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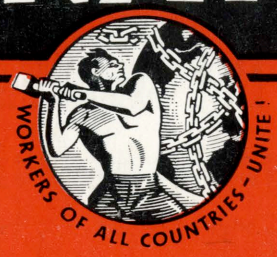


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# Against Munich—Working Class Unity!

CHAMBERLAIN'S visit to Rome has awakened fresh illusions in many democratic circles. Various democratic newspapers mysteriously indicated that no agreement between Chamberlain and Mussolini had resulted, and that, on the contrary, the antagonism of their respective interests had become clearly apparent; the British prime minister had "stood firm" and the conversations had been a "failure."

The writers of these articles and commentaries might just as well have saved themselves the trouble of finding new journalistic expressions with which to describe the Chamberlain-Mussolini conversations. It would have been far simpler to have reprinted the paragraphs they wrote a few months earlier anent Chamberlain's visit to Hitler in Godesberg. Those articles, however, were incomparably more dramatic. Newspaper readers were informed that Chamberlain had quarreled with Hitler, that he had broken off negotiations, that he had virtually presented the German Reich's Chancelor with an ultimatum, and had opposed like a hero the demands of German fascism. The results of this "dissension" between Hitler and Chamberlain are now well known. They consisted of the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia and the abandonment of central Europe to German fascism.

The events which have succeeded the Munich conspiracy, the accentuated aggressiveness of the fascist dictators, the continuously increasing danger of war—all this has opened the eyes of millions and has stirred up a wide movement of the common people of Great Britain, France and other countries against the Munich policy, the policy of capitulation to fascism.

At Munich they managed to pull off the betrayal of the peoples. The masses, even including considerable numbers of the working class, taken by surprise, believed that Chamberlain and his abettor, Daladier, had saved the peace in Munich. Only gradually did they come to realize the team-play of British and French reaction with German and Italian fascism and to discern the joint offensive of the reactionary bourgeoisie against the popular front, democracy and the working class.

All the more surprising is it, therefore, that now once more an effort is being made in democratic circles to obscure the political situation and to convey the impression that Chamberlain is an antagonist of the fascist dictators. Without entering into polemics with any particular newspaper, we will content ourselves with quoting two comments on the Rome conversations. On January 8, the *Neue Vorwaerts* wrote that unfortunately Chamberlain still nursed "illusions," and added (our italics):

"He returned from Munich with a non-aggression document, he spoke of peace in our generation and permitted the mirage of disarmament to appear on the horizon. Everything was different and everything turned out differently, but who has heard Mr. Chamberlain admit the collapse of his *illusions?*"

On January 11, the *National-Zeitung* of Basle condemned the "weakness of Chamberlain's policy" and then endeavored to give a psychological justification of this alleged weakness, as follows:

"The actual *weakness* of Chamberlain when faced by the dynamics of dictatorship lies much more in a lack of the

imaginative faculty and of a sense of reality than in emotional factors. The unhappy experience [of Munich!] has in no way convinced Chamberlain of his *error*, otherwise he could not expect any further enlightenment from a personal conversation [with Mussolini]."

Reflections such as these make Chamberlain out to be a sort of good old uncle who really wants to do his best and honestly takes pains to do so, but who unfortunately is too unworldly to see through fascist policy.

Do not these well-meaning democrats realize into what an extraordinary position they fall when they offer fatherly counsel to this skilled and shrewd politician of British imperialism, and when they paint him as an unworldly dreamer? Chamberlain is well aware of what he is doing. Unlike most of those democrats who criticize him so tenderheartedly, he does not yield to any "illusions" whatsoever; nor does he reveal any "weakness" in his policy, but, on the contrary, remarkable consistency.

The British prime minister realizes better than most of his well-meaning critics the profound internal weaknesses of German and Italian fascism; he knows better than they do that the British government has always had it within its power to bring into being a powerful peace front against the fascist aggressors, and that the fascist dictators would immediately be compelled to surrender unconditionally if confronted by the united will of Great Britain, France and the Soviet Union. And precisely because he does know this he helps the fascist dictators, strengthening them against the people's front, against democracy and the working class.

Let us hear how the allegedly unsuspecting Chamberlain himself characterized the object and results of his visit to Rome. In the course of his speech of thanks for his reception, at the dinner given him by Mussolini on January 11, he said (our italics):

"I have come here *in pursuit of the policy for which I stand*. . . . I am happy to think that our two governments have been able to give *concrete expression* to this policy."

And, before his departure from Rome, Chamberlain told the official Italian Stefani agency (our italics):

"The purpose of the visit was not to reach a specific accord, but rather to achieve by personal contact a more intimate understanding of the respective viewpoints of the two nations. *This aim was fully achieved.*

"We leave Rome *more than ever convinced of the Italian government's good faith and good will.*

"We are sure that a *more intimate understanding* has been reached and that the conversations will bear fruit in the future, not only in the relations between our two countries, but also in *European cooperation.*"

Thus in the face of the Italian offensive in Catalonia, and Mussolini's callous declaration that he would only withdraw his troops from Spain when the Spanish Republic had been overthrown, Chamberlain stated that he was happy to think that the policy for which he stands—namely, the Munich policy—would receive "concrete expression." In the face of Italy's threats against France and her demands for French territory, Chamberlain declared that he was "more than ever convinced of the Italian government's good faith and good will." In the face of the increasing aggressiveness of the fascist Axis, Chamberlain stated that a "more intimate understanding" had been achieved which would also bear fruit in "European cooperation," in other words, for the cooperation of the reactionary circles of the bourgeoisie in Europe.

Thus Chamberlain stated, much more clearly than did his benevolent critics, why he had undertaken this visit to Rome. He had undertaken it in order *to pursue the policy for which he stood, the Munich policy. And in actual fact this was the policy which was pursued in Rome.*

Even the blindest of democrats must ultimately come to realize that the Munich betrayal was something more

than a single, isolated, surrender to fascism, *that in Munich a long-term policy was laid down.* It is important, above all, that the working class does not let itself be deceived, that it does not permit itself to be taken by surprise, as during the Munich days.

The working class must understand that the class struggle has become very much more acute, that it is being waged not only in internal politics but also on the international field, that the reactionary bourgeoisie is not only fighting in each individual country but has also passed over to a general offensive against the working-class movement and the forces of socialism and democracy, *on an international scale.* The working class must realize that the bloc of the fascist states has not only decided to repartition the world, but is primarily determined to crush the international working class, to wipe out the labor and socialist movement and destroy their achievements of democracy. The working class must realize that fascism stops at no limit, that for fascism, to destroy the power of the working class in all countries and prevent the democratic cooperation of the masses is a question of sheer existence, and that it will violate every mutual assurance and break every promise as it has previously done.

And, finally, the working class must realize that the reactionary British bourgeoisie, of whom Chamberlain is the agent, as well as reactionary circles in other countries, have decided *to cooperate with fascism,* because they deem such cooperation necessary for their unsavory class interests, and because they want to strike hard before the workers are united, before a close alliance between the working class and the wide mass of the people constitutes an unsurmountable barrier to their reactionary plans.

This determined cooperation of the reactionary British bourgeoisie and the reactionary circles of the bourgeoisie in other countries with German and Italian fascism is the essence of the Munich policy. Chamberlain and his reactionary accomplices in other countries are determined to continue this policy. So far, they have succeeded in continuing it.

Obviously the Munich conspirators are compelled to resort to strategy in the pursuance of this policy. Since Munich, *a process of enlightenment* has been taking place within the working class and other sections of the people. In all countries the organization of *the opposition to the Munich policy* has begun, an opposition not only of the working class but also of petty-bourgeois and even bourgeois elements. Faced by this opposition, the Munich conspirators resort to methods of trickery and surprise. They endeavor to divert the masses from the main immediate question, to introduce confusion into their ranks and to conceal the direction of the next attack.

The next objective of the Munich conspirators is the *defeat of the Spanish Republic.* This question was in the forefront of the conversations between Mussolini and Chamberlain; the preliminary efforts were directed to divert the attention of the peoples—and primarily of the French people, which was most directly affected—from this question. This purpose was served, in the first place, by the Italian claims on Tunisia, Corsica and Nice. It would be erroneous to treat these demands purely as bluff; undoubtedly, Italian fascism is determined, at a suitable time, to repeat these demands seriously and with the utmost vigor. For the moment, however, she does not really mean to press for ends still unattainable.

But the clamor has had its object: the question of French territory has been converted into a subject for discussion—as once was that of the Sudeten areas. "Compensation" in the form of participation in the Suez Canal control, in Jibuti and perhaps in Syria, is considered well within the realm of possibility and the Chamberlain press is coming out in its favor. The other important result of the Italian anti-French agitation—and a very decisive one for Italian fascism—is that the urgent question of Spain has been temporarily rele-

gated to the background. The reactionary press in both Great Britain and France made a great show of the Italian demands for French territory; Daladier paid his ceremonial visit to Corsica and Tunis, exciting much noise and notice; and amidst all this *the great fascist offensive in Catalonia was developed*—which actually does threaten France genuinely and immediately.

Chamberlain stated that the purpose of his visit was "fully achieved" and that he was "convinced of the Italian government's good faith and good will." The reactionary newspapers, and unfortunately some of the democratic newspapers also, pay tribute to him for having adopted a "firm attitude" toward Mussolini, while others advise him finally to abandon his "illusions." Unfortunately, it is not Chamberlain who nurses illusions.

In actual fact, fascism and its accomplices have succeeded in *continuing the policy of Munich.* Daladier, his position endangered by the growing opposition to his policy, returned from Corsica and Tunisia crowned with his cheaply acquired laurels. The attention of the French people was concentrated on the Italian campaign of provocation. The mass movement on behalf of the Spanish Republic did not develop rapidly enough, and so fascism gained the necessary time for its offensive against Barcelona.

All too late did the French Socialists and other opponents of the Munich policy realize that, for the French people, the most important task was to help the Spanish republic, that it was not Chamberlain's visit to Rome, nor Daladier's to Corsica and Tunisia, which would fortify the position of France and frustrate the Munich policy, but only the resolute action of the French people on behalf of the Spanish republic.

The German and Italian fascists disdainfully stated that it would not affect the course of events whether Great Britain recognized Franco as a belligerent or not, that the question was not affected by formalities such as this but depended upon Great Britain and France placing no obstacles in the way of fascist intervention in Spain. They further stated that it would be much easier to discuss with France Italy's claims and other aspects of the "new order" in Europe when Italian troops were established in the Pyrenees, the most important foundation for the European "new order" being the defeat of the Spanish republic. No, they are not prone to "illusions," neither the fascists nor Mr. Chamberlain. It is only in the camp of the democrats that illusions still prevail.

The fascists and their reactionary accomplices in other countries well understand that in each particular situation, they must endeavor to deceive the masses, they allay their vigilance and divert their attention, to engender illusions and uncertainty in their ranks, in order each time to take them by surprise and get in ahead of other movements of opposition.

Fascism and the reactionary forces linked with it by no means underestimate the importance of the growing opposition of the people, of the possibility of the rallying and concentration of all Socialist, democratic and honestly patriotic forces against the policy of surrender and betrayal, against the relinquishment of the peoples to the fascist aggressors. And, precisely because they do not underestimate this, they continually seek new methods of chicanery, so that the forces of opposition may have no time in which to expand and develop. Deceit and surprise—such is the foundation of their tactics.

Confronted by this situation, it is the present task of the *working class* energetically to intervene in foreign affairs and to develop *its own proletarian anti-fascist foreign policy;* in other words, not only to pursue the class struggle in the respective countries but also in the international field. The working class must realize from experience that large sections of the bourgeoisie in all countries are in league with the fascist aggressors, that they are prepared at any time to adopt a policy of open treachery

to their country in order to defeat and suppress the forces of their own peoples; they must realize that the political representatives of these ultra-reactionary circles of the bourgeoisie in each country are running after no "illusions," are following no "policy of weakness," but are deliberately supporting the fascist aggressors.

Furthermore, the working class must realize that in no circumstances must they rely upon bourgeois or petty-bourgeois politicians, that these bourgeois and petty-bourgeois politicians, even if not traitors, will, in the decisive hour, prefer surrender to struggle, that they remain firm only to the degree in which they are subject to the direct pressure of the working class and the masses of the people.

The working class must realize from experience that the bourgeoisie no longer represents the interests of the nation, but that, in the struggle against the fascist aggressor, in the struggle for national freedom and independence, *the working class is the backbone of the nation;* that, in the struggle against the fascist aggressor for national freedom and independence, only the working class *can* assume the leadership of the nation, that, in order not to be plunged into the utmost slavery, it *must* assume leadership.

Only the working class is capable, by means of its consistent anti-fascist struggle both in home and foreign politics, of rallying all forces of the people around itself, of imbuing them with confidence and a fighting spirit, of endowing them with the necessary firmness. *It is only the working class that can be the historical leader of the peoples in the struggle against fascism.*

In order to be competent for this task, the working class must accelerate the process of clarification within its own ranks; it must defeat the capitulators in its ranks, and drive out the agents of the enemy. It must exert every effort *to realize the unity of the working class in each country and on an international scale,* in order to oppose the fascists and their accomplices as a united, compact force, conscious of its aims and capable of action. The most far-reaching international cooperation of the working class, of all its parties and organizations, is necessary in order to counter the carefully planned cooperation of fascism and its accomplices in all countries.

Only the international concentration of all proletarian forces, only *a united international working-class policy,* can frustrate the Munich policy and bring the fascist aggressors to a standstill. Such a united international working-class policy can be based only upon the fact that *German fascism is the chief enemy* and that all forces therefore must be concentrated against it.

It can be based only upon the fact that, in each particular country, it is necessary to concentrate all forces against the accomplices of German fascism, against those sections of the bourgeoisie which support German fascism, against the agents of the Munich policy in all parties and organizations.

It can be based only upon the fact that the struggle for the peace and freedom of the peoples demands *the concentration of all those forces of the people* which do not wish to see a fascist regime and foreign fascist rule established in their own country.

It must be the object of that policy to support with a maximum of strength those peoples which are exposed to the immediate attack of fascism, not to limit *the international solidarity of the working class* to the passing of resolutions and the despatching of foodstuffs, but to employ in its realization *every political weapon.*

With the aid of the reactionary British bourgeoisie, to whose train Daladier has attached himself, German fascism was able to crush Czechoslovakia without encountering the prompt, determined and united opposition of the international working class. German and Italian fascism is staking everything on the defeat of the Spanish republic. The international working class is supporting the Spanish people, but this support

is considerably below that which is necessary and possible.

The Socialist workers, for instance, have permitted those countries in whose governments Socialists participate virtually to impose a blockade upon republican Spain; they have allowed governments, of which Socialists form a part, to institute diplomatic relations with Franco; they have permitted the urgent demands of the Spanish Socialists, that unity of action be realized on behalf of Spain, to fall on deaf ears.

While the fascist aggressors and their reactionary accomplices of the type of Chamberlain and Daladier are doing all they can to procure a victory for Franco, the international working class has not done everything to ensure the victory of the Spanish republic. This must be stated openly, for only by means of open and unsparing self-criticism can the working class become capable of overcoming the weaknesses in its own ranks and of fulfilling its great historic mission.

In Rome, Chamberlain raised his glass to toast the furtherance of the Munich policy while Czechoslovakia, its first victim, lay prostrate. The next victim is to be Spain, where the Munich policy is to be given yet further "concrete expression." Then it will be the turn of France, of that country in which the popular front is defending the achievements of the great French Revolution, the country in which the Jacobin tradition is opposing the treachery of the Coblenz emigrés of today.

A continuation of the Munich policy will be possible for just so long as the forces of the working class and of democracy do not join together for a united and consistent opposition to that policy. In an article by Comrade Dimitroff he states:

"*There can be no insurmountable obstacles to the achievement of the united action—so much needed—by the international working-class movement.* Let there but be a sufficiently clear understanding by the working class itself of the need for such unity and the firm, unshakable will to bring it into being despite all obstacles. *The whole question is to bring this unity about as rapidly as possible and to ensure a firm basis for it. . . .*

"A united working class together with the genuinely democratic forces of the peoples are in a position to curb the fascist violators and warmongers, and together with the peoples of the fascist countries to crush fascism."*

The Munich policy has opened the eyes of large masses of the people and has intensified the desire for unity within the working class. It is now necessary to overcome as rapidly as possible all obstacles and limitations in order to realize this unity in actual fact, in order to frustrate in time the deceptive stratagems of the fascists and their accomplices, in order promptly to anticipate their surprise tactics, and in order to meet their criminal policies with a united invincible resistance.

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* *After Munich*, pp. 35-36, Workers Library Publishers, New York.

# The Bloody Trail of Fascism

ON THE twentieth anniversary of the murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, the German proletariat and the mass of Germany's working people were not able to visit the two graves so as to gird themselves for fresh struggles with memories of the honored dead. Nor can they listen to the voice of Ernst Thaelmann, true and brave leader of the Communist Party of Germany founded by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, whose whole life consisted of service to the working people, of unremitting efforts to train the Communist Party of Germany to become a party of the Leninist, Stalinist type, and who now has been kept and tortured as a hostage in jail for almost six years.

The memorial which was put up in Berlin Friedrichsfelde in honor of Liebknecht, Luxemburg and many unnamed heroes of the proletarian struggle for freedom, and which became a shrine for many hundreds of thousands of workers, is demolished. Germany is bowed down under a rule of the most brutal fascist terror. The military rabble into whose hands Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were delivered in 1919 now plays a free hand against the people of Germany.

The fascist government puts up monuments to the counter-revolutionary upstarts and terrorists of that time, and gives high positions to those that are still alive. Pflugk-Hartung, one of Liebknecht's murderers, only a few weeks back was exposed as the leader of a fascist spy-ring in Scandinavia. Killinger, one of the hireling officers typical of the revolutionary period of 1918-19, who attained special notoriety for his flogging and outraging of revolutionary women, is now Consul General in San Francisco. Generals Reinhardt, Epp and company, who received in 1918-19 absolute authority from Ebert, Noske and Scheidemann to trample down the revolutionary proletariat, are today dignitaries, ministers and slave-drivers of German fascism. The venal bourgeois judges who dealt so exceedingly indulgently with the murderers of Liebknecht and Luxemburg under the Weimar Republic are employed and empowered in fascist Germany to wipe out with a stroke of the pen the lives of honest workers, peasants and intellectuals who revolt under the yoke of fascist slavery.

Like insatiable bloodhounds, they are tracking down even today the workers who took part in the struggle against the counter-revolutionary bands and irregulars in 1919-21. Only a few weeks ago the worker Friedrich Paetsch was sentenced to death in Hamburg because he took part in suppressing the Right-wing Kapp putsch. Almost at the same moment Wilhelm Rasch and Paul Scheibe, both workers, were being sentenced to death in Central Germany for exposing Walter, the counter-revolutionary landowner who hid arms on his estate for the Right-wing General Maerker in 1921.

We can see that the fascist government is afraid of every worker who has ever defended the republic against counter-revolution and stood for genuine democracy. This fear of their own people is typified in the remarks made by an officer in an address to the directors of some minor Berlin factories which are busy with arms contracts, in November, 1938. One of the things he said was:

"We must consciously realize and comprehend what the situation is. The most tremendous exertions are necessary to increase production. Germany's position

is extremely bad. If war breaks out, we have raw materials only for two months. Don't think that everything is in such marvelously good order. Don't for an instant think that there are no longer any Communists. There are more Communists than ever. And they are installed in the factories. Take careful note of the men who demand higher wages. Keep a close watch on each of them, and suspect each to be a Communist!"

Among the workers they fear the Communists, among the peasants the rebels against fascist war economy; among the Christians they fear the conscientious objectors, and among the progressive middle-class elements they fear those decent upright people who are swinging more and more into opposition to the fascist state's corruption, robbery and intrigue. They find themselves faced with wide masses of people, who admittedly have not yet found the path and the strength for collective action against Hitler's Reich, but are nevertheless on the move in ways which unquestionably lead up to this path, of uniting their forces, and so inevitably to open struggle against the fascist dictatorship.

The people of Germany, and with them the downtrodden peoples of Austria, Bohemia and Moravia, are today traversing the thorniest part of that stony, blood-sodden "road to Golgotha" of which Karl Liebknecht wrote prophetically in 1919. Names of the best and most honorable fighters mark this road: John Scheer, Edgar Andre, Rudolph Claus, Luetgens, Fiete Schultze, Liesel Hermann, Steidle, Franz Stenzer, Ewald Funke, Wilhelm Firl, Erich Steinfurth, Hans Otto, Stelling, Ossietsky, Litten, Peter Forster and many thousands of others who have been put to death or treacherously assassinated.

Filled with fear and hatred of the people they have muzzled and forced into silence, the assassins make no distinction of party or religion. Among many others in 1938 the following were killed, having undergone the most brutal torture: Schmidt, a Social-Democratic metal worker from the Adler Works in Frankfurt, Adam Loehr, a Social-Democratic railwayman from the Saar, Andre Klosen, a Catholic miner from the Saar, the former free trade union official Mainka, from Silesia, who had been badly maltreated, and the Communist teacher and former Town Councillor Schneller, from Leipzig.

The shameful murders in the concentration camps and the infernos of the Gestapo have of late been more and more supplemented and punctuated by luridly-worded proclamations of death or life sentences. In the last few weeks of the old year, among other cases, there were the Communist miner Peter Kaspar, condemned to death because he had studied Marxism with his workmates, discussed the wireless news items and kept track of the victorious advance of the U.S.S.R. The Social-Democrat Philippson was sentenced to life imprisonment because he had voted "no" (against the fascist candidates and the suggestive ballot-questions) in various ballots, and because he had established connections which were active in opposition inside the fascist compulsory organizations. A few days ago the "People's Court" (which is composed of officers and commanders of the S.S.) imposed a lifelong prison sentence on the writer Niekisch, only a short while before a man of Right-wing sympathies, who was arrested because he branded Hitler as "Germany's doom."

These heavy sentences are meant as deterrents. But instead of deterring, *i.e.*, keeping the mass of the people from standing up and fighting for their rights, such sentences only intensify the disgust of the nation with this regime, which, to the extent to which it resorts to acts of savagery, loses the ground from under its feet.

With growing nervousness, Hitler's Reich indiscriminately arrests workers, peasants and citizens who have in one way or another transgressed the fascist "laws." Lying in the concentration camps today are Communists, Social-Democrats, trade unionists, Catholics, Protestants, Jews, "work-shy" people (that is to say, workers and employees who have

resisted forced labor), peasants (who have brought their own produce to market, slaughtered their own livestock or otherwise disobeyed the "laws" of war economy), handicraftsmen and small factory owners (who have come into conflict with the "laws" relating to the purchase of raw material or with the currency "laws").

The escape of the young 27-year-old factory worker Peter Forster, an active Socialist and anti-fascist, from the notorious Buchenwald concentration camp, and his execution at the end of December, attracted fresh attention to the state of affairs in the German concentration camps. Buchenwald is a concentration camp like many in Germany. It is at present being enlarged to hold some 25,000 prisoners. What takes place behind the electrically charged wire fences of this concentration camp is without parallel in the whole of human history. Peter Forster decided to try and escape when he realized that he must very shortly expect to share the fate of 145 of his comrades in arrest, who were tortured to death in the first four months of 1938.

The prisoners in Buchenwald are grouped into political, "work-shy," religious and Jews. Among the political are former Communist officials like Theo Neubauer, Ottomar Geschke, Anton Saefkow, Paul Woitowski, who have been lugged from one camp to another since 1933 and maltreated as examples to others. They, like all other prisoners in the concentration camps, are interned for an indefinite period. Some of them have been promised by the "Death's Head Watch" (a special corps of the S.S.) that they will not leave the camp alive. All are worked to the limit every day. The conditions of work are so brutal that out of 2,000 Jews, for example, who were admitted to the camp in mid-June, 1938, 110 died in the first week as a result of exhaustion or maltreatment. A prisoner who escaped from the camp has recounted the following words of Roedl, the camp commandant, which Roedl uttered in welcome to a convoy of prisoners:

"Here among you there are people who have already been in prison. That is nothing compared to what they will experience here. They have come to a concentration camp—that is, they are in Hell. At the least sign of resistance to the order of an S.S. man they will be shot on the spot. Here we recognize only two punishments: flogging, and death."

There was a terrible sequel to these words of the uniformed gangster, calculated as they were to intimidate the prisoners. Five hundred Jewish prisoners were shut into a sheep-pen for eight days, where they had to spend day and night without a bed, table, chair, or any means of washing. During this time they were meant to become amenable to signing a statement saying that they had been put in the concentration camp for being "work-shy" and would here voluntarily assume an obligation to work. Among others was a barrister who steadfastly refused to sign such a statement. He was tortured for four days until he died.

Doctors, lawyers, artists, writers and craftsmen were and still are kept at work in Buchenwald on the heaviest jobs in a stone quarry, slave-driven by eighteen-year-old S.S. members, free game for the so-called "foremen," who are without exception dangerous professional criminals, and who have been given complete liberty by the S.S. to maltreat the defenseless prisoners. On a single day in the summer of 1938, thirty prisoners out of a group of 100 were left motionless and senseless on the ground, and two died even before work was finished. . . . This is a small excerpt from life in the concentration camp of Buchenwald. Thus it is at Dachau, at Lichtenburg, Sachsenhausen, Papenburg, Esterweg, the Heuberg and at the many, many other concentration camps in Germany.

From this gray and gloomy background the figures of the steadfast martyrs and fighters, with Ernst Thaelmann at their head, stand out all the more inspiringly. From the very fact that today some 300,000 prisoners are held as hostages in the concentration camps and

prisons of Germany, one can gather how the internal "security" and the "foundations" of the fascist rule of terror are at stake. That the regime has antagonists to fear in every walk of life is plain from the fact that alongside Ernst Thaelmann the Communist, Social-Democrats like Franz Kuenstler, Democrats like Dr. Luppe, Catholics like Chaplain Rossaint, Protestants like Pastor Niemoeller and former German nationalists like Westarp or Laberrenz, are all alike in prison.

Resentment, unquenchable hatred, horror and revulsion are being welded together in the German nation into a firm resolve, and those who have made this resolve are realizing that the common enemy, the destroyer and ravager of the German nation, fascism, must be collectively fought, overcome and banished; so that the German nation, and with it the nations oppressed and menaced by German fascism, may be able to breath and live again.

If, on this twentieth anniversary of the murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, the German nation is more abjectly enslaved than ever, if it is harder pressed than ever by dire material burdens and by the shame of the fascist rule of terror, none the less it is not broken. The profound words of Georgi Dimitroff find an echo in the minds of a great mass of people and spur them on to action: "The fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is a ferocious but an unstable one."

Fascism can dissemble, torture, murder and destroy. But it cannot stamp out the flame of resistance and the spark of revolution. The circumstances which it has fostered bring with them its own doom, for the seed once sown by Liebknecht and Luxemburg has borne fruit a millionfold, fruit brought to perfection by the experience of the long path of pain.

On the twentieth anniversary of the murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg the German proletariat and the German nation have not, it is true, sanctuaries in which to gather, but the army of those who on this day pay homage to Liebknecht's word "trotzalledem" (in spite of everything) is in the final resort the strongest army. For it is a part of that worldwide force of human progress that is firmly entrenched on that one-sixth of the earth's surface, on which—thanks to the mighty, victorious power of the teaching and the Party of Lenin and Stalin—humanity and culture have found the richest soil for unfolding their finest blossoms.

# The League Against the Peoples

WHAT is, and what is the significance of, the so-called "Anti-Comintern Pact," which in the last few months has been the subject of long-winded effusions in the German fascist press, and the praises of which were sung by the "Berlin-Rome-Tokyo triangle" after the governments of Hungary and Manchukuo had declared their adherence to it?

Is it a pact the signatories to which are endeavoring to disseminate in every country that so-called anti-Communist "literature" which consists of the hysterical products of the imagination of notoriously criminal individuals—as, for instance, the forester Albrecht at one time sentenced for immorality, or the White Guard who masqueraded under the name of Butenko, a Legation official who was kidnapped and murdered?

Is it a pact the signatories to which are endeavoring to organize anti-Semitic and anti-Communist "exhibitions" in all countries?

Is it, perchance, a pact for the exchange of experiences gained in the organization of anti-Communist pogroms?

Or is it a pact for mutual aid in the task of systematically poisoning and corrupting the press in capitalist countries?

Is it, perchance, a pact for the creation and organization of a widespread radio service which shall aim at supplying the whole press with fascist news?

Or is it a pact for mutual aid in the work of penetrating and undermining other states with spies and fascist "propagandists"?

Each one of these aforementioned activities, which shun the blaze of publicity, is obviously among the results of the so-called Anti-Comintern Pact. All sorts of shady characters are engaged in the so to speak ideological "work of enlightenment" which is carried out under the trade-mark "Anti-Comintern" or "Contra-Comintern" or frequently even less obtrusive disguises. It is the swampy breeding-ground for debased, perverted, declassé and demoralized individuals, for mercenaries, Baltic barons, Mensheviks and Trotskyists.

The latter species is particularly well represented and via the "Anti-Comintern" establishes direct contact with the reactionary leaders of monopoly capital, as was proved by the correspondence, recently brought to light, of the Trotskyist Rudolf, alias Laszlo, which was concerned with deals of the following kind: through the "Anti-Comintern" Rudolf supplied "material" against the Popular Front in France and the workers' movement in other countries to associations of industrialists, who paid him for it in ready cash.

Nevertheless, this widespread form of activity constitutes only a part of the sphere of operations covered by the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo "triangle" in its secret pacts. The pact was deliberately furnished by its authors with a false, misleading title. They sail under false colors, like their ships, which transport material and troops to Spain on a vast scale. For the pact is directed not only against the Communist International, and not only against the Communist Parties in the individual countries, but also against the masses of the peoples in general.

The *Volkische Beobachter* took the opportunity of Hungary's adherence to the pact to state expressly on January 14 that the danger against which the pact had been instituted "consisted not only in the strength of individual sections of

the Third International, but still more in the irreligious attitude of *wider sections of the people* . . . and in particular that . . . intelligentsia which predominantly controls the formation of public opinion in the democracies." The same paper had already taken advantage of the second anniversary, in November, 1938, of the signing of the pact to state:

"If not only the Soviet Union, but also certain other states have been made to feel the power of the anti-Communist bloc, they have only themselves to thank. . . . If certain statesmen and politicians . . . have toyed with the idea of winning over Moscow as an ally, they cannot be surprised if the triangle pact has been effective in spheres outside that of its actual purpose."

How, wherefore and against whom this pact is effective, the official fascist newspaper *Westfälische Landeszeitung* revealed candidly enough in its leading article on January 18. This pact was, it said, a prime condition for a "new order" in the world. It was directed against the "democracies" and would ignore all treaties between peoples and states with the object of forcibly establishing a fascist "new order" in the world. Statesmen who supported the maintenance of legal treaties were stigmatized by the paper as "suffering from hardened arteries" because they were unable to "take into account the constant natural movement" which impelled the "dynamic" leaders of fascism to occupy China, Spain and other countries. The pact was obviously the expression of a "new conception of right," *the conception of "might is right."* The predatory wars waged against peaceful independent peoples were referred to as "police measures against traitors," whereby it appears that the signatories to the pact regard themselves as the police force of the world, to whose demands all the peoples must submit.

The *Westfälische Landeszeitung* asked at the end of its article:

"Is there any need for the triangle to give any further proof of what it signifies?"

Well, it has already given this proof. It signifies the concentration of the most reactionary powers and cliques under the leadership of German fascism. It is an attempt to replace legal treaties between peoples and states by shady agreements between fascist and reactionary groups which will help German fascism on its path to imperialist world domination. It is in accordance with the character of secret agreements between reactionary cliques that they should shackle and "coordinate" the peoples of their own countries. And it signifies finally that in the international sphere the principle of "might is right" becomes the ultimate law in accordance with which the "triangle" is endeavoring brutally to suppress and destroy national rights and the right of self-determination of the nations.

This "League Against the Peoples" is the most destructive, the most reactionary, constellation of forces of our time. Anyone who looks for a parallel, for a model, will find it only in the example which German fascism, also under the mask of "Anti-Communism," has itself furnished in Germany and the symbol of which was the burning of the Reichstag. The consequences of the burning of the Reichstag in Germany were the bloody suppression of the workers' organizations, and a series of massacres of the intelligentsia, Christian believers, bourgeois-democrats—and finally the Right-wing, non-fascist bourgeois parties and associations. The comparison which can be drawn from the foreign political activities of the "triangle" are too obvious to be enumerated in detail.

The demonstrations and proclamations of the "triangle" are a warning to the peoples. The concentration camp which Germany has now become is in itself the most significant warning.

# The Hippo's Whip Against the Intelligentsia

SINCE its origin, German fascism has harbored nothing but hatred and enmity toward all men of thought and culture. For demagogic reasons it was compelled to woo the intellectuals with manifold promises, but even before the seizure of power it announced from time to time its true feelings toward the intelligentsia; feelings of malicious irritation manifested by inferior minds toward every form of intellect and culture. The brutal adventurers and denizens of the underworld who lend their stamp to the National-Socialist Party have invented for German intellectuals the name of "Intelligenzbestie." They have glorified the brute Horst Wessel as a "national hero." They have branded intellect as a disease of liberalism.

After the seizure of power, German fascist hatred of the intelligentsia threw all restraint to the winds. Recently this hatred has become explosive. In the days preceding Munich, when the inner weakness of German fascism became apparent, when the opposition movement gripped all strata of the people, the fury of Hitler's gang was directed chiefly against the intellectuals. Since that time the German fascists have taken every opportunity of howling down the intellectuals. And they saw just such an opportunity in the case against the author Ernst Niekisch and his circle of friends.

Before the seizure of power, Ernst Niekisch followed the fascist school of thought, without renouncing his own particular views. He considered the foreign policy of Hitler's party and its "crusade" against Bolshevism to be fatal and he defended the view that Germany must, for the sake of its fundamental interests, strive to maintain friendly relations with the Soviet Union. He succeeded in winning over the "Bund Oberland" and people in the various organizations to this idea. In the first years of the fascist dictatorship, he was able to increase the circulation of his periodical and to interest even adherents of the regime in his ideas. When his periodical was banned, he did not consider himself defeated by any means, but continued his efforts to oppose another political conception to the fatal policy of Hitler.

His ideas founded a movement called "Widerstand" ("Opposition") which won for itself supporters chiefly from intellectual circles. In 1936 and 1937 Niekisch circulated a treatise opposing the fascist regime. It was passed from one person to another and did not fail to make its impression on the currents of opposition in the middle class and intelligentsia. Finally he and some of his collaborators were arrested, accused of "high treason" and sentenced to imprisonment. Niekisch was sentenced to penal servitude for life. Even the fascist newspapers cannot deny that Niekisch courageously defended his views before the tribunal and that he declared the court to be incompetent of passing judgment upon him and his ideas.

The case aroused interest in Germany. On January 11 the *Angriff* was forced to publish a leading article on it. In order to describe the "depravity" of the man who had been condemned to penal servitude for life, it described Niekisch as follows:

"He acknowledged one man only: *Lenin.* He looked upon him as a great man. He extolled him as the chosen leader in the age of science. This already Bolshevist kernel of thought determined the direction of all his political ideas. He supported the closest union of Germany

with Soviet Russia; which may have appeared to others, who are in a desperate situation at the moment, to be the only way out."

And now followed the general accusation against the intelligentsia of Germany:

"So much for Niekisch. Drexel and Tröger, who were accused with him, are both uninteresting. . . . But in them there was another in the dock, invisible: the intelligentsia. . . . The Nuremberg alehouse-benchers [the *Angriff* is not referring to the Nuremberg 'Parteitag,' but to the circle of friends that Niekisch gathered around him], who were content to wander around in circles behind the Swedish curtains, are once more ubiquitous. While the Fuehrer slaves and creates [slavery has created!] . . . these guys gather round and mutter. If we announce that unemployment has decreased, they automatically question it. . . ."

And now accusations against the intelligentsia tumble over one another. The *Angriff* rages because the German Air Force does not impress thinking Germans, who were, however, impressed when the Red Army taught the Japanese a sharp lesson in the Far East. The pact with Japan and Italy does not impress them. Yet they follow attentively the foreign press reports about the military adventures of Hitler Germany in Spain and Morocco. They do not think much of the Italian ally, but have a high regard for the might of the Soviet Union. Thus the intelligentsia is "fertile ground for decomposition." Its activity may be characterized as follows: "To spread rumors, to shake beliefs, to sow doubts and to arouse and encourage discontent."

In short, the German intellectuals are forming correct and sensible opinions about the ruinous policy of German fascism, and they take good care that these opinions become known to as many sections of the people as possible. In spite of the fact that they have expelled the most prominent learned men and turned the universities into barracks for the S.S.; in spite of the unprecedented deterioration in the general level of culture, the German fascists have not succeeded in exterminating thought.

German fascism's crusade against intellect, culture and learning leads, however, to another result. Those students passing their final tests in German secondary schools, universities and technical schools have learned far too little and are to a great extent unqualified to meet the demands made upon them by their calling.

German fascism finds itself in a dilemma both confusing and insoluble. On the one hand highly qualified thinking people are needed in economics, the army and the administration, and on the other hand the highly qualified thinking man is an everlasting danger to fascist dictatorship. Alarmed, the ruling circles of German fascism recognize that while it is true that they have succeeded in diminishing the professional knowledge and general culture of the rising intellectual generation, they have not, however, succeeded in accustoming intellectuals not to think. German technique and learning are rapidly falling behind while at the same time the opposition of the intelligentsia is growing—that is *the result of the fascist fight against the intellectuals.*

On the one hand German fascism is trying by mechanical measures to raise the professional knowledge of the rising intellectual generation which has fallen so low, on the other hand it slanders and befouls, pursues and ill treats the intelligentsia more blatantly than ever. It is characteristic that the Berlin University lecturers were drummed together to listen to a discourse by Herr Streicher, the man who is the mental embodiment of German fascist lack of culture, coarseness, delirium and inhumanity. Indeed, the bloodthirsty clown from Nuremberg marched into Berlin University, where men like Hegel and Humboldt lectured, in order to impart National-Socialist "learning" to the university lecturers.

The German newspapers are forbidden to reproduce word for word the speeches of the Nuremberg district governor, as

these speeches belong to the repertoire of a Punch and Judy show; but even the short extract from the speech published in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* on January 12 enables the reader to imagine what mud Herr Streicher threw at the German university lecturers. According to the report in the above paper, this "beacon" of National-Socialist learning threw light on the question "as to whether real culture always and exclusively exists side by side with the greatest learning." Snorting with rage, the hangman of Nuremberg added that National-Socialism could not forget "that when it was struggling to accomplish its program, scornful laughter had on many an occasion come from the universities." The fascist state had restored to the university "its real freedom," but at the same time had withheld that freedom from the "depraved." The report finally said:

"District Governor Streicher, speaking further on the racial question, delivered interpretations of past political experiences and of various phenomena of the present. He warned the university men to make use of the time to absorb into the work of the universities the truths discovered and defended by National-Socialism, *so that the second time it would not be too late.*"

That was a reminder from the hippo's whip which the Nuremberg District Governor always carries with him, in order to give his illuminating performances the necessary emphasis. One can easily imagine the effect of this speech on men of intellect and culture; they felt the cannibal's hate which struck at them and they had to suffer the humiliation without relieving their feelings in scornful laughter. Things have gone so far in Germany that the shadiest characters prescribe what university lecturers must teach and what they may not teach.

While in the Soviet Union the intelligentsia are everywhere encouraged, while every year hundreds of thousands of highly skilled, cultured and thinking sons of workers and peasants swell the ranks of the Soviet intelligentsia, the intelligentsia of Germany are going through a process of shrinking. With growing aversion and exasperation the German intellectuals are faced with a regime which hands learning over to Streicher, which ties up mental development and abhors thought; a regime which is destroying German culture and leading Germany toward a collapse. A regime which has the intelligentsia against it and which does not succeed in winning over a wide section of really cultured, thinking and competent professional men, carries within it the germ of decay.

The outbreaks of fury by the fascist regime in Germany against the intelligentsia reveal its inner fragility. In view of the feelings of opposition which are continually taking hold of wider and wider circles of the German intelligentsia, it becomes the solemn duty of all anti-fascists to pay the greatest attention to those forces of resistance and to recognize the importance of the intellectuals in the fight against the fascist regime.

The more the fascist demagogues try to stir up the workers against the intellectuals, the more it becomes necessary for the working class to hold out its hand to the intellectuals—in the common struggle against the common enemy, fascism.

# A Football Match Gave the Game Away

THE Austrian football players have often distinguished themselves. Although sport has also deteriorated under fascist rule, the Austrians are still outstanding in this field. The Austrian football club Admira recently played the German football club Borussia. The match was played in Berlin and ended with a win for the Austrians by 7 goals to 3.

Their victory was the signal for a spate of Prussian chauvinism. Since the Negro boxer Joe Louis beat the "Aryan" boxer Schmeling inside three minutes, any defeat in sport touches German fascism on a very sore spot. In its official propaganda, it is true, German fascism describes the Austrians as "Germans" and celebrates the conquest of Austria as "the return to the Reich"; but in fact the Prussian conquerors regard their "Austrian brothers" as members of a foreign nation and an alien "race." The Austrians on their side consider themselves less than ever a part of the German nation; they feel themselves a suppressed nation, subjected to all the terrors of a foreign tyranny. The match between the Admira and Borussia football teams, unimportant in itself, brought the *profound national antagonisms* to the surface.

The Catholic newspaper *La Croix* rightly pointed out that "the antagonism between Germany and Austria found expression in an acute form in the field of sport." Sporting events have always had a political character in Austria. The athletic grounds in Vienna were often the scene of big anti-fascist demonstrations.

When the Austrian football team was leaving for Berlin, hundreds of people shouted to them to give the Prussians a licking. When the result was known, all Austria was delighted that the Prussians' big mouth had been stopped with a football. But on the football ground in Berlin there were wild outbursts of chauvinist rage on the part of the German fascists, who had turned out to gloat over the defeat of the "sloppy Austrians." Every goal the Austrians scored made another hole in the legend that Germans and Austrians are one. German fascists, old hands at pogroms and every kind of violence, stormed the ground from all sides to beat up the Austrian team. There was a roar from the grandstands: "Speak German, you Polacks!" The Austrian dialect words which the Viennese team shouted to one another angered the German fascists, and as the victors left the ground they were followed with yells: "Polacks! Dirty swine! Filthy foreigners, don't come back here again!" The Austrians had to return to their hotel under police protection, and they were lucky to escape with their lives.

The propaganda lie that the Austrians and Germans are one nation could not even stand up to a football. To the German fascists the Austrians are "filthy foreigners"—and to the Austrians the German fascists are tyrants, who oppress them like the natives in a colony. They have only one desire: once more to be "foreigners," once more to get free from Germany and have nothing more to do with Berlin. After the football match the German papers advised the Austrians in a very irritated tone to renounce their ambition of defeating German teams; to which the Austrians retort that they want nothing so much as to be rid for ever of all German teams, German governors, German chancellors and to be able to build a free and independent Austria according to their own wishes.

To the hated tyranny of the foreigner they oppose a firm and determined resistance. Often it takes forms which reduce the German conquerors to more or less complete helplessness. In addition to the resolute, organized resistance of the Communists, Socialists and Catholics, who stand together in growing solidarity as the conscious representatives of the unity of the nation against the foreign rulers, the most various methods of expressing their hatred of the fascist conquerors are being developed by the whole people. In a thousand different ways the Austrian people ridicule the barbaric ways and institutions of the German fascists, who lord it in the occupied territory.

The German newspapers become positively hysterical with rage when they report how the Austrians, as if it was part of an arranged plan, always ask in all the shops for just those articles which have disappeared off the market as a result of the "Anschluss." A German reporter observed how in a provision merchant's shop in Vienna one customer after another came in and immediately asked, "Have you any paprika?" When the shopkeeper replied, "No," they promptly asked, "Why not?" To which, equally promptly, the answer came in a meaning tone, "Well, you know . . . " In December, 1938, the Viennese edition of the *Voelkische Beobachter* published an article in which the writer falls over himself with anger, on the way in which *the Austrian people make fun of the Hitler greeting*. The paper says:

"People greet one another in a very peculiar manner nowadays. The German greeting is travestied; the vivacity of the Viennese distorts it in the most astounding ways. Most of them cannot be content with 'Heil Hitler.' If they have anything of the old Viennese courtliness in their blood, they find it too short and dry. They soften its severity by prefacing it with a gallant 'Kissing your hand, madam,' or 'the honor is mine.' And with great difficulty they have now learned to raise their hat gracefully in their left hand, the right arm, as already said, being occupied with the German greeting. In addition, they bow and scrape and have both hands full with their efforts to show their politeness and *their proper spirit*. Others, of course, fall into the other extreme. They come into a quiet café, where people are unsuspectingly reading the papers, and click their heels so loudly that the waiters drop the spoons for fright. As they give the German greeting, they look so severe and unapproachable that everybody thinks general arrests are going to be made; then there is a general sigh of relief, when the man orders a small black coffee. . . .

"Then, of course, there are those who persistently go on saying 'Good Day.' They do it with an air of impertinence and think themselves fine reactionaries because they keep their paws in their overcoat-pockets. If anybody looks askance at this, they assure you that they are enthusiastic National-Socialists, and for that very reason do not use the 'Heil Hitler' greeting: the Fuehrer's name is too sacred. So noble and delicate are the feelings of *these swine*. . . ."

"Man," as "made in Germany," is a being recognized by the Hitler greeting, by his habit of barking out orders, slaughtering defenseless Jews, plundering houses and shops and speaking the fascist gangster slang, which bears as much resemblance to the German language as garbage to food. Of course these fascist "men" consider the Austrians mere "swine" or at best "filthy foreigners." In their fight against this impudent presumption and brutal suppression the Austrians are becoming increasingly conscious of their own national character and of their right to national self-determination. They do not share the views of those curious emigrant "Socialists" for whom "there is no Austrian question"; they speak with the voice of the great Austrian poet Franz Grillparzer, who had already declared in the nineteenth century, "I am not German, but Austrian." They know that there *is* an Austrian question, and that this question is one of the strongest weapons against German fascism.

Behind the scornful smile and the con-

temptuous irony with which the Austrians regard the tyrants from Berlin are the same inextinguishable hate for the foreign conqueror and the same inflexible will to be free that have driven the foreign conqueror out of Austria many times before. In the sixteenth century the Austrian peasants expelled the armies of the German emperor out of Austria. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Austrian people chased out the Turks. The peasants of Upper Austria rose in the seventeenth century against the foreign Bavarian rulers. The Tyrolese swept the Bavarians out of the country in the eighteenth century and the Bavarians and French at the beginning of the nineteenth. The Austrian people remember their great traditions and are waiting for the day of reckoning with their oppressors.

"Speak German, you Polacks!" they shouted to the Austrians in Berlin. But the Austrians are learning with their whole heart to speak, feel and think *Austrian*. Today the German fascists kick Austria like a football. One day they will stumble over it and fall—and the Austrian "Polacks" will again be free, contented foreigners.

# Hungary's Independence Endangered!

THE delirium of victory of the November days in Hungary was rapidly succeeded by disenchantment. After the "victory celebrations" in Komarom and Kaschau, after the seizing of the booty which German fascism had flung to the Hungarian revisionists at the expense of the Czechoslovakian republic, large sections began to realize that their country had been pitiably cheated by its predatory ally.

The *Nemzeti Ujsag*, a Catholic daily paper, wrote as follows on New Year's Day:

"We were supposed to exult and rejoice because there were many signs that the star of the nation's destiny was rising. . . . But instead of that we are compelled to recognize that our souls are oppressed as though by coldness and anxiety, that Hungarian society, which so easily becomes inflamed and enthusiastic, appears now to dread something, that we cannot rejoice, that now, on New Year's Day, hearts are heavy, eyes dim, and the horizon dark."

In a speech delivered on New Year's Day Tibor Eckhardt, leader of the Small Farmers Party, stated:

"We are compelled to note with regret that a certain uncertainty reigns throughout the whole country. The whole of Hungarian life—and I have in mind not only the Jews but also the Christians—is filled with fear, anxiety and fear for the future."

Count Stephen Bethlen, Hungarian statesman, in a speech delivered on January 10, said:

"During recent weeks a mood of sorrow, a despondency of soul with regard to the future, has taken possession of the public. Every thoughtful and sensitive Hungarian had the feeling that the future of this country had become doubtful. . . ."

Conservative politicians in opposition of the type of Bethlen and Eckhardt, who supported with every energy the campaign against Czechoslovakia, are condemning Hitler because he has prevented the fulfilment of their revisionist ambitions. They note with anxiety that Hitler has not permitted Hungary to occupy the strategic frontier of the Carpathians, but that, on the other hand, he appears rather to be establishing in Slovakia and Carpathian Ukraine bases for the destruction of Hungary.

Large sections of the working population of Hungary already realize how false was the assurance of the government that the extension of territory had opened the way for the peaceful development of the country. Since the occupation of the areas allocated to Hungary, there has been not a moment's quiet on the new frontiers. In order to consolidate and extend his military base of operations against southeastern Europe, Hitler is instigating the Slovakian and Ukrainian fascists to make an armed attack upon those areas the occupation of which Messrs. Tiso and Woloschin facilitated by their treachery to the Czechoslovakian Republic.

No end can as yet be expected to the serious frontier clashes which have claimed so many victims in dead and wounded. The Hungarian people must realize that the intrigues of German fascism—which plays the smaller nations one against the other like puppets—are evoking the immediate danger of war and of foreign domination.

Bitterness against Hitler Germany will be enhanced by the increasing

pressure of German fascism upon Hungary. The Imredy government has acceded to Hitler's demands and has recognized the German minority in Hungary as a separate "national group" with the right to form its own organizations. The "League of German People in Hungary" is rapidly becoming an organization directed against the Hungarian state. An active struggle is being waged against the "assimilationists"; Hungarian citizens of German origin are being compelled by the terrorism of the League to withdraw from Hungarian public life, to resign their positions, and to devote themselves solely to "tasks of German political and cultural activity."

The Hitler fascists are already asserting their claim to Hungarian arable land. They maintain that the Hungarian soil was rendered capable of cultivation by German colonists; they regard the Hungarian peasants in Trans-Danubia as "intruders" and protest against the settlement of Hungarian peasant families in the frontier regions.

The continuous interference in the internal affairs of Hungary, and the progressive yielding of the Imredy government reveal the real nature of Hitler's plans and the true physiognomy of Imredy. Imredy has stated his readiness to inaugurate fascist "reform laws." He is proceeding toward the "militarization of the nation," which measure places the whole population, from the age of 12 to the age of 70, under military control and liable to obligatory service in some form. It is by means of this "defense law" that Hungary is to be made definitely a part of Hitler's war machine.

Imredy has opened his campaign against the organized working class by prohibiting for 30 days the publication of the *Nepszava*, the chief press organ of the Social-Democratic Party, while holding out the prospect of the dissolution of the trade unions and of the Social-Democratic Party.

Imredy has introduced the "coordination" of the press by the prohibition of several hundred newspapers or periodicals. In its "Jewish Law" the government accepts the position of the fascist "racial theory" which opens the way to the eventual introduction of all the Nuremberg laws.

Hungary's adherence to the "Anti-Comintern Pact" and her forthcoming retirement from the League of Nations are looked upon in Hungary as constituting a definite renunciation of all independence in foreign policy and as the conclusive surrender of the country to the Rome-Berlin war axis.

The Imredy government's policy, the fulfilment of Hitler's wishes, the sacrifice of the most important interests of the country—all this is evoking the opposition of the Hungarian people, which is justifiably concerned with the future of the country. This opposition even finds expression in statements made by some leaders of the ruling class who are prepared to adopt fascist methods in order to prevent the transformation of Hungary into a fully democratic country, but are not inclined to hand over the protection of their own interests to Hitler.

Influential circles of large-scale landowners, capitalists and wealthy peasants —who are not prepared to proceed together with Hitler against the interests of their own people, against the peoples of the Danube Basin, and against the Soviet Union—are taking up a position of hostility to the government, inspired by their fear of the country losing its own strength and falling into Hitler's hands. Over one-third of the government party have turned against Imredy in their effort to stem Hitler's power in Hungary.

This resistance from within the ruling class of Hungary has roused the anger of the masters of Germany. They are counseling Imredy to base his actions upon the Hungarian agents of Hitler, upon the followers of the "arrow cross," and thus to accelerate the fascization of the country. Goering's paper, the *Nationalzeitung* of Essen, on January 5 wrote as follows:

"If Premier Imredy really has reformist intentions, as he emphasized in his inaugural speech in parliament, he must realize that those circles and forces which have already frustrated Daranyi's

efforts at reform will also frustrate his own more far-reaching reformist plans. The realization of this, logically, should have led the Imredy government not to have made the attempt to rely upon those reactionary and liberal circles which naturally oppose every attempt at reform, but to have made an effort to draw in as supports for the government those forces which, owing to their fundamental outlook, would support this reform policy joyfully and actively. . . .

"The radical Right groups . . . were already prepared genuinely to support and execute any sincerely intended and really far-reaching reform policy. But hitherto it was considered possible to dispense with these forces. . . . But what could be more natural and more obvious than to draw the logical conclusions from this realization and to attempt to execute the reforms with the help of those forces who with sincere hearts desire and will such reforms?"

Among the Hungarian people the realization is growing that the "coordination" of the country would mean nothing less than its abandonment to German fascism, and that it would mean the end of Hungarian independence. In the form of a struggle against German fascism, a movement for independence is now developing in Hungary whose task will be to mobilize all Hungarians who really love their homeland in the struggle against the menace of the oppression of the Hungarian people by Hitler. Such phrases as "struggle for freedom" or "struggle for independence" have become the most popular terms in Hungary.

Until quite recently, the government press still sneered at the Communists and Socialists because they saw in the policy of friendship with Hitler a danger to Hungarian independence. But now even Hitler's friends in Hungary must seek to appear as defenders of Hungarian independence in their efforts to mislead the masses.

Although important sections of the people realize the necessity of a struggle for independence, there is still a lack of a leading and consolidating power, of a clear and consistent line of opposition to the threat of enslavement.

The working class has not yet taken its place at the head of the movement for Hungarian independence. The sole legal working-class party in the country, the Social-Democratic Party, refused, on the most trifling pretext, the leadership of the struggle against fascism. The reactionary leaders of Hungarian Social-Democracy have supported the policy of revisionism, of an alliance with Hitler and Mussolini; they unreservedly support the chauvinist campaign against Czechoslovakia. Because of this policy, the leaders of Hungarian Social-Democracy have betrayed, not only the most vital interests of the Hungarian people, but also the anti-fascist struggle and the most fundamental interests of the working class.

Conservative politicians like Count Stephen Bethlen, Count Pallavicini, Tibor Eckhardt, Geza Bornemisza, and leaders of the Catholic Church, have taken upon themselves the leadership of the movement of resistance to the German aggressors. The attitude assumed by these elements against the Hitler menace is well designed to increase popular support among the middle class, the civil servants and military circles, for the struggle against the fascist aggressors. But the anti-democratic, imperialist character of these elements, their vacillating attitude toward fascism and toward Hitler, represent a continual danger for the struggle against the fascist aggressors.

There are leading personalities of the Hungarian ruling class who realize the peril of German conquest, who are inclined to come to terms with Hitler. Instead of completing alliances with the smaller peoples of the Danube Basin, instead of implementing a defensive front of all the peoples of southeastern Europe, they announce their readiness to conclude an alliance with German fascism in order to proceed to the exploitation of Rumania and Yugoslavia. And they are upon Hitler's side in any eventual action directed against the Soviet Union.

Their attitude toward home policy also constitutes a substantial obstacle in the way of uniting all forces for a struggle

for independence. In order to suppress the democratic movement of the working people, and to prevent the inauguration of a thoroughgoing land reform and of democratic rights for the people, they support the fascist-reactionary measures of the Imredy government which are aimed at the complete shackling of the Hungarian people. This reactionary, hesitant and contradictory attitude of the present leaders of the independence movement is likely to discredit the movement in the eyes of the workers.

Under pressure from German fascism, Hungary has joined the "Anti-Comintern Pact," and thus has virtually sacrificed its political independence. The Soviet Union has taken note of the fact that now the foreign policy of Hungary is no longer laid down in Budapest, but in Berlin, and has consequently closed down its embassy in Budapest and has expressed the desire that the Hungarian government will close its embassy in Moscow. It is thanks to the ruling circles in Hungary that matters have reached this pitch. The question at present confronting the Hungarian people is: What must be done in order to protect Hungary from the complete loss of her independence?

In order that Hungary may be saved, the working class must take courage and resolve to place itself at the head of the struggle for independence, also to give to this struggle the character of a struggle for democratic liberties. In the struggle against German fascism for Hungary's independence, the working class will be defending its elementary vital interests. The inclusion of Hungary in the "Anti-Comintern Pact" directly imperils those rights which the Hungarian workers are endeavoring still to retain.

In Hitler's Germany there are no parties, no trade unions, not even proletarian cultural organizations. Owing to the penetration of German fascism into Hungary, the existence of the Hungarian trade unions is also in immediate danger. Thus, the defense of the independence of Hungary also signifies for the working class the defense of all that they still possess in the way of organization and the right to participate in political and economic affairs.

It is the historical task of the Communist Party and of all sincere Social-Democrats to unite the forces of the working class and to win over, by means of a courageous democratic and national policy, the support of the masses of the peasants, the urban middle class, the intellectuals, and the Catholics, and thus to realize a broad front of resistance to German fascism and its agents in Hungary. It is their task to support *all* opposition to German fascism, including that of the circles around Bethlen, Eckhardt and their like, but at the same time to develop *their own* line of struggle for national independence and for democratic people's rights.

The struggle for the independence of Hungary can become successful only if the working class becomes a decisive factor in that struggle. It is now not only the proletarian task, but also the national task, of the Communists and of all sincere Social-Democrats to see that it does become such a factor.

# China Does Not Fall Into Their Trap

JUST before he resigned, the former Japanese Premier, Konoye, with a sidelong glance at Japan's daily increasing economic difficulties, offered the Chinese people "peace." Chiang Kai-shek, in a great speech in memory of Sun Yat-sen, described this naive attempt at bird-catching trickery as quite ineffectual, and expressed the unconditional will of the Chinese people to conquer.

In the meantime, Konoye's place was taken by Baron Hiranuma, one of the exponents of a complete fascist policy for Japan. That does not exclude the fact that, in the future, the Japanese ruling circles will continue, as before, to drivel in a sanctimonious fashion about their so-called "Mission in Eastern Asia" and the "salvation of China from Communism and Western Capitalism." Until now their actions have given them the lie and they will continue to do so in the future.

Behind their protestations that they wish to build up a new China grins the ugly grimace of Japanese imperialism, intending to make a colony of China. The hypocritical declaration that Japan will respect Chinese sovereignty is contradicted in the same breath by the fact that Japan is bound to maintain its armies in China permanently. Under the term "economic cooperation" of Japan, China and Manchukuo, the Japanese trust magnates see a kind of colonial exploitation almost without historical parallel.

Bloody terror, the murder of defenseless people, outraging of women, burning of towns and villages, ruined dikes and the flooding of enormous areas mark the path of the Japanese armies. Directly behind them come the capitalist vultures and exploiters who settle in the conquered towns, seize the Chinese concerns and business by force and treachery and force the Chinese out of trade and production. In Tientsin and in Shanghai and other Chinese ports, Japanese steamers unload increasing numbers of plunder-greedy "merchants," the blowflies of modern war.

Where bloody force is not sufficient, other means are employed in order literally to steal the last bowl of rice from the starving Chinese peasant and drag the last shirt from his back. Every Japanese army corps takes with it a printing press which prints countless army "bank notes," so-called, which are then forced into circulation. At the same time, the Japanese government pumps increasing quantities of uncovered yen notes into Chinese industry, already bled white, which are then forced on the Chinese masses as tokens for their labor, while, at the same time, strong control measures prevent this paper money from finding its way to Japan through the purchase of Japanese goods. This paper-money industry of the Japanese militarists in the occupied regions of China is, none the less, only one of the "peaceful" methods of the Japanese brigands.

A worthy companion to this is the encouragement by the Japanese officials of the opium trade and the use of opium. Before the Japanese invasion the Chinese officials had made a successful start at combating the opium evil. But the Japanese militarists have restored it to full bloom to encompass the ruin of China. The former restrictions were suspended. In all the towns and villages of the occupied region opium and heroin are openly exposed for sale. The Japanese military and "merchants" organize

the traffic in narcotics on the grand scale and the war chests of the Japanese armies are filled with the takings. Admittedly we are here concerned with more than an attempt to finance their robber raids by means of the systematic poisoning of a nation—the intention is at the same time that the deadening effect of opium should rob the masses of the Chinese people in the occupied areas of the inward strength to turn and rise up against the foreign aggressor.

The ruin of the physical strength of the Chinese people is supplemented by cutting off its mental development. This end is served by the systematic destruction of nearly all universities and colleges in the occupied area of China. Of the eighty-two universities and colleges in the occupied area, fifty-four have been completely destroyed or very badly damaged by Japanese militarism. Only six Chinese universities are still operating in the occupied territory.

Where systematic bombing has not completed the work of destruction, the barbaric military set fire to the buildings with gasoline. Such was the end of the Nankai University near Tientsin and numerous other universities and colleges. Rich libraries with their precious content of books, the documents of the history, covering many thousands of years, of an ancient civilization, have been reduced to ashes. The bestial, depraved hate of the Japanese military rages against all cultural institutions of the Chinese people. In order to enslave a nation, runs the slogan of the Japanese militarists, one must not only poison it with opium but also rob it of every memory of earlier cultural and spiritual development.

The Japanese militarists have arrogantly announced the carrying out of fantastic plans for the exploitation of China's stores of raw material. These plans are concerned with nothing other than the colonization of China with the object of turning Chinese industry into a raw-material appendage of Japanese industry without any consideration for the living conditions of the Chinese peasants.

The Chinese peasant can no longer get his living from the soil, according to these plans, but will be forced to plant cotton, which he must then sell to the monopolist collecting agencies of the Japanese textile firms at conditions which they dictate. The Mongolian shepherd, whose flocks supply him with milk, meat and clothing, must be forced to rear a type of sheep which in no way satisfies his needs but which supplies cheap wool for the Japanese textile industries. These few examples show already that the plans of Japanese industry for exploitation mean nothing other than changing the Chinese peasant, until now already oppressed by the burden of rents, into slaves of the Japanese textile monopoly.

The plans for exploiting China's mineral wealth are similar. After the occupation of North China there was a stock-jobbing swindle of unheard-of dimensions. In Tientsin and Peiping, dozens of new Japanese industrial and trading firms were set up purporting to control millions of capital but which so far have nothing to show but offices with large staffs.

Constructional works already begun have come to a standstill. Newly erected factory buildings have not been put in commission because of the lack of machinery. Japanese finacial circles have declared repeatedly that Japan is not in a position to send large amounts of capital to China. They try to supply the capital that is lacking by a kind of primitive accumulation, by the plundering of the Chinese masses, organized on grandiose lines and prosecuted with every device of force and treachery. At the same time, Japanese agents attempt to interest reactionary finance circles in England and America in the business of exploitation.

In the face of the brigand industry of the Japanese militarists in the occupied territory of China, it is not to be wondered at that they have had no success in their attempt to give a veneer

of respectability to the puppet governments in Peiping and Nanking by including Chinese notables. Revelations concerning the mysterious figures who sit in the puppet governments in Peiping and Nanking expose these as former bandits, opium smugglers, chieftains of the Chinese underworld and so-called Compradores who always have led a parasitical existence as go-betweens for foreign capital. These mercenary fellows have won for themselves the most fiery hatred and deepest contempt of the Chinese masses. It is noteworthy that such a hard-boiled reactionary as Wu Pei-fu, selected by the Japanese militarists to be the head of this band of traitors to their people, declined with thanks and declared that he would sooner crawl into his coffin.

The Japanese occupation authorities strive convulsively to organize demonstrations of loyalty by the Chinese masses. These are usually such that the school-children are summarily commandeered for such demonstrations and paid *claqueurs* represent the people. The propaganda methods of the Japanese occupation authorities pursue ends too obvious for them to have any success. At the same time their real feelings for the Chinese people are always breaking out, as for example, recently, in a propaganda sheet designed for Shanghai, in which the Chinese were described as "Chinese-speaking swine."

In the meantime the Chinese people gathers new strength so that the rejection of the Japanese peace proposals may be followed by the final expulsion of the invaders. In the interior of China, the Chinese people are building up a new industrial basis for continuing the war, constructing new railways and motor roads, organizing new arms factories and mobilizing their millions for the achievement of the final victory. Reports from the interior of China show that the various provincial governments, which formerly waged endless war against each other, are run by new men and inspired by a new spirit. Credits and other measures of support for the peasants, improvement of the situation of town-workers, suppression of banditry and the opium traffic are a few of the steps by which the Chinese National Government and the provincial governments strengthen the masses for the struggle against the Japanese invaders.

Concerning the internal strength of national China there is unquestionable testimony available. The *Frankfurter Zeitung*, in a report from Chungking, the capital of national China, was forced against its will to state that:

"A year ago, even a few months ago, there was a good deal of speculation as to whether the important provinces of Szechwan and Yunnan would be able to hold out, whether war-weary groups would not free themselves from Chiang Kai-shek, whether the former Communists would not exploit the military defeats for their own ends by creating disturbances, in short, whether China would not disintegrate under Japanese pressure. Now that is all past. There is no further doubt of the national discipline in all situations and in all classes of the population. Thus far the new, national China has won a success. Thus we have before us an outwardly weakened but inwardly strengthened China. . . . There are today two things upon which even the illiterate Chinese peasant has a fixed opinion—and much must take place to turn him from it. He believes in Chiang Kai-shek's leadership and is convinced of the necessity of the struggle against Japan."

With incomparable heroism the Chinese nation defends its independence, its soil and its freedom against the invasion of Japanese militarism. With contempt it rejects all "peace proposals" that contain the slightest limitation of its national sovereignty, and hounds from its ranks the agents of Japanese imperialism, such as Wang Ching-wei. The sons of the people fall and bleed in the struggle for civilization and for progress. They will conquer: yet, to shorten the sufferings of the Chinese people and to hasten their victory, there is need for much greater efforts on the part of all democratic peoples.

The peoples of the Soviet Union show the Chinese people practical sympathy and help. The United States government has put credits at the disposal of the Chinese national government and intimated that it might, perhaps, put into force economic sanctions against Japan. England also has granted credits to the Chinese national government though presumably Chamberlain and Co. were led less by sympathy for the Chinese nation's fight for freedom than by the idea of causing the Japanese militarists by this gesture to be more careful in their treatment of English trade interests in China.

Help for the Chinese people will be effective only if the masses of democratic people make China's struggle their own, carry out a hundred per cent boycott of Japanese goods, cause governments to operate economic sanctions against the Japanese militarists, stop the export of war material to Japan and see to it that the Chinese people, in its life and death struggle, is granted every possible assistance by the democratic powers.

# The Popular Front in France Is Not Dead

BY R. MICHEL

SINCE the shameful capitulation in Munich which lowered France in the eyes of the world the working masses who were misled for the moment by the war scare of the September days have begun to realize the full extent of the betrayal for which they are made to pay the price. The ink of the "settlement" had hardly time to dry when Hitler at Saarbrucken repeated with greater insolence than ever his war threats. No sooner had Hitler seized the Czechoslovak Maginot Line, including also secrets of the defense of French soil, than Mussolini addresses to France most brazen territorial demands.

On land and on sea, in Europe and in its colonies, France is now threatened by fascist encirclement. If not for the heroic struggle of the Spanish people, who continue to pay with their blood for the cowardice of the so-called democratic governments, the fascist ring around France would have been fully established by today.

But the working masses of France have now to pass through another painful experience: The Daladier government which betrayed the cause of peace is now attacking the livelihood and liberties of the French people. It directs its attacks against the achievements of the Popular Front.

The Popular Front is the mortal enemy of fascism and the mortal enemy of the financial oligarchy. The world forces of reaction under the leadership of fascism want to defeat the Popular Front and to abolish all the achievements it has secured for the masses. It is world reaction which demands the abolition in France of the five-day forty-hour week, of the collective agreements and holidays with pay, achievements which encouraged the workers throughout the world to fight for the same demands. It is world reaction headed by fascism which is striving to break the alliance between the working class and peasants and the middle classes—an alliance which is the source of strength and influence of France and carries the promise of victory of the progressive forces over the dark forces of fascism and world reaction. "The victory of the Popular Front in France has changed the balance of forces in favor of the forces of peace and democracy," declared Maurice Thorez. It is in order to upset this balance that all the forces of reaction are unleashed today against the Popular Front.

The agent of these forces of reaction is Daladier.

In order to carry out its dirty work reaction makes use of turncoats. It follows the example of the ruling class in all times and in all difficult situations.

Daladier may well change his colors but it was not he who made the Popular Front, and it is not he who can unmake it. The Popular Front has emerged out of the French people themselves who, aroused to indignation by the horrors of fascism, have shown in 1934 to all the world that the victory of fascism is not inevitable, that a united people can triumph over fascism. And if today the reactionary gangs demand the suppression of the Communist Party it is because they cannot forgive its relentless struggle to convince the masses of the need for the united action of all the workers and all the people of France. And if today Daladier and his masters

attack and insult the working class it is because they cannot forget that the People's Front has its roots in the struggle of the working class against war and fascism. It was the example of the struggle of the working class which brought into action the peasants and middle classes.

It was significant that the pilgrimage to the Place de la Republique made by all of Paris in February, 1935, on the occasion of the first anniversary of the events of February, 1934, was in response to the call of the Communist Party alone. All Paris turned out and placed wreaths at the foot of the Statue of the Republic with which the French people honored the proletarian fighters of February 9.

As early as November 11, 1934, a demonstration of the ex-servicemen was transformed into a real Popular Front demonstration when the victims of the imperialist butchery of 1914-18 demonstrated without differences of parties or political opinion in order to express their common hatred of warmongering fascism. Another magnificent symbol was the demonstration, organized by the Communist Party in May, 1935, which was also transformed into a Popular Front demonstration in honor of the heroes of the Commune slaughtered by Thiers and Bismarck in alliance, an alliance of the enemies of the French and German people which the reactionaries of today would like to renew with Hitler.

In this manner we come to the monster rally of the people on July 14, 1935, which gave a solemn pledge to fight against fascism while the red flag and the tricolor were waving together and the hymn of 1792, the *Marseillaise*, rang out with new vitality everywhere.

On this day the mask was torn from the face of the financial oligarchy which had been posing as the sole defender of the traditions of 1789 and the France of the Popular Front showed itself full of energy and determination as the true guardian of the great French revolutionary traditions.

A new France was born, a France which opened a new perspective of freedom to the toiling masses of Germany and Italy groaning under the yoke of fascism, a France which inspired the unity of the Spanish people and later also those of China, a France whose example was an incentive to that feeling for unity which developed among the English people. The example of France evoked new hopes and sympathy in the hearts of the oppressed colonial people. Does Daladier imagine that the mighty demonstrations for France with which the colonies answered the wordy threats of Mussolini were for himself and the French reactionaries? They were for the France of the People's Front!

The Radical and the Radicial Socialist Party, which reflect the democratic aspirations of the peasants and middle classes and which is their traditional party, has often proclaimed as its guiding principle "no enemies on the Left." This party has played an important part in the bringing about of the Popular Front. Its Congress in 1935 expressed in no uncertain way the growing feeling among the middle classes toward joint action with the working class. And when their speakers exposed in vigorous speeches how the interests of the financial oligarchy were clashing with those of France they were only expressing what the mass of their rank-and-file members expressed before by action jointly with the working class. That is what forced Daladier himself to define the Popular Front as follows:

"The Popular Front is the alliance between the Third Estate and the working class; when they are united they can repeat what happened in 1789, 1793, 1848 and September, 1870; when they are disunited they can be subject to another Thermidor, Brumaire or December 2, (1851). And when a people is reduced to slavery then a Waterloo or Sedan takes place. When we lose liberty, we lose the peace and security of our fatherland."

We should also recall some other aspects of the situation as it was then. During the elections of 1936 the Radical

Party lost its traditional first place in the Chamber and it became clear to a number of Radical leaders that the masses were demanding adherence to the Popular Front. That adherence became a question of life and death for the Radical Party. It was Jean Zay, the present Minister of Education (one of those ministers who are not invited to dine with von Ribbentrop for fear of offending that gentleman's Aryan feelings) who declared then that if the Radical Party does not respond to the people's expectations, "it will disappear without glory."

These people seem to have forgotten today all they understood at that time, although the situation today more than ever calls for the same thing. At that time they followed the masses, who by their action brought the People's Front into existence. Today they want to forget all that, but the masses do not forget. It is that which makes us confident that the fate of the Popular Front does not depend on the will of this or that individual, on his loyalty, or lack of loyalty to the People's Front.

There are leaders of the Radical Party who are seeking refuge in the camp of the 200 families whom they previously exposed. Some of them have been in that camp for quite a time. Temporarily they succeeded in changing the balance of forces in the leadership of the Radical Party but everything indicates that this balance of forces is not stable and already a number of Radical leaders show that they are not going to allow themselves to be driven along the road of reaction. In this connection the voting on the government's finance bill is very significant. The Popular Front put forward the slogan, "Make the Rich Pay." The government declares: "Make the workers and the middle classes pay." It is against this that the masses are in revolt.

That is why the government could scrape through with a majority of only seven in the voting on its finances. The examination of the purely "Radical" votes indicates that alongside the 77 government supporters were 36 in opposition or abstaining. And who would dare to assume that two-thirds of the middle classes in the country—yes, even more—two-thirds of the Radical Party, were prepared to shoulder the cost of the Munich agreement signed by Daladier?

The eyes of many people have been opened during the three months which passed since Munich. There is a growing discontent among wide sections of the population against the emergency decrees of the politics of Munich. The basis for the further development of the Popular Front is stronger and broader than ever. The peasant masses, on whom Daladier exerted the most scandalous pressure and whom he led to believe that to save peace it was necessary to disrupt the Popular Front and to break with the working class, are beginning to realize, when confronted with the war threats of Mussolini, that the People's Front is actually the best guarantee of security for France faced with the unsatiable appetite of fascism.

A powerful movement is growing against the emergency decrees. It becomes clear to the people of France that the Daladier-Reynaud policy is a policy of defense of the profits of the 200 families against the interests of the people of France and that it was in the name of these interests that Daladier let loose his police against the workers on November 30. Once again the workers have shown to the whole country how to fight. It is as a result of this fight that the amnesty has been granted and that there are now better chances for the Old Age Pensions Bill. The re-election of Jaques Duclos, a secretary of the Communist Party, to the vice-presidency of the Chamber is a new indication of the change in the balance of progressive forces in favor of the Popular Front.

It is sufficient to compare the Marseilles Congress to the Executive Committee meeting of the Radical Party which took place recently to gauge the distance traveled since then: while in Marseilles there was a tendency to glorify Munich there is now a growing

feeling in the ranks of the Radical Party for a change in the foreign policy. The same applies to the attitude toward the Spanish Republic—shouts of "open the Spanish frontier" were heard at the so-called "small congress" of the Radicals.

Daladier himself, who at Marseilles had nothing but insults for the working class, all of a sudden remembered the need for an alliance between the working class and the Third Estate. At Marseilles Daladier succeeded in imposing a reactionary policy on the Radical Party. But he cannot cover up the deep differentiation which developed during recent years between the real Radicals who are loyal to the traditional policy of alliance of the middle class with the working class on the one hand, and on the other of the more or less disguised allies of reaction who up till now have followed the tide for fear of being swept away.

Those Radicals who go along with Daladier bear the heavy responsibility for becoming more or less direct tools of the 200 families in their attempt to prevent the realization of the Popular Front. Defeated at the election in 1936, the reactionaries have used these elements in their attempts to deprive the people of France of their liberties and achievements won in a hard battle as a result of unity. Incapable of launching a frontal attack on a united people, the reactionaries set themselves the task of taking these achievements back step by step. The more insolent became the reactionaries, the greater the pressure brought to bear by their allies in the Radical Party in order to prevent the fulfilment of the People's Front program.

The big money interests exercised constant economic pressure: capital was exported abroad, the exchanges were manipulated, measures of economic reconstruction and national defense were sabotaged, the social laws and agreements concluded with unions systematically violated and at the same time the arming of the fascist leagues was speeded up. The dark forces of the financial oligarchy set themselves against the legal rights of the French people and opposed a government backed by a tremendous majority of the people.

The government or rather the different successive governments had all means at their disposal to oppose this blackmail but to do so they had to put into action the forces and means at their disposal. Instead of that they met that blackmail and pressure with a policy of compromise and concessions; it is just this policy which enabled the reactionaries to realize their plan and recapture power step by step.

Instead of defending the achievements of the Popular Front and extending them to new strata of the population a "truce" was agreed upon, a truce which proved a signal for an attack on the gains of the Popular Front. Instead of applying the program "make the rich pay," a program which would have hit at the money interests, the burden was put on the small people and the cost of living was increased. Instead of the political and military organizations of the fascists being dealt with ruthlessly, they were treated very mildly. The same policy of concession applied to foreign affairs: Hitler and Mussolini were left free to continue their attempts to strangle the Spanish republic and in this way France was made to share the responsibility for the indescribable sufferings of the Spanish people, the invasion of Austria and the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia. All of these crimes endanger the security and independence of France itself.

This policy of concessions has led during these two years to the Munich surrender and the "misery" decrees of Daladier and Reynaud. The devil was given a small finger but he took the whole hand. Great strength will be needed to shake ourselves free.

France, however, possesses this power. The French people possesses this power. This was shown by the mighty protest movement throughout the country against the misery decrees. Daladier has decreed the death of the Popular Front, he always regarded it as a mere parliamentary arrangement, but the Popular

Front is a living experience of the fighting masses and neither Daladier nor the whole might of the 200 families can destroy this experience of tremendous historical importance.

The mainstay of the Popular Front is the united General Confederation of Labor (C.G.T.), whose formation was one of the essential factors in the creation of the Popular Front. It is an essential factor in the life of the whole country which has to be reckoned with. The C.G.T. has unanimously risen against the decrees. It has awakened the consciousness of the toilers, who demand a life worthy of human beings. It has rallied together all the main forces of democracy. It has taken the initiative of calling together a joint conference of the three powerful trade union organizations, those of France, Great Britain and the U.S.A.

But the strongest pillar of the Popular Front is the unity of the working class. This unity, which was forged in the streets in February, 1934, in face of the fascist offensive, has increased as a result of greater political clarity in the ranks of the Socialist Party, the stronger and stronger determination of the Socialist workers to fight against the misery decrees, against the policy of capitulation to fascism, against the policy of Munich. It has increased because of the feeling for unity expressed by the majority at the Socialist Congress in Montrouge.

A working class enriched by experiences which strengthen unity and capable of drawing lessons from the recent events will know how to rally the middle strata and how to revitalize and broaden the Popular Front.

# The Special Congress of the Socialist Party of France

BY PIERRE VIDAL

IMMEDIATELY after Chamberlain's and Daladier's conspiracy with Hitler and Mussolini, the Socialist Party of France declared itself almost unanimously in favor of the fatal policy of Munich. At the session of the Chamber of Deputies, convoked by Daladier upon his return from Munich, only one Socialist deputy, Jean Bouley, voted with the Communists against the betrayal by the French government of Czechoslovakia, of the interests of the French people and of the struggle of all peoples against the fascist aggressors.

The special congress of the Socialist Party of France, however, which met in Paris on December 24, 1938, led to a substantially different outcome. At this congress, the majority of French Socialists condemned the Munich policy and called for a *policy of resolute resistance to the fascist aggressors.* To be sure, one must not ignore the fact that a considerable minority still defended the position of virtual surrender to the fascist aggressor, and that even the majority did not envisage all the necessary consequences arising from their estimation of the political situation.

The congress was *an expression of the process of clarification* which is taking place among the Socialist masses; at the same time, however, it was also an expression of the widespread confusion prevailing in the ranks of the Socialists and of the increased activity of the Trotskyist wreckers and provocateurs in the service of their fascist taskmasters. Nevertheless, neither the capitulators nor the agents of fascism were successful in misleading the healthy class-consciousness and proletarian fighting spirit of the great majority of French Socialist workers and in inculcating in them the policy of surrender. They were successful, however, in producing a profound cleavage within the Socialist Party and thus lessening its capacity for action.

Our Socialist comrades who stand for determined resistance to the fascist aggressors are now confronted with the great task of gaining the support of all Socialist workers for this policy and realizing the unity in struggle of the Socialist workers against the fascist aggressors and their accomplices. The realization of this unity in struggle, of the highest degree of solidarity and certainty as to aim of the French workers, is of decisive importance, not only for the Socialist Party of France, but also for the entire working class. It is therefore not only our right but our duty to take part in these grave discussions of our Socialist comrades and not withhold our own opinions. Our Socialist comrades' special congress dealt with the most important present-day questions of the international working class movement, of war and peace, and of the anti-fascist foreign policy of the working class. Those questions which were answered in the appeal of the Communist International on November 7 last were posed also at the French Socialist congress. How this congress also answered these questions

is by no means without importance for the entire working class.

* * *

The Munich conspirators in the first moments were able to take the peoples by surprise and mislead them. It would be useless to deny that broad masses of the workers were also among those deceived, that most of our Socialist comrades allowed themselves to be convinced that peace had been saved. These dangerous illusions, which temporarily paralyzed the working class, have rapidly been dissipated. The events which followed Munich were startling and enlightening. Czechoslovakia was dismembered. Hitler made speeches threatening the Western powers, proceeded with rearmament at an even higher speed, sought to convert the Carpathian Ukraine into a military base for German imperialism, and made categorical demands for a German colonial empire.

Italian fascism, on its side, launched a furious agitation for the cession of Tunisia, Corsica and Nice and dispatched more troops to Spain. The masses in all countries were compelled to realize that Munich, instead of safeguarding peace, had intensified the danger of war.

Simultaneously with these new fascist attacks from outside the country, French reaction started a vigorous offensive against the rights of the workers and the people generally. Daladier betrayed the People's Front and, amidst the applause of the German fascists, took the lead in an attack upon the forty-hour week, against other social reform legislation, and against the democratic rights of the French people. Fascist encirclement from without, reactionary undermining within —such were for France the immediate results of the policy established in Munich.

Under the influence of these events opposition to the policy of capitulation developed within the Socialist Party. The division of opinion began: on the one side were the Socialists who are not prepared to surrender to fascism, who, in the presence of facts, have the courage to correct previous errors; and on the other side were the capitulators who in part are playing the game of fascism and in part consider that the chief enemy is not fascism but the revolutionary forces within the working class. Between these two camps, which were formed fairly rapidly, was a large section composed of those who were hesitant and undecided, of those "practical" members who underestimated the decisive importance of a clear political line, of honest party members whose political knowledge was inadequate, and who looked upon the discussion as a matter of personal differences rather than as an essential conflict of opinion.

The acuteness of this difference of opinion had already become manifest in the discussion which was started in the Socialist Party organ, the *Populaire*, towards the end of October, 1938. On the one hand, Zyromski, Lebas and others advocated a policy of resistance to the fascist aggressor, while on the other stood Severac, l'Heveder, Lazurick and others who were for passivism at any price and considered that any settlement, even the most humiliating, was better than an anti-fascist foreign policy in which might be latent "the risk of a war for freedom." Leon Blum, originally one of the stoutest advocates of the Munich policy, at that time assumed the position of mediator but then permitted a gradual alteration in his viewpoint to become apparent.

In order to discuss this urgent question of Socialist foreign policy, an extraordinary congress of the Socialist Party was called for December 24. There appeared, in the party discussion preliminary to the congress, a clearer development of the contradictions in the chief questions at issue and a progressive shift in the relation of forces to the advantage of the supporters of resolute resistance to the fascist aggressor. *The revulsion in the mood of the masses* became more and more apparent, not only among the Socialist workers but also among the broad masses of the people, who, with

increasing anxiety, were realizing that the policy of concessions and surrender was a direct menace to the security of France. Clear-sighted politicians and a considerable number in widely varied parties began to look upon the overthrow of the Daladier government as a national necessity. In order to deal with this problem, however, it was necessary to decide what forces should constitute a new government and what policy this new government should follow. For the Socialist Party, which possesses the largest parliamentary representation, this question was an imperative one. So long as the Socialist Party is not in a position to oppose a clear, fundamentally different policy to the capitulation policy of Daladier, so long as it is not capable of rallying the broad masses around such a home and foreign policy, the Daladier government, in spite of its poor and precarious majority, can maintain itself in power. But the workers are demanding the overthrow of this government which is inimical to the interests of the workers and the people in general and whose reactionary measures are affecting them ever more painfully.

In view of this situation, Leon Blum moved a resolution in the congress which in substance reflected the change in the spirit of the masses and expressed the policy of resistance to the fascist aggressor.

Paul Faure and Severac proposed an alternative resolution which substantially expressed the policy of capitulation to the fascist aggressor.

Hitherto Leon Blum and Paul Faure had always proceeded side by side. But the difference of opinion within the Socialist Party had in the meantime become so great and so manifest, and the discussion on this question, affecting the whole destiny of the working class movement, had so engrossed the membership of the Socialist Party, that it was no longer possible to gloss over these contradictions. Zyromski's and Lebas' resolution, on the one hand, and those of Paul Faure and Deixonne, on the other were so harshly contradictory that any attempt at reconciliation was patently hopeless. Besides, Leon Blum was no longer in a position to mediate. Thus the conflict of opinion had to be decided.

The resolution which Leon Blum drafted was in some points less clear and unequivocal than that of Zyromski or that of Lebas, but it was nevertheless appropriate to the constitution of a platform upon which the opponents of the Munich policy might unite. Even before the congress, Zyromski withdrew his resolution in favor of Blum's, and Lebas supported Blum's resolution during the congress after Blum had incorporated certain points from Lebas' resolution in his own.

As Blum pointed out at the congress, the discussion was the expression of a crisis in the Socialist Party. In all the preliminary provincial conferences passionate debates took place which frequently terminated with the resignation of the provincial secretaries. At first it appeared as if Paul Faure, the general secretary of the party and controller of its apparatus, would gain the majority. The party machine men frequently sought to divert the dispute from fundamental questions and to engender the impression that this was merely a matter of personal dissension, of a quarrel between Blum and Paul Faure.

The beclouding of the fundamental basis of the conflict by means of such rumors and the creation of a particular atmosphere was developed to such an extent that, for instance, one of Blum's friends stated, at a provincial conference, that Blum, if he were left in the minority, would resign all his positions in the party and retire into private life. Whereupon Paul Faure and Severac were compelled to state that they could not accept the responsibility for Blum's eventual resignation and therefore were not in a position to uphold their resolution. Upon which Blum replied that, even if the decision of the party congress were to go against him, he would not resign.

Besides these tricksters who sought to play up personalities, in order to prevent

a fundamental solution and to engender confusion in the ranks of the Socialists, were honest members of the party who allowed themselves to be deceived, who feared the disintegration of the party and therefore supported the passing of a combined resolution at the expense of political clarity. In spite of this unwholesome atmosphere, however, the healthy spirit of the workers who were pressing forward towards clarity triumphed, and the fundamental character of the discussion became manifest above all intrigue and trickery. And the clearer the basic political problems appeared, in spite of all diversionist attempts, the greater became the majority against the policy of capitulation. At the congress, the Blum resolution secured 4,322 votes, as against 2,937 for Paul Faure's resolution, and 60 for the purely Trotskyite resolution of Deixonne and Gukowski; 1,014 abstained and there were 71 absentees.

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The resolution adopted by the majority states that the question at issue is not that of a choice between war and peace but of the establishment of a peace policy which promises success. The immediate danger of war has its origin in the policy of the fascist dictator states. The party declares "that it will cooperate to the fullest extent and without reserve in the defense of the country against all attacks or initiatives which threaten the inviolability of its territory, the full measure of its sovereignty and its political independence." Under this head, every negotiation or concession undertaken under the threat of war is inacceptable. In order to ensure the security of France, the party is in favor of raising the technical productivity of armament manufacture to the highest degree. Furthermore, the security of France demands pacts of mutual assistance which, once concluded, are obligatory upon each government. Treaties—"among which the party places in the forefront *the Anglo-French alliance and the Franco-Soviet Pact*"—must be observed honestly and courageously. The party deems it necessary to assist in a close rapprochement of Great Britain and the United States to the Soviet Union. The occupation of Spain, the Balearic Islands or the Canary Islands by possible enemies is incompatible with the security of France. The Socialist Party will not hesitate "*to kindle again in the masses of the people that spirit of resistance to injustice and oppression* which is one of the primary elements of Socialism."

The resolution goes on to state that were the people compelled to choose between bondage and war, the party would not advise bondage; it is, however, the firm intention of the party to spare the people this alternative. The party is in favor of an international conference of all states; no country should be excluded from such a conference. Furthermore, such a conference "would embark upon its labors under the most favorable conditions if it could obtain from the German and Italian governments the withdrawal of their troops which are now fighting on Spanish territory against the republic, a withdrawal which embodies the desires of the Spanish people." If such preliminary conditions were fulfilled, the conference could "deal with all political, economic, financial and colonial questions" as well as armaments limitation.

To the call for the organization of peace must be linked "a revivification in the attitude of the people, *the rallying and harnessing of all forces of the masses of the people,* whose confidence and energy constitute the most valuable force in the country."

Such are the essential points of the resolution adopted by the majority of the Socialist Party of France. Undoubtedly this resolution is a weapon against the policy of surrender to the fascist aggressor. It is true, we cannot deny that in some aspects we believe it to be inadequate. In our opinion the attitude taken by a great Socialist Party cannot be restricted to the noncommittal declaration that the occupation of Spain and of the Balearic or Canary Islands by possible enemies is incompatible with the

security of France. The "non-intervention" policy forms part of those disastrous concessions to fascism which contribute substantially to the danger of war; there were delegates at the congress who did not fail to remind Leon Blum of the fact that a contradiction existed between the resolution he proposed and the policy of "non-intervention" which he had initiated.

We are also of the opinion that it is necessary to have denounced more clearly and unequivocally each and every concession to fascism because *every* concession stimulates its greed and presumption and thus increases the risk of war. And, finally, we are also of the opinion that the preliminary conditions for the holding of an international peace conference in which all states participate are not clearly enough set forth and that, as regards this particular question, the resolution may evoke serious illusions. For our Socialist friends must surely also have realized that the fascist states are by no means prepared to make any peaceable concessions and that they cannot be bound by negotiations but only by the assumption of a strong and resolute attitude. An international peace conference, such as that imagined by our Socialist friends, can only come into existence and lead to definite results if France, Great Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union act unitedly and if the fascist aggressor states realize that they are faced by a determined front of the peace powers. There is but one argument that fascism understands: the argument of superior force.

A number of delegates at the congress —such as Zyromski, Lebas, Grumbach, Lagrange and others—developed the conception, much more forcefully than did the resolution, that, above all other considerations, it is imperative that fascism be confronted with the political and military predominance of the peace powers and that no concessions whatever be made to the fascist aggressors. Zyromski emphasized the fact that it is not only Spain but also France that is directly menaced, and that the Socialist Party and the working class "even at the cost of the greatest exertions and sacrifice" must develop a correct and effective political line, a genuinely anti-fascist foreign policy.

Lebas pointed out that the Socialist Party in parliament had so far not been in a position to put forward a concrete peace policy as an alternative to the foreign policy of the Daladier government. Grumbach forcefully opposed any concession whatever to fascism as well as that "reconstruction of Europe" which consists really of the surrender of Europe to Hitler and Mussolini and the stamping-out of socialism. Turning to the capitulators, he said: "After the tragedy of Czechoslovakia and after Munich, if you want to be logical you must go on to the end and tell the Spanish republicans, 'Resist no longer!' "

Lagrange stated that in order to afford any possibilities whatever for an international conference, France must first raise her material resources to the highest degree and unconditionally abide by all pacts of mutual assistance. "To abandon Spain and desert the Soviet Union," he told the congress, "is not the kind of 'victory of peace' which I would desire to have inscribed upon the banner of my party." Extremely impressive also was the speech of Comrade Lamine-Guiye, the Negro delegate from Senegal, the French West African colony, who, in reply to the supporters of colonial concessions to Hitler and Mussolini, declared that the Negroes must also be consulted as to whether they desired any repartition of Africa. "If fascism were to triumph," he stated, "we should be the first victims of the downfall of democracy." And then went on to say, "When people talk of a repartition of Africa they only too often neglect to consult the natives, who have no desire whatever to become subjects of Italy or Germany."

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The followers of Paul Faure stubbornly fought the crystallization of an anti-fascist foreign policy. The fascist news-

papers of Hitler Germany closely followed the congress debates and spared no praise for Paul Faure and the policy he represented. In a news story, and later in a leading article, the *Berliner Boersenzeitung* stated that Leon Blum stood for war and Paul Faure for peace, that the congress was the scene of a struggle between the "war party" and the "peace party."

The Trotskyite Albertini—who on December 27 withdrew an openly Trotskyite resolution in favor of the Paul Faure resolution—was so brazen as actually to adopt this fascist definition in his remark to the congress: "In the internal party struggle for peace we shall always be on the side of the peace party." A gale of anger arose at these words spoken by the voice of Berlin, and Marx Dormoy replied to this echo of German fascism, with justified indignation, as follows: "At a Socialist congress there are no peace parties and no war parties!" Other speakers at the congress were less imprudent than Albertini and defended with greater adroitness a standpoint which was useful only to fascism.

The *Berliner Boersenzeitung* and other Nazi sheets suddenly revealed their concern for "genuine socialism" and pointed to the Paul Faure group as being its standard-bearer, while those Socialists who were opposed to any concessions being made to fascism had rejected this "genuine socialism." Hitherto German fascism had allocated to the Trotskyites the task of comporting themselves as the spokesmen of "genuine socialism"; but now the Nazis themselves came to the fore as the anxious custodians of Marxism. It can hardly be pleasant for a Socialist to have Goebbels testify to the sterling quality of his socialism, yet this did not deter some of the supporters of the Paul Faure resolution from characterizing, amidst applause from Berlin, the policy of surrender to fascism as "genuine socialism." However, the conformity of their standpoint with the standpoint which was considered correct by Berlin certainly contributed to a further acceleration in the process of clarifying the situation of French Socialism.

German fascism is exerting every effort to prevent the concentration of the forces of peace and the formation of an alliance of the democratic powers. In the same way, the speakers of the minority at the congress also fulminated against the constitution of an "ideological alliance." To be sure, they were unable to deny the fact that an alliance of fascist powers already existed; nevertheless, they stubbornly opposed the advocacy by the Socialist Party of the necessary alliance of those countries which are menaced by the fascist warmongers.

German fascism persistently maintains that its struggle is directed only against the Versailles Treaty. Obviously, therefore, the German fascists burned down the Reichstag, murdered thousands of human beings, condemned many other thousands to the living death of the concentration camps, organized the appalling persecution of the Jews, and announced their claims to world supremacy, only because they were so compelled by the existence of the Versailles Treaty!

Nonsensical and shameless as this claim is, yet it found an echo among the minority at the Socialist Party congress. Some speakers on behalf of the Paul Faure resolution essayed the sorry task of shifting the blame for the growing war danger, as well as for the second imperialist war which has already had its beginnings in Spain and China, from the fascist dictators onto the Versailles Treaty. They even went further and, to the glee of the fascist aggressors, stated that, if fascism is not "provoked" by opposition, it will proceed by peaceful methods. Those poor fascists! First they were "provoked" by the Ethiopians, then by the Spaniards, then by the Chinese, by the Austrians and by the Czechoslovakians—and thus were they compelled by all these "provocations" to plan one war after the other, to undertake one *coup de force* after the other!

But German fascism asserts that it is most "provoked" by the mutual assist-

ance pact existing between France and the Soviet Union. So that some of the minority speakers at the congress promptly adopted this point of view and demanded that the Socialist Party advocate the cancellation of this pact. Lazurick, who was most closely identified with Trotskyism, stated that the minority might be able to come to an agreement with Blum on a number of questions, but that it could not yield on the question of the Soviet Union: the Franco-Soviet Pact must be cancelled, as it constitutes a provocation to Hitler Germany. Turning towards Leon Blum, he cried: "I fear that, through resolutions in which emphasis is laid on arming and the concentration of forces, you are supplying fascism with the pretext which it needs!" German fascism, which has always maintained the same thing—because it desires to weaken and isolate France in order then to devour her—will point to the words of this "Socialist" Lazurick with much satisfaction, for he has conveyed the very essence of the hopes of the lords of Berlin.

Ever widening circles in France are now beginning to realize that France has been frightfully weakened through the Munich agreement, that she is facing complete encirclement, that without the Franco-Soviet Pact she will be abandoned to the superior force of Germany. But people like Lazurick would like to rob France of even this safeguard and thus compel the French people, the French working class, to capitulate before Hitler.

German fascism is definitely opposed to any European system of security. It demands the voluntary self-isolation of each state, in order to be in a position eventually to devour each of these countries, one by one. The minority speakers adapted themselves to these designs and spoke against France considering any treaty as binding. Obviously any treaty or pact becomes worthless as soon as it loses its obligatory character, as soon as the contracting parties are not bound to fulfil its provisions. This is precisely what the fascist aggressors want to bring about; and it is precisely what the minority speakers advocated.

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The strongest attack made by the minority was upon the demand, in the majority resolution, that among the masses of the people the spirit be kindled of resistance to injustice and oppression and that the rallying and harnessing of all forces of the masses of the people be brought about. The minority speakers maintained that on no account should an appeal be made to the patriotic sentiment of the people, that on no account must there be any attempt at a national rallying of the people, for Socialism must strictly abstain from any appeal to national sentiment. The French reactionaries—who fear nothing so much as a revival and extension of the People's Front on the basis of national resistance to the fascist aggressors—hastened to aid the minority of the Socialist Party.

The reactionary press let fall in the midst of the debate the report that Blum had been negotiating with Tardieu regarding the formation of a national government. In this manner they hoped to compromise Blum and also to transform in the eyes of the delegates the conception of a national concentration of all forces of the people into that of a shady parliamentary deal. Blum at once branded the report as a lie, but something of its effects was retained. The majority beat a retreat, and the result was a compromise which to some extent weakened the resolution on foreign policy.

It should be obvious that it is not enough merely to advocate the idea of a correct foreign policy, but that the formulation of such a policy by the party which possesses the strongest representation in parliament must necessarily also bring up for consideration *the question of a new government.* It is not just a question of formally advocating a change in foreign policy, but in the course of the struggle for such a policy, of bringing into power a government which is prepared to operate it and capable of do-

ing so. It is a question of rallying all those forces of the people who are desirous of saving France and who believe that she can be saved only by a policy of determined resistance to the fascist aggressor. It is a question of forming a *government of national resistance on the broadest and soundest conceivable basis.*

The manifesto of the Communist International on November 7, 1938, clearly stated this task:

"The condition for a successful struggle to strengthen the cause of peace is to replace the governments of national treachery and shame in the countries menaced by fascist blows from without, by governments that are ready to repulse the fascist aggressors. A government of real national salvation cannot pursue the ruinous path of capitulation. It will conduct a ruthless struggle against capitulators and agents of foreign fascism. It will ruthlessly crush the fascist machinations of reaction at home. It will purge the army of the fascist enemies of its own people. It will establish real control by the working class over the defense of the country. It will disarm the fascist leagues and make the working class organizations the mainstay of the country's defense. It will conduct a consistent policy of collective security and will not shrink from employing sanctions against the aggressor. With the aid of such governments that are ready to use armed force in defense of the liberty and the independence of their peoples, it will be possible for a firm front of the peoples to arise which will compel the fascist aggressors to respect frontiers and keep the peace." *

Many of the delegates attending the Socialist congress laid emphasis upon the necessity of rallying all forces of the people in order to constitute such a government of national salvation and carry out a resolute policy of resistance to the fascist aggressors. The delegate Jean Bouley told the congress: "If French unity does not arise through us it will arise without us or against us!" In spite of this, Blum withdrew the majority resolution on internal affairs in favor of the minority resolution. From the latter we quote the following:

"As opposed to a government of so-called French unity, for which there is no longer any basis, the Party can only recognize a government which, relying upon a clear republican majority, is indubitably determined to defend democracy and the rights of those who work, and of putting into execution an economic and financial program which will be animated by that spirit which was displayed in April, 1936, by the second government under Socialist leadership."

To this resolution was opposed another of a Trotskyite tinge, introduced by Deixonne. Deixonne sarcastically stated that he was astounded at Leon Blum's withdrawal of his own motion as the national union of the French people was a logical consequence of the majority's standpoint. He strongly opposed any attempt to bring about such a national union, adding that the program of the People's Front was also inadequate and therefore the party in the future must refuse "on the pretext of unity at any price to enter into vague alliances." He declared himself to be in favor of an immediate general election and stated that the party must stand alone if for the moment no anti-capitalist unity were possible. Thus Deixonne's demands would have meant *the complete isolation of the Socialist Party* and the blocking of every opportunity of forming a government of resistance to the fascist aggressors.

Paul Faure's resolution on internal policy, which Leon Blum had supported, was finally adopted by 7,076 votes; the Deixonne resolution received 910 votes. There were 218 abstentions and 96 absentees.

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Thus the congress ended with a hazy compromise. It would be an exaggeration to say that the resolution adopted

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* "The 21st Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution," *The Communist*, December, 1938, p. 1073.

on internal policy destroys all possibility of forming a government of resistance to the fascist aggressor, but it has certainly not facilitated the constitution of such a government. A fatal contradiction exists between the resolution on foreign policy, which calls for the unity of all popular forces to repulse the fascist aggressor, and the resolution on home policy, which rejects a government of French unity—in other words, a government of the united forces of the people.

Lebas—in the course of his argument with several delegates who were attempting to preserve at any cost the purely formal unity of the party by means of a "united" but quite colorless resolution—told the congress that he stood for unity as did every Socialist, *but only for a unity based on clarity.* And in truth only such a unity can ensure the multifarious activity of a workers' party. Every form of unity which is based upon worthless compromise is but perilous self-deception and instead of advancing the struggle cripples the party's energies.

In its grappling with vital working class problems, the Socialist Party of France has overcome a certain obscurity and has furthered to a certain extent the process of clarification in its own ranks, but it has halted temporarily at a halfway stage. While many of the points in the foreign policy resolution are to be welcomed, it is deplorable that, in the resolution on internal policy, the logical consequences of the foreign policy resolution have not been applied. The comparative "unity" on the question of home affairs is not a unity resting upon clarity but a compromise which prejudices the capacity for action of the Socialist Party in the struggle against the anti-working class government of capitulation.

We are neither able nor do we desire to lay down policy for the Socialist Party, but our concern in the entire working class movement and in peace forbids us from standing aloof from its discussions. In the interest of the whole working class, we desire to see the Socialist Party of France attain *a maximum of internal unity*, an internal unity which, as Lebas said, is based upon clarity. We therefore believe it to be necessary to kindle in the masses of the people the spirit of resolute resistance to foreign fascism and to its accomplices at home and in particular to intensify it in the ranks of the Socialist Party; and also to exert every effort to convince those sincere Socialists who, at the congress, supported the standpoint of Paul Faure or even of Deixonne—as well as those who underestimated the decisive importance of this conflict on a matter of principle and therefore were in favor of a unity resolution at all costs—of the necessity of a determined stand against fascism without making any concessions whatever to this deadly foe of the working class.

We also believe that the Socialist Party of France should become aware of the increased danger of Trotskyite influences, of the danger of disintegration embodied in the fact that people are introducing fascist demagogy into the working class movement, as, for example, when, following the lead of the Goebbels newspapers, they accuse consistent antifascists of forming a "war party." We must patiently and unfailingly endeavor to convince those who in good faith have become the victims of fascist demagogy and are unaware of the true nature of the tactics which are being employed; but in the interests of clarity and unity a stop must be put to the machinations of those who are deliberately trying to permeate the workers with fascist demagogy.

Undoubtedly, the Socialist Party of France, at its special congress, has entered upon the path which leads through clarity to unity. We hope, in the interests of the French working class, of the whole French people, and of freedom and peace throughout the world, that it will continue further along this path.

# Trotskyist Plotters in France

BY G. DECHAMP

THE secrets of the Munich betrayal have now been revealed. The activity of the fascists and their agents has been exposed to the whole world in all its revolting details.

Today we have irrefutable documentary proof of the methods and the sums of money employed by Hitler to buy the "public opinion," the great bourgeois press, of France. No doubt exists any longer today regarding the means by which the leader of the fascist organization of the Croix de Feu was able to acquire control of the *Petit Journal*, a newspaper with a mass circulation and the repuation of being to the Left. According to Kerillis, the French Deputy of the Right, the American ambassador in Paris, Bullitt, reported to his government that from May to November, 1938, two million pounds sterling was poured into the French press by the German ministry of propaganda.

Hitler's fascism finds its most loyal allies in French monopoly capital. The big industrialists of the mining industry, such as the de Wendel family, have always supplied German industry with ore. In the war of 1914 many a Krupp gun was made with French ore. De Wendel and his friends have always remained true to this policy. They have always placed their profits before their nation.

But these allies alone are not sufficiently strong to enable fascism to carry out its program and reduce France to a second-rate power. Fascism therefore endeavors to deal the People's Front a mortal blow; the breaking away of vacillating bourgeois politicians from the People's Front or the corruption of the bourgeois press is not enough. Fascism therefore makes use of the Trotskyists—the instruments which it always employs for weakening the organization of the working class from within and for disintegrating the democratic movement of the people.

The Trotskyists in France, who have no consolidated organization of their own, aim at breaking up the People's Front, isolating the working class from its allies, and splitting the ranks of the workers' organizations; for it is the task of Trotskyism to prepare the way for fascist invasion. Working according to a plan prepared by the fascist espionage service, the Trotskyists in France have distributed their forces so as to render the best possible service to their employers. They direct their attacks primarily against those sections of the People's Front and of the working class movement in which the masses, having only been active in the working class movement since the great strikes of July, 1936, are not yet very educated politically, or in which the prejudices of petty-bourgeois groups provide a favorable soil for the splitting and disintegrating tactics of the Trotskyists.

Since February, 1934, when the fascists were beaten back by the French people, the Trotskyists have been trying to insinuate themselves into those mass organizations where it is easiest for them to carry on their criminal underground activity.

The Trotskyists penetrated into a number of trade unions, organizations

of the Socialist Party, and even into certain bodies and committees of the People's Front which were set up to fight fascism. They were able to do this because certain politicians, who had joined the People's Front under the pressure of the masses, believed that the Trotskyists would counteract the growing influence of the Communist Party. The group of the Trotskyist Pivert, who succeeded last year in splitting the Paris organization of the Socialist Party and turning a section of the Socialist Youth against the People's Front, would not have been able to acquire such power if some of the leading Socialists of France had not adopted an attitude of passivity toward this group. The Trotskyists were also able to work their way into some of the clerks' and business employee trade unions because certain anti-Communist elements in the French trade union movement, so-called "pure sydicalists," and especially the old trade unionist Dumoulin, considered it right to shelter the Trotskyists.

In this way, the enemies of unity, the open opponents of the French Communist Party, which leads the fight for unity, opened the doors of the working class organizations to the bitterest enemies of the working class, the Trotskyists.

The Trotskyists helped to prepare the Munich betrayal. As early as April, 1938, the publications under the influence of the Trotskyists started their campaign in favor of the "justice" of Hitler's claims on Czechoslovakia. In April, 1938, the Trotskyist Fouchère was already writing that there was no democracy in Czechoslovakia, that Czechoslovakia was not a state at all, but a "conglomeration of millions of minorities under the rule of the Czech bourgeoisie." That is a cynical repetition of Goebbels' arguments; it is the vile language of the fascist press. At the same time these Trotskyist rags came out against collective security and against the Soviet Union, the most powerful force in the peace front and in the fight against fascism. That is nothing less than open support for the criminal plans of the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo axis. The Trotskyists did everything in their power to help Hitler dismember Czechoslovakia.

When the crisis became acute, the Trotskyists put forward the slogan of "complete pacifism" and "peace at any price" in order to render Hitler still greater service. This Trotskyist slogan caught on among the vacillating elements of the intelligentsia. A group of intellectuals under Trotskyist influence in the so-called "Comité de Vigilance des Intellectuels" took up this provocative slogan, which is in fact equivalent to handing over France to fascism. This organization had originally been set up as a union of anti-fascist intellectuals, but the Trotskyists succeeded in pushing out the true anti-fascists and changing the committee into an instrument of defeatist propaganda for capitulation.

Already in April, 1938, the Trotskyist Emery was putting the fascist standpoint in the columns of the paper *Feuilles Libres* and declaring that the claims of the three great fascist countries to new territories must be recognized, because these countries were "overpopulated."

The same Trotskyists came out in defense of the shameful blockade of Republican Spain and wrote in the organ of the same committee: "As it is not to be assumed that the Daladier government or any other government will lift the embargo (against Spain), we must renounce this demand." The blockade of Spain, the starving and strangling of the Spanish people in their heroic fight, could not be demanded more openly. The Trotskyists were carrying on their sabotage long before the Munich betrayal in order thus to weaken the fight against fascist aggression. They openly approved of the attitude of one of Hitler's most active agents in France, the former French premier Flandin, who has sold himself to fascist Germany. The Trotskyists used as their organ a paper published by Bergery, a renegade from the People's Front, whose connections with the Nazis have been exposed in the French press and never disputed.

The "total pacifism" advocated by the

Trotskyists and their allies is fundamentally the same as Flandin's demand: unconditional capitulation to Hitler, "Slavery rather than death" as one of these "pacifists" expressed it. When partial mobilization was ordered in France and wide masses of the people sincerely believed that the government was determined to defend the country, the Trotskyists intensified their campaign in order to supply the Daladier government with the specious argument that the troops were not reliable.

The Trotskyists banked on the French workers' love of peace; they used the preservation of "peace at any price" as a cloak for handing over democratic Czechoslovakia to the fascist bloodsuckers, betraying the interests of France and weakening its defenses, and thus hastening the outbreak of imperialist war in the heart of Europe.

The Trotskyists appealed to the men called up for mobilization not to join their units; they demanded the sabotaging of the measures for air defense; it was they who posted up a defeatist proclamation throughout the country. All this was intended to give the impression that the country was against mobilization and thus provide the goverment with an excuse for capitulation. The fascist-Trotskyist spies adopt the most various disguises; they hide themselves behind pacifist phrases in order thus to conceal from the working masses of France their connection with the fascist aggressors and their real activity as traitors.

A "Petition Against War" which was circulated throughout France during the days of the mobilization before Munich bears the clear stamp of the Trotskyists. Issued from the offices of the trade union of teachers and the trade union of postal workers this document calls on the French government "to continue on the path of negotiations, without being discouraged by difficulties." In other words, it demands capitulation to the fascist aggressor. It prominently displays the signatures of such well-known French Trotskyists as Madeleine Paz, who, as was proved in the trial of the Trotskyist-Bukharinist espionage center, was in touch with the spy Rakowski; also the signatures of the Trotskyist Emery and others.

Another proclamation, issued by the above-mentioned "Comité de Vigilance" in conjunction with some anarchist organizations, was also posted up everywhere during the last days of September; it openly declared that the French people had no interest in defending Czechoslovakia. Thus the Trotskyists carried out their orders; they "delivered the goods." The paper of Daladier's minister of war and head of the government used this proclamation to justify its attitude during the days of the mobilization.

But the Trotskyists go still further. Under Trotskyist influence the leadership of the trade union of the postal workers of France issued a circular calling upon all affiliated organizations openly to support the policy of capitulation and to unite for this purpise with the reactionary press and with the parties of the Right, such as the "Alliance Démocratique." This circular makes perfectly clear that the so-called "total pacifists" had been given the task of presenting a false picture of the attitude of the working class to the events of September and of giving the impression that the masses organized in the trade unions supported the shameful policy of Munich. They demanded of their organizations that, through the official telegraph agency, Havas, they should spread reports of the results of this campaign.

The Trotskyists and the elements they had misled implored the workers on no account to fight for the defense of the French Republic. Their representatives on a women's committee in the Alpes Maritimes province went so far as to call on the women in the event of a war with Italy to throw themselves down on the railway tracks in order to prevent the departure of French military trains for the frontier. It is only necessary to realize for a moment the tremendous pressure on the population during the days when the men were being called up for military service and the streets of the towns were being prepared against

air attack, in order to understand how this clever "pacifist propaganda" could confuse the minds of many who have not been sufficiently steeled in the class struggle.

Penetration into political organizations and the mass organizations of the proletariat was the chief task of the Trotskyist provocateurs. They succeeded in making their way into a number of working class organizations. But, as the Trade Union Congress of Nantes showed, they have not been able to carry out the orders given them by their employers; they have not been able to split the trade union movement. Many of those who under the influence of the Trotskyists declared themselves at the time of Munich in favor of "total pacifism" now realize how shameful is this policy of treachery.

The activity of the Trotskyists as provocateurs in the trade unions as well as in other anti-fascist organizations often takes the form of close collaboration with the fascist groups of Doriot and others. In conjunction with the fascists of the party of Doriot, the renegade and traitor, the Trotskyists provoked clashes between the workers in a factory in the Paris suburb of La Garenne when the question of strike action was being discussed. Fomented by the Trotskyist provocateurs, a fight took place in the factory yard.

The Trotskyist provocateurs collaborated with other fascist organizations in the formation of "groups" and "committees" in the trade unions, by means of which they weakened the fight against the employers and prepared the ground for the disintegration of the trade union organizations from within.

The more militant the struggle of the working class, the more shameful becomes the Trotskyists' work of sabotage in the service of fascism. This was made particularly clear during the general strike, when the Trotskyists and sections of the trade union organizations under their influence came out openly as provocateurs and strikebreakers. It is therefore no mere chance that Daladier, speaking in the French parliament in justification of his measures of reprisal against the workers, made use of a circular issued by Trotskyist members of the leadership of a branch of the teachers' trade union in Lyon. In the pay of their fascist masters, in the pay of fascist Germany and its agents in France, the Trotskyists employ the dirtiest methods to destroy the pact of friendship between the Soviet Union and France. The anti-Soviet campaign carried on by the Trotskyist bandits is a direct threat to the safety of France, an open betrayal of the freedom of the French people and of all that they have gained through the People's Front.

But the Trotskyists do not confine themselves to working in those organizations which the enemies of unity help them to enter. They make every effort to penetrate into the ranks of the Communist Party. The Communist Party of France, however, has always been perfectly aware of the danger represented by the entry of Trotskyist agents into the Party. It has therefore carried on, and continues to carry on, a tireless fight to preserve its ranks from penetration by Trotskyist elements. The history of the international working class movement teaches that the victory of the working class is impossible without the destruction of the agents of fascism, the Trotskyists, without the destruction of all the capitulators and traitors who make their way into its ranks.

"If, while it is carrying on a life and death fight against the bourgeoisie, there are capitulators and traitors on its own staff, within its own fortress, the working class will be caught between two fires, from the front and the rear. Clearly, such a struggle can only end in defeat. The easiest way to capture a fortress is from within. To attain victory, the Party of the working class, its directing staff, its advanced fortress, must first be purged of capitulators, deserters, scabs and traitors." (*History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* [*Bolsheviks*], p. 360.)

The Central Committee of the French Communist Party was faced with the difficult task of keeping the ranks of the

Party free from all undesirable elements. In the course of the recent struggles there has been mass recruitment to the Communist Party. It is therefore of extraordinary importance in the fight against Trotskyism to raise the ideological and theoretical level of the Party. This task is carried out by the numerous schools for members of the Party which are being run in all parts of France, and by the issuing of printed educational material, including elementary courses for members of the Party which have been published in editions of tens of thousands. Maurice Thorez' book, *A Son of the People*, which describes in detail the fight of the French Communist Party against the renegade groups and the traitors, has also helped in the struggle to raise the ideological and theoretical level of the Party membership.

At the present moment, all the reactionary forces of France are launching attacks on the gains won by the working class and the People's Front; the Daladier government has replied to the protest of the general strike on November 30 with sharp repressive measures; the enemies of the French people, the enemies of the Communist Party, are employing every possible kind of provocation against the Communists: consequently the Trotskyist danger in France is on the increase. From the Trotskyist bandits, from Doriot and de la Roque, the hirelings of Hitler, every form of provocation can be expected against the Communists, the anti-fascists and all adherents of the People's Front.

It is therefore even more urgently the duty of the working class and the Communist Party of France to intensify their revolutionary watchfulness and to clear out the Trotskyists and other agents of fascism from all the organizations of the working class and particularly from the ranks of the Communist Party.

The fight against the Trotskyist agents of fascism demands from every Communist a high ideological level, uncompromising loyalty to revolutionary principles and firmness toward the class enemies. The firmness which the Soviet Union showed in the destruction of the fascist-Trotskyist enemies must be an example to the Communist Party and the whole working class movement of France.

*The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* (which has already appeared in an English translation) is a valuable help to a mastery of Bolshevism. The study of this book will be of great help in driving the Trotskyists and other agents of fascism out of the ranks of the working class movement. It will contribute greatly to the education of the masses in the spirit of the implacable struggle against fascism, to the fight for the liberation of humanity, to the victory of socialism.

# German Fascism Is Destroying Agriculture

BY E. HORNLE

I

DISTRESS among the peasantry in Germany is on the increase. German fascism is finding it more and more difficult to mollify the peasants, and the masses of the German peasantry are beginning to realize that the fascist regime is their mortal enemy. But the peasants are not in a position to throw off the yoke by themselves. What is called for is a close alliance of the workers and peasants in the struggle against the fascist oppressors. The conditions for such an alliance are more favorable than they have ever been. It is therefore essential that the workers and all anti-fascists should concern themselves more thoroughly than hitherto with the difficulties and grievances of the German peasants, and should bring their own struggle very closely into line with that of the German peasants.

The problem of agriculture is increasingly becoming one of the weakest and most vulnerable points of German fascism. Anti-fascists cannot afford to neglect this problem; they should devote a far greater degree of attention to it.

In the following article an attempt is made to investigate some of the causes of the German agricultural crisis and thereby to show what great possibilities there are for the joint struggle of anti-fascists and the peasantry against fascist war economy, against the fascist oppressors, who even in peace time have brought the direst wartime misery upon the German people.

### INCREASING TURNOVER—BUT DECLINING INCOME

In August, 1938, the Institute for Economic Research published figures of the alleged turnover of German agriculture, according to which, in the economic year 1937-1938 (June 30 to July 1), receipts in crops had risen from 3,400,000,000 to 3,600,000,000 Reichsmarks, in stock and animal products from 5,500,000,000 to 5,900,000,000, and the market receipts of German agriculture as a whole from 8,900,000,000 to 9,500,000,000.

These demagogic figures published by this semi-official institute gave rise in Germany to what was, under fascist conditions, an unusually lively controversy, in which not only agricultural specialists but also leading officials of the Reichnaehrstand (Reich Food Corporation) participated.

The central feature of the controversy, which was intended by higher quarters to serve as a lightning conductor for the accumulated bitterness among the peasantry and large sections of the small and medium landowners, was the *rapidly declining profitability of private agricultural undertakings.* The Stabsamtsfuehrer (Staff Office Leader) of the Reich Food Corporation, H. Reischle, summed up the position as follows:

"As a result of rising production costs a point has now been reached at which the necessary increase of agricultural production can be carried no further without a change in the distribution of incomes, indeed, even the maintenance of the present rate of production will be endangered, for today economic forces and man-power will have to be employed which can no longer be replaced."*

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* *N.S. Landpost,* No. 44. November 4, 1938.

In other words, the agrarian bureaucracy of German fascism not only admitted, as it had already done in the previous spring, the critical nature of the situation, but also alluded to the possibility of a deterioration and gradual disintegration of German agriculture.

The sixth *Reichsbauerntag* (Reich Peasant Congress), held in the last week of November in Goslar, revealed quite clearly that the fascist leaders were on the defensive against the revolt of the peasantry. In their speeches the *rapporteurs* adjured the German peasantry not to allow any reduction in the area under cultivation, and despite the accumulating difficulties not to get rid of their milch cows. Never yet had such a pessimistic note been struck at a fascist rally. The *Reichsobmann fuer Baeurliche Selbstverwaltung* (Reich Chairman of the Peasant Self-Administration Organization), the landowner and sugar-beet producer Gustav Behrens, admitted that the "productive capacity of agricultural undertakings is being strained to the utmost." His formulation of the problem was not how can we achieve victory, but literally: "how is the productive capacity of agricultural undertakings not to be completely sapped?"*

The organ of the Rhineland Peasants' Association, the daily *Westdeutsche Landzeitung* (Nov. 29, 1938), headed its report of Darré's concluding speech in Goslar with the illuminating caption: "The Spectre of a Decline in Agricultural Production."

Darré's speech was in itself a veiled defensive maneuver. He referred to the "exertion of every available force," to "the tendency of milk production to fall," to the "necessity for equipping industry and the army," and concluded with the extremely and, in his mouth, unusually noncommittal phrase, "a complete solution of the problem could not be postponed." The leaders of the Reich Food Corporation pursued the tactics of calming the peasantry by means of an apparently frank acknowledgement of the difficulties of the situation and of keeping them in check by imbuing them with fresh illusions.

The internal contradictions, too, in the fascist machinery of government were thus clearly revealed. The Food Corporation, hard pressed by the agriculturists and the mass of the peasantry, held forth more or less openly against that section of the governmental machinery which mainly represents industrial interests. The conflict, inevitable even under monopoly capitalism, between industry and agriculture, which fascism had over a short period managed to gloss over, was once more forced to the surface in this distorted form under the stress of the crisis. The Reich Food Corporation put forward "demands" at Goslar which were not only the sheerest demagogy, but reflected the fury of the peasants at the colossal profits of the armament industry. This was most clearly expressed by *Stabsamtsfuehrer* Reischle. He had already, a month previously, put forward in an article in the press the "demand" that: "The economic relationship between town and country must be reconsidered." *

And now at Goslar he put this demand into concrete form. Industrial products, he said, "must be sold to agriculture at enormously reduced prices." ** Hitherto agriculture had been financing the boom in industry, now industry must finance agriculture.

Naturally such "demands" in the mouths of leading fascists are primarily demagogic, but at the same time they are symptoms of the increasing difficulties of the system, an echo of the feelings of the masses.

A casual remark in *Die Deutsche Volkwirtschaft*, a periodical edited by Professor Hunke (No. 3, August, 1938), illuminates the situation as vividly as a flash of lightning. Professor Hunke is the economic adviser of the Nazi Party (N.S.D.A.P.), Berlin Region. He sug-

* Report in *Die Landware* of November 27, 1938.

* "The Undervaluation of Agricultural Work," *Die Landware*, October 16, 1938.

** *Die Landware*, November 27, 1938.

gested that at least a part of the increased receipts of agriculture estimated by the Institute for Economic Research for the year 1937-38 did *not* arise from *genuine sales* but rather from quite definitely *forced sales*, in particular of stock slaughtered as a result of the "fodder situation," that is, the fodder crisis, and of the outbreak of the foot-and-mouth disease that had raged in Germany for over a year.

"The increased sale of cattle in the last year," stated the periodical, was "in reality to the disadvantage of the stock-breeders." In this article the selling-off of the very stock-in-trade of peasant farms, a process that had already set in, was admitted for the first time, a fact which three months later had to be admitted even by *Stabsamtsfuehrer* Reischle in an article on the preparations for the "Reich Peasant Congress" in Goslar.*

Of very great value is the admission of *Die Deutsche Volkswirtschaft* that the fodder situation is a factor in the crisis. The year 1937 was, it is alleged, a record year for all root crops, provender and green fodder. Nevertheless, the fodder situation is compelling the peasants to reduce their stock of pigs and cattle on a very large scale. That must be borne in mind. It is the consequence of the exclusion of imports of fodder and the ban on the use of grain for fodder. According to the figures of the bulletin issued by the Reich Statistical Department (No. 2, November, 1938), the cash expenditure of agriculture on fodder thereby rose in comparison with the previous year by 245,000,000 marks, that is, 41 per cent. This increased expenditure was not counterbalanced by the total increased receipts from compulsory deliveries of grain. It is primarily the poorer and middle peasantry that suffer from this ban on fodder. The German periodical *Die Landware* summed up the position on November 10, 1938, by stating:

"Agriculture received in 1933-34 three billion less and today six billion less than is its due in view of its vast achievements."

The share of agriculture in the so-called "People's Income" has never therefore been so low relatively as today, in the sixth year of the fascist dictatorship.

## II

### SCARCITY OF LABOR POWER ENDANGERS PRODUCTION

Naturally, these facts are concealed and suppressed by the fascists as long as possible. When that is no longer possible, they look around for a scapegoat. Thus, at the beginning of the year, Secretary of State Backe selected the "law of diminishing agricultural returns" as the general scapegoat, his aim being to prepare the peasantry for the gangsters' slogan "Land in the East!"

But this twaddle about the inevitable "diminishing agricultural returns" has its reverse side; it impedes the further mechanization of agriculture and the employment of scientific fertilizing methods which are so urgently necessary for the fascist war preparations (the liberation of areas now devoted to cultivation of fodder, and of labor power for military purposes). No farmer is going to buy expensive machines and fertilizer if the song of the "law of diminishing agricultural returns" is daily dinned into his ears. At the moment, therefore, it is more expedient for fascism to concentrate upon its agitation against what it alleges to be the considerably increased demands of the landworkers and their new "flight from the countryside."

What is the truth with regard to this new "flight from the countryside"? In what way does it differ from the, so to speak, normal flight from the countryside of impoverished villagers under capitalism?

First a word as to its extent.

On June 25, 1938, an investigation of the records of the Ministry of Labor showed that the number of regular agricultural workers in Germany had diminished since 1933 by 165,000; 230,000 agricultural workers are stated to be

* *N. S. Landpost*, November 18, 1938.

today in other trades. These figures, however, seem to illustrate only a part of the real emigration from the countryside. They do not include the number, at least equally as great, of young peasants who have left agriculture. Among these, those sons and daughters of owners of "entailed estates" who have emigrated from the countryside because they have become propertyless, must play an important role. At Goslar Darré estimated the total number of all those who had emigrated from the countryside or otherwise left agriculture at from 700,000 to 800,000. One might almost call this a complete draining of labor power from the land.

In view of these figures, the approximate correctness of which there is no reason to doubt, no one can be surprised that the food corporation bureaucrats who are responsible to the fascist government for the success of the agricultural war preparations should be passing sleepless nights. The "flight from the countryside," said the *Wochenblatt*, the organ of the Bavarian Peasants Association (July 14, 1938), was the "most weighty problem that exists in the country today." According to the same source, the Reich Youth Leader Baldur von Schirach, at a conference in Maria Saal in Carinthia, referred to the "checking of the flight from the countryside," as the "decisive task of German youth." At Goslar Darré went so far as to refer to it as the "decisive political test of the N.S.D.A.P."

But how has this devastating draining of the life blood of German agriculture come about? In so far as it represents a genuine flight from the countryside of the working population, it is the natural consequence of the increased exploitation of the masses on the land and the deprivation of their rights under fascism. But that only partially explains the phenomenon. The mass emigration from agriculture is also in part a direct consequence of the enormously increased employment of labor in the fascist armament industry, either in the building of strategic roads, canals and fortifications or in the army itself. The fascist technical journals to some extent also admit this. For example, the *Deutsche Landwirtschaftliche Presse* writes:

"The building projects, the greater part of which are said to be of immediate importance, and also the machine-building and transport building industries, etc., are to a very great extent monopolizing all raw materials and are on the other hand increasing the demand for labor so considerably that in certain districts it is scarcely possible to retain the older agricultural laborers, while the young people have long since found their way into the building trades and other branches of industry." *

But even this does not exhaust the reasons for this "new flight from the countryside." In addition to the spontaneous emigration of agricultural labor from the village, brought about by fascism, there is also the *commandeering* of men in the villages for the fascist military preparations and war operations. Under this heading come the creation of a standing army millions strong with a colossally large active list and the innumerable maneuvers of reserve troops, often lasting for months, the taking over of farm buildings, draught animals, vehicles and manpower under the *Wehrleistungsgesetz* (Military Law) of July 15, 1938, and the impressing of the entire youth of the villages into the Hitler Youth organization, the "B.D.M.," the S.A. and other semi-military associations, in which they are kept from their ordinary work by innumerable rallies, drilling, field exercises, parades and pogroms and trained for the fascist war on the internal and external front.

In addition there is the employment of an increasing number of paid or honorary officials in the fascist machinery for the "regulation of the market" and "battle for production," of farm inspectors, milch-cow overseers, administrators of collecting stations, employees of district and regional peasant associations,

* *Deutsche Landwirtschaftspresse*, August 27, 1938.

functionaries of the marketing associations, etc., the greater number of whom have to be withdrawn from agriculture itself.

And not least of all comes the continual harrying of the farmers themselves in a thousand and one ways; the constant running hither and thither, the correspondence, the disputes, quarrels and court cases which are all part of the fascist war economy. The very fact that the peasants are tied to certain prescribed markets and collecting stations entails for many producers a considerable loss of daily energy and time.

In short, the fundamental causes of the new "flight from the countryside" are to be traced primarily to the enormously increased deprivation of the rights and exploitation of the agricultural proletariat and small peasants, which literally forces them to emigrate from the land, second, to the vastly increasing demand for labor power and the consumption of labor power by the fascist armament industry and the fascist army, as a result of the fascist transformation of the whole of Germany into a vast war camp. Like a mighty suction pump fascism draws precisely the most useful labor power away from the land and thereby robs it of its important productive forces.

And now a word about the alleged preposterously high wage claims of German agricultural workers, which, it was maintained at Goslar, were endangering the profitability of agriculture.

In order to ascertain the truth, we need only compare the official figures for cash wages today with those for the year 1931. In 1931, as everyone knows, the great economic crisis was approaching its climax. Agriculturalists were proclaiming on all sides the complete ruin of German agriculture. Chancellor Brüning was governing by means of emergency decrees. One of these decrees reduced the wages of all agricultural workers by 10 per cent. How, then, did the wages of German agricultural workers at that time compare with those of today? The following figures taken from the *Statistical Yearbook of the German Reich* tell their own story:

| | 1931 | 1936 | % of Reduction |
|---|---|---|---|
| | (In Reichsmarks.) | | |
| Male farm laborer in Schleswig-Holstein ... | 506.75 | 405.00 | 20% |
| Female farm worker in Schleswig-Holstein ... | 426.50 | 324.00 | 24% |
| Male farm laborer in North Hanover .. | 646.50 | 490.40 | 24% |
| Female farm worker in North Hanover .. | 484.00 | 368.00 | 21% |
| Male farm laborer in the "Cologne basin" .... | 708.45 | 480.00 | 32% |

In the most important stock-farming and vegetable-growing districts of Germany fascism has, according to these figures, brought down the wages of male agricultural workers to the level or even below the former level of female farm workers, and has brought the wages of the latter much lower still. All wages have been reduced by the scale arbitrarily imposed by the fascist *"trustees of labor"* to, on the average, 20 to 30 per cent below the slump level.

Even in districts of Germany east of the Elbe, where wages in kind (land, agricultural produce) are the chief form of wages in agriculture, fascism has depressed the extremely low cash wages by a further 20 to 30 per cent:

| | 1931 | 1936 | % of Reduction |
|---|---|---|---|
| | (In Reichsmarks.) | | |
| Male farm laborer in the Brandenburg dist. .. | 387.58 | 324 | 21.5% |
| Female farm worker in Brandenberg, Niederbarnim district ... | 384.53 | 328.20 | 16% |
| Agricultural laborer in Silesia .... | 479.96 | 342.00 | 28.8% |
| Female farm worker in Silesia .... | 479.96 | 338.90 | 30% |

This, then, is the true picture of the so-called "rise in wages" under fascism!

But, according to Professor Hunke's periodical, wages in the last year have once more risen by 20 to 30 per cent. Let us investigate the truth of this dubious statement. On what does the whole thing turn? On nothing but the phenomena consequent on the prohibition of the use of grain as fodder and the compulsory delivery of grain introduced throughout the country in July, 1937. The estate-owner is thus forbidden to give his laborers more grain by way of wages in kind than is just sufficient to provide their families with bread. Any further wages in kind that have hitherto been given must now be given either in the form of fodder or in cash. For the estate-owner the payment of the difference in cash is, under present conditions (increased prices for rye since 1937), an advantage. The increased cash wage, about which the fascist statisticians are making such a fuss, is in reality, therefore, not an advantage, but a disadvantage to the agricultural worker, who has lost the possibility of gaining his traditional extra earnings by the fattening of one or two pigs. With his cash he can buy only the most wretched substitute goods. The officially published figures of agricultural wages are therefore still below the crisis level of 1931; far below the rates won after such a hard struggle under the Weimar Republic, not to mention the wages in fact received and the other conditions of work of the German agricultural laborer.

Nevertheless, the fascist bureaucracy called unanimously at the "Reich Peasant Congress" for radical measures to be taken with regard to "the flight from the countryside" and "high wages."

## III

### AGRICULTURE WITHOUT SCYTHES, BINDING TWINE OR TIMBER

Abroad and among the non-agricultural German public fascism endeavors to create the impression that it can and will avert the impending catastrophe by means of increased introduction of technical improvements, chemical methods, rationalization and the employment of entirely new scientific methods and inventions. At the "Reich Peasant Congress" State Secretary Backe outlined an entire program of ostensibly revolutionary measures. Let us see, therefore, what the German agricultural experts have to say on this point.

Let us begin with the question of the provision of German agriculture with, shall we say, not expensive and complicated tractors and so forth, but with the simplest implements, tools and equipment, such as scythes, binding twine, plowshares, etc. In the article already extensively quoted, the *Deutsche Volkswirtschaft* writes, with reference to the prices of these and other essential articles:

"Direct and indirect rises in price have occured in the case of wages (? !), building costs, fertilizers, to some extent in the case of machines, implements and spare parts, and in the case of mechanics' charges, which cannot be regarded as negligible."

The *Deutsche Landwirtschaftliche Presse*, in an article from which we have also freely quoted, reveals what is meant by "indirect rises in price" when it refers to a "variation in quality" in the case of the means of production. In this connection it states very relevantly that,

". . . the net price lists, not only for machines, but also for the many small articles employed in agriculture, as, for example, scythes, binding twine, etc., no longer apply to the same quality of goods as formerly."

That is abundantly clear! In plain language it means that under fascism the peasant is fobbed off with trash in return for his hard-earned money.

And that is not the whole story! Sometimes the peasant does not even receive goods of inferior quality for his good money. In this connection the retrospective survey entitled "A Year of the Rationing of Iron in Agriculture," published by the official organ of the "Reich

Governing Body for Technical Questions in Agriculture" in July, 1938, is very illuminating. The agricultural machine industry was, in 1937, only in a position partially to supply the requirements of agriculture for new machines. The manufacture of threshing machines, straw pressers, turnip-cutters, fodder machines, etc., was considerably restricted.

The iron, lead and metal goods branch of industry, which supplies agriculture with the usual hand implements and tools, fittings for stalls, etc., was "at first accorded no quota whatever," and was reduced to obtaining its iron in the "free market." "But this free market," the writer remarks, "was, as a result of the fixing of the state quota, no more than a conception." Only at the beginning of 1938 was this branch of industry accorded "any quota whatever."

Matters were just as bad for the crafts supplying the needs of agriculture, in particular the blacksmith's trade. Not until 1938 was it placed in a position "to carry out the most urgent agricultural repairs." Even today, the report states, "the difficulties have not been surmounted in practice." An example of these difficulties, according to the same source, is the fact that no wire could be supplied for the campaign for the enclosure of pastures ordered by the Food Corporation. "The acceptance of applications of materials had to be held up for something like six months."

How great is the above-mentioned lack of binding twine can be gathered from the decree published in the *Reichsanzeiger* of September 29, 1938, which provides for forced collections and deliveries of old and new binding twine.

Parallel with the fixing of a quota for iron goes the fixing of a quota for building in agriculture. German fascism boasts of the generous way in which it has promoted the building of stalls, of green fodder tanks, dung-water cisterns, dung-heaps, agricultural workers' dwellings, etc.

The facts in themselves give it the lie. The employment of timber is strictly rationed. As the *Berliner Börsenzeitung* of November 12, 1938, states, any purchaser of timber, planks, and sawn timber for workshops must produce an official "permit." Such permits are only issued to a limited extent. In the case of agriculture they are distributed by the "Reich Governing Body for Technical Questions in Agriculture."

As regards the building of dwellings and settlements for agricultural workers, and of renovations and extensions, applications for a permit to purchase materials must also be sent to the provincial Peasants' Association. Even in the case of minor articles needed for repairs, etc., "permits" are only placed to a limited extent at the disposal of timber merchants. All requirements exceeding three cubic meters must first be passed by the provincial Peasants' Association.

The German peasants are, therefore, deprived of the most necessary agricultural implements. Partly they never come on to the market at all, partly the peasant is obliged to pay through the nose for inferior articles. The "German sword" is beginning to destroy the German plowshare.

## IV

### SCARCITY OF CREDIT AND BURDEN OF DEBT

To the aforementioned phenomena of the sorry plight of agriculture under the tyrannical fascist system we must add the growing lack of capital among the peasants and small-scale farmers. On the one hand we find the unsatisfied hunger for the long-term credits and on the other a mounting and unproductive burden of debt at extortionate rates of interest. The greater the "increase in production" fascism demands of the peasant and the farmer, the more rapidly does he get into debt or—because no bank will grant him the necessary long-term credit—incur the risk of being declared by the Food Corporation and the fascist courts, as an "incorrigible debtor," "unfitted to be a peasant," "unpardonable," and, as a "saboteur of the battle for

production," being thrown out of house and home.

According to a statement from the "Staff Office" of the "Reich Peasant Leader" about 3,000 owners of "entailed estates" have, since 1937, been deprived of their right to manage and enjoy the use of their farms, and in certain cases have been completely expropriated.

The "entailed estates" have particularly felt the need of credit, that is, precisely that section of German agriculture to whom fascism promised "release from the capitalist network of credit" and an absolute guarantee that they would remain in possession of their property and continue to enjoy the proceeds of their labor.

In this connection it should be borne in mind that German fascism has already spent five years working on the "solution" of the question of credits for "entailed estates." According to the figures given by Herbert Timm in the *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Staatswissenschaft* (Vol. 3, 1938), the requirements for long-term credits for investment in "entailed estates" amount to 664,000,000 Reichsmarks. These requirements have not been met.

The root of the scarcity of credit felt in particular by the "entailed estates," which between them account for almost a half of the cultivable land in Germany, lies in the irreconcilable contradiction between the fact, on the one hand, that they may not by law be divided up, mortgaged or sold, and the claim of loan capital on the other hand for first agricultural mortgage bonds. The "battle for production" forces the peasants and small estate-owners continually to embark upon intensive methods and improvements, for which they have no ready cash. The internal political interest of fascism in the "class" in the village "that supports the state" is here in hopeless contradiction with the economic laws of fascism and the demands made on the peasants by the fascist rearmament policy. Fascism seeks to find the solution of this contradiction in a demagogic ruse: the unlimited legal rights of the finance-capitalist creditors to distrain has in practice been restored while an appearance is maintained of state protection for the farmer against distraint.

The first overt step in this direction was the proclamation of the *"Erbhofverfahrensordnung"* (regulation of the procedure with regard to "entailed estates") on December 23, 1936, whereby all those "entailed estates" which were insolvent were liable by an order of the special Food Corporation Courts (*"Anerbengerichte"*) to be subjected to compulsory supervision, administration or expropriation without compensation (*"Grosse Abmeierung"*—eviction). The banks were not satisfied with this step. They demanded the right of the creditor to initiate these proceedings and his right to participate in the selection of the individual appointed to administer or "inherit" the estate; they extended the credit ban to all those agricultural undertakings which, by virtue of the fascist *"Schuldenregelungsgesetz"* (Law for the Regulation of Debts) of July 1, 1933, had been granted a certain reduction of their indebtedness and interest rates.

There ensued a regular state of war between the Food Corporation and the banks, the virulence and relentlessness of which even the apparently friendly nature of their controversies in the press is unable to conceal. Today the fascist government is prepared to grant even the most extreme demands of bank capital in respect of the "entailed estates." In his recently published book, *Der Kredit des Erbhofes (The Credit of the "Entailed Estates")*, Rudolf Meinberg writes:

> "The demand, therefore, of the creditor to be allowed in his own right to appoint a trustee at the *Anerbengericht* (Food Corporation Court) is perfectly justified."

It would, however, be an utter mistake to believe that the present credit crisis in German agriculture is exclusively a credit crisis affecting the "entailed estates." The fascist state has to a considerable extent crippled the agricultural market in general. This in particular by the prohibition of a fresh issue of mort-

gage bonds by the real estate credit institutes, that is, by the monopolization of the market for fixed interest-bearing bonds for its own rearmament bonds. The "ban on new emissions" is a constant subject of grievance, cropping up in the annual reports of all the real estate credit institutes.

And what is more, the fascist state compels the peasant credit banks, and also all insurance institutes, public savings banks, etc., to subscribe again and again to the continual issues of Reich loans. Thus the little agricultural bank in Dülken, in the Rhineland, a cooperative bank with only 366 members, has been compelled up to date to take up more than 500,000 Reichsmarks' worth of the Reich loan, when the total of its outstanding loans amounts only to 860,000 Reichsmarks (*West Deutsche Landzeitung* of May 15, 1938). The savings of the agricultural middle classes thus invested, therefore, are not flowing back into the production of consumers' goods, but are being poured for the most part into the bottomless abyss of fascist war preparations.

How does this fact, however, square with the complaint that has been repeatedly made since 1937 with regard to the alleged accumulating burden of debt in agriculture?

According to semi-official statement of the Rentenbank Kreditanstalt with regard to the "credit position in German agriculture," as early as June 30, 1937, the burden of debt was on the increase in the case of about a third of all agricultural undertakings.

There is only one explanation for this fact—the increasing arrears of interest payments reported by all credit institutes. The unpaid interest together with the interest payable as fines is added by the banks to the capital sum owed. The burden of debt of the peasants is increasing without their having received a pfennig of fresh capital. Above all, the proportion of short-term personal debts at a high rate of interest is growing. But thereby the credit crisis is becoming a crisis affecting the very existence of German agriculture.

## V

### LOOKING DOWN INTO THE ABYSS

In the foregoing by no means all contributory causes of the new crisis in German agriculture have been mentioned. A further important factor in the crisis is, for example, the piratical taxation policy of German fascism, which is directed with particular severity against the peasant taxpayers. A report, for instance, from the Saar district to the *Deutsche Informationen* stated that the tax collectors were now systematically recovering arrears of taxes for the last ten years.

The year 1938 brought half a dozen "taxation reforms" upon the German peasant: increase in the civil tax, in the case of which the minimum rate for a net estate (capital, land, etc.) of 1,000 Reichsmarks upwards is already six Reichsmarks, no allowances being made for children; increase in the income tax, in the case of which annual incomes from agriculture of from 3,000 Reichsmarks upwards are already taxable—the limit was formerly 6,000 Reichsmarks; increase in land tax, in the case of which the former low assessment, which varies completely from province to province, is replaced by a periodical computation of the yield from the taxpayer's land; the new "financial adjustment" between Reich and local authorities by which the local authorities have suffered a loss* of almost half a billion of revenue to the Reich, and have been obliged to "seek fresh sources of revenue"; fresh valuations for woodland, which are justified on the ground that the peasants have in the past understated the value of their woods and that in the future "undervaluation must not arise";** the compulsion laid upon the richer peasant farmers to carry out a prescribed system of bookkeeping and the supervision of

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* *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, Oct. 20, 1938 and *Berliner Börsenzeitung*, Oct. 22, 1938.

** *Wochenblatt der Landesbauernschaft Bayern*, Sept. 22, 1938.

the poorer peasants by special "*Buchstellen*" (auditors).

Thus the fascist taxation screw is being tightened interminably, and the crisis in agriculture is growing.

A special role is played in the present crisis by the outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease, which is said to have been imported from France in September, 1937, and has not been stamped out to this day. At the end of the first twelve months after the outbreak, 600,000 farms were affected, according to official figures, by the disease. In November, 1938, in the very middle of the "Reich Peasant Congress," a second outbreak was reported from the Rhineland, which to a very great extent affected the stock that had just recovered from the disease and was in a weakened condition.

This is the first time there has been an outbreak of the disease on such a scale since the demobilization after the World War. For more than ten years the disease had been considered in Germany as stamped out. In the autumn of 1937, however, the disease spread throughout Germany within the space of a few months, affecting even East Prussia, which is cut off from the rest of Germany by the Corridor, and was carried into Austria, which had hitherto been completely immune, on the boots of the army of occupation.

According to a statement made by Professor Waldemann, the discoverer of the new serum, at the medical and scientific congress in Stuttgart, the losses to agriculture amounted by September, 1938, to "hundreds of millions." In July, 1938, the presidents of the various provinces took the law into their own hands and proceeded to meet the costs, formerly borne by the state, of the compulsory measures for isolating and treating the cattle affected by levying a special tax on the peasantry as a whole. (*Wochenblatt der Landesbauernschaft Schleswig-Holstein*, July 9, 1938. "Decree of the Provincial President.")

As regards its extent and long duration, this outbreak of the disease is no mere chance, purely natural phenomenon. A statement by the Veterinary Department of Kiel, published simultaneously with the provincial president's decree, mentions as "the underlying cause" of the disease organic "disturbances of vitamins and mineral balance" in the stock, and traces these disturbances to the fact that the milch cows "may not have been given quite the right feed during the winter."

The lack of fodder for which fascism is responsible has at least considerably intensified the disease. The widespread nature and long duration of the disease also indubitably are consequences of the innumerable inspections of farms and stalls imposed by the fascist machinery of government, and also of the peasant's growing mistrust, amounting almost to detestation, of any kind of official and any fresh government decree. The German press is full of exhortations to the peasants to work hand in hand with the veterinary authorities.

In order to restore to some extent the former profitability of peasant farming and thereby to hearten the peasantry, and at the same time to increase the diminishing production of hogs, milch cows and fat stock, Goering found himself compelled in the middle of October to break away from his "fundamental principle of stability of prices" in respect of agriculture and to raise the prices for pigs, and fat stock for market and milch cows. The fascist press has computed that this rise in prices, which must be borne partly by the consumer, partly by the middleman, will yield agriculture an additional income of about 400,000,000 Reichsmarks in the coming year. But the *Landware* of November 3, 1938, stated with truth:

"The damage caused by the present epidemic cannot be computed at the moment. But if it were to reach the same level [as 1920-21, that is 500,000,000 Reichsmarks—E. H.] that would mean that the rise in the prices of milch cows and fat stock recently decreed would not suffice even approximately to compensate agriculture for the losses incurred by foot-and-mouth disease in one year."

What prospects does German fascism hold out for the future? The prognostications of the technical press are pervaded with a spirit of the profoundest pessimism. *Die Deutsche Landwirtschaftliche Presse*, for example, stated on November 12, 1938, after having quoted extracts from two articles by Reischle on the "difference in income between town and countryside":

"No reference has yet been made as to the practical conclusions to be drawn therefrom. The necessity for the maintenance of stable prices and wages in the town places limits on improvements in prices. A reduction in prices of agricultural consumers' goods is regarded as essential and possible. What else can be done, apart from further rationalization of production, no one has yet discovered."

The experts are therefore at their wits' ends, for they are certainly under no illusion as to the "reduction in prices of agricultural consumers' goods" promised at Goslar. The question of an effective reduction of taxation and cancelation of debts by the state is, for perfectly obvious reasons, not so much as mentioned.

In fact, no other course is open to fascism but to continue to do what it has hitherto done; to blackmail agricultural workers and working peasants, by means of a terroristic campaign, to put in more and more unremunerative work, that is, to carry out the so-called "rationalization of agriculture."

By this is meant the compulsory increased cultivation of root-crops at the expense of pasturage and areas devoted to the cultivation of green fodder, the compulsory increased cultivation of grain and corn, the cultivation of sweet lupinus, and the obligation to obtain seed only from state-approved seed-breeding stations; the insistence on modern methods for the drying and conservation of fodder, the breeding of milch cows and pigs exclusively for fat, the compulsory rebuilding of stalls and manure heaps, the employment of the method of so-called "family piece-rates" and "competition in production"; a sliding scale of wages according to individual output, and "loyalty premiums" for agricultural laborers.

By the employment of all these methods fascism may perhaps be able, for a short time, to stave off the complete collapse of agriculture. But even these are only palliatives; they demand of the peasants and agricultural workers an increased expenditure of labor which is beyond their and their families' physical strength. They are accelerating the genuine flight from the countryside; they are hastening the collapse of peasant agriculture, for they can only be employed effectively in the case of a unit of land and a volume of production beyond the limits of the family holding.

On the long view, therefore, they will only serve to intensify the internal contradictions of the fascist agricultural policy.

### FASCIST AGRICULTURAL POLICY HAS REACHED A CUL-DE-SAC

This is why the fascist demagogues, apart from the very real threats addressed to the agricultural laborers and small peasants—recently Divisional Chief Küpers openly threatened to expropriate them and hand over their farms to the large peasants and to set up new "entailed estates"—have been unable to make any but nebulous "demands" on anonymous individuals. But even these are not to the liking of monopoly capital, which plays such a decisive role in the Third Reich, and it has hastened to reject them flatly.

The section of the press which is in close association with big industry and the Ministry of Economics has made it abundantly clear that it regards such proposals or "demands" as outside the realm of discussion. The *Deutsche Bergwerkszeitung* (November 30, 1938), in its leader on the "Reich Peasant Congress," stated emphatically that the "leading personalities in the Ministry of Economics and of the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* rejected any "compulsory diversion of labor. Industry, as ever, monopolized the labor market. The only concession that should be made on the

part of the state was the extension of the conscription of female labor, which was primarily intended to apply to "land service." The "demand" for a compulsory state cartel with fixed prices was not even mentioned in the article.

The *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* (December 3, 1938) headed its commentary with the illuminating caption: "Control of the Marketing Viewed From Two Angles." It insisted that even a compulsory regulation of the industrial market would by no means remove "the actual difficulties" of agriculture. The *Deutsche Volkswirt*, a periodical in close touch with Schacht, quite bluntly predicted that there would be "insuperable difficulties" in "extending market control" to industry.

Thus on all sides the fascist tricksters who are bent on duping the peasants find themselves hemmed in, and that chiefly by the peasantry itself, which is no longer taken in as it was a few years ago by the phrases, promises, or even "demands" of Darré, Reischle and Co. The German peasants have become suspicious. Hitler and Darré are no longer regarded by the peasants as ultimate arbiters, or, indeed, by the Food Corporation officials. Some of these brown-shirted bureaucrats are obviously not feeling any too comfortable. They are already looking for an "alibi" for the moment when the German peasants shall rise up and demand a settlement of accounts.

This was most evident in the speech of Küper, who was given the thankless task of holding forth about a "healthy market" in the present situation. The Food Corporation, the valiant fellow declaimed, would "be able to say" that it had "called attention to the danger in good time. *And thus no one will be able to lay responsibility for the consequences on the Food Corporation.*"

But the gentlemen will find themselves out in their calculations. Neither the German peasants nor the German workers are going to allow them to evade their responsibility. It was not only the "specter of the decline of agricultural production" that hovered over the proceedings at the sixth Reich Peasant Congress, it was also the specter of the impending revenge of a whole martyred people.

# The Struggle for the Youth in Nazi Germany

BY M. LODE

THERE is a country in the world where the youth is fortunate and free, in which all roads are open to youth and in which the struggle for the youth has been transformed into work for their welfare and development. There is a country in the world where the youth is learning, learning and again learning; in which a well-educated and well-trained young generation is coming up in all spheres of life and in which the efforts and performance of the young benefit both themselves and the whole nation. There is a country where the young people are surrounded by the loving care of the state and of the whole nation. That country is the Soviet Union.

In all other countries of the world youth is subject to exploitation; in all other countries youth is engaged in a stubborn struggle against the exploiters and the authorities—a struggle which finds expression in all spheres of life. In all other countries a constant struggle is also going on for the conquest of the youth, for every political party, group, trend, etc., is attempting to win over as many young people as possible to its own side.

How is the struggle for the youth being fought in Nazi Germany?

Fascism has robbed the German people and with it the German youth of all democratic rights and liberties. The struggle for the youth and the struggle of the young people themselves for their own interests are therefore very different from the struggle in democratic countries. German fascism smashed all youth organizations together with all militant and cultural organizations of the German people. With the assistance of the state and party machinery, the Nazis have created a close mesh of fascist youth organizations which have long since become compulsory instead of voluntary.

Schooltime and leasure of the youth are so thoroughly organized that the young people of Germany are exposed without escape to fascist "education." The "educational" system of German fascism is devoid of any trace of freedom, democracy, humanity; it does not even aim at stimulating thought. Slavish obedience, unconditional submission to the "leaders," military drill, intellectual enslavement, falsehood and moral decay —such are the prominent features of fascist "education."

What the fascists are aiming at is to permeate the German youth with the fascist spirit, foist upon them an absolutely one-sided fascist way of thinking and isolate them hermetically from every other influence. Even the influence of the parents—whose opinions the Nazis admit they are unable to control in all cases—over their children is to be eliminated.

But however cunningly contrived the fascist network of organizations may be, however well-thought-out and precisely designed the fascist educational methods may be—all these machinations are unable to conceal the inner contradictions of fascism. For six years German fascism has considered it expedient in the interests of its war plans that the intellectual training of German youth be criminally neglected and all efforts con-

centrated in so-called "physical efficiency." For six years now the fascists have been untiring in their efforts to influence and "educate" at least the young people of German to give them their loyalty. In this the fascists have been to a great extent unsuccessful despite their compulsory organizations.

The result of this political propaganda among the youth, which fascism deems far more important than training in general and special knowledge, has, instead, led to a state of affairs which the entire fascist press is now driven to deplore. That press is loud in its complaint about the catastrophic *decline of the level of performance* in the elementary schools, about the *low intellectual level* of the younger generations and about the *lack of skilled workers* in every sphere.

The fascists are now busy hatching all sorts of fantastic plans of reorganization in order to prevent an even greater catastrophe, and are now appealing to the youth to devote themselves once again to study, etc. On the other hand, fascism is not in a position to allow the free intellectual development of German youth; it cannot give them the necessary intellectual and scientific training because a young generation enlightened and educated to the pitch of thinking for itself and having a correct conception of history and a human outlook would constitute a danger to German fascism.

This is why ever since the accession to power of fascism in Germany all the speeches and writings of leading Nazis, all decrees and ordinances repeat again and again that the most important task of fascism consists in training of the whole German people and especially of the German youth from earliest infancy to "defensive militancy" and "true National-Socialism." This is why in July, 1938, when the appalling intellectual decay of German youth had long since become evident, the representative of the Reich Ministry of Education, Herr Graeser, declared in Geneva at the international educational conference:

"An educational principle developed from the common experience of the struggle has been substituted for the humanistic ideals of education."

But the German people does not share the views of the Nazi leaders. A considerable section of the German teachers by no means approves of this "educational principle" and is well aware of the catastrophe which is being conjured up by this very "principle." But the teachers who oppose this "educational principle" in any way, who object to the overcrowding of the curriculum with a flood of Nazi propaganda and military subjects, are being told very emphatically that they should not "in a petty spirit resist the spate of new materials" but ought to understand "the great political transformation of our epoch" which renders necessary the inclusion in the curriculum of all this "new material."

What then were the results of this fascist "educational principle" in the German schools? The fascist press, including the trade and economic journals, is complaining at and denouncing the bad examination results. *Das Junge Deutschland* ("Young Germany"), a fascist youth journal, dealing with the decline of the educational level of elementary school children, commented with annoyance on the degree of proficiency shown by those of school leaving age at the entrance examination for the vocational school. The test was writing to dictation.

| | 1 (Very good) | 2 (Good) | 3 (Sufficient) | 4 (Poor) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| All trades (male) .. | 4.5% | 20.9% | 32.4% | 42.2% |
| Iron and Steel (male) .. | 4.5 | 20.9 | 32.4 | 42.2 |
| Toolmakers | 3.6 | 18.9 | 43.5 | 34.0 |
| Electricians | 3.1 | 15.6 | 43.9 | 37.4 |
| Turners ... | 3.2 | 16.9 | 42.6 | 37.3 |
| Shapers .... | 1.9 | 10.1 | 31.7 | 56.3 |
| Locksmiths . | 2.4 | 14.4 | 40.9 | 42.3 |

In Kottbus at the entrance examinations to the vocational school for commercial apprentices 58 per cent of the

examinees were given "insufficient" or "poor" qualifications in arithmetic, and 37 per cent the same qualification in German. In Rostock 25 per cent failed to pass in German and 36.7 per cent in arithmetic. How tremendous the decline in the intellectual performance of the youth really it can be judged only if one considers that eight mistakes in twelve short sentences, or six mistakes in eight sums still earn the qualification "sufficient."

*Das Junge Deutschland* is compelled to admit that:

> ". . . the formation of German style is quite insufficient; the style often lacks clarity, conciseness and precision. . . . In spelling the lack of knowledge is great even in graduates of the higher school grades . . . in arithmetic it is to be deplored that a part of the examinees were lacking in sufficient knowledge of the fundamental principles of arithmetic and the most elementary skill in calculation."

The *Essener Nationalzeitung* of December 14, 1938, reported with great concern that "business men and the army . . . are dissatisfied with the level of elementary knowledge imparted in the elementary schools to the young generation."

But it is not only the elementary schools which show such miserable results. The vocational schools are no different. At the examinations held for shop assistants in Easter, 1938, the proportion of those whose performance was qualified "poor" or "insufficient" was:

| | Composition | Arithmetic |
|---|---|---|
| Chemnitz | 21% | 37% |
| Hanover | 25 | 38 |
| Stettin | 28 | 35 |
| Leipzig | 34 | 42 |

These reports show that about 40 per cent of the children leaving the German elementary schools and about 30 per cent of the young people leaving the vocational school do so with an utterly insufficient elementary and vocational education. Such were the results of the fascist "educational principles" in the spring of 1938.

To this alarming intellectual decline of the German schools is added a really catastrophic shortage of teachers. According to data published in *Das Junge Deutschland* the number of full-time teachers (both male and female) is 185,000. In order to keep up this number a yearly influx of 7,500 new teachers would be needed. In 1938 there were, however, only 1,900 new teachers available. Saxony alone requires an annual recruitment of 400 new elementary school teachers but in the winter term of 1937-38 there were only 66 entrants for this course of study at Dresden university and only 65 at Leipzig. According to the figures given in the *Deutscher Hochschulführer* (a guide to academic careers) of 1938 the total number of academic students preparing for a career as teachers (in all years) was 5,500 in the summer term of 1937 as against 8,000 in 1935-36.

But it is not only the elementary schools which suffer from such a shortage of teachers. The secondary schools are no better off. One result of this lack of staff is the overcrowding of classes. In 1936 63.3 per cent of all classes contained more than forty pupils each. These are figures of the Reich Statistical Returns. At present the figure is higher still. The *Monatsschrift für höhere Schulen* (Secondary School Monthly), in pointing out the lack of schools and teaching staff, reports that 2,028 classes (*i. e.*, about 15 per cent of the total number of school classes in Prussia) are overcrowded and that there is a deficit of at least 1,500 classes, corresponding to a deficit of 1,200 teachers.

* * *

German fascism, having got itself into a blind alley by its present "educational principles," is now faced with the necessity of reorganizing the school system. But this reorganization is again a double-edged sword for the Nazis. They need educated and vocationally trained young people and this need is especially stressed in the economic journals of

Germany. But as on the one hand Nazism detests knowledge and thought and on the other has not sufficient teaching staff at its disposal to fill up the gaps in the German schools and universities, the Nazis do not propose to raise the educational level and give thorough vocational training. For political reasons the Nazis think it more expedient to give an even stronger bias than hitherto in the direction of the "National-Socialist spirit."

The patent solution for the problem is sought by fascism in the combination of the professions of teacher and youth leader, *i.e.*, the "leaders" of the Hitler Youth who up to now had been trained only to incite the youth of Germany against anti-fascists at home and abroad, against all those who are dissatisfied with the present state of affairs in Germany, against the Jews and in general against other nations and races and to prepare that youth for the "coming passage of arms of the German people," are now to be employed as teachers in German schools.

What is to be gained by this reorganization of the schools, a measure strongly advocated by the leadership of the "Hitler Youth"? First of all it is to ensure a "sharper elimination of undesirables in our school system" . . . "especially as it concerns not only the reform of the schools but at the same time our heredity protection and race policy" (*Essener Nationalzeitung*, Dec. 14, 1938). This indicates that fascism, despite the considerable "elimination" already effected in the past, cannot rely on the present teaching staff to the extent it desires.

According to data given in *Der Deutsche Weg* (a Catholic paper, No. 52, 1938) there are still in the schools a great number of teachers "who were already teaching before the new German character was discovered, to be exact, more than 6,000 secondary school teachers in Prussia alone," and in addition "about 46,000 Catholic clerics." These teachers, who still consider the "imparting of learning" as their primary task, are regarded as a menace by the Nazis. They also know that there are many more teachers in Germany who have no desire to become the tools of fascism. This is what L. Grünberg hinted at in his book *Defense and the Schools* (p. 5.) when he wrote:

"The coming passage of arms of the German people will be a test to show whether the German teaching profession has become a useful part of the German nation in the Third Reich."

These teachers, who still adhere in a greater or lesser degree to the old principles of education, *i.e.*, that part of the German teaching profession who offer no absolute guarantee of the education of the youth in the fascist spirit, are being described by the fascist press simply as "superannuated;" they are to be removed and "Hitler Youth Leaders" put in their places. Fascism cannot permit the young people to be given "two kinds of education." They are to be educated according to one system, the fascist system of the Hitler Youth, in order that no spark of intellect, ethics, humanity, decency or civilization be kindled in the breasts of youth and that it may become a docile instrument in the hands of the fascists.

But this is not the only reason why the leaders of the Hitler Youth are showing such a strong interest in the reform which is to put the teaching profession into their hands. Only too distinctly discernible are the material aspects of this "reorganization" of the school system from the point of view of the Hitler Youth. The *Essener Nationalzeitung* in the article quoted above says about this among other things:

"The scanty budget of the Hitler Youth suffices for only a small number of full-time Hitler Youth leaders, a number constituting less than 5 per cent of the number of full-time elementary school teachers."

If the Hitler Youth leaders are appointed school teachers as well, an important financial problem will be solved. In contemplating this prospect the leadership of the Hitler Youth of course

denies its formerly frequently expressed opposition to the schools. The *Reich Youth Press Service* recently printed a report on the "Conference of the School Delegates of the Hitler Youth Areas" at which Lauerbacher, staff leader of the H.Y., refuted the notion that sometimes crops up and according to which the H.Y. "is hostile to the school." He said that although the Hitler Youth and the schools exist side by side, they ought to work on the basis of the "same educational ideal" and that in the future only persons would be permited to become teachers who had already shown their "educational abilities" in the Hitler Youth as leaders of small units.

The carrying out of this reform will probably not be delayed very long, for, according to the *Essener Nationalzeitung*, the principle that new recruits to the teaching profession are to be drawn from the Hitler Youth has already been put into practice in Saxony on the basis of an agreement between the Ministry for Education and the district leadership of the Hitler Youth. That the combination of the teaching profession with the function of leader in the Hitler Youth meets with the disapproval of wide sections of the German people is a matter of course. This "reform" will depress the level of education even further and cause the culture of the German youth to deteriorate even more. The Catholic paper *Der Deutsche Weg*, which sharply opposes the new school "reform," writes on the subject:

"It is sufficient to know that in the near future German children in the primary and secondary schools are to be taught by the people who led the 'Hitler Youth' in the recent pogroms and in the riots in St. Stephen's in Vienna. Even for the most unbiased observer it remains a shattering fact that the young generation of the nation of poets and thinkers . . . should be put under the care of persons who can hardly be called anything but the vanguard of the most appalling barbarism."

If the Catholics regard the leaders of the Hitler Youth as the "vanguard of the most appalling barbarism" they have certainly every right to this opinion, for under the rule of fascism they have often had bitter personal experience of the way in which the Hitler Youth incites young people against Catholicism and how the youngsters, at the command of their "leaders," who are now to be their teachers as well, not only organized shooting contests with the crucifix for their target but also manhandled Catholic priests and—as it happened in connection with the so-called plebiscite in favor of the uniform school—ordinary Catholic citizens.

The Jewish pogroms in Germany, pursued with the active participation of the Hitler Youth and the Storm Troops, also bear witness to the brutality which fascism wants to instill into the young people of Germany. A further chapter of the story concerns the beatings and torturing of defenseless prisoners in the concentration camps; these crimes are being committed mainly by young people at the orders of their superiors. The civil war maneuvers organized by the Hitler Youth in various cities of Western Germany and mentioned with approval by the fascist press also go to show what the real nature of this organization is.

The spiritual fare dished up to the members of the Hitler Youth at their club meetings consists chiefly of the reading aloud of fascist newspapers and of the communal reading of the works of Hitler, Goebbels, Rosenberg, Ley and Schirach. The methods on which the training in the "Jungvolk" (junior section of the Hitler Youth) and the Hitler Youth itself is built up are shown in the leading article printed in the journal *Hitler-Jugend* on October 29, 1938. The so-called training of the young people is carefully divided according to age. For the ten-year-olds "the imagination is to be inflamed by the deeds of the Germanic gods and heroes." The eleven-year-olds are to be shown "great German men such as Armin, Widukind, Frederick the Great and Bismarck" to serve as models. In the last year of the "Young People's Service" (junior grade of the H. Y.) the children are told of the "efforts of

the greatest men of the Nazi movement in the interests of Germany and especially of the life and struggle of Adolf Hitler."

The whole system of training is meant to exalt barbarism and glorify the dictatorship of a single individual and by so doing to justify the present savagery of Nazidom and the dictatorship of Hitler. In the subsequent years in the Hitler Youth (14 to 18-year-olds) the training of the youngsters is to "impart to them a clear idea of their people and of the political and philosophic objects of National Socialism."

In other words, the 14 to 18-year-olds are to be taught that Germany has not enough "living room," that the German supermen are destined to be the masters of Europe and of a part of the colonies and that the youth of Germany has been chosen to help fascism to achieve all these objects. The future curriculum of the German schools will be much the same. What else could one expect it to be if fascism considers that "about fourteen months of study at a university" is sufficient "for the complete training" of a teacher. For almost every other trade or profession the minimum training period is still three years even after the latest ordinances. But the teachers, who are to impart to the whole young generation of Germany the fundamentals of learning, are themselves to be given a mere fourteen months of training. The masters of the German schools will in future be not teachers but drill sergeants.

* * *

German fascism is not in a position to improve the quality of the young generation growing up in Germany. That is why the Nazis are now attempting to make up for deficient quality by increased quantities of hands in the main branches of industry. But the solution even of this problem is none too easy for fascism. According to calculations of the German Labor Front many trades need an annual replenishment of more than 2 per cent if the present degree of employment is to be kept up. But as no such replenishment is available to satisfy the requirements of the trades in question, the fascists are driven to introduce the compulsory selection of careers and to shorten the period of apprenticeship. Thus a number of trades (bakers, butchers, upholsterers, bookbinders, etc.) have been closed to the young generation—no apprentices are admitted to these trades. On the contrary, the branches of industry working for armaments (especially iron, steel and chemicals) are being allotted a correspondingly greater number of new hands. This measure practically abolishes the free choice of careers in Nazi Germany.

According to the intricate calculations of the German Labor Front the embargo on certain trades might give "approximately 80,000 new male recruits for the deficit trades." It is quite obvious that this embargo on certain trades benefits the big bourgeoisie, while the small manufacturer and tradesman is brought even nearer to economic ruin.

The curtailment of the period of apprenticeship from four to three years, decreed by the Reich Economic Ministry on October 22, 1938, and against which under normal circumstances there might be no objection, is hardly destined to improve the vocational efficiency of the young generation. According to this decree apprentices who would have passed their test as journeymen in October, 1939, according to their articles, must now pass the test in January or February, 1939, and the apprentices whose articles bound them until April, 1940, must finish their apprenticeship in October, 1939.

Recent final examinations held by the Stuttgart Chamber of Commerce and Industry showed that 22 per cent of all shop assistants failed in the written examination. Of a total of 286 engineers and 21 precision mechanics only .7 per cent passed with the qualification "very good," while in 1937 this proportion was 8 per cent.

The German fascists, at a loss to give a plausible reason for the appalling ignorance of the young generation of Germany, are of course attempting to put the blame for the bad examination re-

sults and the general lack of culture of the young people on the youngsters themselves. In November Schirach reproached the young people of Germany with "a specific laziness and idleness of their own" and thus gave the press its clue for its subsequent attitude. At present the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* calls the youth such names as "lazybones" and the *Nationalzeitung* of Essen tries to stimulate the young people to more intensive efforts by writing (Jan. 31, 1939):

"True, a great deal of work is required for this [for this early examination] but what measure of the Four-Year Plan does not require again and again a sustained effort and high devotion to duty?"

The writer of this article is quite right. No measure of the Goering Four-Year Plan but is calculated to extort from every German worker a maximum of effort and performance, but these same measures do not afford the German workers any opportunity of obtaining higher earnings through such increased effort. True, the writer of the article in the Essen *Nationalzeitung* throws out this bait to the apprentices, that by shortening their time of apprenticeship they will the sooner get a skilled worker's wage; but he forgets to add that this is the first, last and only increase in wages the young people can expect for a long time.

* * *

On January 1, 1939, the new shameful bill regulating the work of children and young people came into force. The introduction to this bill gives away its real purpose, which is the increased exploitation of children and juneviles.

The whole bill consists of so-called principles—and expectations. "On principle" the work of children is banned but "the exceptions to the rule relating to child labor both during the period of compulsory education and after leaving school are so conceived as to exclude any damaging effect on the physical and mental development of the child." This is the comment on the bill found in the *Völkischer Beobachter* of January 5, 1939. It is difficult to conceive a greater measure of cynicism and shamelessness than is displayed by the authors of this bill in these words. We do not want to enumerate here the work now done by children, but any exploitation of children during and after school must be in some way damaging to the development of the child.

This law is a direct contradiction to the noisy physical fitness campaign now pursued by the fascists and to their campaign for the reduction of child mortality.

Nor is the protection of juveniles in better case. "On principle" hours for juveniles are limited to eight hours a day and forty-eight hours per week, but juveniles (allegedly only juveniles over sixteen) "employed in plants working in shifts in such close contact with adults that their premature departure would cause a serious disturbance of production" may be worked up to ten hours per day and fifty-four hours per week. Ten hours are described as the maximum, but in the fixing of rest periods there is no longer any mention of such a maximum and the ruling is simply "for over nine hours sixty minutes rest time."

The same article informs the reader that according to the law apprentices are on principle not paid for overtime, while "juvenile workers are on principle given compensation for overtime to the extent of 25 per cent."

Knocking-off time on Sundays and holidays is regulated by law so that "juveniles cannot on principle be re-required to work after 2 p.m." but, for example, in the glass industry, which is one of the industries injurious to health, "juveniles may be employed after 2 p.m. provided their labor is necessary to work up the glass in the furnaces."

It is impossible to discover how juveniles are "protected" by this legislation. Only one thing is certain: that the juveniles must work to the pitch of collapse. This is required by the Goering Four-Year Plan and this is required by the war preparations of fascism. That an

only too frequent ten-hour-day worked by juveniles does not contribute to the preservation of their health and the development of their mental capacity is self-evident.

* * *

In 1939 German fascism is proposing to give its special attention to the "promotion of health." The great propaganda campaign for "rural service" is also being carried on under the auspices of "health promotion." The Essen *Nationalzeitung* of January 11, 1939, printed a propaganda article by H. Makowski headed: "What Do You Know About Rural Service?" In this article Herr Makowski appeals directly to the juveniles leaving school. He praises "rural service" to the skies on various counts and extols the splendid "advantages" of agricultural labor:

"What is probably most important is that agricultural laborers are healthy to the marrow. Their health is being taken care of by wind and weather, forest and field who have become their comrades, while many men and women must earn their bread in the cities in circumstances frequently far more damaging to health."

By such methods the juveniles leaving school in March are to be persuaded that "rural service" is something splendid and that one becomes "healthy" there into the bargain. True, even Herr Makowski cannot help revealing a little of the real conditions existing in this "rural service:"

"Rural service is not a game . . . it is hard work and requires tough fellows. . . Here you must catch hold with a forceful grip and stick to it. Many a time one or the other boy will have to clench his teeth hard in the first days or weeks and many a girl from the big cities is nearer weeping than laughing."

That is quite true, not only for the first days or weeks. Girls in particular who were compelled to join this "rural service" shed many a salt tear for in addition to the unaccustomed hard work which they must do for the farmers, they are also fair game for all sorts of morally corrupt fascist elements. It is no rarity that young girls of fifteen or sixteen return pregnant to their parents, bringing fresh misery to their working-class homes. These things, the immorality frequently connected with rural service, are never mentioned in the fascist press. On the contrary, that press is doing its best to persuade juveniles that if they are "industrious, efficient and thrifty" they may in time "with the assistance of the authorities be able to found a homestead of their own."

This bait is a bare-faced piece of demagogy. In order to become "agricultural assistants," juveniles must pass through a two years' "agricultural apprenticeship" and on completion of this time pass a special examination. It is a remarkable fact that in Nazi Germany you must serve a two years' apprenticeship and pass an examination to become an "agricultural assistant" but in order to become an elementary school teacher you need only fourteen months at a university and a testimonial showing that you have served as a "leader" in the Hitler Youth

* * *

The fascists are making desperate efforts to bind the juveniles to their chariot-wheels, enslave them completely and freely dispose of them afterwards. For this reason the juveniles are taught as little as possible, are pressed into compulsory organizations, are steeped in the fascist spirit in all its forms and phases and kept away as far as possible from all other influences. The fascists want a youth which jumps to attention, marches, obeys and shoots its own parents at the command of its leaders.

But the millions of German people want a young generation which is given sufficient elementary education and a good vocational training; a young generation which is allowed to choose its own careers and to develop free of all compulsion. The millions of the German people want a young generation which is intellectually free and morally decent and which regards its parents, its fellow-

citizens and other nations with respect and friendship instead of hatred and hostility.

This desire of the German millions must be made reality. Fascism must not be permitted to succeed in its design of enslaving German youth. Every decent-minded man and woman can contribute to preserving German youth from fascist slavery.

It is first of all imperative to strengthen family ties and the influence of the family as opposed to the influence of fascism. Draw the bonds of kinship closer, do not allow them to be loosened by fascism and make the family into a unit in the struggle against facism.

Working class families in particular should carefully bar the entry of fascism into their homes. Working class parents should tell their children of the struggles of the working class, of its sacrifices and its triumphs. They should help the young people to understand the heroic struggle of their ancestors, of their parents and grandparents. They should acquaint the youngsters with the objects of the working-class struggle and show them the true heroism born of the struggle of the working class and the peasantry.

Working-class parents should also tell the young generation of Germany about the life, the experiences and the struggles of the youth of other countries; they should tell them about the international youth movement and the common aims of the progressive youth in capitalist countries. They should in particular enlighten German youth on the life of young people in the Soviet Union, tell them about their happy life and secure future, about their participation in the building of socialism, about their heroism and their international feeling of solidarity.

When the youth of Germany recognizes that heroes are not those who murder defenseless women and children with aerial bombs, who drive defenseless Jews to their death or torture defenseless prisoners, but those who have the courage to fight sincerely for the interests of their class against a bitter enemy; when they understand that there can be no "community of the nation" between exploiters and exploited, between wild beasts and peaceable human beings—then fascism will not succeed in winning over youth to its side.

When youth sees clearly that in the long run not those who shout loudest are best suited to lead but those who know most; when they know that not lies but the truth, not barbarism but civilization, not slavery but freedom will win, then the fascists will not succeed in contaminating German youth with the fascist poison. The youth of Germany need enlightenment, they need knowledge, they must be stimulated and taught to think for themselves. Youth which thinks for itself will recognize its right to freedom and will fight for this right. Youth which fights for true ideals will be able to carry with it other young people and finally win the victory.

For this reason the youth of Germany should link up with the best revolutionary traditions of the German people and especially of the German working class and carry on these traditions. Enlightenment and knowledge must be carried everywhere where young people foregather, into the schools, the factories, the offices, the Nazi youth organizations and the German army. It will thus be possible to explain to great sections of the German youth that their greatest enemy is fascism, National-Socialism. This knowledge will result in a strong fighting alliance between young people and their elders, an alliance which is necessary if fascism is to be beaten.

# A Book About the P.O.U.M.

BY A. CLAIRE

ON A picture we see the map of Madrid as if under a veil. It is the "veil" of the close-meshed net with which the fascist spies covered the city so that the guns of interventionists and rebels find their mark. Then again we see a photograph, showing us the wall of a house on which there is an inscription in large letters: the passer-by reads the inscription: "Government of Negrin, where is Nin?" And under these words, popular humor has written in another hand, with unpracticed characters: "In Salamanca or in Berlin." The answer is apt indeed.

This book, in which the text alternates with photographs of documents, letters in code and newspapers, is called *Spying in Spain.* The author is a man who for fifteen months fought in the ranks of the International Brigade for the cause of the Spanish people. He was twice wounded, at Guadalajara and on the Aragon front. At first he was an ordinary soldier. After he had heroically taken part in the school of war under the bullets and shells of the German and Italian interventionists he became commander of a machine gun corps.

He writes that he was never an author, just as, before his journey to Spain, he was never a soldier. He learned the art of war through proletarian solidarity with the People's Front of Spain and he learned the art of writing through the struggle against fascism and against those who, at the orders of their fascist masters, spread confusion and destruction behind the lines of Republican Spain. The author of the book, Max Rieger, was moved to take up the pen by the same fraternal solidarity with the Spanish people, fighting for the cause of all humanity; he felt it his duty, as he says, "To report to the reader the truth about the struggle of the Spanish people against its foes."

In Max Rieger's book there are no thrilling descriptions of battles and heroic deeds of the Spanish army and no fiery calls to arms. His style is dry and practical. In it, the author comes forward as a true Public Prosecutor, who, with documents in his hand, establishes the following indictment: the so-called P.O.U.M. is not a party, not an organization of the working class, but a band of hired spies and traitors in the service of fascism.

The author has gained this right to come forward as Public Prosecutor, by the blood he has shed for the cause of the Spanish people. This makes the book especially valuable. But this circumstance alone would not be sufficient to make a counsel. The counsel must make his accusations on a basis of facts, documents and pieces of material evidence, marshalling convincing proofs. The fact that this is done gives the book its great power of conviction. Max Rieger does not proceed from emotion, he convinces the reader by his inexorable logic, by documents and facts that cannot be refuted.

In describing, in the first part of his book, the spying activities of the P.O.U.M. the author submits documents to the reader; the records of examinations, decoded messages of spies with exact information concerning people,

towns, villages and the disposition of the Republican forces. In these spy reports, all Franco's staff agents from the P.O.U.M. have symbols consisting of the letter "C" and corresponding numbers, C-18, C-21, C-23, etc.

A spy reports to General Franco:

"In performance of the commission you gave me, I went myself to Barcelona for the purpose of having conversations with N— the leader of the P.O.U.M. I communicated all your instructions to him. The breaking-off of the connection between him and you is explained by damage to the radio station, which, however, resumed its work during my stay in Barcelona. You must already have received the answer to the fundamental question. N— urgently requests the international friends and you, that I shall be the only connecting link with him.

"He promised me to send new people to Madrid in order to make the P.O.U.M. work active. After such reinforcement, the P.O.U.M. there, as in Barcelona, will form a firm and active basis for our movement."

These sentences were written by the professional spy Golfin, with chemical ink and in cipher.

After Nin's arrest there was found in the P.O.U.M. executive building in Barcelona a letter to Nin in which was written:

"Generalissimo Franco's wife is in France. You remember that, in the last communication, the possibility was discussed that she should get into touch with Barcelona after a certain time? What possibilities would this open up for us in the matter concerning which Bonnet spoke, with respect to the 'Quim' question?"

"The international friends" . . . the wife of General Franco, and Nin. The same Nin who was arrested in Germany in 1921 and was released a month later while all others who were arrested with him were sentenced to several years imprisonment. The same Nin who, on the night of June 28, 1938, was released from prison in Republican Spain, by unknown persons in officers' uniform, when in the wallet lost by one of these persons documents were found which left no doubt that Nin's release was the work of agents of the German General Staff; that same Nin about whom certain people in the Second International were very anxious. Who is this Nin? Is he the leader of a "political organization," as the advocates of the Second International assert, or does he belong to those people who sat in the dock in Moscow, and whom Public Prosecutor Vishinsky accused in the name of the Soviet people, and to those people who sat in the dock in the United States, in the trial of the German spy organization?

Just as during the trial of the Trotskyite and Bukharinite agents of fascism the Second International defended the criminal enemies of the working class, so this time, during the P.O.U.M. trials, Friedrich Adler and Louis de Brouckère considered it proper to address themselves to the Negrin government on behalf of the accused P.O.U.M. members. Whom did the representatives of the Second International protect? To this question Max Rieger's book gives a clear and convincing answer.

It is not possible, within the scope of a short article, to cite the whole of the rich evidence of documents and facts contained in this book. But one thing is necessary; to show what actually was represented by the P.O.U.M. and its paper *Batalla*. Was the Spanish nation here concerned "simply with political opponents" or with the enemies of the Spanish people, with agents of Franco and the interventionists? Was *Batalla* the organ of "political opponents" or a gutter paper of General Franco?

A whole series of provocations, the exploitation of legal possibilities for undermining the Popular Front and the struggle against the Republican Army and the unified command, spreading of defeatism and false reports, kindling nationalist opposition, impudent slanders against the Negrin government, actual distribution of Franco's leaflets—what is that? "Political differences of opin-

ion" in the democratic camp or direct work on behalf of the fascist interventionists?

Two years have passed since General Franco sent out the invitations to the banquet in Madrid, which city, on the General's orders, was to be conquered at all costs by November 7, 1936. In November, 1936, the Madrid Parliament expressed the confidence of the people of Madrid in the government of the Popular Front. The first point of the "program" which General Franco communicated to the world was the dissolution of the Madrid Parliament. And, in complete agreement with General Franco, the organ of the P.O.U.M., in an article published on December 2, 1936, full of slanders and insinuations against the government, demanded: "The Madrid Parliament must be buried." A resolution of the so-called Central Committee of the P.O.U.M. published in the *Batalla* demanded the immediate dissolution of both the Madrid Parliament and the Barcelona Parliament.

What saved Republican Spain from destruction by the fascists? What has made it possible for Republican Spain to defend heroically for two and a half years its independence, freedom and democracy? *"In the absence of the Popular Front, the Spanish People would long since have been inwardly disorganized, defeated and enchained by the fascists." (Dimitroff.)*

In October, 1937, after fifteen months of the struggle of the Spain of the Popular Front against the united forces of German and Italian fascists, the P.O.U.M. paper *Batalla* declared:

"The Popular Front is an alliance without content and without strength, it could not frustrate fascism and could put up even less resistance to it than when it was plotting the rebellion."

And this hostile slander was published while Spain, thanks to and under the leadership of the Popular Front, was able to hold out in Madrid, Valencia, Barcelona, Malaga, Albacete, Toledo, Almeria!

The Popular Front in Spain was extended and strengthened. All true friends of Republican Spain greeted the union of the entire democratic youth in the ranks of the Popular Front as a notable victory of the unity of the Spanish people. The P.O.U.M. youth newspaper *Juventud Obrera* wrote:

"We gather from the press that in Carthagena a decision has been taken to combine all the youth into a unified organization. We cannot believe it. It would be something monstrous, terrible, it would be inadmissible."

*The Popular Front is "the chief source of the power to defend" (Dimitroff) of Republican Spain.*

For many decades Spain had no experience of war. The Spanish republic had to forge its army in battle against the interventionists and rebels. The Spanish people was very quickly convinced of the correctness of the teaching of the Communist Party: against a technically well equipped enemy, with great war experience at his disposal, enthusiasm and heroism alone were not enough, it was necessary to create a disciplined, trained regular army.

And yet under the difficulties under which the regular army was trained, the P.O.U.M. spread, without ceasing, defeatism and ideas of surrender and incited the masses against the government of the Popular Front and against the army. Even at the beginning of December, 1936, the *Batalla* wrote, "Rain, cold and snow make operations difficult on all fronts." And in order to conceal defeatism under a mask of hypocrisy and at the same time to poison the masses with ideas of surrender, the paper continued: "The government must at once renounce the arrangement of negotiations for the conclusion of an armistice." And this obvious provocation, the attempt to raise the question of General Franco's wish—the conclusion of a so-called "armistice"—was persisted in the whole time. In February, in March, 1937, the paper writes again: "Workers, be on your guard, they are attempting to hand over Madrid to fascism in order to conclude an armistice."

The people of Madrid defended their city heroically. Fascist intervention assumed ever increasing proportions and concentrated forces on other fronts. The P.O.U.M. hastened to General Franco's assistance and made the treacherous proposal to weaken the sectors attacked by the fascists.

"We cannot allow the working class to go sacrificing itself for nothing" wrote the *Batalla*. "While the government has scandalously wasted time, it has also lost the best opportunity of turning Madrid into the tomb of fascism. Franco's army came to the gates of Madrid with a weak and extraordinarily extended rear guard. A general staff worthy of the name would then have been able suddenly to attack the enemy with superior war material and artillery (which could have been withdrawn from other fronts, which is what the fascists do) on both flanks—Toledo and Andalusia."

This is an open call to defeatism, a call to the soldiers to leave the front.

The P.O.U.M. led an open attack against the formation of a regular army, hiding behind "Left" arguments. On December 16, 1938, the *Batalla* wrote:

"The working class under cover of war needs cannot again allow an army to be formed which one day could be turned into an instrument for the suppression of the working class."

Led by the Popular Front, the Spanish people continued its glorious defence of Spain's independence, overcame the greatest difficulties and the virtual blockade and formed new armies. Then the P.O.U.M. changed its tactics. Under the disguise of hypocritical sympathy the P.O.U.M. slandered the Spanish people and attempted to exploit the difficulties.

"Everywhere where the queues of women or men stand, as well as in the street cars and in the Metro, in every conversation, we hear that we have already lost the war. Above all it is already admitted officially that the last mobilization has not been successful and that the youth has no wish to go to the front. No one wants the war. Everyone is war-weary, that is the unhappy situation today."

And this was written at a time when the youth and the trade unions strengthened the republican army of Spain by a hundred thousand men, for Dolores expressed the true will of the Spanish people in the inspired words, "To resist is to conquer."

Every temporary defeat of single sections of the republican army aroused malicious glee among those sworn enemies, the P.O.U.M. and they continually invited surrender. "The government is not interest*ed in victory*. It was not interested in defence of Bilbao and now is not in the least interested in the defence of Santander. This policy leads to armistice and to compromise with fascism." And every brilliant victory of the republican army was received by these agents of Franco with gnashing of teeth. As true servants of their fascist masters, these Trotskyist bandits wrote, "The splendid, heroic resistance of the warriors of Madrid, the brilliant victory at Guadalajara, the successes at Posoblanco, Jarama and Belchite and the famous victory now won at Teruel mean very little in comparison with the defeats at Malaga, Bilbao, Santander and in the Asturias."

The Trotskyist agents of fascism knew perfectly that the fraternity of the peoples of Spain, growing firmer every day, is a deadly danger for fascism. They strove with all their power to drive a wedge between the fraternal solidarity of Catalonia and the Spanish people, and, foaming at the mouth, they waged a furious campaign against the formation of a unified Spanish army. In March, 1937, the *Batalla* wrote: "They have taken away the army of Catalonia. The P.O.U.M. cannot allow this and protests. . . . With reactionary obstinacy attempts are made to stifle Catalonia, to subject it in every respect to the Central Government."

With no roots in the masses, sensible of its powerlessness against the fraternal unity and cohesion of all the peoples of Spain, the P.O.U.M. spread

provocative rumors and attempted to intimidate the population of Catalonia.

"Catalonia approaches the abyss . . . the last act of the drama is beginning; the government of Catalonia will be liquidated and a governor will be appointed. Then houses will be seized by force, women will be outraged, all those who attempt to defend the freedom of Catalonia will be shot. Catalonia's prestige is already destroyed . . . the Aaragon front is completely demoralized."

Are not those lines which General Franco would reprint in all his leaflets with the greatest pleasure? Is it possible to conceive of a worse, a fouler provocation, of more harmful wrecking activity behind the back of the Republican Army and the country, struggling against intervention?

The P.O.U.M. endeavors to exploit the lower instincts and to incite the population of Catalonia against the refugees, robbed of roof and livelihood. "The refugees must account to themselves for the fact that, under the circumstances of the civil wars considering present difficulties, they can make no protest which would have the sole object of allowing them to live more comfortably than they lived in their homes in Madrid." This was written by that selfsame Andrade who was so eagerly defended by Friedrich Adler and de Brouckere.

But the P.O.U.M. spoke a clearer language too. While the workers of all lands protested against the criminal policy of "non-intervention" and the whole world had discovered with indignation the indisputable fact of the intervention of German and Italian fascism in Spain, the P.O.U.M. people wrote:

"The people's Spain is not fighting for national liberation. It is not fighting against Germany and Italy but against its century-long oppressors. The destiny of Spain as an imperialist power does not interest the proletariat, which is not fighting against foreign armies in order to ensure the inviolability of national territory and its colonies. The foreign armies are not in themselves an instrument of conquerors, as were the French armies of Napoleon."

The Spanish people remembers with the greatest pride its heroic struggle against Napoleon's imperialist army. Its enemies on the General Staffs of the Reichswehr and of Mussolini's infamous legions, under the blows of the glorious Republican army of Spain, had also occasion to remember these pages of glory in the history of Spain's struggle against the invasion of Napoleon.

The more the Popular Front was consolidated, the more obvious and indisputable before the whole world became the fact that the army of Spain was already formed and capable of victory, the more the Negrin government rejected all attempts to force on Spain a shameful surrender, all the more insolent and open became the tone of Franco's agents. It is a straight road from the denial of the fact of fascist intervention to shameful slanders of the Soviet Union, the only great state which not only broke with the shameful policy of "non-intervention" but which also stretched out a helping hand to the Spanish people.

The P.O.U.M. issued a leaflet: "Spanish workers! Beware of the help of the U.S.S.R. Think of the real intentions of these newly-discovered 'friends.' Down with the intervention of Germany, Italy and the U.S.S.R. in Spanish affairs! All three are serving their own interests at the expense of the Spanish people."

Can there be anything more vile than this comparison of the Soviet nation which supports the Spanish Republic in its fight for freedom, to the best of its ability, with the fascist robbers and murderers who inhumanly slaughter the Spanish people, men, women and children? Can there be anything viler than putting the noble Socialist Negrin on the same level with the fascist bloodhound Franco? The P.O.U.M. has committed this mean trick, too. The *Batalla* in an article entitled "Against Franco's Fascism, Against Negrin's Fascism" wrote thus: "Franco is a fascist and Negrin

is also. They are of the same nature, and both are fascists, although of different character."

The reader must pardon us for giving so many of these quotations of baseness but we are dealing with facts. Let those Pharisees who, in their telegrams in defense of the P.O.U.M., wrote in passing that they know little about the P.O.U.M., refute these facts!

Max Rieger's book contains an interesting photograph. It shows the first page of an issue of the *Batalla*. One sees a manifesto in the most striking position, with a special border and printed in thick type. Impossible to repeat the infamous words which literally plaster the Soviet Union, Negrin and the Spanish people with filth and call on the fighters in the Republican army to go over to Franco. What is that? asks the reader. It is the full text of a proclamation distributed by Franco at the front. The spies' paper published the fascist manifesto word for word and underneath, in tiny type, the "explanation" that the manifesto has been reprinted only in order to show that the Requetes and Phalangists have a very lamentable idea of the Spanish workers!

These are the kind of facts that Max Rieger presents. Even after the P.O.U.M. trial the book has not gone out of date and has not lost its actuality. The Trotskyite agents of fascism worked feverishly in the days of the Munich conspiracy.

In France, Doriot's gang with their attempts to provoke pogroms and with their treasonous agitation against the mobilization of the French army, with their impudent defeatist propaganda, showed in a shameless manner whom the Trotskyites serve and whose orders they carry out.

Maxton, the "leader" of the so-called Independent Labor Party in England and an assiduous friend and defender of the P.O.U.M., applauded Mr. Chamberlain without reserve, in the English parliament, after the Munich betrayal.

In China the Trotskyite agents do the dirty work of the Japanese robbers.

And Largo Caballero's clique too did not lay down its arms. In the eyes of the mass of the workers, of all honorable democrats, of all true friends of the Soviet Union, of Spain and of China, Trotskyism, this gang of hired spies and murderers, these direct agents of fascism, must be completely exposed.

Max Rieger's book serves this end.

# The Third Five-Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy of the U.S.S.R. *

BY V. M. MOLOTOV

## I. RESULTS OF THE SECOND FIVE-YEAR PLAN AND BASIC TASKS OF THIRD FIVE-YEAR PLAN

1. AS A result of the successful fulfillment of the Second Five-Year Plan (1933-1937) *the basic historical task* of the Second Five-Year Plan has been accomplished in the U.S.S.R.—all exploiting classes have been completely abolished, all the causes that give rise to the exploitation of man by man and the division of society into exploiters and exploited have been completely eliminated. The most difficult problem of the socialist revolution has been solved: the collectivization of agriculture has been completed, the collective farm system has become firmly consolidated. "The first phase of communism, socialism, has been accomplished in the main" (Stalin) in our country. The victory of socialism is secured by law in the new Constitution of the U.S.S.R.

Socialist—state and cooperative-collective farms—ownership of the production funds, the implements of production and industrial buildings embraced 98.7 per cent of all the production funds of our country by the end of the Second Five-Year Plan. The social system of production became sole and supreme in the entire national economy of the U.S.S.R.: it embraced 99.8 per cent of the total industrial output; 98.6 per cent of the total agricultural production, including that of the auxiliary personal husbandry of the collective farmers, and 100 per cent of trade.

In accordance with the socialist reconstruction of the country's economy that has taken place, the class structure of Soviet society has also changed. Workers and office employees engaged in socialist economy in the U.S.S.R. constituted 34.7 per cent of the total population of the country in 1937; the collective farm peasantry together with handicraftsmen united in cooperatives, 55.5 per cent, the army, students, pensioners and others, 4.2 per cent. Thus already, then, 94.4 per cent of the population of the country was occupied in socialist economy or closely connected with it. The remaining part of the population—the individual peasants, handicraftsmen and artisans not united in cooperatives—constituted only 5.6 per cent of the population. Since then this section of the population has diminished still further.

Socialist society in the U.S.S.R. is now composed of two classes friendly toward each other—the workers and the peasants, the distinction between whom, as well as that between these classes and

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the intelligentsia, is being effaced, and is gradually disappearing. The overwhelming mass of the working people of the U.S.S.R. are active and conscious builders of a classless socialist society, communism. The victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. has insured an internal moral and political unity of the people that has no precedent anywhere, a moral and political unity of the working people under the banner and leadership of the Communist Party and the Soviet power, that is capable not only of putting an end to the remnants of the hostile classes with their alien influences and giving a rebuff to any inimical encroachments from without, but also constituting the best guarantee for the further development and flourishing of our fatherland, a guarantee of the victory of communism in our country.

2. The principal and decisive *economic task* of the Second Five-Year Plan—the completion of the technical reconstruction of the national economy of the U.S.S.R.—has, in the main, been fulfilled.

The production-technical apparatus of the country has been radically renewed. In 1937, more than 80 per cent of the entire industrial output was contributed by new enterprises built or completely reconstructed during the First and Second Five-Year Plans; close to 90 per cent of all tractors and combines operating in agriculture were manufactured by Soviet industry during the Second Five-Year Plan. The tasks of the Second Five-Year Plan in the sphere of industry and transport have been fulfilled ahead of time. The Second Five-Year Plan was fulfilled by industry by April 1, 1937, *i.e.*, in four years and three months; the development of heavy industry being particularly rapid also during the Second Five-Year Plan. The Second Five-Year Plan for railway freight traffic was overfulfilled in four years. The most important tasks of the Second Five-Year Plan in agricultural production, grain and cotton, have been also overfulfilled.

As compared with 1932, the last year of the First Five-Year Plan, the output of industry had grown 120 per cent in 1937, whereas the program of the Second Five-Year Plan provided for a 114 per cent increase. The average annual rate of increase of industrial output during the Second Five-Year Plan amounted to 17.1 per cent as against the 16.5 per cent provided for by the plan.

Production personnel is successfully mastering the new technique developed in all branches of the national economy of the U.S.S.R. A major victory of the Second Five-Year Plan is the training of considerable cadres of Soviet intelligentsia needed in all spheres of socialist construction and the promotion on a broad scale of new leading workers from among the Party and non-Party Bolsheviks in all branches of the national economy.

The successes achieved in the field of mastering new technique are strikingly expressed in the Stakhanov movement. The development of socialist emulation in its highest form—the Stakhanov movement—has led to a mighty rise in productivity of labor in industry and in other branches of the national economy. The labor productivity in large-scale industry increased 82 per cent during the Second Five-Year Plan as against the 63 per cent provided in the plan, and in the field of construction, productivity of labor increased 83 per cent in this period as against 75 per cent provided by the Second Five-Year Plan. The development of the Stakhanov movement and the numerous splendid examples of conscientious socialist labor of Stakhanovites, with their high indices of labor productivity, have created the prerequisites for a radical strengthening of labor discipline in all our enterprises and institutions, which is the indispensable requisite for high productivity of the labor of all working people and a guarantee of a new mighty development of communism in the U.S.S.R.

To insure the fulfillment of the Second Five-Year Plan, it was necessary to wage a struggle against the remnants of the hostile class elements, hostile class influences in national economy, in cultural upbuilding, in the whole of political life. To this end it was necessary first of all to wage a struggle for pro-

tecting and safeguarding socialist, state and collective farm property against thieves and embezzlers of state and collective farm wealth, against all and any accomplices of the class enemy and particularly against betrayers of the people in the person of the Trotskyite-Bukharinite and bourgeois-national spies, diversionists and wreckers working in league with foreign secret services, who became agents of the fascist secret police. Their treacherous work wrought serious damage to a number of branches of the national economy of the U.S.S.R. The smashing of these espionage and wrecking bands has cleared the path for further and even greater successes of socialist economy in our country.

3. The task of *raising the material and cultural level of the working people* and increasing the level of consumption by the people to more than double, as provided by the Second Five-Year Plan, has been likewise fulfilled.

The number of workers and office employees engaged in all branches of the national economy increased by 17.6 per cent during the Second Five-Year Plan. The average annual earnings of workers and office employees throughout the national economy rose 113.5 per cent in 1937 as compared with 1932, *i.e.*, was more than doubled. The wage fund for workers and office employees rose 150 per cent instead of 55 per cent fixed in the Second Five-Year Plan, *i.e.*, increased two and a half times. State expenditures on cultural and everyday services to workers and office employees (education, health protection, etc), increased during these years from 4,400,000,000 rubles to 14,000,000,000 rubles, *i.e.*, more than trebled. The material well-being of collective farmers considerably improved during the years of the Second Five-Year Plan. The gross income of collective farmers increased more than 2.7 times in four years (1933-1937) and the money income distributed among collective farmers for workday units increased 4.5 times during those years.

In 1937, the production of consumers' goods was more than doubled as compared with 1932. The output of a number of important products and articles of mass consumption was not only doubled but even trebled. State and co-operative trade was more than trebled during the years of the Second Five-Year Plan and, together with collective farm trade, increased from 47,800,000,000 rubles in 1932 to 143,700,000,000 rubles in 1937. The non-fulfillment of the tasks of the Second Five-Year Plan in reduction of retail prices of consumers' goods has been more than compensated for by the increase in the wages of workers and office employees, which have risen considerably in excess of the figure provided in the Five-Year Plan, as well as by the considerable rise in the money income of collective farms and collective farmers.

A veritable cultural revolution was carried through during the years of the Second Five-Year Plan in the U.S.S.R. The number of pupils in elementary and secondary schools rose from 21,300,000 to 29,400,000, the number of pupils in the fifth to seventh grades having doubled and that of the eighth to tenth grades having increased fifteen times. The number of students in higher educational institutions increased to 550,000. cultural development of the peoples of other spheres as well.

Considerable successes were achieved in all the Union republics of the U.S.S.R. in industrialization and in raising the material and cultural level of the population, in developing national, Bolshevik cadres, in the rise of all national culture which is socialist in content. Particularly rapid was the rate of the material and cultural development of the peoples of the Soviet East.

4. On the basis of the victorious fulfillment of the Second Five-Year Plan and the socialist successes gained, the U.S.S.R. has entered a new phase of development in the Third Five-Year Plan period, a phase of the *completion of the building of a classless socialist society and the gradual transition from socialism to communism*, when the communist education of the working people, the overcoming of the survivals of capitalism in the consciousness of the people who

are building communism, assumes decisive importance.

One must not, however, underestimate the difficulties in solving this gigantic task, particularly in the conditions of the hostile capitalist encirclement. Moreover, notwithstanding the successful fulfillment of the First and Second Five-Year Plans, notwithstanding the record rate of development of our industry, notwithstanding the fact that industry in the U.S.S.R. has surpassed the foremost capitalist countries in the technique of production—notwithstanding all this, we have not yet overtaken the more developed capitalist countries from the *economic* standpoint.

The U.S.S.R. has become an economically independent country which provides its national economy and the needs of defense with all the necessary technical equipment. The industry of the U.S.S.R. holds first place in the world for the rate of its development. While the industry of capitalist countries, after the grave economic crisis which began at the end of 1929, had barely reached 103.5 per cent of its 1929 level in 1937 and has again slid down since the second half of 1937 owing to the new economic crisis, all of large and small-scale industry in the U.S.S.R. attained 371 per cent of the 1929 level in 1937, while large-scale industry in the U.S.S.R. reached 428 per cent of this level, which means an increase in the output of large-scale industry to more than seven times that of the pre-war period. In 1938, the output of the entire industry of the U.S.S.R. increased by another 11 per cent as compared with the preceding year, attaining 412 per cent of the 1929 level, and that of large-scale industry, as much as 477 per cent of the 1929 level, while in the countries of capitalism industrial production in 1938 declined by 13.5 per cent as against the preceding year, dropping to 91 per cent of the 1929 level.

As distinct from capitalism under which, with its great unevenness of development in each country, there was no increase in industry as a whole in the past decade, but a noticeable decline in industrial production, in the U.S.S.R. we have had a steady and rapid rise in industry, a high *rate of growth* of industrial production from year to year. In view of the fact, however, that our country was economically extremely backward in the past, *the level of development* of industry in the U.S.S.R., from the standpoint of the volume of output per capita of the population, is even now considerably below that of the technically and economically more developed capitalist countries of Europe and that of the United States. It is known that the industrial output per capita of the population in our country is considerably less than that of such countries as the United States of America, Great Britain, Germany or France. For example, by the end of the Second Five-Year Plan, the production of *electric power per capita of the population* in the U.S.S.R. was less than half as much as in France, almost one-third the output of Britain, 3.5 times less than in Germany, and 5.5 times less than in the U.S.A.; pig iron, less than half as much as in Britain or France, 2.5 times less than in Germany and one-third as much as in the U.S.A.; steel, almost half as much as in France, almost one-third as much as in Britain or Germany and almost one-fourth as much as in the U.S.A.; coal, per capita of population in the U.S.S.R., was somewhat less than in France and considerably less than in the United States, Britain or Germany.

The U.S.S.R. still lags behind also in regard to the volume of production per capita of the population of such manufactured goods as textiles, paper, soap and certain other articles.

This insufficiency in the volume of industrial output in the U.S.S.R. as compared with the technically and economically more developed capitalist countries must be completely eliminated to secure the complete success of communism in its historical contest with capitalism.

5. Now that the U.S.S.R. has developed into a socialist state, has in the main completed the technical reconstruction of the national economy and is in advance of any capitalist country of Europe with respect to the level of pro-

duction technique in industry and agriculture—now we can and must undertake practically and in its full scope the realization of the fundamental economic task of the U.S.S.R.: *to overtake and surpass the more developed capitalist countries of Europe and America economically as well,* and completely solve this problem in the immediate future.

This requires a further considerable growth of the technical equipment of all branches of the national economy, and, consequently, the maximum development of machine building and the whole of heavy industry; a resolute improvement of the entire organization and technology of production, combined with the extensive introduction of the latest achievements of science and of inventions; the quantitative and, particularly, the qualitative growth of industrial personnel and the high mastery of technique in industry, transport and agriculture. In accordance with Lenin's teaching that "productivity of labor is, in the final analysis, the most important, the principal factor for the victory of the new social system," we must secure the maximum development of socialist emulation and the Stakhanov movement, the steady strengthening of labor discipline in all enterprises and institutions, in all collective farms; we must insure a high productivity of labor on the part of workers, peasants and the intelligentsia, a productivity of labor worthy of a socialist society.

At the same time it is essential to insure such a growth of the national income and the development of commodity circulation *as to raise consumption by the population one and one-half to two times* during the Third Five-Year Plan period. To this end, along with an accelerated rise in heavy and defense industry, it is essential to develop fully the efforts to increase production of articles of general consumption and food products, as well as to insure the possibility of a corresponding growth in the real wages of workers and office employees and a growth in the income of the collective farmers.

In accordance with these basic tasks of the Third Five-Year Plan, it is essential to insure a considerable rise in the cultural level of the entire mass of urban and rural working people, to accomplish an important stride forward in the historical task *of raising the cultural and technical level of the working class,* the advanced and leading force of the socialist society, *to the level of engineers and technicians.*

The gigantic growth of industry and of the national economy as a whole in the Third Five-Year Plan period and the need of insuring its further uninterrupted rise in accordance with the general state plan, especially under conditions of the growing aggressive forces of imperialism surrounding the U.S.S.R., demand the *creation of large state reserves,* primarily, of fuel, electric power and certain defense industries, as well as the development of transport, correctly distributed in the proper districts of the country, the elimination of unproductive and long hauls and providing the basic economic centers of the country with the maximum resources on the spot.

The Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) approves the following tasks of the Third Five-Year Plan for the development of the national economy of the U.S.S.R. submitted by the State Planning Commission of the U.S.S.R. and adopted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) and the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.

## II. PLAN FOR THE INCREASE OF PRODUCTION UNDER THE THIRD FIVE-YEAR PLAN

1. To set the *volume of output* of all industry in the U.S.S.R. for 1942, the last year of the Third Five-Year Plan, at 180,000,000,000 rubles (in prices of 1926-1927), as compared with 95,000,000,000 rubles in 1937, that is, an 88 per cent increase in industrial output under the Third Five-Year Plan.

The average annual rate of increase of industrial output in the U.S.S.R. under the Third Five-Year Plan is to be 13.5 per cent; the average annual increase in

the output of means of production to be 15.2 per cent and in the output of articles of consumption, 11 per cent.

2. To establish the following volume of output for the *most important branches of industry* in 1942, the end of the Third Five-Year Plan:

| | *1942* | *1942 in % of 1937* |
|---|---|---|
| All industry (in 1926-1927 prices) in millions of rubles.... | 180,000 | 188 |
| Including: | | |
| Production of means of production ..... | 112,000 | 203 |
| Production of articles of consumption..... | 68,000 | 169 |
| Machinery and metal-working industry (in 1926-1927 prices) in millions of rubles ..... | 62,000 | 225 |
| Trunk-line locomotives (in terms of the type "E" and "SU" locomotives), in units ..... | 2,090 | 132 |
| Freight cars (in terms of two-axle cars), in units..... | 90,000 | 153 |
| Automobiles, in units ..... | 400,000 | 200 |
| Electric power, in millions of kilowatt hours..... | 75,000 | 206 |
| Coal, in millions of tons ..... | 230 | 181 |
| Crude oil and gas, in millions of tons..... | 54 | 177 |
| Peat, in millions of tons..... | 49 | 206 |
| Pig iron, in millions of tons..... | 22 | 152 |
| Steel, in millions of tons..... | 27.5 | 156 |
| Rolled steel, in millions of tons..... | 21 | 162 |
| Including high-grade steel, in millions of tons..... | 5 | 199 |
| Chemical industry (in 1926-1927 prices), in millions of rubles | 13,400 | 227 |
| Cement, in millions of tons..... | 10 | 183 |
| Timber, hauled in millions of cubic meters..... | 200 | 180 |
| Lumber, in millions of cubic meters..... | 45 | 156 |
| Paper, in thousands of tons..... | 1,300 | 156 |
| Cotton fabrics, in millions of meters..... | 4,900 | 142 |
| Woolen fabrics, in millions of meters..... | 175 | 167 |
| Leather footwear, in millions of pairs..... | 235 | 143 |
| Sugar and granulated sugar, in thousands of tons..... | 3,500 | 144 |
| Canned goods, in millions of tins..... | 1,800 | 206 |

3. To insure the introduction of advanced technique in all branches of the national economy and in all branches of defense of the U.S.S.R. in accordance with the present-day requirements of the state, by developing to the utmost *machine building*, which plays the leading part in the technical equipment of the national economy. To increase the output of the machine-building industry 2.25 times by the end of the Third Five-Year Plan, that is, considerably above the general growth of industry. To insure the production of all types of machine tools, radically increasing the proportion of special and highly productive machinery, particularly of automatic machinery. To increase the output of metal-working machine tools to 70,000 by 1942, as compared with 36,000 in 1937, bringing the variety of types and sizes up to 800.

To overcome the relative lag in the power-machinery industry behind the ever-growing requirements of the national economy of the U.S.S.R. To increase the output of steam turbines 4.8 times during the Five-Year Plan and that of steam boilers 4.6 times. To extend in every way the production of medium-sized and small turbines of a capacity of 12,000 kw. and less, and increase their share in the total output. To master the production of the high-power hydro-turbines for the Kuibyshev Hydroelectric Development.

To devote particular attention to the development of the production of portable engines, stationary and marine diesel engines, in the first place high-speed engines and also gas engines. All machinery in the timber industry, as well as a considerable part of the tractors used in agriculture and also automobiles to be equipped with gas generator engines.

To overcome the lag in the production

of machinery and mechanized equipment for the building industry as well as in the output of tools, for this industry.

The production of complex apparatus and equipment for the chemical industry is to be accelerated so as fully to insure its development on a broad scope. To master the production of new types of machinery for cotton and woolen mills, to overcome the lag in the production of weaving equipment, increasing the output of ring-spinning frames six times by the end of the Third Five-Year Plan. To provide marine transport with all types of modern vessels and to create for the shipbuilding industry a production capacity sufficient for insuring home manufacture for the growing needs of marine and river transport of the U.S.S.R. To extend the production of apparatus for automatic and remote control.

4. To develop in every way the *coal and oil* industries, which form the fuel base for the entire national economy of the country. The mining of coal is to be developed to a level not only covering the current needs of the country but also enabling the setting up of industrial stocks and of state reserves. To secure the highest rate of development of coal mining in the coal districts of the Urals, the Moscow Basin, in the Far East and Central Asia, increasing there the output of coal during the Third Five-Year Plan as follows: in the Urals, 2.8 times, in the Moscow Basin, 2.4 times, in the Far East, 2.5 times and in Central Asia, 4.4 times. The mining of lignite is to increase 2.6 times in the course of the Third Five-Year Plan. New bases for the mining of local coal in all regions of the country are to be set up, even in places where the deposits are small, and, as these develop, to transfer enterprises of local industry, public utilities, schools, hospitals and offices from long-haul fuel to local fuel. To complete all-around mechanization of coal mining in all coal districts of the country, and to organize coal mining on the basis of scheduled cycle work, the foundation of the miners' Stakhanovite productivity of labor, introducing it into all coal districts of the country.

To establish a new oil center, a "second Baku," in the region between the Volga and the Urals. The program for oil extraction and oil refining is to be insured by a rapid development in geological surveys, the introduction of advanced technique in the extraction and processing of oil: rotary drilling, pressure drilling, compressor extraction and pumping of deep wells, the closed method of exploitation, retaining the volatile gases and extracting benzine from them. To build a network of oil pipelines and oil stores, particularly in the Eastern districts of the U.S.S.R.

To develop the peat industry, particularly in such provinces as Ivanovo, with the aim of reducing the hauling of coal over long distances. Also to increase in every way the utilization of shale.

To develop widely the *gasification* of all types of fuel and the underground gasification of coal, turning underground gasification of coal into an independent branch of industry in the Third Five-Year Plan period. The production of gas at oil and gas fields is to be increased 3.5 times during this period. A number of stations for the industrial underground gasification of coal in the Donbas, the Moscow Basin and in the Eastern part of the U.S.S.R. are to be built and put into operation: the gas obtained is to be utilized for the power industry, chemical industry and communal services. To develop the utilization of coke and blast furnace gases by constructing a network of gas pipelines, in the Donbas in the first place.

To establish a synthetic liquid fuel industry based on the hydrogenation of solid fuels, in the East, in the first place, and also on the production of synthetic liquid fuel from gas.

5. To eliminate in the sphere of *electricity* the existing partial disproportion between the great expansion of industry and the insufficient increase in capacity of electric power stations, so that the increase in electric power capacity should not only outstrip the

growth of industry but also insure the establishment of considerable electric power reserves. In accordance with this, the total capacity of electric power stations is to be increased 2.1 times during the five years. As regards the construction of heat and power plants, to go over to the construction of small and medium-sized power stations of 25,000 kw. and less. To condemn as incorrect and harmful to the national economy the enthusiasm for large power plants to the detriment of the medium-sized and small one. The capacity of district heat and power stations is to be approved in each instance by the government. To widely introduce the latest power technique, high pressure and superheating of steam, employment of the latest heat and power turbines and automatizing of all the basic production processes in power stations and transmission lines.

6. To transform the *chemical industry* into one of the leading branches of industry, fully satisfying the requirements of the national economy and the defense of the country. The Third Five-Year Plan is a five-year plan of chemistry. The Congress resolves to increase the production of the chemical industry 2.3 times, that is, considerably above the rise in industry as a whole. The production of sulphuric and nitric acids, synthetic ammonia, artificial fiber and composition materials to be increased considerably. To set up new branches of organic synthesis (synthetic alcohol, acetic acid and others) on the basis of utilizing the by-products of oil refining, the production of rubber, coke and natural gases. To insure a strict technological regime in all branches of the chemical industry and the steady introduction of the latest achievements: intensification of chemical production, the going over from a periodic process to a continuous one, the utilization of high pressures and the development of electrochemical methods. To mechanize processes requiring heavy labor in the chemical industry and to develop the automatization of production.

7. To achieve a steady and important rise in production in the field of *iron and steel*, the development of which determines, to a great extent, the growth of all industry and the national economy and consequently requires special and constant attention for expanding its production capacities. The Third Five-Year Plan is a plan for special steels. The Congress resolves to double the output of high grade rolled steel and to insure a sharp increase in the output of special steels: hard alloys, stainless, acid and heat-resisting, tool, precision and transformer as well as ferro-alloys. To develop widely the smelting of charcoal pig iron from ores free from sulphur and phosphorus. To overcome the harmful specialization of the rolling mills, introduced by wreckers, which led to crisscross shipments and long hauls, and to insure the rolling of the more common grades of metal in the basic metallurgical centers of the country. To establish a new iron and steel base in the Far East with a complete metallurgical cycle of production to provide for all the needs of the local machine-building industry. To increase, during the five years, the share of the Eastern districts of the U.S.S.R. in the production of pig iron from 28 per cent to 35 per cent of the country's total production.

8. To increase the output of *non-ferrous metals* to a level insuring the satisfaction of the rapidly growing requirements of the national economy and defense of the country. In 1942 the production of copper is to be increased 2.8 times, that of aluminum (including silumin), 3.3 times, as compared with 1937. To insure high rates of development of the production of lead, zinc, nickel, tin, magnesium, tungsten and molybdenum. To widely introduce substitutes for non-ferrous metals into all branches of machine building.

9. To do away with the lag of the *timber industry*. To carry out an extensive all-around mechanization of all production processes in lumber camps, based on gas-generator and steam engines. To utilize to the maximum the seasonal advantages of felling timber in the winter, insuring at the same time the production of timber the year round. To set up large

stocks of air-dried wood at lumber yards. To develop in every way the paper and the wood-chemical industry, particularly the hydrolysis of wood.

10. The Congress resolves to increase the output of consumers' goods 1.7 times during the Third Five-Year Plan.

In *light industry* to fully utilize the augmented resources of raw materials for increasing production, extending the assortment and raising the quality of output, and for simultaneously establishing the necessary stocks of raw materials. To eliminate the disproportion between the preparatory and spinning shops and also between weaving and spinning, which lags behind. To perfect technically the equipment of the cotton goods industry: to introduce high speed and single-process machines, instruments for fast spinning and automatic looms.

In the *food industry* to considerably enlarge the assortment of products, particularly of the higher and first grades, to improve the quality of the manufactured products and to set up mass production of delicatessens and of semi-prepared foods. To resolutely overcome the lag in the fish industry.

11. To develop in every way *local industry and the producers' cooperatives*, which are an important source for satisfying the growing needs of the working people. Considering the fact that their present rate of expansion is insufficient, to achieve in the course of the Five-Year Plan no less than a doubling in the output of local industry and producers' cooperatives. Alongside the increase in the production of consumers' goods, which is the main task of local industry and the producers' cooperatives, it is necessary to develop to the utmost the mining of local fuels and the production of building materials.

12. The fixed plan for the growth of industrial output and the further tasks of mastering the new technique demand a considerable rise in labor productivity and substantial reduction in cost of production. The Congress fixes for the Third Five-Year Plan:

(a) A 65 per cent growth in *labor productivity* during the Third Five-Year Plan, a growth which is to insure in 1942 a 62,000,000,000 ruble increase in industrial output, as compared with 1937, as a result of greater labor productivity alone.

(b) An 11 per cent *reduction in the cost* of industrial production during the five years (in 1937 prices), a reduction which is to insure to the state a saving of 21,000,000,000 rubles in 1942 as compared with 1937.

It is necessary to raise in every way the quality of the output in all branches of industry, to organize a struggle against waste in production, to reduce the norms of expenditure of raw materials, supplies, fuel and electric power.

13. The Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) fixes a rise in output of all *agriculture* from 19,800,000,000 rubles in 1937 (in 1926-1927 prices), to 30,200,000,000 rubles in 1942, that is, an increase of 53 per cent. The Congress fixes the following tasks for the most important branches of agriculture:

(a) With respect to *grain*, to secure an average annual harvest of 7,000,000,000 poods (one pood equals 36 lbs.—*Ed.*) under the Third Five-Year Plan as compared with an average annual harvest of 5,500,000,000 poods under the Second Five-Year Plan, that is, an increase of 27 per cent.

(b) With respect to *industrial crops* in 1942; sugar beet, a harvest of 30,000,000 tons, with an average yield of 25 tons per hectare (a hectare equals 2.47 acres —*Ed.*); raw cotton, 3,290,000 tons, with an average yield from irrigated fields of 1.9 tons per hectare; flax fiber, 850,000 tons, with an average yield of .46 tons per hectare.

(c) An increase in the *head of livestock* and a rise in livestock products for the market to a level fully insuring the solution of the livestock problem in the U.S.S.R. The number of horses is to be increased by 35 per cent, cattle, 40 per cent, hogs, 100 per cent, sheep and goats, 110 per cent. To increase the productivity of livestock by means of improving the breed and a radical improvement in pedigreed breeding, by a proper distribution of different breeds by regions,

strengthening the fodder base and better care of livestock.

(d) To establish *potato and vegetable growing and livestock bases* around Moscow, Leningrad, Baku, Kharkov, the industrial centers of the Donbas, Kuzbas, Gorky and all other large cities, which are to insure the complete supply of these centers with vegetables, potatoes and to a considerable extent with milk and meat.

(e) To insure the sowing of grain and other crops exclusively with high-quality and improved *graded seeds*, from selection stations, as well as local varieties. To introduce in collective farms and state farms proper crop rotation, with sowing to grasses and summer fallow, which insure a considerable increase in soil fertility, a rise in the yield and the establishment of a reliable fodder base for the growing livestock industry.

(f) *To complete the all-around mechanization* of agricultural work during the Third Five-Year Plan period. To widely introduce advanced agronomy, with scientific utilization of the large practical experience of the foremost people of agriculture.

(g) On the basis of the further mechanization of agricultural production and the increase in labor productivity, to turn the *state farms* into highly productive, highly profitable enterprises serving as an example of the organization of agricultural production, an example of its high yields and productivity.

14. The Congress fixes the increase in the *freight traffic* of railway transport from 355,000,000,000 ton-kilometers in 1937 to 510,000,000,000 ton-kilometers in 1942; of river transport, from 33,000,000,000 to 58,000,000,000 ton-kilometers; of marine transport, from 37,000,000,000 to 51,000,000,000 ton-kilometers. The most important task in transport is to improve the planning of freight traffic with the object of an all-round reduction of long hauls by rail, elimination of criss-cross and irrational shipments and to secure a further rise in the share of water and auto transport in the country's freight traffic.

In conformity with this, the Congress sets the following tasks for transport under the Third Five-Year Plan:

(a) To increase *the number of locomotives* by 7,370, including an increase of 1,870 FD locomotives, 3,200 tender condenser locomotives and 1,500 JS passenger locomotives. Tender condenser locomotives should take the leading place among freight locomotives within the next few years.

(b) To increase the number of freight cars by 178,000 four-axle cars, and passenger coaches, by 12,000. To equip 300,000 of the existing freight cars and 4,000 passenger coaches with automatic coupling. To equip 200,000 of the existing freight cars with automatic brakes. To build new and enlarge the existing locomotive and car repair shops, especially on the Urals, Central Asian, Siberian and Far Eastern lines.

(c) For insuring the further reconstruction of railway transport, and especially of the railway track, to build *new railways* in the Third Five-Year Plan period and put into service 11,000 kilometers of railway lines. To double-track 8,000 kilometers of railway lines.

(d) *To electrify* 1,840 kilometers of railways, in the first place of mountain railways and lines with heavy freight traffic and also of the largest junctions with heavy suburban traffic.

(e) To construct railway stations and junctions, in the first place on the lines connecting the Donbas with Krivoi Rog, Leningrad and Moscow, and the Eastern districts of the Urals, Northern Territory and Murmansk Province with the central part of the U.S.S.R.; Western Siberia with Central Asia, and on the Southwestern, Western and Eastern lines.

(f) To put an end to the lagging of *water transport*, to enhance its role in serving the national economy, especially in the transportation of mass freights; timber, grain, coal, oil. To improve the technical condition of the sea and river fleets, to replenish them by more modern types of vessels, to introduce widely gas generator installations on river ships. To extend the construction of ship repair yards and seaports.

To carry through extensive measures for the reconstruction and improvement of the existing waterways, to reconstruct the Astrakhan-Gorky-Rybinsk-Moscow waterway so as to create by the end of the Third Five-Year Plan a deep-water transit rout from Astrakhan to Moscow, insuring a depth of at least 2.6 meters at all sandbanks. To promote the reconstruction of the Volga-Baltic waterway. To increase the total length of internal navigable waterways from 101,000 kilometers to 115,000 kilometers during the five-year period.

By the end of the Third Five-Year Plan, to turn the *Northern Sea Route* into a normally operating waterway insuring regular connection with the Far East.

(g) To organize regular *automobile transport* traffic on automobile highways, roads and approaches to cities, at railway stations and waterways where the traffic load is heavy. To increase shipments by auto 4.6 times during the five-year period. To build and to reconstruct 210,000 kilometers of roads, greatly increasing as compared wth the Second Five-Year Plan the proportion of construction of improved coal tar, asphalt-concrete and concrete roads.

(h) With respect to *air transport* to increase the length of airways, to equip the airways, to extend and to improve the ground structures serving air transport.

(i) To raise *labor productivity* in the Third Five-Year Plan period by 32 per cent on railway transport and by 38 per cent on water transport, to mechanize loading and unloading work in railway, water and auto transport.

15. The Congress emphasizes the necessity of a greater development of all means of *communications*, especially inter-urban.

To complete the establishment of direct telephone communications between Moscow and all republic, territory and province centers, and also to supplement the radial system by a relay system of communications between the larger centers of the U.S.S.R. To complete telephone service of district centers, village Soviets, machine and tractor stations and state farms. To increase the number of radio receiving relay points 2.3 times. To build television centers in a number of large cities.

16. A major condition fqr the fulfillment of the program for increase of production in the Third Five-Year Plan period is the training of qualified *cadres of workers, technicians, and engineers,* and also the wide development of efforts to introduce the most up-to-date technique and scientific organization of production. The Congress considers it necessary to provide the following in the Third Five-Year Plan:

(a) The promotion of a wide network of schools and courses for training and retraining qualified workers and masters of socialist labor.

(b) Graduation of 1,400,000 technicians of various specialties and 600,000 specialists with a higher education.

### III. PLAN FOR NEW CONSTRUCTION WORK AND ITS DISTRIBUTION UNDER THE THIRD FIVE-YEAR PLAN

1. In conformity with the plan for the increase in production, the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) fixes the volume of *capital construction* in the national economy under the Third Five-Year Plan at 180,000,000,000 rubles (in existing estimate prices), as against 115,000,000,000 rubles during the Second Five-Year Plan; this includes:

(a) In *industry*—103,300,000,000 rubles, as against 58,600,000,000 rubles during the Second Five-Year Plan; this includes: 86,800,000,000 rubles in industries produring the means of production, as against 49,800,000,000 rubles during the Second Five-Year Plan, or an increase of 74 per cent; 16,500,000,000 rubles in industries manufacturing goods for general consumption, as against 8,800,000,000 rubles during the Second Five-Year Plan, or an increase of 88 per cent.

(b) In *transport*—35,800,000,000 rubles, as against 20,700,000,000 rubles in the Second Five-Year Plan, or an increase of 73 per cent.

(c) In *agriculture*—10,600,000,000 ru-

bles; this includes: 5,200,000,000 rubles for machine and tractor stations, 1,200,000,000 rubles for irrigation and melioration.

2. The Congress approves the *putting into operation* of new and reconstructed enterprises to the value of 179,000,000,000 rubles (in existing estimate prices) during the Third Five-Year Plan, as against 103,000,000,000 rubles during the Second Five-Year Plan.

The Congress notes that the fixed volume of capital construction and the program for putting into operation of new and reconstructed enterprises insure a further big increase in the technical production base of the U.S.S.R. and the formation of necessary reserves of production capacity in the most important branches of the national economy.

(a) *Production capacities* during the Third Five-Year Plan will increase as follows: electric power stations, from 8,100,000 kw. at the end of the Second Five-Year Plan, to 17,200,000 kw.; the coal industry, 1.7 times, bringing the capacity of collieries up to 285,000,000 tons of coal at the end of the Third Five-Year Plan; the iron and steel industry to 24,000,000 tons of pig iron; the non-ferrous metals industry (copper), 2.4 times; aluminum, 3.8 times; the auto industry, 2.4 times; the cotton fabrics industry (spindles), 1.5 times.

(b) *Fixed capital* will increase during the Third Five-Year Plan in the entire national economy from 189,300,000,000 rubles to 347,000,000,000 rubles, or 83.6 per cent. This includes an increase from 68,200,000,000 rubles to 142,400,000,000 rubles in industry; an increase from 23,200,000,000 rubles to 31,000,000,000 rubles in agriculture, and an increase from 38,700,000,000 rubles to 69,100,000,000 rubles in transport.

3. The Congress considers that in the *distribution of new construction work* in the districts of the U.S.S.R. under the Third Five-Year Plan, we should be guided by the necessity of bringing industry nearer to the sources of raw material and to the districts of consumption with a view to eliminating irrational and unduly long hauls, and also to insure the further progress of the previously economically backward districts of the U.S.S.R. In conformity with this it is necessary in the Third Five-Year Plan:

(a) To insure in the *main economic districts* of the Union the all-round development of economy and to organize the obtaining of fuel and the manufacture of such products as cement, alabaster, chemical fertilizers, glass, articles of the light and the food industries in volumes sufficient to satisfy the requirements of these districts. It is of especial importance to insure local supplies of fuel and certain products difficult to transport for those large industrial districts whose dependence on long hauls for a large quantity of freight has increased in view of their industrial growth and rapid increase in urban population.

Such foodstuffs of mass consumption as potatoes, vegetables, dairy and meat products, flour, biscuits and confectionery, beer, and also a number of industrial articles of mass consumption—haberdashery, wearing apparel, furniture, bricks, lime and so on—must be produced in sufficient quantities in each republic, territory and province.

Proper control is to be provided that the decisions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) and of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. prohibiting the building of new enterprises in Moscow and in Leningrad are carried out, and this decision is to be applied also to Kiev, Kharkov, Rostov-on-Don, Gorky and Sverdlovsk, where building hereafter of new enterprises is to be prohibited.

(b) To establish in such *economic centers* of the country as the Eastern districts, the Urals and the Volga Region during the Third Five-Year Plan period duplicate enterprises in a number of branches of machine building, oil refining and chemistry, so as to eliminate interruption in the supply of certain industrial products from enterprises that are the sole manufacturers.

(c) To provide for a more rapid increase in the volume of capital construction and the construction of new

enterprises in *Eastern and Far Eastern* districts of the U.S.S.R. To continue to develop in every way the iron and steel base in these districts, for which purpose three-quarters of the total number of blast furnaces to be built during the Third Five-Year Plan period are to be built in the Eastern districts of the country.

To establish a new large production base of the textile industry in the east of the U.S.S.R. to work on Central Asian cotton. To provide for the rapid development of coal mining and of cement production in the Far East in quantities fully satisfying the needs of the region.

(d) To insure a further economic and cultural advance of the *national republics* and *provinces* in conformity with the main tasks of the distribution of the productive forces during the Third Five-Year Plan.

4. The Congress considers it necessary to concentrate attention during the Third Five-Year Plan on the following most important construction work:

(a) In *machine building*: in conformity with the program of production set up for the Third Five-Year Plan, which considerably exceeds the general rate of industrial development, to extend widely the construction and to accelerate the putting into operation of new plants, especially machine-tool and power equipment plants. To complete the construction of three plants manufacturing heavy machine tools and of one milling machine plant in Gorky, of an automatic lathe plant in Kiev, and to extend the building of new machine-tool plants of medium capacity for the production of grinders, gear cutters, planers, vertical boring mills, horizontal boring mills and automatic machine tools, as well as plants for producing equipment for forging and stamping. To build in the course of the Third Five-Year Plan period and to put into operation five turbine manufacturing plants, including turbine manufacturing plants in the districts of Sverdlovsk, Orsk, Novosibirsk, Novocherkassk and Kaluga, and corresponding plants for manufacturing boilers and auxiliary power equipment. To complete the construction of the Gorky and Moscow auto plants. To build a plant for the manufacture of low-powered automobiles, a number of new auto assembly plants and to promote the construction of new plants for the manufacture of trucks in Siberia and in the Far East, as well as a number of auxiliary enterprises of the auto industry. To build a plant for the production of spinning machines in Kursk and of weaving looms in Western Siberia. To complete the construction of the Saratov ball bearing plant and to promote the construction of two new ball and roller bearing plants. To build one or two plants for the manufacture of heavy and medium chemical machinery.

(b) In the sphere of *electrification*, the Congress considers that the most important part of the building program is to increase capacity by constructing new small and medium sized electric power stations and also to accelerate the construction of hydroelectric power stations. To promote the biggest construction job in the world—the two Kuibyshev hydroelectric power stations with a total capacity of 3,400,000 kw.—which simultaneously solves the problem of irrigation of arid lands for achieving stable harvests in regions beyond the Volga and of navigation of the Volga and Kama. To begin also the construction of the Kaluga Hydroelectric Power Station on the Oka River. To complete the construction and to put into operation the following hydroelectric power stations: Uglich, Rybinsk, Chirchik, Kanakir, Svir-2, Niva-2, Sukhumi and others; to begin the construction of the following hydroelectric power stations: Verkhne-Kama, Mingichaur and Ust-Kamenogorsk, and also to develop extensively the construction of small, local hydroelectric power stations. To provide for the construction and putting into operation of 91 district heat and power stations: Kurakhovo, Nesvetayevo, Kirov in Leningrad, Frunze in Moscow, Chelyabinsk Heat and Power Station, Sumgait, Komsomolsk, Kiev, Nikolayev, Kirovo-Chepetsky, Syzran, Orsk, Kara-

ganda, Krasnoyarsk, Khabarovsk, Kuvasaisk and others. To build a new heat and power station operating on peat in Ivanovo District for the textile industry.

To fix the total increase in electric power capacity during the Third Five-Year Plan period at nine million kw., insuring the establishment of a constant power reserve of between 10 and 15 per cent in industrial districts.

(c) In the *coal industry*: to promote the opening of both coal and lignite mines. To develop properly the new coal districts, especially in the Urals, in Bashkiria, Central Asia, Eastern Siberia, Transbaikal, the Khabarovsk and Maritime territories, in the Ukraine, in the Kirghizian and Tajik S.S.R. To construct mainly collieries of medium and small capacity, in every way reducing and accelerating the period of construction. In all during the five-year plan period to sink new coal mines with a total capacity of 150,000,000 tons, with the putting into operation of mines with a capacity of 130,000,000 tons.

In the *oil industry*: to insure the putting into operation of new oil refineries with a capacity of 15,000,000 tons and, in addition, cracking plants with a capacity of 4,500,000 tons. To consider the establishment of another large oil base in the region between the Volga and the Urals as a decisive task in the Third Five-Year Plan, building oil refineries of 6,000,000 tons capacity there. To insure the development of geological exploration and prospecting work in the new oil districts; between the Volga and the Urals, in Siberia, in Far Eastern Territory, in the Ukraine and in Central Asia.

The *peat* and *shale industry*: to insure the necessary increase in capital construction. To provide for the building of plants for the artificial dehydration of peat, laying the foundation for elimination of the seasonal nature of peat extraction. To build two or three coke plants where chemical products should also be manufactured.

(d) In *the iron and steel industry*: to complete the construction of the Magnitogorsk Combinat, the Novo-Tagil and the Petrovsko-Transbaikal plants, the Amur Steel Plant, the Zaporozhye Steel Plant, the Azov Steel Plant, the tin plate plant, the Urals and Nikopol (according to the reduced project) tube works. To start the building of new iron and steel plants in the southern Urals (using the Khalilovo and Bakal ores) and in Eastern Siberia, a welded tube plant in the Urals, a tube-rolling plant in Siberia and a tube-casting plant in the center. To launch, on the basis of the utilization of scrap and waste metal, the construction of small plants for local needs in the regions of Central Asia and Transcaucasia. To build 20 new blast furnaces in all during the Third Five-Year Plan period and to recommence the construction of three charcoal blast furnaces in the Urals.

(e) In *non-ferrous metallurgy*: to complete the construction of the Pribalkhash Copper-Smelting Combinat and the Middle-Urals and Blyavinsk combinats. To promote the construction of the Jezkazgan and Almalyk Copper-Smelting combinats and also the lead and zinc plants in the Altai. To put into operation the Urals Aluminum Combinat and also the Kandalaksha and Rybinsk aluminum works, the Tikhvin Aluminum Works, the Southern Urals and Northern nickel combinats. To begin building a number of new enterprises for the production of lead, zinc, tin, tungsten and molybdenum. To build plants for non-ferrous rolled metal and bi-metal plants, and also plants for working aluminum and magnesium alloys.

(f) In the *chemical industry*: to promote the construction of new fertilizer combinats, soda and sulphuric acid works using chiefly local pyrites and the gases from iron and steel plants and electric power stations, synthetic rubber works and tire manufacturing plants, and to put into operation 13 synthetic rubber works, seven tire-cord and 14 tire works distributed in various parts of the country. To build two artificial liquid fuel plants, four or six plants for processing of natural rubber and a few plants for utilizing the waste products of the syn-

thetic rubber and the food industries.

(g) To stop the shipment of *cement* from the European part of the U.S.S.R. to the Eastern districts and the republics of Central Asia, building for this purpose new cement works of medium and small capacity with a total capacity of 4,400,000 tons in these regions, including districts in the Far East, Siberia, the Kazakh S.S.R., Central Asian republics and in the Urals.

(h) In the *timber industry*: to put into operation the Solikamsk, Syask, Marii, Krasnoyarsk, Kama and Kondopoga cellulose, and cellulose and paper combinats. To promote the construction of new cellulose, paper, plywood and wood-chemical enterprises and wood hydrolysis works. To provide for the rapid development of the timber industry in the northern and northwestern districts of the European part of the U.S.S.R. and in the Urals, correspondingly altering the distribution of lumber mills and discontinuing the shipment of timber from Siberia to the European part of the U.S.S.R.

(i) In *light industry*: to put into operation the new cotton mills in Barnaul, Novosibirsk and in the Kuznetsk basin, also to build small spinning mills in the old textile districts so as to eliminate the disproportion between spinning and weaving; to put into operation the second section of the Tashkent Cotton Combinat, the Leninakan Spinning Mill, the Kiev and Semipalatinsk cloth combinats, the rubber sole works in Kalinin and the artificial leather works in Kazan. To promote the construction of new textile mills in Western Siberia and in the Kazakh S.S.R., and also the construction of a number of new knitgoods and hosiery mills, small linen combinats, leather works, footwear factories and silk mills.

(j) In the *food industry*: to complete the construction and the putting into operation of the meat combinats in Orsk, Engels, Ulan-Ude, Irkutsk, Khabarovsk, Sverdlovsk, Ivanovo, Nalchik, Kuibyshev, Dniepropetrovsk, Voroshilovgrad, Ashkhabad and Stalinabad; sugar refineries in Yelan-Koleno, Zherdevka, Sovietskoye (Kurks Province), Alma-Ata and Novo-Troitsk. To build a number of new distilleries, creameries, condensed and powdered milk works, biscuit and confectionery and tea-packing factories. To promote the construction of new meat combinats of medium capacity, sugar refineries, bakeries and cold storage warehouses.

To increase in the fishing industry the marine fishing fleet and to complete the construction of fish combinats in Komsomolsk, Khabarovsk, Moscow and in Muinak; of cold storage warehouses in Balkhash, Magnistau, Akhtarakh, Soviet Harbor, Petropavlovsk-on-Kamchatka, and 20 small cold storage warehouses in Far Eastern Territory; ship-wharves in Murmansk, Nikolayev-on-Amur and Petropavlovsk-on-Kamchatka.

(k) In *local industry* and industrial cooperatives: to promote the construction of small enterprises using local raw materials and local fuel.

(l) In *municipal construction*: to insure the promotion of housing construction and the improvement of cities and industrial centers. To lay new water mains in 50 cities, sewer systems in 45 cities and street-car tracks in eight cities. To extend the use of gas in munipical economy.

To insure the further development and reconstruction of Moscow and Leningrad in conformity with the plans adopted. To complete the construction of the third section of the Metro in Moscow.

To complete the main construction work for the erection of the Palace of Soviets by the end of the Third Five-Year Plan period.

(m) In the sphere of *agriculture*: to construct 1,500 machine and tractor stations, both by building new and by subdividing old machine and tractor stations. To insure the necessary repair bases for tractors, combines and other agricultural machines. To promote the erection of cattle sheds in state farms sufficient to house all the cattle.

In *irrigation* and *melioration:* to complete all the large-scale irrigation and drainage construction works begun: Vakhsh, Kolkhida, the Nevinomyssky

Canal and the Murgab Oasis. To begin the construction of an irrigation system in the region beyond the Volga. To strengthen the technical production base in arid agricultural districts.

(n) To build a network of new grain *elevators* and *warehouses* with a total capacity exceeding 10,000,000 tons of products, insuring that the stacking of grain should be completely eliminated during the first half of the Third Five-Year Plan.

5. With the object of reducing the period of construction and accelerating the putting into operation of production capacity units, as well as distributing the new enterprises among the main economic districts of the country, the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) demands a resolute *struggle against the mania for giant enterprises* in construction and an extensive transition to the building of medium-sized and small enterprises in all branches of national economy of the U.S.S.R.

The Congress calls attention to the need for a determined introduction of *rapid construction methods*, to which end it is necessary to develop the building industry, transforming it from a lagging into an advanced branch of the national economy, with the extensive development of all-round mechanization and the use of standard building parts and structures, and for this, the necessary enterprises are to be set up.

For the fulfillment of the program of construction outlined, to fix the rise in *labor productivity* in building work for the Third Five-Year Plan period at 75 per cent and the drop in cost of building work by the end of the Third Five-Year Plan at 12 per cent below the level at the end of the Second Five-Year Plan period.

## IV. PLAN FOR FURTHER RISE IN THE MATERIAL AND CULTURAL LEVEL OF THE WORKING PEOPLE UNDER THE THIRD FIVE-YEAR PLAN

The fulfillment of the First and Second Five-Year Plans brought about not only a tremendous rise in and the socialist transformation of the national economy together with the strengthening of the defense power of the Soviet Union, but also a great rise in the material and cultural level of the peoples of the U.S.S.R.

The Third Five-Year Plan must insure that the needs and requirements of the working people with regard to necessary goods, products, housing, cultural and every-day services are satisfied to a still greater extent. The fulfillment of the Third Five-Year Plan, moreover, insures a new and big step forward toward establishing a mighty material base for a subsequent development of the productive forces, the well-being and culture of the socialist society in the U.S.S.R. It is not a question now of abolishing unemployment and eliminating poverty in the village—we have already achieved this completely and forever. Our task today consists in raising the well-being and the cultural level of the working people to an extent that would meet the increased requirements of the Soviet people, requirements that are unattainable even in the richest capitalist countries and signify the beginning of a real flourishing of the forces of socialism, the flourishing of the new socialist culture.

The Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) fixes the following tasks for the Third Five-Year Plan in the sphere of raising the material and cultural level of the workers and the working people in the village.

1. (a) To increase *consumption by the working people of the U.S.S.R.* by more than one and a half times, in accordance with the growth in the income of the workers, peasants and office employees.

(b) To increase the *number of workers and office employees* by the end of the Third Five-Year Plan period in all branches of national economy by 17 per cent, as compared with 1937, average wages by 35 per cent, and the wage fund by 62 per cent.

(c) To raise state expenditures on the

*cultural and every-day needs* of the working people in cities and villages, *i.e.*, expenditures on social insurance and state outlays for education, health protection, aid to mothers of large families and for cultural and every-day services to workers and office employees, to 53,000,000,000 rubles, as against 30,800,000,000 rubles in 1937, an increase of more than 1.7 times.

(d) To raise considerably the *income of collective farmers* as a result of the growth in labor productivity on the collective farms, the growth in harvest yields for all crops and the increase in productivity in stock breeding.

(e) To carry out broad measures for a substantial advance in realizing the historic task of raising the *cultural and technical level of the working class of the U.S.S.R.* to that of engineers and technicians.

(f) To effect universal *secondary education* in the cities and universal junior secondary education (seven years) accompanied by the extension of ten-year secondary education in the villages and in all national republics, so as to increase the number of pupils in elementary and secondary schools in towns and industrial settlements from 8,600,000 to 12,400,000 and in the rural localities from 20,800,000 to 27,700,000.

(g) To raise the number of students in *universities and technical colleges* to 650,000, main attention during the coming year to be devoted to raising the quality of higher education.

(h) To increase the *network of cinemas, clubs, libraries,* houses of culture and reading rooms, permanent and other sound cinemas to be organized on a large scale and increased six times.

(i) To expand considerably *health protection services* for the working people, improve hospital service, extend sanitary and prophylactic measures, obstetrical services, extend children's hospitals, improve labor protection and the organization of recreation and physical culture for workers, state expenditures on health protection to be increased from 10,300,000,000 rubles in 1937 to 16,500,000,000 rubles in 1942. The number of cots in permanent nurseries and kindergartens is to be increased to 4,200,000 in 1942, as against 1,800,000 in 1937.

(j) To expand *housing construction* in cities and industrial settlements so as to furnish 35,000,000 square meters of new floor space during the Third Five-Year Plan.

2. In order to raise the standard of living of the working people, to insure the utmost development of efficient Soviet trade during the Third Five-Year Plan, and in accordance with this, to fix:

(a) The increase in the volume of state and cooperative *trade* to 206,000,000,000 rubles in 1942, as against 126,000,000,000 rubles in 1937, the turnover of dining rooms, restaurants, cafes and buffets to be doubled.

(b) The increase in the state and cooperative retail stores in the *trading network* at 26 per cent, with an improvement in the entire business of trading (refrigeration, building of distributing bases and warehouses, delivery and shipment of goods), the network of shops and stores supplying goods urgently required by the peasants for their everyday needs as well as for repair and building work in rapidly growing agricultural districts to be developed particularly.

3. The Congress fixes the growth *in national income* under the Third Five-Year Plan at 1.8 times and in this connection establishes that the growing income of the population and of the state fully permits the satisfaction of both the needs of national consumption, as well as the state needs of developing the national economy, strengthening the defense power and creating the necessary state reserves.

The Congress confirms the need to improve budgetary and credit work and strengthen the Soviet ruble on the basis of the growth in socialist production, the intensified development of trade and the general rise in the standard of living of the people.

* * *

For the purpose of insuring the unconditional fulfillment of the tasks set by the Third Five-Year Plan, the Eigh-

teenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) demands from all Party, Soviet, economic and trade union organizations:

(a) Live, operative efficiency on the part of business management, concentration of the work of the managers on the correct selection of cadres, on daily concrete verification of the fulfillment of tasks set by the Party and the government.

(b) A proper organization of wages for workers, foremen and engineers and technicians, with due material incentive for increasing labor productivity.

(c) Development of socialist emulation and the Stakhanov movement, securing firm labor discipline and a high labor productivity for all working people in enterprises, institutions and in collective farms.

In order to carry out the tasks of the Third Five-Year Plan, it is essential to eliminate completely the consequences of the counter-revolutionary wrecking of the Trotskyite-Bukharinite espionage agents of fascism and foreign capital, to raise Bolshevik vigilance throughout the work of building communism and to remember always the Party's injunction that as long as the capitalist encirclement exists the espionage services of foreign states will send wreckers, diversionists, spies and murderers to our country to damage, harm and weaken our country, to hinder the growth of communism in the U.S.S.R.

The realization of the great tasks of the Third Five-Year Plan is so closely bound up with the vital interests of the workers, peasants and Soviet intelligentsia that the guarantee of its fulfillment depends primarily on us, Communists and non-Party Bolshevik leaders, and particularly on our ability to organize labor and to raise the Communist education of the working people. From all of us, from leaders and rank-and-file workers, office employees and collective farmers is demanded first of all a conscientious attitude to our duties, honest labor and help to those who lag behind, so that the Third Five-Year Plan may be victorious, so that the Soviet Union may make a further gigantic step forward toward the complete triumph of communism. In present conditions, when the socialist forms of economy, socialist ownership, socialist organization of labor reign supreme in the U.S.S.R., when the Communist attitude toward work for the good of our state, our nation and all the working people acquires decisive importance for the success of our cause, the role of the Soviet intelligentsia, capable of working in Bolshevik fashion, fighting in Bolshevik fashion for raising the culture and Communist consciousness of the working people, is tremendously enhanced. Today, after the complete consolidation of the political and economic positions of the socialist society in the U.S.S.R., things are decided by cadres who have mastered the technique of production, things are decided by Soviet cultural forces marching at the head of the masses of the working people in their great struggle for the complete victory of communism.

In capitalist countries society is being corroded more and more by a new world economic crisis, which is throwing new millions of unemployed on the streets, intensifying the poverty and desperation of the masses of the toilers who are enslaved by capital. The keynote in the camp of capitalism is sounded by the fascist countries with their internal sanguinary terror and external imperialist aggression, which has already led to the second imperialist war, involving a number of countries of Europe and Asia and threatening to spread further. All these are indisputable signs of an intensification of the general, incurable crisis of capitalism, the parasitic putrefaction of capitalism, the approach of its collapse. All the more responsible, therefore, are our duties, the duties of the builders of the first socialist society, which has already succeeded politically and economically in standing firmly on its own feet, full of strength and confidence in its victory, inspiring the toilers of all countries with confidence and faith in their liberation which is near. The ful-

fillment of the Third Five-Year Plan will be the best proof of the all-conquering power of communism in its historic contest with capitalism.

The Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) demands from all Bolsheviks and from all builders of communism devoted to the cause to do all in their power to rally the workers, collective farmers, intellectuals still more closely under the great banner of the Party of Lenin-Stalin to fight for the victory of the Third Five-Year Plan.

# An Appeal by the Austrian and German Members of the International Brigade

[*We publish the following appeal, which was sent to us with the accompanying letter by the Austrian and German members of the International Brigade from their demobilization camp in Spain.*—Editorial Board.]

DEAR EDITORS: We enclose an appeal to the German and Austrian peoples, and should be glad if you would publish it. This appeal was put before, and accepted by, the companies of the German and Austrian volunteers who are at present in a demobilization camp.

By issuing this appeal we German and Austrian members of the International Brigade in Spain—who for two years, in the course of the Spanish struggle, achieved complete unity without distinction of party or creed—wish to contribute toward the uniting of the German and Austrian peoples in the struggle against fascism, the common enemy of the Spanish, German and Austrian peoples.

By issuing this appeal we wish to contribute toward increasing the solidarity of the German and Austrian peoples in the struggle on behalf of the heroic Spanish people.

At this moment when the fascist powers are launching a fresh invasion and hatching out fresh schemes with the object of finally destroying the Spanish republic, it is essential to increase to a still greater extent the solidarity and aid for the Spanish people, in order to frustrate these plans. Salud!

THE AUSTRIAN AND GERMAN VOLUNTEERS IN THE MOBILIZATION CAMP

TO THE German and Austrian peoples!

At this moment when we German and Austrian soldiers, officers and commissars of the Second International Brigade are leaving the bleeding soil of Spain, we regard it as our duty to appeal to the German and Austrian peoples, to the peoples whose sons we are. For two years we have fought on Spanish soil in the ranks of the Republican People's Army. Of our own free will we went to Spain, suffered innumerable hardships, gave the blood of countless numbers of our best German and Austrian brothers.

Our fight for the independence of the Spanish people has been a fight for the honor of the German people, whose name is being dishonored by the atrocities committed by fascist airmen on defenseless women and children, by the cowardly and base persecution of the Jews, by the annexation of Austria in flagrant defiance of all international law, by the brutal dismemberment of Czechoslovakia.

By hastening of our free will to Spain together with men from fifty different nations, we set the seal upon the bond of international solidarity uniting all peoples. Our fight against the bloodthirsty fascist powers was in the service of peace, of the progress of humanity.

The battalions under whose flags Germans and Austrians fought side by side with Scandinavians, Dutch and Swiss, and with the sons of the Spanish people in the Second International Brigade, bore

the names of German fighters for freedom, and recalled the heroic struggle of the Austrian workers. In unshakable unity we Austrian and German anti-fascists fought, in the "Ernst Thaelmann," "Edgar Andre" "Hans Beimler" and "February 12" battalions, for the independence and freedom of the Spanish people.

Just as firm and solid must be the unity of the German and Austrian peoples in the struggle for the restoration of the independence of Austria, for the freedom of the German and Austrian peoples.

A part of the history of the German people is being decided on Spanish soil. Hitler, who with the help of the traitor Franco unleashed the war in Spain, is sending a steady stream of German war material, German airmen and German soldiers to Spain against the will of our peoples, in order to colonize Spain and to divide it up among a horde of rapacious armament capitalists.

This war waged by Hitler against the Spanish people is also a war against the real and vital interests of the German and Austrian peoples. It threatens to plunge our peoples and the whole of humanity into the abyss of a new world war. Our fight for the overthrow of Hitler in Spain was, on another sector of the front, part of your struggle, Germans and Austrians, to throw off the yoke of German fascism.

Social-Democrat, Communist, Catholic and Democrat, we stood shoulder to shoulder on Spanish soil. We were a solid, inseparably united, People's Front. A front forged in the struggle for the freedom and independence of Spain, in the struggle for the peace and freedom of our German and Austrian fatherlands.

For two years we fought shoulder to shoulder, we stood firm together at Madrid, and with our Spanish comrades we barred the way into the Spanish capital to the foreign invaders. We helped to destroy the hirelings of Hitler and Mussolini at Guadalajara. We fought at Teruel, we were at the desperate battles on the Ebro, and in all these battles and combats we learned that *unity is the guarantee of victory.*

This unity is alive in the Spanish people, and it is this that makes it unconquerable. This unity of the Spanish people was communicated to us, the soldiers of the International Brigade. This unity of all decent freedom-loving and peace-loving people must also be created in Germany and Austria. We have learned this in Spain, and at the moment of our departure we want to convey to all German and Austrian anti-fascists this, the greatest and most important of the lessons we have learned.

We are leaving Spain, but the struggle of the Spanish people goes on unflinchingly.

The heroic Spanish people will never capitulate. The Spanish people, united and led by its Government of National Union, with Dr Negrin, the Prime Minister, at its head, will carry on the struggle until the last foreign invader has left the soil of Spain.

We international soldiers are leaving Spain with the respect and love of the Spaniards. We shall continue to fight for the cause of Spain, which is our cause.

We appeal to the whole German and Austrian peoples. Help yourselves and the Spanish people, help to bring to an end the slaughter of the fathers, mothers and children of Spain.

Not another German airplane must be sent to Spain. Not another German bomb must be allowed to kill Spanish women and children. Hitler's war is destroying the good name of the German people, and is plunging us and the whole of Europe into the catastrophe of a new and terrible slaughter. See to it that not another son of the German people is sacrificed to Franco. Demand, instead of cannon to be used against a peaceful people, better wages, better conditions of life, freedom and peace for the German and Austrian peoples!

By struggling for our own liberation from the fascist yoke we can best help the Spanish people. By its heroic strug-

gle the Spanish people is lending us the greatest support in our fight for liberation.

Help the Spanish people! Solidarity of feeling and action with the heroic Spanish people!

*Demobilization Camp, Spain, Dec. 1, 1938.*

*(Appeal accepted by meeting of companies of German and Austrian volunteers in the International Brigade, December 15, 1938.)*

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