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## Social Democratic Leaders Currying Favour With Fascism

In a little noticed letter to the *Deutsche Freiheit*, social-democratic organ of the Saar district, a correspondent regrets the sharp criticism which has been directed against the Central Committee of the emigrant German social democracy in Prague, as this criticism has robbed the Central Committee of all authority. The correspondent points out that particularly after June 30 such authority would have been very desirable, in order to come forward as a negotiating party. The correspondent in question, no doubt one of the former parliamentary lights of the German Social Democratic Party, sees things a little too dismally. According to a report published in the *Manchester Guardian*, a newspaper which is extremely well-informed concerning happenings in the ranks of the German social democracy, the agents of Hitler did not treat Wels with contumely; on the contrary, they entered into relations with him.

In order to counteract the bad impression inevitably made upon the masses of the social democratic workers by this revelation in the *Manchester Guardian*, the Central Committee in Prague hurriedly issued a denial, but that denial was necessarily couched in such a form that instead of denying it in reality confirmed the truth of the report in the *Manchester Guardian*. The *Manchester Guardian* was not at all vague in its report; it mentioned names, Cummel and Wels, and it declared categorically that Wels had been in favour of the continuation of the negotiations. The Prague denial did not attempt to call this into question, and it also made no reference to the names mentioned, and also no reference to the source of the information

which the *Manchester Guardian* also did not mention, but is well-known to both of them. A "denial" of the sort issued in Prague is nothing but a confirmation of the truth of the report. If no agreement was come to between Wels and Hitler this time, that was certainly not due to any reluctance in principle on the part of Wels to conclude a compromise with Hitler.

Almost simultaneously with the revelation in the *Manchester Guardian* the Austrian social democratic leader Otto Bauer published a confession in a leading article in the August number of the *Kampf*. The same Otto Bauer, who not so long ago announced solemnly in the *Kampf* that there could be no compromise with the bourgeoisie regime in Austria, that there could be no going back to 1918, now writes:

"What will be done? Will the Austrian rulers whose political basis is too narrow try to extend it towards the right or towards the left? An extension towards the right, that is to say, a black-brown coalition is certainly impossible for the moment. The Austro-fascists cannot ally themselves with the murderers of Dollfuss over his coffin. An extension towards the left, that is to say, a rapprochement with the working-class, would be incomparably more difficult to-day than it would have been prior to February."

From this it follows that a rapprochement with the ruling classes in Austria is not absolutely out of the question for Otto Bauer, it is only more difficult of achievement, or as he says himself, "incomparably more difficult" than it would have been before February. It is true that Bauer then adds a few words with a

view to toning down the full force of the above miserable confession, but he hardly succeeds in doing so. He writes:

"Fascism would have to cease to be fascism if it wanted to calm down the anger of the oppressed and persecuted working class, if it wanted to disarm the hatred of the disinherited."

What does this mysterious expression "Fascism would have to cease to be fascism" mean? In truth, fascism has to be smashed. Does Bauer mean that Fey and Starhemberg must be turned out of the Government and Kuntschak and Vauguin taken in their stead?

Bauer closes his article with the words:

"More important than discussing the future problem of the dictatorship of the proletariat at the moment is to solve the immediate tasks now facing us: to win the factories ideologically for socialism and to organise them to take up the struggle."

In the best case this means that the workers in the factories are to be prepared for winning back the old regime and not for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a task which Bauer regards as a "future problem" about which it is better to carry on no discussion. And this was written by the same Otto Bauer who announced in the same **Kampf**, in May:

"The revolution against fascism cannot be a bourgeois revolution which the proletariat would then in its further development seek to drive towards a proletarian revolution; on the contrary, it must be a **proletarian revolution from the very beginning**."

"We must mobilise the working class, not with the aim of restoring bourgeois democracy, but in order to fight for a revolutionary dictatorship which will smash capitalism and lay the basis for a socialist order of society by expropriating the capitalists and landowners."

In May the fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat was not a problem of the future for Bauer, but a task to be faced immediately

Otto Bauer and Wels do not stand alone. The chairman of the Second International, **Vandervelde**, who has delivered so many speeches during the past year concerning "the socialist revolution" which is to end the present period of reaction and open up the socialist era, now considers the opportunity favourable for again offering his services to the bourgeoisie. He has published an article in his personal organ, **Le Peuple**, of Brussels, under the title, "There are still Socialist Governments in Sweden and Denmark;" and with the sub-title, "Are things worse in consequence?" The article is nothing but a long attempt to curry favour with the bourgeoisie, and an attempt to persuade them to hand over the transaction of their governmental affairs to the social democracy, for they would do better that way than if they worked with bourgeois governments. As an example of this Vandervelde quotes **Sweden** and **Denmark**. It is not true, he declares, that under the rule of socialist governments confidence disappears, credit is destroyed and money is swallowed up in an inflation. The reports of the Belgian Banque Nationale, published in the "Bulletin d'Information," on July 10, 1934, show, he points out, that share quotations in Sweden and Denmark are rising, that despite devaluation retail prices have fallen, that production has increased, and that the socialist governments, particularly the Stockholm Government, are very moderate, etc.

After all that Vandervelde declares:

"We wanted to show simply that it is absolutely wrong and absurd to say that socialists are not fit to rule, and to declare that their entry into the Government means the destruction of credit and the collapse of public finances."

In other words, make your offers, gentlemen, we are prepared to be taken into your service!

All these attempts on the part of prominent leaders of the Second International to curry favour with the fascists and with the fascist bourgeoisie are closely connected. The great disappointment suffered by the bourgeoisie in connection with German fascism which has not succeeded in holding down the workers for even two years without plunging the country into a terrible crisis, whose further development threatens to shake the whole capitalist system, has led to a certain revision of the bourgeois estimate

of the value of the social democracy. Many representatives of the bourgeoisie who joined heartily in the abuse showered on "the Marxists" now recall with longing the halcyon times when Severing was at the helm and not Goering, and even those who are still delighted with national socialism as a weapon to hold down the workers are horrified at the results of national socialist rule in Germany and are beginning to murmur that the national socialists have perhaps gone too far. Otto Wels and Emile Vandervelde are speculating on this change of feelings in the ranks of the bourgeoisie, and this explains Otto Bauer's sudden change back to his old reformist attitude. The leaders of the Second International feel that they are going to be given another chance.

This time, however, their speculations will go wrong. Fascism is not a method of political rule which can be adopted to-day and abandoned to-morrow at will, according to the given situation. It cannot be replaced at will with the rainbow-hued mantle of bourgeois democracy. Fascism, as a method of political rule, is closely connected with the existing world economic crisis which is developing upon the basis of the general crisis of capitalism. In order that the proletariat should not proceed to the only possible solution of the crisis, the proletarian revolution, a solution which has stood the historic test magnificently in the Soviet Union, the bourgeoisie adopts the methods of fascism to hold down the workers by terrorism. The disappearance of Hitler and Goering would not solve the crisis. The disturbance of the whole of society from top to bottom, caused by the seizure of power by fascism, will lead when fascism is liquidated to the stirring up of the basic questions of society as a whole; to the raising of the question of the whole economic form of society. The question is not: coalition policy or fascism, but the overthrow of capitalism and everything connected with it.

Naturally, no historic processes develop mechanically. They are led by man. If Wels and Bauer succeeded in persuading the workers to repeat the experience of 1918, then naturally misery, oppression and exploitation, in short the rule of the bourgeoisie could be lengthened. It is not the mechanical development of the process which will disturb Wels and Bauer, but first of all the fact that the masses of the social democratic workers have now a tremendous weight of historic experience behind them, and, secondly, unlike 1918 we now have not only a Second International, but the **Communist International**.

The social democratic workers have felt some of the blessings of democracy, partly personally and partly through their comrades. They have experienced the ballot-box democracy with the Reichswehr and the police behind it, with rich landowners and monopolist capitalists who exploit and enslave them, thrust them into prison and concentration camp and bring them even to the gallows. The social democratic workers are different to-day to what they were sixteen or eighteen years ago, or even to what they were five years ago, when they held their May Day meetings under the protection of the Zoergiebel police, whilst their Communist fellow-workers were being slaughtered by the same police. The social democratic workers are to-day not even what they were six months ago.

However, all that is not decisive. We are well aware that deep-seated illusions cannot be cured from one day to the next, and that a worker disappointed by bourgeois democracy is not necessarily a fighter for the proletarian revolution. A struggle, rightly led and directed towards a clear aim, that is the motive force of the historical process. Our duty to-day is to do everything in our power to win the social democratic workers for our struggle, to line them up shoulder to shoulder with their Communist fellow-workers in a united fighting front, to do everything possible to establish such a united front both nationally and internationally, and to neglect no opportunity, even the smallest, of bringing this task nearer to its successful conclusion.

Upon the carrying out of this task depends our fate and the fate of the whole of humanity.

#### Revolutionary Socialists Join Austrian Communist Party.

Vienna, August 9.

A district conference of the Revolutionary Socialists of Floridsdorf and Stadlau (important working class districts of Vienna) resolved to join the Communist Party if 70 per cent. of the comrades were agreed to do so. The ballot of the members was taken, resulting in a 87 per cent. vote for affiliation.

## Politics

### Foreign Political Review of the Week

The report issued by the notorious semi-official Japanese *Rengo Press Agency*, according to which the Japanese government intended to lodge an energetic protest with the Soviet government enumerating a series of alleged unfriendly acts, now proves to have been a piece of blackmail with the aim of depressing the price proposed by the Soviet government for the sale of the *Chinese Eastern Railway*. A few weeks ago the Japanese newspapers were filling their columns with reports of alleged Soviet provocations preparatory to an invasion of Manchuria by Soviet troops. A few days ago the same newspapers were publishing articles praising the peaceable endeavours of the Soviet government to come to a solution of the Far Eastern difficulties. The Japanese government was trying with fair words to persuade the Soviet government to get rid of the Chinese Eastern Railway for a song. When that attempt also failed it fell back again on its old threats. However, these threats also had no result whatever and the Soviet government maintained its attitude. The Japanese government was then again compelled to change its tone.

The culminating point of the Japanese campaign of blackmail was undoubtedly *Tanaka's* article in a Manchurian newspaper declaring that the cheapest way to secure Japanese possession of the Chinese Eastern Railway was by war. Now there is no doubt that Japan is preparing feverishly for war against the Soviet Union and that Manchuria is nothing but an advanced base for the Japanese army. Why is the Japanese government therefore anxious to obtain control of the railway by purchase? Undoubtedly because it feels that it could better serve its warlike aims that way. The Japanese militarists are well aware that it is difficult to carry on military operations over a wide range of territory whilst holding down 30 million rebellious natives. Manchuria must therefore first of all be *pacified* in order to serve as a basis for the Japanese war of aggression against the Soviet Union. The Japanese government is therefore making all possible efforts to develop the productive forces of the country and to draw in foreign capital both for economic and political reasons, for such investments would bind the bourgeoisie which made them to Japan. The Japanese authorities even promise administrative reforms, and in order to keep up appearances, Japanese officials, who have committed all too obvious excesses, have been disciplined. Part of this work of pacification is apparently that the Manchukuo government should come into possession of the Chinese Eastern Railway, and Japan would then withdraw the protection and encouragement which it still affords the local railway bandits. As we have seen, this "pacification" of Manchuria is not proceeding uniformly. The campaign of incitement and provocation being conducted by the Japanese is piling up incident after incident and at any moment the Japanese General Staff may very easily find itself in a position in which it must decide for instantaneous action.

The situation of Japan's closest ally in Europe, *Germany*, also tends to accelerate Japan's actions. Germany's internal difficulties are mounting up at such a pace that Hitler will soon be unable to maintain himself without some sort of "diversion." For this reason he is refusing more obstinately than ever to become a party to the Eastern Pact, which, according to the frank statement of the "Deutsche Wirtschafts-Dienst," "would reduce the possibility of securing a favourable revision of Germany's frontiers and merely hamper Germany's freedom of movement in the East." However, Hitler is not alone. In order to win Poland for his plans Hitler has literally handed Danzig over to the Poles. According to the recent pact, concluded between Hitler and Pilsudski for a period of two years, *Danzig* is to be under Polish economic sovereignty. Poland's attitude has compelled France to take more energetic steps. According to a report of the Paris correspondent of "The Times," which is confirmed by *d'Ormesson* in the "Figaro," the French government, which lives in fear of an adventurist drive by Hitler, has determined to put the matter to the test at once. If Poland and Germany continue their refusal to sign the Eastern Pact, then the other Baltic States must sign on their own and France will be prepared to guarantee the pact. Whether this report is true will be revealed during the next few days. It would seem, in any case, that the fate of the Eastern Pact will soon be settled one way or the other.

The unconditional agreement of the Austrian government to *von Papen* as Hitler's emissary to Vienna was caused by the impotence of the Schuschnigg government, which could not summon up sufficient courage to take the advice of the British and French governments. This weakness means that Austria will remain the scene of further national socialist putsch attempts and remain a danger to the peace of the world. In this situation Mussolini had a cunning idea. Why not a Habsburg restoration with a Habsburg as a vassal of Italy? The busy journeys of the Habsburgs to this capital and the other began. As the only man in the family Zita naturally went to Italy. Her offspring were sent on journeys. And for a week the newspapers were chockfull of the Habsburgs, Zita here, Otto there, a Habsburg at every corner.

Things must have proceeded very far when *Starhemberg*, who has hardly the right to speak in the name of five per cent. of the population of Austria, declares publicly that ninety per cent. of the population of Austria are in favour of the Habsburgs, and when the "Temps" offers no objection in principle to a restoration and even terms it the final possibility of finding a solution. The Little Entente has taken up its position. For Yugoslavia the Catholic Habsburgs in Vienna represent a threat to Catholic Croatia. The Karageorgevitchs would even prefer Hitler as their next-door neighbour, knowing that he would content himself with the German districts of Austria. Is Habsburg to rule in Vienna only? The journey of Schuschnigg to *Budapest* to attend a theatre performance, where he also met Horthy and Goemboes, is considered to be of great political importance. It must not be forgotten that Otto is the apostolic King of all the countries of the former Holy Hungarian Crown, including Croatia, Slovakia, Transylvania, the *Batchka* and the *Banat*, in other words, the present possessions of the Little Entente. This explains the unanimous shout in Prague, Belgrade and Bucharest: Habsburg restoration means war! According to various reports Yugoslavia has already concentrated considerable military forces on the Austrian frontier.

When *Starhemberg* declares that Italy was always completely indifferent to the Habsburg question he is saying the opposite of what everyone knows to be true. The United Kingdom of the House of Savoy was no less interested in the deposition of the Habsburgs, the old oppressors of the Italians, than was the Little Entente. For the same reason Italy has always up to the present maintained the same line as the Little Entente. It is a demonstration of the weakness of Italy when it is now compelled to choose between two evils, between Hitler and Habsburg. It has chosen the lesser evil, Otto von Habsburg, because it does not feel itself sufficiently strong to maintain Austria as a direct vassal State of Italy, or, in other words, to "defend Austria's independence." Small wonder, for where are the halcyon days, when Mussolini, strengthened by the advance of fascism in Europe and relying on Great Britain and Germany, could play the arbitrator in Europe? It was not so bad having to fight with internal economic difficulties under such circumstances. Even if he could offer the stomach nothing, he could at least provide a feast for the eyes. To-day, however, fascism is again no longer an export article, and in Italy itself its quotation is falling. June 30 and July 25 will turn out to have been fateful days not only for Hitler, but for Mussolini too.

The bourgeois press in *Switzerland*, almost without exception, is fiercely opposing the entry of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations whose headquarters are in Switzerland. The Swiss government obstinately maintains its old attitude of refusing to recognise the Soviet Union, a situation which is reminiscent of the old army joke about the recruit Jock who drove his sergeant to the bitter remark that the whole squad was out of step except Jock.

The "*Neue Zuericher Zeitung*" justifies the attitude of the Swiss bourgeoisie by declaring that a small nation can be strong only by virtue of its moral ideas. Great Britain, France, the United States, Japan, Italy, and the Germany of *Rathenau* have all recognised the Soviet Union and are apparently all devoid of "moral ideas," only little Switzerland has them. For the moment, however, the question of the recognition of the Soviet Union by Switzerland is not up for discussion, but only the entrance of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations. The Swiss government intends to vote against the acceptance of the Soviet Union, and the "*Neue Zuericher Zeitung*" writes:

"It is hardly likely that the vote of Switzerland in the Council of the League of Nations will have any great sig-

nificance in view of the fact that the council can accept new members with a two-thirds majority, and as it is extremely probable that the council will accept the Soviet Union as a member it might be possible to adopt the attitude that Switzerland would do better not to expose itself unnecessarily, and that the best thing to do would be to withhold its vote. However, such a 'politique de la facilité' is not favoured by our people at the moment, and as large sections of the Swiss people regard the acceptance of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations rather as a question of moral principles than a question of politics, they feel justified in expecting an attitude from the Swiss delegation in Geneva in accordance with the uncompromising rejection of the Bolshevik regime by the moral feelings of the Swiss people."

The same newspaper hurriedly adds:—

"It is unlikely that any political disadvantages will accrue to Switzerland as a result of this vote."

It is perfectly true that it is very unlikely that the League of Nations will remove its headquarters from Switzerland as a result of the obstinate attitude of the Swiss government. If there is no fear of damage to the hotel and restaurant businesses as a consequence why should not Switzerland air its moral principles? That is an edifying morality and a still more edifying moral idea. The Swiss moralists are unconsciously mocking themselves.

## Anti-Soviet Misrepresentation by the "Times"

By Gore Graham

The opposition of the British imperialists towards the Soviet Union is more devoted and inspired, more profound and consistent than that of any other group of imperialists in the world. There are, of course, many reasons for this; Britain is a world Power embracing the largest empire; it is ruled by the oldest and most experienced governing class, which one naturally expects to have the greatest sense of historical perspective, i.e., to be the least likely of all imperialist groups to forget for a moment the historical significance of the existence of the first great break in world capitalism, the Soviet Republics.

It follows, therefore, that the London "Times," which is the most responsible voice of British imperialism, should likewise be distinguished by its profound and undeviating detestation of the Soviet Union and all its works. A history of the "Times" attitude towards the Soviet Union during the years of its existence would provide an illuminating aspect of the struggle of the two worlds, of the anxiety of a responsible guardian of world capitalist interests against the growing menace of the new world.

The question of the Soviet Union is one on which the "Times" feels extraordinarily deeply. This question is one of the few on which it occasionally allows its feelings to carry it away, with the inevitable result of making some obvious and damaging tactical mistake.

An instance of how the "Times's" feelings of hatred of the Soviet Union has carried it away has been provided by the publication on August 6th of a message from its notorious Riga correspondent. This report occupied a half-column and dealt with a "Soviet Writer's Protest" against "Tourists Misled in Russia"—to quote the titles given to the article. It gave an account of how Ilya Ehrenburg, "one of the most prominent writers of Soviet Russia, has made a formal complaint in Moscow against the treatment of foreign tourists visiting Russia. In his complaint he states that foreigners are being grossly misled about the facts of life in Russia to-day."

It went on to summarise this alleged "formal complaint" and gave a most sensational story of how Ehrenburg had declared that foreigners should be shown all the starvation and misery he had seen. For the foreigners, Ehrenburg is alleged to have said: "Intourist provides food in plenty, music, dancing and other entertainments, expressly to gull the naive visitors from abroad, and their movements are carefully directed from sights which might shock them. . . . If he were guide he would show them present-day Russia, the queues of people trying to obtain commodities. They should see the empty shops, the privations of the people, the brutalities of man to man."

The story was retailed in other papers on the continent, among them the responsible bourgeois "Algemeen Handelsblad" of Amsterdam, which reprinted it in full the same evening.

What is the real truth about this sensational protest of Ehrenburg? Simply that the whole story of the "Times" Riga corres-

pondent was a lying and crudely garbled summary of a feuilleton article written by Ehrenburg and published in "Izvestia." It is no formal complaint at all and no exposure of sinister deception of foreign tourists in the Soviet Union. Indeed, the "Times" took parts of Ehrenburg's article in which, in characteristic ironic style, he criticised the typical tourist agencies in capitalist countries, and presented them as though Ehrenburg were writing of the Soviet Intourist!

However, we will let the "Times" receive its exposure from other well-known bourgeois papers. This is what happened in Holland.

The well-known "Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant," one of the best known Liberal newspapers in the world, was apparently asked by its readers who esteem its news service on Russia, why it had not printed in its columns the "protest of Ehrenburg" that had been seen elsewhere. Willing to oblige, the "Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant" thereupon printed the "Times" story, and then augmented the "Times" summary by giving twice as much again to show the readers of the paper what Ehrenburg really had said. And the article concluded:—

"Instead of a protest it would be far more accurate to describe Ehrenburg's article as an appeal, an appeal for foreign tourists to see the country as it really is. Ehrenburg says that foreign visitors come to Russia and stay in tourist hotels, they see the Underground construction in Moscow, and Dnieprostroy, and so on—They see much, but one thing they don't see—our new people.' . . . The article is certainly without the sensational character attributed to it in the 'Times' summary. The only protest that one can possibly distil from the article is a protest against the fact that the reception in the hotels is by 'naive people who don't know the difference between fuss and comfort, between hospitality and excessive solicitation,' so that Intourist gives quite a false picture to foreigners, etc., etc. A part of what the 'Times' asserts that Ehrenburg accuses Intourist of doing is actually taken from what Ehrenburg writes about the practices of foreign tourist bureaux!"

But that is not all. On August 9, three days after it had first reprinted the "Times" story, the other big Dutch newspaper, the "Algemeen Handelsblad," published a repentant article, entitled: "Ehrenburg Falsely Cited," and said:—

"On Monday evening, on the authority of a representative of the English 'Times,' we published a report of a protest which the well-known Soviet writer Ilya Ehrenburg had made on a visit to Russia against the treatment of foreign tourists. The 'Times' referred to a 'formal protest' of Ehrenburg's that foreigners were 'grossly misled about the facts of life in present-day Russia.'

"It is now apparent to us that the 'Times,' by its presentation of the matter, has grossly misled its readers, as well as ourselves. This is proved indisputably by the issue of 'Izvestia,' which contains Ehrenburg's so-called formal complaint. This 'formal protest' is to be found in a well-written feuilleton article, in much the same sharply ironic form that characterises all Ehrenburg's books, and in which is developed a comparison between the methods of the tourist traffic in Soviet Russia and of Western Europe. In this comparison Ehrenburg, it is true, refers to the hard facts of life in the Soviet State, but not as a protest or a complaint and, moreover, in quite another connexion. In his 'frank talk,' as Ehrenburg calls his article, he declares that he has no intention to gloss over these hard facts but that he knows 'that in a year or two the younger generation will listen to the stories of our present day with astonishment, just as he listens with astonishment to the stories of the intolerable year 1920.' Here it is already obvious that Ehrenburg's *boutade* has quite another character than that given it by the 'Times.' The 'Times' takes out of the feuilleton all the parts which can be used to the disadvantage of the Soviet government and can serve as a protest or complaint, and concatenates a dark summary which must create abroad the impression of a 'formal protest.'

"In reality, Ehrenburg makes a sharp attack on the manner in which Western European tourist bureaux take the foreign visitors on a round tour of the cultural monuments and memorable sights but are very anxious to prevent the sightseers from seeing any sort of ugly phenomenon. Against that Ehrenburg places what he himself has seen after returning home from a long stay abroad, namely, 'our new people'

and new social arrangements, and begs foreign tourists not to neglect to see these. And he expresses his opinion that what the foreign tourists experience in the hotels has nothing to do with the life of the people of the Soviet Union.

"This is, indeed, something quite different from what the correspondent of the 'Times' presented, who omitted to say that Ehrenburg's 'formal protest' was merely a feuilleton article in a tone of raillery and who, by means of a manipulation of quotations, has given a completely false picture of what Ehrenburg meant. And thus the 'Times' itself, to be sure, grossly misled its public."

Is it not a great pleasure, indeed, to find the anti-Soviet army of capitalist journals marching so wildly out of step?

## The Campaign for the Congressional Election in the U.S.A.

### The Fighting Platform of the Communist Party of the U.S.A.

In the congressional elections, Tuesday, November 6th, the Communist Party, the Party of the working class, represents the immediate needs and the broader social aims of the workers, the poor farmers, the Negro people, and the impoverished middle class.

For five years the nation has been in the throes of a terrible crisis. The Republican Party of Hoover and now the Democratic Party of Roosevelt have both failed to relieve the suffering of the people or to overcome the crisis. Their policies have served only to further enrich the biggest, the monopoly capitalists and to further impoverish the masses of the people. With the continuation of such policies the capitalists will succeed only in placing tremendously increased burdens on the masses.

The Communist Party is the only political party which leads in the every-day fight of the masses of the people for improved conditions; it alone offers a sound way out of the appalling misery and suffering brought on by capitalism and capitalist rule.

Fifteen million people remain unemployed with still inadequate relief, in fact with reduced relief.

The masses still clinging to jobs have had their real earnings sharply reduced through the dual process of N.R.A. codes and inflation.

The Negro people are discriminated against on the job and in the handing out of relief; they are undergoing the greatest poverty, suffering, persecution and terror.

Roosevelt's A. A. A. has resulted only in more evictions of farmers from their land, in more foreclosures and in the further impoverishment of the mass of poor and middle farmers.

The young generation is growing to manhood and womanhood without prospect of jobs or future security. The "New Deal" for the youth means militarisation and forced labour in camps under army supervision.

The small business men and the lower middle class have been brought to the point of ruin, while the "New Deal" has greatly strengthened the position and increased the profits of the big trusts and monopolies.

Faced with the growing discontent of the people, as expressed in the wave of fiercely-fought strike struggles, the militant demonstrations of the unemployed and the determined battles of the farmers and farm labourers, the big-banker-controlled regime of Roosevelt is resorting more and more openly to fascist measures of suppression, to open murder and terror against the masses, to a brazen restriction of the rights of the toiling population.

In this situation, the Communist Party proposes to the masses an energetic, determined struggle for the following central demands in the congressional elections:—

- (1) Against Roosevelt's "New Deal" attacks on the living standards of the toilers, for higher wages, shorter hours, a shorter work week, and improved living standards.
- (2) Against capitalist terror and the growing trend toward fascism; against compulsory arbitration and company unions; against the use of troops in strikes; for the workers' right to join unions of their own choice, to strike, to picket, to demonstrate without restrictions; for the maintenance of all the democratic rights of the masses.
- (3) For unemployment and social insurance at the expense of the employers and the State; for the Workers' Unemployment Insurance Bill.
- (4) For the repeal of the Agricultural Adjustment Act; for emergency relief to the impoverished and drought-stricken farmers without restriction by the government or banks; exemption of impoverished farmers from taxation; can-

cellation of the debts of poor farmers; for the Farmers' Emergency Relief Bill.

- (5) Against Jim-Crowism and lynching; for equal rights for the Negroes and self-determination for the Black Belt; for the Negro Bill of Rights.
- (6) Against the sales tax; no taxes on persons or their property, earning less than \$3,000 per year; steeply graduated and greatly increased taxation of the rich.
- (7) Against Roosevelt's war preparedness programme, and against imperialist war; for the defence of the Soviet Union and Soviet China.

Spokesmen of the other parties will promise everything, before elections, but after getting into office they will vigorously oppose the basic demands of the toilers; they will join in authorising the beating, gassing and shooting of workers who fight for these demands; they will faithfully carry out the dictates of the Wall Street bankers and the heads of the big trusts who completely dominate both the national and state administrations.

Roosevelt and the Democratic Party took office to the tune of a "New Deal" for the "forgotten man," but their record in office already gives the lie to their promises. The conditions of the mass of workers, the poor farmers, the Negro people and the lower middle class—Roosevelt's "forgotten men"—are worse to-day than when Roosevelt took office. This fact was confirmed by the investigation and report of the Darrow Review Board. The "New Deal" has benefited only the nation's richest men, the heads of the big banks and trusts, by piling increased burdens on the backs of the great majority of the population. Side by side with this have gone growing restrictions on the rights of the masses and the letting loose of the most brutal drive of terror and persecution in the nation's history against the workers, the farmers and the Negro people. Consider the outright murders of workers, deportation drives, strikebreaking, under the "New Deal"—Birmingham, Toledo, Minneapolis, San Pedro, Cleveland, and San Francisco. These are Roosevelt's deeds for the "forgotten man."

The Republican Party, the Republicans in Congress, have supported all those measures of Roosevelt directed against the masses and for the benefit of the capitalists. Together with the Democratic administration they have plundered and starved the toiling people and handed out hundreds of millions to the rich. With the approach of the elections the Republican Party is trying to appear as an opposition to the "New Deal." They even pretend to "criticise" the growing bureaucracy of the Roosevelt administration. But these are only campaign tricks, efforts to utilise the growing disillusionment of the working people in the "New Deal" to continue to serve the interests of capitalism. The boss class wants to alternate the two major capitalist parties, posing as an opposition to each other when one is in power and by such means place the discontented masses under the control of their trusted political servants. In the States which they control, the Republicans have used the same brutal terror against those who resisted the lowering of their living standards.

The Farmer-Labourites, likewise, while posing as representatives of farmers and workers, with programme characterised by the most demagogic promises, in Congress and in Minnesota, where they control the State administration, have given the most slavish support to Roosevelt's measures which time has proven were directed against the masses. The Farmer-Labour governor, Olson, of Minnesota, like his Democratic colleague, Governor White of Ohio, and the Republican Governor Merriam, of California, has also sent National Guard troops to break the strike of the Minneapolis truckmen.

The Socialist Party, while pretending to advocate Socialism, practises outright capitalist politics. In Milwaukee and in Bridgeport, where the Socialist Party is in control, they have adhered to Roosevelt's "New Deal" policies, meeting the strikes and demonstrations of the workers against those policies with the same ruthless terror as is practised in cities and states under Democratic, Republican and Farmer-Labour rule. Their present criticism of Roosevelt and his policies comes only after the real class character of these policies became evident to the masses, when it was no longer possible to pretend to be "Socialist" and still openly support Roosevelt. But the rejection by the Socialist Party of the only possible road to Socialism—the road of revolutionary mass struggle as proposed by the Communist Party—inevitably keeps this party bound to the fundamental policies of Roosevelt, of the capitalists. Their fear of revolution, of mass struggle, of powerful strikes and demonstrations by the workers, causes them

to accept lower wages and lower living standards and to agree to the taking away piecemeal of one set of workers' rights after another; it leads them inevitably to policies which pave the way for open fascist dictatorship as was the case in Germany and later in Austria.

The Communist Party calls upon the workers to break decisively with these parties of hunger, fascism and war. The Communist Party calls upon the millions of workers and farmers, Negro and white, not only to elect Communist congressmen and all other Communist candidates, but boldly and determinedly to take up and broaden the mass fight for the immediate demands set forth in this platform. This alone can win immediate and substantial victories for the toilers.

More than that, the mass fight for these demands is the starting point in the workers' struggle for political power, for a workers' government, for a Soviet government in the United States, which alone will bring the present capitalist crisis to an end in a manner beneficial to the masses.

The only way out of the crisis for the toiling masses is the revolutionary way out—the abolition of capitalist rule and capitalism, the establishment of the Socialist society through the power of a revolutionary workers' government, a Soviet government.

The programme of the revolutionary solution of the crisis is no blind experiment. The working class is already in power in the biggest country in the world, and it has already proved the great superiority of the Socialist system.

In every material respect, the United States is fully ripe for Socialism. All material conditions exist for a society which could at once provide every necessity of life and even a degree of luxury for the entire population. The first acts of a revolutionary workers' government would be to open up the warehouses and distribute among all the working people the enormous surplus stores of food and clothing. It would open up the tremendous accumulation of unused buildings—now withheld for private profit—for the benefit of tens of millions who now wander homeless in the streets or crouch in cellars or slums.

Such a government would immediately open up all the factories, mills and mines, and give every person a job at constantly increasing wages. Unemployment and social insurance at full wages without special cost to the workers would immediately be provided for all, to cover loss of work due to natural causes outside the control of the workers' government, as well as due to sickness, old age, maternity or other disabilities. Jobs would be provided to all able-bodied workers under planned economy.

Such a government would immediately begin to reorganise the present anarchic system of production along Socialist lines. Such a Socialist reorganisation of industry would almost immediately double the existing productive forces of the country. Such a revolutionary government would secure to the farmers the possession of their land and provide them with the necessary means for a comfortable living; it would make it possible for the farming population to unite their forces in a co-operative Socialist agriculture, and thus bring to the farming population all of the advantages of modern civilisation, and would multiply manifold the productive capacities of American agriculture. It would proceed at once to the complete liberation of the Negro people from all oppression, secure the right of self-determination of the Black Belt, and would secure unconditional economic, political and social equality.

The revolutionary Soviet government would immediately withdraw all American troops and battleships from China, Cuba and the Carribean. It would immediately grant complete independence to the Philippine Islands, Hawaii and other American territorial possessions.

The Communist Party calls upon the workers, farmers and impoverished middle classes to unite their forces to struggle uncompromisingly against every reduction of their living standards, against every backward step now being forced upon them by the capitalist crisis, against the growing menace of fascism and war. The Communist Party leads and organises this struggle, leading toward the final solution—the establishment of a workers' government.

**Enter the election struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party!**

**Support the Communist Platform—fight for its demands!**

**Vote for all the Communist candidates!**

**Join the ranks of the Communist Party!**

## Increased Production and Increased Misery in Sweden

By A. J. Sm. (Stockholm)

A survey of official statistics shows that unemployment in the capital town showed a tendency to increase in the first six months of 1934 in spite of the "improved business conditions" so much talked about by the whole of the government press. Thus the "Statistical Monthly Review" reports that the number of unemployed in receipt of relief increased in the first four months of this year from 26,574 to 28,418, i.e., by about 2,000. Other facts confirm this worsening tendency. Thus, for instance, the warm shelters for destitute people were frequented by 12,662 persons in June last as compared with 10,343 persons in June, 1933, before the commencement of the "boom."

The building and metal workers constitute the largest percentage of the unemployed. The figures regarding newly erected buildings are the lowest for many years. In the year 1932 5,612 dwellings were erected in Stockholm and suburbs, whilst this figure sank to 3,757 in 1933. On July 1, 1932, 5,612 flats were under construction in Stockholm and suburbs, but this year the figure declined to 2,413, so that unemployment among the building workers is much larger than last year.

Of the 22,000 metal workers of Stockholm, 6,000 were permanently unemployed at the beginning of the year, whilst the number of the periodically unemployed metal workers amounted to 3,000.

Further statistics show the huge increase in the burden of taxation. Thus the municipal rates increased from 4.29 per cent. in 1931 to 8.20 per cent. this year. The income tax was increased by 12 per cent. during the last two years, an increase which naturally, in the first place, hits the wage workers and the small shopkeepers.

Another result of the social democratic coalition policy is the constant increase in food prices. In the period from March, 1933, to July 1, 1934, the prices of milk and butter increased 13 per cent., the price of meat 10.3 per cent. in the period from January to July last, and the price of eggs 14 per cent. in the last two months.

In order to consolidate the coalition with the Peasants' League the "Labour Government" set up a State grain monopoly and granted premiums on the export of butter, both of which measures only benefit the big landowners and big peasants. The big peasants are given a premium of 1.20 to 1.25 crowns per kilogramme of butter exported. As a result, Swedish butter can be sold at 1.05 to 1.10 crowns a kilogramme on the English market, whilst the wholesale price in Sweden amounts to 2.30 and the retail price to 2.70 crowns a kilogramme. Thus the Swedish workers have to pay a hundred per cent. more for Swedish butter than the English consumers, in spite of the great election victory which they achieved in autumn, 1932, when nearly 51 per cent. of the electors voted for the Communist and social democratic candidates, and in spite of the existence of a "Labour Government" which promised to safeguard their interest.

Large masses of workers are no longer in a position to buy butter but have to be content with the margarine. This is the reason why the government has introduced a special tax on margarine, thereby increasing its price by 30 to 50 oere per kilogramme. The proceeds of the margarine tax flow into the milk fund, out of which the big peasants are granted premiums for the export of butter; no less than 14 million crowns were paid out for this purpose in the first six months of this year.

In the same period the wages of hundreds of thousands of workers in the building trade, the mining industry, shipbuilding, the paper industry, in agriculture, etc., were reduced by amounts ranging from 3 to 25 per cent. with the assistance of the social democratic government, the arbitration courts and the social democratic party and trade union leaders, whilst the conditions of the emergency workers and the unemployed were further worsened.

Increased profits for the capitalists by rationalisation and intensified exploitation, further lowering of the standard of living of the toiling people as a result of wage cuts, higher taxes and increased food prices—that is the result of the two years existence of a purely social democratic government for the broad toiling masses who believed in the deceitful promises of the social democratic demagogues.

# Germany

## Before the Plebiscite in Germany

By J. L.

The great military parade organised in connection with the funeral of Hindenburg not only gave Hindenburg's fortunate successor the opportunity of delivering a sentimental speech about his "fatherly friend," but it also offered a welcome opportunity of demonstrating publicly the "loyal alliance" concluded between Hitler and the Reichswehr and sealed with the blood of Hitler's friends and comrades, the leaders of the brown storm troops. The excitement in connection with the disappearance of the old President and the appointment of the new one, and the organisation of a "plebiscite" on August 19 to confirm Hitler's appointment, will, it is hoped, assist the national socialist government by diverting the attention of the masses of the German people from the heavy blows which the regime has received during the past few weeks, and whose effects were not minimised by the happenings of June 30 and the subsequent days, but rather intensified, from the disintegration in the ranks of the brown storm troops and of the other national socialist organisations, from the foreign political defeat in connection with the collapse of the national socialist putsch in Austria, and from the catastrophic deterioration of the economic situation of Germany.

In this situation Hitler fascism, which has been driven into the defensive, urgently needs an offensive in order to ease the pressure. That is the aim of the peaceful speeches and gestures in which the national socialist leaders are now indulging. Hitler has once again broken all records in his abandonment of his old demands in the programme of the National Socialist Party. In an interview given to the correspondent of "The Daily Mail," which is considered of considerable importance as it was the first foreign interview given since Hitler became Reich's President, "the Leader" declared that war could do no one any good and bring only ruin in its train. "We demand only that our present frontiers should be maintained." In the Saar question there would be no territorial difficulties with France whilst on the Eastern frontier Germany's peaceful intentions had been sufficiently demonstrated by the conclusion of the pact between Germany and Poland.

Point 1 of the famous "inalienable" national socialist programme reads: "We demand the unification of all Germans on the basis of the right of self-determination in a Greater Germany. Point 2 demands the abolition of the Peace Treaties of Versailles and St. Germain. On the basis of these two points of their programme the national socialists abused all the responsible statesmen of the Weimar Republic, including Hindenburg, for fourteen years as traitors to their country because they were in favour of respecting the provisions of the Versailles Treaty. And when the Young Plan was adopted the national socialists threatened the German parties to it with hard labour. And now Hitler succeeds Hindenburg with the declaration that he has no higher aim than to maintain the frontiers of Germany as they were laid down in the Versailles Treaty! The Polish corridor, the partitioning of Upper Silesia, the ceding of Memel to Lithuania, in short, all the territorial provisions of the Versailles Treaty are once again solemnly recognised as valid.

Point 3 of the programme demands "Land (colonies) for feeding our people and providing room for the surplus population." Only a few months ago, in connection with the transfer negotiations, Dr. Schacht, who has since risen to be economic dictator of Germany, put forward this demand again as the preliminary condition for the solution of Germany's raw material problem and for the re-establishment of Germany's capacity to pay its foreign debts. However, Hitler declared that he desired nothing from Great Britain, and when the English correspondent intervened with the question, "Not even colonies?" Hitler answered in a raised voice:—

"I should not demand the life of one single German in order to gain any colony anywhere. We are well aware that the former German colonies in Africa are an expensive luxury even for Great Britain."

Hitler would no doubt find it difficult to explain why under the national socialist regime in Germany the most intense propaganda in favour of colonial possessions for Germany is being carried on in the schools and in all national socialist organisations. In any case, Hitler seldom has any luck with his "statesmenlike utterances." He disappoints his own supporters and does

not succeed in convincing foreign public opinion of his honesty. If there are any national socialists left who have not yet lost all their illusions they can observe from this interview that as Reich's President Hitler intends to abandon all the national demands of his programme as he abandoned all its social demands as Reich's Chancellor. On the other hand, Hitler's imperialist rivals are not satisfied with his peace talk because his utterances, just in those questions which are most critical for the peace of the world at the moment, are not at all satisfactory. In the question of re-armament and in the question of the Union of Austria with Germany, Hitler maintains the old attitude which intensifies the imperialist antagonisms and increases the danger of war.

The English correspondent declared that Great Britain was building new air squadrons because Germany was building up a powerful air fleet. Hitler did not deny Germany's armaments, but answered:—

"Our steps have been determined by the fact that we are surrounded on the continent by a ring of powerful enemies who might some day put demands to us which we could not accept."

"A ring of powerful enemies?" Is there not a ten years peace pact with Poland in the East? Are Switzerland, Austria and Czechoslovakia on Germany's southern frontiers "powerful enemies" Or Holland and Belgium to the North-East? Or is Hitler thinking of the troops which his friend and fellow fascist Mussolini has concentrated on the Brenner? What are the demands which Hitler fears? France, Poland and the other beneficiaries of the Versailles Treaty would be quite satisfied if they can maintain the frontiers laid down in the Versailles Treaty against the power of German imperialism. If Hitler is also, as he had just said, in agreement with these frontiers, where are the conflicts to come from which are causing Germany to increase its armaments? Apparently they will come from these armaments themselves and after its withdrawal from the Disarmament Conference Germany continued to speed up its war preparations in defiance of all the provisions of the existing treaties. In other words, Hitler, who is at present playing the role of a Prince of Peace and who called upon God at Hindenburg's funeral to send down his blessings on his, Hitler's, attempts to save the German people from the scourge of war, is quite openly determined to continue his preparations for war even in face of the danger that these preparations themselves cause war.

Hitler's utterances with regard to the Austrian question also fit in badly with his previous remark about the abandonment of any attempt to secure a revision of the frontiers. Hitler declared that "for the moment" the Anschluss was not a practical proposition owing to the resistance of the rest of Europe, but in the same breath he declared: "We cannot prevent the Austrian people restoring its former relations with Germany." Before the bestial Hitler terror raged in Germany it is a fact that at the utmost a third of the Austrian population, the arch-reactionary clericalists and the Habsburg monarchists, would have raised any objection to unification with Germany, but to-day, when the class-conscious workers of Austria oppose any attempt to incorporate them into the brown dictatorship as rigorously as they oppose the black dictatorship in Austria, at least two-thirds of the Austrian people are opposed to the Anschluss. Hitler's phrase about the desire of the Austrian people for the Anschluss therefore means nothing more than that he is still hoping for the success of the next national socialist putsch in Austria.

Here, too, we can see that ambiguity and dishonesty which favour the criminal plans of the national socialists for a while, but which must finally lead to the collapse of their policy. The Austrian national socialists, who were instigated into the putsch and who relied on the assistance of Hitler's Third Reich when they risked their lives in the struggle against the Dollfuss regime, were disgracefully left in the lurch by Hitler and his clique in order to pacify foreign opinion. The so-called Austrian national leadership in Munich was dissolved, the Austrian Legion was dissolved, and those of its members who, acting under the instructions of their leaders, attempted to cross the frontier into Austria were opposed by forces of the Reichswehr and Hitler's Special Detachments. Where men resisted their disarming they were killed outright. But illogical even in his treachery Hitler cannot abandon the idea of the Anschluss, the most important point in the Greater German Programme and thus he increases the distrust in the minds of his imperialist opponents instead of

calming them down with his peaceful utterances and his disavowal of his Austrian supporters.

When Hitler assured the British correspondent that the national socialist movement would regard a war against Great Britain as a crime against race, he did no more than imply clearly enough that the national socialist chauvinists would not regard a war against the "foreign and negroid" French as a crime.

The national socialist **General von Reichenau**, the Chief of the Ministerial Office in the Reichswehr Ministry, did his best to "supplement" the remarks of his "Leader" on this point. In an interview given to the correspondent of the "Petit Journal" he assured the French newspaperman that the Reichswehr wished for a rapprochement with France and a Franco-German agreement on the basis of an understanding for disarmament and security which would give Germany equality. And when this man, who owes his prominent position only to the fact that he joined the national socialist camp rather more rapidly than others, declares that the Reichswehr supports Hitler in unconditional loyalty and admiration and not only Hitler, but also **Goering**, then that says nothing at all about the present situation of the clique struggles within the Reichswehr. The Reichswehr has now been "incorporated," as after so many other organisations the Protestant Church has now also been "incorporated," its pastors taking the oath to Hitler personally. This external subordination to the national socialist dictatorship does not liquidate the internal conflicts and antagonisms one whit.

To the degree in which the progress of the crisis shakes the fascist dictatorship and increases the resistance amongst the masses to the rule of the national socialists and also the dissatisfaction in the ranks of the bourgeoisie with the national socialist regime, the struggle of the groups and cliques will effect the Reichswehr to a greater extent than formerly. Hitler will continue the policy opened up on June 30 of carrying out every order of the industrialists and the Reichswehr generals with ruthless brutality against the mass of his own supporters. To this end no special "pact" is necessary such as is being talked about here and there. The whole relation lies inherent in the given constellation of power and the position of Hitler.

The spate of peace speeches which are in such flagrant contradiction to the policy of feverish war preparations and deliberate provocations have received the fitting reception abroad. Almost unanimously the foreign newspapers interpret Hitler's attitude in the word: **Hitler is talking of peace because he wants credits.**

The peace speeches have naturally also an inner political significance. Germany is on the eve of the "plebiscite" and despite all the militarist propaganda which carried the militarist spirit into all fields of German life from the Kindergarten to the Veterans' Association, **the masses of the German people are obstinately opposed to war.** In November, 1933, just before the plebiscite, Hitler surrounded Germany's resignation from the League of Nations with a cloud of peace speeches. We must therefore tell the masses with all possible stress that **Hitler is war**, that his system will lead inevitably into the bloody catastrophe of war unless the proletariat succeeds in previously putting paid to Hitler and his clique.

One of the propagandist preparations for the plebiscite was the scandalous "amnesty decree" issued by the Hitler government upon Hitler's appointment as Reich's President, a decree which expressly omits all the opponents of the regime from the amnesty. A State which is ruled by criminals naturally knows only an amnesty for its criminal associates. The most characteristic provision of this precious Hitler "amnesty" is one which amnesties criminals "who have let their zeal for the national socialist idea run away with them in the struggle." This provision not only amnesties all those fascists who were imprisoned for murdering workers, but it also obviously amnesties all those fascists who utilised the action of June 30 to pursue their private revenge on their enemies and who had been threatened by Hitler with stern punishment.

As a result of this "amnesty" a few thousand minor national socialist hooligans and a few bigger ones who were caught in the wheels of the justice machine will be freed, whilst all those who have committed no crime but that of remaining true to their anti-fascist convictions will continue to be tortured and maltreated in the prisons and concentration camps of the Third Reich. Where prisoners are released from "protective arrest" the decree expressly provides that

"The length of the imprisonment and the character of the prisoner must have been such as to offer some guarantee that he will no longer be hostile to the national socialist State and its organs."

In addition, "the Leader" himself has ordered that the "protective custody" arrests made in connection with June 30 should be "favourably reconsidered." This scandalous and shameful "amnesty" for national socialist criminals only indicates how much the fascist regime in Germany fears the imprisoned anti-fascist fighters to-day and especially to-day. At the same time it makes it our duty to intensify our fight to secure the release of our imprisoned comrades. Everyone who avoids giving up a "No!" vote on August 19, no matter what his reason, must remember that he has flung his vote into the scale in favour of the executioners and gaolers of the best representatives of our class.

The Communist Party of Germany, as the appeal issued by our Party shows, does not lightly estimate the significance of the plebiscite despite the terror and the gerrymandering which will accompany it. For us the plebiscite is a part of the general struggle for the establishment of a proletarian united front and for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship. We have put forward the slogan of "free elections" in order to encourage the workers to fight for the right to hold their meetings, to form their organisations and to represent their demands openly. The fascist dictatorship will not be overthrown at one blow by the armed insurrection of the workers; the armed insurrection will be only the final link in a chain of mass struggles during the course of which the proletariat will win for itself greater and greater freedom of movement.

Even in November, 1933, which was to a certain extent a culminating point in the upward development of the fascist terror and at the same time of the fascist influence, we succeeded in mobilising millions of "No!" votes and in exposing the forgery of the fascist election counters in thousands of cases by publishing the real results. Our success was much greater still in the factory council elections. In the meantime, however, the disintegration and demoralisation in the fascist ranks have proceeded still further following on the events of June 30 and the subsequent days, and as a consequence it should be possible for us to do in far greater measure what we succeeded in doing in part at the height of the fascist terror and mass influence. Our slogan for "free elections" means the mobilisation of all anti-fascist workers from all camps in a powerful fighting demonstration against the Hitler regime of murder, oppression and hunger. We must draw up and distribute leaflets jointly and call upon all workers to vote "No!" We must oppose the fascist mobilisation of the "Yes!" votes with our anti-fascist mobilisation of the "No!" votes. We must open up discussions with the oppositional members in the Storm Troops and other national socialist organisations in order that they may be persuaded to give their treacherous leader Hitler the final blow and assist us in discovering the real election results, exposing the forgeries of the fascist election officials, and countering the fascist election terror. For this purpose representatives of the workers must go to the polling booths and watch the proceedings when the votes are counted. We must see to it that the election results counted in the localities are made known to the masses as quickly as possible so that the official figures of the Minister for Lies are countered immediately by the truth already in the possession of the masses.

That is all a question of mass action, unity of action on the part of all anti-fascists and by no means a question of satisfying the pride of a small group of revolutionary elite workers. The latter is the attitude of the social-democratic "**Vorwaerts**" which talks about the plebiscite being "a test of character" and that whoever stands the test has thereby raised himself by the very act to the position of a leader. On the other hand, the "Vorwaerts" does not want to say a word against the poor devils who will crawl to the polling booths on August 19 and vote "Yes!" against their better convictions. On the contrary, the "Vorwaerts" finds quite a lot to say in their excuse, pointing out that the "No!" votes will not make any difference to Hitler's power in any case, that they will not even appear in the forged statistics which the Hitler government will issue.

That is a cheap sort of radicalism with which in fact nothing but Hitler's interests are being served. The elections for the "confidential councils" in the factories have demonstrated that it is not possible to carry off any degree of forgery and that in fact

the real spirit of the masses finds its expression despite terror and despite forgeries. The defeat of the fascist "labour front" leaders at these elections exercised a very considerable influence on the subsequent development of forces within the fascist system, and August 19 can be utilised by the workers for a really serious step towards the development of the anti-fascist united front, for a really serious demonstration for the overthrow of the Hitler dictatorship, for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for socialism, for the release of Thaelmann and all the other imprisoned anti-fascists, if we succeed in concentrating for the moment the growing anti-fascist mass energy on the limited aim of mobilising millions of "No!" votes against the Hitler dictatorship.

## Hindenburg: The Myth and the Reality

By J. S.

"Thus it happened that the simplest man acquired the most manifold importance. Precisely because he was nothing he could represent everything."

Marx in "Neue Rheinische Zeitung," on Napoleon III.

Every class produces the great men, the leaders who correspond to the nature and role of this class. The rising revolutionary bourgeoisie had its Cromwell, Robespierre, Napoleon; the proletariat, which is fighting for the emancipation of humanity, has leaders such as Lenin and Stalin, Dimitrov and Thaelmann; the declining, dying, rotting bourgeoisie has its Hindenburg and Hitler, its Goering and Goebbels.

If it is asked what personal qualities and deeds enabled this old, unfeeling brass-hat to play the role of "father of his country," a "faithful Ekkehardt," a mythical German national hero, one will hardly find another answer than that the old general with his burly figure and huge moustache, expressing honesty and faithfulness, was the best facade behind which the gang of thieves, robbers and murderers could rob and hold down the people undisturbed.

It has often happened that a victorious general has become the idol of his people, the adored head of the State. But it is something new in history for a defeated general to ascend to the highest position in the State. It is of no importance whether Hindenburg or Ludendorff or Hoffman deserves the personal credit for the victorious battles of the world war. In any event it is undeniable that Hindenburg, as the commander-in-chief, bears full responsibility for the crushing defeat of German Imperialism. It may be argued that the defeat was caused less by the military than by the political leadership. But the highest military authority in Germany was to all intents and purposes also the highest political authority. It bore the responsibility for the launching of the unrestricted submarine war, which caused America to enter the war on behalf of the allies; it was responsible for the fantastic plans of conquest in all directions which made a timely separate peace or conclusion of the war impossible; it flung the last reserves into the great battles on the Western front, and after the failure of this vast gamble, suddenly and imperatively demanded an armistice at all cost. Finally, when the retreat had already set in, it carried out the greatest devastations in the East French industrial districts, and thereby gave French imperialism a pretext for demanding exorbitant reparations. If Hindenburg deserves any credit for the fact that numerous battles were won, he is also fully responsible for the fact that the most powerful war-machine in Europe finally suffered such an annihilating defeat.

The French revolution placed defeated generals before a military court. As a result the French army marched from victory to victory. The reactionary German bourgeoisie placed its defeated general at the head of the State, with the result that it went from one defeat to another. The German bourgeoisie did not wish to admit the fact that it had been defeated. It invented the legend that it had been stabbed in the back, and extolled its generals who had been "undefeated on the battlefield." German imperialism thereby proved that it learnt nothing from its defeat, and therefore it is embarking on a new adventure which is bound to end even more disastrously than that of 1914-1918.

If nothing more were known of Hindenburg than his declaration that "war for me is like a course of treatment at a spa," it would suffice to characterise him as a worthy representative of that caste for whom war is a welcome opportunity of advancement, of winning orders and decorations; as a worthy represen-

tative of that class for whom imperialist mass murder is a good business; as a man to whom the life, the feelings and thoughts of the bleeding, starving, suffering mass of the people are quite strange and incomprehensible.

If Hindenburg had been only an old professional soldier, a monarchist reactionary, a narrow-minded East Prussian junker, he could not have played the political role which he did play in the interests of the German bourgeoisie. With all his stupidity he proved to have sufficient adaptability in order to take into account the changing requirements of capitalist class rule in Germany.

In 1918 he followed the advice of General Groener, and in spite of his monarchist-conservative views did not think of sacrificing himself romantically for his supreme war lord. Although a convinced monarchist, he accepted the fact of the existence of the Republic and concluded an alliance with Ebert in order to save the threatened class rule of the capitalists and junkers and to preserve intact the instrument of power of German imperialism, the army. His example was followed by the great majority of the monarchist officers and bureaucrats. From him they learnt to recognise the new facts, to ride the revolutionary storm and to set up the old power again. In this period Ebert needed Hindenburg just as much as Hindenburg needed Ebert. Without Hindenburg Ebert would not have had the troops to crush the Spartakus fights; without Ebert, Hindenburg would have been unable to enforce the authority of the old officers' corps against the soldiers' councils.

When in 1925, after Ebert's death, the united bourgeois reaction put forward Hindenburg as Presidential candidate, the social democratic party suddenly discovered the reactionary monarchist leanings of their old ally. They therefore declared that the no less reactionary parson of the Centre Party, Wilhelm Marx, was the "lesser evil" compared with the Field Marshal. The bourgeoisie succeeded then for the first time in mobilising the masses of the unpolitical petty bourgeoisie, thanks to which Hitler fascism later won its election victories. The social democratic party, which from 1914 to 1918 did everything in order to foster the Hindenburg legend, have the least right to impute to others the responsibility for the role which the old reactionary was able to play in the last nine years. Even now, after the social democratic party in 1932 supported Hindenburg's candidature, in order "to keep Hitler out," the "Vorwaerts" now ventures to repeat the old lie that Hindenburg was carried into the Reichs-President's palace on the shoulders of the transport worker Thaelmann. To-day, anybody with the least intelligence realises that in 1925 it was just as impossible to defeat Hindenburg by supporting the candidature of Wilhelm Marx as it was to defeat Hitler in 1932 by supporting Hindenburg.

Hindenburg, as Reichs-President, did nothing to bring about a monarchist restoration which the S.P.G. held up as a bogey at that time. That which is praised as his "sense of duty" was nothing else but the subordination of his private convictions to the interests of his class, which had no use for a monarchy at that time. But even in this period he let no opportunity pass in order to demonstrate his reactionary views. He regularly sent a message of congratulation to the Kaiser on his birthday; the only time he emerged from his political reserve was on the occasion of the plebiscite for the expropriation of the princes in 1926, when he threatened to resign if the proposed law was adopted. In 1930 he threw his authority into the scale in order to secure the withdrawal of the prohibition of the Stahlhelm in Rhenish-Westphalia.

The social democratic party, therefore, cannot plead the excuse that they did not realise what they were doing when, in 1932, they supported the candidature of Hindenburg. The Communist Party predicted that Hindenburg, after having again been elected as Reichs-President, would nominate Hitler as Chancellor, and issued the slogan: "A vote for Hindenburg is a vote for Hitler!" The social democratic party, however, was able in April, 1932, to persuade millions of workers that only the election of Hindenburg could prevent Hitler from seizing power.

The election of Hindenburg is a classic example of the complete fatuity and perniciousness of the policy of the lesser evil. "If we had not supported Hindenburg's candidature, then Hitler would have come into power already in 1932," the supporters of the social democratic party still argue to-day. And, in fact, if the policy of a so-called workers' party is confined to choosing between the various "evils" which the capitalist class offers to the working class, if the class aims of the proletariat and

the specific proletarian fighting weapons, the political mass strike and the armed revolt, are completely excluded from all political consideration, then one is landed in a dilemma where one has only the choice whether to submit to the hangman a year sooner or later. The possibility of preventing the fascist dictatorship by a proletarian class struggle does not exist for a party which rejects on principle the united front of the proletariat and does not abandon its alliance with the bourgeoisie even when the latter decides to set up the fascist dictatorship.

The bourgeoisie secured the election of Hindenburg against Hitler with the aid of the social democratic party because at this time it did not wish to hand over the whole State power to the National Socialist Party, because in addition to the band of adventurers which it needed for the purpose of crushing the proletariat, it wished to retain more sound and reliable experts in the important government positions. Thus Hindenburg received 19 million votes as candidate of the fascist bourgeoisie, which wished with his assistance to effect the transition to the fascist dictatorship without any great disturbance, and at the same time as candidate of the social democracy for whom millions of workers voted in the belief that he would protect them from fascism. At a matter of fact, it was not any particularly base cunning that rendered the old general capable of playing this double role; but because, being incapable of playing an independent political role, he was able to play any role demanded of him.

After his re-election a whole year passed in bargaining over the question of division of power between the fascist mass party and the old bourgeois apparatus of power. The social democratic party was indignant on account of the "perfidy" with which Hindenburg, after he had been elected with their aid, showed his sympathy for the fascist reaction. But it was a matter of course that the representative of the whole reactionary bourgeoisie was bound to forget as soon as possible his "opposition" to the fascist mass party in order to render possible the concentration of all fascist forces.

Hindenburg was all the better able to play this role since he, who belonged by tradition and social position to the Prussian junkers, was presented by the industrial magnates with a big estate in Neudeck. The old Oldenburg von Janushau, who organised the collection of the fund for the purchase of this estate, in this way made Hindenburg his good neighbour, and through this crude but effective means strengthened the control of the reactionary agrarians over the head of the Republic. On this basis of appealing to the interests of the "threatened big land-owners," those intrigues were commenced to which Bruening fell victim and which opened the way via Papen and Schleicher to Hitler.

The social democratic party supported the re-election of Hindenburg, giving as a reason that with all his conservative opinions he would remain true to his oath and guard the Constitution. This legend of Hindenburg's "faithfulness to the Constitution" was based upon the fact that since the time of Ebert this Constitution had been so thoroughly deprived of all its democratic content by making full use of the dictatorship paragraph 48, that up to 1932 the fascist bourgeoisie was able to obtain its ends without an open breach of the Constitution. When the last remnants of the Weimar Constitution were torn to shreds in 1933, it still took place in such forms that the social democratic party itself, this brave Constitutional party, did not notice until some months later that there was nothing left of their beloved Constitution. From March 21 to May 17, 1933, the social democratic Reichstag members sat loyally in the sham Parliament which had been elected as a result of the most savage terror and which was to serve to cover the fascist dictatorship with the cloak of Constitutional legality. The social democratic party has in fact the least right to be indignant on account of Hindenburg's infidelity and his breach of the Constitution, for Hindenburg represented the interests of his class, the capitalists and junkers, when he surrendered the bourgeois-democratic Constitution to the requirements of the fascist dictatorship, whilst the social democratic party shamefully and cowardly betrayed the interests of the working class which they were supposed to represent when they in part actively promoted and in part passively tolerated this process of doing away with the last remnants of bourgeois democracy.

In the last eighteen months the mere existence of Hindenburg

undoubtedly constituted a valuable support of the fascist dictatorship. The man who, guided by his own personal interests, drove Bruening and Schleicher from office when his agrarian colleagues persuaded him that landed property was endangered by the "Bolshevik" plans of his chancellors, still possessed the authority among the broad masses as an unselfish, incorruptible patriot who was above all parties. Screened by his broad back, the fascist thieves were able to plunder the State treasury and carry out their acts of robbery and murder undisturbed. The corruption trial of Gerecke, a former confidant of Hindenburg, in which the Reichs-President's son, Oskar von Hindenburg, had to appear as a witness, had the significance of such a warning shot. Hindenburg's estate was registered in the name of his son Oskar in order to dodge payment of death duties. The Nazi leaders made use of this knowledge in order to blackmail the Hindenburg clique.

It is said that a few weeks before June 30 it had come to a reconciliation between Schleicher and the people immediately connected with Hindenburg. When, however, Schleicher and some of the close friends of Hindenburg's confidant, Papen, were killed, Hindenburg hastened to proclaim to the world his approval of these murders. Thus the old Field Marshal went to his grave laden with responsibility for all the crimes of the bloody fascist rule. The same Goebbels who a few years ago, in his organ, "der Angriff," caused Hindenburg to be caricatured as a patron of the Jews with a Jewish Rabbi as adviser, now enthusiastically extols the "mystical" personality who "always stood above the hatred and favour of parties." When Dietrich, the Nazi press chief, even maintains that Hindenburg was inwardly closely connected with national socialism, that Hitler was "dear to his heart," then the national socialist "myth" already borders on the ridiculous, for although the Field Marshal permitted himself to be used in the interests of his class by the one-time upholsterer Hitler in the same way as he was formerly used by the saddler Ebert, it is generally known that he regarded the national socialist upstarts with the same scorn and contempt as he did the social democrats. Only the feudal adventurer and knight von Papen was "dear to his heart."

Hindenburg, so it is stated in the manifesto of the Reichs-government, has become "the national myth of the German people." "Myth," however, is a polite word for swindle. The "victorious Field Marshal" who led his army and his people to the most disastrous defeat, the "truest of the true" who betrayed his monarchist principles just as he did his oath to uphold the Republican Constitution, the "great soldier" who sent a telegram of thanks to the murderers of his comrades, this man was the worthy representative of a class which, covered from head to foot with blood and filth, will soon follow its "national hero" whither he has gone before.

#### International Campaign for the Release of Thaelmann.

Prague, August 9.

Members of the social democrat association of the "Friends of Nature" in Brunn have sent the "Rude Pravo" a letter in which the Youth members stand for the defence and the release of Thaelmann, and call upon other groups of the socialist youth to join them in the common struggle for the release of the imprisoned anti-fascists.

Paris, August 10.

The resolution for the release of Ernst Thaelmann and all imprisoned anti-fascists, moved at the World Congress of Women Against Imperialist War and Fascism, by Comrade **Munichreiter** on behalf of the delegates of the I.R.A., states that "The Women's International Congress against War and Fascism observes with indignation the frightful bloody terror in Hitler Germany, and especially the mal-treatment of the leader of the anti-fascists, Ernst Thaelmann. . ."

" . . . The Congress honours the heroic anti-fascist fighters who have fallen victim to the fascist murderers. It sends to Ernst Thaelmann, and to all the imprisoned anti-fascist and their families, its warmest militant greetings, and it calls upon the workers of all countries, especially the women, to increase their support of the struggle carried on by the International Red Aid against fascist terror, and to bring practical aid by means of gifts and the collection of funds."

## India

### Crushing the Working Class Movement in India

The League Against Imperialism has issued the following statement regarding the recent outlawing of the Communist Party of India:

In connection with the recent notification of the Government in India declaring the Communist Party an unlawful association, the following information will give an appreciation of what this new fascist measure actually means.

To support the granting of these sweeping powers, a statement is issued from Simla which says that the Communists have not tried to disguise their part in stirring up the recent Bombay Mill strikes. It then goes on to say that for a whole month the Kirti Kisan Party (Workers' and Peasants' Party), which is not a Communist organisation, had conducted village meetings in the Punjab—and that the Kirti-Kisan movement under various names, had been gaining some ground in areas hitherto little affected. The *Times* of July 27 says: "The movement may be described as the extreme left wing of the Congress with a strong Communist tinge."

So it may be taken for granted that not only organisations or persons that can be labelled Communist, but organisations or persons with a Communist tinge, will be drawn under this most obnoxious measure. This opinion is supported by the two following points:

In the House of Commons, on July 30, the Secretary of State for India, replying to James Maxton, M.P., said: "No other similar organisations have at present been declared unlawful."

It is also interesting to note a reply of the Secretary of State, to a further question by James Maxton, "If it is usual to declare illegal in other parts of the Empire political parties which are quite legal here in our own country?" The reply was, "Whatever may be the general answer, the case of India stands by itself."

A full appreciation cannot be obtained without a few further facts. When it is considered that the ordinary law as it stands, was used in the following manner against workers participating in an ordinary strike, some idea can be obtained what this new measure will mean.

In Bombay, during January this year, a meeting took place of delegates representing perfectly constitutional textile workers' trade unions from different textile centres throughout India. At this meeting it was decided that the only way to meet and resist the continued attacks upon the workers' conditions was by a general stoppage of work. At the same time a programme of demands was agreed to, and the date fixed for the calling of the General Strike was May 1.

The Government began to take action against the workers months before this date. A series of arrests took place in Cawnpore, Nagpur, Bombay and Sholapur, for speeches, etc. In the case of a worker, P. C. Joshi, who was arrested on March 8—the order for his arrest states: "P. C. Joshi, of the Cawnpore Majdoor (Workers' Union) has delivered various inflammatory speeches, the tendencies of which are to provoke discord between employers and employees. . . ." This comrade has since been sentenced to three years rigorous imprisonment. Sentences of two years rigorous imprisonment for similar reasons have been given to workers in Bombay, Sholapur and elsewhere. One of these was the case of B. F. Ranadive, and it is interesting to note what the magistrate had to say when sentencing him to two years:

In the very beginning the accused had said that by the holding of a meeting, the hungry workers, the starving workers, were declaring war against starvation, against unemployment, against capitalism and against imperialism. The magistrate said that if the speech had contained nothing else, one could have had no objection, and it might have been held that "imperialism" referred to the system of Government, and that "war" was intended to convey nothing more than agitation or struggle, but it had to be remembered that the accused was addressing an ignorant and illiterate audience, consisting mostly of unemployed or as he (the accused) called them "hungry starving workers." The magistrate said, "In my opinion the effect that would be left in the mind of anyone hearing the speech would be not only to excite contempt for the Government, but to arouse feelings of hatred and disloyalty to it. I therefore convict the accused. The speech is a clear incentive to violence and bloodshed, made at a time of great unrest

and trouble, which I think aggravates the offence." (*Bombay Chronicle*, May 30, 1934.)

On the first day of the textile strike the whole of the strike committee was arrested, under the Bombay Special (Emergency) Powers Act, an act passed ostensibly to be used at the time of communal riots, under which a person can be arrested by the police and kept in prison for a period of three months without trial or without even being produced before a magistrate.

Other powers, such as Section 144, banning meetings and processions, were used against the workers. Pickets were arrested. Lathi charges were a daily occurrence, and at Delhi and Bombay shooting took place, many workers being wounded and some killed.

On top of this the Government have sanctioned a prosecution against eight members of the strike committee under the Trades Dispute Act of 1929, on the grounds that the strike was not legitimate.

Here it is of interest to recall the statement of the Royal Whitley Commission (Indian Labour) Report on the subject of strikes in Indian industry: "But although workers may have been influenced by persons with nationalist, Communist or commercial ends to serve, we believe that there has rarely been a strike of any importance which has not been due, entirely or largely, to economic reasons."

These facts will show the powers the Government of India already have and how they are used. From this it can readily be appreciated what this new fascist measure will mean. And it is clear that these new powers are to be used, not merely against the Communist Party of India, but also against the trade unions, Strike Committees and Workers' and Peasants' Parties to crush any movement to defend or improve economic conditions in the struggle for independence.

## The Labour Movement

### English Railwaymen Let Down Again

By R. Bishop (London).

In 1921 the wages bill of the British railway companies amounted to £143 millions. In 1933 £97 millions sufficed to cover this head. That is to say, that in 13 years the railway workers have lost £46 millions per annum from their already meagre earnings.

During this same period rationalisation has proceeded apace on the railways. Five hundred and sixty-six thousand three hundred railwaymen are all that are now employed. In 1921 the figure was 736,000. By rationalisation and inter-company pooling schemes the number of employed railwaymen had decreased by 170,000. Those who remain have not only suffered heavy wage-cuts but in many cases have been re-graded—that is to say, drivers have been put back to firemen, firemen to cleaners, etc., and generally the work has been tremendously speeded-up.

The number of ton miles (passenger and goods ton miles) per worker employed has risen from 568 in 1924 to 656 in 1929, and 675 in 1932. These figures were naturally very satisfactory to the shareholders, and rail stock, from being a drug on the market, became something which every good capitalist was eager to acquire. At the end of 1933 the railway stock valuation of Great Britain was £542,300,000. By the beginning of April, 1934, these values had been forced up to £850,100,000.

Each one of the four big British railway companies shows a big increase in income this year over last. The smallest revenue increase—that of the Southern Railway—was £128,000, whilst the London, Midland and Scottish Railway raised its income by no less than £1,210,000.

In these circumstances the railwaymen who have long chafed under the cuts—particularly those imposed in 1931—made themselves very vocal this year in their demand for the restoration of their wages at least to the 1931 standard. At each of the three railway conferences this demand was put forward, and, such was the mood of the workers, that even the most reactionary of the officials was compelled to put on a bold front and threaten dire consequences to the companies should they not comply with the workers' wishes.

A particularly vigorous speech was made by J. Henderson, the President of the National Union of Railwaymen, at the annual general meeting of that body, held in July. He said:

"A review of the present situation shows again the continuous struggle between the interests of the men who carry

on the work of the railways and that of the owners who represent invested capital. During the dark days of depression we were compelled by force of circumstances to sacrifice wages and conditions. As usual, the wage-earner had to bear the brunt. One cannot reckon the price the railway workers had to pay in money, nervous strain, premature ageing and general insecurity. . . . One would have thought that at the first opportunity the sacrifices of the railwaymen would have been recognised. But no—the time was never ripe for restoration.

"What we have we hold appears to be the policy of the railway companies and of all capitalists. We must call for a new policy of aggression. The revival of the old trade union spirit and the demand for a fuller share of the good things of life."

The rank and file delegates were even more plain spoken. Akehurst, a London delegate, declared:

"If our demand (for a full restoration of the cuts) is refused, we have no alternative to calling a special general meeting and taking action by the withdrawal of our labour."

The delegates and officials of the conferences of the Locomotive Engineers and the Railway Clerks were no less emphatic. Either the restoration of the cuts *in toto*, or strike action to compel their return.

Immediately negotiations were opened. The railway leaders prepared a strong case, an unanswerable case, showing the poverty of the railway workers' homes and the rapidly rising revenue, meaning increased dividends to shareholders. But when it came to the point there was no fight. A "compromise" was arrived at—and what a compromise. "Half a loaf is better than no bread," say the apologists for the reformists, but it is not even half a loaf that has come to the poverty-stricken table of the railway workers. Only a few miserable crumbs.

What were the workers demanding the restoration of? In 1931 the companies imposed a cut of 2½ per cent. on all wages, with an additional 2½ per cent. on all earnings in excess of 40s. a week. In addition overtime rates were reduced, and in several other ways conditions of service were worsened.

What was the compromise effected? In the first place when the companies were approached they refused even to consider the restoration of the cuts. One would have expected such a statement to have strengthened the resistance of men so strongly mandated as the railwaymen's leaders were. But such was not the case. **Marchbanks**, the secretary of the N.U.R., replied to the blunt refusal of the companies by stating:

"The public may rest assured that those in charge of the negotiations will do all in their power to prevent a dislocation of transport services.

But although the companies would not consider the restoration of the cuts they offered a compromise, namely, that the basic 2½ per cent. must still operate, but that the cut on earnings above 40s. should be taken off—in two instalments—half now and the remainder on January 1, 1935.

The effect of this is that a man who was earning 50s. a week suffered a reduction of 2½ per cent. on 50s. (1s. 3d.), plus a second cut on the 10s. in excess of 40s. (3d.), making a total cut of 1s. 6d. The second cut of 3d. is to disappear. So that immediately the railwaymen earning 50s. (and one-fifth of them get less than this) will receive an immediate wage-increase of 1½d., with another 1½d. rise in January, whereas, what the railwayman of this grade and what he was demanding the return of was a cut of 1s. 6d.

And this is what the **Daily Herald**, the official organ of the Trade Union Congress, describes as "Rail Wages Triumph" in its headline. Of course, the reformist leaders have been compelled to camouflage the position. Mr. Marchbanks, general secretary of the largest railway union, announces that having made this start no opportunity will be lost of "wiping out all rail cuts."

The aggregate of annual wages lost by the 1931 cuts was £4,600,000. The settlement will return £625,000 now and the rest next year, with the other £3 million odd to be negotiated for in the sweet bye and bye.

The feeling of the railwaymen is being strongly expressed in all parts of the country, including some which in the past have been among the most loyal followers of the reformist leadership of the unions. The railwayman who, in the **Daily Worker**, described the settlement as "the biggest piece of treachery ever perpetrated by the union leaders," is being echoed all over the country by his fellow-workers.

The railway workers know that the revenue of the companies for the first half of this year was £3,750,000 over that of the first half of 1933. They know that for the whole year there is bound to be an income which even if their full cut is restored will leave more for distribution to the shareholders than they had last year. And they are expressing their feelings with vigour.

Typical of the feeling among rank and file railwaymen is the following resolution passed by the **Laisterdyke (Bradford) Branch of the National Union of Railwaymen**:

"That this branch regards the settlement as an insult to all railwaymen. We are of opinion that it should have been rejected. The E.C. should seek the support of the branches and the rank and file to demand full restoration of our 1931 conditions."

Such resolutions are pouring into the head offices of the unions from railway branches, and the militant **Railwaymen's Vigilance Movement** is winning support from the most unexpected quarters.

But if the spineless attitude of the leadership has enraged the rank and file railwaymen it has encouraged the stockholders to greater temerity than ever before. The **British Railways Stockholders' Association** has addressed a letter to the companies in which it reprimands them for having made even the paltry concessions that it has, and demands that no further ones be considered.

Already the union leaders are beginning to stutter that "the men won't fight," a slanderous allegation of which refutation was afforded the day after the fake "compromise" had been reached, when the Great Western Railway Company announced the dismissal of 400 more men from their great works at Swindon. Immediately the other railway shopmen heard the news they downed tools, not waiting for the dinner break, and marched off in a body to see the management, after holding a meeting in the shop to discuss the situation.

The workers will fight; they regard the settlement reached in their name as a colossal betrayal. Nothing is more certain than that had a firm stand been made on the issue united action could have been obtained, drawing in not only the members of the three railway unions but also the non-unionists. For the latter are, in many cases, just as militant as any of the union members, although perhaps lacking in a full sense of the need for organisation, a deficiency which is not likely to be remedied by so gross a betrayal as the present. As a rail trade union branch chairman said in an interview with the **Daily Worker**:

"I'd like the people who signed this settlement to come to my depot and persuade the 'nons' to join up, but they leave that job to us."

At the union conferences the leaders echoed the demand for action of the rank and file, but when they met the company's representatives in conference their militancy melted away, their main concern becoming how to avoid "dislocation of the services."

The rank and file movement on the railways, which has been growing in strength and influence for some time, is pressing forward now, organising a bombardment of the union head offices with resolutions of protests from the branches, and with demands for immediate action to secure the full restoration of the cuts of 1931, which reduced the mass of British railwaymen to a standard of living only just above the hunger line.

## The Striking Textile Workers of Verviers Have Not Been Defeated, But Betrayed

By F. Coenen (Brussels)

On July 30 the reformist leaders of the Textile Workers' Federation of Verviers were compelled to lay their cards on the table. After having worked ever since the commencement of the five months' strike of the 16,000 textile workers "to rescue the textile industry," they declared the strike at an end and gave the order for resumption of work.

In taking this step they, of course, did not consult the strikers. They convened meetings of the trade union functionaries according to the different branches of the industry. The strikers gathered in masses outside of the doors of the offices where the conferences were being held. They discussed the latest declarations of the Central Strike Committee and agreed with its slogans: No capitulation, continuation of the strike! After the first meeting—that of the washers—was at an end, the strikers learnt that the leaders had decided to end the strike because, they said, the Trade Union Federation had refused to pay a further centime in support. The

strikers in vain sent delegations to their offices in order to demand the continuation of the strike; the M.D.O. (so-called workers' defence corps) were called up and made use of their truncheons against the workers. This action, of course, roused the indignation of the crowd, who protested. Thereupon the "ultra-democratic" reformist leaders turned the fire-hose on the strikers and summoned the police and the gendarmerie to their aid in order to disperse the crowd.

Similar scenes were enacted in front of the social-democratic paper "Le Travail." Delegations of strikers had demanded that the order to return to work should not be published, as the workers had not been consulted. The editorial board ignored this demand and called up the gendarmes. However, this did not prevent the edition of the paper containing the order to the workers to return to work being seized and burned by strike pickets.

In face of the infamous treachery of the trade union leaders, the central strike committee met and after mature consideration came to the conclusion that it would be impossible to call for a continuation of the strike, as many strikers, misled and confused by orders of the trade union leaders, had returned to work.

The employers fully realised that the attempt of the reformist leaders to liquidate the strike created an exceedingly favourable field of operations for them. They supported this attempt as far as necessary in order, finally, after the reformist leaders had demanded that the dispute should be settled by arbitration, to demand complete capitulation. The reformist bureaucrats finally agreed to this.

The central strike committee, however, did not consider its role as ended. It declared: "Unity of the strikers is more indispensable than ever. If we allow our ranks to be broken, the employers will take advantage of it. We struck all together, let us resume work all together."

The employers brutally enforced their conditions: no resumption of work in a body, no discussion with trade union delegations, only individual application for re-engagement, compulsory signing of the 22 slave conditions. Those workers who agreed to join an employers' organisation, known as "La Liberté," were promised preference in regard to re-engagement.

There is a strong tendency among the workers to leave the reformist trade unions. The central strike committee is combating this tendency and proposes a number of concrete measures, including the convening of a Congress. Some trade unions have already demanded that the treacherous reformist officials shall be dismissed.

Of course, the bourgeois press has not failed to publish reports of the "fiasco of the strike in Verviers" and exaggerate the victory of the employers. The "Nation Belge" has drawn the conclusion from this strike and is now advocating corporative fascism.

The social-democratic press, with its typical cynical insolence, is directing its attacks in the first place against the Communists, describing them as provocateurs. It is also attacking the "Left" socialists and their newspaper, "L'action Socialiste," which quite rightly stated:—

"The textile workers were not defeated by the textile barons; they were defeated by the reformist policy of the trade union leaders. This policy is daily becoming more contemptible, shameful, base and criminal. . . . This policy has again favoured the advance of fascism."

This may be strong language, but it is true. It is now a question of drawing the necessary lessons for all the workers from this strike in regard to what is to be done in order to free the labour movement from the deadly embrace of reformism.

The central strike committee will continue its activity for the defence and support of the victimised workers, for trade union unity and against the dictatorship of the employers. In order to realise these aims, however, the trade unions must belong to the trade unionists. The experience of the central strike committee as organ of the united front and leadership of the strike proves the indisputable necessity of strikes being led by the strikers themselves, without the reformist leaders, who are devoted to the employers and their regime.

In order to beat the textile employers of Verviers, as well as the reformists, the members of the trade unions must set up a new leadership and get rid of the old leaders such as Duchesne and Fikienne, who have shown that they have inseparably bound up their fate with that of the capitalist regime.

## The C.P. of Holland and the Amsterdam Revolt

We have received the following letter from the Communist Party of Holland replying to certain statements contained in an article by P. J. Schmidt, chairman of the Independent Socialist Party of Holland (O.S.P.), which appeared in the "New Leader" of July 20. A copy of this letter has also been sent to the "New Leader."—Ed.

The "New Leader" of July 20 publishes an article by P. J. Schmidt concerning the struggle against the cuts in the unemployment relief in Holland, which needs to be rectified.

It is not true that the movement was entirely spontaneous and unexpected by anybody. The movement of the workers, which was assisted by a series of political strikes in the building trades and in the ports of Amsterdam and Rotterdam, was prepared by the whole struggle of the workless, under the leadership of the Unemployed Committees and by the struggle against fascism.

The workers of Amsterdam and Rotterdam and other towns in the past months have demonstrated again and again against the policy of wage cuts and the fascist danger, despite the fact that such demonstrations were not allowed, and had to be organised illegally. Specially important in this respect was the demonstration of many thousands of workers on April 28 against the great meeting of the fascist N.S.B. movement at Amsterdam.

When the cut in the unemployment relief was announced, the Communist Party and the Unemployed Committees organised a campaign against this attack, in the form of meetings, demonstrations, etc. It was this campaign that started the mass movement. The article of July 20 mentions a meeting in de Jordaan district, after which the demonstrations began. It omits every mention of the fact that this meeting was organised by the Unemployed Committee! In the first week of July, when the new rates in each individual case became known, the response to the campaign, which was being waged by the C.P.H. and the unemployed organisation, suddenly grew until it became a real mass movement. But it continued to follow the slogans and the leadership of the Communist Party and the Unemployed Committees.

The "New Leader" publishes a story about the Communist Party disowning the movement in a special edition of its paper, and laying the blame on the O.S.P. ("Left" socialist party). This is entirely untrue. No special edition to this end was issued, and the Communist daily paper unreservedly fought on the side of the July movement, in organising which it has been an important factor. Indeed, it is precisely for this that it has been prosecuted!

Also, it is not true that any edition, special or otherwise, of the "Tribune," the Communist daily paper, was torn up by the workers of the Jordaan district. On the contrary, the "Tribune" won many hundreds of readers among them; thousands of copies were sold in these days in this district and a good deal of money was collected for the support of the paper after the closing down of the printing works of the "Tribune" by police.

It may be that the movement was an entirely unexpected one for the "Left" socialist party itself, because neither before nor at the time of the struggle did it exercise any influence upon the unemployed. Though members of the O.S.P. were fighting together with the other unemployed, the O.S.P. as a party has always refused to support the movement of the Unemployed Committees, saying that they were "Communist" organisations.

It must be added that the O.S.P. was thrown into a serious crisis precisely because of its attitude in the July movement.

At a time when the members of the O.S.P. fought valiantly at the side of other workers, some of its leaders took it upon themselves to declare that the most dangerous enemy was Communism, and that the resistance of the unemployed was a useless piece of romantic folly, a result of "Stalinistic" policy.

For this betrayal of the workers' struggle, two leaders of the O.S.P., *de Kadt* and *Tas*, have already been expelled from the C.C. of the O.S.P. It is to be hoped that the O.S.P. will rid itself entirely of reformist elements like *de Kadt* and *Schmidt*, and also of their defeatist and anti-Communist political theories.

This would assist the development of the united mass action in Holland.

Secretariat of the C.P. Holland.

## Fight for the Unity of the Labour Movement

# Any Argument Is Good Enough Against The United Front

By Bela Kun

We have repeated again and again: the Communist Parties will never abandon the struggle for the establishment of a united working-class front. And they will succeed in establishing it despite all the hindrances which are being placed in the way. No amount of diplomacy, of insolent refusals, and none of the attempts to hush up united front offers will prevent the Communist Parties calling on the Social Democratic Parties, on their officials, members and supporters to form a united front in the struggle against capitalism, against fascism, for the joint interests of the working class and against the daily sufferings of the working class.

The struggle for the establishment of a united working-class front has shown that it is becoming increasingly impossible for the social democratic leaders to ignore the offers made by the Communist Parties for the establishment of a united front. The increasing desire on the part of the working masses for the establishment of such a united front, on the one hand, and the pressure exerted by the bourgeois allies of the social democratic leaders on the other, compel the latter to give a plain reply to the Communist offers. In view of the increasing desire of the working masses for a united front the social democratic leaders are even compelled to advance arguments to justify their refusals.

We must admit that it is extremely difficult for the social democratic leaders to produce arguments with an appearance of tenability in order to justify their continual refusals. On the other hand, the social democratic leaders who reject the Communist offers seem to attach little importance to persuading the members of the Social Democratic Parties that their leaders even take seriously the possibility of the establishment of a united front against fascism and the offensive of capitalism.

However, we feel it our duty to answer the arguments brought forward by the social democratic leaders with counter-arguments. Let us take the most typical arguments put forward by the social democratic leaders to justify their refusal of the Communist offers for the establishment of a joint struggle against the common class enemy, and answer them with the same seriousness with which we and the social democratic workers themselves are fighting for the united front.

### I. "WE ARE INSULTED BY THE COMMUNISTS"

Most of the social democratic leaders reject the Communist offers of a united front on the ground that they feel themselves insulted by the Communists. The clearest expression of this sort of thing is to be found in the answer of the Central Committee of the German Social Democratic Party of Czechoslovakia. The answer which was published on July 18, in the Prague "Sozial-Demokrat," contains the following:

"We are astounded that, after you have done your best to prevent any unity of action in the working class for so many years, you should now approach us with such an offer. We fail to understand how, after having abused us for years as 'social-fascists,' you can now call upon us to join with you in a fight against fascism. Similarly, we fail to understand how after having abused us for years as 'war-mongers' and 'social-imperialists,' you can now call upon us to join you in a fight against the danger of war. . . . We are, therefore, not in a position to undertake any joint action with you, because we cannot countenance your policy of dishonesty and double-dealing, and because the elementary demands of self-respect forbid us to have any dealings with people who court our support and abuse us at the same time."

If I were a social democratic worker I should say the following to my leaders:

You are members of a Government together with bourgeois politicians, a Government which in the past has ruthlessly persecuted social democratic workers. The same has happened in

any country in which social democratic leaders are or were members of a bourgeois Government. The fact that bourgeois parties with which the social democratic leaders are now settling the affairs of the bourgeois State have persecuted social democratic workers has not prevented you going into the Government with them. For instance, when Vandervelde, the President of the Second International, entered the Belgian Government he took his seat side by side with bourgeois Ministers who had abused him in his youth as a social democrat and perhaps persecuted him. And when, at the beginning of the imperialist war, the cry went up that the nation was in danger, did you not reconcile yourselves with the leaders of the bourgeois parties? To-day, however, it is a question of serious danger for our class, the danger of fascism, the danger of imperialist war. How am I, as a simple member of my Party, to understand that the cry of the nation in danger was sufficient to cause my leaders to reconcile themselves with the class enemy, whilst the real and present danger to my class is not sufficient to cause my leaders to form a united front with my class comrades who are members of the Communist Party in the interests of my class and against the dangers which threaten it from the class enemy?

It is true that the Communists have abused the social democratic leaders as social-fascists and social-imperialists. I was not in agreement with this, although the Communists never treated me, their fellow-worker and a rank and file member of the Social Democratic Party, as a social-fascist or social-imperialist. I am glad that the Communist Parties have agreed that in the interests of working-class unity and for the time in which such united actions are being carried on they will abandon their attacks on the social democratic leaders. It is therefore all the more difficult for me to understand that my leaders are taking the abuse as a permanent hindrance to working-class unity of action, whilst the Communist Party, their leaders and their members, who, by the way, have not only been abused by many social democratic leaders, but also shot at, are offering us their hand in a joint struggle against the common enemy. I cannot understand why the social democratic leaders want to make the abuse a permanent hindrance to unity of action when, for instance, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, whose leaders Gottwald and Kopetzki are being persecuted by the social democratic Minister of Justice, nevertheless maintains its offer of a united front with the Social Democratic Party against the bourgeoisie. If the corpses of Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and all those tens of thousands of workers who were the victims of Noske, and similar social democratic leaders, do not separate the Communists from us in the struggle for joint action, I do not see why the abuse of our leaders should separate us from the Communists in a joint struggle to ward off the danger of fascism and war.

### II. "THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL DOES NOT PERMIT . . ."

The Central Committee of the Belgian Labour Party rejected the united front offer of the Communist Party of Belgium, in a letter dated July 18, and published in *Le Peuple*, with the following argumentation:

"However, it is not possible for us to consider the formation of the united front proposed by you. The Second International has made clear proposals to the Communist International. We are of the opinion that these two bodies upon which we are respectively dependent should find the necessary mode of agreement."

A social democratic worker should say the following to his party comrades in answer to this:

Have you noticed up to the moment that our party is dependent on the Second International in its decisions? All the articles of our leader Vandervelde in our party organ inform us

again and again that only the Communist Parties are dependent on the International in their decisions. I also fail to understand why our social democratic comrades in France can take joint action with the Communists against fascism and the offensive of capitalism whilst we here in Belgium may not. Up to the moment we have always heard that we social democrats are distinct from the Communists do not permit any outside force to dictate our tactics, but determine them ourselves in accordance with the conditions existing in our own country. On July 19 I read an article in our Party organ *Le Peuple*, an article which had been translated from *Het Volk*, the official organ of our Dutch Party, in which the same idea is expressed:

"We assume that there is no socialist anywhere in the world who would not heartily welcome the unity of all socialist parties, but that is not the question. We must deal with reality and seek a possibility in the present situation of working-class disunity to forge the unity of the working class. This possibility is different in each particular country."

The Communist International also declares, in its appeal, that the question of working-class unity of action can be solved according to the particular conditions of each country and its parties.

Why, then, does my Party appeal to the decision of the Second International, which forbids negotiations with the Communist Parties to all sections of the Second International? Our leaders should not adopt the methods of capitalist diplomacy when dealing with us. In France it is permitted and in Belgium it is prohibited. I could have understood it if our leaders had put forward different conditions and different slogans to those put forward in France, but I don't understand why they unconditionally reject the proposals of the Communists. Let our leaders declare openly whether they want unity of action against the bourgeoisie together with the Communists and all other workers or not. The Party leaders can use diplomatic intrigues against the class enemy, but not against us.

With my whole heart I am in favour of proletarian internationalism. I am an enemy of nationalism, because during the imperialist war I learned the bitter lesson that the defence of the nation in the capitalist sense is the defence of the interests of the ruling classes. It's a fine proletarian internationalism which consists in forbidding internationally any unity of action to fight against the international danger of fascism and imperialist war.

### III. "THE UNITED FRONT IS A SOVIET MANŒUVRE"

"The united front is in opposition to the foreign policy of the Soviet Union."

Both arguments are in use wherever mistrust is being sown against unity of action, or where unity of action is being fought.

The *Populaire*, of July 16, 1934, writes the following concerning a speech delivered by **Léon Blum**:

Léon Blum does not believe that the alteration in the attitude of the Communist Party was determined by its internal situation, and also not by the internal policy of the Russian section of the Communist International, but rather by the foreign policy of the Soviet Union."

The Paris correspondent of the Swiss social democratic newspaper *Volksrecht* reports the following on July 19, 1934, concerning the fight for unity of action in France:

"The Soviet Union, which is doing everything possible to line itself up in the comity of nations and therefore wishes to abandon its contradiction, formerly so strongly emphasised, to western capitalism and to western democracy, is interested in securing the adaptation of the Communist Parties to this tendency."

In diametrical contradiction to these utterances the German social democracy in Czechoslovakia declares the following:

"They accuse us of voting in favour of the military budget. Quite apart from the fact that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union agrees to the expenditure of milliards of roubles for armaments, this accusation is nothing short of grotesque in the present situation, and is in flagrant contradiction to the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, which they demand that we should support."

What is the social democratic worker to think? Is the struggle of the Communist Parties for unity of action against the bourgeoisie a Soviet intrigue, or is it a counter-revolutionary, perhaps a White-Guardist intrigue? First of all he should ask himself, what have the Communist Parties proposed to the Social Democratic Parties?

The answer is clear: A united front, unity of action on the part of both parties and their supporters against the bourgeoisie in each country, against fascism in Germany, and against fascism at home, against the danger of fascism and against the offensive of capitalism in all its forms.

He should also ask himself: Were at any time the Communists opposed anywhere to unity of action on the part of the working class against the bourgeoisie, opposed to actions on the part of the workers against the bourgeoisie?

The answer can only be: No. The Communists were never at any time opposed to actions against the bourgeoisie, opposed to the unity of action of the proletariat as a whole against the bourgeoisie.

And he should ask himself another question: Is the Soviet Union interested under all circumstances in the establishment of unity of action on the part of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, or does the attitude of the Soviet Government in this question depend upon the given foreign political situation at any moment?

This question has been answered thoroughly and clearly by the most prominent of all the Bolshevik leaders, by Stalin himself. Writing on the relation between the Soviet Union and the proletariat in the capitalist countries, Stalin declares in his "Foundations of Leninism" the following:

"**The third stage** (the third stage of the Russian Revolution, B.K.) begins after the October Revolution. The aim is the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the one country in which it has been established **with a view to utilising it as a basis for the overthrow of imperialism in all other countries.** The revolution extends over the frontiers of any individual country. The epoch of world revolution begins. The basic force of the revolution is **the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country and the revolutionary forces of the proletariat in all other countries.**" (Underlining by me.—B. K.)

That is a plain answer to a plain question. The Soviet Union can never, under any circumstances, be interested in the proletariat in the capitalist countries conducting a policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie.

However, the social democratic worker may answer: That is all very well and good. I do not doubt that Stalin is one of the greatest revolutionaries of all times, but that does not alter the fact that the Soviet Governments conclude pacts with bourgeois Governments, and that at the same time the Communist Parties call upon us to fight against these same Governments. There is something wrong there.

We Communists reply: The Soviet Union, which is for the moment the only proletarian State and is also, as experience has shown, the bulwark of the proletarian revolution and even of the bourgeois democratic national-revolutionary struggle of all oppressed peoples, is really compelled to conclude pacts with the Governments of capitalist countries. It even works to obtain the conclusion of such pacts in order to maintain peace in the interests of the whole of humanity. The Soviet Union is compelled to conclude such pacts just as the workers in the capitalist countries are compelled, so long as they have not taken over the conduct of the capitalist undertakings by revolutionary means, to conclude collective agreements with the capitalist employers. We Communists are of opinion that if the workers had been united instead of being disunited, as they are at present, they could long ago have overthrown capitalism on the basis of our programme just as the Russian workers did under the leadership of the Bolsheviks. So long as capitalism still exists we Communists are in favour of the conclusion of collective agreements with the capitalist employers on the part of all workers, irrespective of their party or other affiliations, and that the workers should fight to secure still more favourable agreements.

The Soviet Union does exactly the same. Capitalism is still in power over five-sixths of the earth's surface, and the Soviet Union is compelled to conclude agreements with the capitalist States so long as the workers have not yet overthrown capitalism.

We Communists are in favour of collective agreements between the workers and the employers, but we are the deadly enemies of **the policy of class collaboration** which is based on the wrong theory that the workers and the employers have a community of interests. We shall never consent to any such class collaboration. However, this will not prevent us recommending the workers to

utilise in their own interests the antagonism which exists between the various capitalists.

The Soviet Union carries on the same proletarian policy on the field of its foreign relations. It utilises the antagonisms between the various capitalist powers in its own interests, i.e., in the interests of the workers of the Soviet Union and in the interests of the workers of the world. An example of this policy is the fact that after the two most bellicose imperialist powers, Germany and Japan, had left the League of Nations, the Soviet government began to consider the possibility of the Soviet Union joining the League.

However, when it does this the Soviet Union is not pursuing the policy of the League of Nations any more than the workers are pursuing a policy of class collaboration when they conclude collective agreements with their employers. If the Soviet Union enters the League of Nations it will continue to pursue a Soviet policy just as the revolutionary workers in a factory where wages and working conditions are regulated by collective agreement continue to pursue the class struggle.

However, the social-democratic worker may ask: Good, but why do the Communists ask us to vote against the military budget in our country when the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as the German social democracy in Czechoslovakia points out, supports the expenditure of milliards of roubles for armaments? Why should not our members of Parliament also vote credits for armaments?

Our answer is: The Communist Party of the Soviet Union does not "support" the expenditure for armaments, but it determines what sums shall be expended for the purpose of defending the work of socialist construction which is proceeding in the Soviet Union, a work which is permanently threatened by one or the other group of imperialist powers according to the international constellation of the moment. The Communist Party determines these expenses in the name of the proletariat for the defence of the proletariat against those capitalist armies equipped with the credits voted by the social-democratic members of Parliament.

Even in the most democratic capitalist countries the Social-Democratic Parties vote in favour of armament expenses which have been previously determined by the bankers, the industrialists and the rich landowners.

The difference is obvious. It is just as obvious as the indissoluble community of interests which exists independently of any given foreign political constellation between the workers of the Soviet Union and the workers of the capitalist countries, and as obvious as the necessity for joint action against the bourgeoisie of all countries.

Whoever believes that the united front policy of the Communist Parties is dependent on "the given foreign political situation of the Soviet Union" should remember two historical facts:

In 1919 we Hungarian Communists made the great blunder of amalgamating our Party with the Social-Democratic Party as a whole, thus making our policy dependent on the agreement of the reformists. At that time the foreign political situation of the Soviet Union was just about as difficult as it could be. The Soviet Union was fighting for its life against foreign military intervention and against the counter-revolution at home which was supported by eighteen capitalist States. This foreign political situation, however, did not prevent the leaders of the Soviet Union from pointing out to the Hungarian Communists the dangers of their incorrect united front policy.

When the Anglo-Russian Committee, the joint committee of the British and Soviet trade unions, turned out no longer to represent the interests of the British, Soviet and International proletariat as a result of the treachery of the British "Left-wing" trade union leaders, but rather damaged those interests, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union did not hesitate for one moment to advocate the dissolution of this committee which for a time had been necessary in the interests of the proletariat.

The social-democratic workers must decide for themselves whether the Communist Parties which are fighting for the united front of the working class and for unity of action are pursuing a policy of principles or opportunism.

#### IV. "A UNITED FRONT WITH THE COMMUNISTS WOULD REPULSE THE MIDDLE CLASSES."

The socialist "Populaire" of July 17, publishes the draft resolution put forward by Frossard and his companions of the

Right-wing of the French social democracy against the acceptance of the united front proposals of the French Communist Party. The draft contains, inter alia, the following:—

"In order to work with them (the Communists of France, B.K.) the socialist organisations cannot break off their connections with the totality of the democratic elements which represent the overwhelming majority of the French people."

It is not possible to accuse citizen Frossard of any lack of logic. During his short stay as a visitor in the French Communist Party, on its extreme Right-wing he was just as much opposed to a united front with the Socialist Party as he is now opposed to a united front with the Communist Party as a member of the Right-wing of the Socialist Party and liaison officer to the "Neo-Socialists." It was the same Frossard who, when he was a member of the Communist Party of France, wrote against the leadership of the Communist International and against the instructions of the C.I. for the united front policy, the following:—

"The following applies to the whole international Communist front: The bridges between us and the Socialists are broken down and we have no intention of rebuilding them. Indeed, we shall not deceive the masses into believing that any reconstruction of these bridges is desirable by coming to any agreements with the socialists."

Frossard is still in favour of breaking down all bridges, but this time he is on the other side of the stream. We do not want to force our organisational principles onto the Social-Democratic Parties, but we must point out that we Communists do not permit such an attitude towards the united front to exist in our ranks.

However, never mind Frossard, let us get to the point: Does the united front of the working class, unity of action between the social-democratic and communist workers, repulse the democratic elements? By democratic elements we understand the urban lower middle classes, the petty-bourgeoisie, the poor and middle peasants, the clerical employees and the professional men.

Those social-democratic workers and officials whose mental outlook is not bounded by the frontiers of their own country should consider the successes of the social-democratic and communist policies in the ranks of the democratic elements on the basis of concrete examples, on the one hand in Russia, and on the other hand in Germany and Austria.

The revolutionary policy of the Russian proletariat, under the leadership of the Bolshevik party, succeeded in winning over to the working class, whose numerical strength was unusually small, millions and millions of poor and middle peasants, large sections of the clerical and other employees and a section of the intelligentsia in the struggle against the bourgeoisie and against the feudal aristocracy, in the struggle for the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Thanks to Bolshevik policy the overwhelming majority of the poor and middle peasants in the Soviet Union to-day are members of the collective farms and conscious co-operators in the building up of a socialist economic system. The urban petty-bourgeois in the Soviet Union have been freed from the exploitation of the banks and the cartels and organised into productive co-operatives with the assistance of State financial and other aid, and their sons have been raised to the highest social positions. With tremendous efforts the Bolsheviks have succeeded in winning large sections of the old intelligentsia for socialism. It would be absurd to say, what many social democrats used to say, that a comparatively small working class is using the means of terrorism against the overwhelming majority of the population in an effort to build up by violence a new socialist system of society. On the contrary, the successes won in the fight for the building up of socialism in the Soviet Union have been won largely because the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has pursued a correct policy towards the urban and rural petty-bourgeois masses. It was able to do this because the majority of the working class, indeed, the whole of the proletariat, was behind it.

Why was the relation of the urban and rural petty-bourgeoisie towards the working class in Germany and Austria different from that in Russia? Why did not the broad sections of the urban petty-bourgeoisie and the masses of the poor and middle peasants stand shoulder to shoulder with the proletariat when the struggle between capitalism and the working class developed, instead of taking the side of the fascists, finance capitalists and rich landowners?

The Social-Democratic Parties in Germany and Austria declared that the tactic of the Communists repulsed the urban and rural petty-bourgeoisie from joining the struggle on the side of the workers.

We Communists, on the other hand, have always declared that the petty-bourgeois policy pursued by the Social-Democratic Parties has made it impossible to draw the masses of the urban and rural petty-bourgeoisie over to the side of the proletariat. And we declare still that it was just the petty-bourgeois policy of the Social-Democratic Parties which was the chief reason that these sections were repulsed and driven over to the capitalist and fascist camp instead of coming over to the side of the proletariat as was the case in Russia where the proletarian policy of the bolsheviks against capitalism and against the landowners drew the masses of the petty-bourgeoisie into the struggle against capitalism.

What is the essential characteristic of petty-bourgeois policy? It is the vacillation between the working class and capitalism, between the struggle in the interests of the working masses against capitalism and the struggle to defend capitalist private property against the proletariat. The petty-bourgeoisie would like to avoid the class struggle altogether and reconcile the interests of capitalism and the proletariat. But such a reconciliation is impossible as has been clearly shown in Hitler Germany, where the fascists have "abolished the class struggle," but really intensified it tremendously.

In striving to bring about a reconciliation between the interests of capitalism and the interests of the proletariat, petty-bourgeois policy serves capitalism in reality for capitalism wishes to turn the attention of the workers away from the class struggle. That is the reactionary nature of petty-bourgeois policy.

What was the result of the petty-bourgeois policy of the social-democratic party in Germany? The social democracy in Germany did not grip the throats of the monopoly capitalists, the bankers, the manufacturers and the agrarian junkers, but it worked for peaceful co-operation between all classes of society in the Weimar Republic. By this very fact it placed itself on the side of capitalism against the working class, and this fact is the justification of the policy of Noske, Wels, Ebert and Zoergiebel. The German social democracy took part in bourgeois governments or it "tolerated" them. Who or what "tolerated" the German social-democratic party? It was the governments which transacted the business of large-scale capitalism and of the agrarian junkers and at the same time exploited the urban and rural petty-bourgeoisie. **The petty-bourgeois policy of the German social democracy towards the rich capitalists and the rich agrarians was not only co-operation with the enemies of the proletariat, but also with the enemies of the urban and rural petty-bourgeoisie.**

It is quite true that the Communists roundly abused the German social-democratic party for pursuing a petty-bourgeois policy against the interests of the workers and against the interests of the petty-bourgeoisie itself. The Communist Party proposed a proletarian policy against the common enemy of the workers and the petty-bourgeoisie, against the trust magnates and the agrarian junkers, and it steadfastly maintained this attitude. The Communist Party proposed joint action on the part of all the workers and all the middle-class elements against capitalism. The German working class was not split on the issue of whether it should go together with the middle classes against capitalism, but on the issue of whether it should work together with the bourgeoisie in the interests of capitalism, the deadly enemy of the workers and the middle classes. **The co-operation of the social democracy in Germany with capitalism not only split the working class, but drove the middle classes into the camp of fascism.**

The events in Austria show even more clearly the fatal effects of a petty-bourgeois policy for the relation of the proletariat with the urban and rural petty-bourgeoisie.

The Austrian social democracy decorated its policy with revolutionary phrases. Its leaders declared that they were "Left" and that the only reason why they did not adopt a Bolshevik policy was because such a policy would repulse the masses of the petty-bourgeoisie. They even announced that their own policy in Vienna would be instrumental in realising socialism. They boasted that, thanks to the taxation policy of the social-democratic municipal councillor Breitner, the costs of the building up of socialism would be placed on the shoulders of the capitalists without the trouble of expropriating the capitalist undertakings. And what happened in reality? Their brand of "democratic socialism" was unable to

destroy the sources of capitalist exploitation and of the unearned income of the capitalists. The much-praised progressive taxation, introduced by Breitner to finance the municipal policy of the social democrats in Vienna, did not touch a hair of Rothschild's head. And when Rothschild's bankrupt Creditanstalt was propped up at the expense of the small taxpayer, the "man in the street," the little publican and restaurant-keeper, the poor peasant and his slightly better off brother flooded over into the camp of the Heimwehr, into the camp of the "Fatherland Front."

The Austrian social democrats also declared that the municipal undertakings in Vienna were "a piece of socialism," but these undertakings did not compete with the big capitalists; on the contrary, through the banks and through the loans floated by the Vienna municipality, the big capitalists secured a considerable portion of the profits of these "socialist" undertakings. Those who suffered as a result of the competition of these municipal undertakings were the little fellows, the petty-bourgeois, who observed at the same time that these undertakings did not damage the profits of the big capitalist undertakings.

The agrarian policy of the Austrian social democracy was also a petty-bourgeois one and it carefully avoided injuring the interests of the rich peasants who were allied with the rich estate owners against the landworkers and the poor and middle peasants. In order not to "repulse" the rich peasants, the village bourgeoisie, the Austrian social democrats did not expropriate the rich landowners when they were in the government in favour of the poor and middle peasants. The taxation and credit policy of the Austrian social democrats also carefully spared the rich peasants and the rich estate owners.

This petty-bourgeois policy of the Austrian social democracy, which carefully avoided attacking large-scale capitalism and the rich agrarians, did not give the urban and rural petty-bourgeoisie what it wanted, and it could not give it because that would have been possible only at the cost of the capitalists and the rich landowners and after a victorious struggle against them. This policy of the Austrian social democracy drove large sections of the middle classes into the camp of the fascists.

On top of all this came the disruption of the working-class ranks in both Germany and Austria as a result of the class collaboration with the enemies of the proletariat and the middle classes. A working class, divided against itself, was not strong enough to demonstrate to the petty-bourgeoisie that it could fight for its interests only shoulder to shoulder with the workers against capitalism and the rich agrarians. That was the chief reason why the capitalists and the rich agrarians were able to utilise the anti-capitalist tendencies of the small traders, poor and middle peasants, clerical employees, etc., in the interests of capitalist private property and of the bourgeois State through the fascist parties.

The joint demonstrations which were held by social-democratic and Communist workers in France on February 6 have shown clearly that unity of action on the part of the two workers' parties does not enable fascism to win influence over the masses of the petty-bourgeoisie, but exactly the contrary.

A revolutionary proletarian policy, a revolutionary unity of action against capitalism by a united front of the working class paralyses the vacillations of the petty-bourgeoisie and wins over large sections of it to the working-class struggle. A petty-bourgeois policy, on the other hand, an attempt to reconcile the interests of capitalism and the working class, drives the petty-bourgeoisie into the camp of fascism.

#### V. "THE INTENTIONS OF THE COMMUNISTS ARE NOT HONEST."

The intentions of the Communists in putting forward their united front proposals are not honest. This argument is repeated again and again by the right-wing social democrats in France, by Vandervelde and his friends in Belgium, by Otto Bauer and the other social-democratic leaders in Prague.

This declaration they strive to support with two further statements:—

- (1) The Communist Party of France has expelled Doriot because he supported the united front with the socialists; and
- (2) The united front proposals of the Communist Parties have been "ordered by Moscow."

For these reasons, therefore, the social-democratic workers are asked to regard the Communist proposal for unity of action against the bourgeoisie with mistrust.

We Communists are very anxious that the relation between us

and the social-democratic workers should be one of mutual trust as between members of one and the same class. An example to prove that the intentions of the Communists in making their united front proposals are honest is the fact that the Communist Parties declare roundly that they have no intention of giving up one iota of their principles in any question whatever. We Communists declare openly that in striving unswervingly to secure unity of action on the part of the working class against capitalism we are not seeking to lay down any middle line between Communism and social democracy, between reformism and revolution, nor should we be prepared to accept any such middle line. However, we are of the opinion that unity of action on the part of the working class against the bourgeoisie, against the immediate dangers which threaten the workers on all sides and in support of the immediate demands of the workers is possible here and now. This joint struggle can be begun immediately without waiting for the social-democratic workers to accept our programme and our tactics as a whole.

We Communists have no intention of concealing the fact that the Communist Parties in the various countries are all sections of a world Party, the Communist International. However, it is absurd to say that the Communist International decides centrally all the questions which arise in the course of the work of its individual sections. On the other hand, it is obvious that the decisions taken by the individual sections of the Communist International in their daily activity are taken on the basis of the programme of the C.I., the decisions of its congresses, and the resolutions of the plenary sessions of its Executive Committee.

No one needs to be a detective to discover that the offers made by the individual sections of the C.I. to the social-democratic parties for the establishment of a working-class united front have been made upon the basis of the decisions of the C.I.

Every social-democratic worker is in a position to assure himself that on March 5, 1933, after Hitler's accession to power in Germany, the Executive Committee of the C.I. advised all sections of the C.I. to make unity proposals to the social-democratic parties in order to secure unity of action between Communist and social-democratic workers in the fight against fascism and against the offensive of capitalism. Here is the text of the official document containing the proposal:—

"In view of the attack of fascism upon the working class in Germany and the unleashing of all fascist forces, the Executive Committee of the Communist International calls upon all Communist Parties to make a further attempt to form a united front with the masses of the social-democratic workers through the mediation of the social-democratic parties. The E.C.C.I. makes this proposal in the firm conviction that a united front of the working class, on the basis of the class struggle, would be able to repulse the offensive of capitalism and fascism and greatly accelerate the inevitable end of capitalist exploitation.

"In view of the fact that owing to the peculiarity of the conditions in the various countries and owing to the variety of the concrete tasks facing the working class in the various countries an agreement between the social-democratic and Communist Parties for joint action against the bourgeoisie could best be made as from country to country, the E.C.C.I. recommends the Communist Parties in the various countries to approach the central committees of the social-democratic parties affiliated to the Labour and Socialist International with proposals for joint action against fascism and against the offensive of capitalism."

If we understand by "Moscow" the leadership of the Communist International and not the government of the Soviet Union, then "Moscow" has certainly taken the initiative.

How is it to be understood that Doriot was allegedly expelled from the Communist Party of France because he was in favour of a united front, but preferred to confide his wrongs to the correspondent of the bourgeois "Matin" rather than to "Moscow"? If Doriot had really been expelled from the French Communist Party for being in favour of the united front, surely he would have been received in Moscow with open arms? For, according to the social-democratic leaders, the leadership of the Communist International "ordered" the united front proposals.

Obviously there is something wrong here. The truth is that Doriot was not expelled from the French Communist Party for wanting the united front with the socialist party. What Doriot wanted was that the Communist Party of France should adopt a social-democratic policy, which is something quite different, and

that is the reason for the great sympathy being expressed by the socialist leaders with Doriot.

Doriot stole the plan of action of the French Communist Party for the establishment of unity of action and presented it as his own. On the basis of this plan he then accused the Communist Party of being opposed to unity of action at a time when socialist and Communist workers were fighting shoulder to shoulder on the streets of Paris and other towns against capitalism and fascism. Doriot wanted to disrupt the Communist Party, and that is the reason for the great sympathy being expressed with Doriot by the Trotskyists, who also want to disrupt the Communist Party.

Doriot violated the revolutionary discipline of the Communist Party. He acted against the decisions of the overwhelming majority of the members of the Party. He opposed his own district to the whole Communist Party. He appealed to the bourgeois press and to the socialist leaders instead of to his own Party conference where he could have submitted his views to the judgment of the representatives of the whole Party. He attempted to split the revolutionary Party of the French proletariat, and that is the reason for the sympathy expressed with Doriot by the whole bourgeois press, which hates the revolution like poison and which declares that Doriot has courageously taken the path of Briand, Millerand and Viviani, the ex-socialists who transacted the business of the French bourgeoisie as Prime Ministers.

The Communist Party is not a compulsory association of persons, it is based on the voluntary undertaking of its members to pursue a revolutionary class policy on the basis of the programme of the Communist International and to subordinate themselves to the revolutionary discipline of the Party and to the decisions taken by the majority of the Party members.

It has never occurred to us Communists to demand from the social democrats as a condition for the establishment of the united front that they should first accept our principles, our Party discipline and the decisions of the majority of the members of our Party. However, we do demand this very energetically from the members of our own Party, particularly when they are prominent members occupy responsible positions in the Communist Movement.

Far from showing that the Communists are dishonest in their intentions, the expulsion of Doriot shows that the Communists are deadly serious in all they say and write, irrespective of whether it refers to internal Party matters or to agreements between the Communist Party and other parties.

#### Lead for Anti-fascist Unity in Great Britain.

A strong lead towards co-ordinating the anti-fascist activities of London working-class bodies has been issued by a committee of well-known persons elected at a London Conference. The committee consists, among others, of Professor H. Levy, Lord Marley, John Strachey, Leah Manning, Harry Pollitt, etc.

The special purpose of the lead issued is to co-ordinate arrangements or the anti-fascist demonstration that is to be held in London on September 9, the day fixed by Mosley for his Hyde Park demonstration. It points out that inevitably, with anti-fascist feeling at the pitch it is now, large numbers of workers will go to Hyde Park on that day to show their hatred of the Blackshirts.

The statement, after pointing to the necessity of such spontaneous anti-fascist activity being organised and co-ordinated, goes on to show how organised working-class resistance at Olympia had served to stimulate the anti-fascist movement throughout the country, and continues:—

"We believe that Hyde Park can, and must, be filled by the London working class. In order to do this it is imperatively necessary that all working class organisations should concert their plans for organising an unparalleled working class demonstration in Hyde Park. Accordingly we are sending this letter to all such organisations."

After calling for a conference of such organisations to plan the demonstration, the statement continues:—

"We are aware, however, that the organisation of processions, demonstrations, etc., will not prove sufficient in the struggle against fascism. Hence we strongly press for consideration by the London trade union movement the question of more practical action against fascism, such as one-day strikes on the day of fascist demonstrations, etc.

Already a large number of working class organisations in the London area have announced their decision to participate officially in what it is aimed to make the greatest demonstration yet seen in Britain against fascism.

## Resolution of the C.C. of the C.P. of Great Britain on the Present Situation and the Fight for the United Front Against Fascism and War

The Central Committee of the Communist Party, having reviewed the present situation, declares that the most important immediate task confronting the working class in Britain to-day is the realisation of the widest mass united front against fascism and war.

### INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

The situation, both in Britain and internationally, raises these issues in the sharpest form.

Never since August, 1914, has the imminent danger of a new world war been so acute. Every day and every hour events are hurrying us nearer to war. Europe in very truth has become a powder magazine liable to explode at any moment.

At the same time in the Far East, the Japanese Government intensifies its provocative acts against the Soviet Union in its efforts to organise a war against the Workers' Fatherland.

All the hopes and expectations of the capitalists and of the labour leaders of a gradual peaceful "recovery" from the crisis, based on the limited upward economic movement 1933-4 and return to "stabilisation," are being proved false. On the contrary, the desperate measures adopted by monopolist capital to overcome the crisis, by shifting the burdens on to the workers, colonial peoples and weaker capitalist groups—the measures of tariff wars, currency war, veiled inflation, subsidies, governmental intervention and regulation, artificial restriction to force up prices, etc.—only increase the total disorganisation of world capitalism, intensify the struggle between the classes in each country, and the struggle of the imperialist states amongst themselves.

In consequence, the phase of "depression" which normally follows the lowest point of an economic crisis is to-day enormously complicated by the continuing general crisis, and results in a unique situation, not comparable to the process of previous economic crises in "normal" capitalism.

The analysis adopted by the Thirteenth Plenum of the Communist International, last December, which described the present situation as one of the "still further disintegration of capitalist economy," and consequent "accelerated maturing of a revolutionary crisis," leading to the expectation of "a turn at any moment which will signify the transformation of the economic crisis into a revolutionary crisis," has been overwhelmingly justified by the events of the half-year succeeding the Plenum.

The seven months since the Plenum have seen the armed struggle in Austria, the mass conflicts of the February days and after in France, the open fighting in Amsterdam, the rising revolutionary crisis leading to the June 30 events in Germany, revealing the growing instability of the Nazi regime, the assassination of Dollfuss, and the internal crisis in Austria, and the rising strike movement and open fighting in the United States.

Further, they have seen the open breakdown of the so-called "disarmament" negotiations, the rapid advance of military alliances and counter-alliances, and the full launching of a feverish armaments race of all the imperialist Powers.

The International situation following on the attempted Nazi coup in Austria, directly inspired by the desperate Nazi regime in Germany, and arousing the strongest antagonism of Fascist Italy, has laid bare the tensivity of all present imperialist antagonisms, sharpened and increased by Fascism, and revealed to all how narrow is the margin between the present situation and world war.

Therefore, more than ever, the working class needs to be prepared for the "turn at any moment which will signify the transformation of the economic crisis into a revolutionary crisis."

### SITUATION OF BRITISH CAPITALISM

The boasts of "recovery" by the British capitalist class and propagandists of the National Government are in fact a barefaced attempt to conceal the real situation confronting the hungry and harassed masses in Britain, and to stave off discontent by illusory hopes of a return to prosperity.

It needs to be burned into the minds of the whole working class, that the merciless slashing of wages, speed up in the factories, cutting down of unemployment benefits, social services, and brutal imposition of the Means Test, involving a terrific lowering of working-class standards of living, have been the chief means

through which the National Government has attempted to defeat its trade rivals.

The "trade recovery" about which it boasts has been gained on the stomachs of the workers, and the increased death-rate of working-class mothers and children.

By a series of aggressive measures against the workers, against the subject colonies, and against their trade rivals, they have succeeded in cutting down the unfavourable balance of trade (mainly through diminution of imports), extorting a budget surplus, increasing production and employment in certain branches of industry and raising the total of profits.

On the other hand, unemployment remains over two millions; foreign trade, indispensable to any recovery of British capitalism, remains heavily depressed and with no sign of improvement. Despite the Ottawa Agreements, the total of exports to Empire countries remains only a fraction of what it was prior to 1929. No solution has been found for the so-called "derelict areas" or for the basic coal and textile industries. The desperate measures adopted to win temporary gains—sterling depreciation, tariffs, subsidies and trade war—bring no stability, but only increase enormously the world disorganisation for relatively minute gains, and are of necessity temporary in their effects.

It becomes increasingly recognised by the leaders of the capitalist class that the alleged "recovery" can only be extremely limited and unstable, that it is doubtful whether it can even reach the level of 1929, which was already heavily below the level of 1913, and that it represents at best an attempted adaptation to conditions of chronic depression.

The necessity for the revolutionary socialist solution of the crisis by the working-class conquest of power, which can alone basically reorganise British industry and agriculture, giving the working class the means of securing bread, work and peace, stands out ever more sharply, the more the results of the policy of the National Government are examined.

### THE POLICY OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

In this situation the policy of the National Government becomes more and more openly based, not on a perspective of stabilisation and successful conquest of the economic crisis, but on a perspective of rapidly increasing imperialist antagonisms and sharpening class struggle at home.

In the field of foreign policy, the break with America over the debts, the military conversations with France for an eventual alliance of war, the support of German rearmaments, and the encouragement of Japanese aggression in the Far East against the Soviet Union, are now followed by the open advance to the full armaments race, as shown in increased armaments expenditure, new enlarged naval demands for the Naval Conference next year, and the new air-building programme for 42 additional squadrons.

Not only in Britain but in the Empire the National Government's war preparations directed against the Soviet Union are going forward, as for example the rapid mechanisation of the Indian Army, the development of the air bases in Iraq, the survey of the Soviet frontiers under the guise of scientific expeditions.

In internal policy the increasing drive towards preparatory measures of a fascist type against the workers is seen in the **Unemployment Act and Police Act** already carried, in the **Sedition Bill**, in the new legislation under preparation for the police control of meetings, in the numerous prosecutions of militants, as well as in the direct assistance and protection given in practice to the open fascist movement of Mosley.

At the same time the National Government presses forward its economic policy of tightening of the grip of monopolist capital under direct State leadership in all branches of economy, by promoting the formation of State-aided cartels and price-fixing combines, by subsidies to industry, and by quota systems and artificial price-raising in agriculture for the benefit of the landlords and big farmers. All these policies are directed to increase the domination and profits of the ruling bourgeoisie at the expense of the workers and petty bourgeoisie. These economic policies are at the same time closely linked with the advance to fascism and the strategic preparations for war.

### THE WAR DANGER

The urgency of the war danger is now visible to all. The growing boom in the war industries, the continual rise in the price of armaments shares, the new plans for a bigger Air Force and Navy, the speeches of Cabinet Ministers emphasising the necessity for extending the armed forces, are all unmistakable signs of the

direction of policy. No less unmistakable are the similar signs from all the imperialist countries and the ever more active secret diplomacy and spinning of alliances.

The only obstacles which still hold back the imperialists from immediately plunging into war as the solution of the crisis are: the extreme uncertainty and fluctuation of existing imperialist alliances and combinations; the fear of the working-class revolution and rising mass opposition to war and the peace policy of the Soviet Union.

The peace policy of the Soviet Union, in close alliance with the growing opposition to war of the masses of the population in all the imperialist countries, has proved itself one of the major factors in hindering and delaying the advance to imperialist war. The Soviet Union, by its disarmament proposals and non-aggression pacts, has succeeded to win the support and sympathy of wide strata of the population in all imperialist countries, including in the border countries which imperialism desires to use for the attack on the Soviet Union. Further, the success of the recent diplomacy of the Soviet Union, in utilising the contradictions among the Imperialist Powers to break up the war designs and attempted common war front against the Soviet Union, in utilising the question of Soviet membership of the League of Nations as an instrument further to hinder the war designs and promote its peace policy, and in putting forward the project of an Eastern Pact of mutual guarantee against aggression, has served to lay bare the open war designs of those Powers unwilling to accept the Soviet peace policy, to throw embarrassment and confusion into the war designs of all the imperialist Powers, and to increase the possibilities for the mass of the population in all the imperialist countries to develop their pressure and action against war.

On the other hand, the growing intensity of the contradictions arising from the crisis, the desperate problems of the internal situation in Germany, Japan and Central Europe, the sharpening conflict between Britain and the United States of America, lends to the possibility of the sudden outbreak of large scale war at any moment, and at any point of the world situation.

At this moment of close war danger, the leaders of the **Labour Party** and of the **Trades Union Congress** have come forward with a **new programme**, which is nothing other than a programme of open preparation of imperialist war. This programme explicitly repudiates the previous unanimously adopted decisions to resist all imperialist war with the whole force of the Labour Movement, including by general strike action, and calls instead for support of war by British imperialism, if it is carried out against an "aggressor" country in accordance with the rulings of the imperialist diplomatic machinery of the League of Nations. This line is the line of open Jingoism already before the outbreak of war, and has received the universal applause of the bourgeois press.

Against this line of betrayal, and for its defeat, the entire force of the working-class movement must be mobilised, and the strongest opposition fight must be conducted at the forthcoming Weymouth Trades Union Congress and Southport Labour Party Conference.

The building up of a powerful mass **revolutionary anti-war movement** is the only way to defeat the war-plans of imperialism. But this task is linked up with the fight against fascism and the building up of a mass united front against the closely interlocked menace of fascism and war.

#### THE MENACE OF FASCISM IN BRITAIN

Since the events at Olympia the whole working-class movement, as well as wide strata of the petty bourgeoisie, have awakened to the menace of fascism in Britain, of which in the initial stages only the Communist Party gave warning.

There is still, however, widespread confusion on the issue of fascism in Britain. On the one hand there is a tendency to see the issue of fascism as only the issue of Mosley and the Blackshirts, and not to see the main weight of the fascist offensive which is being directly conducted by the National Government.

On the other hand, there is the tendency to emphasise solely the fascist offensive of the National Government, and to treat the Blackshirt Movement as a politically negligible factor. Both tendencies are incorrect. Finance-capital at present backs the National Government as its main weapon for fascisation, like Bruening in Germany; but at the same time gives Mosley lavish support, and utilises his gangs as a subsidiary weapon, which will be rapidly brought to the front, in proportion, as the National Government proves insufficient and if the workers' upward move-

ment continues. The **National Government offensive** and the **Mosley offensive** supplement each other; the Blackshirts can only operate under the protection of the police, but at the same time can be used, and subsequently disavowed, where it would be inconvenient to use the police. It is essential to make clear to the workers this twofold character of the fascist offensive, at once through the official State machine and through the open fascist forces, the effective division of labour and interplay of both. The understanding of this necessarily destroys the "democratic" illusion, the illusion of the possibility of legal bourgeois-democratic opposition to fascism.

There is, further, still confusion in many quarters on the role of **social-fascism**. It is not yet sufficiently understood that the reformist Labour leaders, who verbally denounce fascism, do not merely fail to organise any opposition to fascism, but in practice directly assist the advance of fascism. Not only that, but the whole present positive policy of reformism in practice prepares the way for fascism. The policy of alliance with monopolist capital, the support of new forms of State capitalist organisation (exemplified in the London Passenger Transport Board, proposed Cotton Control Board, etc.) as representing an "advance towards socialism," when in fact these represent the intensified dictatorship of monopolist capital and mass dismissals and worsened conditions for the workers, in ever closer linking up of the Labour Party with official imperialist war policy and the ever closer tying up of the trade unions with the State machine, all help to prepare, ideologically and organisationally, the way for the fascist State, which aims at the suppression of all independent working-class organisations.

At the same time the Labour leaders disrupt the workers' ranks by opposing the united front, by calling for "freedom" for Mosley and opposing counter-demonstrations against him, by co-operating with the National Government in preparing police measures against the workers, by co-operating with monopolist capital in new forms of capitalist organisations at the expense of the workers, by strike breaking and opposing strikes even in principle (Lansbury), by violating trade union democracy, by concentrating their offensive against all militants and Communists, etc. All these are essential elements of the fascist offensive.

Finally, there is still confusion as to the methods of the fight against fascism. It is not yet widely enough realised that the line of passivity, of trust in legal defences, of trust in the capitalist State as preached by the Labour leaders and as was preached by German social democracy, is fatal and can only lead to the victory of fascism; and that only active mass opposition can defeat fascism, already in the early stages, before it is strong. But it is no less important for it to be understood that this **active mass anti-fascist movement** must be a political movement, not merely a specialised defence force, but a political mass movement and campaign, exposing the claims of the fascists, enlightening opinion as to their true character, at the same time as resisting and defeating their violence.

The immediate demands and slogans of the fight against fascism at the present stage must be: Dissolution of the Blackshirt army! No toleration for Blackshirt hooligan gangs! No extended police powers over meetings and demonstrations! Withdraw the Seditious Bill!

#### THE QUESTION OF A THIRD LABOUR GOVERNMENT

The increase of Labour votes at recent by-elections shows that considerable sections of the workers who voted for the National Government in 1931 are now returning to support of the Labour Party. This movement is not yet of a sweeping character; it has not yet reached the level of 1929; existing indications point to a balance of forces rather than a clear Labour majority as the most probable result of a general election in the next eighteen months, although new events may change this situation.

The reformist Labour Party and trade union leaders are endeavouring to divert the whole rising movement of the workers into the channels of voting for the Labour Party and looking for the hypothetical return of a Labour parliamentary majority and third Labour government as the solution of all problems. Fantastic hopes and promises of rapid advances to socialism are being built up around this perspective by the Left Labourists, in particular by the leaders of the Socialist League.

The Communist Party warns the workers that this illusion of solving all problems through voting Labour at the next general election and through a third Labour government is the most

dangerous illusion confronting the British working class to-day, and the strongest weapon of capitalism against the workers. Despite its working-class membership and support, the official Labour Party is to-day, by its whole policy, programme and leadership, the second party of the capitalists. A future Labour government, whether with or without a Labour majority, will only govern for capitalism against the workers. Henderson and Clynes are no different in essentials from MacDonald and Thomas. A third Labour government will only repeat in new forms the deadly experiences of the first and second on a still more disastrous scale. The illusory hopes raised on this perspective only serve to divert attention from the real struggle against capitalism to-day.

The recent programme statement of the Labour Party, issued under the deceitful title "For Socialism and Peace," lays bare that the programme and policy of capitalism, "Peace, Freedom and Justice," "Equality of Opportunity," "Standards of life and Employment," "A planned National Economy," "Social Provision," "Adjustment of Taxation"—these are the threadbare catchwords of Liberalism which are put forward as "Labour's Aims," to replace the class struggle of the workers for the ending of capitalist class rule, the taking over of the means of production by the workers and building up of socialism.

Just as the vague and hypocritical promises of the previous programme "Labour and the Nation" preceded the capitalist practice of the second Labour government of MacDonald, so the closely similar vague and hypocritical promises of the present programme "For Socialism and Peace" are calculated to precede the capitalist practice of a third Labour government.

There could be no greater danger confronting the working class than to listen to the pleas to "give Labour another chance," etc. The fatal line of trusting to German social democracy, pursued by the majority of the German workers despite the repeated betrayals, led straight to the victory of fascism in Germany; the same happened in Austria; the workers learnt the error of this path too late, and have now to struggle under heavy and difficult conditions. The same process now threatens in Britain. Already disillusionment, consequent on the second Labour Government, led to the disastrous swing to the National Government at the 1931 elections—the warning signal of the approach of fascism. The far greater disillusionment which would follow on the experience of a third Labour Government would give rise to the most critical danger of a far more widespread swing to open fascism. Against this menace the only safeguard is the present strengthening beforehand of the Communist Party and of the militant mass opposition, the exposure of the social fascist programme of the Labour Party, and the development of the united front of active struggle against capitalism.

#### THE WORKERS' RISING RESISTANCE

The success of the Olympia counter-demonstration, the enforced withdrawal of the charges against Pollitt and Mann, the enforced abandonment of the Blackshirt White City demonstration, the postponement and even hesitation of the Government over the Sedition Bill, all bear witness to the rising wave of resistance of the working class against the offensive of fascism and the National Government. This rising wave of resistance has been directly led by the Communist Party.

Of particular importance at the present time is the rising wave of struggle in the economic field. The rising militancy and outbreak of strikes in all directions bear witness to the development of a new temper, advancing towards the offensive in the working class. The recent Trade Union Conferences, notably of the railwaymen, of the engineers and of the miners, have revealed the same picture. Two million organised workers of all industries are now demanding wage increases. Of particular importance in this developing movement is the fight of the railwaymen, expressed in the emphatic decisions of the conferences of all three railwaymen's unions to press forward their wage demands, and leading to the perspective of a strike on the railways in the coming period, and the parallel movement of the engineers. These are the key points of the developing fight on which all militant forces must be concentrated.

But all this advance is being conducted in a fully sectional and sporadic fashion, without common leadership or strategy, without any attempt at leadership by the reformist trade union machine and its General Council.

Unity of forces and a common strategy is essential for victory. This can only be achieved along the path of the **United Front**, and through the activity of the militant trade unionists of the

rank and file trade union movements. The development of the **rank and file trade union movements** in every industry is now more than ever important.

This situation makes it absolutely imperative that the Communist Party devotes the greatest possible attention to the effective preparation for economic struggles by careful agitation in the factories, by choosing the correct time for the launching of the struggle, by mobilising all possible working class support for the strikers.

In connection with those industries where wage demands have been presented to the employers, the workers must be won for the policy of insisting that a time limit must be given to the employers to concede the demands of the workers, failing which strike action will be taken.

At the same time the militants must raise with the workers the necessity of demanding that the trade unions now asking for wage increases, be prepared to take action at the same time, thus bringing the maximum pressure on the employers and the Government.

In this question of preparing for economic struggles, both in the organised and unorganised industries, special attention should be given to inducing the local trades councils to turn to the factories and to play a greater role in the preparation of successful economic struggles.

The strike struggles must be co-ordinated with a powerful movement of the unemployed this winter, aiming at:

1. Forcing the local authorities to undertake a definite and comprehensive plan of work, schemes of social utility at trade union rates and
2. The granting of increased winter relief to all unemployed, and
3. The mobilisation of all employed and unemployed workers against Government's slave labour camps.

#### THE BURNING NEED OF THE UNITED FRONT

The real struggle against capitalism to-day, both in the economic and in the political field, against the offensive of fascism and war, requires, not passive hopes in future electoral victories, but the mass united front of all the workers for present struggle.

This is the central question confronting the British working class to-day.

The example of France has shown that the overwhelming pressure of all militant workers, social democratic and Communist alike, for the united front can overcome and destroy the resistance of the social democratic leadership and compel the formation of an all-in united front of action. The example of the French working class is a model to the workers of the world.

The British working class must repeat the glorious example of the French working class. This is the way to fight fascism. This is the way to fight war. Now that German and Austrian social democracy have passed out of the picture as effective parties, and the German and Austrian social democratic workers are fighting in a united front with the Communist workers, now that the French Socialist Party has been compelled to enter into a united front with the French Communist Party, the British Labour Party remains as the only leading party of the old Second International which still maintains the old reactionary policy and prevents the united front of the working class. The resistance of the reformist Labour leadership must be and can be overcome by the pressure of the entire working class. The united front must be achieved in Britain. The entire future of the British working-class struggle hangs on this.

The new appeal of the Communist Party to the Labour Party and to the Trades Union Congress, and to all working-class organisations for the united front against fascism and war, initiates the most important campaign of the present period. All forces must be thrown into this campaign, into tireless all-pervading agitation for this demand, especially to bring mass pressure to bear on the coming annual conferences of the Trade Union Congress and Labour Party, which must be led to victory by the universal pressure of the working class.

The seriousness of the Communist appeal for the united front, the readiness to make every possible concession for the sake of its achievement, the urgency of its need as involving the whole future existence of the working-class movement, the lessons of Germany and Austria, must be made clear to every worker. The achievement of the united front in Britain will open a new era in the international situation and in the international working-class movement.

### THE ANTI-FASCIST FRONT

The critical character of the present situation, the offensive of fascism and war, requires the formation of an all-embracing mass front of opposition to fascism and war. The aim of the united front campaign must be, not merely the holding of joint demonstrations and agitation, but the building of a **mighty all-embracing mass organisation** capable of fighting the offensive of fascism and war. This mass front against fascism and war must embrace, not only the working-class organisations as the central core, but all unorganised workers, and all elements of the petty bourgeoisie, employees, small traders, technicians, professionals, intellectuals, students and even bourgeois liberal elements that are prepared to enter into the common fight against fascism and war under the leadership of the working-class.

The present political situation, the widespread indignation and anger of all strata against the menace of fascism, following the events at Olympia and June 30, as well as the widespread alarm at the menace of a new war, offers the present moment as the urgent most favourable moment for the formation of such a wide all-embracing mass front. The existing wave of feeling must not be allowed to ebb away, but must be utilised to lead to lasting organisation.

The most favourable form for such organisation at the present moment, taking into consideration existing popular feeling, is a wide **anti-fascist front**. The demand for this is now widespread on all sides. The anti-fascist front should be built up at a wide all-embracing **anti-fascist congress**, uniting the political working-class parties, the trade unions, the co-operatives, the unemployed organisations, the working-class youth organisations, the working-class women's organisations, progressive women's organisations, students' organisations, professional groupings, Jewish anti-Hitler groupings, previously existing anti-fascist and anti-war organisations, progressive anti-fascist organisations, etc. The core of the anti-fascist front should be built up in the localities, in the factories and in the streets.

The task of the anti-fascist front should be to unite and lead the mass struggle against fascism and war, in unity with the already existing **International Committee against Fascism and War**, and to develop all appropriate forms of organisation for this struggle.

### THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The Communist Party, by its correct warning and leadership on the issues of fascism and war from the outset, and by its active leadership and organisation of the mass struggle at Olympia and elsewhere, as well as in the rising strike movement, has raised its prestige and political influence in the working class, increasing numbers of whom are coming to recognise the correctness of its line. But the growth of its organisation, membership, press and strength in the trade unions does not yet correspond to the growth of its political influence, still less to the rapid advance of the objective situation. In consequence the methods of work of the Party, its agitation and propaganda, the ability to combine the everyday struggle with basic revolutionary leadership and building of the Party, the winning of wider numbers of workers to the Party, and of organised influence in all working-class organisations, the building up of organisation and of new cadres, all require to be enormously improved, sharpened, revolutionised, in order that the Party shall be adequate to its task.

The first task of the Party is to throw all its forces into the united front campaign. Through the united front campaign the Party should reach ever-wider numbers of workers, extend its revolutionary leadership and build up its organised strength.

**Second**, the Party should develop its leadership in the rising economic struggles, intensify its work in the reformist trade unions, overcome the twin evils of passivity and neglect in the trade union sphere or of a narrow non-political sectionalist approach to trade union work, learn to combine work in the trade union and economic sphere with revolutionary political leadership and continuous building up of the strength of the Party.

**Third**, the Communist Party should give special attention to the winning of the leftward moving workers, both within the Independent Labour Party and in the Labour Party, as also among the opposition elements in the Socialist League, Labour College Movement, etc. The Guild of Youth has now adopted the line of sympathetic affiliation to the Young Communist International, the winning of the Independent Labour Party also to the line of sympathetic affiliation to the Communist International is of

the greatest importance for the advance of Communism in Britain.

**Fourth**, the Communist Party should concentrate attention on rapidly building up its membership under the present favourable conditions; for this purpose agitation and propaganda must be improved; the popular fighting political character of the **Daily Worker** must be strengthened; fuller use must be made of all available literature and of the organs of the Party press; the work of winning and training new members must be continually combined with every form of everyday work. Instead of being relegated to an occasional recruiting appeal far more attention than in the past must be given to the new members. The most careful assistance, training and encouragement of initiative and responsibility, drawing into active work and comradeship without overloading, so as to build up stable and growing forces of the Party and continually draw new cadres into active leadership.

**Fifth**, the entire work of the Party is directed towards development of revolutionary leadership and mass organisation in preparation for the decisive revolutionary issues which we know to be in front. For this reason all the work of the Party, both great and small, must be imbued with this understanding and perspective, with awakening the workers to the necessity of the revolutionary path as the sole solution of the crisis, the **path of the working-class revolution and Soviet power**. The united front, which is the necessary next stage in the advance of the working-class struggle in Britain, is itself only a stage to the further mass advance to the overthrow of capitalism in Britain. To this developing battle, leading to the final victory of Socialism, the Communist Party calls the working class.

## The Setting Up of the United Front of the Working Masses Against the Hitler Dictatorship

(Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany. Adopted on August 1, 1934.)

The recent economic and political development in Germany, especially the events of June 30, indicate a rapid weakening of the fascist regime, an accelerated growth of the antagonisms in the camp of the bourgeoisie, an increase in the discontent and resistance not only of the workers, but also of the peasants and the petty bourgeois masses, and therewith the narrowing of the mass basis of the fascist dictatorship, which is an expression of the greatly altered objective situation and signals the maturing of the prerequisites for the revolutionary crisis in Germany.

The increasing acuteness in the domestic and foreign-political situation, the threatening opening inflation, the tremendous worsening of the standard of living of the working masses, the adventurous, provocative policy of finance capital and its Hitler government, which, as July 25 in Austria shows, can bring war overnight, confront the Communist Party of Germany with the task of organising broad mass actions against the Hitler dictatorship and its anti-working-class laws and measures, with the strategic aim of overthrowing the Hitler dictatorship and setting up the Soviet Power as the only way out of the misery and oppression of the masses.

The Communist Party of Germany, through the heroic work of its cadres under the Hitler dictatorship with its monstrous terror, has achieved increasing successes in mobilising the toiling masses and strengthening their will to fight. (Confidential councils' election, plebiscite on November 12 last year, and actions in various factories.) Hitler was thereby not only prevented from fulfilling the orders given to him by financial capital to smash the Communist Party and suppress this resistance of the working class to the carrying out of the offensive against wages, but the C.P. of Germany has thereby also helped to bring about the crisis of the Hitler dictatorship.

The events of June 30 are an expression of the crisis of the Hitler party and the Hitler dictatorship. They have also shown, however, that the work hitherto performed by the C.P.G. among the working masses is not yet sufficient in order, in such favourable situations, to call forth broad mass actions against the Hitler dictatorship. It is particularly hindered in this by the split in the ranks of the working class. One of the most important lessons of June 30, therefore, is that the Communist Party must set up as soon as possible the fighting united front of the working class, develop a bold initiative of the leadership and especially of the lower units in order to launch these fights, and concentrate the forces of the Party on the strategically most important industrial

districts. The Party must concentrate its whole forces on strengthening the Party, on developing its cadres and rallying the revolutionary forces of the proletariat and all toilers against the fascist dictatorship, in order thereby to create the prerequisites for the success of the C.P.G. in the approaching decisive class struggles in Germany.

In order to be able to fulfil this task, the sharpest self-criticism of the mistakes and shortcomings of Party work is urgently necessary. In spite of the correct general line of its policy, the Party leadership has not yet sufficiently emphasised the change in the objective situation brought about by the recent economic and political development and the desire of the working class, which is becoming increasingly evident, for unity, and not energetically adapted its tactics and the whole work of the Party to making every attempt to set up the united front with the social-democratic workers and the rest of the toiling masses for the fight against fascism as *the* enemy of the working class, against the Hitler dictatorship and its anti-working-class measures, before all against the fascist Labour Law, and to evoke broad resistance actions. The Party has not sufficiently demonstrated its organising and leading role in the preparation of actions of resistance, with the result that practically only agitational work was performed and the main weight was not placed on organising resistance actions. This led to a great loss of tempo in the development of the revolutionary forces in face of the offensive of finance capital and the development of the crisis of the Hitler dictatorship.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party therefore resolves:—

(1) It will immediately adopt all measures in the Party for the creation of a broad united front of the working masses for the fight against the carrying out of the fascist Labour Law of January 20, 1934, with its monstrous wage reductions and worsening of working conditions in the factories, and against the Goering Plan, as well as against the fascist terror. Unity of action of the Communist and social-democratic workers and the oppositional elements among the S.A., the Hitler Youth and the members of the N.S.B.O., the "Labour Front" and "Strength Through Joy" must be realised by developing the resistance in the factories, the strike struggles, by street demonstrations and other forms of struggle. At the same time the disappointment of the Brown Shirts with fascism must be boldly made use of and they must be helped to find their way into the ranks of the anti-fascist front. Special importance is to be attached at the same time to winning the toiling youth in the incorporated Youth organisations.

(2) The will to unity of the workers, which is becoming increasingly evident, finds expression also in the factories, in the efforts of the workers to create trade union unity and to restore the free trade unions as organs of the class struggle against fascism and against the offensive of the employers. The Party must not only support these efforts with the utmost energy, but also seize the initiative and remove the obstacles in their ranks which stand in the way of the setting up of trade union unity. At the same time regard must be had to the special conditions in the factories, and the organising of actions of resistance against the wages offensive must be placed in the foreground. Trade union unity must be set up in the fight for the realisation of demands put forward jointly by the workers.

(3) For this purpose negotiations must be immediately commenced with the existing social-democratic groups in order, together with them, to put forward fighting demands and to conclude definite agreements on the leadership of the fight (formation of fighting committees, etc.). At the same time the Party must aim at uniting these groups with the C.P.G. on the basis of the Programme of the Communist International and the tactics of the C.P.G. The Party must undertake a bold recruitment among former members of the social-democratic party and the best part of its cadres of functionaries in order to induce them to join the C.P.G. At the same time brotherly, comradely relations must be created with the former social-democratic party and trade union members, and the members who have come over to the Party must be given the greatest possibility of actively participating in the Party work and taking over Party functions.

(4) In order to render the Party capable of fulfilling these revolutionary tasks with success in the shortest time, there must be carried out a broad inner-Party campaign for the immediate reorganisation of the whole work of the Party and the mass organisations connected with it, Bolshevik education for our revolutionary tactics in the united front, for the recognition of the

leading role of the Party and the tasks of its leading bodies, for the organising of resistance actions, for the strengthening of the Party and a bold drawing of new cadres into the higher responsible functions. Cells, capable of work, must be created at all costs in the factories, and which, like the street cells, must be closely connected with the masses. The district, sub-district and local group committees must maintain the closest contact with the lower units of the Party and under all circumstances fulfil their task in organising and leading mass actions. The whole of the Party press must, in its contents and its language, be thoroughly adapted to dealing with topical events and the political attitude to them and to organising the struggle. A very energetic fight must be waged against sectarianism in the Party, arising from its isolation from the social-democratic workers and lack of understanding of the revolutionary tasks of the Party. The same applies to the fight against opportunism, as expressed in reliance on the spontaneity of the masses, on the collapse of fascism as a result of its inner contradictions, and in ignoring the united front tactics and underestimating work in the fascist organisations.

(5) The Party can successfully carry out these chief tasks only if it at the same time adopts the following important measures:—

(a) Immediate carrying out of the directives already issued by the Party leadership for securing the leadership of the struggle of the toiling Youth and the political leadership and support of the work of the Young Communist League by the whole Party, in order to bring about a decisive turn to real mass work among the toiling Youth, to set up Youth organisations and Youth Committees everywhere, to maintain the closest connections with them and to organise active fighting measures among the unemployed Youth and the Youth in the factories against the so-called Labour Law with its exclusion of the Youth from the factories and their compulsory transportation to the rural districts as land helpers. The whole Party must energetically support the Y.C.L. of Germany in negotiations which should be immediately commenced with the social-democratic Youth groups, for the establishment of the fighting unity of the toiling Youth against fascism and the danger of imperialist war, and the winning of the social-democratic Youth groups and members of the Youth and their merging with the Y.C.L. of Germany. All Party bodies are pledged to report to the C.C. of the C.P.G. within a month on the measures adopted by them for supporting the Youth work. The Central Committee, in support of this work, will issue an appeal to the toiling Youth and an Open Letter to the social-democratic Youth on the creation of fighting unity.

(b) Immediate resumption of Party work in the peasant districts in order to organise the fight of the masses of peasants and land workers against the fascist regime. Creation of firm organisational points of support for this work. Issue of special literature for peasants and land workers. Setting up of land workers' trade unions and fighting committees.

(c) A systematic activity, organising the opposition, must be taken up in the fascist mass organisations, especially in the N.S.B.O., the "Labour Front," "Strength Through Joy" and in the Hitler Youth, and the initiative must be seized in order to draw members of these organisations into the political and trade union united front. The C.C. will issue special agitation material in support of this work.

(d) The inclusion of the working women in the united front and in the actions of resistance to the Hitler dictatorship, the fascist terror and the adventurous and provocative war policy of finance capital and of the Hitler government is to be achieved under all circumstances by a campaign to be undertaken immediately among the working women in the factories and the rest of the toiling women.

In support of this work the C.C. will again issue a women's newspaper, and care must be taken that it is thoroughly distributed by the lower units of the Party.

(e) The Party has a very important task in organising the resistance actions of the petty bourgeois middle strata, which feel themselves particularly deceived by the Hitler government and are filled with great discontent. The closest contacts with these strata must be established by all units of the Party, concrete fighting slogans set up together with them and fighting committees formed. The C.C. will support this work by issuing a pamphlet and a leaflet.

(f) The campaign for the release of Comrade Thaelmann, which has assumed a broad, international character, must be con-

ducted by our Party and mass organisations in the rural districts, in the factories and the working-class districts more energetically and more systematically than hitherto. This campaign is an important part of the united front action with the social-democratic and non-party workers. The holding of the trial of Comrade Thaelmann which is being prepared must lead to broad actions of a demonstrative character in the factories and in the working-class districts. The acquittal of Comrade Thaelmann is to be demanded by resolutions and the sending of delegations.

The C.C. of the Communist Party of Germany further pledge the Party and mass organisations to make preparations for open demonstrations of large masses against the continued execution of revolutionary workers. Under no circumstances must the workers continue to permit these executions without opposing them by means of broad mass actions. It is the task of the Party to prepare these actions in good time, already at the commencement of the trials. Also the campaign against the continued murder and torture of imprisoned anti-fascists and the fight for their release must not be confined to agitation, but must be increased to open fighting actions.

(g) In face of the fascist terror it is urgently necessary for all Party units immediately to adopt measures for organising a mass self-defence force in the factories and working-class districts together with social-democratic and non-party workers, also drawing in oppositional members of the S.A. It is further necessary to form a united defence organisation, to unite the Red Front Fighters' League with the former members of the Reichsbanner.

(h) The fight against the danger of imperialist war, which can let loose war overnight by the adventurous and provocative policy of the Hitler government, must form the central point of the whole work of the Party, especially in the united fighting front which is to be created now. The nationalist and chauvinist moods fostered by fascism must be opposed by insistence on proletarian internationalism, before all in the war industries and among the working Youth. In this connection the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union, its disarmament proposals and its policy of agreements for securing peace, the victories of its work of socialist construction in industry and agriculture, must be explained to the masses in a concrete popular manner. For this purpose the Central Committee will issue a pamphlet and a leaflet.

(i) The fight against the demagogic and terrorist attempts of the Hitler government to include the Saar district in its hangman's realm is a task not only of the population of the Saar district, but of the whole of the German working masses. The united front action successfully initiated by the Communist Party of the Saar district with the social-democratic and christian workers in connection with the vote on January 13, 1935, for the maintenance of the status quo, that is, against the inclusion of the Saar district in Hitler's hangman's realm, must be carried out by the whole Party also in the rural districts, and thereby to prepare thoroughly for the defeat of Hitler in the Saar.

(k) The task of the forthcoming Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, to set up the international united front and the unity of all toilers for the fight against fascism and for Socialism must fill the consciousness of every worker. This task of the Congress must be put by our comrades to the workers in all factories and mass organisations, and resolutions of approval must be adopted. Wherever it is possible social-democratic groups must be induced to send delegates to the Congress, where they will be given the right to participate in the proceedings with advisory votes, in order thereby to help to set up the united front against fascism.

(l) In the carrying out of the tasks set the Party a great hindrance becomes apparent in the inadequate political training of our Party members in questions of the theory of Marxism-Leninism, in revolutionary strategy and tactics. Measures must be immediately adopted by the Party organisations for the holding of small and larger Party schools. In support of this work the C.C. will issue appropriate training material and hold a national Party school.

(m) The mass organisations connected with the Party must discuss the necessary measures for the setting up of the united front and carry these out in closest contact with the Party in their special sphere of work. Before all the main work and the basis of the organisations must be transferred to the factories. It is the duty of the Communists in these mass organisations to create

guarantees for real mass work and thereby help to bring about the united fighting front of all toilers.

The C.C. of the Communist Party of Germany imposes on all Party members and all Party organisations the duty to proceed immediately to the realisation of all the set tasks with Bolshevik boldness, thereby to act in the spirit and in accordance with the Programme of the Communist International and in the sense of our imprisoned leader Comrade Ernst Thaelmann, and thereby secure the success of the Communist Party in the approaching decisive class battles against fascism.

## United Front Offer of the C.P. of Holland to the S.P. of Holland

The C.P. of Holland made an offer to the Central Committee, the local groups, and members of the Social Democratic Labour Party to carry out joint actions on August 1 against fascism and the threats of imperialist war. In its offer the Communist Party calls attention to the reduction of unemployment benefit and the abolition of the democratic rights of the working class, as to be seen, for instance, in the closing of the premises and the printing works of the daily Communist newspaper "De Tribune." An offer of united action has also been sent to the N.V.V. (Dutch Federation of Trade Unions). No reply has been received from the central committee of the N.V.V. The leaders of the social democratic party replied as follows:

"In reply to your letter I wish to inform you that the central committee of the social democratic party calls attention to the decision of the Executive of the L.S.I., adopted at its meeting in March, 1933, in Zurich. As you are already aware, according to this decision, negotiations for a united front can be carried out only between the L.S.I. and the Communist International, and that the affiliated organisations of the L.S.I. must refrain from taking part in any negotiations. The fact that the French Socialist Party—to whose co-operation with the Communists you refer—has not submitted to this decision is no reason why the social democratic party of Holland should act against this Zurich decision so long as it remains in force. Apart from other objections on principle which we have to your proposal, we are not prepared to allow the social democratic party of Holland to take part in the demonstrations against war which you are holding on August 1."

An offer of united action has also been sent to the central committee, the local groups and members of the O.S.P. (Left Social Democratic Party). In this offer reference is made to the growing unity of action, as expressed in the common struggles in Amsterdam and other towns in Holland, against the cutting down of unemployment benefit and against police terror. Members of the O.S.P. have fought together with other workers, and in this situation some leaders of the O.S.P., as De Kadt, turned against the workers and declared that Communism is the greatest enemy. The rank and file of the O.S.P. were called upon to fight against these saboteurs of unity of action in their own ranks and to demonstrate together with the Communists on August 1.

The secretary of the O.S.P., De Kadt, rejected the proposal made by the Communist Party. The political attitude of this secretary, however, has led to great indignation and confusion in the O.S.P. Nevertheless, some local groups of the O.S.P. held joint meetings with the Communist Party of Holland on August 1.

In Amsterdam, however, the O.S.P. has up to now rejected united action, though there is very great indignation among the rank and file on account of the anti-working class policy of Kadt.

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### Successful Step towards United Action among Working Youth

Prague, August 6.

A conference held by the youth groups of the trade unions in Prague, attended by 9 social-democratic, 3 Czech socialist, and 9 trade unionist representatives of working youth, issued an appeal for joint action. This appeal has aroused wide echoes in the works and factories of Prague. In five Prague factories delegates to the Congress of Prague Young Workers were elected against the will of the reformist bureaucrats. Two reformist trade unions have also declared their readiness to take part in this Congress. The campaign is being carried on with increasing energy.

# Fight Against Imperialist War and Fascism

## World Congress of Women Against War and Fascism

By P. P. (Paris).

Paris, August 6.

The International Women's Congress is an historical event. Never before have the spokesmen of millions of women, all inspired by a fighting spirit against war, fascism, reaction, misery and want, gathered together for such united work and adopted such important decisions. From this congress a powerful movement will emanate, which will draw the women into an invincible united front of all toilers who are fighting for peace, freedom and bread, and tear down the barriers which still separate the toiling men and women in many countries.

The picture presented by the congress is overwhelming. All the nations and races are represented: there is a great variety of language, costumes and social positions, but unity of thought, unity of will, unity in preparedness to fight against the common enemy, imperialism and capitalism, which continually gives birth to war and fascism.

It is a congress which embraces the whole globe, a congress which in fact symbolises the unity of the toiling women of various tendencies. Nearly 1,200 delegates are present, 650 coming from France. In addition 262 guests are present.

Thirty-nine delegates have arrived from the United States, seven from Latin-America, two from Canada, one from Australia (representing not only the Anti-War League, but also 150,000 railwaymen), six from Indonesia. England is represented by 70 delegates, Holland by 46, Belgium 28, Spain 12, Switzerland by 28. Twelve delegates have arrived from the Scandinavian countries, 47 from the Saar district, three from Greece, 25 from Czechoslovakia, 16 from Rumania, six from Hungary, 20 from Poland, 53 from Italy, four from Yugoslavia. Lithuania and Cuba are represented by one delegate each. The Soviet Union has sent a delegation of 10 women, among them being a heroine of the Cheljuskin Expedition, a non-party meteorologist; this delegation is headed by Comrade Helena Stassova, the revolutionary champion of the international proletariat. Fifteen delegates have arrived from fascist Germany, five from fascist Austria.

The social composition of the delegation is very remarkable. Of the French delegates 208 are working women, 169 are housewives, 61 employees, 58 governesses, 22 members of free professions, 41 civil servants, 16 social workers, 16 small shopkeepers, seven women students, seven unemployed and four peasant women. In other delegations the peasant element is better represented, as, for instance, in the American delegation. The leader of the American delegation, Mother Bloor, is one of the foremost champions of the American farmers' movement.

As regards the political composition of the congress, the Communist delegates are only a small minority. In addition socialist, pacifist, christian and liberal women are present. The number of organisations represented at the congress is exceedingly great, which shows that the campaign for the winning of women for the fight against war and fascism has made great headway.

The fruitful discussion, in which the experiences of the women of all countries were exchanged and the lessons drawn for the future work, turned on the two main reports: that of Gabrielle Duchene, which gave a very remarkable survey of the situation of the toiling women in the countries of fascism and in those with so-called democratic governments and in the colonies; and the report of Helene Stassova, which gave a grandiose picture of the emancipation of women in Soviet Union and the unswerving peace policy of the Soviet Union. This report was the climax of the congress, for just at the time it was delivered it became known to the delegates that Japan is aiming at provoking a war against the Soviet Union by an insolent "warning." The representatives of the delegations of Great Britain, France, Germany and the U.S.A. mounted the platform amidst the stormy applause of the congress and pledged themselves to fight with all their might for the defence of the State of the workers and peasants.

Henri Barbusse, who addressed the congress on behalf of the World Committee Against War and Fascism, received an enthusiastic ovation.

Paris, August 4, 1934.

The International Women's Congress against Fascism and War was opened at 11 o'clock in the morning by a speech of Mrs.

Haden-Guest (Great Britain), a member of the World Initiative Committee, which organised the congress. The speaker pointed out that a number of prominent women's representatives, including Charlotte Despard, Gabrielle Duchene, Helene Stassova, Sun Tsin-lin and Helene Dimitrova, had called the congress. Their appeal had met with a loud echo in all parts of the world. Thanks to intense organising work delegates had come to the congress from the United States, from Australia and from numerous other countries, including the countries of fascist terror. A delegation had also arrived from the Soviet Union under the leadership of Helene Stassova. (Applause.) We welcome the representatives of the heroic women of the Soviet Union. The freedom and equality which they enjoy did not fall into their laps like an over-ripe fruit, but was fought for and won. (Applause.) Over our congress there is the threatening shadow of world imperialist war. Armed intervention against the Soviet Union is being prepared in Germany and in Japan. All over the world, with the exception of the Soviet Union, the sums which should be applied to relieving the needs of our children, of the sick and of the aged, are being used for war preparations. The coming war will be more fearful than the last. The difference between the front line and the rear would no longer exist, and neither women nor children would be spared. It is therefore the task of the women of all countries to mobilise their fellows in a struggle against war. (Applause.)

Cattaneo (France), a member of the World Initiative Committee, then proposed the election of the Presidium of the congress, and the following pioneers in the international women's movement against fascism and war and for the emancipation of the working class were then elected as honorary members of the Presidium:

Franziska Kessel (a murdered woman member of the German Reichstag), Clara Zetkin, Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht, Jean Jaurès, Dimitrova (the mother of Dimitrov), Ada Wright (the mother of one of the Scottsboro boys and a pioneer in the fight to secure their release), Paula Wallisch (the imprisoned widow of the hanged Austrian social democratic deputy), Gertrude Rugg (who is still imprisoned in China), the imprisoned widow of the anti-fascist fighter Steinfurth, and the imprisoned wife of the anti-fascist fighter Beimler, Camilla Doverra (a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Italy), Ernst Thaelmann, Hertha Stuermer (a member of the International Women's Secretariat of the Communist International), Kaethe Kollwitz, Karin Michaelis, Dimitrov, Langevin (the French scientist), Romain Rolland and Henri Barbusse.

In the afternoon session of the congress a telegram of greeting was read from Georg Dimitrov and his mother, and was welcomed with tremendous applause.

Madame Gabrielle Duchene (France) then took the floor and addressed the congress on the situation of woman on the twentieth anniversary of the outbreak of the first imperialist world war. She pointed out that the movement for women's freedom which had developed rapidly at the opening of the century had lost momentum with the establishment of fascist governments in a number of countries and the development of a fascist movement in others.

In Hitler Germany women were threatened with the loss of the elementary right to work, and in many cases it had already been taken away from them. In cases where the authorities were of the opinion that the income of their family was sufficient to keep them, also women workers were being dismissed. Young girls were being sent to labour camps. Whole staffs of women workers had been dismissed in Germany without the show even of legal right. The German women were not only losing their jobs but also their claims on the social insurance scheme.

In Italy women were not permitted to study at any of the State schools. Every woman who still worked was compelled to become a member of a patriotic association.

In Belgium a draft bill was about to be introduced greatly limiting the right of women to employment.

In France heavy attacks were being made on married women who still went to work. Married women teachers whose husbands are in employment are to be dismissed.

With the lying and idyllic slogan "Back to the Home!" fascism was striving to force women back into primitive slavery. In Germany an intensive campaign for raising the birthrate was being conducted. Fascism preferred a few unemployed workers more rather than a few soldiers less. The so-called "race difference" was accepted by the courts as reason enough to grant a divorce.

However, in view of the development of fascism and the terrible evils it brought with it on all fields of life, the ranks of its opponents were growing in strength. (Applause.) To-day the women in all capitalist countries had come to the point where they were drawing conclusions from their situation. They were becoming aware that they could not be emancipated and that war could not be prevented under the existing regime. Even unorganised women were now realising the danger which was threatening them. They were beginning to realise that they must fight against the causes and not only against the effects, and that the causes were the privileges of a small clique of profit-mongers in all countries with the exception of the Soviet Union. The women of all countries must unite in a struggle against war and fascism. (Protracted applause.)

A discussion then followed in which Luise Leveaux (Belgium), Ella Reeve Bloor (United States), the Christian Social working woman Salmon (France), and the Spanish woman delegate Pasionara took part.

On the second day of the congress the chairman, Madame Duchêne, read a number of telegrams of greeting, including one from Maxim Gorki, and the leader of the Soviet women's delegation, Helene Stassova, then took the floor and was received with bursts of applause. She addressed the congress on:

#### THE EMANCIPATION OF THE SOVIET WOMEN AND THE PEACE POLICY OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT

Friends and Comrades!

I bring the warmest greetings of the Soviet delegation to your congress. Our delegation is composed of women of various professions and of various shades of opinion. Your splendid fighting spirit fills us with joy because it has brought you here from all parts of the world to organise a powerful protest against fascism and to make imperialist war impossible.

How many women are employed at the moment in the industries of the Soviet Union? The figure is 7,066,900, that is 33.7 per cent. of the total number of workers engaged. In order to show you both the increase in numbers and the increase in percentage I shall quote you the corresponding figures for 1929, which were 2,394,500, representing 24.6 per cent. of the total number of workers engaged. However, the percentage is not the same in all branches of industry. In the electric power stations the percentage is 14.2, whilst in the chemical industry it is 39.3, and in the textile industry as high as 65.7. There can be no question of any unemployment in the Soviet Union; on the contrary, there is a shortage of labour power. We are not only training our youth to take their place in the work of socialist construction, but also those women who are still working in the home.

There is no difference in the wages paid to men and women in the Soviet Union for the same type of work. Both with regard to men and women workers the wages paid depend upon the individual results. For the same type of work men and women are paid equally whether they are working in industry or on the land, in offices or at schools. No sort of differentiation is made in organising shock groups to take part in socialist competition. Very often such shock groups demand that a woman be elected as leader of the group, because they know that the women not only do their utmost to reach the aim which has been set, but that at the same time they pay special attention to the whole living conditions of the group. They see to it that the food is good and plenty, and that it is served under hygienic conditions, that the dining-room is as tastefully decorated as possible with fresh flowers, etc., that it is well-lighted, etc. They also assure themselves that the housing conditions of all the members of the group are good, and that they have sufficient opportunity for personal cleanliness, for washing their clothes, etc.

No less than 70 per cent. of all the women employed in the national economic organisation of the Soviet Union take part in the shock groups and in socialist competition. In the rural districts there are no less than 28,000 women who are leaders of shock groups.

However, goodwill alone is not sufficient to make a woman a leader of a shock troop, or even a simple member of such a group. She must have also the necessary capacity for the job. At the end of the ordinary nine class elementary school the leaving pupil has certainly not the necessary capacity, or at least no more than the necessary basis for the development of such capacity. Therefore, the young people of both sexes are given the possibility of extending their knowledge by studying at special schools for apprentices, on the job, in the factories, in the technical and high schools and at the universities.

To have some idea of the number of women workers who are studying to-day one has only to compare the figures for 1928 with the figures for last year. You will see that there has been a considerable increase on all fields. Here are the figures:

	1928 Per cent.	1933 Per cent.
Special schools for apprentices in the factories	27.6	29.6
Technical schools	37.6	41.7
Universities and technical high schools	28.1	33.3

Naturally, the women could not go to work unless they had the possibility of leaving their children in crèches and Kindergartens. The number of such facilities is rising from year to year, not only in the towns but also in the rural districts on the collective farms. In 1933 the crèches and Kindergarten looked after the children of over twelve million working-class and peasant women, as compared with a little over six millions the previous year.

In 1928 there were 2,215 such institutions and in 1933 there were 11,185. In Tsarist Russia there were none at all except a few private ventures.

These institutions require qualified teachers. In 1933 there were about 200,000 qualified teachers at work in these institutions. In the Soviet Union there are 14 scientific institutions which concern themselves exclusively with questions of mother and child welfare. The work of these institutions is known far beyond the frontiers of the Soviet Union, and particularly the work of the Leningrad Institute.

However, it is not only the welfare work for the children which gives the women the possibility of working independently (the institutions caring for children are open twenty-four hours a day, as we were able to confirm, for instance, in Yarzeve, in the East). Everything possible is also being done to take the cares of housework off the shoulders of the working women by the organisation of collective kitchens. In 1931 these kitchens prepared fifteen million meals, which were eaten either on the spot or taken home. Collective laundries have also been set up. In recent years also special workshops have been set up in the big towns for repairing and keeping clothing in good condition.

In this way the working woman has the necessary leisure to go to the theatre and to interest herself in literature and music. One meets large numbers of women in all the clubs in the towns and attached to the factories, who are also members of dramatic, music, singing and sports groups.

#### The Education of Women

To gather some idea of the position of women's education in the Soviet Union to-day it is necessary only to compare it with Tsarist Russia. In Tsarist Russia 777 out of every thousand of the population were illiterates. This proportion was still higher amongst the women and 870 out of every thousand women were illiterates. In 1920 there were still 680 illiterates to every thousand of the population. In 1932 the figure had dropped to 100 of every thousand. Nineteen hundred and thirty-four will see the end of illiteracy in the Soviet Union both for men and women. (Cheers.)

The women of the Soviet Union are not content to become merely literate. They desire to take part in scientific work. This is shown by the number of women in the scientific institutes of the Soviet Union; 5.8 per cent. of the leaders of scientific institutions in the Soviet Union are women, and 30.6 of all the scientific employees. As you already know, two women meteorologists took part in the famous Cheljuskin expedition. One of them is a member of our delegation to your congress. (Applause.)

The Soviet government bears in mind the demand of Lenin that a state of affairs must be reached in which every cook can take over the administration of the country. We may say that the Soviet Union is well on the way to achieve this aim, for the

woman has her place on all stages of the Soviet system and in all departments of political and social life.

**Sixty thousand women are members of the Soviets** and many of them are members of the executive committees of the Soviets. 43 per cent. of these women are members of the executive committees of the various Soviet Republics of the Union, members of the Councils of People's Commissars and even members of the leading body of the Soviet Union, the Central Executive Committee. (Great applause.) Excellent examples of the positions occupied by women in the Soviet Union are offered by Comrade Yakovleva, one of the financial commissars of the Soviet Union, and Comrade Nikoleieva and Ulianova, who are members of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union.

Apart from these female members of the Soviets there are numerous women at work in the various Soviet departments, for instance, as health inspectors, education inspectors, social insurance inspectors, etc.

The many women who work honorarily as socialists must also not be forgotten. They work in the various administrations of the Soviets apart from their ordinary work and without pay to learn the art of government in order to take control of the State. (Applause.)

There is no field of activity in the Soviet Union in which women cannot be found working. Here are a few figures:—

Court commissariates and similar organisations	..	9.1 per cent.
Statistical offices, finance offices and state banks	...	14.4 per cent.
Industry	...	9.2 per cent.
Transport	..	4.4 per cent.
Postal Services	..	10.1 per cent.
Agriculture	..	8.8 per cent.
Labour Unions	..	18.7 per cent.

In the Soviet Union **housewives** are not backward. They take their part in the work of various social organisations, in the management of housing co-operatives, in the control commissions in the various foodstuff co-operatives, in the savings bank commissions which aim at increasing the circulation of money, in the school councils, etc. (Applause.)

In order to carry out all these duties our women must be healthy and have the possibility of bearing healthy children. To this end we have in the Soviet Union an institution for the **protection of mother and child**. This institution also looks after expectant mothers and sees to it that the laws of the Soviet Union applying to such cases are respected, that is to say, that the expectant mother receives eight weeks paid holiday prior to her confinement and eight weeks paid holiday afterwards (or, in the case of non-manual labour, six weeks prior to and six weeks after confinement). During this holiday the women receive their full wages.

The medical advice stations must also not be forgotten. Here the mothers receive instruction in the care of their children and the children are regularly medically examined. Mothers must take their children to be examined every fourteen days.

Mothers receive support from the social insurance, from the pregnancy and confinement funds, and food supplies as well as assistance in purchasing the necessary children's clothing. In 1934 the Soviet government will expend 231 million roubles for its social-insurance benefits.

#### The Health of Women in the Soviet Union.

In 1929 the sum of 151,500,000 roubles was expended in the Soviet Union for sending women away to sanatoria and rest homes. In 1932 the corresponding figure was 338,200,000 roubles.

I must mention the problem of **artificial abortion**. According to the law of November 18, 1920, any pregnant woman who for some reason or the other does not wish to have a child has the right to go to any public hospital and procure an artificial abortion without any expense to herself. This law has saved the lives of countless women because an abortion procured with the best medical attention is incomparably less dangerous than the secret abortions procured by "wise women," etc.

According to the statistics at our disposal about fifty per cent. of those women who procured abortions prior to the passing of this law became very seriously ill and four per cent. of them died. **Although this law has now been in full operation since 1920 the birth rate in the Soviet Union is rising and the population increases by three per cent. every year.**

The measures taken by the Soviet government to protect the health of the children resulted in a great drop in the infant

mortality figures. The infant mortality figures, which were 25 per thousand for Moscow and 27 per thousand for St. Petersburg in 1913, had fallen by 1929 to 12.7 per thousand for Moscow and 13.7 per thousand for Leningrad.

One must not forget that in all the oriental districts of the Soviet Union the policy adopted by the Soviet government towards women means nothing short of a re-birth for them. In all parts of our great country the Soviet government has brought emancipation to the women and in the oriental districts it rescued the women from slavery. The Soviet laws have abolished the traditional right of the man in the oriental countries to purchase a woman to be not only his wife but also his labour slave without any human rights. The establishment of textile factories in these districts has given the women economic independence. One of the most popular songs amongst the women in Soviet-Turkestan is one in praise of the factory which has freed her from the yoke of marital slavery.

#### The Women in the Collective Farms.

The collective farms have played a tremendous role in the emancipation of women in the Soviet Union and they are still playing a great role. In February, 1931, a congress of women working in the shock groups on the collective farms took place in Moscow. This congress was a striking proof of the tremendous progress brought about by the collective tilling of the soil. Thanks to her part in the common work the peasant woman is able to develop rapidly, she learns to manage the work and to fight against all who would like to bring back the old system, and particularly the kulaks. From the composition of the congress one might have thought that the most backward women had now taken their place in the van. Thanks to her part in the common work of the collective farm the woman has won the consciousness of her equality with the man. Particularly in Central Asia and Transcaucasia, amongst the Tartars and the Bashkirians the women can see what the Soviet regime has brought them and we have seen striking examples of the heroism of these women in the struggle of the Soviet Union for independence on the cotton field. The woman has thrown off the veil which robbed her of light and freedom and when she abandoned it, she abandoned also the old prejudices which declared that she was an inferior being to the man. In the Soviet Union the woman is now the equal of the man and she understands that collectivism has brought her freedom.

The women of the Soviet Union are being educated in the **idea of internationalism**, for the Soviet Union harbours over a hundred different nationalities within its borders and all these nationalities enjoy the same rights. In the Soviet Union there is even a Negro Soviet which enjoys exactly the same rights as the Russian, Ukrainian, Tartar, Mongolian, Georgian, Carelian and other Soviets. (Applause.) Because the women of the Soviet Union are educated in this spirit they are always ready to extend their hand to all persecuted anti-fascists, for the Soviet Union is the only country in the world which grants the full right of asylum to all anti-fascist and to all colonial and semi-colonial fugitives. (Great applause.)

As you have seen, there is not a single field of social life and construction in the Soviet Union on which the women are not doing their part. Women even serve in the Red Army, for physical training from early youth on gives them the possibility of undertaking the most arduous duties. Women take their part equally with men in the hazardous training of air pilots, etc., and they perform parachute jumps from great heights exactly as the men do. (Applause.)

#### The Peace Policy of the Soviet Union.

The whole work of social construction in the Soviet Union can be carried on thanks to the unswerving policy of peace pursued by the Soviet government. Remember the number of times on which the diplomatic representatives of the Soviet Union abroad have been murdered: our comrade Vorovski, who was murdered by Conradi in Geneva, and our comrade Voikov who was murdered by Koverda in Warsaw. Remember the raids made on the Arcos premises in London and on the Embassy buildings in Peking. There is no doubt that these actions were provocations as the conflict on the Chinese Eastern Railway is a Japanese provocation. However, the Soviet Union has never permitted itself to be provoked; it has never fallen into the trap. Thanks to its tact and its own peaceful policy it has succeeded in avoiding all military conflicts. (Protracted applause.)

Our People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, **Comrade Litvinov** (applause), has succeeded in winning general respect for Soviet diplomacy thanks to his tireless work and his merciless logic. He secured a hearing for the Soviet Union both in the League of Nations and in the disarmament commission. We can book it as a great success that the disarmament conference accepted Litvinov's definition of an aggressor. (Applause.)

The same political line has permitted the Soviet Union to conclude a number of pacts of non-aggression with its neighbours, for instance, with Poland, the Baltic States and with Turkey. These pacts of non-aggression undoubtedly hamper the movements of those who would like to precipitate war. I shall mention here only Germany and Japan, both countries whose prominent statesmen have declared quite openly that they want the natural resources and the wide territories of the Soviet Union and that they are preparing to take them with armed force. The regional pacts may also play a considerable role in preventing war.

Thanks to the policy of peace pursued by the government of our country we have been able to continue our work of socialist construction up to the moment. Thanks to this great work we have demonstrated to the world that the Soviet Union is a powerful force which cannot be overlooked when international affairs are being discussed. (Great applause.) The result has been the diplomatic recognition of the Soviet Union by great powers like the United States, and the improvement of our relations with a number of other countries including Great Britain and France.

We Soviet Russian women thoroughly understand the policy of our government and of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. We know that they give us the possibility of developing all our physical and mental powers and that it was thanks to their policy of peace that the industrialisation of our country could reach such a high level. And all this has taken place in so short a space of time that the building of the numerous factories, works, bridges and other constructional undertakings seems almost fantastic. We are well aware that it was this tremendous development of industry and agriculture in the Soviet Union which gave us women the possibility of participating in production. The organisation of the collective farms gave the peasant women tremendous possibilities of development to free themselves from the economic and family yoke. The development of production brings new changes in our lives every day and gives us the possibility to educate ourselves, to broaden our outlook and to take part in scientific work.

Everything that I have said will convince you that we Soviet Russian women will do our utmost to further the development of our country, and this further development is only possible if peace is maintained. For this reason we support our government and our Communist Party, which we shall defend against all attackers with all the powers at our command. (Great applause.)

We are convinced that the ideas which have brought you all here are our ideas and that your will to fight against fascism and the danger of war is our will. We have already won our freedom and we wish you all success in winning freedom for the women all over the world. We know that fascism and war block all possibilities of winning freedom. Therefore we stand side by side with you in the struggle and appeal to those who have not yet come to join us quickly.

The tasks which are facing us are tremendous, but we feel that our emancipation has released all our forces and we appeal to you: Advance to new victories in the struggle for the emancipation of women! Close your ranks in the struggle against fascism and war! (Great applause.) Long live the world congress of women against fascism and war! (Storms of protracted applause which develops into the singing of revolutionary songs.)

After the speech of Helene Stassova, the American delegation, led by the white-haired Mother Bloor, handed over a beautiful flag with Finnish and English text in gold lettering to the congress in the name of the Finnish groups in the United States.

In the name of the working women of Great Britain, **Marjory Pollitt** then referred to the war threats made by Japanese imperialism against the Soviet Union. She was followed by **Rentmeister** (Germany), and **Burnett** (United States).

On the third day of the congress **Henri Barbusse** took the floor amidst cheering. He spoke in the name of the World Committee against Fascism and War, and appealed to the congress to see to it that the permanent committee which it would elect would work in close co-operation with his own committee. He directed a

special appeal to the pacifist, Christian and social-democratic women to line up in the fighting front against fascism and war, which must both be abolished if the present system of society was ever to be altered fundamentally.

**Barbusse** was followed by **Mrs. Betley** on behalf of the British feminists. She stressed the great importance of the women's organisations in the fight against fascism and war, and declared that the struggle against Hitler must serve to give an impetus to the struggle against fascism in all other countries.

The closing session of the World Congress was marked by the speeches of the Soviet delegates, who were welcomed with great enthusiasm by the congress. Storms of applause were called forth by the speech of **Comrade Komova**, who told in simple language the heroic odyssey of the Cheljuskin expedition, which she had accompanied as meteorologist, as well as by the speech of the delegate of the Bashkir Soviet Republic, who spoke of the emancipation of the oppressed women of her country by the October Revolution, and, finally, by the speech of **Comrade Mendeleva**, professor of philosophy at the Leningrad University, who described the tremendous possibilities opened up for the toiling women in the Soviet Union in the intellectual spheres.

After numerous declarations by the delegates, all of whom demonstrated their readiness to defend the Soviet Union, the country of the emancipated women, a **Manifesto** was unanimously adopted. Among the tasks enumerated in this Manifesto is the fight for united action and support of the peace policy of the Soviet Union against imperialist provocations.

A further resolution adopted by the congress contains all the immediate demands of the toiling women in the political and economic spheres. This resolution was likewise unanimously adopted with three abstentions.

The close of the congress was marked by scenes of tremendous enthusiasm on the part of the delegates. The latter, who are now returning to their places of work in town and country, will devote themselves to the practical application of the congress decisions: to carry on, shoulder to shoulder with the toilers of all tendencies, the fight against fascism and imperialist war.

#### Great International Sport Demonstration at Persching Stadium, Paris, August 12.

The International Sport Meet reached its culmination on the second day in a magnificent demonstration in the Persching Stadium. There were more than 20,000 spectators, in spite of the unfavourable weather. At 3 o'clock the march past of the sportsmen of all countries commenced. A colourful procession passed through the forest of Vincennes surrounding the Stadium. The sportsmen in their gay costumes marched into the Stadium, singing militant songs, interrupted by storms of applause, especially when the Soviet teams marched past.

The procession was headed by sportsmen from the two French organisations, bearing a banner: "We weld sport unity." They were followed by the Soviet Union sportsmen, then by the Norwegian. Next came the Austrians, enthusiastically welcomed, among them a group of Young Socialists who had taken part in the rally of the Socialist Youth International in Liege. Next followed the United States, Canada, Great Britain, Czechoslovakia.

When the German sportsmen marched past they were greeted with a storm of applause and a mighty speaking chorus of "Release Thaelmann!"

Extremely large delegations came from the Saar and Alsace Lorraine, and from Switzerland. Most of the Dutch sportsmen had been prevented from passing through Belgium. Next followed Spain, and then a large number of French sport troops, grouped by districts or sports. An Indo-Chinese delegation received an especially warm welcome.

**Henri Barbusse**, enthusiastically welcomed, spoke on behalf of the World Committee against War and Fascism. **Jean Painleve**, son of the Premier, spoke in the name of the organisation committee of the Sport Meet. **Guillevic**, the secretary of the reformist sportsmen and president of the Socialist Sport International, declared amidst the loud applause of the audience that in face of this magnificent demonstration he could not but affirm the organic unity of the worker sportsmen. He undertook to submit a corresponding motion to the next Congress of the Socialist Sport International, to take place in October.

**Mension**, in a brief concluding speech, emphasised the firm determination of the sportsmen to fight against militarism and fascism.

# The White Terror

## New Methods of Intensified Political Oppression in Czechoslovakia

By K. R. (Prague)

The general aggravation of class antagonisms in Czechoslovakia, and the general fascisation in the land of "authoritarian democracy," are accompanied by sharpened methods of political oppression, by increasing brutality in the treatment of political prisoners. In order to break down the resistance of the workers, of the whole of the toiling masses, against the intensified exploitation and oppression, in order to crush the struggle of the working masses against war and fascism, the police of the Czech bourgeoisie are applying methods which can be compared only with the fascist methods of torture and murder common in the Balkan countries, and used by Hitler and Austro-fascism.

In the Graslitz district, for instance, towns have recently been subjected to sudden raids, the streets cordoned off, and every motor-car and cyclist searched. Similar raids took place during the last few days in Ostrau and Königätz.

The new methods being applied by the police against class fighters are evidenced, for instance, in the case of a workman named *Kadlec*, arrested on the charge of espionage. He was dragged before an examining magistrate, but for some unexplained reason he fell down the stairs of the police station. Another case is that of a young workman named *Bukviar*, who was so frightfully maltreated by the police for taking part in the May 1 demonstrations in Prague that he lost consciousness, and was carried in an ambulance to the hospital department of the Pankrac prison. When visited, *Bukviar* complained of severe headache, weakened hearing, defective sight. There were contusions on his feet, head, and forehead. Another example is the workman *Sedlacek*, an epileptic subject, a trembling little man, who happened to be among the non-participating spectators of a metal workers' demonstration last year. He was beaten up most brutally, and was besides sentenced to five months' rigorous imprisonment.

This intensified fascisation and political oppression does not, however, confine its modes of expression to Hitlerian police methods; it is further characterised by severer sentences, severer penalties, and severer penal practice. This increased severity of punishment is accomplished not only by new fascist emergency orders, and by the greater stringency of the state protection and press laws, but at the same time by the imposition of severer sentences by the courts. With only a very few exceptions, members of the toiling masses charged with political offences are kept on remand in custody according to the high treason paragraph 2, the espionage paragraph 6, and the conspiracy paragraph 17, even if there is not the slightest evidence justifying this imprisonment, which in many cases extends over many months. To adduce only one or two cases in point: An editor named *Witt* was kept in prison on remand for weeks for possessing a photo of Lenin. A woman laboratory worker named *Steiner* was kept in custody for months, only to be sentenced to three weeks' detention in the end.

In the majority of cases of this kind, however, the sentences are passed in accordance with the high treason and espionage paragraphs, enabling political offenders to be imprisoned for years. The bourgeoisie is concentrating its efforts especially on the Communist deputies at the present time, that these may be robbed of their immunity, besides being removed for years from their places as leaders and champions of the class struggle. A typical instance is that of the imprisoned Communist senator *Lokota*, who was recently sentenced to two additional years of penal servitude—and this although he suffers from a serious tuberculous affection—bringing his sentences up to six years and seven months' penal servitude.

The severer sentences are accompanied by a severer prison regime. With the exception of sentences falling under section 14 of the state protection law, all sentences under this law involve rigorous imprisonment. In old Austria political prisoners were granted political rights, even when the offences were high treason or espionage. But to-day the imprisoned class fighters are almost invariably deprived of all political rights. To this must be added the greater severity of penal practice, the worsened food, the worsened treatment, the ban on reading, the prohibition against prisoners wearing their own underwear and clothing, the ban on visitors, etc.

This general increase in the severity of prison treatment leads to the constant application of chicanery to the political prisoners in particular. There is no thought of real medical attention. It is a characteristic fact that the prison physicians may not send prisoners to the hospitals till they have a temperature of 104 degrees.

Under these circumstances, it is no wonder that political prisoners are actually done to death to-day by their imprisonment. A frightful instance is that of the workers' functionary *Boehm*, from Graslitz, who was imprisoned for eight months, and died a few days after being allowed to return home. The medical examination showed that he died of tuberculosis. But before his imprisonment he was perfectly healthy. Another disgraceful case is that of *Hilde Matouschkova*, who is detained on remand in prison in Bruenn, without any definite evidence against her. She is ill, and is besides threatened with complete blindness. Workers' deputations visiting the prison have been fobbed off with empty promises. The sole concession made was to have her taken to the clinic for examination. But in spite of her serious condition she has been kept a prisoner.

The *Committees for the Defence of the Victims of Fascism* organise inquiry commissions and deputations to the authorities in all these cases, collect the material proving to the worker public the methods applied to-day against political prisoners in the land of "authoritarian democracy," and make it clear that Czechoslovakia is approaching the methods of political oppression employed by those countries which would like to exterminate physically by these means not only the vanguard of the working class, but thousands of its members. A cry of indignation must arise from the ranks of the toiling masses; these frightful facts must arouse them to an intensified struggle against these brutal repressive methods of the police and the fascists. A movement of protest and demonstration must be organised against every single such case of brutal oppression, under the leadership of the *Committees for the Defence of the Victims of Fascism*. Patronages must be formed by the works and factories, the organisations and districts, for every political prisoner, and the large-scale united struggle of the toiling masses for the rights of the political prisoners, and for a complete political amnesty, must be carried on with increasing intensity and energy.

## Rescue the Scottsboro Negro Boys!

Two Scottsboro Negro Boys to Be Sent to the Electric Chair on August 31.

The International Red Aid addresses the following appeal to all its organisations and all sympathising people:—

The execution of the two innocent Scottsboro Negro boys has been fixed for August 31. In view of the approaching danger of the perpetration of this ominous crime, it is our duty to call to your mind the following facts:

On March 25, 1931, a goods train with empty waggons was proceeding from Chantooga (Tennessee) in the direction of Memphis, where it was to be loaded. There were a number of persons travelling in the empty waggons without tickets, among them being several Negroes, most of them unemployed, who were going from one station to another in search of work.

A quarrel broke out in one of the waggons. A number of white persons provoked the Negroes, saying that they were responsible for the prevailing unemployment. In the course of the altercation, which became increasingly heated, one of the whites proposed they should throw the Negroes out of the wagon, whereupon some of the white persons, incited by chauvinist propaganda, eagerly agreed to the suggestion and proceeded to attack the Negroes. In the scuffle which followed the Negroes proved to be the stronger and forced the white hooligans out of the train. At the next station the Negroes who had taken part in the scuffle also got out of the train. When the train stopped at the small station at Pain Rock, the other persons travelling on the train knew nothing of what had happened.

In the meantime the white persons who had been ejected from the train had telephoned to the sheriff at Memphis and informed him that they had just been set upon by Negroes and thrown out of the wagon. At the next station the police, with an armed Ku-Klux-Klan gang, awaited the arrival of the train. They dashed into the wagon and seized the Negroes—most of them boys of 13, 14 and 17 years of age—who were travelling in another part of the train and knew nothing of what had occurred.

Among the whites who later appeared as witnesses at the trial were two prostitutes: Ruby Weiss and Victoria Price, who were travelling on the train at the time in men's clothing. It was upon their evidence that the police frame-up, accusing the Negro boys of "having violated white women," was based.

This frame-up was exposed. Nevertheless, the Court pronounced the death sentence on the Negro boys. In the meantime one of the prostitutes withdrew her statements and declared that she had been compelled to make them by the police, who had terrorised her.

This affair has aroused the conscience of the whole world. American "justice" has been compelled to retreat several times, but the Negro boys are still in prison, where they have been for three and a half years. Driven by race hatred, the ruling class of the United States are determined to carry out this judicial murder at all costs. Two of their victims are in immediate danger of being executed in the electric chair.

Yankee reaction has chosen precisely this moment, when voices of protest are being raised everywhere against the fascist murders in Germany and Austria, against fascism's intended crime against Thaelmann, to carry out the murder of the Negro boys. In fixing the date of the execution precisely at the time of the anniversary of the murder of Sacco and Vanzetti, it challenges the conscience of the world and the toilers who have energetically denounced this crime.

In a touching letter, which has been made public, the Negro boys write:—

"We are innocent. We are kept in prison because we are simple workers and because our skin is black. Nobody has given them the right to send us to the electric chair. But they will do so if you do not prevent it. The Supreme Court was compelled to order a new trial. But the prison warden Kuby wants to burn us alive. . . . We request all workers, black and white, to help the Red Aid to set us free."

Shall we permit this abominable crime without rising in indignation against this judicial murder?

Time presses. It is necessary to act. Energetic action must commence immediately everywhere in order to stay the arm of the executioner.

Publish this appeal in your press.

Adopt protest resolutions to the American Embassies at meetings. Bombard President Roosevelt with protest telegrams. Send delegations to the American Embassies.

Seize the initiative! Act!

Save the Scottsboro Negro boys!

## Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

### The Reorganisation of the Protection of Revolutionary Order

By Our Special Moscow Correspondent, L. F. BOROSS

The decree issued by the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union, on July 10, incorporates the O.G.P.U. into the organisation of the newly-formed People's Commissariat for Home Affairs. The functions of this Commissariat extend, in accordance with the new law, to: (a) the security of the revolutionary order and the care for the security of the State; (b) the protection of social (socialist) property; (c) the registration of births, deaths, marriages, etc.; (d) the protection of the frontiers. The juridical senate of the O.G.P.U. has been dissolved. The task of sentencing counter-revolutionary criminals now falls to the Supreme Court of Justice of the Soviet Union alone. Cases of high treason or espionage are tried by the military senate of the same court of justice or other competent courts martial.

This law is clear enough to avoid misunderstandings even among the enemies of socialism. And still clearer is the situation which enables the O.G.P.U. to be transformed from an instrument of class struggle, equipped with extraordinary powers, into a regular executive organ of the revolutionary legislation of the proletarian dictatorship. So far as we have been able to judge, up to the present, even the Conservative English press, which cannot be said to have any prejudice in favour of the Soviet Union, interprets this law as a sign of the strength and consolidation of the Soviet power.

Doubtless there are still people in the Soviet Union who cannot become resigned to the loss of their privileges as exploiters. Should these people, however, be inclined to regard this new law for the protection of the revolutionary order as a weakening of the revolutionary forcefulness of the proletarian dictatorship, and to put this to the test, they would soon recognise their error. Not only would they encounter a more powerful defence than before, but—and this is the essential factor in judging the present situation—they would soon see that in the Soviet Union itself they have no force behind them.

The Cheka-O.G.P.U. underwent its first ordeal by fire during a period of civil wars and counter-revolutionary uprisings. At times there were extensive territories of the Soviet Republics in the hands of Koltshak, Denikin, and other counter-revolutionary representatives of the Russian landowners and bourgeoisie, and of the foreign imperialists.

During the first stage of the N.E.P., the O.G.P.U. carried on a determined revolutionary struggle against the speculators and profiteers, against those bourgeois elements who endeavoured to transform the restricted privileges of the free market from an instrument of socialist construction into a tool for the restoration of capitalism.

After this the O.G.P.U. exposed and frustrated a large number of counter-revolutionary conspiracies, most of which were instigated by agents of foreign imperialism, using as their tools either engineers and other responsible experts in the Soviet Union, or the last remaining members of the former petty-bourgeois parties of the "Social Revolutionists" and the Mensheviks.

With every success of socialist construction, the attacks of the class enemy on the Soviet power became increasingly venomous, though steadily decreasing in force. The "Schachty affair" in 1928, and the Ramsin case in 1930, showed that at that time there were still men of a certain weight among the foes of the Soviets, men with large scale plans and lists of names ready drawn up for the new cabinet which they hoped to form after the overthrow of the Soviet power, men with a certain following among the educated experts. But the last great sabotage trials showed a very different picture. Here there were no more dangerous beasts, but merely despicable and disgusting parasites: people who sold themselves to foreign spies for a few hundred roubles, or who sought an outlet for their impotent hatred of the working class by supplying inedible or bad food to workers through the factory kitchens, and the like.

Let us compare—the difference in time is, of course, here much greater—the defendants in the trial of the social revolutionists in 1922 with the defendants at the Menshevik trial in 1931. In 1922 we saw defendants who utilised the law court proceedings for a discussion of principles, and who still steadily hoped for the overthrow of the Soviet rule; in 1931 we saw political corpses bereft of their last hope, without any belief in their own ideas, pitiable broken down creatures, with only one wish, that of being able to warm themselves in the sunshine radiated by the victorious construction of socialism.

But meanwhile the class struggle assumed acuter forms in the rural districts. Collectivisation threatened the last stratum of the exploiters, the big peasants, with social death. They defended themselves against collectivisation with the most desperate means, from open violence to attempts at disrupting the young collective farms from within. It was in the midst of these acute class struggles that there took place the historical transformation of the Soviet village, accompanied by an unprecedented change in the mental outlook of many millions of toiling peasants, who have advanced from allies of the proletariat in the class struggle to conscious co-creators of Socialism. Under the leadership of the working class they had learned how to fight bolshevistically against the land-owning class, and now they learned, again under the guidance of the proletariat, how to build up a socialist economy bolshevistically in the midst of constant struggles with the class enemy.

The last remnants of the kulak class are fighting to-day as bitterly as ever, but the magnificent development of the great bulk of the collective farms during the last two years shows that the blows of the class enemy are weakening visibly in the rural districts, their basis of operations has become considerably narrower than it was eighteen months or two years ago.

The class struggle against the last remnants of the class enemy will continue irreconcilably till the complete structure of the classless state of society has been built up. The class

enemy defends himself as desperately as ever, but his powers are dwindling, whilst the powers of the revolution are increasing beyond all measure. What is the basis of this enormous change in the relation of forces between the ruling proletariat and the last remnants of the hostile classes?

In the Soviet Union counter-revolution has lost every vestige of an economic basis. During the first period of the revolution the ruling proletariat was dependent on a number of material and mental resources still in the hands of the class enemy. These had to be wrested from him. To name only a few of the most important:—

The machinery necessary for the work of construction, and even many of the arms and equipment required by the Red Army, were still in the hands of the foreign imperialist bourgeoisie. The Soviet Union did not possess the heavy industrial plant necessary to meet the requirements of socialist construction. With the aid of Stalin's industrialisation policy, aided by a skilful foreign policy and foreign trade policy, the Soviet Union was transformed into a highly developed industrial country. Now there is no kind of machinery which the Soviet Union cannot manufacture for itself, and there are no means of defence which cannot be produced in the factories of the proletariat. Thanks to the policy of Lenin and Stalin, the Soviet Union has been transformed from a young state hard pressed on all sides and struggling for breath, into the mightiest great Power of the world, no less hated than in former years by the capitalist world, but much more feared.

The technical knowledge required for the work of construction was still in the hands of engineers and experts whose traditions and ways of living allied them with the bourgeoisie, who did not believe in the possibility of building up an efficient economy without the bourgeoisie, and therefore placed many obstacles in the way of revolutionary socialist construction. To-day the successful advance of socialist construction has not only won over for socialism the best forces among these older experts, but the overwhelming majority of the responsible technicians and scientists now consists of the **sons and daughters of the working class and the toiling peasantry**, whose way to knowledge and culture has been opened by the revolution.

At the beginning of the first Five-Year Plan over 40 per cent., or almost one-half, of the grain required for provisioning the towns and the Red Army was still in the hands of the hostile Kulak class. The victory of Stalin's collectivisation policy has wrested this dangerous weapon from the hands of the class enemy. To-day over four-fifths of the cultivated area—and therewith practically the whole of the food supplies of the towns—are in the hands of the proletariat, of its Soviet farms and food factories; in the hands of a quarter of a million collective farms, that is to say, **in socialist hands**.

At the same time it must be remembered that trade too—both wholesale and retail—is in the hands of the proletarian state and of the co-operatives, whilst private trade has only a very insignificant part of the total turnover.

Hence the first factor explaining the impotence of the class enemy in the Soviet Union is the fact that he is no longer able to exercise any perceptible influence either on food supplies or on industries, nor on any other branch of the economy of the ruling proletariat. To-day it is **not only the "key positions" which are in socialist hands, but all the essential elements of national economy**.

The second factor, closely connected with the first, is the fact that counter-revolution has lost every possibility of gaining a mass basis. 23 million workers and employees in the socialist works and factories, nearly 20 million collective peasants families—with the members of their families, these two strata represent 100-120 million human beings—form to-day the firm class basis of the proletarian dictatorship. These are workers whose standards of living and culture improve from month to month. And the collective peasants, though they are only taking the first steps on the path to prosperity, are already experiencing hitherto unknown possibilities and joys. To them the achievements of socialism are no longer a distant goal, a mere hope for the future, but an actual part of the present. To-day not even the most thoroughgoing White Guardist could venture to entertain the idea of winning over even the smallest section of these masses for counter-revolutionary action.

It need not be said that the Soviet Union, surrounded by capitalist countries and in an atmosphere of constant war danger, is not secure from the possibility of counter-revolutionary attacks

based on the forces of the imperialist general staffs, instead of those of the toiling masses. But apart from this possible crime against the security of the proletarian state, the last remnants of the class enemy and his adherents have been reduced to the following position in the Soviet Union: the large scale conspiracies of former years have degenerated into petty trickeries and thefts of socialist property. Wherever the vigilance of the workers or of the collective peasants relaxes, the class enemy seeks to secure for himself an income without working for it. He will give the worker-purchaser short measure in a co-operative store and sell the products thus "saved," pocketing the proceeds; or he will try to exploit the shortage of any product to secure illegal middleman's profits, and the like. In this last phase of its social life, the exploiting class unmasks itself and shows the true countenance of the private capitalist owner: a thief stealing the property of the toiling masses. On one sixth of the earth the proud class of Thyssen, Krupp, Schneider-Creuzot, Morgan, and their like, is approaching its dishonourable end. But the proletariat and the collective peasants are building up their new lives in **their own** works and factories, on **their own** collective farms, showing their class brothers on the other side of the frontiers the sole path of escape from capitalist slavery and murderous fascist rule.

This is the material and social basis for the advancing development of the proletarian state.

## The Week in the Soviet Union

### Soviet Aviation Day

August 18 is aviation day in the Soviet Union. The preparations for this day are proceeding as part of a political mass campaign. A vast aviation festival is being arranged at the Leningrad aerodrome, at which 80,000 spectators will be present. Aerial displays and parachute descents with a technique and on a scale hitherto unknown will take place.

The Italian press publishes detailed descriptions of the Soviet Russian aeroplane squadron now in Italy. The newspapers praise in particular the high level of aviatric technique possessed by the Soviet fliers, and stress the extremely unfavourable weather conditions encountered by the aeroplanes over the Carpathians and the Alps. The skilful landing manoeuvres of the squadron, and the efficient construction of the Soviet Russian planes, arouse the lively interest of all visitors to the aerodrome.

### Struggles and Successes in Industry

A temporary survey of the activities of heavy industry in the first seven months of 1934 shows an uninterrupted, rapid and healthy growth of the productive forces of the national economy of the country. The output has increased in this period, as compared with the same period last year, as follows: Coal mining 25.5 per cent., oil industry 19 per cent., pig-iron 51.9 per cent., steel 46.2 per cent., rolling mill products 36.5 per cent., aluminium 471.9 per cent., engine building 20.1 per cent., goods waggons 62 per cent., tractors 33.7 per cent., motor-lorries 33.2 per cent., passenger motor-cars 275.5 per cent., electro-technical industry 15.1 per cent., superphosphates 34.1 per cent. In the individual factories in the heavy industry a struggle is being conducted for the mastery of the new technique. The second technical production conference took place in the Slatoust smelting works last week. The works have fulfilled the production plan 101 per cent. The quality of output has also improved. The production of various newly-introduced steel alloys is already being mastered.

According to provisional returns, the July plan for the production of gold has been surpassed. The output is 50 per cent. greater than in July last year and amounts to 100.5 per cent. of this year's July plan.

A big machine factory is being erected in Batu which will supply plant and equipment for tea factories: tea-sorting and cutting machines, tea-dryers (ovens), tea-pressing machines, etc. The machine factory is to commence working at the end of 1935.

The new silk combine in Nucha (Azerbaijan) is nearing completion. The spinning department is already working and 112 of the 200 looms in the weaving department have been installed. The best silk cloths, crep de chine, marquissette, etc., will be produced in this combine.

Work has commenced on the reconstruction of the Astrachan metal works, the output capacity of which is to be increased threefold. The works produce chiefly motors for fishing trawlers. The extension of the works and the increase in their output will render possible a tremendous development of the fishing industry in the Caspian and Black Seas.

### New Ice-Breakers

The Leningrad Marti Works are building three new ice-breakers, which shall serve to supply the wireless stations in the Polar region with food, scientific material and articles of general use. Each of these ice-breakers has a displacement of 3,720 tons and a speed of 13 knots an hour. Each ship will be fitted with 2,400 horse-power engines.

### Competition in Bringing in the Harvest.

Harvesting was in full swing in the Soviet Union in the second week of August. The collective farm peasants and the workers on the Soviet farms have entered into a competition for a place on the Red Board of honour of the Soviet Union. The Party, especially the Political Departments in the country, are doing everything in order that the result of the agricultural year shall be a great victory by mobilising the great masses of the collective peasants.

Competition in the rural districts is at the same time an effective means of socialist education of the masses of collective peasants who, under the leadership of the Communists, are taking over the experience of the workers in industry and learning the discipline and organisation from the industrial proletariat. The collective fight against the drought, which without the collectivisation of agriculture would have caused enormous damage, has shown what socialist agriculture is able to accomplish compared with the split-up individual peasant farms. Thanks to collective work, the harvest yield is not less than it was last year, in spite of the drought in the southern districts.

In order to win a place of honour on the Red Board the collective farms and soviet farms, the village Soviets, the machine and tractor stations, etc., must not only fulfil the production and delivery plan, but also show a high quality in their work. As the fight for a rich harvest is at the same time a fight for a higher level of prosperity for the collective peasantry, enthusiasm for competition is general.

### The First Children's Stadium.

The first children's stadium, the "Stadium of the Young Pioneers," was opened a few days ago in the Petrovsky district of Moscow. Four hundred pioneers gave mass displays to a vast audience of children. The Soviet press welcomes the opening of the magnificent stadium as an important step towards the organisation of children's sport.

### The Forthcoming Congress of Soviet Writers.

Writers' conferences of districts or capital towns of the various nations are being held preparatory to the All-Union Soviet Writers' Congress. The Leningrad writers held their conference at the beginning of this month. The chief address was delivered by A. Tolstoy. Leningrad plays a very big role in the literary life of the Soviet Union. The Leningrad prose writers have produced over 200 works in the last two years.

The conference of critics, which likewise serves as a preparation for the congress, was opened in Moscow on August 5.

The conference of Jewish writers of the Soviet Union, which was held from August 6 to 10, recorded the great development which Jewish literature has undergone under the Soviet power. Whilst under the tsar it was the poetry of "perpetual national mourning," Jewish literature has been completely transformed and become the poetry of the class struggle. It has abandoned its chauvinism and national narrowness, and become filled with internationalism and the spirit of socialism. Among the Jewish writers are a number of young and gifted poets and prose writers who, as the Soviet press writes, have destroyed "the literary ghetto."

## Proletarian Youth Movement

### International Youth Day on September First

(Appeal of the C.P. and the Y.C.L. of Germany)

Toilers in town and country!

The outlook for the working youth is very gloomy. Combed out of the workshops, sent to remote country districts to work on the land like serfs, torn from their loved ones, from mother and sister, father, friend and brother, the youth of Germany are faced with a black future. Tormented, subjected to privations and humiliations, the young working people in the "Third Reich" are forced by Hitler, Ley, Schacht and Schirach to tread the path of Golgotha. A wave of mass hatred and resentment against Hitler's capitalist dictatorship is sweeping over Germany. At the grave of

their youthful ideals, before the ruins of their youthful hopes, the young people of Germany stand and learn:—

That fascism is the despoiler of our youth! It drags us from the circle of our families and friends! It makes us into slaves, deprived of all rights! It steals the bread from our table! It misuses our will to live and readiness for sacrifices in the interests of the factory owners and armament kings and big landowners! It deprives us of every prospect in life! By its disastrous policy it destroys all our bold hopes for the future!

The youth of Germany believed that by entering the Third Reich they would enter the land of Socialism. But it is a land of compulsory labour, of slavery and black reaction.

Fathers and mothers of Germany! Fascism, which to-day drives your sons and daughters from the factories and workshops and wishes to educate your children in the schools to become servile mental cripples and to train them as cannon fodder in the compulsory labour service camps, this same fascism will to-morrow just as unscrupulously force your sons to perish on the battlefields to enrich the war profiteers.

The smoking ruins of the Reichstag, fired by Goering, the stench of blood arising from the slaughter on June 30, and the warlike putsch adventures of the Nazis in Austria show that Hitler, with his provocateurs, is prepared at any time to plunge the whole of Germany into the abyss of war. For this reason the fascists represent the battlefield to our youth as the dreamland of their ideals, as the field of honour, fame and heroism. **Proletarian ex-servicemen, grey-haired mothers, war cripples, war widows! Tell the youth what the war was and what it will be! Fight with them to prevent the coming war-slaughter!**

**Young working people! Social-democratic and trade union comrades!**

We Communists want, together with you, to prevent the approaching criminal war and, together with the youth, to destroy slavery. We do not want the youth of Germany to be drowned in a sea of workers' blood. We do not want the fascist vandals to set fire with their torches of war to the towns and villages of our country! We do not want the best sons of our people, the youth, who are capable of enthusiasm, to perish in clouds of poison gas, on the barbed wire, midst the hail of shells of the imperialists! We do not want the Hitler dictatorship to drag our native land into the bloody swamp of barbarism!

Let us, young and adult toilers, Communists, social democrats, trade unionists and Christian workers, act together to stay the arm of the murderers and destroyers of our youth! Subject the patriotic celebrations by the fascists of the anniversary of Sedan on September 2 to the mass pressure of proletarian internationalism!

**International Youth Day on September 1 must be a review of fighting unity!**

On September 1 the revolutionary young people of the whole world will demonstrate against hunger, against fascism and war! Make this day also in Germany an imposing demonstration of young proletarian unity, a day of stormy demonstration of the old and young against the Hitler regime of slavery and war! For the release of our imprisoned and tortured leader, for the release of Thaelmann and all imprisoned anti-fascists! Surround the fascist government with an organised wall of hatred and resistance! Old and young toilers! Young Communists, young socialists, Hitler Youth and young Christian comrades! Form the fighting unity of the working youth in iron solidarity with the adult fighters for freedom for your common demands:—

Against the youth being driven out of the factories! Against all compulsory deportation to the rural districts! Against compulsory labour service!

Against the "Labour Law"! Against all wage reductions!

For freedom of speech, press, meetings, combination, and freedom to strike!

Against the humiliating military drill and war incitement! For the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship! For the setting up of the workers' Power and socialism!

**Old and young workers, fathers and mothers!** Smash every obstacle, all resistance, smash everything that stands in the way of the unity of our class! Unite all brooks and rivulets of the social democratic and Communist Party organisations and those of the youth into a great revolutionary stream of united action! Let this stream thunder against the foundations of the fascist regime in order to sweep it away!

**Fascism must die if our youth and class want to live. The capitalist dictatorship must fall, the unity of our class must be realised if we wish to give happiness, scope for development and a happy future to the youth.**

**S.P.G. and C.P.G. comrades, Young Communists, members of the Socialist Youth and trade unionists! Prepare together for Youth Day! Join together in common Youth Committees and Youth Commissions! Give from mouth to mouth, by painted slogans, by a flood of joint newspapers and leaflets, our fighting slogans to the Hitler Youth and Young Catholics!**

**Working people in town and village! March together on September 1 in the streets of the working-class quarters, in the busy centres, outside of the labour exchanges, railway stations, factories and in the villages, in demonstrations for the freedom of the youth and their socialist ideals!**

**Tear the swastika from the red flags, which are drenched with the blood of our young, murdered heroes! Refuse to give the Hitler salute and let the loud cry: "Red Front!" resound through the proletarian quarters! In the villages, unite together in common organisations of agricultural helpers! Approach the deceived young workers of the Hitler Youth and S.A.! Tell them that the laurel crowns of fame, of honour and heroism can be won only in the ranks of our revolutionary army of freedom! Tell them that they must never again direct weapons against their own fellow workers, but only against our common enemies, the exploiters and deceivers of the people.**

**On International Youth Day, old and young swear to defend the Soviet Union, to fight for the release of Ernst Thaelmann and all imprisoned anti-fascists!**

**Forward through class unity to the overthrow of the fascist robbers! Through class unity to the workers' Power!**

**Only the workers' power secures strength, joy, future and prosperity for the youth!**

**Only the workers' power will drive out all exploiters and war-mongers!**

**Only the workers' power can lead Germany's youth to the land of Socialism!**

**The Communist Party and Young Communist League of Germany.**

August 7, 1934.

## Slogans of the Leninist Y.C.L.

The 1st of September is International Youth Day. On this day there is heard everywhere the powerful response to the call addressed to the toiling youth of the capitalist countries to unite under the leadership of the Communist International, to fight boldly and energetically against exploitation, misery and oppression, against the fascists and the social fascists, against the feverish armaments of the bourgeoisie, against the preparations for a new imperialist war.

The toiling youth of the Soviet Union is marching, on September 1, under the banners of the Communist Party in order to demonstrate their participation on the numerous fronts of socialist construction. The activity of the Leninist Young Communist League is becoming broader and more manifold from year to year. The uninterrupted growth of industry and agriculture, the development of culture considerably increase the cadres in all spheres of Soviet life. The share of the youth in the economic life is continually growing.

The Leninist Young Communist League, the leader of the workers and collective peasant youth, is observing the 20th International Youth Day under the following slogans:

For further progress of the youth in mastering technique, for socialist competition in regard to the complete utilisation of the working day, improving the quality of work, lowering the cost of production.

For the active participation of the youth in organising the harvest campaign, the grain and meat collection, in the preparations for the autumn and winter transports.

For the improvement of the work of the "light cavalry," the energies of which must be exerted before all in the campaign of grain storing, for the development of cattle-breeding, improvement of the work of the multiple stores, dining halls, hospitals, clinics, children's creches, against bureaucratism, for the realisation of revolutionary legality.

For a thorough improvement of work among the pioneers and children, preparations for the new school year (repair of the old schools and the completion of new schools, equipment for the

school dining-rooms and school laboratories, supplying the schools with textbooks and school material).

For the improvement of the work of the Young Communist League, for the defence of the country, better contact of the Y.C.L. with the Red Army of the workers and peasants, preparations for the next calling up of recruits for the Red Army.

The 20th International Youth Day is to be made use for the further ideological and organisational consolidation of the Kom-somol. It is necessary to draw every member of the Y.C.L. into active work, strengthen the discipline among the young comrades, to ensure permanent ideological training of Communist and non-Party Youth, their education in the spirit of proletarian Internationalism, of unlimited devotion to the Party of Lenin and Stalin, readiness at any moment to come forward to defend our great fatherland against attacks of the enemy. These slogans of the C.C. of the Leninist Young Communist League must form the basis of every Y.C.L. organisation and of every young Communist.

The 20th International Youth Day is a militant and joyful festival of the youth in the country of Socialism, a day which reflects the growth of the Communist youth as the best helper of the Party. The whole country, all workers and collective peasants of the Soviet Union are taking part in this festival of the youth.

## Proletarian Mass Organisations

### The Activity of the Red Aid of Austria Under Conditions of Illegality

By Willy

In spite of the difficult conditions of illegality, the Austrian Red Aid is displaying great activity. Prohibited in May, 1933, the Red Aid at once continued to work in illegality. During the February struggles the Red Aid was at its post; it organised the relief action and legal defence and arranged for collections of money on a broad basis. From February 12 to July 1, 1934, the Red Aid collected 64,314 shillings in Austria and distributed this money—together with the sums collected by the workers and peasants abroad, before all in the Soviet Union. Altogether 270,000 shillings in cash and a great number of packets of food were already distributed among the victims of the February struggles.

The Red Aid actively participated in the May 1 preparations for the demonstrations. It has won the confidence of the social-democratic workers, who have joined the R.A. in large numbers, and are fighting together with it. The demonstrations of July 15 were well prepared by the R.A.

In addition to the information material and press service of the R.A., which appears regularly, a whole series of letters from prisoners are circulated under the title: "The Prisoners' Report." Every week a number of such reports from the dungeons of the bourgeoisie are issued. They indict the rotten capitalist system, tell of the sufferings of the prisoners, but at the same time express the conviction that the workers are not defeated nor discouraged, that our imprisoned class comrades are not giving way to despair.

The Red Aid published special propaganda material preparatory to the anti-war demonstrations on August 1. The struggle against the fascist terror is closely linked up with the struggle against imperialist war. The "Tribunal," the organ of the Red Aid of Austria, appears illegally in printed form, and not only deals with the struggle against the fascist terror in Austria but also conducts a campaign for the release of Thaelmann and all other anti-fascist champions in the fascist prisons. Immediately after the events of June 30, the Red Aid issued a leaflet, calling upon the Austrian workers to wage a struggle against German and Austrian fascism.

A printed leaflet was issued on August 1, and was followed by leaflets dealing with the terrorist sentences of the class courts, advocating demonstrations in front of the court buildings. Other leaflets have been issued, calling for setting up of the unity of proletarian relief work, against the disrupters who administer the Matteotti fund and who handed over the money collected by the workers to the fascists.

All these facts go to show that the Red Aid is at its post. This renders it incumbent on the Red Aid sections in the other countries and the toilers in the whole world to strengthen the struggle against the Austrian terrorist rule and to increase the solidarity campaign for the victims of Austrian fascism.

## Twenty Years Ago

# 1914 - 1934

[Conclusion]

From the very beginning of the world war, **international social-democracy** openly went over to the camp of the bourgeoisie, to the side of "their own" bourgeois fatherland. Had not the Second International done this, the bourgeoisie could not have carried on the war of 1914-18.

The war merely disclosed what had been accomplished over a period of decades, namely, the opportunist degeneration of the parties of the Second International. The war cleared the air for the entire international socialist movement. The opportunist reformist international became bankrupt and collapsed, and, under the leadership of Lenin, a genuine vanguard of the international proletariat, the Communist International, began to be built up. The first **political blow** was dealt at the Second International in connection with the capitulation of international social democracy in the war of 1914. The collapse of the Second International took place. Twenty years later a **second blow** has been struck at the Second International in connection with its open capitulation to fascism, a blow not only moral and political, but also organisational.

The Second International and the Amsterdam International "are adapting their policy to the eve of the war situation, trying to safeguard the interests of their own bourgeoisie and to ensure that the main blow will be directed at the U.S.S.R." This was how the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. formulated the position of international social democracy at the present eve of the war.

Beginning with the war of 1914, the Second International has always used a number of sophistries to prepare the masses for war. During the war, the slogan "defence of the fatherland" from the "attacks of the enemy" was the dominating theme, while the imperialism of their own respective countries was depicted as the "defending" side.

Immediately after the war, when the toiling masses were furious with the sufferings and horrors of the war through which they had passed, the social democrats came out with their doctrine of "pacifism," advancing the slogan "no more war." The League of Nations was declared to be the "guarantee of peace." At the same time the U.S.S.R. was depicted as the land of "red imperialism," the only country violating the pacifist idyll of the post-war period.

But the danger of war became more and more palpable. A strong anti-war movement began, organised by the Communist Parties. Fearing to lose its influence over the masses, the Second International began to prepare a series of anti-war resolutions (August and November, 1933, in addition to those of 1919-1921). The slogan "reply to war by a general strike" began to appear ever more frequently. But the close approach of the war has led to the fact that the social-democratic parties in the Second International have begun more **open preparations for openly going over to the side of their bourgeoisie in the forthcoming war.** What has changed is the type of agitation, the type of sophistry being used. First place is being taken by the slogan of the defence of the "**democratic**" fatherland against the military attacks of fascist countries. In this connection, the socialists of France, Belgium, Switzerland, Holland and other countries consider it necessary to include in their programme the slogan of the defence of the "democratic" fatherland, of "national defence." "Our country is worth defending" say the Swiss social democrats. In their theses on the question of defence, the Swiss social democrats state openly that they will vote for war credits, that they will do their best to strengthen the army and say that "the Social-Democratic Party of Switzerland also considers that defence achieved by military force to be justifiable, and will not refuse to sanction them in the interests of proletarian class defence" (!).

**Belgian social democracy**, in the person of **De Man**, whose influence is strong at present in the Second International, gives reasons for the "necessity" of defending the fatherland by pointing to the necessity of defending the integrity and "independence" of the nation as the "**basis for the construction of socialism**":—

"Socialism," wrote De Man, "confirms the right of peoples to decide their own fate and wants to make of the national State the scene and weapon for that social reconstruction

which it is aiming at. Consequently it needs a policy of national defence. Therefore—we cannot say that we shall not vote for war credits."

Exceptional attention deserves to be paid to the recently adopted decision of the **Labour Party of Great Britain.** Under the "well-sounding" pretext that the workers in the fascist countries are allegedly not in a position to declare a general strike in case of war, the Labourites **openly renounce the general strike in war time**, and give up the slogan which they put forward only a few months ago:—

"The lack of an independent trade union movement in such countries as Germany, Italy, Austria and others made the calling of a general strike against their governments an impossibility, and in other countries, such as Japan, the weakness of the trade union organisation made it unable to restrain its government. Recognising that aggressive action must come from some of those countries, the general strike in such circumstances could not possibly be made effective by the trade unions in these countries." ("Daily Herald," June 29.)

Thus the British Labour Party, which is now the leading party of the Second International, has abandoned the general strike during war time on the excuse that it is "impossible" to conduct a general strike in other countries. In reality, it has formulated the abandonment of the general strike in the name of the defence of the imperialist fatherland for the other parties of the Second International as well.

What the position taken up by international social democracy will be like in practice in case of a new war is being shown by the **Japanese social democracy**, i.e., by social democracy in a country already engaged in war. In the declaration issued by Japanese social democracy in connection with the seizure of Manchuria, it states that:—

"The Manchurian conflict has become an important problem, on the solution of which depends the future of Japan. . . . We decisively reject the fantastic internationalism which would utterly abandon Japanese interests in Manchuria simply because these interests are the interests of the bourgeoisie."

The leaders of the reformist trade unions in Japan have from the very outset advanced the slogan that "the wealth of Manchuria and Mongolia must be utilised to form a paradise for the proletarian masses."

Is it not clear that the social fascists in other countries as well will, in a future war, justify the "necessity" of carrying on a war for the sake of "creating a paradise for the proletarian masses"?

On the eve of the new round of wars, the influence of international social democracy, this chief social buttress of the bourgeoisie, has **fallen** not only below the level of the rank and file workers but also of certain strata of its lower functionaries. Large masses of the proletariat are **beginning to leave social democracy on the threshold of a new world war.** The possibility of the **complete liquidation of the mass influence of the parties of the Second International** now depends on the success of the struggle carried on by the Communists. All this cannot fail to hinder the fulfilment of the war plans of the bourgeoisie in respect to war, and render easier the victory of the second round of revolutions in connection with the war, or without war.

But for this it is necessary to increase the struggle against the Second International.

The twentieth anniversary of the outbreak of the world war must be utilised by our sections to **strengthen** the ideological offensive against social democracy, to disclose the path by which social democracy is preparing for war, the sophistries by means of which it conceals those preparations. We must remember that the **struggle against social democracy is a component part of the struggle against war.**

A most important condition for the successful struggle against war is the **activity of the Communist Parties**, their ability to **organise** this struggle. But to carry out this task, the Communist

Parties themselves must be suitably prepared. In the instructions to the delegates at the Hague Conference, Lenin pointed out that "the ordinary organisation of the workers, even though it calls itself revolutionary, is helpless in face of a war which is really approaching." For work in the conditions of war what is needed is not an "ordinary" organisation of the workers, but one which has experience and which knows how to carry on the struggle in war conditions. The Bolsheviks, who had a well-constructed underground organisation, were the only party able to continue the revolutionary struggle during the war as well. An underground organisation (which includes a special apparatus) . . . is necessary also for the struggle against war even before it begins. The Communist Parties are faced with the task of mobilising the broad masses against war even before the outbreak of war.

In his above-mentioned instructions to the Hague delegation, Lenin particularly pointed out that the task of struggle against war is a very difficult one, that it is impossible merely by a wave of the hand to stop the proletariat passing over to the side of bourgeois defence of the fatherland once the war has started, that it is impossible to "prevent" war at once, once it has started. Lenin uttered the warning that it is impossible to "reply" to war by a general strike, just as it was impossible to "reply" to war by revolution, taken in the simplest and literal sense of the word. Therefore Communists do not blather like the social democrats or anarchists do, to the effect that they "will reply to war by a general strike," but they make practical preparations for a general strike through their everyday revolutionary struggle. In the same way the Communists do not idly talk about "replying to war by revolution" but they organise revolution.

Lenin and the Russian Bolsheviks in general fought against the slogan "boycott of war," or "refusal to go to war." Lenin was right when, in 1922, on the basis of the experience of the world war, he wrote: "The boycott of war is a silly phrase. Communists must go into every reactionary war," which means that they go there to carry on revolutionary work in the army, to carry on a most determined struggle against war, and for the refusal to defend the imperialist homeland, to organise the defeat of their imperialist government, to struggle against chauvinism, for proletarian internationalism, to convert the imperialist war into civil war.

The Communist International, throughout the entire period of its existence, has carried on an increasing struggle against a new war, and has explained to the broad masses of the toilers the Bolshevik point of view regarding war, and has organised the struggle against war. Some of the sections of the Comintern have, in the course of their existence, undergone a practical examination on the question of the struggle against war: the C.P. of France during the Moroccan war in 1925, the C.P. of China during the seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railway in 1927 by the bandits of Chang Hsue-ling, during the seizure of Manchuria by Japan in 1931, the gallant struggle of the C.P. of Japan against the plunderous war of Japan against China, the struggle of the Spanish Communist Party against the bandit war of Spain in Africa, and finally the struggle of all sections of the Comintern in defence of the U.S.S.R. against the counter-revolutionary war being prepared against it. We must especially emphasise the successes of the C.P. of Japan which goes boldly against the stream, against the wild chauvinism and nationalism inflamed by Japanese imperialism. It not only puts forward the correct slogan of "converting the imperialist war into civil war," but is organising an anti-war movement among the masses, and is everywhere declaring against the war and in defence of China.

Of no less importance than the work of the C.P. of Japan is that of the C.P. of China, which organised the Red Army of Soviet China, which now stands at the head of the anti-imperialist struggle in China. All this gives us reason to speak of the correct way in which the struggle against war is being carried on in the sections of the C.I., of the fact that in many cases they have been able to carry on the line of the Comintern against war and chauvinism and have remained loyal to the demands of proletarian internationalism.

The Communist Parties have, during the last few years, achieved some successes in the organisation of work in the army. We must first of all note some achievements in this field by the Communist Parties of Japan, China, Bulgaria, Greece, and the fairly good anti-war work of the Communist Parties of France, Poland and Czechoslovakia. But all these achievements are

plainly insufficient in present-day conditions, namely on the eve of a new round of wars.

We have not yet carried out the behests of Comrade Lenin, who demanded that: "We must explain most concretely to the people again and again how matters stood at the time of the last war and why they could not have been otherwise," and in particular we have done very little to explain how Lenin and the Bolsheviks carried on a struggle against war, and the concrete essence of their basic slogan—that of "converting imperialist war into civil war." The struggle against nationalism and chauvinism in the capitalist countries is absolutely insufficient. Up to the present time we have not seen the fulfilment of the very important instructions of the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. to the effect that it is necessary to "concentrate our forces in every country on the key points of the military machine of imperialism, i.e., to organise anti-war work first and foremost in the war industries, on the railroads and on the sea and river transport."

Finally, anti-war work as of old is still chiefly of a propagandist character, while "in addition to increased agitation the Communist Parties must by all means in their power ensure the practical organisation of mass action (preventing the shipping of arms and troops, hindering the execution of orders for belligerent countries, organising demonstrations against military manoeuvres, etc.) and must intensify political, educational work in the army and in the navy." (Resolution of the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.)

Anti-war work is of exceptional importance in the organisations for the military training of the youth, the mass fascist organisations, etc.

In connection with the February events in France and Austria, in connection with the strike movement in Spain and America, all the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries are in present conditions faced exceptionally sharply with the problem of preparing for the fraternisation of the soldiers, as the ruling classes will ever more frequently utilise the soldiers for crushing the revolutionary actions of the workers, the peasants and the toiling peoples of the colonies. The August 1st campaign, which coincides this year with the twentieth anniversary of the outbreak of the world war, must be utilised to bring about a change in the anti-war work of our sections.

The organisation of a successful struggle against fascism and war is impossible unless a broad united front is organised in town and village. The present situation is extremely favourable for the organisation of such a struggle. We find great strivings on the part of the social democrats, reformist and other workers towards unity of action in the struggle against capital, against war, and against fascism. This striving towards unity of action is the result of the school through which the broad masses have passed during the past 20 years.

We must arouse the fury of the masses against the treacherous policy of the social democratic leaders, on the basis of the united front, showing the masses how the parties of the Second International have openly adopted the attitude of the "defence of the fatherland" even before war has broken out, e.g., the abandonment of the use of the strike weapon during the war, etc.

The Communist International calls on all workers, irrespective of the party or trade union to which they belong, to carry on the struggle against war. The manifesto of the C.C. of the Communist Parties of France, Great Britain, Germany and Poland, published for the 20th anniversary of the outbreak of the world war, and for August 1, calls on the social democratic parties to organise joint demonstrations under the slogans:

"Not a man and not a penny for armament purposes. The money now expended on armaments to be used to provide unemployment, sickness, disablement and old age insurance for the working people in town and country and for lightening the burden of taxation!

"Not a train, not a ship must be allowed to leave which is transporting munitions and implements of war for Japan or fascist Germany!

"Protect the socialist Soviet Union and its socialist construction from the counter-revolutionary war of the imperialists!

"Protect the revolutionary-democratic Chinese Soviet Republic from counter-revolutionary attacks!

"Protect China against its being carved up by the imperialist powers!

"Protect all colonial peoples from the robber campaign of the imperialists!"

The Communist International calls for a united front struggle against war. It depends on the social democracy whether it responds to this call, while success in mobilising the social democratic workers who wish to carry on this struggle in spite of the social democratic leadership will depend on the Communists.

The world is going towards war. But if capitalism inevitably leads to war, it by no means follows that the revolutionary proletariat cannot avert imperialist war by a victorious proletarian revolution before the war breaks out, or postpone the war by a mighty anti-war revolutionary movement. But if war comes before the revolution, then revolution is inevitable in connection with a new war. Communists will use the crisis caused by the war, and will convert the imperialist war or counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R. into civil war, into the decisive struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for Soviet power.

We must remember what Comrade Stalin said in his report to the 17th Congress of the C.P.S.U., about what the bourgeoisie will risk by forcing war on us:

"Such a war would be a very dangerous war for the bourgeoisie. It would be a very dangerous war, not only because the peoples of the U.S.S.R. would fight to the very death to preserve the gains of the revolution. It would be a very dangerous war for the bourgeoisie also because such a war will be waged not only at the fronts but also in the rear of the enemy. The bourgeoisie need have no doubt that the numerous friends of the working class of the U.S.S.R. in Europe and in Asia will be sure to strike a blow in the rear of their oppressors who commenced a criminal war against the fatherland of the working class of all countries."

The U.S.S.R. is the citadel of peace between peoples and the stronghold of the struggle of the working class and the oppressed nations.

The twenty years which have passed have led to a change in the relationship between classes, and it is in the light of this change that we must look upon the prospects facing a new round of wars. The bourgeoisie will have to deal with a different proletariat than that of 1914, because this proletariat has now the U.S.S.R. and the Communist International, while International social democracy is passing through a profound crisis. The second bankruptcy of the Second International has taken place on the eve of the new round of wars.

The war of 1914 and the revolution in Russia awakened the colonial and semi-colonial peoples of the East. A powerful Soviet movement is growing in China and a second base is being built up for the world revolution in the East. A new war will bring about that which could not be carried out to its full extent during the first round of wars and revolutions, namely that the revolution in the West will be linked up with and supported by revolution in the East.

The world is approaching closely to a new round of wars at the very moment when the world revolutionary crisis is maturing, when the "idea of storming capitalism is maturing in the consciousness of the masses." The further developments in China and Spain, the armed struggle in Austria, the unparalleled scope of the general strike in France, the events of February, the broad strike wave in America, etc., and finally, the heroic struggle of the Communist Parties and primarily the Communist Party of Germany, are all a guarantee that the war will tremendously accelerate the maturing of a revolutionary situation. The success of revolution in connection with the war will depend on the extent of our struggle against war and fascism; on our struggle for the revolution before war breaks out. The alignment of forces between the classes is a guarantee that the coming historical period will be one of unprecedented class struggle. The new round of wars will be accompanied by a new wave of the revolutionary movement which will turn into the victory of the proletariat in a number of the most important countries.

Workers! Toilers of town and village! Young workers and women! Remember the past war and fight ruthlessly against a new war!

## Book Review

### Labour Fact Book II

By Grace Hutchins (New York)

Left-wing workers in every country have had the common experience of discussing class-struggle developments with other workers who challenge the accuracy and the sources of their information. They are asked to give the exact figures, the correct names, the dates and places of events under discussion.

In line with this need of the workers' movement for exact information, the Labour Research Association (New York) has prepared *Labour Fact Book II*, which, like the first volume of *Labour Fact Book* (1931), deals primarily with the situation in the U.S.A. The present volume deals, for the most part, with entirely new topics not discussed in the first volume. Chapter headings indicate the scope of the material now presented: The Economic Crisis in the United States; Capitalist Programme for the Crisis; Workers' Conditions in the Crisis; Workers' Organisations and Struggles; The Negro; Farmers in the United States; Fascism; Preparing for Imperialist War; and The Soviet Union.

The National Recovery Administration (N.R.A.) is analysed as accelerating the development of monopoly capitalism in the United States. Under the guise of granting "collective bargaining" rights to workers, it actually legalises the anti-union open shop. Strike-breaking has been one of its chief aims and actual accomplishments. The contradictions of capitalism, accentuated under the N.R.A., lead to a further decrease in mass purchasing power and, hence, to a further contraction rather than an expansion in the demand for goods. These points are proved in a carefully documented chapter.

Effects of the crisis upon the working and living standards of the workers are revealed in the book's figures on unemployment, wages, hours, speed-up, and the increased cost of living. In contrast to the American Federation of Labour's official estimate of numbers unemployed, always an understatement, Labour Research Association presents its estimate, based on statistical calculations, showing nearly 16,000,000 persons still jobless in November, 1933. Figures on the pitiful sums spent in relief and the resulting starvation in many centres are quoted from official city and State government sources. The Workers' Unemployment and Social Insurance Bill (H.R. 7598) is given in full, for easy reference.

How the sharpened capitalist attack has led to a rising wave of resistance on the part of the masses as expressed in the strike movement, in the struggles of the unemployed for immediate relief and social insurance, in the upheavals of the farm masses and of the Negro people, is shown in special chapters on these subjects.

Discrimination against the Negro is found in every phase of Negro life in the United States. Especially important at present is the situation of Negroes under the "New Deal" and the lower wage rates of N.R.A. codes in southern States, reflecting this discrimination. The general farm situation, increased tenancy, forced sales, mortgage indebtedness, the low prices received by farmers for their products and the high prices paid for what they must buy, have all resulted in a great advance in militancy among the farmers. Remarkable strikes of farmers and of agricultural workers have occurred during the past year.

A discussion of fascism—what it is and what its results have been in Italy and Germany, fascist trends and organisations in the United States—is followed by a summary of imperialist war preparations and the latest expenditures for army, navy and air force. A closing chapter on the Soviet Union presents the achievements of the First Five-Year Plan, the figures for the Second Plan, and other significant facts.

It is apparent from this account of the *Labour Fact Book II* that the volume will be of immediate value not only to workers in the United States, but to workers of other countries as well. This second volume includes a group of selected references for each chapter to aid the reader in looking up further material on the subjects discussed.

\* *Labour Fact Book II*, prepared by Labour Research Association. International Publishers, New York. 95c.

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