sit at the table and begin to write a "correct" constitution.

The Congress Socialists by no means play last fiddle in this campaign for destroying imperialism with the aid of a well-drafted constitution, for beating it by means of much-promising resolutions. They give their socialist blessings. They promise, by means of resolutions, without strikes, and—God forbid!—without any revolutionary struggle, without an armed overthrow of the oppressors, to establish socialism, which would be to the taste even of the sharks of Indian textile capital.

It is impossible to stage this comedy without the masses, for it is precisely for the purpose of demoralising and disorganising them that this game in constitution has been undertaken. Then let Congress Socialism serve for these rebelling masses as an allurement, as a bait!

In India there is no constitution, there is a bloody and executionist imperialist dictatorship, leaning for support on semi-feudal satraps and landlords, supporting them, utilising for misleading the masses, different manoeuvres, bargaining with the Indian bourgeoisie on the question of a constitution.

Many of the Indian bourgeoisie cherish the hope that they will be able to get into the slit created in the camp of the British die-hard imperialists, considering that Baldwin is for giving some insignificant concessions to the Indian bourgeoisie under cover of a fake-constitution, while Churchill does not want to hear even of convening the most powerless conference of representatives of the native princes, Indian landowners and bourgeoisie, under the label of a parliament.

These hopes and illusions of the Indian bourgeoisie best of all show them up as the most hopeless bankrupts.

The struggling national masses have nothing in common with these bankrupts, neither can they have anything in common with the bankrupts of Congress fake-socialism.

In India the united front of the fighting masses grows from below in strikes and revolutionary demonstrations, in manifestations of the peasantry against the imperialist ravishers and landowners, in the struggle of the masses. The Indian working class is awakening more and more, is crystallising into an independent class revolutionary force. The Communist Party of India, adhering to a correct Bolshevik policy, will be able to win a worthy place for itself at the head of the struggling masses, as representative and leader of the revolutionary class to the very end. The programme of action of the Communist Party of India—*this is the real fighting programme, the real liberation programme.*

Away with conciliatory forgeries, bearing the brand of bourgeois treachery and the socialist label!

# Fight for the Unity of the Labour Movement

## The Idea of United Action Has Seized the Masses

By J. Berlioz (Paris)

The National Committee of the Socialist Party met on November 24 and 25; the main question on the agenda was the survey of the United Action since the agreement with the Communist Party was signed four months ago. Discussion was based on the examination of a letter from the Political Bureau of the Communist Party to the National Committee, a letter showing the necessity of strengthening the joint action, of filling up the gaps in the pact as regards preparations for the struggle against fascism, and of extending the anti-fascist front by accepting a programme of immediate demands for all sections of the workers.

The debate confirmed the fact that certain socialist functionaries without a doubt signed the pact only because it was the desire of the masses and that they are not yet convinced of its tremendous value. Some regret was expressed, springing from an unfortunate haggling policy. It was stated that "the Communists knew better than we how to make use of the United Action," that the pact had led to a "weakening of the Party spirit," that in this way the S.P. could not become the sole rallying point of the workers' forces.

There were even isolated attempts at more direct attacks. Thus the association of the Department of Bas-Rhin passed a resolution, at the instance of Georges Weil, aiming at making the retention of the pact dependent upon the Communist Party giving up a part of its programme, namely, its support of the right to self-determination for Alsace-Lorraine and its refusal to defend the capitalist fatherland. This might appear as a demonstration in favour of a breach in the Unity of Action and the bourgeois press has not failed to interpret it as such with unconcealed joy. One was even given to understand that an attack of this kind was a reply to the declaration made by the minority of the Second International, a reply with which the leaders of the latter were not unconnected, and which aimed at showing that even in France the United Front has vigorous opponents.

In spite of regrettable individual abstentions the National Committee confirmed the pact. It was in agreement with Zyromsky's opinion: "Where would we be if after 6th February unity of action had not been agreed upon, if at the present moment we were to experience a continuation of civil war among the proletariat?" The bourgeois newspapers do not conceal the fact that they had other hopes; they were extremely disappointed that they, as the "Temps" wrote in abject manner, could not see that "the socialists recognise the error committed by their acceptance of the tutelage of the Communists." They vigorously emphasise those wide differences of opinion in matters of principle which must naturally exist between the two parties, when they deliberately confuse the Communist programme of immediate demands with what must form the necessary basis for the united party of the proletariat. In order further to mislead, this organ of heavy industry draws the conclusion that "in all this we must perceive further grounds for strengthening that other united front—that of Social Defence."

It is true that the response of the Socialist Party to the Political Bureau of the C.P. of France was by no means that which one would have wished. Emphasis was laid upon the development of the negotiations leading to the organic unity of the two parties—negotiations to be conducted upon the basis of the Charter of Unity of 1909, the glaring weaknesses of which were already apparent in August, 1914, and but little stress upon the immediate preparations for the struggle of the exploited against their exploiters. The S.P. has proposed a programme of action, claiming that it is directed against the profoundest causes of the crisis—while everyone knows that these causes lie in the actual existence of the capitalist system itself—and containing in considerable number, as direct popular demands, such Utopian measures as "Markets for Farmers through the organisation of Agrarian Depots" or such aims as could not be achieved until after the seizure of State power, as, for instance, "Nationalisation of Bank Credits."

When, however, we desire that the toilers shall discuss the basis

of the organic unity of the proletariat, and in so doing take into account international experiences (those of Germany, Austria, the Soviet Union), we become convinced that the socialist workers will realise that the only way to unity is that of immediate action for the defence of the toilers of all categories.

This is all the more important as the Flandin government has set itself, as its main task, to divert the masses from such action by seeking to convince them that they can rapidly solve the economic crisis and defend democratic liberties against the rise of the fascists. The speech made by the Premier on 27th November at a congress of merchants and industrialists was a perfect model of dangerous demagoguery.

The address contained every possible kind of promise regarding the rational organisation of production. But the main lines of such organisation are the following: Compulsory agreements for the producers, with the exception of those industries and undertakings on the lowest paying basis; the expropriation of the smaller peasants to the advantage of the large landowners; the reduction of production to the present miserable level of consumption.

The first proceedings of the Flandin Cabinet brand his pretensions as lies. It has permitted the emergency decrees with regard to savings to be continued by cunningly embodying them in the 1935 Budget. It is "tackling" unemployment—which swells from day to day—by cutting relief as low as possible, and by a ruthless hunting-out of immigrant foreign workers. It prohibits workers' demonstrations but permits parades of the fascist Croix de Feu and of fascist landowners. It refuses to disarm and dissolve the Hitler-like formations making for civil war, while preparing to deprive civil servants of their trade union rights and seeks to prevent attendance at their congress of the delegates of the independent civil servants' organisation. While renouncing the convocation of a national assembly for the reform of the State, it seeks, in every devious and hidden manner, to restrict parliamentary privilege.

But the Socialist Party, not sharing the attitude of Weil and Frossard, has recently signed, together with the Communist Party, a powerful appeal, in which it is stated that "the second government of the truce has not rejected the legacy of the first," and in which the determination is expressed to strengthen the campaign against Flandin's schemes by means of public meetings and demonstrations throughout the land.

In order to meet the menace of the "social ministry" of the Schleicher type, the Communist Party hoped that the Socialist Party would require of its members—the majority of whom are organised in the C.G.T. (General Confederation of Labour)—their strongest efforts on behalf of trade union unity. Obviously, the division within the trade union movement forms a considerable breach in the front against fascism. The leaders of the C.G.T., however, employ every means to resist the tendency towards unity, which has already led to the formation of some 300 united local unions. They emphatically decline to consider united action against the emergency decrees upon the grounds that it is now too late to oppose them, and are only concerned with the propagation of their plan for the economic patching-up of capitalism, the main article of which is copied from Hitler's basic programme, and which indicates lines for the direction of economy as expressed in the fascism of Mussolini.

For the same reason the C.P. urges the Socialist Party to join in its work, in order to form without delay the People's Front for Bread, Liberty and Peace on the basis of immediate demands, understandable to all, instead of on that of magical sham revolutionary slogans. The capitalist press has understood the significance of the programme proposed by the C.P., and says that it is a "decoy programme" drawn up for the purpose of catching the Radicals and enlisting them in the service of the "Bolshevisation of France," devised for the purpose of "winning adherents for the common front among the middle classes."

In spite of the reservations which the Communist Party must make with regard to the reply of the Socialists, and in spite of the danger which existed when discussion of doctrine was placed before that of action, the Communists must rejoice that the minor criticisms of united action found but little echo in the National Executive, and that the pact is firmer than ever—deeply rooted in the masses, among whom it has evoked a powerful expression of confidence.

We are also happy to record that the socialist workers of

France were deeply concerned about the hostility of the Second International towards international united action. In an article in "*La Populaire*," Zyromsky states that their disillusionment was so intense that the idea of splitting the Second International had actually arisen. He stands for the closer drawing together of the bonds between the "Left" parties which "form the spear-heads and the supports for carrying on an active united policy on an international scale." This reveals how the conception of united action has seized the masses, for the very reason that it provides guarantees of effective action.

And is not the severest condemnation of the Ministers of to-day or to-morrow, who are grouped round Vandervelde, contained in the following estimate by Renaudel, which appeared after the meeting of the Executive Committee of the L.S.I.: "We, members of the party of the socialists of France, are at the moment in complete agreement with the great majority of the International and with the clear and lucid thoughts and conceptions which we expect to find in it." To earn in this way the compliments of the party of Marquet, Doumergue's accomplice, the party which is intent only on building an anti-Marxist front in France, is certainly no small matter. This places finally the opponents of Unity of Action in their proper place.

## The Way to Unity of Action in Germany

By Walter, Member of the C.C. of the C.P.G.

The urge of the working masses of Germany for united action against Hitler fascism is growing. Class antagonisms in Germany are becoming acuter, wages are falling, profits increasing, a fresh economic decline has commenced, fascism is mobilising every available force for the imperialist war. That the growing resistance movements observable since June 30 have not yet led to extensive struggles, to fresh explosions, is due to the fact that unity of action is being realised too slowly. Although the mass basis of fascism has considerably narrowed, the fascists have nevertheless been able to regroup their forces and to maintain the splitting and division of the masses, for we have not yet succeeded, by means of unity of action, in winning over the masses of the social-democratic workers for the joint struggle.

### UNITY OF ACTION AND STRUGGLE FOR DAY-TO-DAY INTERESTS

Comrade Dimitrov, in his article on "The struggle for the united front," stresses *unity of action as the main task of the present time, as the decisively important link in the present chain*, and this applies especially to Germany. The C.P.G. is confronted with the main task of *developing in our Party and in the masses the ability to seize this link*, enabling the whole chain to be pulled. This can only be done by training the Party to organise the struggles for the day-to-day interests of the working people, keeping ever in mind the goal of the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship, the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat. The organisation of the joint struggles with the social-democratic workers, with social-democratic and other workers' organisations, must therefore be bound up with a *determined pursuance of the aim of breaking through the fascist totality and with the organisation of serious systematic work in the fascist mass organisations*. To-day, under the pressure of fascist terror, our Party looks inwardly, to itself, too much.

*The formation of the united front of action demands the daily indefatigable struggle of our Party, especially of the factory cells, for the day-to-day interests of the toiling masses.* Many comrades complain that the workers do not react immediately to the introduction of the "factory regulations" issued. The fault of this lies chiefly in the fact that we have not prepared the workers sufficiently beforehand. In works and factories where the factory cells have already taken the lead in the struggle against wage deductions for the Winter Relief and other compulsory contributions, for holidays, for better ventilation, for allowance to meet higher prices, etc., etc., the workers will be found ready to put up a fight against the "factory regulations" and for the inclusion of their own demands in the "factory regulations." The important point is to take up every matter, however small, involving the interests of the workers and using this as a starting point to create a mass feeling causing the workers to declare: things cannot go on like this. And when the employers endeavour to take such a body of workers by surprise with some worsening of conditions, they will encounter unanimous resistance. This is decisively important for our tactics in the works

and factories. We must come forward as *the power mobilising the masses for the joint struggle.* Now more than ever we must demonstrate to the working masses that not only have we the right perspective, that *not only is our goal, the Soviet power, the sole realisation of the interests of the working class, but that at the same time we represent even the smallest day-to-day interests of the workers.* Only by this means can we convince the masses of *the necessity of joining in the joint struggle for our far-reaching aims.*

Undoubtedly we shall achieve a much greater mass action for the release of Ernst Thaelmann when we point out on every occasion when some matter arouses the workers that Comrade Thaelmann has been thrown into prison precisely for the reason that he has fought for these workers' interests. The more skilful we are in putting every daily demand from the point of view of the necessity of fighting capitalist rule, the more skilful we are in exposing the fraud of "community of interests" between the classes, the sooner we shall be able to make the masses understand our *programme of emancipation* and to induce them to fight for it.

The creation of the united front of action demands that our Party devotes special attention to those forms and methods of the mass struggle which experience has shown to be specially successful and well adapted for their purpose. For instance, in a factory where a cut in piecework rates was imposed, our comrades did not at once issue the strike slogan or advocate the formal election of a commission, but proposed: Let us go together to the Confidential Council and the management. This delegation succeeded in getting the old piecework rates maintained. The success convinced the workers concerned of the necessity of keeping the delegation as a wages commission.

Many comrades are of the opinion that the fact that the Nazis do not convene meetings is a proof of the weakness of fascism. This is only true to a certain extent. If we succeed in getting meetings called and in bringing these meetings under our influence, this represents a really successful form of the struggle to break through the fascist totality. Passive resistance in the form of non-attendance at factory meetings does not get us any further, we must rather go over to the offensive and lead the masses step by step in the struggle against the fascist dictatorship.

### WINNING OVER THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC WORKERS

The decisive question for the realisation of united action is *our tactics towards the social-democratic workers.* There are many social-democratic workers and groups in favour of united action with the Communists, but want to see it carried out in their own town or district with the collaboration of the social-democratic organisation concerned. In the Frankfurt district, for instance, united action has been realised in an exemplary manner on these lines between the Communist and social-democratic organisations. In Comrade Pieck's article and in the proposal made by the C.C. to the "Revolutionary Socialists," we have proposed to all social-democratic workers and groups the establishment of unity of action in the struggle against the labour laws, against the fascist terror, and for the release of Comrade Thaelmann and all anti-fascists. *We have set no other preliminary condition than the will to united action.* We have not demanded from the social democrats that they should first cease to be social democrats. But we are not prepared to accept such conditions as the cessation of recruiting work for the Communist Party, or relinquishment of criticism of social-democratic policy or even of the opinions of sincere left-wing social-democratic members. The making of such proposals to social-democratic committees presumes much hard work among the masses, especially in the works and factories, so that even if the united action proposal is rejected by the committee the masses of the workers form with us the united front of action. Many comrades declare that *"the S.P.G. plays no part in the class struggle."* Those who maintain this should remember how powerful was the social-democratic orientation towards the "lesser evil," the Reichswehr generals, after Papan's speech in June. This shows the strength of the after-effects of social-democratic ideology. It would be a grave political error to ignore the existence of the social-democratic organisations, which represent many political opinions, but as a rule reject the platform of the Frague Committee. We must grasp the fact that great changes have taken place in the ideology of the adherents of social democracy. Formerly the great majority of these adherents stood for unity with the democrats and the centre part, in the Iron Front, for "democracy." Now they stand for the



united front with the Communists against Hitler fascism and have lost a considerable part of their illusions regarding "democracy" and "our state." We must recognise that the political ideas of the adherents of social democracy are in a state of flux. The direction in which these ideas develop and the speed at which social-democratic ideology is overcome depend on our revolutionary mass policy.

No doubt it would be very agreeable to the Prague Committee if it were permitted to build up the social-democratic organisation in peace and quiet and enabled to give it a form allowing it to be used for purposes of collaboration between the classes, of toleration of a capitalist government, should the changing situation demand it.

The majority of the social-democratic groups are opposed to this perspective of the Prague Committee and are anxious for unity with the Communists against Hitler fascism. In fact those who want to fight for the rights and liberties of the toiling masses must decide for united action. Above all, we must deal a blow against those social-democratic tendencies which openly advocate the co-operation of the classes and oppose united action. At the present time there are several tendencies struggling for the upper hand in social democracy, and the "Left-wing" adherents have the illusion that it is possible on the basis of their platform, representing a conglomeration of views, to renew social democracy. But we must observe that not only differences of opinion in tactics separate the various social-democratic trends, but fundamental principles. For instance, in the question of the attitude towards the State, towards the Soviet power. Hence it would be foolish to judge every social-democratic tendency by the same criterion. It is urgently necessary, on the contrary, to show the adherents of social democracy what immediate duties arise for them out of the declaration of the "Revolutionary Socialists" for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the Soviet power. We must help them to overcome their social-democratic conceptions. We must enlighten them more thoroughly than ever with regard to our programme of emancipation; we must convince them that in the Soviet Union the policy of Marxism-Leninism has realised socialism, and we must demonstrate to them that in Germany too the working class can accomplish the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship, and of all capitalist rule, solely on the basis of the consistent class struggle, of rejection of the policy of the co-operation of the classes, of the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the Soviet power, of the struggle against imperialist war policy and for the Soviet Union, under the leadership of an ideologically united and disciplined proletarian mass Party, the Communist Party of Germany.

#### THE RE-BUILDING OF THE FREE TRADE UNIONS

A factor as important as the establishment of united action is the rebuilding of the Free Trade Unions, the establishment of trade union unity, the overcoming of the trade union split in Germany. The masses of the workers are anxious to resist the offensive of capitalism and are opposed to the carrying out of the fascist labour laws. Many trade unionists have recognised that the delivering over of the General German Trade Union Federation to fascism, the shattering of the trade unions, was the consequence of reformist policy. Therefore the masses of the trade union members want the Free Trade Unions to be built up again on the basis of the class struggle, and that trade union democracy, the right of the members to have their say in decisions, is thereby guaranteed from the beginning. Who does not remember the enthusiasm with which *Ernst Thaelmann*, as trade union functionary, fought in the Transport Workers' Union for the representation of the interests of the workers and against the industrial peace policy, and how he exerted his utmost efforts that the trade union might become a class struggle organisation. And this was indeed the only way to defend the trade unions effectually against fascism. To-day it is clear to the broad masses of the trade union members that *Ernst Thaelmann* was right, a thousand times right, and the trade union leaders who delivered over the unions to fascism were a thousand times wrong.

What is the next step towards building up the Free Trade Unions again and towards establishing trade union unity? First of all it is important to gather together all former trade unionists on the common ground of united action against the offensive of capital and against the factory regulations issued by the fascist government. If we utilise every opportunity offered by resistance in the works and factories to show the workers involved the necessity of rebuilding the factory group of the Free Trade Unions, of electing

shop stewards for the different departments, and of organising opposition in the labour front, then we shall carry even the hesitating of our fellow workers along with us. For instance, if two trade union organisations exist in an important industrial group in a German city, one under revolutionary leadership and the other under reformist, is it not obvious that the shop stewards and members of these two organisations should consult with one another in all the enterprises with regard to the joint leadership of the struggle, that they should form a joint committee of representatives of both organisations, with the aim and object of creating trade union unity in the Free Trade Unions on the basis of the class struggle? Another example: revolutionary trade union functionaries issue trade union newspapers in the various districts for certain industrial groups. Would it not be possible to form commissions of such trade union functionaries, aiming at building up the Free Trade Union again and issuing the newspaper collectively?

In places where Red trade unions exist, or where Catholic trade unions have existed, it is necessary to build up joint united Free Trade Union organisations. Many functionaries of the Red unity unions declare, however: "We are the unity union." The Red trade unions are the only ones which could not be incorporated in the fascist state, for the reason that they stand for the class struggle. But trade union unity does not simply mean recruiting for the Red unions, but the winning over of the masses of the trade unionists who belonged at one time to the Free or Catholic unions and of inducing them to join in the movement for a united Free Trade Union organisation on the basis of the class struggle. We must exert our utmost endeavours to overcome the split in the trade union movement and to create trade union unity in the Free Trade Unions. *The maintenance of the split in the trade union movement in Germany would be extremely harmful to the revolutionary movement, and a great gain for the capitalists.* Similar tactical problems confront the other mass organisations of the workers.

#### STRENGTHENING OF THE C.P.G. BY MEANS OF RESOLUTE EXECUTION OF THE DECISIONS OF THE COMINTERN AND POLITICAL BUREAU ON AUGUST 1.

The establishment of united action and of trade union unity demands at the present time, above all, the overcoming of sectarian hindrances and of the conciliatory attitude towards these. At the same time, united action brings the Party organisation nearer to the lives of the masses. The Party is obliged to deal with the concrete arguments of the adherents of social democracy. Our comrades learn to help the great masses of social-democratic workers and functionaries on the road to Communism, and to expose the demagogic arguments of the "Left" leaders. *At the present time the ability of our Party to achieve unity of action is the criterion of the extent to which bolshevisation has made progress in our ranks.* It is easily comprehensible, in view of the necessity of adapting our tactics to changing conditions and of overcoming certain errors and weaknesses in our Party work, that there should be times when there is a lack of clarity in the organisation and certain waverings among some of the comrades. The committee of one Party organisation, for instance, when approached by former Free Trade Union members, refused to entertain the idea of supporting the reorganisation of the Free Trade Unions, asserting that this would be "Right opportunism." In one town leading functionaries opposed the rebuilding of the Free Trade Unions, on the ground that the trade unions were so discredited by their reformist policy that there could be no thought of their reconstruction. It is a fact, however, that precisely in this town the masses of the workers are anxious for the rebuilding of the Free Trade Unions and are opposed to the policy of the former reformist leaders. These mistakes made by individual comrades and committees evince not only a false attitude towards trade union unity, but anti-trade union tendencies, a failure to recognise the importance of united trade unions for the proletarian revolution in Germany. *No doubt the greatest danger in our Party at the present time is that of sectarian tendencies and deviations,* but we must not underestimate the perils of such Right opportunist tendencies as the speculation on spontaneity, or the relinquishment of criticism of social democracy. When Right or conciliatory elements endeavour to throw discredit on our Bolshevik mass policy we should fight against them, but we must not overlook the sectarian dangers which are generally even greater. There are comrades who sow confusion in the organisations by only speaking in general of a "struggle against oppor-

tunism," and endeavouring to conceal the actual concrete forms of opportunism, especially its sectarian variety. Or in an unprincipled manner they spread rumours hindering the Party from carrying out the decisions of the E.C.C.I. and of the Political Bureau decisions of August 1. *The strengthening of our Party on the lines laid down by the Comintern and by the Political Bureau of the C.P.G. on August 1 is a fundamental prerequisite for the successful achievement of united action.*

The "Left" social-democratic leaders oppose the C.P.G. because it receives "instructions from Moscow." The C.P.G. is a part of the World Party of Communism, of the Communist International. We are proud that the Executive of the Comintern, composed of the best revolutionists of all countries, passes on to us the great teachings of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin which have led to the victory of socialism on one-sixth of the globe! We are proud of the general staff of the world revolution, which numbers among its members such leaders as Georgi Dimitrov, the great fighter against fascism, loved by the working people all over the world.

It may be that the criticism by the Communist International of the policy of the Sections may sound very harsh to the "Left" social-democratic leaders, but it is only a consistent *continuation and further development of the methods which Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels taught us, and which have been developed by Stalin and Lenin into a constituent part of the education of the masses, numbering millions, of the world proletariat in order to render the proletariat capable of waging a victorious fight for the overthrow of capitalist class rule.*

The progress of unity of action in Germany, the growth of the resistance movements, the fact that it has already come to numerous agreements between Communist and social-democratic organisations on unity of action, makes us firmly confident that unity of action will soon be realised throughout the whole of Germany.

## The Struggle for the United Front in Ireland

By William MacCullough (Belfast)

The Communist Party of Ireland has addressed a proposal for a united front "to the Labour and Socialist Parties and the Belfast Trades Council for joint action around the struggle for extra winter relief, against the Special Powers Act, and for the extension of an invitation to the British working class to send a Commission to Belfast for the purpose of investigating conditions."

This move for unity is the result of the unbearable oppression to which the great bulk of the people of this area of the United Kingdom is subjected. The social misery is so widespread and intense that mass protests of the workers had to be quelled by the State forces, with loss of life, in 1932. Since then the authorities have been steadily nibbling away the conditions gained by that struggle, and the unemployed are in conditions bordering on beggary, particularly in the provincial towns.

The Government is a *nom de plume* for Westminster and governs through a Special Powers Act. This Act was passed during the Civil War period as an instrument of the imperialists against the Nationalists. It has been made a permanent feature of law and government and used on every occasion against the workers and the Nationalist minority alike. Under it, citizens of almost every political tendency opposed to the government have been deported from the area (Harry Pollitt and Tom Mann are amongst the victims of this Act). Recently a Belfast worker got a sentence of three months for harbouring a working-class leader, against whom an "exclusion order" was issued, and a further two months for failing to inform the police and having the "offending" person arrested. This Act destroys every vestige of civil liberty and places the police as the sole law in the province.

The government prohibits workers' meetings and gives unlimited powers of arrest and entry. Tommy Geehan, the unemployed workers' leader, is at present before the courts for speaking to a meeting of workers on October 11, which was prohibited by the police.

Thirty-four per cent. of the people of the area are Nationalists in politics and Roman Catholics in religion. They are bitterly opposed to the partition of Ireland and desire one government for the country. The local government of Lord Craigavon openly stands for British imperialism, for a permanently divided Ireland, and Craigavon a few days ago in parliament bluntly stated his was a "Protestant government for a Protestant people." The government is inflaming religious feeling by appeals from the

Minister of Agriculture, Brooke, to "loyal employers" not to employ Catholics. Questioned if this was the policy of the government, Craigavon, the Prime Minister, answered: "I stand by every word uttered by the Minister for Agriculture." The Nationalists now assert that the ruling landlord-bourgeois clique have openly violated all the constitutional guarantees for the protection of the minority, inserted by the imperial parliament in the Government of Ireland Act.

The great body of the entire Labour movement here feels that an experiment in fascist forms of dictatorship is being ingeniously worked out in this corner of the "United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland." For this reason the revolutionary workers of Ulster are determined to make the issue one for the working class of the white British Isles. Backed by the British Tories, the landlord-capitalist ascendancy of Ulster have been able during 1913-21 to override the express will of the people of the two countries and carve Ireland up to suit themselves. The working-class movement must see to it that a fascist fortress is not erected and manned at their doorstep for a fresh counter-revolution now.

A strong united working-class movement in Ulster, supported by the British and Irish masses as a whole, is the only effective reply to the imperialist dictatorship in Northern Ireland.

## The White Terror

### Solidarity Action of the I.R.A. for the Victims of Terror in Spain

By Herta Muller

Whilst fighting was still going on in Spain, and the Foreign Legions were being sent against the miners who had conquered Asturias, the E.C. of the I.R.A. sent out directives to all Sections to organise at once the relief action for the victims of this heroic struggle.

But these directives were not necessary. It became evident once again that internationalism is so deeply rooted in the Sections of the I.R.A. that the Red Aid members all over the world at once reacted by themselves, whether they were able to lend their aid legally, or whether their activities were carried out under the most difficult conditions of illegality and in the face of terror.

During the campaign appeals were published by all Sections, calling for protests against the terror, and expressing sympathy and solidarity with the workers and peasants, the Spanish people. Such appeals appeared in France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Switzerland, America, Latin America. The illegal Sections, too, came forward during the days of actual fighting—the Red Aid of Germany, Austria, Italy, etc., and demonstrated their sympathy.

Besides initiating collections immediately, several Sections contributed large sums from their funds—in all the amount of 200,000 French francs—for the Red Aid has been well aware that the victims in Spain, the political prisoners and their families, could not wait for the result of the collections, but must have help at once.

The Belgian Red Aid issued a special number of its journal, devoted to the heroic struggles in Spain and to solidarity with the victims of the terror.

The English Section of the Red Aid sent further 50 pounds for the Spanish comrades.

The Red Aid of Cuba reports of great demonstrations in Havana and Camaguay, participated in by wide circles of the toiling masses. A meetings campaign and collections are being carried out all over the country.

The Red Aid of France leads the campaign. Here the first successful attempt has been made to form a Unity Committee on a really broad basis. Seventeen organisations are members of this Committee, including the representatives of the Socialist Party organisation of the Seine Department, the League for Human Rights, a group of 5,000 intellectuals and prominent persons, etc. In the provinces (more than ten such committees have been founded in the provincial towns) the committees are frequently on an even broader basis.

The conferences and demonstrations of these committees are real demonstrations of the broadest united front against fascism and terror; they are real demonstrations of profoundest sympathy and solidarity on the part of the broadest strata of all anti-fascists,

for the heroic fighters of Madrid, Oviedo, and other towns of Spain.

The work accomplished by the **Spanish Red Aid** is especially worthy of appreciation. This organisation, too, commenced its activities under the thunder of the guns, whilst the streets of the towns of Spain were still stained with blood. It took up its work of solidarity at once; it issued appeals to all anti-fascists, to the socialists, anarchists, republicans; it formed a broad relief front. In spite of all difficulties, and of the cruellest persecution, it has been the sole organisation maintaining contact with the political prisoners and aiding them. When the delegation with **Lord Listowel** and **Ellen Wilkinson** offered aid to the political prisoners, many of these declared that the money should be given to the Red Aid, as they were being helped by it, and it was working well.

During the first days of the struggle, the R.A. brought out its illegal organ at once, the "**Combate**."

The R.A. of Spain offers an especially striking example of international solidarity. In spite of the mighty tasks confronting it in its own country, it has not forgotten **Thaelmann** and **Rakosi**. In the above-mentioned illegal organ it devoted two columns to the struggle for the release of **Thaelmann** and **Rakosi**. And when the Spanish R.A. appeals for international solidarity it may truly be said that the Spanish toilers have well earned the heartiest and greatest possible help of the toiling masses of all countries. The first appeal issued by the Spanish Section, published by the whole press, showed the profound belief of the Spanish workers in international solidarity, the extent of their hopes in it. And in the second letter from the Spanish R.A., it speaks on behalf of the tens of thousands of victims of the terror, and on behalf of the toiling masses of the whole of Spain, once more showing their great hope in international solidarity.

These hopes must not be disappointed. The relief front for the heroic fighters of Spain must be made broader than ever, the collections of funds carried on more energetically. This relief action forms one aspect of the fight and the whole protest movement against terror in Spain and in all other fascist countries, against the mass arrests and maltreatment of political prisoners; it forms a part of the broad demonstrations of sympathy for the Spanish workers, whom the bourgeois and fascist press seek to calumniate by atrocity reports—now completely and publicly refuted.

In order to demonstrate the sympathy felt for the heroic fighters in Spain, even more delegations must be sent to the Spanish ambassadors and consuls; even more protest resolutions must be sent in, so that the toiling masses of Spain, whose struggles are by no means ended, may be efficiently aided, and the mighty anti-fascist united front opposed to blood-stained fascism.

## The Fight for the Release of Rakosi

In recent months the terror in Hungary has taken on a sharper character. In spite of the determined silence of the bourgeois and social-democratic press, more and more rumours of mass arrests, ill-treatment, terrorist sentences, and brutalities in the prisons are being heard abroad.

A few examples should prove how far terrorist measures against revolutionaries, or against those workers sympathising with the revolutionary movement is going in Hungary. Here it is not only a case of the arrest and ill-treatment of the opposition sportsmen in the M.T.E. (Workers' Sports Union), but also of the U.T.E. (the New-Pester League), who are denounced to the police by the reformist and bourgeois leaders of these sports leagues. The sportsmen who are arrested and immediately ill-treated are handed over to the military authorities, on the basis of a new espionage law—which even in peace time provides for the death sentence for high treason—and are cruelly tortured anew in the "Hadik" barracks.

On the basis of denunciations of the reformist trade union leaders, active members of the trade unions are arrested and ill-treated by the police.

The social-democratic and bourgeois press give reports, following official police statements, on the most recent cases of terror in a sensational manner. In the "**Pester Lloyd**" of November 2, the three revolutionaries who were arrested, **Horvath**, **Steyer** and **Hoffmann**, were pointed out as the "ringleaders" of the miners' strike in Pecs. According to the police report, **Hoffmann** had committed "suicide" by jumping out of the window of the police station. But since the examination methods of the Hungarian police have long been known in the whole world, there is no doubt

that **Hoffmann**, who was well known as a staunch revolutionary, was murdered by the police and was flung out of the window. This is all the more likely, as it is known to be impossible to get away from the attention of the police for a moment, not to mention jumping from the table, smashing a double window and throwing yourself out of the window in front of four detectives—and that in handcuffs.

In the official report, the attempt was made to declare that the other two, who were tortured, had, of their own free will, handed in a "confession" that they had been sent from Moscow in order, "on the instructions of the Moscow government, to provoke the strike struggles of the Pecs Miners." It is widely known how the Hungarian police get "confessions": they put before the prisoners a prepared statement, and then torture them until they sign the statement; whoever refuses meets with the same fate as **Hoffmann** and his many comrades in suffering.

All these increased measures of terror against the revolutionary toilers of Hungary show the great danger which threatens **Rakosi**—in spite of the fact that the death sentence to the ex-Red Army man **Gador** has been commuted to life-long imprisonment.

According to Hungarian criminal law, a prisoner on remand from the time of the finishing of his examination up to the trial has no restrictions in correspondence, literature, visits, etc. Hungarian justice deals otherwise with **Rakosi**. After having served his 8½ years' penal servitude, he is now having to undergo a much severer regime in the preliminary examination. Nevertheless he could—though very late—receive letters and literature; but now, with the end of the examination in June, 1934, instead of a modification of the regime, according to law, it is being made more severe.

From information from **Rakosi** himself, during the last three months, 60 letters have been withheld by the prison governor, admitted by the governor himself. It is a question of the expressions of solidarity which the toilers from all parts of the world have sent to **Rakosi**.

In recent months he has been prevented from receiving even newspapers and journals; he may receive only two books a week, under the strictest and most arbitrary censorship; most of the books—even **Balzac's** novels—were rejected.

This sharpening of the regime against **Rakosi** is based on a law of 1912, which provided, in war time, for the retaining of regime during the examination, after the conclusion of the examination. And since Hungary has never formally put an end to the state of war, the judicial authorities can stand on the law of 1912.

The true object of the Hungarian government is, by these means, to break down, by systematic chicanery, **Rakosi's** heroic resistance, which nine years' hard labour could not break, so as to be able the easier to carry through the trial, which, according to our information, will take place before a Special Court. That the Hungarian government will still not succeed in provoking him to actions which would harm him more than the cruelty of the prison regime, is proved by his letters and conversations with his lawyer, in which he ever emphasises his firm belief in the power of the toiling masses, which has already once saved him from the clutches of the hangman.

That his belief is not without foundation is shown by the mass action of solidarity for the release of **Rakosi** carried through under the leadership of the Red Aid of Hungary. Also the international activity in different countries and towns prove that the fight for the release of **Rakosi** is growing under the leadership of the International Red Aid, and will not cease until **Rakosi** is freed from the hands of the Hungarian hangmen.

## Thaelmann Demonstrations in Norway

The seamen in Bergen (Norway) have passed a resolution, at a mass meeting, in protest against the Terror and the persecution exercised by the Hitler government against the German workers. The resolution states: "We demand the immediate release of **Ernst Thaelmann**. We call upon our docker comrades to refuse to load or unload any German ship on the day when the trial of **Thaelmann** begins. We call upon the seamen on all Norwegian ships calling at German ports to send a delegation to the mayor at each port of call, to express the sympathy of the Norwegian seamen with the heroic struggle of the German working class, and to demand freedom for all anti-fascists."

## Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

### Proletarian Moscow Pays Its Last Respects to Kirov

Moscow, December 6.

Yesterday and the day before yesterday, two days and a night, the Moscow proletarians marched in endless columns to the bier of their beloved leader, who has fallen at the cowardly murder-hand of the class enemy. To-day the whole of proletarian Moscow once again paid its last respects to Kirov. At one o'clock in the afternoon Kirov's ashes were taken from the hall of columns of the Trade Union House by members of the Political Bureau of the C.P.S.U., headed by Comrade Stalin, the other leaders of the Party and of the Soviet government following behind them. At 1.12 o'clock there was heard Chopin's funeral march. The urn, covered with red flags hung with crepe, was placed in front of the Lenin mausoleum. Round the mausoleum were grouped the delegations from the factories, the collective farms, the Red Army, as well as delegates from Leningrad and Wjatka—which has now been renamed Kirov—and other cities.

From the top of the mausoleum the last farewell greetings of hundred of millions in the Soviet Union and abroad, who mourn for the loss of their leader, were transmitted. After the opening of the funeral ceremony, Comrade Molotov, in the name of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and of the Soviet government, spoke of the loss sustained in the death of Kirov, one of the best leaders of the Bolshevik Party and of the Soviet country, the incomparable friend and comrade-in-arms. The enemies of the working class, he said, clearly realised whom they shot; they wanted to hit the Party in the very heart. Filled with rage at the uninterrupted victorious march of Socialism, the enemies of the working class and their agents, who have been sent over the frontiers, are ready to commit the most base and desperate crimes. The class enemy in the Soviet Union is ready to assume any mask in order to lull the vigilance of the proletariat. It is incapable of anything else but hopeless acts of desperation and abominable assassinations. The magnificent work of Socialism, for which Kirov worked devotedly with all his talents, is uninterruptedly advancing.

Comrade Manuilsky expressed in moving words that the grief felt by the working class of the Soviet Union at the loss of Kirov is shared by the whole of the Communist International, by the whole of the world proletariat. Many thousands of imprisoned German proletarians, headed by Comrade Thaelmann, many heroic miners of Asturias, the fighters in the Chinese army mourn for Kirov. Kirov will be revered as a martyr of the proletarian world revolution, just as Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, John Scheer and the victims of Spanish counter-revolution and German fascism. Millions of hands to-day swear allegiance to the banner which is stained with Kirov's blood. Under this banner the class enemy will be defeated and the proletarian revolution completed.

Comrades Chudov and Kaganovitch then spoke in the name of the workers and collective peasants of the Leningrad and Moscow districts. Kaganovitch described Kirov as a model of a proletarian fighter, filled with international, revolutionary spirit. His personality, his attitude embodied the unity of struggle of the Soviet and foreign proletariat, the unity of struggle of the toilers of all nations.

The next speaker was Petrovski, who spoke in the name of the toilers of the Soviet Ukraine and of the districts in which Kirov had worked. About a hundred aeroplanes hovered over the Red Square, shining in the dazzling rays of the sun which broke through the clouds for several minutes.

Shortly after 3 o'clock the Russian Funeral March was heard, followed by the "Internationale." Then Kirov's ashes were placed in the wall of the Kremlin behind the Lenin mausoleum, among the graves of Dzershinski, Clara Zetkin, Katayama, John

Reed, Landler and other leaders and heroes of the international working class. As the delegations slowly departed there marched into the Red Square the vast masses of the Moscow proletariat, who in spite of the biting frost had gathered in the streets of the red capital since the early morning. Silently with raised fists they marched past the grave of the hero.

### "The Enemy Has Miscalculated"

Moscow, December 7.

Yesterday's demonstration in Moscow in connection with the funeral of Kirov, at which 1,200,000 people were assembled, and further the demonstrations in Leningrad, Kiev, Charkov, Baku, and all the big towns of the Soviet Union, in short the echo throughout the country, show how tremendous is the wrath and the anger, how strong and powerful the unity which the toiling masses of the Socialist country manifest in this way. The funeral demonstration, at which the representatives of the iron cohorts of Bolshevism, the representatives of the Central Government of the Soviet Union, the representatives of the brother Republics, of the working men and women, of the collective farmers, and finally the representatives of the international proletariat spoke from the Lenin Mausoleum—this gathering expressed in words of anger and of sorrow, of fight and of victory, all the emotions of millions upon millions of working people.

"The burial of the national hero, Kirov," writes to-day's "Pravda," "assumed the aspect of an overwhelming demonstration of the peoples of the Soviet Union. At Kirov's coffin, Molotov, in the name of the Central Committee of the Party and of the Government, declared: "The enemies of the working class knew against whom they sent the murderous bullet. They struck us in the breast. They tried to stab the Party near the heart. Through the murder of the beloved leader of the Leningrad proletariat they wanted to bring confusion into our ranks. But they completely miscalculated! The common grief of all the people over the death of Kirov has welded together anew all the working people who rally round their Party, their government, their Stalin. The anger of the working people will burst forth with renewed strength against all enemies of the working class. They will answer this murderous shot with a doubled and trebled counter-blow, which will destroy the last remnants of the White Guards and will make their imperialist supporters shake in their shoes. Defence of the achievements of the great socialist October Revolution is the first law."

"By your ashes, dear Kirov, we swear to increase our revolutionary watchfulness a hundredfold, and to crush under the wheels of the proletarian dictatorship the last remnants of the enemy class, which murdered you at your post." Thus spoke Comrade Salkowski, in a moving speech, in the name of a group of Leningrad factories, bidding farewell to Kirov in the Red Square, and Stalin gripped him warmly by the hand."

"The enemy has miscalculated," writes to-day's "Isvestia." "Millions of mankind felt with a shock that the deadly stroke which struck the Party so near its heart, that the shot of the villainous criminal—this shot directed at the working class, could only come from the warmongers, hangmen, haters and enemies of the Soviet Union; it was they who directed this thrice accursed, abominable hand which struck down one of the best comrades, a leader and helmsman of the Soviet ship. That is the reason why the masses of the whole Soviet Union answered the death of Kirov, so loved by the Leningrad working men and women, with a unique closing of the ranks. The demonstrations reflected the mood of the whole country. Even a blind man could see this closing of the ranks, not only in the working class, in the leading class which wields the dictatorship. The collective farmers, too, the Soviet Intellectuals—all these categories of the toiling people of the Soviet Land, felt themselves closely united with the proletariat and mourned for Kirov as a common hero, the hero of the country. The will to unrelenting defence, to unrelenting action against the counter-revolution, means in the present situa-



tion the other side of the will to peace, for the shot fired at Kirov—that was an attempt to disturb peace. The crazy “reports” of some organs of the capitalist press, beginning with the fascist “Angriff” and its Hungarian assistants, up to the Finnish and Swedish papers, vie with each other in sickening provocation and feverish invention; they repeat the anti-Soviet yarns of the time of the blockade and the intervention. “The wish is the father to the thought,” so it is said in the former country of poets and thinkers. The disruption of the cause of peace, the destruction of friendly relations with the Soviet Union, the undermining of its influence by corresponding “information”—that is the aim of the war mongers. But they are all too crammed with their medieval ideology. All witchcraft and the magic of words, in the century of wireless and airplanes, is an ineffective means. Their shouting, of which one cannot say *Ex ungue leonem* (the lion is known by his claws), cannot upset any reasonable man. But it imprudently reveals what these gentlemen really want. The workers of all countries and all those who are for peace and true culture, declare their solidarity with the working people of the Soviet Union. The demonstrations of unity and strength will show the whole world how great is the power of the working people of the Soviet Union, how strong their organisational unity. At Kirov’s grave, in the moving moment of farewell, resounded the oath of loyalty to the Party, the oath of struggle. All forces are mobilised around Stalin, the first commander-in-chief of the great proletarian army.

### “The Hiss of the Anti-Soviet Brood”

Moscow, December 7.

In an article “The Hiss of the Anti-Soviet Brood,” the “Pravda” deals in detail with the anti-Soviet lies and slanders, which in the last few days, as a result of the murder of Kirov, have been spread abroad in a certain section of the capitalist press, particularly in the Finnish, Latvian, Polish and German fascist papers, as also in a section of the English Conservative press.

“The anti-Soviet slanders and fairy tales,” writes the “Pravda,” largely emanate from Latvia and Finland, in part also from Poland. We know from the statements of the Military Council of the highest court in Moscow and Leningrad, that the White Guards penetrated into the Soviet Union, via Finland, Latvia and Poland with the task of organising acts of terror. We see, therefore, that the sources of these acts of terror against the Soviet Union are identical with the sources of the anti-Soviet campaign of slander. The same dirty hands completed the same dirty work, and it is clear to us why part of the Finnish, Latvian and Polish newspapers took over the job of supporting the shot fired by the murderer of Kirov with savage yelps. The anti-Soviet lie factories of Latvia, Finland, and Poland have served as refuges and schools for the White-Guardist terrorists and bandits. From the extent, the variableness and the cynicism of these lies it is possible to judge what were the plans and intentions of their inventors. They wanted to increase the effect of the shot in the Smolny a million-fold. The enemies of the working class, who sent the murderer, have betrayed themselves and miscalculated. The powerful unity of the working people of the Soviet Union, their united storm of indignation, their rally around the Party and the government immediately put an end to the slanders. The bullet of the enemy laid low a man beloved and devoted to his country. But it left no scar on the steel armour of proletarian unity. The bandits with the revolver and the bandits with the pen may take to heart this calmness and self-control. But they must not let themselves be deceived by this calm behaviour of the revolutionary proletariat. Behind it stands the determination to make an end of the enemy of the working class, with every means which the dictatorship of the proletariat puts into the hands of the working people. For all those who raise an armed hand against the toiling people of the Soviet Union, there is no mercy and will be none. The revolutionary proletariat answers the malicious blow struck from behind with a smashing blow against all traitors, all bandits, against their protectors and organ-

isers. The sword of the proletarian dictatorship is not dulled, its hand is not relaxed, its hate of the enemy is not extinguished. Without hesitation, without pity, the proletarian dictatorship will exterminate the criminals who invade it. Let not those who sent these criminals over the frontiers, who armed them for murder, who inspired them in their press and at the same time spread slanderous reports, let not these complain of the sternness of proletarian defence. The fight against these bandits is the fight for the peaceful work of the workers and collective farmers, the fight for peace.

The overwhelming majority of the bourgeois world press, in their reports on the murder of Kirov, had to recognise that the people of the Soviet Union answered this vile deed with a storm of indignation, and that the demonstrations in memory of the murdered leader, the demonstrations of complete unanimity with the Soviet government were of an extent never seen before. Naturally, these reports of the bourgeois world gave no satisfaction. But in Moscow and Leningrad, in all the industrial centres of the Soviet Union, there are now so many foreigners that serious newspapers of the bourgeois world press, which are concerned for their reputation, considered it impossible to repeat the fairy tales which are usually spread abroad in connection with grave political events in the Soviet Union.

### Telegrams of Condolence on the Death of Kirov

The Central Committee of the C.P. of Germany sent the following telegram to the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. :—

“The C.P. of Germany, together with you and the working class of the Soviet Union, stands in deepest mourning at the grave of the great Bolshevik champion and leader. With Kirov fell a hero of the international working class, struck down by a band of fascist murderers who are attempting in the death hour of the capitalist system to save the capitalist world by assassinating the best representatives of the proletariat and by preparing a new war. Kirov is for us the model of a leader and fighter. It is our duty in the struggle against the fascist dictatorship in Germany, to fight as he did. Together with you we lower the red flag at the tomb of the leader of our joint struggle. Neither the assassins of Kirov nor the fascist reaction will succeed in wresting this flag from our hands. The murder of Comrade Kirov is a signal rousing us to still more energetic struggle. Let us raise higher the banner of Socialism! Forward in the struggle for the final annihilation of all enemies of the workers and toilers in the whole world!”

The C.C. of the C.P. Czechoslovakia sent the following telegram to the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. :—

“In the name of the proletariat of Czechoslovakia we expressing our profound abhorrence at the abominable crime. The name of Sergei Kirov, the iron Bolshevik, the leader of the proletariat of Leningrad, will continue to live in the memory of the proletariat of all countries.—Gottwald, Zapatocky.”

The Central Committee of the C.P. of Italy states in a telegram to the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. :—

“The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Italy is firmly convinced that we are voicing the feelings of the whole of the Italian proletariat by expressing its grief and indignation on the occasion of the murder of Comrade Kirov by the class enemy. Kirov was one of the most revered and beloved leaders of the workers of the Soviet Union and of all countries. The attack of the counter-revolutionary criminals cannot check for a moment the tremendous advance of the toilers of the Soviet Union, led by the famous Bolshevik Party with Comrade Stalin, the leader of the proletariat of the Soviet Union and of the whole world, at the head.

A number of German seamen addressed a letter to the International of Seamen and Harbour Workers, in which it is stated :—

“We feel deeply in our hearts the great loss suffered by the Soviet proletariat. We regard the assassination of one of the best leaders of the proletariat as a serious lesson. We shall work still more energetically to consolidate the militant proletarian united front against our class enemy, fascism.”

The Central Committee of the C.P. of Bulgaria declared in a telegram to Comrade Stalin:—

"The monstrous deed of the class enemy who dared to kill Comrade Kirov will increase our determination to fight against fascism and the capitalist world, to fight for the defence of the Soviet Union, which has produced such men and heroes for the cause of the proletarian world revolution as Kirov, who has fallen at his fighting post."

The Canadian workers' delegation, which had taken part in the celebrations on the occasion of the seventeenth anniversary of the October Revolution, wrote in a letter to the Trade Union Council of the Soviet Union:—

"This monstrous crime shows us again the necessity of increased vigilance of the workers' power so long as the enemies inside and outside of the Soviet frontiers have not all been finally annihilated. We witnessed the grief of hundreds of thousands of workers in Leningrad, and together with them we bow our heads before the mortal remains of Comrade Kirov. Our solidarity with the workers of the Soviet Union has thereby become more consolidated. We leave the Soviet Union filled with fresh courage to fight against the exploiting class, your and our enemies. Long live the socialist fatherland, the Soviet Union!"

The "Pravda" received the following telegram from Toronto:—"Twenty thousand workers assembled to welcome Comrade Tim Buck, the Communist leader released from Kingston Prison, have learnt with greatest indignation of the assassination of Kirov. The Canadian workers expressed their sympathy with the workers of the Soviet Union, and pledge themselves to fight actively for the setting up of the united front for the defence of the Soviet Union, the fatherland of all toilers. We demand the most ruthless extermination of all murderers and enemies. Long live the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics!"

## On the Abolition of the Card System for Bread and Some Other Products

Resolution of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. on the Report of Comrade V. M. Molotov.

Adopted on November 26, 1934

I. As a result of the rapid growth of cities and new industrial districts in connection with the enormous scale of the industrialisation of the U.S.S.R. and in connection with the steady rise in the well-being of the broad masses of the workers and peasants, there has been a great increase in the demand for bread and other food products. This demand began to rise with particular rapidity after the beginning of the first Five-Year Plan. At the same time the vigorous development of the sowing of crops for industry to supply our industries with our own Soviet agricultural raw material caused a considerable increase to take place in the amount of grain which had to be delivered to the peasant population of districts principally engaged in the production of such industrial raw material. Moreover, at that time there were not many collective farms and State farms, and agriculture in our country, particularly the production of grain, was at a very low level. The small individual peasant farms which at that time were the prevailing form, and their backward technical equipment and poor crops were unable to supply the growing demands of the towns, the industrial districts and the districts engaged in the cultivation of industrial crops. In view of this a system of rationing of supplies (the card system) was introduced.

II. The introduction of the card system for bread and other food products was not only necessary, but during the last few years it has been an important condition for improving supplies for the workers. The card system of supply during this period was particularly necessary because, despite the fact that much higher prices prevailed on the free market and the elements of speculation existed in this field, the supply of bread to the workers was carried out at fixed State prices. It was only as the result of this system that the State was able, despite its limited resources, to provide supplies in full for the towns and industrial districts and give preferential supplies to the most important centres and to the shock workers in the factories, while at the same time providing for the supply of grain at fixed State prices to the peasants cultivating agricultural raw material such as cotton, flax, hemp, tobacco, etc., with the aim of increasing the cultivation of industrial crops and

increasing the amount of raw material delivered to industry.

III. By now, when big mechanised methods of agricultural production have taken the place of the small scattered individual farms, when the collective farms and State farms have assumed a dominant place in agriculture, and when we have already achieved a high measure of organisational and economic consolidation of these farms, the situation has fundamentally changed. This is shown not only by the success of the grain delivery campaign this year, but particularly the success of the government purchases of grain at enhanced prices. The State has now at its disposal an adequate amount of grain which will fully and undoubtedly provide for the supply of food for the population without the need of a card system, by means of the universal and widespread development of the sale of bread. In such a situation the card system for the sale of bread and certain other food products can only serve as a hindrance to the improvement of supplies and must therefore be abolished. The abolition of the bread card system will be a new and important step towards the replacement of the system of centralised distribution by the extension of Soviet trading in accordance with the directives adopted by the Seventeenth Party Conference on the second Five-Year Plan.

IV. The abolition of the bread card system and the cards for other food products should do away with the present dual prices (ration prices and prices in open State stores) and must bring about the establishment of fixed and uniform State prices for every region or republic. This uniform price for bread and other food products must be fixed approximately as the average between the existing high prices in the open State stores and the extremely low ration prices, giving due consideration to the various conditions of transport, etc., affecting supplies in the various districts. In connection with the fact that this will lead to a certain rise over the ration prices for bread, the Plenum of the C.C. C.P.S.U. considers that a corresponding increase must be made in the wages of workers and employees.

V. Simultaneously with the abolition of the card system in the towns, it is necessary completely to abolish the rationed supply of grain in consideration of the delivery of agricultural raw material such as cotton, flax, hemp, tobacco, etc. Owing to the increase which will take place in the ration prices of bread, the abolition of this "special issue" of grain must be accompanied by a corresponding increase in the purchase price of cotton, hemp, flax, etc.

VI. The abolition of the card system and the introduction of the open sale of bread, as well as flour and some other food products, must be accompanied by the extensive development of the trading system both in town and village, the energetic development of State and co-operative manufacture of bread and the proper distribution of grain reserves over the districts of supply. While leaving in force the existing system of collective farm trading, it is necessary to conduct a relentless struggle against any attempt at grain speculation and other attacks of the class enemy while this most important measure is being carried out.

In view of the above, the Plenum of the C.C. C.P.S.U. considers it necessary:—

(1) To abolish the card system for the supply of bread, flour and cereals from January 1, 1935, and everywhere to carry on the open sale of bread and other food products on a wide scale to the population from State and co-operative stores.

(2) To abolish all existing retail prices of bread, flour and cereals and to introduce uniform State retail prices for bread, flour and cereals, which will apply to a number of territorial zones, each including definite groups of regions and republics.

(3) In connection with the abolition of the card system and the fixing of uniform retail prices for bread, flour and cereals, from January 1, 1935, to raise the wages of the workers and employees, the stipends of students and the pensions of pensioners.

The Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. is instructed to settle the amount of the increase in wages for the various branches of national economy with a view to preserving the advantages established for the different groups and categories of workers under the card system of supply.

(4) To abolish, beginning with January 1, 1935, the existing system of supplying grain at ration prices to peasants delivering agricultural raw materials and to widely organise the sale of bread and flour in all districts where agricultural raw material is being cultivated.

(5) In connection with the establishment of a uniform retail price for bread and flour, to raise the purchasing prices of agricultural raw materials in those cases when bread was previously supplied by the State at reduced prices to the collective farms, collective farmers and individual farmers for the delivery of this raw material to the State.

To instruct the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. to fix new purchase prices for various kinds and qualities of cotton, flax, hemp, tobacco, etc., for each zone and district and also to fix new purchase prices in the zones and districts for peasant tobacco, silk cocoons, lambskin, furs, wool and fish delivered to the State by fishing collectives.

(6) To organise the extensive sale of grain fodder both for the population and for the use of government, collective farm and co-operative consumers from government and co-operative stores and warehouses at uniform government prices in each zone.

(7) The sale of bread is to be carried on both through the government and co-operative bread stores and also through the other State and co-operative food stores which are adapted for the sale of bread, while the sale of flour is to be carried on by the State trading system, the workers' supply departments, and the State purchasing organisations and also the consumers' co-operative societies, with the permission of the local organs of the People's Commissariat of Internal Trade.

(8) To begin immediately to broaden the State and co-operative system of stores for the sale of bread, increasing it by at least 10,000 stores by April 1, 1935, both by the reconstruction and adaptation of existing stores, and by building new stores and booths in accordance with a plan to be adopted by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.

(9) To draw up monthly plans for the supply of flour and cereals to the trading organisations, to industry and other State consumers in the various regions and republics in quantities which will ensure an uninterrupted open sale of bread and the complete satisfaction of the demands of the population, for which purpose to create adequate flour and cereal reserves in the various regions and republics.

(10) The local Party and Soviet organisations are required to provide the premises necessary for the development of the trading system for the sale of bread and flour and to give every assistance to the trading organisations in the building of new stores and bakeries.

The abolition of the card system for bread and some other food products and the general introduction of the sale of bread and flour at uniform fixed State prices, as well as the unquestionable possibility of a further reduction of these prices in the future, together with the reduction of prices of manufactured articles, create the favourable conditions for a further improvement in the well-being of the workers and peasants.

It became possible to carry out this measure owing to the victory of the collectivisation system in the villages and the progress of agriculture, and in turn this assists towards a further and still more rapid growth of agriculture and industry on the basis of the growing strength of the Soviet rouble and the development of goods turnover between town and village.

The great and complex practical tasks which face the Party and the workers' and peasants' government in connection with the carrying out of the present decision make it necessary for all Party, Soviet and trade union organisations to carry on the essential organisational measures and to give due consideration to local features in operative work, at the same time decisively repelling any disorganising attacks by the class enemy.

The carrying out of the present decision must find its reflection in a further consolidation of the alliance between the workers and peasants and the victorious advance of the cause of socialism in our country.

#### New Passenger Aeroplane in the Soviet Union

The shock brigaders of the Moscow Aeroplane Factory have just completed the building of the new passenger aeroplane "RP-5." This is a perfected model of the famous mail aeroplane "P-5" in which the aviator heroes of the Soviet Union, Vodopyanov, Molokov, etc., took part in the Chelyuskin rescues. The new aeroplane has the form of a comfortable limousine, and can carry four passengers and 50 kgs. of mail. The cabin can be heated. Its maximum speed is 230 kilometres per hour. The trial flights are already being carried out.

## Proletarian Commemoration Days

### The Anniversary of the Canton Commune

By Sen-Ten-Wei

December 12 was the seventh anniversary of the Canton Commune. Seven years ago the Chinese revolutionary workers and soldiers of Canton rose in arms against the foreign oppressors and the Chinese ruling class. They overthrew the Kuomintang government, a government of great landowners and big business, and established a Soviet government, a government of workers and peasants. The Soviet government issued a decree introducing the eight-hour working day and the control of production by the workers, confiscating the land of the great landowners and distributing it among the peasants, abolishing imperialist privileges in China and establishing the national emancipation of the Chinese people.

Surrounded by the united forces of the imperialist interventionists and the Kuomintang butchers, not supported by the mighty peasant movement, the Canton Commune existed only three days and could not carry out in full the revolutionary programme it had planned.

The Canton rising was drowned in blood. The Canton Commune was suppressed, but its glory is immortal. The Canton Commune has added a new page to the history not only of China, but of all colonial and semi-colonial countries in the East and West. The Canton Commune was the first Commune in any colonial or semi-colonial country to organise the colonial and semi-colonial slaves for an armed insurrection, under the Soviet banner, against the foreign and domestic oppressors and exploiters.

The butchers of the Kuomintang, collaborating with the international imperialists, drowned the Canton Commune in blood. They applied methods of the most cruel and brutal violence against the Canton Communards, against the men and women who dared to revolt against century-long oppression. Many thousands were massacred by the Chinese white troops when the rising was suppressed.

According to the statement of the bourgeois newspaper "Ishu Bao,"

"five thousand Communists were killed by the troops of General Li Fu Lin, thousands suspected of participation in the rising were shot. . . ."

These are, of course, not the actual figures. The real number of the victims was considerably greater. Women were treated with special cruelty. The newspaper "Ta Gun Bao" of December 17, 1927, reports that

"Communist women were wrapped in cotton waste, drenched with paraffin and burned. . . ."

The Canton Commune was drowned in rivers of blood, but the Canton revolution lives. Soviet power is developing and increasing its forces on one-sixth of the territory of China. Six campaigns organised by Chang-Kai-Shek could not break the resistance of the Red Army which defends Soviet power with the lives of its soldiers. In Kuomintang China the workers and peasants are carrying on the revolutionary struggle under a regime of brutal terror.

The revolutionary struggle is constantly spreading in all countries; "the idea of an attack by storm is ripening in the masses," and for that reason the ruling class strives by all the means at its command to prevent revolutionary ideas from increasing among the masses. In order to suppress the slightest revolutionary movement among the working masses and the radical intellectual workers, the ruling class applies the most brutal methods of terrorism. This is especially flagrant in the colonies and the semi-colonial countries.

In China many thousand political prisoners are languishing in overcrowded jails; in two prisons alone, the Kiengsin prison in Nanking and the Tientsin prison No. 3, there are, according to reports of the bourgeois press, over 20,000 prisoners, i.e., three times the number these prisons could house. The prisoners are subjected to fiendish torture and inhuman treatment by their jailers. In China not only Communists and revolutionary workers are put to death, but even persons who have by chance come into possession of a Communist leaflet. Dozens of progressive writers were killed by the hired bandits of Chang Kai Shek merely

because they wrote the truth about the sufferings of the poor population.

In India British imperialism persecutes all those who resist British rule. Peasants are being shot by dozens because they resist being robbed of their land; leaders of partisan groups are hanged, brutal terror is brought to bear on striking workers. Over 3,000 political prisoners are languishing in the prisons of India.

In Indo-China, Morocco and the other colonies of French imperialism the white terror is rampant. Many peasants were sentenced to death in March, 1934, for their struggle against imperialism. On the "death islands" of Pulo and Kandore are thousands of condemned Indo-Chinese natives. In Algiers the French robbers have organised great pogroms against the Jews by stirring up the race prejudices of the Arabs.

The Dutch imperialists vie with their colleagues in applying measures of intimidation against the oppressed natives. Thus workers in Indonesia were sentenced to long years of imprisonment merely for the possession of revolutionary literature. One hundred and fifty Dutch and Indonesian sailors of the armoured cruiser "The Seven Provinces" were sentenced to 750 years of imprisonment and transported to the most remote fever-ridden islands.

The "democratic" American bourgeoisie has given lynch justice legal status. Police and state officials have taken an active part in nearly all lynch murders.

The white terror rages everywhere. The ruling class, shaken by the economic crisis, attempts to maintain its rule by sharpening its measures of repression. But no terror can hold up the revolutionary movement developing in all countries of the world. The starved, miserable, unemployed slaves in the colonial and semi-colonial countries are growing more and more class-conscious and resolute in their struggle against international imperialism.

## Book Reviews

### China's Red Army Marches\*

By Edwin Seaver (New York)

Revolutionary Americans can take a reasonable pride in the fact that it has remained for two of their number to write the first notable books about the formation of the first two Soviet Republics in the world. I refer to John Reed's "Ten Days that Shook the World," and now Agnes Smedley's "China's Red Army Marches." As Robert Moris Lovett says in his preface to the present volume:—

"It is something to be proud of that Agnes Smedley is our countrywoman. It is some support to our faith in American character that we can set her over against other Americans, the misleading journalists, the predatory business men, the complacent diplomats, the gunboat commanders, the armament and aircraft makers, the volunteer aviators—all those who with the Kuomintang act as the running dogs of imperialism."

Recently the New York Times carried one of its characteristic cable dispatches from China, quoting Chiang Kai-shek to the effect that his sixth campaign against the "red bandits" had been entirely successful, that the Kuomintang Army had in fact succeeded in wiping out the Chinese Soviets. This fantastic lie—for it was well known, even then, that Nanking's sixth campaign was no more successful than the previous five had been—is typical of the sort of misinformation about developments in the Far East that comes to Americans through the capitalist press. One of the most dramatic and crucial events in the history of the world is taking place—the formation of a free workers' and peasants' democracy in a land that seemed hopelessly crushed under the heel of landlordism, militarism and foreign imperialism—and the bourgeois press gives it no more space than an occasional lie.

At all costs Nanking's large scale wars on the Chinese Soviets must be made to appear nothing but punitive expeditions against

gangs of bandits, expeditions whose successful outcome are supposedly a foregone conclusion, so that the American 50,000,000 dollar "wheat and cotton" loan, which was really intended to finance those wars, may continue to seem justified, and so that the 40,000,000 dollar American aviation loan for purchase of American military planes, all for use against the Soviets, will not seem like good money thrown after bad.

Under the circumstances then, and realising fully that the world imperialists' attempt to crush Soviet China and to suppress the anti-Japanese movement among the Chinese people is the first step in their projected war against the Soviet Union, Agnes Smedley's book is extremely timely and valuable. She has made a fine art of reportage. Her account of the heroic struggle of the Chinese masses in the campaigns from 1928 to 1931, ending with the historic meeting of the **First All-China Soviet Congress** in that year, has the impact of epic literature in the making. Commanders and rank and file fighters emerge with startling clarity as living human beings. She makes us realise the incredible heroism of the Red soldiers, ready to give a life for a rifle, who without arms and without ammunitions supplied themselves with the necessities of war by capturing them from the white troops sent against them. We feel the whole countryside in revolt, the aroused peasantry fighting for the revolution that has come to liberate them from slavery, Partisans, Red Guards, Young Vanguard, militiamen, the unarmed mass organisations such as contact squads, transport, reconnoitring, medical aid, hygiene, divisional detachments—until we come to realise that the ninety million Chinese people at present under the emblem of the hammer and sickle are invincible, and that Nanking's army of 1,000,000 picked troops, drilled by German fascist commanders and backed by the imperialist powers of the world can never succeed in anything but increasing the power of the Soviets.

But Agnes Smedley is more than a mere war reporter.. She explains the agrarian system introduced into the Soviet provinces, by which the peasant is released from exploitation by the landlord, and the awakening of a new culture with the coming of the red flag. She shows that the political department is the most important feature of the Red Army, going ahead of the troops to insure a favourable reception by the peasantry and remaining behind to organise the liberated territory. The revolutionary progress made in the Chinese Soviet regions is the explanation of the new successes of the Chinese Red Army. The anti-feudal, agrarian land revolution has been carried to completion. A sound economic and financial policy has consolidated Soviet power and won the passionate support of the masses within the Soviet regions and even in the Kuomintang areas beyond, whose populations are bent under the fearful burdens of feudal and capitalist exploitation. The laws passed at the first Congress of the Soviets have been put into effect and drastically improved the conditions of all workers and peasants.

"Great cultural progress has likewise taken place.

Thousands of schools, clubs and classes for the eradication of illiteracy have been founded. There are many normal schools and other institutions for the training of women, and a central university at Shuikin has 2,000 men and women under training. Newspapers, wall newspapers, exhibitions, revolutionary theatrical groups, have added their share to the new cultural life. The Central Military Academy of the Red Army near Shuikin has graduated two classes of commanders in 1933 alone, each class numbering 1,500."

The Chinese Soviets and the Chinese Red Army, Smedley points out, are to-day in a position closely analogous to the Soviet Union and the Russian Red Army in 1917-22. Foreign governments poured men and money into the equipment of the mercenary White Guard armies against the Russian Revolution; as they have done in China, so did they in Russia attempt to set up puppet governments: they slaughtered the Russian people wherever they conquered; and they filled the world press with lies and distortion.

"But still," concludes the author of "China's Red Army Marches," "they could not stop the march of history. Nor can they stop it in China."

\* "China's Red Army Marches." By Agnes Smedley. International Publishers, New York, 1934.