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The Great Strike of the American Textile Workers

By Aladar Komjath

The strike of the textile workers in the United States is one of the greatest struggles which ever convulsed the fabric of American capitalism. On September 1 over a million textile workers downed tools or were about to do so, the negotiations between the leaders of the reformist American Federation of Labour and the mediatory organs of the government having proved abortive.

Seven hundred thousand cotton mill workers, 200,000 woollen mill workers and 150,000 workers from the artificial silk mills are the three great columns of the army of labour. The workers in the clothing trades have proclaimed their solid sympathy with the strikers. If the efforts being made to secure a sympathetic strike of these workers are successful, then a further column of 100,000 workers will swing into the front line.

The strike is being fought for both economic and political aims, and these aims have been formulated by the national congress of the textile workers' union as follows: (1) The untrammelled right to organise, including the recognition of the men's union as the only authorised representative of the interests of the textile workers; (2) the 30-hour week with the wages now being paid for the 40-hour week; (3) the non-operation, or where they have already been applied the withdrawal, of the cuts in the present wage tariff; (4) a minimum wage of 13 dollars a week for unskilled workers, of 18 dollars for semi-skilled workers, of 22.50 dollars for skilled workers, and of 30 dollars for highly-skilled workers; and (5) the abolition of the driving system together with the revision of all the labour norms.

The congress also adopted resolutions in favour of the draft

Bill for unemployment insurance, of a campaign against the yellow company unions, and for the reorganisation of the existing trade unions along industrial lines.

Amongst the resolutions put forward at the congress was one calling for the proclamation of a general strike in case of the outbreak of war, and another condemning *William Green*, the President of the A.F. of L., for having betrayed the San Francisco strikers. These two resolutions were rejected with 209 against 177 votes and 193 against 103 votes respectively, but the strength of the minority vote in each case clearly indicates the growth of class-consciousness amongst the members of one of the most reactionary working-class organisations in the world and shows that these workers are adopting political aims to an increasing extent. The political character of the present strike is still further emphasised by the fact that it is directed not only against the industrial side of the National Recovery Act, but against the whole policy of the N.R.A.

The textile bosses have brusquely rejected the demands of the workers. They refuse to recognise the textile workers' union, even in face of the fact that the National Labour Board, appointed by President Roosevelt as a sort of arbitration authority, has interpreted the violently contested article 7a of the N.R.A. to mean that the organisation which has the greatest number of followers in a particular factory is the only organisation entitled to negotiate with the employers and sign agreements on behalf of the men. Naturally, this interpretation does not mean that there are any differences of principles between the Roosevelt government and

the industrialists, or that the Roosevelt government has, to use the words of the industrialist organs, "placed itself behind the fighting textile workers." In view of the rapidly growing dissatisfaction of the workers the Roosevelt government is compelled to manoeuvre for a time. It is anxious to give this rapidly swelling feeling of discontent a safety valve by making concessions. In doing this the government places its trust in the reformist leaders of the A.F. of L. and is confident that they will continue to listen to their master's voice and do everything possible to prevent the right to organise which has been granted to the workers from being "misused."

On their part, the industrialists have no less confidence in the leaders of the A.F. of L. than has the government of American finance-capital, but they are afraid of the workers. They are afraid that once the unions are recognised as the representatives of the workers they may develop into powerful instruments of the workers in wage struggles. They are afraid that the workers may break down the limits set up by the leaders of the A.F. of L. That is the reason for their differences of opinion with Roosevelt and their determination to fight the present struggle out to a finish.

The textile workers are amongst the worst paid industrial workers of the United States. Their wages are little more than semi-starvation wages. The average wage being drawn by the textile workers up to the strike was even lower than the level before the introduction of the N.R.A. Since the introduction of the N.R.A. the average hourly wages of the textile workers have dropped from 21 cents to 16 cents. On the other hand, the intensity of labour has risen by from 30 to 100 per cent. More and more looms are being forced on to the workers. Further, since the introduction of the N.R.A. the number of textile workers employed has diminished by tens of thousands.

For these reasons alone therefore the demand of the textile workers for wage increases is more than justified, but the textile employers are prepared to agree neither to increased wages nor to shorter hours at the same rate. On the contrary, they demand further wage cuts, further lengthening of working hours and they are threatening mass dismissals.

Both sides are preparing for a desperate struggle. The plan of the textile bosses is to provoke bloody conflicts with the strikers in order to have the pretext to drown the strike in blood. They are anxious to use the fascist methods which were applied in San Francisco and Minneapolis, and to use them on an even more intense scale. They have already announced that they intended to leave their factories open during the strike for "volunteers" and that they will provide "adequate protection" for all scabs. Thousands of professional gangsters and stool pigeons have already been mobilised in order to provide this "adequate protection." The policy of the textile bosses is one of provocation and violence, with attacks on the union quarters and upon prominent worker leaders, and with volleys for the pickets. Despite their minor differences with the Roosevelt government the textile bosses reckon with the support of the government. There is no doubt that, as in San Francisco and Minneapolis, the National Guard will be mobilised in the present strike on the side of the employers. In Seneca (North Carolina) federal troops have already been used against the strikers, and this example will no doubt be followed in the other federal States.

The reformist leaders of the textile workers' union and of the A.F. of L. gave their consent to the strike only under great pressure from the masses of the workers. No serious strike preparations have been made and, in particular, nothing has been done to collect funds to finance the strike; the reformist leaders have even rejected the demand of the workers that collections in support of the strike should be made in all trade union branches, preferring to rely on the charity organisations to feed the strikers as "persons without means of subsistence."

The leader of the reformist textile workers' union, Gorman, declared at the recent national congress of the union that, "Under the given circumstances there was neither actual nor statistical reason for demanding a general increase of wages in the cotton and other textile trades," and concluded his speech by expressing hearty thanks to the Labour Advisory Board of the N.R.A. for its "friendly co-operation." The same Gorman now solemnly promises the textile bosses that he will do everything possible to maintain "discipline and restraint" amongst the strikers, and above all that he will "do everything possible to prevent any interference on the part of the Communists in this absolutely unpolitical strike."

Without these remarks we know quite well that the Gormans, the MacMalions and the Greens will do everything in their power to throttle the strike.

The Communist Party of the United States appeals to the strikers to maintain proletarian discipline in the strike and to oppose all the attempts of the reformists to break the strike, to organise mass picketing, to form factory strike committees, to do their best to secure the outbreak of sympathy strikes on the part of other workers, and to organise complete unity of action amongst the strikers themselves.

In connection with the big strikes in San Francisco and Minneapolis the Communist Party prophesied that the coming social struggles in the United States would take on still more powerful forms, and the outbreak of the great strike of the textile workers has proved the correctness of this standpoint to the hilt.

Politics

Foreign Political Review of the Week

Since the Soviet government declared that in the interests of world peace it would be prepared to co-operate with the United States, France and other countries to prevent world war, and that to this end it would even be prepared to become a member of the League of Nations, an organisation which, since the resignation of Germany and Japan, is dominated by States whose immediate interests demand the maintenance of peace at least for the moment, one of the usual anti-Soviet campaigns of incitement has been organised. This campaign of incitement was systematically intensified and is to reach its culminating point before the autumn session of the League of Nations, at which the willingness of the Soviet Union to join the League of Nations is to be given a practical form. The leadership of this campaign is in the hands of Japan. The contention of the "Tass" agency that the breaking off of negotiations by Japan was a piece of blackmail in order to force down the price asked by the Soviet government for its rights in the Chinese Eastern Railway has been proved again and again by the continued provocations of the Japanese imperialists. The time for the staging of the deliberate provocative acts in Manchuria was chosen to take place immediately prior to the opening of the Autumn Conference of the League of Nations.

Japan has its allies in Europe also. First of all there was the usual hardy annual "starvation in Russia" campaign opened up by the British press, taken over in still more reckless forms by the German press, and continued loyally by the press of the smaller countries. "A million and a half corpses of starved peasants around Kiev" was the keynote this time. This campaign coincided with increased activity on the part of the Russian White Guardists and with the German-Polish machinations against the proposed Eastern Pact. And when all these efforts gave no promise of success a direct campaign of incitement against the Soviet government was opened up with a view to preventing it joining the League of Nations. The "Osservatore Romano," the official mouthpiece of the Vatican, informed the world that "the civilised powers" could not possibly accept a barbarous country like the Soviet Union into their midst, a country whose chief crime in the eyes of the Vatican is that it has abolished the exploitation of man by man, and at that in the middle of a great economic crisis. The Belgian, Dutch and Swiss press repeated this "moral objection" in chorus, adding many little variations of their own. Already the enemies of the Soviet Union began to count the noses of the "Non-voters": Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Poland, Uruguay, Paraguay and Bolivia, and reckoned that at least a full third of the members of the League of Nations would vote against the acceptance of the Soviet Union into the League, a circumstance which would effectively prevent its entry.

At the time of writing it would appear that Holland, Belgium and Canada were contemplating open retreat. Poland, as its spokesmen now declare, was always in favour of co-operation with the Soviet Union. The South American countries never intended to vote against the Soviet Union and so on. And Switzerland? The attitude of Switzerland is of importance for one reason only, namely, that it is, so to speak, the host of the League of Nations, and any hostility on its part could be accompanied, apart from the provocation of such an action, by chicanery towards the Soviet delegates. However, the Italian "Corriere della Sera" of September 1 expresses the opinion that just the fact that Switzerland is

the host of the League of Nations will cause it to abandon its attitude. What the Italian newspaper means can be seen still more clearly in a Paris report of the Swiss newspaper "*Neue Zuercher Zeitung*" of September 2, which writes:—

"People in Paris are asking whether the Swiss are prepared to take the consequences which must result from their attitude, i.e., the loss of the League of Nations headquarters."

Will the Swiss bourgeoisie risk losing the custom of the League of Nations? It is quite possible that the Swiss government may declare that its attitude has been guided not by any hotelier egoism, but by the finer feelings of hospitality. However, the foreign committee of the Swiss federal parliament has passed a resolution calling on the government to instruct its delegates to the League of Nations to vote against accepting the Soviet Union as a member of the League. On the other hand, the central committee of the Swiss section of the League of Nations Union has voted overwhelmingly in favour of the acceptance of the Soviet Union and calls upon the Swiss government to withhold its vote at the coming session "as a 'Yes' vote seems hardly possible and a 'No' vote would be against the convictions of a large portion of the Swiss population." The resolution even points out that the admission of the Soviet Union to the League of Nations "would very probably serve the cause of peace."*

The change in the feelings of the world was brought about by the decisions of a conference of the *Baltic States*, which has turned a deaf ear to the entreaties of the Polish Foreign Minister, Beck, and has refused to permit itself to be harnessed to the war chariot of Germany and Poland. The decisions of the conference represent a strict repulse to both Poland and Hitler Germany. The fiasco of the latest anti-Soviet campaign is crowned by the latest bandit attack on one of the trains of the Chinese Eastern Railway. This time Japan has gone a little too far. In order to exert pressure on the Soviet Union and to persuade it to abandon its rights in the railway for a song, the Japanese military authorities have given the bandits a free hand, they have permitted them to be armed and equipped from the Japanese arsenals, and they have steadfastly refused all the proposals of the Soviet railway authorities for effective measures to stop the bandit menace. The latest bandit raid is an international scandal with tragic consequences for foreign passengers, including a number of American citizens. The report of the Japanese and Manchurian newspapers that the bandits went to work with brassards bearing the words "Friends of the Soviet Union" and that "a Russian passenger" directed the attacks of the bandits from the train, is so grotesque that it will inevitably recoil upon its perpetrators. The fact that Japan has gone a little too far in its campaign against the Soviet Union and that it has achieved the opposite effects both in Asia and Europe have now compelled it to retreat, but only temporarily. However, this retreat will seal the fate of the latest anti-Soviet campaign of incitement.

According to official reports from Paris and London, both the British and French governments have been prominent in removing hindrances to the entry of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations. We have repeatedly written in these columns concerning the changed attitude of France towards the Soviet Union, and we should like to remind our readers of our remarks concerning the parliamentary session of July 13 in London with regard to the attitude of *Great Britain*. Mr. Stanley Baldwin openly referred to the Rhine as the new frontier of Great Britain, and Winston Churchill declared that Germany was a menace to the peace of the world because it was under the control of irresponsible adventurists. Such men, Churchill declared, might plunge the world into war from one day to the next. Great Britain therefore declared itself in favour of the proposed Eastern Locarno pact with a view to holding Hitler Germany in check. Since then the fears of the British government have received new fuel. The events of July 25 have shown clearly that the Hitler government has no scruples whatever about plunging the world into war if it suits the national socialist book. Every day since then shows that national socialist Germany has not abandoned its old plan with regard to Austria, and that it is forging new provocative plans, this time against the *Saar* district and against *Memel*. To-day there is

no longer any doubt that Poland has promised Germany a completely free hand against Austria. Is it not very likely that Poland has also promised Germany a free hand against Lithuania in the *Memel* question?

The French Cabinet has recently dealt with Hitler's machinations in the *Saar* district and great pains were taken to see to it that public opinion was informed about the question. Obviously that is the preparatory stage to bringing the whole question before the League of Nations.

The quarrel over the body of Austria has already led to a very considerable aggravation of the relations between *Italy* and *Yugoslavia*. The Yugoslavian government has offered the Austrian National Socialist Legion an asylum, it is feeding them and has left them with their arms so that Austria has armed legionaries on its flanks both in Germany and in Yugoslavia. At the instance of Italy the Austrian press has now adopted a sharper tone towards Yugoslavia. The retort of Yugoslavia has been addressed not to Austria, but directly to Italy. The Belgrade "*Vremie*" writes:—

"To-day we have the right to ask who it was who financed Vantcha Michailov and the Macedonian Committee for years in order that their followers should make armed raids on Yugoslavian territory? Who systematically provoked revolts on the part of the Albanian Catholics in order to justify Italian intervention? Who is re-arming Hungary? Who is it who is maintaining the notorious Ouschtach, consisting of bandits, in the neighbourhood of the Yugoslavian frontier?"

"If you want the truth you shall have it," is the tone of the polemic at present being conducted, and the truth that is coming out in this quarrel between thieves lights up the situation glaringly. It is not difficult to see for what both neighbours, Italy and Yugoslavia, are preparing.

The preliminary skirmishing for the London naval conference in 1935 is to follow on the Washington naval conference of 1932 and on the London naval conference of 1930 is already in full swing. It is reported again and again that Japan is about to give notice to end the Washington agreement. The Washington agreement would be automatically extended for a further period of years unless it is ended by notice of one of the parties to it this year. However, that would mean that Japan would have to put up still further with the present naval ratio of 5:5:3 as against America and Great Britain. Japan demands naval parity, particularly with regard to the United States. On the other hand, Japan is unwilling to provoke American hostility at the moment in view of the serious situation Japanese imperialism has created in Manchuria. The question is therefore occupying the experts: will Japan give notice to end the Washington agreement or not?

Last week the Japanese Cabinet adopted a decision which means a conditioned notice to end the agreement. The Japanese government proposes that naval forces should be divided into "weapons of defence" and "weapons of attack." The "weapons of attack" should be restricted, it proposes, and the "weapons of defence" enlarged. All those naval arms which Japan feels to be particularly valuable to itself it declares to be "weapons of defence," whilst all the others are "weapons of attack." Above all Japan is in favour of the abolition of aircraft carriers which represent such a powerful weapon for the United States in view of the fact that it has almost no bases in the middle of the Pacific Ocean and none at all on the Asiatic side. It would not be difficult to imagine the answer of the United States to this proposal. However, the Japanese government declare categorically that unless its proposal is adopted it will give notice to end the Washington agreement.

The events show again and again that the course of development does not proceed uniformly and evenly. Although the final outburst of the conflict is being postponed again and again, the imperialist antagonisms are rapidly increasing to an intolerable pitch and the danger of imperialist war is steadily increasing.

INTERNATIONAL YOUTH DAY IN VIENNA

Vienna, September 1.

The Young Communists, in revolutionary unity with the Young Socialists, celebrated the International Youth Day by street demonstrations and flying red flags. In Prigittenau mounted police attacked one of these demonstrations, and drew their swords to disperse the crowd. A number of young workers were arrested.

* Since the above was written the Swiss government has nevertheless finally decided to vote again the acceptance of the Soviet Union as a member of the League of Nations.—Ed.

The Restoration of the Hapsburgs and the Little Entente

By Victor Zitna (Bucharest)

The Danube Basin still remains the chief dangerous spot in Europe. The imperialist contradictions which have accumulated in this part of the Continent for years threaten to break out at any moment. The fight is being openly conducted between those countries which are defending the Versailles system, namely, France and its allies, and the revisionist block.

The whole system of alliances and treaties can undergo important changes at decisive moments. The French press was compelled, not without annoyance, to refer to the attitude of Yugoslavia after July 25, which energetically reacted to the concentration of Italian troops on the Austrian frontier. This action placed France in an awkward position, as she was determined, in the event of the Nazi putsch being successful, to support Italy.

Writing in the "*Figaro*," Vladimir D'Ormesson, after declaring that Central Europe forms the key to the problem of peace, states:

"It suffices to take as an example the excitement displayed by the Yugoslavian press in connection with the concentration of Italian troops in order to realise what serious conflicts can break out any day in Central Europe."

The failure of the Nazi putsch of July 25 has by no means cleared up the political situation in Vienna. On the contrary, with the murder of Dollfuss the intrigues between the various imperialist Powers for hegemony in the Danube Basin have increased.

Whilst Hitler has had to retreat for the time being and to adopt certain measures against the Austrian Legion in Bavaria, *Mussolini* is striving to obtain a firmer foothold in Vienna.

Italian imperialism, which has succeeded by the Pact of Rome in bringing about a certain understanding between Italy, Austria and Hungary, is continuing its efforts with the aim of opposing the Little Entente with the bloc of revisionist Powers and at the same time preventing the *Anschluss*, which would open the way for Hitler to the Balkans. The countries of the Little Entente, in spite of their antagonisms, are united in declaring that they will oppose with every means a revision of the peace treaties. Rumania and Yugoslavia have gone so far as to declare that they would prefer the union of Austria with Germany to a Hapsburg restoration.

"The revision of the peace treaties means war," proclaimed the whole of the Rumanian press on the occasion of Barthou's visit to Bucharest. And the latter declared that France would protect with its five million bayonets every inch of territory of the Little Entente. Immediately after July 25, conferences of representatives of the Little Entente met in Prague and Belgrade in order to discuss the eventuality of Italian troops marching into Austria. And it was only thanks to the intervention of the Quai d'Orsay that a moderate tone was maintained in the communiqué intended for the press.

In this strained international situation there is again open talk of a Hapsburg restoration. According to press reports, Prince *Starhemberg*, the chief of the Heimwehr, has paid a visit to *Mussolini* in order to prepare for an official visit by Chancellor *Schuschnigg*. The real object of *Starhemberg's* visit, however, was to come to an understanding with the Duce regarding the measures which were to be adopted after July 25. It is an open secret that, of the Heimwehr and the Christian socials which at present form the government coalition in Vienna, *Mussolini* gives preference to the Heimwehr and combats the influence of the Christian socials, who enjoy the sympathy of the Vatican and of President *Miklas*.

It is certain that the problem of the Hapsburg restoration occupied an important place in the conversations between *Starhemberg* and the Duce. For the rest, it is significant that at about the same time the ex-Empress Zita held a family council in Via Reggia (Italy), and rumours were current that *Alphonse XIII* had been sent to Belgrade in order to discuss with *Alexander Karageorgevitch* the conditions which were to be fulfilled in the event of a Hapsburg restoration. In an interview granted to the "Echo de Paris" Prince *Starhemberg* openly declared: "In any event 90 per cent. of the Austrian population prefer the Hapsburgs to the Nazis."

The French press, even if it emphasises that the Austrian problem is an international problem, is compelled to declare that the Hapsburg restoration is the last measure coming in question against the *Anschluss*.

Whilst *Starhemberg* prepared the ground in Rome, Chancellor

Schuschnigg proceeded to Budapest. For the Hungarian bourgeoisie the revision of the treaties is not completely synonymous with a restoration of the Hapsburgs in Vienna. They would certainly submit conditions in the case of this eventuality being realised. It is certain that these questions were discussed on the occasion of *Schuschnigg's* visit to Budapest. At the same time Hungary is seeking other points of support. In this connection the improvement of relations between Hungary and Poland, which last country is strongly interested in the maintenance of the Versailles Treaty, is worth noting.

It is unnecessary to say that all these intrigues for the restoration of the Hapsburgs have led to serious threats of war in the countries of the Little Entente.

In a leading article devoted to the Austrian problem, the "*Universul*" of Bucharest declares:—

"For the maintenance of peace there are two categorical conditions on which no compromise is possible: complete independence of Austria and the final removal of the Hapsburgs." And the reactionary Rumanian paper declares:—

"Austria must remain independent not only as a political State form, but it must also be kept outside of the exclusive influence of a great Power."

This is a plain hint to *Mussolini*.

Chancellor *Schuschnigg* is visiting Rome earlier than was originally intended. Important changes can take place in Vienna from one day to another. Armed intervention is being openly considered in the capitals of the Little Entente. But the soldiers of the armies of the Little Entente will, under the leadership of the revolutionary organisations, refuse to march on Vienna and will fraternise with the Austrian workers and soldiers.

The Polish Stavisky Affair

By J. Rada (Warsaw).

The corruption affair of the joint stock company which controls the biggest textile undertaking in *Zyrardov*, near Warsaw and the suicide of one of the most prominent representatives of the Pilsudski camp, the lawyer *Lednicki*, form the foreground of a scandal which allows us a glimpse behind the scenes of the fascist Pilsudski clique.

Even the former Finance Minister *Matuszewski*, who is the present chief editor of the government organ "*Gazeta Polska*," declares that "the *Zyrardov* affair, by reason of its flagrancy, has become a symbol of capitalist morality in Poland." Of course, starting from this assertion he wishes to make a distinction between "sound, honest, solid" capital and "speculative, fraudulent" capital. It is equally a matter of course that he makes Polish fascism the guardian angel of all capitalist virtues, but sees in the French cotton king, *Marcel Boussac*, the owner of the greater part of the *Zyrardov* shares, the embodiment of all that is evil.

Polish fascism more than ever needs pretexts in order to attribute to the foreign capitalists all the harm it has caused. The sham fight against foreign capital is calculated to cloak the attack against the remnants of social insurance and the setting up of concentration camps. Therefore, the Prime Minister *Koslovski*, in his programmatic speech, fulminated against foreign capital which, he declared, "would like to work in Poland as in a colony."

For many years *M. Boussac* enjoyed the friendly protection of the Polish government. The factory in which he invested his capital was run in accordance with the "sound principles" of capitalist rationalisation. The number of workers employed in this factory declined in a few years from 10,000 to 1,800. The workers' strikes were crushed with the aid of Pilsudski's police. *Zyrardov*, the town of unemployment, misery and starvation, existed in order to increase the "justified profits" of *M. Boussac*.

Matuszewski now states in his article that *Boussac* intentionally caused the *Zyrardov* factory to be run at a loss. *M. Boussac's* *Zyrardov* factory had to buy raw material at exorbitant prices from a French trading company owned by *M. Boussac*, in order, later, when it got into financial difficulties, to obtain credit at the extortionate rate of 24 per cent. interest from a financial institution in which *M. Boussac* was interested. *M. Boussac*, it is said, cheated the small shareholders. In March last, on the proposal of the Polish shareholders, the *Zyrardov* factory was placed under a board of control. The representatives of the Polish

shareholders entered into a fresh agreement with Boussac, "not even for a mess of potage but for a stinking sausage."

One will rightly ask: how was it possible that this whole scandal could go on for so many years unobserved?

The people who concluded the "shabby" agreement are in the government camp. The agreement was concluded on the estate of the prominent member of the government party, Senator **Dobiecki**, with his participation and that of another fascist economic leader, General **Platovski**. Prince Radziwill, the deputy chairman of the government block and chairman of the Foreign Committee of the Sejm, and **Zaleski**, who was for years Pilsudski's Foreign Minister, were appointed representatives of the Polish shareholders to serve on a committee of arbitration which was to be formed. The "Polonia" writes: "In order to pacify their consciences a remuneration of 250,000 zloti was provided for them." The "stinking sausage" was thus adapted to the appetite of high standing Pilsudski people.

Matuszewski is compelled to admit that "the agreement includes the names of people who are in our camp." He thereby wishes to create the impression of being ruthless towards people in his own camp and that the government has no hand in the unsavoury affair. The accused Senator **Dobiecki**, however, openly declares that the committee of shareholders, of which he was at the head, conducted negotiations for six months with the French majority of shareholders, and this fact was known to everybody. The committee itself has published a declaration in which it is stated:

"The attitude of the committee was communicated several times, verbally and in writing, to the State authorities."

The government clique had a hand in all the business which it now describes as shabby. It is now, however, using the whole affair for the purpose of its shameless demagoguery. It is not at all a question whether the leaders of Polish fascism were aware of the Zyrardov affair, rather is it a question why they suddenly prefer now to raise an outcry about it.

One reason is the strained Polish-French relations. If, therefore, two of Boussac directors are for the moment under lock and key, if even the complaints of the French ambassador are rejected by the Polish ministerial council, the two gentlemen have to thank M. Boussac less than M. **Barthou**, and much less the Zyrardov pact than the proposed Eastern Locarno Pact. The government wishes to make use of the Zyrardov affair as a demagogic pretext for its anti-French foreign policy, for its pro-Hitler work against peace in the East.

The second and most important reason is the clique struggle in the Pilsudski camp, which is becoming increasingly bitter in face of the insuperable difficulties and the growing resistance of the working class. It is intended to shift the crimes of the regime on to the opponents of the clique.

"The Zyrardov affair," writes the "Polonia," of August 9, "shows that people cannot expect any consideration if they stand in the way of the plans of the government."

Lednicki, who was involved in this affair as legal adviser of the company, has fallen victim to this clique struggle. He played a prominent part in politics and was deputy in the first Russian Duma. Apparently, he belonged to the group which was opposed at the time to the leading government clique. The national democratic "Gazeta Warszawska," of August 16, casts suspicion on the haste and certainty with which some newspapers attributed **Lednicki's** suicide exclusively to the Zyrardov affair. The paper calls attention to certain circumstances which lead one to conclude that **Lednicki's** death was not altogether a case of suicide.

The working class will thwart the attempt to make out of the Zyrardov affair fresh agitation material for Pilsudski fascism. Zyrardov does not stand alone; the workers in the whole of Poland are plundered by native and foreign exploiters with the same methods as those employed by Boussac. The Zyrardov affair, as the expression of the disintegration within the government group, has its counterparts in other fascist countries. This disintegration will accelerate the unity of the workers. It is precisely in Zyrardov and the neighbourhood that the united front offer of the Communist Party has met with the greatest response. Workers are uniting for the fight against wage robbery, against those responsible for their misery, who are not only Boussac but in the first place Pilsudski. The united front against the regime of exploitation, of deceit, bloody terror and war preparations is being set up in the whole of Poland.

The Drought in the U.S.A. and Roosevelt's Agrarian Policy

By T. L. B.

The terrible drought, from which many countries in the world suffered, has been particularly severe in the United States. The first heat wave in May had disastrous effects on the grain crop. The chief damage, however, was caused by the later heat waves, especially those at the end of July, which destroyed the maize and other fodder, as well as the cotton crop in the Eastern districts.

The damage is enormous. It was only thanks to the existence of considerable surpluses from the previous year that it was possible to avoid the necessity of importing agrarian products. Cattle breeding has been very severely hit as a result of the lack of fodder. The farmers, owing to lack of feedstuff, are obliged to sell their cattle at ruinously low prices. Others are transporting their cattle from the drought districts to places where there is still pasture. The poor farmers, who are unable to afford the cost of transport, have to drive their cattle over distances of 100 miles and more. But even then they encounter great difficulties, as the governors of several States, in accordance with the capitalist maxim, "everyone for himself," have prohibited cattle being brought in from neighbouring States. Even according to official estimates it is reckoned that about 400,000 farmers' families will be without means of existence until the harvest of 1935.

The agricultural crisis in the United States confronts the Roosevelt government with difficult tasks and hampers the activity of the organs of the "New Deal" which are intended to exercise control over agriculture. The main work of the Agrarian Office for the regulation of agriculture, known as the A.A.A., consisted in limiting the area under cultivation and reducing the supplies of agricultural products in order to achieve so-called "parity prices," that is to say, the pre-war relation between the prices of the industrial and agrarian products. For this purpose agreements were concluded with thousands of farmers in the grain-growing districts, by which they were assured premiums in return for limiting the area under cultivation. Similar agreements were concluded in the cattle-breeding and cotton-growing districts.

The drought has greatly facilitated the work of the A.A.A. One would have thought that the poverty caused by this disaster would have settled the question of the continuance of the A.A.A., as its task consisted mainly in restricting agricultural output and thereby raising prices. But the A.A.A. is continuing its activity. The Roosevelt government, which came into power mainly with the aid of the farmers' votes, has worked out a large-scale programme of relief for the farmers hit by the drought and for this purpose has demanded 525 million dollars from Congress. The "programme of action" proposed by the government provides for immediate relief for the ruined farmers and also measures for combating drought.

As a means of direct relief for the most seriously affected districts it is planned to export cattle and import fodder, as well as to accelerate the slaughter of cattle for canning. In some of the seriously affected districts farmers are to be granted reduced freight rates for the transport of cattle and the purchase of fodder. In certain other districts where the area under cultivation has been reduced, in accordance with agreements, it is permitted to sow rapidly growing sorts of fodder. There is also talk of transferring thousands of farmers' families from the drought-stricken areas to climatically more favourable districts. An examination of the distribution of sums intended to combat the drought, and still more the practical measures and methods of this work, deprives this programme of the halo with which the propagandists of the A.A.A. would like to invest it. In addition, the measures adopted change the original character of the whole programme.

It is intended at the same time to furnish a justification for the existence of the A.A.A. The official propaganda of the A.A.A. is being renewed in two directions. On the one side attention is called to the effective aid rendered by the A.A.A. to the distressed areas. On the other hand, the propagandists of the A.A.A. seek to persuade the farmers that the measures of the A.A.A. are the best possible measures for averting future drought disasters. Attention is called to the effectiveness of the premiums paid to the farmers for reducing the cultivated area. The advances paid to the farmers are now being converted into insurance premiums which will secure them a certain income in the event of drought or other national disaster. The representatives of the A.A.A. forget, however, that the original intention of the premium was the exact

he refused permission to the surgeons to perform an operation contrary: namely, to get rid of the unsold surplus and not make up for a shortage. They also do not mention that thousands of farmers who have not concluded agreements to limit the cultivated area—these are mainly poor farmers who cannot allow themselves the luxury of reducing the area sown by them—do not enjoy charitable support from the A.A.A. They get nothing from the insurance premiums. The A.A.A. is taking a further step in order to justify its existence. Its initiators regarded it as a temporary organ, the task of which was to solve the problem of restoring parity of prices. Now, however, there is no longer any talk of the temporary character of the A.A.A. The price relationship of the pre-war period has not been reached by a long way. In May, 1933, the farmer's dollar rose to 61, but in May, 1934, it had dropped to 51. The representatives of the A.A.A. wish to broaden the scope of their task by declaring that they have to prevent not only "over-fattening" as a result of superabundance (unsaleable products of agriculture), but also "emaciation" as a result of shortage (caused by the drought and other natural disasters).

The premiums paid out by the A.A.A., therefore, are to have a permanent character. The originators of this plan do not, however, say from what sources they intend to pay these premiums to the farmers when, as a result of the systematic restriction of production and the natural disaster which has now occurred, prices do actually achieve the longed-for "parity." There is increasing doubt whether it will be possible to pay these premiums from the proceeds of the special taxes now introduced, as not only the representatives of industry working up agricultural products but also the farmers are protesting against the burdens which trustified industrial capital is shifting on to them as consumers.

The situation confronts the A.A.A. with great difficulties. The chief difficulty consists in the fact that the damage caused by the drought has proved far greater than the government had calculated. As a result a new situation has arisen. It is being asked whether it would not be better to abandon "planning" and leave every farmer free to determine his plan of production himself.

Thus the representatives of the A.A.A., from boasting of their work, are now driven to defending the same. The accusation is brought against the A.A.A. that it takes advantage of the drought disaster to buy cattle at ridiculously low prices, and on the other hand compels the farmers to limit production. As the newspapers write: farmers who in the evening have concluded bargains for the sale of their cattle, change their decision in the morning if it has happened to rain during the night. This proves how loath they are to part with their cattle. It is especially the poor farmers who hang on to their few cows. Many farmers also recognise that the help granted them by the A.A.A. has in fact been converted into help for the creditors (the banks, etc.). The financing of the purchase of cattle benefits the owners of the slaughter-houses and the canning factories, whose business has considerably improved of late.

All these circumstances increase the discontent of the masses of farmers and reduce the chances of the A.A.A. to strengthen its position and make capital out of its measures in connection with the drought.

Development of the Network of Retail Trade

In the first half of the present year all the trade organisations worked to extend the network of trade. Numerous new shops, special stores and stores dealing in goods of a high quality have been opened.

In connection with the organising of the People's Commissariat for Internal Trade, the Council of People's Commissars has decided to dissolve the "Committee for Goods Funds and Regulation of Trade" attached to the Council for Labour and Defence.

The All-Russian Central Executive Committee has decided to form a People's Commissariat for Internal Trade of the R.S.F.S.R., Central Executive Committees of the Autonomous Republics and Regional Executive Committees have been called upon likewise to organise People's Commissariats for Internal Trade within ten days.

The supply of cigarettes for Moscow has increased of late. Moscow now receives daily 25 million cigarettes, including a great quantity of cheaper varieties.

Germany

After the Defeat of Hitler

The doubling of the anti-fascist votes and the diminution of the national socialist votes by 2.5 millions, an astonishing result which even the national socialist reports were compelled to admit, surprised the masses in Germany no less than public opinion abroad. The conviction that Goebbels would fake and cook to his heart's content in any case was so widespread that neither on the night of the poll nor the next day was there anything like the usual interest shown in the wireless and newspaper reports of the polling. The impression was therefore all the stronger when unexpectedly the authorities confessed Hitler's defeat and the unexpected success of the anti-fascist propaganda. The feeling of millions of German voters was expressed the next day in the remark frequently heard from the more intrepid: "Had I known that so many would vote against Hitler I would have voted against him myself," and: "If they dare to risk another election it will be the end of their swindle."

In view of the general conviction that the whole election was a fake in any case, the activity of our comrades was all the more valuable. Our work in connection with the plebiscite was in fact one of the highest points of the anti-fascist mass agitation. The resourcefulness and technical capacities of our comrades were demonstrated in such incidents as the transforming of the "Yes" into "No" overnight on such governmental placards as the one which showed a huge picture of Hitler against a background of tens of thousands with the inscription: "We are all voting Yes!" Our little stickers in bright red with the inscriptions: "Vote No! Hitler means Hunger and Misery. Thaelmann means Work, Freedom and Bread!" were stuck up everywhere on house doors and on walls.

In many parts of Berlin the police removed all the telephone books from the public telephone boxes because they had been used for anti-fascist propaganda. In Berlin alone millions of stickers, leaflets and posters, both printed and cyclostyled were used during the election campaign.

The positive results of our propaganda and agitation were seen clearly in the election results, whilst the tremendous campaign carried on by the national socialists with all the resources of the State and huge funds at their disposal was ineffective. Goebbels and the other fascist leaders made a mad miscalculation in their estimate of the temper of the masses. The meetings at which "the leaders" spoke were well attended, because they were more or less compulsory, and attendance could be controlled, but a truer picture of the feelings of the masses was given by the attendance at the squares and open spaces, where loud-speakers had been set up to broadcast the speeches. At all these points the attendance from the point of view of the national socialists was lamentable. The only life that was in these gatherings was where our comrades mixed with the audience and started discussion groups. There was general dissatisfaction with the whole national socialist campaign, which was more like a circus. "If he's so sure of himself, why does he spend millions trying to persuade us?" was a view repeatedly expressed.

The exploitation of the "Hindenburg Testament" made no impression on the workers at all, for the "defender of the constitution" no longer possessed any authority amongst them. The broadcasting of the memorial service for Hindenburg was not received with any friendliness in the factories. In the one-time German Nationalist Undertaking the workers and clerical employees remained seated, despite the fact that they were called upon to stand up as a mark of respect. At the well known works of Erich and Graetz, in Berlin, the workers were all assembled in the courtyard to listen to the broadcast. When it was concluded the leader of the National Socialist Factory Organisation struck up the "Horst Wessel Lied," but not a soul joined in, and he broke off in great embarrassment.

Amongst German Nationalist circles, in which the name of Hindenburg is still respected, the conviction is general that the "Testament" is a forgery. The story is current that just before his death Hindenburg was surrounded by Hitler's agents and that all his former friends were kept away from his bedside, not even von Papen and his old friend von Oldenburg-Januschau being permitted to see him, and that Hindenburg was in such a state of despair at the bitter role he was being compelled to play that he refused permission to the surgeons to perform an operation

which might have lengthened his life. These rumours, which are now current amongst the German Nationalists, may be in part inventions, designed to save Hindenburg and his German Nationalist friends from the responsibility which falls on them for the crimes of the Hitler regime, but they are extremely interesting as an indication of the change which has taken place in the feelings even of the reactionary petty-bourgeois masses against Hitler.

Although the number of anti-Hitler votes which Goebbels was compelled to admit this time was much larger than expected, there is a general conviction that this time also a great amount of national socialist jerryandering went on. The activity of our comrades to secure a control in the local polling booths has confirmed this conviction. For instance, just in those local polling booths where large Communist votes were usual on former occasions, the national socialist election officials ejected outsiders from the booths when the counting began, although it is supposed to be carried out under public control. In a dozen polling booths in the east of Berlin, where our comrades were able to exercise a control, the percentage of anti-Hitler votes was from 35 to 40. In many districts where the anti-Hitler voting was known to be very high the workers looked at each other after the announcement of the results, asking: "Where are the 'No!' votes, then?"

The inhabitants of a tent colony in the neighbourhood of Berlin, 100 strong, marched together to the local polling station. When the results were announced it was seen that, according to the official figures, ten people had voted "No!" although everyone knew that the tent-dwellers had voted "No!" to a man, not to speak of other voters. In one Berlin polling district the national socialist polling inspector was compelled to confess that more "Yes!" votes had been turned in to him than there were voters on the lists. The man promised that an inquiry should be held, declaring that Hitler did not want any swindling and that "over-zealous" elements had been responsible for the fake.

An important point is also the excessive number of absent voters ballot papers which were issued. No less than three million such papers were given out by the authorities, who declare that the holidays accounted for the great number. No doubt many of these papers were taken by anti-fascists, who felt that it would be safer for them to poll their votes in some other district, or by persons who did not wish to take the risk of voting "No!" and did not want to vote at all, but who hoped to protect themselves against the visits of local storm troop detachments by taking out such absent voters papers. In fact, those persons who took out such papers were practically compelled to vote "Yes!" because the government issued special instructions that such papers should be sent back to the authorities and that they should be specially marked. In this way absent voters were unable to dodge voting without the authorities becoming aware of it.

Compulsory voting was very strictly organised in Berlin. Each house or group of houses was under the control of a national socialist, who was given a list of all the voters living in his block. At mid-day he was informed who had not yet voted, and these persons were then systematically hauled along to the polling booth. It is clear that with such an organisation "political suspects" were closely watched, and every effort made to intimidate them into voting for Hitler. For anyone a little nervous, the sight of the columns of uniformed national socialists outside the polling booths, and inside, too, right up to the ballot boxes and the desks at which the voting took place, was usually enough intimidation.

The national socialists themselves have flatly contradicted their own statement that the election was a free one without intimidation by their own over-zealousness. An example is the "election result" in the concentration camp in Dachau, in which there are 1,572 prisoners, who naturally all had to vote; 1,554 voted "Yes!" and 18 heroes voted "No!" or spoiled their ballot papers. In other words, Hitler has nowhere more steadfast supporters than in his concentration camps!

Thousands of "over-zealous" national socialists have been released under Hitler's "amnesty," but to give the affair some semblance of reality, a few anti-fascists have also been released. It is reported from a concentration camp in North Germany that workers were suddenly turned out of the camps on to the roads without a penny in their pockets for fares, and without being able to inform their relatives. Some of them were re-arrested immediately at the railway station and sent back again to the camp. The contradictory orders of various authorities were once again turned into sadistic torture for defenceless prisoners. The number of

anti-fascist workers arrested before and after the plebiscite far exceeds the number of those released under the amnesty. In many districts scores of suspected workers were arrested before the plebiscite as "a precautionary measure," in order to weaken the anti-Hitler propaganda.

As far as the leading bodies of the fascist State were concerned, their determination to fake the results of the election and to use terror to intimidate the electorate was by no means less than at the last plebiscite. The reason why they met with less success this time was, first of all, on account of the increasing strength of the anti-fascist movement, and, secondly, on account of the demoralisation which is rapidly spreading in the fascist ranks. In Berlin, for instance, there has as yet been no serious attempt "to clean the ranks" of the brown storm troops, whose numbers are very little lower than they were before June 30. However, it is well-known that this is due to lack of time and opportunity and that the great "clean up" is to come soon, perhaps after the party congress in September. As a result, the members of the storm troops are no longer as zealous as they were. In order to terrorise millions of electors and fake millions of election results the authorities need something more than the bad will of Goebbels and a few thousand corrupt officials. The support of millions of fanatical supporters is necessary. This support has weakened, whilst on the other hand the strength, courage, determination and numbers of the anti-fascist camp have grown.

However, the effects of the terror and the falsification were sufficient to keep down the "No!" votes. The real total of the "No!" votes was probably nearer ten millions, whilst at least a similar number would have voted "No!" but for the widespread terror and intimidation.

The deep dissatisfaction which was making itself felt amongst those masses who still support the national socialists even before the plebiscite will increase rapidly now that the plebiscite has resulted in a clear reverse for Hitler. People who swore by Hitler only a short time ago, and who are still his supporters, are frequently heard expressing the sentiments: "We are on the downgrade now," "We are approaching the abyss," "Hitler won't last more than another six months at the most."

The Hitler clique itself has obviously been deeply shocked by the result of the plebiscite, and the "victory enthusiasm" ramp sedulously organised from above, deceives no one any longer. The national socialist press is making use of the most puerile excuses to cover up the defeat. For instance, the newspapers point out with simulated pride that Hitler had received twice as many votes this time as Hindenburg received at the last presidential election, as though one could possibly compare a plebiscite under terror and intimidation concerning a fait accompli with a normal free election with various candidates! Referring to the unfavourable comparison with the last Hitler plebiscite, the "Voelkischer Beobachter" declares that such a comparison must not be made, because at the last plebiscite the issue at stake was a foreign political one, on which naturally the nation was more united and emphatic. The national socialists seem suddenly to have realised that their "Heaven-sent Leader" enjoys no such "united and emphatic support" now. The recent plebiscite may also not be compared with the last Reichstag's election, declare the national socialist newspapers, because then there were 40 people on the national socialist list who were not members of the National Socialist Party. Yesterday the national socialist press declared that the personality of "the Leader" was above all criticism, and that the whole German people was one and united in his support, and now the "Voelkischer Beobachter" declares that a list on which, not only Hitler, but also a number of people who are not national socialists are put forward, has a greater drawing power than the great "Leader" personally!

Hitler's appeal after the plebiscite begins with the illuminating words: "The fifteen year struggle of our movement for power in Germany ended yesterday." In other words, so long as Hindenburg was alive power was not in the hands of the national socialists! This victory fanfare compares peculiarly with the memorial hymns of praise just sung for Hindenburg. The old man had to die before Hitler could boast complete victory. In the same appeal, drawn up in the night following the plebiscite, Hitler announces "a determined, persistent and brilliant struggle to win over the last remnant of the German people to national socialism."

Up to the present this struggle has not been particularly brilliant, but it has distinguished itself by a spate of new threats.

Goering has declared to the "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" that, "those who voted 'No!' will not actually be punished, but if they dare to conduct their propaganda or commit criminal actions they will feel a fist of iron." The national socialist "Angriff" has discovered a hotbed of "No-voters" in the reading-room of a bookshop on the Kurfuerstendamm, where foreign newspapers are to be had, and it overwhelms them with a flood of vulgar abuse. The "Voelkischer Beobachter" speaks of "isolated groups of Communists to which the State will continue to pay close attention," and points out that the results of the plebiscite have shown these groups to be particularly strong in Hamburg and Leipzig. It also refers menacingly to the "former strongholds of the Centre Party" in Western Germany. And, in fact, such results as that reported from Aix-le-Chapelle, where 33 per cent. of the electors voted "No!" are a mere tekel for the Hitler regime in the coming plebiscite in the Saar district.

Hitler's appeal declares that if national socialism has succeeded in winning 90 per cent. of the population, then it must be possible to win the remaining 10 per cent. also, but at the same time the national socialist press abuses this 10 per cent. as "egoistic," "incorrigible," "unpolitical," "personally vexed element," "hostile to the people," etc. In point of fact, the problem for Hitler is not to win over the masses of the Communist, social democratic and Catholic electors who together total about 50 per cent. of the electorate, and whom he has never in fact really won, but in a situation in which his influence is on the wane to prevent the anti-fascist masses rising in open revolt and to prevent the further falling away of his own mass basis.

The Catholic electors have obviously not been in the least impressed by Hitler's declaration in his Hamburg election speech in favour of "positive Christianity." Words are far too weak to repair the damage done to national socialism amongst the Catholic population of Germany by the series of murders committed against leading Catholic officials and politicians, and to call off the crusade against the Catholic mass organisations now at a moment when such a retreat would so obviously be a forced one would not do much to improve the temper of the Catholic masses from the national socialist point of view.

The working-class problem is still more difficult for Hitler, for in view of the inexorable and intensified development of the economic crisis, the capitalists are not inclined to make their national socialist lackeys any material concessions. The "brilliant" coup to which Hitler is said to be referring in his appeal following on the plebiscite is a proposal to dismiss the incompetent toper Ley, who is now at the head of the national socialist "Labour Front," together with his staff and to replace them by a handful of renegades from the former reformist trade union movement. Since the financial state of the "Labour Front" has been investigated by auditors, acting for the National Socialist Party, the wildest rumours are current concerning the defalcations said to have been committed by Ley. For the moment Ley is still in a position to defend himself by sending his "slanderers" into concentration camps and by thundering against the "malcontents" in the camp of the former trade unionists and in the employers organisations. Next week he is to address a big meeting in Breslau, but perhaps he will suffer the same fate as his colleague Roehm, who also promised to come back from his "Leave of absence," but never did. In any case, it was interesting to note that Ley's services were not called upon at any time throughout the plebiscite campaign.

The fact that negotiations are actually proceeding behind the scenes between Hitler and Leipart and Co., is confirmed by a statement of the Social Democratic Party (now safely in Prague), according to which it will refuse to have anything to do with social democrats who place themselves at Hitler's disposal. Now that the fiasco of the "Labour Front," a mammoth organisation without any influence on the masses of the workers, has become obvious to everyone, Hitler obviously intends to try his luck with something which looks a little more like a trade union, and is led by a group of "tried and trusted" trade union leaders of the old school in an effort to prevent the indignation of the workers in the factories from breaking out openly in the coming severe winter months.

This plan of the fascist dictatorship confirms once again how correct and necessary was the appeal of the Communist Party of Germany to the masses to begin building up the trade unions again as united fighting organisations of the working class. Hitler intends to use the former social democratic and Catholic trade

union leaders in order to split the unity of the workers. The Communist Party appeals to all former members of the social democratic and Catholic trade unions to work with their Communist fellow-workers to build up **united trade unions**, capable of carrying on the struggle of the working class for its demands.

The plebiscite of August 19 was the first clearly visible success of the anti-fascist mass work in Germany, a success which can be denied by no one and a success which stirred up the masses. The Communist Party has conducted this anti-fascist struggle from the first day of the fascist dictatorship with unflinching heroism and dogged persistence. The success of this struggle would have been still greater if the Communists had been joined in an anti-fascist united front to an even greater extent by the masses of the social democratic and Catholic workers. This task is before the Communist Party now more urgently than ever before. The path which the German workers must take is that from mass agitation to mass action, from the heroic struggle of an advance guard to the struggle of the broad masses. The blow which the fascist dictatorship received on August 19 must now be followed up by still heavier blows, until the fascist giant with the feet of clay topples in final destruction to the ground.

Reich's Bankrupt Schacht Announces New Desperate Measures

Germany and the world are still waiting for the "brilliant" plans which Hitler says he has up his sleeve to win the remaining 10 per cent. of the German population to national socialism, but up to the moment the curious have had to be content with the plans of the economic dictator, Reichsbank Director Schacht, as laid down by him in a number of pronouncements. However, there is nothing "brilliant" about Schacht's plans, which are dictated by the **desperate situation** of German capitalism and spiced with Herr Schacht's own violent aberrations, mental confusion and incalculability. The vacillating policy of Herr Schacht is calculated to increase rather than diminish Germany's economic and financial difficulties and to accelerate the approach of the final catastrophe.

On the eve of the plebiscite, which had such an unexpected and embarrassing result, Schacht gave an interview to the economic editor of the "Ceske Slovo," the mouthpiece of the Czechoslovakian Foreign Minister, Benes. In answer to a question concerning the prospects for the development of Germany's trade, Schacht complained bitterly that foreign exporters were showing unwillingness to deliver goods to Germany owing to the fact that they saw no security for the payments due to them on such deliveries. "Whoever does business with Germany," declared Schacht pompously, "should know that he will receive payment." He, Schacht, would see to it that confidence in international obligations was once again restored. One cannot help thinking that Schacht is hardly the man to inspire confidence in obligations. When the German mark was stabilised Schacht swindled millions of small German savers of their last penny, and now he is swindling foreign creditors of their money by his conduct of the finances of the German Reichsbank.

When asked about the significance of the decree apportioning foreign means of payment for the import of raw materials, Schacht let the cat out of the bag when he declared:

"The decree was necessary. In many cases our competitors have worked against us with the story that substitute materials were being used in German production to replace raw materials."

In other words, Schacht has promised the German exporters foreign means of payment to enable them to import raw materials in order to persuade foreign public opinion that the German exporters are not using substitute materials in their products. Neither Schacht's goodwill nor his capacity offers any guarantee that this promise will be kept.

Schacht had nothing to say about the prospects of improving Germany's balance of foreign trade, although that would be the only way of securing the necessary imports of raw materials. All he did was to repeat the old and empty threat that Germany would seek its salvation in substitute materials and thus make itself permanently independent of the world market. He also announced that Germany intended to stop completely all its citizens leaving the country for holidays, etc., abroad. Naturally, this measure would not favourably affect the German balance of payments to any considerable degree.

A week after the interview with the representative of the "Ceske Slovo" Schacht delivered a speech at the traditional Leipzig Fair, which is, by the way, a fiasco this year as far as foreign exhibitors and foreign purchasers are concerned. In this speech Schacht was compelled to admit the utter failure of the bureaucratic limitations of imports which have been introduced up to the present. The prohibition of a number of raw materials to enter Germany had led to foreign exporters sending them to Germany in a half-finished condition. As a result Schacht now proposes to drop the previous system of foreign payments distribution and to introduce a new system, according to which goods may be imported only on a foreign payments permit.

In this way Schacht hopes to bring Germany's imports into relation with Germany's capacity to pay and to prevent foreign debts for goods mounting up which Germany cannot meet. It is clear that this system will mean a **tremendous bureaucratic hindrance to foreign trade**, and will in fact render **invalid all existing foreign trade and foreign payment agreements**. Schacht himself declared that he was well aware that the new system would lead to a very considerable limitation of imports, but he omitted to mention that it would also mean a very considerable diminution of Germany's export trade and the acceleration of the ruin of Germany's export industries. Like the fox who assured himself that the grapes beyond his reach were certainly sour, Schacht solemnly denied the "tendencious reports" that Germany intended to open up negotiations with foreign countries with a view to obtaining new credits.

The effect of Schacht's Leipzig speech was bad enough abroad, because it represented nothing less than an announcement that Germany intended to put all the existing agreements out of force; but not content with this, Schacht followed up his provocative policy by a speech which he delivered on August 30, at a conference of agronomists in Bad Eilsen. In this speech he declared that Germany had paid off 14 milliards of its foreign debt of 25 milliards, though he did not mention that 4 milliards were liquidated by currency depreciation. At last, however, he declared, Germany's transfer capacity was "completely exhausted." There were, he said, two possibilities: either Germany's foreign creditors must accept payment in goods or they must strike off Germany's obligations as bad debts. However, neither alternative was practicable, and therefore a middle course between the two would have to be found: Germany's foreign trade would have to be encouraged and Germany's foreign debts would have to be diminished. A few years ago this middle course might have been possible, but to-day the situation was such that nothing remained but to grant Germany a **complete moratorium for a period of years**, in order to permit its economic and financial recovery, and also to reduce the burden of foreign debt to such a volume that Germany would then be able to carry.

It is just three months ago that Germany, through the mouth of Schacht, asked for a six months' moratorium without being able to secure the agreement of Germany's foreign creditors. Three months later the same man declares that the situation has worsened so catastrophically that Germany's transfer capacity has been destroyed for years to come. But he is not satisfied even with this. Whilst demanding a postponement of all payments for a period of years and the striking off of a portion of the private debts, he at the same time announces Germany's desire for new foreign credits, although a week before, at the Leipzig Fair, he denied that Germany harboured any such wishes. "It will then, that is to say, after the moratorium and the abatement of a portion of the foreign debts) transpire quite naturally that Germany will receive such material credits as are necessary to permit it to exercise its normal purchasing power on the world markets."

But why on earth should the foreign finance capitalists who are unable to get their money back from Germany once again put their hands deep into their pockets? Schacht hopes that he can soften the hearts of the foreign moneylenders by frightening them with the spectre of Bolshevism. He declares that unless Germany was given its rightful place in the world economic system there could be no improvement in the world economic crisis. **Bolshevism**, he declared, found a more **favourable breeding-ground** in the present world economic crisis than even in the immediate post-war years, though not in Germany, for, according to Schacht, national socialism "throttled Bolshevism at the last moment."

Does Schacht really believe that he can convince his American colleagues that the mass strikes going on in the United States would cease if they flung another milliard or two into Germany's greedy maw? If he does, the echo which his speeches have produced abroad is not encouraging. The English "**Financial News**" publishes an indignant article on Schacht with a stinging title, "**The Finance Policy of Gangsterdom**," and declares that his policy represents the principles of national socialism transferred to the field of high finance.

The Swiss "**Neue Zuercher Zeitung**" is a little more polite, but none the less emphatic. It writes:

"There is no doubt that Schacht's speech will produce indignant protests in all the creditor countries. The remarks which Schacht made last Sunday at Leipzig Fair were repulsed with great energy in the British financial press. His announcement that still further import restrictions are now to come into force has produced a state of indignation in some countries which is hardly capable of intensification.

The same newspaper then sketches the results of any attempt on the part of Germany to repudiate its foreign debts:

"There is no doubt that such an action would meet with intensified resistance abroad, and would in fact produce an actual **economic war** on many fronts, a war which would damage Germany's export industries to a tremendous extent. . . . Above all, however, Germany's **foreign credit** would be **irretrievably ruined** once and for all. . . . Germany's moral and financial credit, which has not been quoted very highly in international circles for some years now, would be utterly destroyed for a long time to come. It is astonishing, therefore, that the President of the German Reichsbank dares to speak of new foreign credits in the same breath with his proposals for a complete moratorium and a considerable abatement in Germany's foreign debt, and to say that he hopes to obtain such credits when Germany's present debt burden has been shaken off or at least reduced to a tolerable volume. Who is likely to lend Germany any money after Germany has resolutely and ruthlessly repudiated its old obligations?"

And, in fact, it is astonishing how the German capitalists think they can treat their foreign business colleagues. It is well known that the German import firms are completely dependent on the Reichsbank's distribution of foreign means of payment, or, in other words, on the German government in their payment of their foreign debts. However, when the British spinning and yarn merchants tried to obtain payment of the money owing to them by German importers by sending a deputation to the German authorities they were coolly informed that the whole affair was a private matter between them and the German import firms, and that they should settle it with the latter. The mouthpiece of German finance capital, the "**Deutsche Volkswirt**" comments cynically:

"For months now the Reich's Economic Minister and the President of the Reichsbank have repeatedly informed the world of the serious state of Germany's foreign means of payment. If under such circumstances British exporters continued to export yarn to Germany without heeding the warnings given to them, then the German government has not the onus of settling any difficulties which may in the meantime have arisen as a result of an aggravation of the foreign means of payment shortage in Germany."

The German government refuses to give the necessary foreign means of payment to the German import firms to pay for the goods which they have ordered from British merchants. Why, then, were the British exporters so foolish as to supply goods to German importers whose capacity to pay for them depended completely on the bureaucratic measures of a government of gangsters? But the "**Deutsche Volkswirt**" goes even further and declares insolently:—

"We fail to understand why the British government does not come to the assistance of the British exporters with credits in order to enable them to bridge the difficulty and continue exporting their goods.

If the German importers are unable to pay for the goods received because the German government refuses to free sufficient foreign means of payment to enable them to do so, then the British government should pay in order that the British exporters can supply still further goods to the German importers. The German capitalists take up the attitude that they are **doing the world**

a favour in purchasing raw materials from it even if they do not pay for them. If the foreign exporters are unable to see this point of view, then Germany will begin to produce its own raw materials. Schacht has an answer ready to the objection that Germany would damage only itself if it worked with expensive and inferior substitutes:—

"It is no use telling us that Germany would damage only itself thereby. We know that very well, and we shall do it only because we have no foreign means of payment with which to pay for foreign imports."

That is a frank confession of the bankruptcy of the national socialist economic policy. Let Hitler try to persuade the fools that it is a sign of German "brilliance" when the German masses once again have to wear clothes made of nettles and shoes of cardboard and eat jam made of turnips. Schacht cannot try the same trick on an audience of capitalist experts, and he is therefore compelled to admit that his plan has nothing of brilliance about it, but that it will have to be adopted because he can see no other way out.

It is a fact that under any capitalist government the world economic crisis would have affected Germany more seriously than other countries owing to the disadvantages placed on Germany by the Versailles Treaty, but that Germany is now heading direct for an economic catastrophe at a time when the worst point of the crisis has been passed in all other capitalist countries and the period of depression is opening up, is due solely to the adventurousness, irresponsibility and incompetence of the economic policy of Hitler's Third Reich.

The wasting of Germany's fund of foreign means of payment in insane armament plans, the ruin of Germany's export trade by the policy of provocation against the Soviet Union and by the whole foreign political policy of German fascism, by the excessive import duties on agricultural commodities which have undermined Germany's trade relations with the agricultural countries and increased the costs of production as compared with Germany's industrial competitors despite the miserable wages of the German workers, the squandering of State money by fascist corruption and the bureaucratic disorganisation caused by the issue of innumerable and constantly changing instructions, all these factors have tremendously intensified the crisis of German monopoly capitalism and threaten the whole German economic system with catastrophe.

Already even the official statistics are being compelled to register the drop in employment, the extension of short-time work and the lowering of wages whilst prices are rising. Many attempts have been made to hide the truth by cooking the figures, but the result has been that the statistics issued by the various authorities contradict each other. According to official figures the number of hours worked fell from 55.4 in May to 54.4 in July, or by 2 per cent., a figure which is not credible because a drop in production is reported uniformly from all branches of the manufacturing industry working for immediate consumption, and it is known that in the textile industry, for instance, there has been a drop of up to 30 per cent. But the coal-mining, steel and rolling mills also show a drop in July as compared with May. Only the production of pig-iron is a little higher. However, the official figures contend that despite the drop in production the number of workers employed has increased, thanks to the spread-over from 58.7 per cent. to 60.1 per cent. of the total capacity in July. The fraudulence of these figures is revealed by the statistics of the health insurance institute, which admit a reduction of 27,000 in employment from May to July. Referring to this contradiction the "Deutsche Volkswirt" observes:—

"With a declining volume of trade and industry, the contradiction in these figures would seem to indicate an increase in invisible unemployment. However, this conclusion is in contradiction with the figures of the Reich's Statistical Office which reports an increase in the volume of employment in industry. Before coming to any more or less arbitrary conclusions, which in all probability will be drawn in any case by hostile circles abroad, it would be better to wait and see if the various statistical offices (labour exchanges, health insurance institute and the Statistical Office) can come to any compensatory result themselves. It would appear as though a minor technical statistical error in the report of the health insurance institute were responsible for the trouble."

That is a plain hint to the health insurance authorities to "co-ordinate" their statistics a little better in the interests of national socialism. Heavy dismissals are known to have taken

place in industry during the past two months, and this fact now finds confirmation in the report of the Unemployment Insurance Institute. From April to July last year the number of workers receiving unemployment insurance support decreased, according to the official figures, by 126,000, and in 1932 the official figures even reported that they had decreased by 400,000. In fact, in no year of the crisis was there any increase of unemployment in these months, which are favoured by much seasonal employment, but always a decrease, but this year in the same period the unemployment insurance authorities admit an increase of 70,000. It is quite certain that the regulations controlling the payment of unemployment insurance support were not any the less strict this year, but the increase in dismissals was obviously too great to be completely ignored, and that at a time when the number of task workers was limited to 280,000.

The brutal attack on the masses of the unemployed workers, their violent expulsion from the towns and their transport into the country districts, where they must work for the peasants for starvation wages or beg their living on the roads, is to be carried on with increased intensity this year. Schacht has transferred his dictatorial powers in all questions referring to the employment of labour-power to the President of the Unemployment Insurance Institute, and the latter has now issued a general prohibition of the employment of workers under 25 years of age, with the exception of married men, "old fighters," those who have served in the labour camps a certain period, and former members of the army or navy.

Apparently the national socialist leaders think that it will be easier to shunt off the younger workers into the country district when they have been flung out of the factories than the older workers. With this order fascism, which likes to pose as a movement of the youth, reveals itself as the deadly enemy of the working youth.

The provision excepting "old fighters" is obviously intended as a measure to clean-up the factories from politically suspected elements. The national socialists also hope that the older and married workers who are to take the places of the expelled younger workers will show less resistance to wage-cuts, etc., for fear of losing their jobs than the younger workers did. And, further, as the older workers were for the most part organised in the reformist trade unions, this attempt to reshuffle the strata of workers in the factories is probably connected with Hitler's plans to replace the bankrupt national socialist "Labour Front" with a pseudo trade union formation under the leadership of "tried and trusted" former reformist trade union officials. The "Deutsche Volkswirt" finds a diplomatic formulation for this when it writes:—

"It is hardly likely that the elements against which Dr. Ley is fighting have not yet recognised that the national socialist idea has completely excluded the possibility of economic struggles, such as strikes and lock-outs, and the class struggle in general, and that in practice national socialism has, thank God, completely abolished them. However, as the Italian example shows, a certain organisation of the parties to the tariff agreements is not incompatible with the authoritarian commonwealth State, and, after all, the trade unions were egged on to the great misuse of their powers by the political parties which to-day no longer exist."

The "Deutsche Volkswirt" then goes on to point out that the final settlement of these questions does not lie in the hands of the "Labour Front," but in the hands of the National Socialist Party itself; that is to say, not Ley, but Hitler is the man to carry out the orders of German finance-capital.

It is our duty to see to it that this plan to form "trade unions without the class struggle" on Italian lines and with the assistance of German d'Aragonas meets from the very beginning with the united resistance of the German working class. Although those workers who were formerly organised in the social democratic trade unions may still be in disagreement with their Communist fellow-workers on some political questions, there is no question that the great majority of the German workers are in agreement that the working class needs trade unions in order to fight the class struggle for the demands of the proletariat and not to lead them by the nose in Hitler's interests and at the behest of finance-capital.

The most urgent task of the moment before the German working class is the united organisation of all workers, irrespective of their political opinions, in a solid front against wage-cuts, dis-

missals, rising prices and compulsory banishment into the rural areas. The intensification of the national socialist terror with new mass arrests, brutal prison sentences and further executions which has taken place since the 19th August shows that the ruling powers in Germany fear the growth of mass resistance. The proletarian united front which is the guarantee of the victory of the proletariat will arise in Germany in the struggle against hunger and terror.

The International Youth Delegation in Berlin

(From the "Runa" Special Correspondent)

Zürich, September 3.

On August 21 the delegates sent by the Anti-Fascist Youth arrived in Berlin from England, France, and Spain, and at once commenced to carry out their task.

In the afternoon of the 21st, and on the following days, we visited the workers' districts of the city in order to inform ourselves as to the lives and conditions of the German workers. We divided ourselves into three groups, two being composed of one Frenchman, one Englishman, and one Spaniard each, the third of two Englishmen and two Spaniards. I accompanied the Frenchman Berthelot and the Englishman White to the workers' district of Moabit.

After concluding their tour of Berlin, the groups met again and exchanged impressions and experiences. We were all struck by the almost total absence of Nazi flags and symbols in the workers' districts.

In the parks and streets, and in the restaurants, we got into friendly conversation, not only with workers, but with the landlords of the small restaurants, and with the people in general.

In the Kleinen Tiergarten we heard from an unemployed man the depth of want and misery into which the unemployed are plunged; their benefit has been cut down bit by bit till nothing remains but a ridiculous starvation pittance.

When we staid, in a restaurant in Moabit, that we were the International Delegation for the Release of Thaelmann, we were surrounded at once by the landlord, his two sons, and two workmen from the next table. One of them explained the meaning of our delegation to the others by saying it was a "control exercised by foreign countries." It could be plainly seen that he only used this phrase in order to avoid words dangerous to use in the Third Realm: "international proletarian solidarity."

In another public house, in Wedding, the satisfaction felt by the workers on hearing of the arrival of the delegation was expressed much more openly. Two workmen invited us to drink beer with them, bought us cigars, took more than 20 photos of Thaelmann from us, saluted with raised fist. And one, without caring who heard him, shouted: "The Red Front is still alive and fighting!"

We had dozens of similar experiences during our stay in Berlin.

On August 23 we paid our first visit to the Propaganda Ministry. We went there separately, and were one and all struck by the extremely rude manner in which we were received. We were kept waiting from ten o'clock in the morning till one o'clock in the afternoon, and then we were told to come back the next day. Next day we went accordingly to the Ministerial Councillor **Vollbart**, but he flatly refused our request to be allowed to visit Thaelmann, the concentration camps, the labour service camps, and a number of young socialists and Communists who had been recently sentenced to death or heavy prison sentences. He spoke in a very provocative manner, so that we answered him very energetically and told him that we would repeat his remarks to the workers in our countries. We could see clearly that he became increasingly nervous, and finally he left the room without listening to us any further.

We then visited the "People's Court" and the "Roehm of the Hitler Youth," **Baldur von Schirach**. In both places we were told to return the next day. We did not care to return to the "People's Court," but we visited the house of the homosexual leader of the Hitler youth; we could not, however, be received, as Schirach had had a "motor-car accident" the day before.

On the Sunday we went out to Grunewald to bathe in the Teufelssee. At the Zoo railway station we met the Spanish journalist Alvar, who had intended going to Wannsee. He decided to accompany us. We were arrested when about to return to Berlin.

After our visit to the Propaganda Ministry we were followed by a number of the agents of the State Secret Police. They wanted

to imprison us in their underground dungeons, and to keep us there as a deterrent to other delegations. They seized upon the pretext offered by the cards with Thaelmann's photo which we carried with us, and which had been brought by the Spanish delegates. In order that the workers might know who we were, we had shown them these photographs. In many cases they asked for copies, which of course we gave them. This we did in the case of one or two workers at the Teufelssee as well.

Probably one of them stuck the picture on a tree, and this gave the State Secret Police a sufficient pretext for carrying out its design. That the design was there is shown by the fact that the French comrade Pain, who had not accompanied us to Grunewald, was arrested a few hours earlier at his hotel.

For three days we were kept in the prison at Alexanderplatz. The treatment was very bad and the food perfectly miserable. None of us were, however, in the least intimidated; on the contrary, we made it plain even to the Commissar of the State Secret Police that we were very pleased at having forced the fascist press to report even to Thaelmann and the other German anti-fascists that we had been in Berlin.

The rapid action taken by the anti-fascists, and the echo awakened all over the world by our arrest, forced the Hitler bands to release us. We were told to leave the country at once.

The Dutch Worker Spansier Before the "People's Court"

By X. (Amsterdam)

One of the first trials held before the new "People's Court," in Berlin, was that of the Dutch worker **H. M. Spansier**, from **Nijmegen**. This trial was of great importance for the international working class, for it threw a vivid light on the essential character of this executioners' law court, before which our Comrade Thaelmann is to appear before long. This case of "high treason" brought against Spansier has aroused much sensation, not only in Holland, but has given the international bourgeois press occasion to subject the "justice" practised in Hitler Germany to a critical examination.

Let us state the facts briefly: Spansier, a member of the Social Democratic Party of Holland, helped in July, 1933, in popularising the social democratic refugees' newspaper: "**Freie Presse**" (in the meantime the paper has ceased to appear). It should be specially noted that he helped to circulate the paper on Dutch territory! The paper was published legally in Amsterdam. Shortly afterwards Spansier went to Kleve (Rhine country) on business, which had nothing whatever to do with this paper, and was promptly arrested. This was in August, 1933. For months nothing was heard about the reasons for his arrest, until finally it was made known officially that Spansier was to be brought before the High Court in Essen on a charge of high treason. But a full year passed before the trial took place, and then it was not in Essen, but in Berlin—behind the locked doors of the "People's Court." The trial ended with the sentence of two years' imprisonment for Spansier. The judge, in summing up, admitted that Spansier had disseminated the newspaper, which was not prohibited in Holland, solely on Dutch soil. But he had "desired and intended" that the facts contained in the "**Freie Presse**," which was published in German, should become known to Germans living in Holland. Facts which were "to be kept secret," so that his helping to publish them was high treason. It was not stated what facts these were which "had to be kept secret." But it is certain that any German living abroad could have read them just as well in any other foreign newspaper. How the Dutchman Spansier could commit high treason in Holland, against a country to which he does not belong, remains the secret of the "new justice" of Germany.

Two things are certain: Firstly, according to German law, no foreigner when in a foreign country can commit high treason against Germany, and the notorious "Lex Thaelmann," of April 30, 1934 (law on the establishment of the People's Courts) has no retrospective power. Secondly, according to this verdict, every foreign journalist in Germany, every one of the millions of distributors and readers of German newspapers abroad, is guilty of "high treason," and should not venture to set foot on German soil.

The verdict is monstrous! It shows what threatens all anti-fascists who will be sentenced in the future by this bloody court—and especially Comrade Thaelmann. Many bourgeois newspapers abroad (the "Times," the Manchester Guardian," etc., and especially the Dutch papers) have pointed out the absurdity of the charge. Seven well-known lawyers in Holland published a declaration stating:

"It is hardly conceivable that this justice (German justice.—Ed.) can regard as punishable, under the heading of high treason, the action of a Dutchman who has circulated in Holland a weekly paper permitted there and everywhere else, a newspaper which anyone can buy. . . . If this is to be the case, then there are many Dutchmen who have collaborated in their own country in the publication of some fact or another with regard to Germany, who would find themselves in danger should they cross the German frontier at any time. This would mean that the Spansier case is an affair touching the interests of the Dutch nation, and that the attention of not only the Dutch government should be drawn to it . . . but of the whole public opinion."

In spite of this, Spansier has been sentenced to two years' imprisonment. The Dutch government has not stirred a finger. The party to which Spansier belongs, the big Social Democratic Workers' Party, has done even less. The central organ of the S.D.W.P., "Het Volk," designated Spansier as "our fellow countryman," but took care not to refer to him as a comrade, did not venture one word in defence of this worker, and confined itself to reprinting some of the innumerable comments of the bourgeois newspapers. (In Nijmegen, Spansier's native town, a characteristic incident took place: Anti-fascists had painted on the pavement the slogan: "Save Thaelmann and Spansier." Next day the S.D.W.P. sent out a group of cleaners entrusted with the task of removing the words "and Spansier!") This remarkable "passivity" has its own reasons. Spansier is at the same time a member of the "League Against War and Fascism," which was boycotted by the bureaucrats of the S.D.W.P., on account of its Left attitude after the time of Spansier's arrest. Members of the S.D.W.P. were forbidden to join the league on pain of expulsion. Spansier was an active functionary in the league, and this explains the social democratic attitude. Spansier, after being sentenced, sent in an appeal for pardon through his bourgeois Dutch lawyer (who was, of course, not allowed to defend him in Berlin), and the Dutch government is stated to have expressed its "sympathy" with this step. We refrain from criticising this action, but may pass on to record the fact that to-day Spansier's cause has become the cause of the whole Dutch working class. Meanwhile the league has taken the initiative towards a great release campaign. The Communist Party, the Red Aid, and the Fighting Alliance against Fascism, have already declared their readiness to co-operate unconditionally in this campaign. The S.D.W.P., of which Spansier is a member, has sent no reply whatever to the invitation of the league. The O.S.P. has refused its collaboration, and the "left" trade union leaders of the N.A.S. submitted such conditions, at a meeting of the above-mentioned organisations held recently, that their attitude was likewise equivalent to a rejection of joint action.

For the international working class the matter is of paramount importance, not only on account of its close connection with the Thaelmann trial, but because another Spansier affair may crop up at any moment on any of Germany's frontiers. Four similar cases have already been reported from Holland! Three workers were recently arrested in the vicinity of the Dutch frontier town of Kerkrade, on a road running through both German and Dutch territory. These workers had distributed Dutch leaflets to the Dutch miners at the pithead of a Dutch mine (the leaflets called for a struggle against the wage cuts planned for the mines of the Limburg district by the Dutch management!). These three workers are now on remand in custody in Aix-la-Chapelle. Nobody knows what charge can be brought against them. The Dutch government has naturally deemed it unnecessary to inquire as to the national territory on which they were arrested (it appears to have already been proved that it was Dutch territory).

Another case: The case of the Dutchman van Swiers, who has been in prison in Essen since December, 1933. This man disappeared without a trace for eight months, and it was only by accident that he was "discovered" by the Dutch consul in the prison in Essen. All the letters written by Swiers to the

consul and to his lawyer in Holland had been held back. For good Nazi reasons; for in December, 1933, Swiers was attacked by German Storm Troop bandits near Venlo, on Dutch territory, several hundred metres from the German frontier, and was **dragged by force over the frontier!** His imprisonment is "justified" by the assertion that he is said to have once asked a woman, in 1932, if she could tell him any military secrets! The Dutch government preserves silence with regard to this unheard of scandal. In reply to the inquiry made by the Communist member of the Dutch Parliament, L. de Visser, the Minister of Justice stated that the "official documents" were not yet in his possession. No one knows how many such prisoners lie in the darkness of the Nazi dungeons!

Spansier, like all other anti-fascists, can only be liberated by the action of the international working class! The cause of Spansier is the cause of all anti-fascists. Release Spansier! This slogan means the struggle against the fascist murderers, the struggle for the release of Ernst Thaelmann and all imprisoned German anti-fascists!

Freedom for Ossietzky, Renn and Neukrantz!

Paris, August 30.

The Secretariat of the World Relief Committee for the Victims of Hitler Fascism writes us as follows:—

"News comes from Germany that Carl von Ossietzky has been inhumanely treated of late in the concentration camp at Papenberg, that he has had to be taken to a lunatic asylum. Since then nothing has been heard of him. This news should cause alarm all over the world, for it is much to be feared that Carl von Ossietzky's "suicide" will form a part of the terrorist wave sweeping over Germany since August 19.

"The powers behind Hitler, his reactionary chauvinist backers, are endeavouring to conceal the new terrorist wave. Hence it may be expected that the national socialist torturers will condescend to apparent "concessions." Should promises be made in this direction, this will make no difference to the real intention of the Hitler fascists; and should they, under the pressure of international public opinion, actually release a few individual anti-fascists whose brutal incarceration has aroused the protests of the whole world for over a year, then they will do this solely in order that they may carry on unobserved their unbounded terror against hundreds of thousands of other anti-fascists, against socialists, Communists, and Catholics.

"Hitler fascism hates and threatens most of all the men whose whole powers have been devoted to the ideological struggle against the Third Reich, and whose ruthless honesty has urged them unceasingly to expose the chauvinist, war-mongering character of every kind of fascism, but especially Hitler fascism, both before and since Hitler's seizure of power. Therefore, this irreconcilable hatred against the sincerely revolutionary pacifist Carl von Ossietzky, therefore this determination to drive him to madness and death by their inhuman tortures; though he is their defenceless prisoner, they fear him.

"We can no longer preserve silence; we must no longer hesitate to state plainly: The Hitler fascists intend to murder this sincere champion of the struggle against war and fascism, Carl von Ossietzky; the revolutionary intellectual, Ludwig Renn; the proletarian author, Klaus Neukrantz! Of all the standard-bearers of the ideological struggle against the Hitler dictatorship, these three have been selected by the Hitler bandits, in spite of their hypocritical amnesty promises, as the next victims to be murdered. They are to follow Erich Muehsam.

"In the names of thousands of intellectuals and workers, champions in the struggle against war and fascism, unable to look on inactively at the cruel physical annihilation of three of their best comrades-in-arms, we raise our voice:—

"Freedom for Ossietzky, for Renn, for Neukrantz; freedom for all imprisoned anti-fascist toilers and intellectuals!"

"Release Ernst Thaelmann, Frau Beimler, Frau Steinfurth . . . all the hostages and victims of Hitler fascism!"

"World Relief Committee for the Victims of Hitler Fascism!"

Great Britain

The Sixty-Sixth British Trades Union Congress

By R. Bishop (London)

For the sixty-sixth time the British Trade Union Congress assembled this week, choosing the seaside town of **Weymouth**, far removed from all industrial struggles, for the purpose. They meet at a time when some of their leading fraternal organisations on the continent of Europe are smashed to pieces by brutal fascist reaction and when the ugly head of fascism is being reared in Britain itself. They meet at a time when the danger of war looms larger than it has done for a long time past. They meet at a time when millions of their own members in leading industries are demanding a fight for the restitution of wages filched from them in the past three years, and when hundreds of thousands more are fighting against further new wage-cuts.

Yet, alas, before the delegates assembled in the hall, it was obvious that neither clear thinking nor courageous action could be expected. On every one of the vital issues confronting Congress preliminary declarations by the leadership had made it clear that, by hook or by crook, the big-wigs were determined to put across a policy of complete capitulation to capitalism. Not without some fine words in the process, of course. But these words were but a smoke screen for treachery and betrayal.

I write whilst the Congress is still in progress, but the note was struck right from the Presidential speech of **Mr. A. Conley**, of the Tailors' and Garment Workers' Union. Incredible as it may seem, it is nevertheless true that in this speech was a long tirade about fascism on the Continent of Europe, a touching tribute to those who fell in the fighting in Austria, an appeal to the delegates to stand for a minute in homage to the victims of the fascist hangmen, but—not a single word about fascism in Britain, let alone any lead as to how to fight it.

But this omission was to be made clear on the second day, when **Mr Citrine**, the General Secretary of the Congress, moved a resolution congratulating the National Council of Labour (the General Council of the T.U.C., the Executive of the National Labour Party, and the Executive of the Co-operative Party) on their stand against fascism. Like Conley, Citrine attacked fascism on the continent and added an attack on the Blackshirt movement in this country. But he went on to add that "dictatorships of the 'Left' are as abhorrent to us as distasteful to the Right," and to declare that Communism had now lost the last shreds of influence in every country. Not a word of his speech suggested that fascism must be fought. The attitude was made clear in a statement of the General Council to the Congress:—

"The Labour movement, at all events, is determined that fascism shall be thoroughly exposed once and for all."

"Exposure" of fascism and relentless and unscrupulous war upon Communism and every militant movement that arises amongst the working class—that is the policy of the General Council. It is significant that whereas in the statement to Congress it confines itself to a condemnation of fascism, the speech of Citrine emphasised particularly the enmity of the reformists to Communism, because in the interim the General Council had been called to book by a leading Tory journal, the "Sunday Observer," for its omission to strike an anti-Soviet note in the statement.

Said the "Observer" in a ponderous leading article:—

"This system (fascism) is denounced as 'a monstrous and savage dictatorship,' as demanding 'servile obedience,' as abolishing freedom of thought and speech. It is charged with making 'murder, torture, and exile' its weapons. The indictment, we think, can be sustained in its broad features as a description of the current system in Germany, and of very recent history at any rate in Italy. But all these traits, so repellent to British instinct, have been still more vividly exemplified in Russia. Why are the oppressions and callous atrocities of Bolshevism passed over with such an audible silence in the text of this passionate protest? It will not do."

And so on and so forth. None more ready than **Mr. Citrine** to take his orders. The attack on the dictatorship of the proletariat is duly trotted out. Not that it needed such an attack to know where the reformist leaders stand, because their every action has been one long attempt to sabotage all militant activity.

For all their "passionate protests" against fascism, the sole recent practical contribution of the National Council of Labour on the subject has been to issue a **manifesto** calling on all "loyal"

trade unionists and members of the Labour Party not to participate in the counter-demonstration against Mosley's Blackshirt provocation in Hyde Park on September 9. In this now notorious manifesto the National Council of Labour went so far as to condemn the great counter-demonstration to Mosley at Olympia, which did more to awake the British masses to the reality of fascist brutality than anything that has happened before or since, declaring that the Labour movement could not tolerate any infringement of Free Speech. Give Mosley a free hand—that was the gist of the reformists' appeal.

The ban had singularly little effect on London's workers. National trade unions like the Furnishing Trades, District Committees of powerful trade unions like the Engineers, decided after the ban that they would participate in the demonstration, be the consequences what they may.

Fascism is unpopular with the broad masses and with large sections of the middle class, so the General Council, ever anxious to be in the swim, denounce it, but beyond that they will not go. What calls for action there were at the Congress came from the rank and file delegates, of whom there were not more than a handful—for there is no gathering in the world which is more dominated by officialdom than the British T.U.C. The proportion of rank and file delegates is always insignificant, and what there are are largely stifled by the manipulation of the block votes of the big unions by the leadership. So, naturally, all protests were suffocated and the "exposure" of fascism was accepted with acclamation as a substitute for the fight against fascism.

So with the fight against war. A few months ago the National Council of Labour issued a statement of their attitude towards war—a statement which completely reversed decisions taken for a general strike against war at the Labour Party Conference and the Trade Union Congress last year. This statement committed the Labour movement to support of "our" government in the event of a "defensive" war. The argument used to cover this gross betrayal is astounding in its temerity:—

"It is recognised that the lack of an independent trade union movement in such countries as Germany, Italy, Austria, and others makes the calling of a general strike against their governments an impossibility; and in other countries, such as Japan, the weakness of the trade union organisations made it unable to restrain its government. Recognising that aggressive action might come from some of these countries, the general strike could not be made effective inside them. The responsibility for stopping war, moreover, ought not to be placed upon the trade union movement."

A more shameless document has never been penned by any section of the international Labour movement. The actual debate on the war policy of the Congress will only take place after this article is in the hands of the printers, but it is certain that the same rigid steam-rolling will be practised as was the case in the debate on fascism.

A stern fight against war and fascism can only be developed through the growth of a powerful united front such as has been fought against so strenuously by the leadership.

The attacks on the **united front** have been particularly blatant at this Congress. When **James Figgins**, a Glasgow railwayman, raised the question of the ban placed upon local Trades Councils who have collaborated in united front work with the Communist Party and other organisations, he was savagely attacked. The spokesman chosen by the General Council to lead the attack was **George Hicks**, a one-time "Left" and protagonist of the Anglo-Russian Trade Unity Committee, to-day respectable Labour M.P. and pillar of the bureaucracy. Hicks sneeringly asked Figgins: "What would be your attitude to a trades council which associated with the fascists?" a sally not so ignorant as it sounds, but just as malicious. Communism was denounced by Hicks as a movement that is "subversive of real trade unionism."

It is significant that the attitude of the Congress leaders to the United Front should have received warm praise from the "**News-Chronicle**," the organ of the big Liberal manufacturers. The Special Correspondent of that paper says:—

"War on dictatorship, whether of the 'Left' or Right, was declared at Weymouth by the T.U.C. after a brilliant attack on fascism by the General Secretary, **Mr. W. Citrine**. . . . The united front to fight Blackshirt brutality and corruption declared by **Mr. Citrine** is not a united front with the Communists. Congress has in mind a fighting alliance between

Labour and Liberalism to stamp out by constitutional means this malignant menace to freedom and democracy."

The same kind of united front which in Germany led to the support of Hindenburg for the Presidency and thus direct to Hitlerism. A united front with "democratic" capitalism against fascism, which is but another form of capitalism, and a false and lying analogy between the proletarian dictatorship and the naked dictatorship of capitalism in decay. That is how reformist philosophy has expressed itself at Weymouth this week.

The attitude of the Congress to the twin menaces of fascism and war is paralleled by their attitude to the economic struggles of the workers at home. Killing capitalism with their mouths has become a favourite occupation with even the most reactionary officials, but all organisation of struggle is taboo.

Two hundred trade unions are represented at the Congress, with a membership of 3,294,000 workers in industries with twice that number normally engaged in them. Two million workers in these industries are at present making demands upon their employers for the restitution of wage cuts imposed in between 1931-33. Another large section—the cotton workers—are faced with a demand from the owners for further cuts in their already scandalously low wages. The union leaders are prepared to shout for the return of the lost wages and against any further reductions. In fact, in his opening speech, Mr. Conley went so far as to say:—

"There must be definite planning and co-ordination of trade union effort on the fundamental matter of wages, hours and conditions."

A militant delegate of the Locomotive men, Davenport, commented:—

"The President has spoken in his opening address of co-ordination of trade union effort, but there is little or nothing on the Congress agenda to give effect to such aspirations."

Actually the only suggestion on the whole agenda that would increase trade union co-ordination in the common effort came from the Typographical Association and proposed a penny levy on all members to aid any recognised strike that was in progress. And what was the fate of this resolution? The officials hummed and ha-ed and did their utmost to exaggerate the difficulties in carrying out such a resolution—"the workers would resent any further financial imposition," etc. Eventually the resolution was remitted to the General Council to "consider." Which means that it will go into cold storage for at least a year, at which time, if it is inconveniently raised again, a fresh set of reasons will have been thought out with which to hinder its application.

The first three days at Weymouth have revealed that the well-oiled machine of the bureaucracy is working as smoothly this year as it has always done in the past. The militant delegates remain in as small a minority as ever, but the position outside has changed vastly as compared with a year ago. A tremendous ferment has developed inside the trade union movement and inside the Labour Party. Many of the minor officials are frankly perturbed at the course events are taking. Many of the intellectuals who have supported the official Labour movement for many years are frankly bewildered at the present policy, and amongst the rank and file the ferment is revealing itself in the strong opposition among the railwaymen to the recent farcical "concession" gained and in many other ways.

On the floor of the Congress the voice of the militants has been heard, but on the vote the cards of the bureaucracy have swept all opposition away. The voice of the opposition has been fairly effectively stifled in the press. But its echo will be heard in the ranks of the workers in industry who are striving to build a united front against fascism and war, against wage cuts and unemployment, against all the horrors of capitalism. If they are denied the assistance of the reformist leadership in building this united front, they will build it in the face of their opposition.

The British Trade Union Leaders and the Tolpuddle Celebrations

By R. B. (London)

A hundred years ago six agricultural labourers in the village of Tolpuddle, Dorsetshire, were sentenced to seven years' transportation to the then existing penal settlements in Australia for the crime of "administering unlawful oaths." Their real offence was that, under the leadership of two brothers called *Loveless*, they had formed a Lodge of the Friendly Society of Agricultural Labourers, a constituent part of Robert Owen's Grand National Consolidated Trades Union, and organised their fellows to demand a shilling

increase on the wage of 9s. weekly which they were then receiving.

Brought before the local magistracy, drawn entirely from big landowners, the farm labourers got short shrift. The action of the magistrates was strongly defended in Parliament by the Whig Home Secretary, *Lord Melbourne*, and violently condemned by workers throughout the country. Nevertheless, the sentenced men were packed off to Australia in fetters on a convict ship.

A committee for the defence of the victims was formed, and *Robert Owen* headed a monster demonstration to Lord Melbourne, to present a petition to him. The government refused to budge and declared that the sentence must be carried out. However, the agitation for the release did not die down and two years later, in 1936, the remainder of the sentence was formally remitted. But it was not for another two years that the labourers were eventually set free and brought back to England.

The arrest, sentence and eventual release as an outcome of mass agitation of these obscure labourers have together made their memory one of the most cherished in British trade union history. The *Tolpuddle Martyrs*, as they have come to be known, have represented an inspiration to the generations of workers that have followed.

The General Council of the Trades Union Congress decided over a year ago to capitalise the memory of these early pioneers, and have since been holding a great ceremony at Tolpuddle and the town of Dorchester (where they were tried) in connection with the Trades Union Congress which is being held at the neighbouring watering place of Weymouth.

The trade unionism of a century ago in which the *Loveless* brothers played their part was young and immature, but it was militant. Its militancy terrified the ruling class, who tried to crush it by savage acts such as the Tolpuddle sentences. The struggle of the British workers a hundred years ago, a struggle for the right to organise and speak against capitalist brutality and exploitation, is one of which every British worker may well be proud.

The struggles of those days destroy the widely held belief, so sedulously spread by reformists and capitalists alike, that the British workers have no revolutionary traditions, that revolution is alien to British soil and British mentality.

There was no question of banning mass pickets in the strikes of a century ago. Often they were conducted arms in hand. The small isolated unions that sprang up all over the country grew into great organisations which, with all the mistakes of their immaturity, were class organisations. It was not a far step from them to the *Chartist movement*. The history of the early days of the nineteenth century gives the lie to all talk about the peaceful development of the British working-class movement. Every right, every privilege, that the working-class movement of Great Britain possesses has been won solely by hard struggle. And each hard-won liberty has needed just as great struggles to retain as to obtain in the first instance.

These are facts, hard and indisputable facts, but they are not facts that the T.U.C. centenary celebrations brought out. Because such facts have clear and obvious lessons for all workers, lessons that Messrs. Citrine, Bevan and Company are very anxious shall not be drawn to the attention of the workers. So whilst being anxious to exploit Tolpuddle memories, the reformist leaders are equally anxious to conceal the true significance of the great class struggles in which the Tolpuddle labourers played their part.

Mr. Citrine has been the principal spokesman of the Trades Union Congress in this connection, and he has been at pains to paint these trade union victims of nineteenth century British capitalism as mediæval Christian saints rather than as members of a savagely oppressed class fighting fiercely for its freedom.

One has not to look very far for the reason which impels *Mr. Citrine* and his colleagues so to distort the origins of the movement of which he is now a leading official. To-day the reformist leadership of the trade union movement of Britain is anxious to prevent and to hold back the growth of militancy, to conceal the fact that the movement itself germinated from intense and revolutionary struggle.

The arrest of the Tolpuddle labourers was not an isolated act of terrorism on the part of the government of the day. Neither were they by any means the most militant representatives of the movement of their day.

As Comrade *Allen Hutt* points out in his recent brochure,*

* "Tolpuddle and To-day," by Allen Hutt. (Martin Lawrence, London. 6d.)

"it was precisely the respectability and moderate attitude of the Tolpuddle men (they were all Methodists and two of them were well-known local lay preachers) that made the government's attack on them so particularly scandalous, and that has always been the subject of comment by historians."

But there were others. There were the Welsh ironworkers who went into struggle with arms in their hands and whose leader, *Dick Penderyn*, was executed in 1831. There were any amount of struggles under the Combination Acts of two decades earlier. The 'thirties and 'forties were two decades of fierce class struggle in Britain—an era that showed the fighting mettle of the British toilers and led Engels to say: "The English working men are second to none in courage."

"In the earliest stage of trade unionism . . . revolutionary ideas were in the ascendancy," said Citrine, now the chief bureaucrat of the Trades Union Congress, in a pamphlet he wrote in 1926.

But to-day Citrine and his cronies do not want to emphasise that aspect, consequently the Tolpuddle labourers are singled out for special honour. To quote Allen Hutt again:—

"The Tolpuddle campaign . . . tears one incident from the context of its period; and the result is, naturally, a complete distortion and confusion of the significance of that period to us to-day."

Mr. Citrine has written another pamphlet than that of 1926, an official statement of the reasons of the Tolpuddle celebrations that have taken place. In it he says:—

"It was from such sacrifices and struggles as those of the six gallant men of Dorsetshire that the trade union movement grew from strength to strength, until to-day it is a force which no government can ignore."

The cover of this pamphlet declares:—

"Trade unions exist to protect the interests of their members, particularly in regard to wages, hours and conditions of employment. But the trend of modern industrialism has greatly enlarged the scope of activity of the unions which nowadays take a prominent part in the work of reconstituting the national life."

Integration of the trade union machine with the capitalist State, that is the aim of the reformist leaders to-day. Therefore the struggles of the Chartists, the revolutionary strikes of the first half of the nineteenth century and so forth are shunned like the plague—and the Tolpuddle labourers chosen as the representatives of their age.

To say this is in no way to belittle the men of Tolpuddle. To them all honour is due. It is natural that in their isolated village they should have been behind the industrial masses of the towns. According to their lights they fought valiantly and well and were savagely persecuted by the ruling class.

Yet this same Trades Union Congress which is commemorating the memory of the early struggles of trade unionism shuns and debar's all struggles of to-day. To-day in the British Empire men and women have been sent to jail by Tory, National and Labour governments alike without a word of protest from the trade union reformist leaders.

When the Meerut prisoners were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment and to transportation by a Labour government the T.U.C. stood on one side, and not all the pressure of the militants could prod them into a protest, let alone action. Yet their offence, like that of the men of Tolpuddle, was that they had formed trade unions among savagely oppressed masses of toilers.

When militant members of the British working class were sent to penal servitude for supporting the sailors at Invergordon when they mutinied against cuts in their pay, the reformist leaders condoned the actions of the government of the day.

To-day the growing instability of capitalism becomes daily more apparent in country after country. New and more terrible wars loom large upon the horizon. To-day the growing ferment among the working class shows itself in an ever louder demand for a return of the cuts which have been imposed in recent years, in a demand to fight against fascism, in a demand for war upon the war-makers.

To all these demands the T.U.C. and the Labour Party leadership oppose an obstinate resistance, endeavouring to crush every militant movement at its birth. A monument, model cottages, pious speeches to the memory of "holy martyrs," are no way to commemorate the fiery struggles of a century ago. The only fitting commemoration is to organise the masses, to mobilise the toilers for the final struggle against capitalism, the root cause of the misery, exploitation and suffering of the masses.

Austria

Commencing Disintegration of Austria Nazis

By A. S.

After the February days the Nazis succeeded in winning various workers' groups. The terrorist mood prevailing in some parts of the working class made these workers forget that the Nazi terrorists are only the agents of one wing of fascism which was in opposition to the leading group of fascism. But the power of attraction of the Nazis soon perceptibly diminished, although tendencies towards individual terror still persist among the working class. This proves that the radical petty bourgeois has rapidly turned from the path of belief in the ballot paper to belief in dynamite and bombs.

Already before June 30 there were to be seen the first signs of crisis of Austrian national socialism. June 30 has greatly promoted this process of disintegration and July 25 will further it still more.

The proletarian elements are beginning to approach the revolutionary labour movement. The social democracy, with its miserable policy of readiness for "peaceful collaboration," was unable to impress the vacillating elements of the nationalist petty bourgeoisie. Now the Party of Bolshevism, the Communist Party, has become the leading force of the Austrian proletariat. Bolshevism is now beginning to win the honest elements among the national socialists.

Some days ago a large printed leaflet, signed by the "revolutionary S.A. and S.S.," was circulated in Austria, in which storm troops sharply attacked the policy of national socialism. We quote some passages from this important document:—

"We revolutionary fighters in the movement say:

"German blood is flowing again, German workers are again being confined behind prison walls as in the years before the national rising. But it is no longer the System which opposes Young Germany with bullets and prison, but Adolf Hitler, in whom we believed and trusted as in no other person, and who is now sending the police and Reichswehr against our German comrades. That which we never could and would believe has proved true: Adolf Hitler has betrayed us!

"What is happening in Germany? None of the promises which the leader made to the people has been kept. Many of us who no longer agreed with the policy in Germany thought it is necessary to allow the leader time in order to carry out his programme. But he has now had sufficient time. And what do we see? A purely capitalist policy is being carried out. There is no longer any talk of breaking the chains of interest slavery. Huge subventions are being given to the trusts and banks. Finance-capital is left quite undisturbed and even the rich Jews are left in peace. The capitalists and big landowners, the fine gentlemen, continue to rule in Germany. Of what use to us are the phrases mouthed by Goebbels and Dr. Ley when the capitalists still remain in possession of the factories, the bankers in possession of the banks, the big landowners in possession of the land and are thus still able to keep millions of German people in capitalist slavery? If the capitalist is the 'factory leader' and the workers are his 'followers,' does this alter the fact that the capitalist has his millions of profits whilst the worker has to toil for starvation wages and can be dismissed at any moment? Hitler promised the national renaissance; as a matter of fact, however, he has surrendered German Upper Silesia to the Poles and German South Tyrol to the Italians.

"That which we would never have believed is taking place: instead of the people's State of national socialism for which we strove, we have an undisguised dictatorship of the big capitalists and landowners, whom Hitler and the reliable parts of the S.S., together with the Reichswehr and police, serve as tools. . . .

"We revolutionary fighters in the movement say: Hitler must die in order that Socialism shall live, in order that the social and national emancipation of the German people shall be realised!

"What is to be done in Austria, comrades? We were told that it is our task to capture Austria for Adolf Hitler. In order to realise this task dozens of German comrades have died, thousands have gone into exile, others have been incarcerated in the prisons and concentration camps of the Austrian exploiters. Are things to go on like this? Shall we risk our lives for Hitler, who causes German workers to be shot?"

"The swindle about the 'people as a whole' is exposed. On the one side are the fine gentlemen, the rich, and with them Hitler, Goering and Goebbels, the Reichswehr, the police, the Steelhelmets, the leaders of the S.S. On the other side, however, are the oppressed and enslaved, the whole of the German people, millions of nationalist hand and brain workers. For us there is no longer any unity with Hitler, the traitor, and all who follow him. For us there is only the revolutionary class struggle. National and social emancipation can only be brought about in the fiercest fight against the German capitalists and in a common front with all workers, no matter to what party they belong, provided they are prepared to fight ruthlessly against capitalism and for real genuine socialism.

"Of what use to us are paper bombs, blowing up of bridges and smoke bombs? Only the armed insurrection of the workers and poor peasants in Austria and in Germany, only the setting up of a workers' and peasants' government and the pitiless overthrow of the capitalists and big landowners can abolish misery and realise the national and social emancipation of the German people.

"The Austrian working class has set us a splendid example. We do not want to run after just one leader; no, the tens of thousands of workers who fought with machine-guns and carbines in the February revolt they shall indicate to us the way and the goal.

"We call upon all comrades to spread this appeal and discuss it with their party comrades. We call upon them to form revolutionary groups in the S.A., the S.S., the party and Hitler Youth which shall immediately get into contact with the revolutionary workers in the Marxist organisations and organise the common fight.

"Only when the proletarians themselves march will the day of freedom come! And when you give them your hands instead of engaging in sinister adventures, you will have an aim and object in life."

At the same time we are able to record the coming over of the first groups of Nazi workers to the C.P. of Austria. Thus in the industrial town of *St. Poelten*, in Lower Austria, thirty S.A. men have joined the Party in a body and issued a declaration in which they state:—

"We thirty S.A. men of the Storm banner, *St. Poelten*, hereby declare before the whole public that we resign from the national socialist party and at the same time go over to the only true Party of the workers and peasants, the Communist Party of Austria. We have realised that the path of Hitler and his associates in Germany and Austria is at the same time the path of the employers. . . .

"Follow our example! Leave the national socialist party, the party of betrayal, join the C.P. of Austria, the only Party which fights for the red workers' and peasants' government according to the example of Soviet Russia! Red Front!"

July 25 will render it possible for the C.P. of Austria to make further large breaches in the camp of national socialism. The setting up of revolutionary unity within the C.P. of Austria will lead to the winning of the proletarian elements who have strayed into the camp of fascism. The facts prove that this process has already set in.

Fight for the Unity of the Labour Movement

Unity of Action Against Fascism

By Wilhelm Pieck

The events of June 30 in Germany, the murder by Hitler of his closest friends, the disarming of the S.A. and expulsion of large numbers from their ranks, is an expression of the crisis that is gripping the Hitler dictatorship, the Hitler party and its absolute rule. This crisis has various causes. Hitler has not been able to fulfil any of the tasks entrusted to him by finance-capital when the government power was handed over to him.

Not the building up of trade and industry, but their catastrophic decline is the result of the policy pursued for a year and a half by the dictatorship of the Hitler party. The acute danger of open inflation and the total bankruptcy of the Reich, the Federal States and the municipalities, can no longer be averted. The mass misery of all the labouring classes is increasing from

day to day. A profound disappointment has gripped the millions of toilers and is changing to open resentment and open resistance to the Hitler regime and narrowing more and more the mass basis of this regime. This disappointment and this resistance is to be noticed deep down even in the ranks of the members and adherents of the Hitler party, particularly, too, in the ranks of the S.A. The contrast between Hitler's promises and his deeds is so blatant that even his most faithful adherents are suspicious. They imagined the "Socialism" promised by Hitler rather differently. Hitler is no longer able, even with the help of the most artful demagogy, to conceal from the masses his role of servant to finance-capital and the bankruptcy of his policy. Hitler's Hamburg speech of August 17, before the so-called plebiscite, reflects clearly in its entreaties to the masses of the people this crisis in the Hitler dictatorship.

But June 30 has also given the German proletariat a very stern lesson for its struggle. On this day the crisis in the Hitler dictatorship was thrown into particularly bold relief. For the first time since its establishment the masses spoke openly in the streets and in the factories against the Hitler government. The S.A. dared not take action; in many cases they expressed agreement with the criticisms made. A joint mass action, even if only in the form of street demonstrations, might have quickly started serious mass struggles against the Hitler regime. Why did this impulse not become released in the masses? Why was it possible for Hitler to overcome for the time being this danger? Because the German proletariat lacks unity in struggle, because it is still split, still not able jointly to throw in its forces against its enemy, against Hitler fascism. Just as the split in the proletariat enabled finance-capital to set up the fascist dictatorship, so this split gives it the chance, too, of carrying out its starvation programme against the toiling masses and of driving them into war. The danger to life and health of all working people is tremendously great. The proletariat must find the strength to avert this danger. But for this are required the understanding and the ability to overcome the split in the proletariat and to establish the militant united front against the Hitler dictatorship and against the bourgeoisie.

The Communist Party of Germany addresses itself to all workers, especially, however, to all social-democratic workers, with the frank and sincere invitation to unite with the Communists in the factories, at the labour exchanges and in the working-class districts, in the joint struggle against the Hitler regime, against the fascist Labour Law, against all the Hitler government's measures that are hostile to the workers and to youth. Unity of action among Communist, social-democratic and Christian workers, as well as among the oppositional elements in the S.A., the Hitler-Youth, the N.S.B.O., the "Labour Front" and the "Strength through Joy" movement, must be established through the development of resistance in the factories, of the strike struggle, in street demonstrations and other forms of struggle. In this the men of the S.A., by making the most of their disillusionment with the Hitler policy, are to be helped to go over to the ranks of the anti-fascist front.

In the course of this movement for the establishment of unity of action and resistance-action against the wage cut offensive, in the struggle for the realisation of the demands put forward jointly by the workers, trade union unity must also be established. Negotiations must be opened immediately with the existing social-democratic groups, in order, together with them, to put forward the fighting demands and to make sound arrangements concerning the leadership of the struggle by forming united front organs, fighting committees, strike leaderships, etc. In carrying out these tasks special weight is to be laid on the enlistment of working youth into the fighting front, and great efforts must be made to win over for unity of action the working youth in the youth organisations. The Communist Party regards this as one of its most important tasks. Prospects of success in this action are favourable. The growth in the proletariat of the will to unity is a mighty one. Let us turn this will into fact! It is a matter in the first place of the elementary daily demands, of preventing the fascist Labour Law from being carried out, of preventing the enforced despatch of the youth on to the land, against wage cuts and the worsening of labour conditions. It is a matter of their improvement and of raising wages. It is a matter of freeing the leader of the C.P.G. imprisoned by the fascists, Comrade Ernst *Thaelmann*, and all imprisoned anti-fascists. It is a matter, too, of safeguarding the existence and improving the standard of life

of the small trading middle classes and of the poorer peasantry. It is a matter of staying the hand of the fascist beast of war and hindering millions from again being sacrificed to this beast. It is a matter of preventing the lives and health of millions of toilers from being ruined by the capitalist economic catastrophe. The German proletariat must lose no time; it must unite its forces in the struggle against these dangers!

Just as the German and the international proletariat, in the struggle for the liberation of Comrades Dimitrov, Torgler, Tanev and Popov, created unity of action for this task over and beyond all differences of opinion; just as the courageous Bolshevik fight put up by Comrade Dimitrov against the fascist hangmen and for the revolutionary aims of the proletariat hammered into consciousness the necessity for unity of action in the revolutionary struggle, so now it is a question of creating firmly and unshakably this unity. It is a question of opposing the offensive of finance-capital and of fascism with the offensive of the proletariat!

From the day of its foundation by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg the Communist Party has tried to overcome the disastrous split in the German proletariat, as brought about by the war policy of the social-democratic leadership in 1914 and deepened further through its policy of coalition with the bourgeoisie. The Party has always fought for the re-establishment of unity in the German working class, of its political and trade union organisational unity. If hitherto it has not been successful in this, then it is because the social-democratic leadership obstructed the creation of this unity and held the masses back from the class struggle against the bourgeoisie and thus safeguarded the rule of the bourgeoisie. Social democracy created in the proletariat the illusion that it is possible to guard the interests of the toiling masses by way of bourgeois democracy and without this class struggle, and in this way to bring about Socialism. The German proletariat has had to pay heavily for belief in this illusion. The Hitler dictatorship, too, is a result of the fact that the proletariat was split by this policy and was not able to bring its immense forces uniformly to its defence. But it is high time that the proletariat drew from this the correct lesson. Anyone who still now tries to persuade the toiling masses that the Communist Party, with its summons for unity of action, is only manoeuvring with the workers, that it is not sincere in this invitation—he does not want the unity of the German proletariat, he wants to maintain the split, he wants to help not the proletariat, but the bourgeoisie.

The Communist Party is exerting its whole strength to overcome the split in the working class and to establish its unity. Just as the Communist Party has made the heaviest sacrifices in the struggle against the Hitler dictatorship, just as through this struggle it prevented Hitler from demolishing at the instance of finance-capital the working-class movement, just as it revived through its activities the confidence of the working class in its own strength, so, too, the Communist Party is the sole force for the organisation and leadership of resistance and mass struggle against the Hitler dictatorship. There is in Germany no other force capable of this. The social-democratic leadership has openly capitulated to fascism. The executive of the old social-democratic party with Wels, Dittmann, Crispian, Hilferding and Stampfer at the top, and with them most of the former leaders of the free trade unions, are ready even to conclude an alliance with fascism and they will do it the moment fascism stretches out a hand to them for this purpose. They have openly offered the Reichswehr generals their support for a fascist government. They want to go on with their old policy of co-operation with the bourgeoisie and of splitting the working class.

The criminal nature of this policy is, in view of the great sacrifices that the German proletariat is making in the struggle against fascist dictatorship, so monstrous that opposition to it is noticeable even in the ranks of the social-democratic functionaries themselves. Among them are a number who have learned something from the bitter experiences of the German proletariat and are ready to join and to serve the united front of the German proletariat. In view of the rising will of the masses of the social-democratic workers to combine with the Communists for a common struggle, these functionaries, too, are seeking a way towards unity of action, even if with considerable irresolution. In words they recognise a number of the revolutionary fighting demands and fighting aims of the proletariat, but inhibitions still prevent them from drawing the practical conclusions. The Communist Party wants to help these functionaries to overcome their irresolution and inhibitions. It would be a very dangerous illusion to

suppose that the proletariat and its struggle against fascism could be helped if perhaps between or alongside the former social-democratic party and the Communist Party another party, an intermediate solution, as it were, were to be created. That would be no more than the continuation of social-democratic policy under another name and would only enlarge the split in the working class. There is in Germany only one Party of the working class: that is the Communist Party. Its policy tallies in every respect with the interests of the working class. That is why it is, too, the only Party exerting its entire force for the establishment of unity in the working class. Whoever, then, wants the unity of the German working class must decide for the Communist Party. It alone is able to give the toiling masses leadership in the struggle, to guarantee victory. Here the questions are put quite clearly. Here there is no room for evasion. Here there can be only a decision for the Communist Party.

With deepest conviction and with sincere desire the Communist Party appeals to the social-democratic workers and the trade union members of the old free trade unions to combine with us Communists for the joint struggle against the Hitler dictatorship. We ask all members of the old social-democratic party to join the Communist Party, to unite with us in the Party of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, in the Party that, under the banner of the Communist International, based on its programme and under the leadership of Comrade Ernst Thaelmann, has become a broad revolutionary mass Party. If the fascist dictatorship has been successful in crushing the social-democratic party and the old free trade unions—with the Communist Party it has not been successful. The Communist Party calls upon the social-democratic groups still existing to unite with the C.P.G. on the basis of the programme of the Communist International and the tactics of the C.P.G., on the basis of joint struggle for unity of action against Hitler fascism, against every policy of co-operation with the bourgeoisie, for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalist class-rule, for the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Soviet system. In this the Communist Party will form with the former members of the S.P.G. and trade unions a fraternal, comradely connection, and give to the members who have come over the widest opportunity for active participation in Party work and for the assumption of Party functions. Already thousands of social-democratic workers have come over to the C.P.G. and are fighting in its ranks in responsible posts. By creating unity of action in the struggle against fascism and for the workers' demands, the Communist Party means also to create trade union unity and to revive the free trade unions as an organ of class struggle against fascism and against the employers' offensive. The unity of the working class in struggle and in its organisation is the essential condition for the victory of the working class.

The programme for social and national liberation which the Communist Party has made the basis of its fight against fascism and against capitalism shows the toiling masses the way out from fascist mass misery. The realisation of this programme is the joint task of all class-conscious workers under the leadership of the Communist Party. That is possible, however, only along the path taken in October, 1917, by the Russian workers and peasants under the leadership of Lenin and his Party, the establishment of the proletarian Soviet power, the only true democracy for the toiling masses. The mighty victories of the workers' and peasants' power in the Soviet Union in establishing socialist industry and agriculture, the uninterrupted improvement in the well-being of all the working masses, demonstrate the tremendous power of the proletariat when this power is united and directed by a revolutionary party as has been done with such immense success in the Soviet Union by the Communist Party with its Bolshevik Central Committee and its great leader *Stalin*.

The Communist Party appeals therefore to all workers, particularly to the social-democratic workers, to create the conditions, by creating unity of action, necessary for making Germany, too, into such a country of all workers. We must establish the united front in struggle and unity in our own organisations. Once again all class-conscious workers must be united in one party; in one trade union organisation. The Communist Party calls for this work to be undertaken. It appeals to the masses: Join the Communist Party, combine with us for the joint struggle! We must win and we shall win. We are the only force that can lead the German proletariat to victory.

The Fight for United Action in Czechoslovakia

The Social-Democratic Leaders Forbid—The Workers Act

By G. Friedrich (Prague)

The Executive Committee of the Czechoslovakian social democracy has considered it necessary once again to issue a ukase against the united front. This fresh ukase is published in the "*Pravo lidu*" of August 19:—

"Negotiations with the Communists on the above-mentioned questions (Austrian emigrants, joint public meetings and the united front.—Ed.) are *useless*. Our party, together with the German social democracy, is looking after the Austrian emigrants. In regard to the question of public meetings, our organisations must act in accordance with the decision adopted by the *Central Committee* on this question."

These are the haughty words with which the social-democratic leaders wish to suppress and prevent unity of action in any circumstances. For them all that upon which the vital interests of the proletariat, slavery or freedom, depends, is "*useless*." For them only the maintenance of the present system, the salvation of capitalism has any sense and purpose.

The workers, however, are of another opinion. The united front offer of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia and of the Red trade unions, the Open Letter to the socialist workers with the proposal to form a fighting alliance and to proceed jointly against the common enemy have met with a big response. The workers, and above all the social-democratic workers, are beginning to recognise the necessity of setting up the united front. There have been ample proofs of this in the last few days, and ever fresh facts show that unity of action is being realised in Czechoslovakia.

The following, by no means complete, survey is intended to show the extent of the united front movement up to the present time and to furnish proof that such orders as we have cited above are unable to check the unity of action which is developing.

Workers in the factories and also whole social-democratic party and trade union organisations are coming out in favour of united action and sharply condemning the attitude of their leaders. Thus, for instance, the workers in the petroleum refinery in *Moravian Ostrau*, an undertaking in which all the workers are organised in the reformist trade union, adopted a protest against the rejection by their leaders of the Communist united front offer. It was decided at the same time to take part unitedly, with the trade union banners, in the anti-fascist demonstration. When Dr. Heller, a social-democratic Senator, spoke at a meeting of the social-democratic party in *Dux* on the political situation and casually mentioned that the Communist Party had made a united front offer, there was a sudden burst of applause and the workers cried: "Unity is being established at last."

The feeling among the workers in the factories is shown by the following: The factory committee and the reformist trade union organisations of the largest metal works in Prague, the *Cesko-Moravska*, have not rejected the united front offer of the Red fraction of the factory committee as demanded by the social-democratic Central Committee, but have addressed a letter to them expressing their willingness to co-operate and promising to discuss further the concrete proposals. In *Witkovitz*, where the largest iron works in Czechoslovakia is situated, the workers at a membership meeting of the German social-democratic trade union federation energetically demanded that the united front offer should be accepted. In *Neustadt on Methau* a conference, which was attended by representatives of social-democratic and Czech socialist organisations, decided to carry out a joint action against high prices, fascism and war.

Numerous factories and workshops have already proceeded to the realisation of united action. In Slovakia, above all in *Bratislava*, important steps have been taken in this direction. In the *Matador Works*, where 2,000 workers are employed, the social-democratic organisations accepted the united front offer and, together with the revolutionary organisations, arranged for common action by all organisations in the fight against attacks on wages and against other capitalist attacks. At the *Klinger* weaving works in Bratislava, a meeting of the whole works took place at which representatives of the Red trade unions spoke as well as representatives of the reformist trade unions. Here, too, it was decided to set up the united front. In Prague there is already a joint Committee of Action to which the workers of nearly 50 enterprises have sent representatives.

A large number of social-democratic organisations have adopted decisions in favour of fighting unity. In *Politz on Mathau*, nine

social-democratic organisations have adopted united front resolutions at their plenary meetings. In *Kaaden*, the social-democratic workers and functionaries, when they heard of the offer made by the Communist Party to the social-democratic parties, approached the local Communists proposing that they should act together with them against the Nazis. These examples are being everywhere enthusiastically followed. Social-democratic workers and whole organisations are now directly approaching the Communist Party and declaring themselves ready to carry out joint actions on the basis of the Communist Party's united front offer.

A large number of united conferences have already been held. In *Holeschau* a joint conference of social-democratic, Czech socialist and Communist workers decided to organise a joint demonstration against the worsening of the health insurance and for the release of Ernst Thaelmann. In *Prossnitz* the social-democratic and Communist garment workers have set up a united front committee. The social-democratic workers have decided to send a delegation of garment workers to the U.S.S.R. A conference convened by social-democratic workers took place in *Lisan* at which 25 social-democratic, six Christian and 29 Communist and unorganised workers were present.

We could quote further facts which demonstrate the desire and determination of the social-democratic workers to realise unity of action. We will mention a few of the many decisions in favour of the united front: Plenary meeting of the *Prague* group of the reformist union of butchers; a local organisation of the social-democratic party in *Koerberitz*, near *Troppau*; reformist food workers' trade union in *Jungbunzlau*; reformist district trade union council in *Tannwald*; 16 local groups of the reformist miners' union in *Brux*, *Ostrau*, and *Nurschana* coalfields and in *Slovakia*.

Special mention should be made of the activity of the young workers, who have likewise furnished numerous proofs of their desire to set up the united front. The socialist youth organisation in *Rakvice* has been expelled from the Socialist Youth League because it pronounced in favour of the united front. This group has gone over in a body to the Young Communist League. A conference of young factory workers was held in *Prague* at which 53 delegates representing 22 enterprises were present. The conference decided to carry out a united International Youth Day. Thus the workers in all parts of Czechoslovakia are responding to the united front offer of the Communist Party. Disregarding the ukase of their leaders, they are accepting the brotherly hand of the Communist workers.

Agreement for Proletarian Unity of Action Between the C.P. of Italy and the Italian Socialist Party

(I) The delegations of the Communist Party of Italy and of the Italian Socialist Party assembled to discuss the questions of proletarian unity of action, record that in the general sphere of principles and in the estimation of the international situation there exist fundamental differences in doctrine, methods and tactics which prevent the setting up of a common political front and still more an organisational amalgamation. But these differences of opinion do not prevent the existence of agreement by both parties on definite concrete topical questions of the proletarian struggle against fascism and war.

The two parties, pledging themselves to make the utmost use of the discontent and the concentration of the forces of the people, to whom they appeal, and to secure to the proletariat—the interpreter of the general interests of society—the leadership of the political struggle, enter into an agreement with the following aims in view:—

(a) Against the intervention in Austria and against the danger of war in general which arises out of the conflict of the imperialist interests and the fascist policy of war provocation. The guiding lines of this action were laid down in the joint manifesto of July 31, by which all the sections, groups and functionaries of both parties are bound;

(b) To wrest the victims of the special courts and oppression from the prisons and the islands of banishment, and to enforce a complete and unconditional amnesty, to participate actively in the international campaign for the release of Thaelmann, Seitz and all victims of fascism;

(c) To work for the defence and the improvement of the standard of living of the toilers, against any reduction of wages and

salaries, for the support of all unemployed, against distraint, for the cancellation of the debts and the taxes owing by the poor peasants, for the immediate demands of the toiling masses;

(d) Against the corporative system, for the freedom of the trade unions, for representation of the workers in the factories, for the freedom of coalition, the press and the right to strike, for the free election of trade union functionaries, for all liberties to the people.

(II) The two parties pledge themselves, taking into account the local possibilities of struggle, to issue the necessary instructions to their lower organisations, groups and all functionaries in order to promote and co-ordinate common actions for the aims laid down in the present agreement, these actions to be carried out in such forms as prove to be most suitable in the given circumstances.

(III) The two parties pledge themselves to issue instructions to their brother organisations in the countries with an immigrant Italian population, to support the struggles of the Italian proletariat in their country, to combat the advance of fascism among the masses of immigrants and to secure the defence of the rights of the immigrants by means of the trade union and political organisations.

(IV) The two parties, whilst keeping to the discipline of their respective Internationals, will exert their influence to promote in every country the policy of unity of action.

(V) The two parties shall preserve their complete operative autonomy in regard to principles. Each party will continue to carry on its particular propaganda and action, but at the same time pledges itself to make use of its undisputed right to give perfectly frank expression to the differences of opinion existing on questions of principles and tactics which still stand in the way of the setting up of a common political front and organisational amalgamation, in such a manner as not to frustrate or hinder the development of the common actions on which agreement has already been arrived at.

(VI) The two parties reserve themselves the right to carry on their own recruiting work. They agree that during the course of the common actions they will refrain from any interference with the other party for the purpose of disintegrating its organisations and undermining its discipline.

(VII) The delegations of the two parties will maintain contact with each other and a meeting of them may be convened on the request of either party in order to examine any new proposals concerning the carrying out of this agreement and to settle in the spirit of this agreement any question of dispute which may arise.

Communist Party of Italy **Italian Socialist Party**
(Section of the C.I.) (Section of the L.S.I.)

On the initiative of the Communist Party of Italy which was accepted by the Italian Socialist Party, the delegations of the two parties held four meetings on July 27 and 31, and on August 6 and 17, in order to discuss the possibility of the conclusion of an agreement between the two parties on the struggle against fascism and war.

At the first meeting, after a general exchange of ideas on the problems to be discussed and in view of the serious danger of war arising from the Nazi putsch in Vienna, which was followed by the mobilisation of Italian troops on the Austrian frontier, the two delegations came to an understanding regarding the principles of a joint manifesto against the intervention in Austria and against the danger of war. This manifesto was approved at the next meeting.

DECLARATION OF THE ITALIAN SOCIALIST PARTY

After the resumption of the general discussion on August 6, the Socialist Party submitted the following declaration:—

The Italian Socialist Party, in concluding a partial agreement with the Communist Party of Italy, confined to some immediate aims of the struggle against fascism and war, considers it necessary, in order to make plain the political struggle of the socialists, to convey to the Communists and all toilers its own ideas regarding the questions of organisational unity and a joint political front of the two workers' parties as a prelude to organisational unity.

Organisational unity is still impossible owing to the lack of a solid doctrinal basis, which cannot result from a simple joining together of social-democratic and Bolshevik formulæ.

The carrying out of a joint political front was up to now and still is rendered impossible owing to the Communist slogan of social fascism and the tactics of the united front from below which are being adopted as a manoeuvre against the socialist parties.

The Italian Socialist Party records that the C.P. of Italy, by submitting to the Socialist Party concrete proposals for an agreement, has abandoned the theory of social fascism. It records at the same time that the French Communist Party, by including in the agreement with the French Socialist Party the joint struggle for the defence of the democratic freedom, has in fact abandoned the tactics pursued by the Communists in Germany and in other countries. But the Italian Socialist Party is not yet able to judge the real importance of this change of tactics, which was not preceded by any discussion in public and which is not being applied on an international scale, as is proved by the facts in Austria, where the struggle is being continued against the social democracy, and in Germany, where no concrete proposals for joint actions were submitted to the social democrats, and in Russia, where the measures in force with regard to the socialists have not been changed in the least. Thus there exists an ambiguity which heavily encumbers the relations between the socialists and the Communists, and which can only be dispelled by the Seventh Congress of the Communist International.

In spite of the still existing uncertainty, the Italian Socialist Party, which has always advocated as against the tactics of the united front from below the tactics of loyal agreements between party and party and between the two Internationals, considered it its duty not to oppose an agreement regarding aims which are definitely laid down in the interest of the class struggle of the Italian proletariat. The party, however, does not intend to avoid the problem of organisational unity, and whilst pledging itself to work openly for the removal of all hindrances and ambiguities which have become deeply rooted during the ten years of split and fratricidal struggle, again confirms its faithful allegiance to unity: one working class—one Socialist Party—one International.

Executive of the Italian Socialist Party.

DECLARATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ITALY

The Communist Party, on its part, submitted the following declaration:—

The Political Bureau of the C.P. of Italy is of the opinion, that the publication of separate declarations by each of the parties may seriously impede the carrying out and development of unity of action on which agreement has been reached.

As, however, the leading body of the Italian Socialist Party insists on the publication of its declaration, the Political Bureau of the C.P. of Italy considers it necessary to make the following statement:—

It is necessary to bear in mind that the political action of the C.P. of Italy has always been directed towards realisation of the united front and the unity of the working class.

The Communist Party never considered the tactics of the united front as a manoeuvre. If hitherto the united front has been only partially realised from below, in spite of the numerous proposals directed to the socialist parties themselves in the various countries, this has been the result of the systematic refusal of the latter to enter into any negotiations for unity of action with the Communists. At the same time the leaders of the socialist parties conducted a policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie and even participated in the bourgeois governments of the countries concerned.

This policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie has split the working class and in fact paved the way to fascism, both in Germany and Austria, where the socialist parties had power in their hands. It is thanks to this policy, which the Communists designate as social fascism, that up to now unity of action of all exploited against the exploiters has been prevented.

The agreement concluded on the initiative of the Communist Party of Italy between the latter and the Italian Socialist Party, even if it is confined to some immediate and definitely laid down fighting aims, is based on the class foundation of joint action against fascism and war. All the exploited are able on this basis to realise their unity of action against their exploiters.

It is certain that the class unity of action will develop to the political unity of the working class in a single party. The Communist Party will continue to fight for the most comprehensive carrying out of unity of action and for its development towards the political unity of the working class in a single party, with a single programme, a single tactic, a single discipline, based on revolutionary Marxism, i.e., on the consistent class struggle, which excludes any collaboration with the bourgeoisie. This is the policy consistently advocated by the Communist International. This

policy is being victoriously carried out in Russia, where the formula: one working class, one Party, has been realised for a long time.

The results on the path of unity of action which have been achieved in some countries, the agreements arrived at with the executive bodies of various socialist parties, the agreement arrived at between the Communist Party of Italy and the Italian Socialist Party are achievements of great importance for the carrying out of proletarian unity. The Seventh Congress of the Communist International will doubtlessly again confirm the line to be pursued for proletarian unity worked out already by the previous Congresses, and by declaring full approval of the results already achieved, will call upon all Communist Parties to strengthen, extend and deepen their actions for unity.

The Communist Parties have never abandoned the defence of democratic liberties against fascist and reactionary attacks. The Communists were everywhere and at all times the most persistent and heroic defenders of the threatened liberties of the toiling classes. In defence of these liberties the Communist Party of Germany repeatedly made proposals to the social-democratic party of Germany to carry out joint actions, which proposals, however, were systematically rejected by the leadership of this party. Whilst the Communists defend the threatened rights and liberties of the toiling classes, they at the same time expose the deceitful character and the illusions of bourgeois democracy and call upon the workers to fight for the Soviet Power, which, as is stated in the Programme of the Communist International and is proved by the living example of the Soviet Union, is a proletarian democracy, a democracy of the toiling masses, a democracy against the exploiters.

Unity of action is on the march, in the forms and the manner determined by the particular conditions and experiences of each separate country, although the leaders of various socialist parties still persist in rejecting any discussions regarding the carrying out of unity of action with the Communists. But everywhere the Communist Parties are at the head of the movement for the carrying out of proletarian unity. The Communist Party of Italy will exert all its forces in order to realise also in Italy unity of action, proletarian unity, as quickly as possible, which will proceed victoriously against hunger, fascism and against war.

Down With the Counter-Revolutionary Trotskyists!

By Jacques Duclos (Paris)

The following article is taken from "L'Humanité" of August 31.—Ed.

The Communist International, by its revolutionary activity, has evoked the hatred of the bourgeoisie. The fascists of all tendencies, the agents of big capital, are furiously raging against the Communists, against the country of the proletarian dictatorship.

The Soviet Union is being attacked on all sides. Here is the disrupter Doriot, who casts suspicion on the motives of the foreign policy of the Soviets, although everybody realises that this policy is directed towards the maintenance of peace. There are the miserable Trotskyists, who proclaim the bankruptcy of Bolshevism and call for the founding of a so-called Fourth International in order thereby to split the forces of the working class.

This concerted action of the anti-Communist and anti-Soviet calumniators among whom Doriot and the Trotskyists play definite roles, amounts to nothing else but sowing distrust in the ranks of the working class against the first proletarian State.

It is not necessary to prove the anti-Soviet role of the Trotskyists, it is already known, and the adventurer Trotsky, no matter how "revolutionary" he may make himself out to be, is nevertheless one of the fiercest opponents of the Soviet government, one of the counter-revolutionaries upon whom the enemies of the proletarian dictatorship are relying in their efforts to achieve their criminal aim.

Many facts go to prove the disruptive role of the Trotskyists. We have seen how they opposed the Amsterdam-Pleyel movement and attempted to discredit and sabotage it. We have seen how they attempted to incite the social-democratic workers against their Communist brothers in order to prevent the realisation of unity of action. We have seen how the Trotskyists attempted to penetrate into the socialist organisations in order to frustrate unity of action at all costs.

The abominable role of this miserable clique is best characterised by their disruptive policy, which is completely in the interests of the bourgeoisie. Hence our attitude to the Trotskyists

is very simple: they are counter-revolutionaries who have no following whatever and whom we have to combat with inexorable determination, making no concessions to them. It is impossible to set up a united front with counter-revolutionaries.

In order to realise the united front with the socialist toilers we make concessions in so far as we declare our readiness to fight for the realisation of slogans which, while not comprising our entire programme, correspond to the interests of the working class. But there is a great difference between these concessions, which are understood by every toiler and approved by him, and concessions granted to a band of counter-revolutionaries who wish us to acknowledge that Trotsky is one of the victims of capitalist reaction.

For this reason we can only regret that our Young Communists in Belgium have entered into negotiations with the Trotskyists and accepted conditions which cannot be agreed to by Communists and adherents of the united front.

We do not formulate any conditions which are unacceptable to the others, and therefore expect that no conditions shall be submitted to us which we cannot accept. Therefore we believe that Comrade Henri de Boeck committed an error in that, after making a speech in which he made reservations regarding defence of Trotsky, he nevertheless finally agreed to this defence within the frame of a united front pact between the young socialists, the Young Communist League and the Trotskyist Youth.

The arguments in defence of this attitude undoubtedly bespeak anxiety lest the negotiations might be broken off. This is correct, but our position before the workers will not be a firm one if whilst demonstrating our will to united action, we do not remain unyielding in regard to questions of principle and under no circumstances permit the disruptive manoeuvres of the counter-revolutionary Trotskyists.

It need not be argued that our unyielding attitude will lead to the breaking off of negotiations. The enemies of the united front may attempt to manoeuvre by making use of Trotsky. And those leaders who reject the united front on the pretext that we refuse to place Hitler fascism and the land of Socialism on the same level, will call forth the strongest condemnation by the working class.

Therefore we say to our friends in Belgium, that by capitulating to the Trotskyist manoeuvres, by permitting the united front with the Trotskyists, they have facilitated the work of the splitters of the working class. Not only the Communist but also the socialist comrades who honestly and sincerely want united action will learn from this experience. The counter-revolutionary Trotskyists, however, are only seeking to sabotage the united front. The fight for unity of action must not be separated from the fight against the Trotskyists, who are the most bitter enemies of the Soviet Union and of common action of the proletariat.

Splendid Mass Action of the Proletarian United Front in Sweden

By A. J. S. m. (Stockholm)

The workers in Skene, the biggest textile factory in Sweden, have carried out a successful action against the bourgeoisie and its class justice.

For years the workers of Skene conducted a persistent tenacious struggle against the tremendously increased rationalisation. They have to work in three shifts, day and night, and even on Saturday the last shift has to work until 10 o'clock at night. Some months ago the workers put forward the demand for earlier closing on Saturday. As, however, all their representations were ignored, the workers, under Communist leadership, proceeded to action and in April the last shift left the factory at 6 o'clock in the evening.

The employers appealed to the reformist union, whose leaders had implored the workers to be "reasonable," but without success. The workers left the factory at 6 o'clock each week, whereupon the employers' federation brought 380 workers before the Labour Court on account of breach of the tariff agreement, and demanded compensation. The proceedings of this court always take place at Stockholm, so that the plaintiff and the defendants invariably send someone to represent them instead of attending themselves.

The bourgeoisie and social democratic leaders were therefore greatly perturbed when the accused workers decided to close down the whole factory during the court proceedings and to go in a body to Stockholm, in order to conduct their own defence. This determined mass action met with a great response among the broadest

circles of workers. In numerous places through which the workers passed, in the textile centres of **Boros** and **Norrkoeping**, large mass demonstrations took place. In **Stockholm** the Workers' International Relief and the Red Trade Union Opposition organised a meeting of welcome, which was attended by 6,000 workers. Thousands of reformist workers took part in this demonstration, at which the 225 "criminals" were greeted with enthusiastic applause.

On the next day the court proceedings commenced, followed with the greatest interest by the whole of the public. Thanks to the courageous attitude of the accused workers the bourgeois court was exposed as an instrument of the ruling class against the working class. The chairman raged and fumed against the proletarians, who firmly defended their cause. They described the conditions of the factory and proved that technically it would be easy to close earlier on Saturdays as demanded, a fact which could not be contradicted by the representative of the employers. The numerous social democrats among the 225 accused, among them being young workers, women and old men, as they stood in the dock, received a valuable object lesson in the methods employed even in "democratic" Sweden as soon as the class interests of the bourgeoisie are at stake. They never imagined that "justice" in the State ruled by their party comrades would be so openly and cynically on the side of the capitalists.

This mass action of the Skene workers shows that the Swedish workers are now beginning to defend themselves more energetically against the insane rationalisation, which is praised by the reformists as "progress." It is also a splendid example of the success of the proletarian united front. This action is a splendid prelude to the coming bigger mass struggles against the new anti-trade union law which is being prepared by the "Labour government." The C.P. of Sweden and the mass organisations sympathising with it, must now extend the action so successfully begun, in order that the attack planned on the right of combination of the workers shall be frustrated.

Fight for Unity of Action of the Miners

By I. B.

On August 26 a conference of the South Wales Miners' Federation representing over 200 lodges took place in *Cardiff*. The conference declared that the miners would stand by their demands for wage increases and a shortening of working hours, and that they would go on strike on October 1 in support of these demands. The chairman of the conference, *Oliver Harris*, declared to journalists after the conference that unless some favourable agreement was come to beforehand the strike would begin on September 30.

The decision of the conference and the statement of *Harris* show that the pressure of the masses on their leaders is now so strong that the latter have no alternative but to threaten the use of the strike weapon. The situation in other parts of Great Britain is similar. Conferences of miners have taken place in *Northumberland* and *Durham*, and resolutions in favour of a fight for better wages and working conditions have been adopted. A resolution was brought before the conference in *Northumberland* demanding political and trade union unity of action in the struggle against fascism and capitalism and to improve the conditions of the miners.

At the end of June a meeting of the United Miners' Union took place in the *Saar district* and an appeal was directed to other miners' unions calling for a struggle to improve wages and working conditions. The leader of the Saar Union, *Schwarz*, who was elected Vice-President of the Miners' International Federation at the last international congress in *Lille*, declared that in the present situation it was impossible to put forward wage demands. However, *Schwarz* is now asking the management of the Saar mines for an appointment to discuss the wage question as the increased intensity of labour in the mines makes possible an improvement in wages. What he declared to be impossible four weeks ago he now declares possible and necessary, all due to the pressure of the workers themselves.

In *Belgium* the mineowners had announced a wage cut of 5 per cent. to come into operation on September 1, but they have now been compelled to postpone the date until September 15.

In *France*, where the miners are growing more and more rebellious, *Vige* and *Legay* are trying to draw the attention of the miners away from the struggle for higher wages by visiting the Ministries.

In *Spain*, *Poland* and *Czechoslovakia* the activity of the miners is also growing rapidly.

The facts enumerated above show how correct the *International Miners' Committee* was when it proposed that unity of action should be established in the coalfields and approached the Miners' International Federation in this sense. The international congress avoided the point. Messrs. *Edwards*, *Harris*, *Vigne*, *Delattre* and *Schwarz* refused to give any concrete answer to the proposals, but when they returned to their own countries and came under the pressure of their own members they were compelled to recognise the correctness of the demands for higher wages and shorter working hours which stood at the head of the proposals of the *International Miners' Committee*. This should be sufficient to convince the miners of all countries that international mining unity and thus international trade union unity can only be obtained if unity of action is first organised in the various countries and in the various mining districts. The coming wage movements amongst the miners must be utilised as a basis for the establishment of unity of action, the first step towards trade union unity.

The reformist leaders demand the establishment of organisational unity. The resolution of the congress of the reformist French miners' union which is affiliated to the C.G.T. (reformist trade union federation) has a dozen separate points, but not one of them says a word about the immediate necessity of unity of action on behalf of the demands of the miners. The congress in *Lille* also treated the question very simply by declaring that unity could be established immediately if the members of the revolutionary unions would only join the reformist unions. In its answer to the Miners' International Federation the *International Miners' Committee* declares:—

"The process of unification can take place only in connection with the actual struggle of the miners on behalf of their demands. Only if the miners observe that the development of the trade union united front brings them advantages in the struggle against the mineowners will the miners, organised in the revolutionary unions, want to take part in a united International, and the great army of unorganised miners will feel similarly, not to speak of those miners who are organised in unions other than the reformist and revolutionary organisations."

The main point about the struggle for unity must therefore be the winning of all the miners for the struggle on behalf of their own demands. The task of establishing unity of action is now before the miners of all countries. The threatened wage cuts, etc., in *Belgium* can only be warded off if the *Belgian* miners break down the resistance of *Delattre* and his friends to joint action and establish a united front in the struggle against the mineowners.

There is no doubt that the reformist miners' leaders in *Great Britain* will do everything possible to avoid the use of the strike weapon. They are already doing their utmost to come to an arrangement with the mineowners. A rotten compromise between the reformist leaders and the mineowners which will sacrifice the demands of the miners can be prevented only if the miners themselves establish unity of action in every pit and in every mining district.

The same applies to the *Saar district*. Here, too, neither the reformist nor the Catholic trade union leaders want to use the strike weapon, and if there is to be any serious struggle for the demands of the miners then the miners themselves will have to organise it by establishing unity of action from below.

Radio and Electrification

The *Myuski Square* in *Moscow* has been chosen as the site for the erection of the *Radio Centre*. In place of the former *Myuski Cathedral* a gigantic twenty-four storey building will be erected. Twenty-nine wireless studios and a wireless theatre will be situated in this building. The foundation walls of the old cathedral will be used in the new structure.

The electric locomotive "W. L." has proved a splendid success on its trial run on the line running from *Stalinisi* to *Sestaphoni*, hauling a train totalling 900 tons in weight, whilst the locomotive was built to haul only 800 tons. The *Transcaucasian railway* is now being extended from its present terminus at *Stalinisi* to *Tiflis*. As a result of electrification the time necessary for journeys has been considerably reduced: for goods trains by 50 to 60 per cent., for passenger trains on the *Tiflis-Stalinisi* line from 4½ to 2½ hours.

Fight Against Imperialist War and Fascism

Defence of the Soviet Union the Duty of Humanity

By Henri Barbusse (Paris)

"The idea of war is in the air. It can break out any moment. At the end of July a situation suddenly arose which was similar to that of 1914. . . . One must be prepared for war not to-morrow but to-day. We must become a military, yes a military, or better still a warlike nation. . . ."

Mussolini spoke these words from the top of a tank. The countenance of the adventurer and condottiere in the service of reaction was to be seen behind the mask of the pacifist chief of State.

All the capitalist countries accompanied the declaration of the fascist "veteran" with deafening music. The air manoeuvres, the general rehearsals for technically perfected war, are taking place almost everywhere. At the present time air manoeuvres are being held in and around Paris. In the meantime the Amsterdam-Pleyel Committee, which has made it its task to form and extend the united front throughout the world for the fight against war and fascism, arranged counter-demonstrations against the farce of aerial defence. We now learn that the air manoeuvres are not to be held over Paris, but in the neighbourhood. In the meantime, air manoeuvres have been held in England, as a result of which it has been proved that an air attack could in a few hours reduce London to a heap of ruins covering seven million dead. Thus we see that England has made considerable progress. It occupies sixth place in the air armaments competition and aims at advancing to a higher position. Mr. Baldwin moved in the House of Commons to increase the Air Force by more than 800 aeroplanes, under the pretext that only a nation occupying a leading position in the sphere of air armaments can compel other powers to reduce their air fleets. Great Britain, for the sake of peace, is preparing to build an air fleet of 1,300 aeroplanes.

Germany and Japan have become converted into huge drill grounds and munition factories. The whole population of these two countries are becoming more and more militarised, commencing with the youth and the industrial workers, who are systematically prepared for war which can break out any day.

Against whom and against what are the potentates in the capitalist countries arming at such a feverish pace? The antagonisms between the capitalist countries are increasing and becoming more acute, as is only logical. The Nazi putsch in Vienna, which proved an absolute failure, has opened the eyes of everybody. The most sceptical are forced to realise what a danger-spot the Danube Basin is. In the meantime the war-mongers, precisely because they are aware of the tension between the capitalist States and because they know that they are thereby risking everything, are together seeking a way out which would permit them to harness their peoples to the war chariots. War is the ideal solution. It would free them at last from the terrifying nightmare which has been weighing heavily upon them since a certain October revolution.

Mussolini, in the speech from which we already quoted, did not hesitate to reveal his innermost thoughts:—

"Because certain nations are on the ascent and others on the decline," declared the strangler of the Italian people, "there remains, in spite of the best will, in spite of conferences and protocols, only one way out—war."

Expressed in plain language, this means: because to-day there is only one nation and one people which is on the ascent, namely, the workers' and peasants' State, the capitalist countries, which are on the decline and collapsing, cannot do anything else but unite for war against the Soviet Union.

Mussolini has not taught us anything new. We know his principles and his aims. The World Committee and the World Committee of the Youth for the Fight against War and Fascism have repeatedly, and especially in the Manifesto of the full session of the International Bureau of Amsterdam-Pleyel and the Youth on July 31, declared that the danger of war against the Soviet Union is becoming more threatening every day.

"The rising wave of provocations by Japanese imperialism and its strategic preparations along the Soviet frontiers indis-

putably prove that Japan is determined to make war on the Soviet Union at any price."

The events of the last four weeks have confirmed this declaration in an alarming manner. Not a week, in fact not a day, passes without provocations by the Japanese military clique and their puppets in Manchukuo. Officials of the Chinese Eastern Railway are still being arrested. Never has a campaign of robbery and lies been carried on so far in order to convert a neighbour into an enemy and force it to war. It is only because Japan has to deal with such a powerful and peaceful partner as the Soviet State, which is master of itself, that this insolent game which it is pursuing has not achieved its aim. It is clear that Japan is bent on seizing the Chinese Eastern Railway not only in order to save the purchase money, but in order to continue its policy of robbery.

The Soviet government has given a plain and emphatic answer through its Ambassador in Tokyo to these provocations. This document is such a damning indictment of the Japanese government and its Manchurian puppets that other pretexts must be sought for the seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railway than the tragedy-comedy staged hitherto.

The diplomats and the general staffs of nearly all the imperialist powers are eagerly working in order to launch an attack against the Soviet Union from the East, the South and the West. A short time ago it was reported in certain newspapers that a military alliance was in course of preparation between Great Britain and Japan. These reports have called forth only a feeble denial which amounts in fact to a confirmation.

It is clear that German imperialism is doing its utmost to win over Pilsudski Poland as an ally. As an inducement Germany has promised Poland a large slice of the Soviet Union, and in addition certain advantages from the dismemberment of the Baltic States. There is no doubt that an agreement would be reached with regard to the Polish corridor. It seems that in the last few days a secret agreement has been concluded between Germany and Poland according to which, in the event of war, Poland would supply food and raw materials and Germany war materials. Who could deny that this agreement represents a war plan against the U.S.S.R.?

In this very serious and threatening situation the working masses of the world must launch a counter-offensive in order to frustrate the aims of the international war incendiaries. The Soviet Union has done its utmost in order to maintain peace in the interests of the masses of the whole world. The moment has now come when the masses of the people in the capitalist countries must come forward in a broad united front in order to prevent the war against the Soviet Union and to shatter the block of the imperialists. In various countries Socialist and Communist, Christian and non-party workers, employees and intellectuals, women and children, have unitedly expressed their determination to bring to nought the war designs against the workers' and peasants' Republic. The World Movement against War and Fascism has made it its historic task to defend the Soviet Union with the aid of the whole of humanity.

We are millions who are inspired with the ambition to become the world organ of united action, to stand at the side of the great free people and win the emancipation of the subjected peoples. We address a passionate appeal to all opponents of war and oppression, no matter to what party they belong, to join our mass movement and, together with us, fulfil their duty by defending the Soviet Union.

War Danger in the Far East !

Appeal of the C.C. of the Communist Party of Germany

Workers, peasants, women, youth and soldiers!

Bombs are bursting on the Amur! The mouths of the guns are directed against the Soviet Union. Predatory Japanese imperialism has commenced a series of criminal war provocations in the Far East. Peaceful Soviet citizens have been arrested by the Japanese. Bought white guardist gangs are instigating bloody attacks on the Soviet Consulate in Harbin. "Law and order," shout the Japanese robbers. Behind this mask they wish to impose martial law on the Chinese Eastern Railway and forcibly seize possession of it. Hitler's Japanese brothers rudely and brusquely rejected the offer of a non-aggression pact made by the U.S.S.R. The persistent peace efforts of the Soviet Union have been replied to with cynical threats of war and fresh provocations. Japanese Ministers are openly propagating invasion of Russian territory.

German fascism is applying the torch to the powder barrel

in Europe. Hitler is goading and scourging the German people with chauvinistic orgies, celebrations of the battles of Sedan and Tannenberg, election swindles, wage reductions, terror and bullets. Fascism is ready any day to fire the Serajevo shot and to drive the furies of war over town and country. The Hitler putsch in Austria could have let loose war over night. The German and Austrian districts, the towns and villages of Danzig and the Saar, could be converted over night into fields strewn with corpses by Hitler's provocations. The treaty concluded with Poland by the Danzig Nazis is a fresh fascist war-provocation against the Soviet Union. The Hitler dictatorship has openly rejected the Eastern Pact proposed by Litvinov. Hitler, Goering and Blomberg are openly and undisguisedly demonstrating their criminal war intentions. German fascism is openly committing its Serajevo provocations in the Baltic and the Soviet Ukraine. The demagogic campaign "for the starving Russia" is only a cloak for the criminal fascist war policy.

Mussolini's troops are standing ready at the Brenner Pass. Italian fascism, lauded by Hitler as "Germany's ally," shows undisguisedly its bloody, chauvinistic countenance, and wishes to annex whole districts of Austria. Encouraged by Hitler's warlike adventurism, the Japanese general staff in the Far East is committing one arbitrary act after another. "War may break out to-morrow," declared Mussolini at this year's autumn manoeuvres of the Italian troops. The fascist imperialist warmongers wish to plunge the whole world into the drum fire of artillery, the deadly hell of poison gas. The profit ghouls and the war contractors are lying in wait in order to pocket huge profits from heaps of corpses and bombarded towns.

Workers, peasants, toilers, young people, women, soldiers, sailors! We Communists sound the alarm! We call upon the whole of the working people and soldiers to stand ready at any moment to take up the organised mass fight against the insanity of war. We call upon you to stay the arm of the general staffs, the fascist provocateurs and adventurers, who are under the command of monopoly capital, by powerful mass action. Wives and mothers, do not permit your husbands and sons to be driven to the slaughter by the profit-greedy per cent. patriots.

Fight with us Communists to prevent the threatening mass murder!

Class comrades! Reply to the Hitler fascists and the Japanese provocateurs by creating the unity of action of all workers of Germany! The unity of all social democratic, Communist, trade union and Christian workers, the common action of all who want peace, who hate war and wish to prevent it, will bring to nought the criminal plans of the fascists. Our appeal to fight against war is addressed to all toilers, to all organisations, no matter to what party they may belong, to defend with us the gigantic work of peace and construction of the Soviet Union.

Mobilise the factories, alarm the docks and armament works! Arouse the will to active fight against the production and transport of war material! Prevent now the transport of arms, munitions, aeroplanes and war supplies to the Japanese warmongers. Stop the railway trains, wagons and ships which are to bring deadly lead to Japan to slaughter our Russian brothers. German soldiers, S.A. and S.S. men! Do not fire on your fellow-countrymen! Do not fire on the soldiers of other countries. Fraternise with them in the fight against capitalism!

Fellow working men and women! Launch united actions for fight and struggle in all factories and all villages of Germany! Fight everywhere against the reduction of wage and piece rates, against compulsory contributions, against the sending of young workers on the land, against the slavish Labour Law, for your factory demands, for the right of coalition, freedom of the press and to strike! That is the best blow that can be delivered against the fascist provocateurs and enemies of the people.

Elect united fighting committees against war and fascism in the munition factories, the mines, in the ports, the railway depots! Unite all forces which wish to prevent war, to overthrow fascism and which want freedom and socialism under the flag of proletarian internationalism. In alliance with the toilers of the whole of Europe protect our socialist Soviet fatherland, the Soviet Union.

Down with chauvinism!

Down with Hitler fascist and Japanese war provocations!

Long live the united action to prevent war! Long live the socialist Soviet Union!

Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany.

British Labour Leaders Preparing for War

By Gore Graham

The leaders of social-democracy and of the reformist trade unions are *always*, in everything they do, agents of capitalism within the workers' ranks. Still, there are certain of their actions which seem to stand out above the rest as glaring illustrations of just how treacherous the whole policy of social democracy is. Such an act is the recent decision of the British Labour leaders to come out into open opposition to the *anti-Fascist rally in Hyde Park* (September 9). This deliberate attempt to split the ranks of the workers in face of the development of a British army of black-shirted thugs must have roused a feeling of unutterable disgust amongst all class-conscious workers.

And so, these infamous harbingers of the same terror and misery that our Austrian and German fellow workers are now enduring, these British Labour leaders who want to do for the British worker what their opposite numbers have done for the German and Austrian workers, now throw their weight into attempts to smash the anti-fascist front.

And war; when we talk of war preparation in Britain we cannot for a moment think merely of the armament increases, the British Foreign Office's anti-Soviet diplomacy, the new Sedition Bill, etc. We have to recognise quite clearly that the British Labour leaders have already got their coats off and their sleeves rolled up in the work of positively preparing for war. It is no longer a case of their pursuing a policy that eventually means war, but a case of actual eve-of-war preparations. Listen to what *George Hicks* said to the Congress of the Amalgamated Union of Building Workers on August 29:—

"Some people," said Mr. Hicks, "would like them to declare that they would call a general strike at any time and on any matter, but why declare in advance what they would do?"

"Supposing Hitler came over here, would it be the job of the Labour movement to say 'Come along, brother, and bring your Brownshirts'?" ("Daily Herald"; report August 30.)

This is simply 1914-18 all over again. "Are we going to let the Prussians come over here and dominate us? Up, trade unionists, and at 'em." The trade union and Labour party leaders who gathered British workers together in 1914-18 in order to destroy and be destroyed in imperialist war are again getting on the job. In its very self it is a measure of the imminence of war that these people should be coming forward more and more openly as recruiting agents and splitters of the working-class opposition to war.

The Congresses are being mobilised behind definite pro-war policies in full readiness for war.

"Opposition to war," continued Mr. Hicks, "is fundamental with us, but that does not mean that we are not going to hit back when we are hit, or that we are not going to try to prevent the taking away of our liberty. I am an anti-war propagandist, but I am not going to say that at all times and in all circumstances I shall refuse to fight to defend the rights and the liberties that have been won in this country."

"Why tell them what we are going to do when war breaks out?" Hicks asks. And the very same week *M. Jouhaux*, at the General Council meeting of the I.F.T.U., declared that when war breaks out precisely nothing can be done. But if Jouhaux means the reformist leaders when he says "we can do nothing" then he is wrong, for they can do and will do what they are doing now, what they have done in the past—act as agents of death amongst the workers recruiting imperialism's cannon fodder.

Every month during the past half-year, during a period in which war has grown patently nearer and nearer, these trade union and Labour leaders have been making it clear where they are going to try and lead the workers in case of war. *Bromley* began some months ago in his declaration openly in favour of some wars with a special anti-German reference of 1914-18 vintage. He was followed by the leaders of the A.E.U. and the latest developments of the T.U.C.'s policy in regard to war—all of them full of jingoist apprehension at the danger of uncivilised countries attacking our beautiful democratic Britain.* Hicks's contribution and the activities of the I.F.T.U. at *Weymouth* last week are the latest steps.

"We are *fundamentally* opposed to war," says Hicks. "Fundamentally" is a nice word. Both he and Bromley and all the others add that they would certainly not oppose *all* wars. No indeed,

they are not opposed to all wars. But there is only one war they are *fundamentally* opposed to, and that is anti-capitalist war—the war of the workers and oppressed peoples against capitalism.

“Why tell them what we are going to do?” asks Hicks. By “them” he means the capitalists. Well; he has no need to tell them what “we” (meaning the trade union leaders) are going to do. The capitalists know well enough, as we know, and as all our fellow workers must be made to know.

* “Members must remember that a number of important nations were now servile States under the heel of armed dictatorship, which aimed at smashing the trade union movements of the world. He could conceive of circumstances in which it would be to the interest of British trade unionists willingly to help our country in case of war.” (Mr. Bromley, General Secretary, A.S.L.E.F., May 27, 1934.)

“If there were aggressive action against this country, I do not know that we should allow the aggressors to walk over us, even though we do not believe in war.” (A. B. Swales, A.E.U. Conference, June 1, 1934.)

Youth Action Against Fascism and War

By J. Wiesner (Paris)

Twenty-five thousand young socialists from Belgium, France, Austria, Germany, Switzerland, Holland and the Scandinavian countries met at the beginning of August in Liège. They met under the slogan: “Fight against Fascism and War,” and they expected that decisions for a revolutionary offensive against fascism and against imperialist war would be adopted.

The majority of the young socialists are beginning to break with reformism, although in some countries this process is developing more rapidly than in others. The organ of the young socialists of Schaerbeek in Belgium published a special number for the meeting under the slogan: “Not the de Man Plan, but the Soviet Power,” and the number was sold extensively amongst the young workers. The majority of the young socialists demanded that their International should take up a clear attitude to the question of imperialist war and that in the event of the outbreak of war all efforts should be made to transform the imperialist war into a civil war for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. They also demanded a ceaseless struggle against fascism and against the fascist measures of the so-called democratic governments.

At the international meeting, which was addressed by **Vanderelde**, who spoke in favour of the defence of the fatherland, **Godefroy** spoke in favour of the transformation of the imperialist war into a civil war for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. This time Ollenhauer-Vorriink succeeded once again in the session of the Executive Committee of the Young Socialist International in securing the rejection of a resolution put forward by **Daugé** (Belgium) calling for a revolutionary attitude in the question of war. The resolution was lost with 22 against 11 votes. However, in order to avoid a complete breach between the leadership and the masses of the members, it was agreed to discuss the question again at the next Executive meeting.

The spirit expressed by the young socialists at their meeting was all in favour of the establishment of a united front with the young Communists and with all other anti-fascist elements. This spirit was also expressed on many placards which were carried during the meeting.

This will to unity was expressed most strongly by the delegations from France, Austria, Belgium, Switzerland, and Germany. **René Dumon**, the secretary of the French Young Socialist League; **Duerenberger**, the secretary of the Swiss Y.S.L.; and **Papenik**, the representative of the young socialists of Austria, spoke in favour of revolutionary unity at the session of the Executive Committee of the Y.S.I. which took place after the meeting, and they demanded the organisation of joint action with the young Communists and with the world movement of the youth against fascism and war.

The meeting and the subsequent Executive session showed the abyss which separates the leaders from the masses of the young socialists. In an article published in the “**Populaire**” on the 16th August René Dumon pointed out that fundamental differences of opinion had shown themselves at the Executive session. These fundamental differences showed themselves chiefly in the strict rejection of all united front proposals by the Ollenhauer, Vorriink,

Kanitz group and the support of such proposals by the Dumon-Duerenberger group. The chief collision at the Executive session took place in the discussion of the joint action organised between the young socialists and young Communists in Austria. Ollenhauer declared that “under the existing circumstances” all such joint actions were impossible; and he protested against the attempts of the French and the Belgians to bring about such unity of action without the control of the International. Papenik of Austria answered by declaring that nothing could prevent the Austrian young socialists from establishing unity of action with the young Communists.

Typical of the crisis which is at present shaking the ranks of the Y.S.I. was the fact that the German delegation publicly declared that Ollenhauer, the secretary of the Executive Committee, was not speaking in their name, as the German young socialists had long ago abandoned reformism and were strongly in favour of unity of action. The chairman of the Y.S.I., Vorriink, met with a hostile reception from many of the young socialists as a protagonist of the compulsory labour camp plans for the unemployed youth. The Austrian delegation disavowed Kanitz and demanded that its representative Papenik should take part in the session of the Executive Committee, with full voting powers, and this was granted.

The World Youth Committee against Fascism and War had sent a delegation of three to the meeting in Liège in order to negotiate with the Executive Committee of the Young Socialist International with a view to organising joint action. The delegation was energetically supported by Dumon (France) and Duerenberger (Switzerland), and its members were warmly welcomed by the young socialists from all countries. The delegation was enlarged by the inclusion of representatives from Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and France.

The proposals put forward by the delegation were supported by 120 representatives of the young socialists in Austria, Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark and Holland, and by Comrades Dumon and Duerenberger. These proposals, which were placed before the Executive Committee of the Y.S.I. in writing, were as follows:—

- (1) The organisation of joint meetings against fascism and war in all countries.
- (2) The establishment of organisational co-operation on the part of all anti-fascist forces by means of joint committees, the publication of joint newspapers, etc., and other forms of joint action.
- (3) A joint struggle for the defence of all democratic freedoms, including the freedom of the press, the freedom of speech, the right to organise, the right to strike, etc.
- (4) A joint struggle against the fascist militarisation of the youth.
- (5) The joint organisation of active solidarity with all imprisoned anti-fascists, and in particular with the heroic anti-fascists of Germany and Austria, and the joint organisation of immediate assistance for those most urgently threatened by fascism, including Thaelmann, Ludwig Renn, Karl von Ossietzky, and others.
- (6) Joint action for the defence of the economic demands of the young workers, young peasants, and young soldiers.

In the letter which put forward these proposals the delegation asked for a joint meeting with the Executive Committee of the Y.S.I. to discuss them. Ollenhauer and his friends tried to ignore this letter completely, but Dumon and Duerenberger compelled them to bring the letter before the session and read it aloud. In the discussion Friedrich Adler used the old tactic of describing the unity proposals as “a Communist manoeuvre.”

Although the supporters of the united front proposals were in a minority on the Executive Committee, they are in a majority amongst the masses of the young socialists. This real majority amongst the masses in favour of the united front will permit the organisation of joint actions on the part of the youth in all countries against fascism and war. The World Youth Committee will continue its efforts to establish a united front and, heartened by its success in Liège, it will redouble them in the conviction that no power will be able to prevent the organisation of joint youth action. In addition, the successes of joint action in France, the Saar, Austria, and other countries will tend to convince those who are not yet convinced of the necessity of the united front, and to bring them over to our side in the struggle for unity.

A united front of the anti-fascist youth in the capitalist countries, together with the youth of the socialist Soviet Union, would represent an invincible force which, together with the working class as a whole, could defeat fascism and war, overthrow the capitalist order of society and build up the new socialist society.

Struggle Against Unemployment

Reformist Plot Against the Workless in England

By R. B. (London).

In 1920 the National Unemployed Workers' Movement came into existence—its aim being to organise the workless millions to secure for themselves the right to full maintenance at such periods as capitalism could not provide for them. Its slogan: "Work or Full Maintenance at Trade Union Rates," is a familiar one, to which has been rallied the bulk of the unemployed workers of Britain at one time and another since 1920.

It has striven to build up the unity between the employed and the unemployed. Its little red badge, with the words "Black-leg Proof," has been prominent on many a picket line. Its hunger marches have roused the toilers of Britain on many occasions and compelled the government to make concessions which it has stoutly refused to grant to the polite pleadings of the Parliamentary Labour Party.

Even in small things—very important to individuals—it has played a dominant role. Its members have been to the fore in resisting evictions. Its local representatives have everywhere fought valiantly and with great success for those unemployed men and women who have been knocked off benefit on one pretext or another. The reformists have sneered at the N.U.W.M. as a "hot air" organisation that can do nothing practical for the unemployed, but the figures tell a very different tale.

In its early days the reformist trade union officials thought there might be opportunities of exploiting the N.U.W.M. for their own purposes, but when they found that it would not sell its revolutionary integrity, they sheered off. A few years ago a move was set on foot by the General Council of the Trade Union Congress to start new Unemployed Associations, sponsored by the local Trades Councils, with the object of keeping the unemployed away from revolutionary influences and under the wing of the reformist trade union organisations.

These unemployment associations started off with a great flourish of trumpets, and because of financial and organisational support received from Trades Councils and trade union organisations, for some little while recorded some slight progress. But not for long.

The unemployed, faced with ever fresh attacks upon their standards, ever fresh incursions upon liberty, demanded action, whilst the idea of the reformist bureaucrats was to keep them quiet. Consequently, the General Council of the Trade Union Congress has been puzzling its brains to see what can be done to make the unemployed less troublesome and to keep them out of revolutionary spheres of influence. To this end a sub-committee was appointed to report to the General Council. The leader of the committee is Mr. A. M. Wall, a renegade Communist, who is secretary of the London Trades Council. He has submitted a memorandum to the General Council, which is one of the most astounding documents ever put out in the name of trade unionism.

The reformists do not want to liquidate the unemployment associations openly, but they do want to transform them into respectable appendages of the various charity organisations for the unemployed that have sprung up under bourgeois charity auspices during the last few years.

Nevertheless, Mr. Wall admits the practical failure of the reformists so far to nobble the organised workless. Says he:

"It will be admitted at once that our unemployed associations cannot contribute much to a solution of the unemployed problem. . . . The only specific purpose our unemployed associations appear to serve is to keep the connection of unemployed trade unionists with our organised movement and to prevent them falling under the influence of organisations whose aims and objects are not desirable. This is a very useful function. . . . The Communist Unemployed Associations definitely announce that their purpose is to foment revolutionary activity among the unemployed, and also among the employed, with a view to the forcible overthrow of the present system of society."

The latter appears a prospect that appals the one-time revolutionary A. M. Wall, who then proposes that the unemployed must be nursed more carefully and have plans worked out for them. It is notable that these "democrats" do not propose the unemployed working out their own programme—that would be

dangerous—but having a T.U.C. programme foisted upon them. Mr. Wall says on this matter:

"It seems to me therefore that the T.U.C. General Council must recognise that unemployed organisations, such as have come into existence under the T.U.C. scheme, must be given more encouragement and a wide programme of action mapped out for them consistent with the policy and programme of the trade union movement as a whole for dealing with unemployment. This appears to be necessary in view of the fact that our unemployed associations are not developing any considerable sphere of activity for themselves."

Wall further states that the unemployed associations can do nothing for themselves "that is not ten times more effectively performed within the trade union movement." Why, then, does he want to organise them separately? Purely as a manoeuvre. On what lines does he suggest the unemployed associations must proceed? Abandonment of the struggle and "organise for more equitably distributing leisure—to occupy their hands and minds with profit to themselves, if for no other reason than to arrest the mental, physical and perhaps moral deterioration attendant upon enforced idleness over a long period."

Before outlining his programme of linking up the official Trade Union Unemployed Associations with the multitude of charity social service organisations that have been sponsored by the Prince of Wales, big business, and so forth, Wall expatiates on the merits of his scheme as a vote-catching device for the L.P.:

"I believe that if we undertake this task our movement would secure the confidence of the majority of the British people, and in so doing would safeguard the nation from the imbecilities of fascism on the one hand and the dangers of Communism on the other."

His proposals are:—

To institute a survey of all existing voluntary associations dealing with "occupational, recreational and educational needs of the unemployed."

To appoint a national committee under the auspices of the T.U.C. for the purpose of directing policy and co-operating with the above-mentioned voluntary organisations. The composition of this committee is interesting. Says Mr. Wall categorically:—

"The committee should include representatives of the churches, philanthropic associations, along with the T.U.C. General Council, but not representatives of political parties who should ipso facto be ineligible for membership of either the national or local committees."

Wall tries to meet the charge that goods made by the unemployed under such conditions would be used to undercut goods made by trade union labour, by saying that:—

"No goods produced at such centres should be sold for money or supplied to institutions that would otherwise purchase such goods."

Such, briefly, is the latest scheme to be considered by the General Council of the T.U.C. in their frantic struggle to stem the tide of working-class militancy. The new Unemployment Act of the National Government, with its slave camps for the unemployed and its training schemes on approved fascist lines, is passively allowed to go unchallenged. The enemy is declared as Communism. Revolutionary ferment among the workers must be stemmed. Militant action to defeat the attacks launched against them must go by the board and be substituted by something to keep the workless quiet—voluntary work and study centres.

The T.U.C. proposes, the unemployed may dispose differently.

Secret Slave Plan for Workless

Government Commissioners have been visiting the derelict industrial areas and have compiled a report which the government intends to keep secret. The reason for this reticence is revealed in reports issued to-day that among the schemes for dealing with unemployment is one for financing new public works from the Treasury.

The workless so employed shall be constructed by unemployed working and living under semi-military discipline for a few shillings "pocket money" in addition to their keep. Unemployed refusing this work will be refused benefit or relief of any kind.

There is said to be opposition to this scheme from some members of the Cabinet, who believe that its adoption would lead to great discontent and probably mass action on a large scale during the winter. But the majority of the Cabinet are believed to be in favour, basing their attitude on the assumption that the government is strong enough to deal drastically with any dissatisfaction

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

Maxim Gorki's Speech at the Soviet Writers' Congress

The role of the labour processes which have transformed the erect animal into a human being and have created the basic foundations of culture has never been investigated so comprehensively and profoundly as it deserves. This is natural, since such an investigation is not in the interests of the exploiters of labour, who transform the energy of the masses, like raw material, into money.

Primitive men have been described by historians of culture as philosophising idealists and mystics, creators of gods, seekers of the "meaning of life."

It is exceedingly difficult to imagine a two-legged animal, which spent all its forces on the struggle for life, thinking abstractly about the processes of labour, about the questions of family and tribe. It is difficult to imagine Immanuel Kant, in an animal skin and barefoot, reflecting upon "things in themselves." Man of later times thought abstractly, that solitary man of whom Aristotle said in his "Politics" that "man outside society is either a god or a brute."

The historians of primitive culture were entirely silent about the completely clear signs of materialist thinking, which were inevitably initiated by the processes of labour and the whole sum of phenomena of the social life of ancient man. These signs have come to us in the form of fairy tales and myths in which we hear the echoes of the work of domesticating animals, the discovery of herbs, the invention of implements of labour. Men were already dreaming in the era of antiquity about the possibility of flying. This we may see from legends about Phaeton, Daedalus and his son Icarus, and the tale of the "flying carpet." Men were dreaming about acceleration of movement over the earth in the tale about "fast-moving boots" and mastered the horse, etc. All the myths and tales of antiquity are crowned, as it were, by the myth about Tantalus. Tantalus stands up to his neck in water, he is tortured by thirst but cannot quench it—such is ancient man among the phenomena of the external world that are not cognised by him.

I have no doubt that the ancient tales, myths and legends are known to you, but I should like their basic meaning to be understood more deeply. This meaning amounts to the striving of the ancient working men to lighten their labour, to increase productivity, to arm themselves against four-legged and two-legged enemies. God was an artistic generalisation of the successes of labour and the "religious" thinking of the toiling masses must be placed in quotation marks, since it was a purely artistic creation.

Pre-Christian pagan folklore did not preserve any clearly expressed signs of the existence of thought about the "essences," about "the first cause of all phenomena," about "things in themselves." It is known that the church stubbornly fought from the beginning the "survivals of paganism," and these survivals were the reflections of the labour and materialist conception of the universe. It is known that as soon as the feudal lords began to feel the power of the bourgeoisie, there appeared the idealist philosophy. It is known that on the eve of the French Revolution, at the end of the 18th century, the bourgeoisie utilised materialist thought for the struggle with feudalism and its inspirer—religion, but, having conquered its class enemy and in fear of its new enemy—the proletariat—the bourgeoisie immediately returned to the philosophy of idealism and to the defence of the church.

There is every ground for hoping that when the history of culture will be written by Marxists, we will convince ourselves that **the role of the bourgeoisie in the process of cultural creativeness has been strongly exaggerated**, and especially strongly in the realm of literature, and still more so in the realm of painting, where the bourgeoisie was always the employer and thereby the legislator. In itself, the bourgeoisie has no craving towards the creativeness of culture, if this creativeness is to be understood as something broader than merely the continuous development of external, material living comforts and development of luxury. The culture of capitalism is nothing else but a system of methods of the

physical and moral extension and consolidation of the power of the bourgeoisie over men, over the treasures of the earth, the energies of nature. **The meaning of the process of the development of culture has never been understood by the bourgeoisie as the necessity for progress of the entire mass of humanity.** It is known that by force of bourgeois, economic policy, every neighbouring nation, organised as a state, was hostile, and that tribes, weakly organised, and especially coloured tribes, served for the bourgeoisie as slaves with a still greater lack of rights than its own white-skinned slaves.

The peasants and workers were robbed of the right to education—the right to the development of reason and will for the knowledge of life, for changing its conditions, for lightening labour conditions. Only obedient servants of capitalism, believing in its unchangeability and legality, were educated and are being educated in the schools.

The history of technical and scientific discoveries is rich with facts of the resistance of the bourgeoisie even to the growth of technical culture. Facts of such resistance are generally known. They are as known as their causes—cheapness of living labour power. It will be said that technique has nevertheless grown and attained considerable heights. This cannot be disputed. But it is explained by the fact that technique itself forecasts and prompts, as it were, the possibility and necessity of its further growth.

It goes without saying that I will not deny that the bourgeoisie was a revolutionary force in its time: for instance, in relation to feudalism, that it facilitated the growth of material culture, inevitably sacrificing the interests of the life and the forces of the working masses to this progress.

The social and cultural development of people proceeds normally only when the hands teach the head, and, having become wiser, the head in turn teaches the hands. The wise hands again and to a greater extent contribute to the development of the brain. This normal process of cultural development of toilers was interrupted in ancient days by causes well known to you. A gap arose between intellectual and manual work, and human thought became divorced from worldly interests. Philosophers appeared and explained the world and the development of thought abstractly, independent of the processes of labour. Later on the temptation for power of one over many, this source of all social evils, sprang up among them as well as a tendency for an easy life at the price of another's labour. The history of the development of individualism is given completely and clearly by the history of literature. I again draw your attention to the fact, comrades, that the most profound, striking and artistically perfect types of heroes have been created by folklore, the oral creative power of the working people.

It is extremely important to note that pessimism is quite alien to folklore notwithstanding the fact that the creators of folklore lived under difficult conditions. Consciousness of its immortality and confidence in its final victory over all hostile forces, however, appear to be distinctive of the collective.

The importance of folklore is strikingly illustrated when comparing its fantasticisms based on the achievements of labour with the cumbersome and ungifted fantasticisms of the ecclesiastical "lives of the saints" literature and the miserable fantasticism of the novels of the age of knights and chivalry.

Epic and knightly novels are the creative products of the feudal nobility. Its hero is the conqueror. It is well known that the influence of feudal literature had never been particularly great.

"Bourgeois" literature begins in ancient days with the Egyptian "tales of a thief" which is continued by the Greeks and Romans and appears again in the period of the decline of knighthood in lieu of the knightly novel. It is truly bourgeois literature and its principal hero is a cheat, thief, detective and thief again, but now a "gentleman thief."

The types of bourgeois literature, of course, do not exhaust the variety of "great" men brought about by the practice of the bourgeoisie in the 19th and 20th centuries. All these people cannot be denied strength of character, highly gifted ability to count money, rob the world, cause international slaughter for their personal enrichment, they cannot be denied a wonderful shamelessness and inhumanity in their devilishly abominable work.

Neither the drama nor the novel depict the types of bankers, industrialists and politicians with the same artistic force as literature portrayed "the unnecessary man." Nor were portrayed the tragic and most usual fates of the masters and creators of bourgeois culture, representatives of science and art, inventors in the field of technique. This literature portrayed none of the heroes who fought for the freedom of nations which were oppressed by foreigners, or of dreamers of fraternity of all peoples such as Thomas More, Campanella, Fourier, St. Simon and others.

All this is not said as a reproach. The past is not irreproachable—but to reproach it is senseless. It must be studied.

What has led the literature of Europe to the creative impotence displayed by it in the 20th century? Freedom of art and self-will of creative thought were defended furiously and loquaciously, the possibility of the existence and development of literature above class society, its independence from social policy were strongly affirmed. This affirmation was bad politics, considering that precisely this affirmation imperceptibly compelled many writers to narrow the scope of their observations of real life, to give up a wide, many-sided study of it and confine themselves "in the loneliness of their soul," to dwell on the fruitless attempts of "knowing themselves" by means of introspection without knowledge of practical life. The human being turned out to be unknowable beyond real life which is permeated with politics. The human being remained a social but not a cosmic unit like the planets, however artfully he might represent himself. Later on it was shown that individualism turning into egocentrism creates "unnecessary people."

You all know that the exceptionally vigorous development of Russian literature in the 19th century repeated, although somewhat belatedly, all the moods and tendencies of Western literature and in turn influenced the latter. The peculiarity of Russian bourgeois literature may be considered the abundance of "superfluous people." As in the West, our literature developed along two lines: the line of critical realism and the line of purely petty bourgeois literature.

Since our democratic intelligentsia was less trained by history than the Western intelligentsia, the process of its "moral" degeneration, its intellectual impoverishment proceeded more rapidly. This is a process, however, common to the petty bourgeoisie of all countries and unavoidable for every intellectual who has not the strength of character decisively to join the mass of the proletariat, which is called by history to change the world for the general good of all people engaged in honest labour.

Having destroyed capitalism over the whole of tsarist Russia, having transferred political power to the hands of the workers and peasants, in organising a free classless society, the Party of Communist-Leninists, the workers' and peasants' power of the Union of Socialist Soviets have made it their aim to emancipate, by their bold, wise and tireless work, the toiling masses from the age-long oppression of the old and historically out-lived capitalist development of culture, which now has clearly revealed all its sins and its creative impotence. And it is from the altitude of this great aim that we, honest men of letters of the Soviet Union, must consider, appraise and organise our activities.

We must realise that it is precisely the labour of the masses which is the main organiser of culture and creator of all ideas, both those which have minimised for ages the decisive significance of labour—the source of all our knowledge, as well as the ideas of Marx-Lenin-Stalin, which in our times, are educating the proletarians of all countries to a revolutionary consciousness of their rights, and in our country are raising labour to a force which serves as the basis for the creativeness of science and art. For the success of our work, it is necessary for us to understand and digest the fact that in our fatherland, the socialistically organised labour of semi-literate workers and primitive peasants has created in the very brief period of ten years magnificent values and has armed the country for defence against attacks of the enemy. A correct estimate of this fact will show us the culturally revolutionary force of the teaching that united the entire world proletariat.

All of us—men of letters, factory workers, collective farmers—

are still working badly and are even incapable of fully mastering all that has been created by and for us. Our toiling masses so far poorly understand that they are toiling for no one but themselves. This consciousness smoulders everywhere, but has not yet burst into a powerful and joyous flame. But nothing can flare up until it has reached a definite temperature, and no one has ever been able to raise so splendidly the temperature of the energy of labour as the Party, organised by the genius of Vladimir Lenin, and our contemporary leader of this Party.

We must select labour as the main hero of our books, i.e., man organised by the processes of labour, who, in our country, is armed with the power of modern technique, a man, who, in his turn is organising lighter and more productive labour and is raising it to the level of art. We must learn to understand labour as creativeness.

The basic and chief theme of pre-revolutionary literature was the drama of the individual, to whom life seems cramped, who feels himself superfluous in society, who seeks in it a convenient place for himself, and not finding it, suffers and perishes; or reconciles himself to a society hostile to him, or takes to drink or commits suicide.

In our country, in the Union of Socialist Soviets, there must not, there cannot be, any superfluous people. Wide liberty to develop his capacities, gifts and talents is at the disposal of every citizen. One thing only is demanded of the individual: Be honest in your attitude to the heroic work of the creation of a classless society.

Relating facts which manifest the intellectual development of workers and which show how the century-old proprietor is turning into a collective farmer, we writers are only relating these facts and inadequately depicting the emotional process of these transformations.

We live in a period when the old life is being radically changed, in a period when a sense of self-respect is aroused in people, when people realise that they are a force which actually changes the world.

Our literature is not very attentive to seemingly trifling but really valuable signs of the growing self-respect of people or to the processes of development of the new Soviet citizen.

The growth of the new man is strikingly conspicuous in children, who are absolutely beyond the attention of our literature. Our writers seem to consider it beneath their dignity to write of and for children.

It seems to me that I do not err in affirming that fathers begin to treat their children with more care and tenderness, which in my opinion is quite natural. Children, for the first time in the history of mankind, are now heir not to the money, houses and furniture of their parents, but heirs to a real and great value which is the socialist state created by the labour of their fathers and mothers. Never did children enter into life as such conscious and severe judges of the past as nowadays.

Reality furnishes us with ever more "raw" material for artistic generalisations. Neither the drama nor the novel have so far given a sufficiently striking portrayal of the Soviet woman who acts well and freely in all fields of building a socialist life. It is hard to explain why this is so.

Further, I consider it necessary to point out that Soviet literature is not only the literature of the Russian language; it is All-Union literature. Since the writers of our brother republics, differing from us only in language, are living and working under the light and under the beneficent influence of the same idea which unites the whole world of toilers, split up by capitalism, it is clear that we have not the right to ignore the literary creations of national minorities only because there are more of us. The value of art is not measured by quantity but by quality. If we have had in the past the giant Pushkin, it does not follow from this that the Armenians, Georgians, Tartars, Ukrainians and other nationalities are not capable of producing the greatest masters of literature, music, painting, architecture. It should not be forgotten that over the whole expanse of the Union of Socialist Republics there is rapidly unfolding a process of rebirth of the whole mass of toiling peoples "to a life honest and human," to the free creation of new history, to the creation of socialist culture. We already see that the farther it advances, the more powerfully this process discloses the capacities and talents hidden in the masses, 170 million strong.

I find it necessary to convey to you, comrades, a letter received by me from a Tartar writer.

"The great October Revolution has given us writers from oppressed and backward nationalities unlimited opportunities, including the opportunity to participate in Russian literature with our own; far from perfect it is true, productions. There are already tens and even hundreds of us national writers thinking in the Russian language, as you already know. On the other hand, not only the Russian masses but also the toilers of all the nations of our Soviet Union are reading Soviet literature in Russian; millions of the younger generations of all nationalities are being educated in it. Thus, Soviet proletarian fine literature in Russian is already ceasing to be the literature exclusively of people speaking Russian and having a Russian origin, but is gradually acquiring an international character in its form. This important historical process places in the foreground completely unexpected new tasks and new requirements.

"Most unfortunately not all writers, critics and editors understand this. For this reason, the approved literary public in the centre continues to regard us as an 'ethnographic exhibit.' All publishing houses do not willingly accept us for publication. Some of them often give us to understand when accepting our manuscripts, that we are an 'unprofitable investment' or 'an obligatory choice' for them, that they 'are consciously making a concession to the national policy of the Party.' This 'mien of generosity' quite justly insults our feeling of international unity and our consciousness of human dignity. Then when the book comes out the critic, in the best cases, passes it by with a couple of 'warm words' about the author and the book, again not so much because of the merits of the book as out of 'respect' for the Leninist-Stalinist national policy. This also does not help us, but, on the contrary, has a demoralising effect on our more experienced comrades. Then, after the usual 5,000 copy edition, which is wholly bought up by lovers of the exotic and rarities in the large cities, we are put in the archives. Such a practice, besides having its bad influence on us both morally and materially, blocks our road to the mass reader and leads us to inevitable national narrowness. We would quite naturally like to hear of our achievements, if there are any, and of our defects and mistakes (of which we have more than others), in order to overcome them in the future. We would like to become available to the mass reader."

Probably the representatives of the literature of all the union republics would be willing to sign this letter. The historians and critics of our literature should pay attention to this letter and begin work which would show the people of our country that, although they are of different nationalities, different languages, nevertheless, each of them is a citizen of the first socialist fatherland in the world. The accusation, addressed to our critics, we must consider a just accusation. Our criticism, especially newspaper criticism, which is most read by writers, is untalented, scholastic and uninformed in regard to current reality. Our criticism is insufficiently active, flexible, live, and, finally, the critic is unable to teach the author to write simply, clearly and economically, for he himself writes redundantly, dully and, what is still worse, either indifferently or too warmly—the latter, in these cases when he is bound to the author by personal sympathy and also by the interests of little groups of people, suffering from "leaderism," a contagious disease of the Philistines.

"Leaderism" is an ailment of the epoch. It is caused by the lowered capacity for living of the petty bourgeois, by his feeling of inevitable destruction in the struggle between the capitalist and the proletarian and by his fear of destruction, a fear which drives him to the side which he has long been accustomed to consider the physically stronger, to the side of the employer-exploiter of the labour of others, the robber of the world. Internally "leaderism" is the result of the out-lived usefulness, impotence and poverty of individualism; externally, it is expressed in the forms of such purulent excrescences as, for example, Ebert, Noske, Hitler and other such heroes of capitalist reality. Here, where socialist reality is being created, such excrescences are, of course, impossible. But here there still remains as a heritage of the petty bourgeois a few pimples incapable of understanding the essential difference between "leaderism" and leadership, although the difference is quite clear: leadership, highly valuing the energy of people, points the way to the achievement of the best practical results with the least expenditure of energy, while "leaderism" is the individualistic striving of the philistine to stand a head

higher than his comrades, which it is very easy to do with the possession of mechanical agility, an empty head and an empty heart.

Self-criticism is necessary, comrades. We are working before a proletariat, which, becoming ever more literate, is continuously making larger demands on our art, and, together with this, on our social conduct.

We have written and are writing much about philistinism, but an embodiment of philistinism is not given in one person, in one image. And it must be depicted precisely in one person and as fully as the world types of Faust, Hamlet and others have been fashioned.

Dislodged, driven out from its nests, from hundreds of provincial towns, philistinism in the Soviet Union is scattered everywhere and, as we know, is even percolating into the Party of Lenin, whence it is always thrown out at every Party cleaning. Nevertheless, it remains and acts like a microbe giving rise to disreputable diseases.

The Party leadership of literature must be strictly purged of all influences of philistinism. The Party people in literature are obliged to be not only teachers of ideology, the organising energy of the proletariat of all countries for the final battle for its liberty, but the Party leadership must display in all their conduct a morally authoritative force.

It must be recognised that critical realism has arisen as the individual creativeness of "superfluous people," who, being incapable of fighting for life, not finding for themselves a place in it and more or less clearly perceiving the aimlessness of personal existence, have understood this aimlessness only as the absurdity of all phenomena of social life and the entire historical process.

While by no means denying the wide and tremendous work of critical realism, while appraising its formal achievements in the art of word painting, we must understand that this realism is only necessary for us in order to throw light upon the relics of the past, for the struggle with them, for rooting them out.

But this form of realism has not served and cannot serve the education of socialist individuality, since, while criticising everything, it has affirmed nothing, or, in the worst cases, has returned to the affirmation of all that which it itself has denied.

Socialist individuality, as we see from the example of our heroes of labour, who are the flower of the working mass—socialist individuality can develop in the conditions of collective labour, which places before itself the highest and wise aim of emancipating the toilers throughout the world from the power of capitalism with its crippling effect on man.

Socialist realism proclaims existence as work, as creativeness the aim of which is the uninterrupted development of the most valuable individual abilities of man for the sake of his victory over the forces of nature, for the sake of his health and long life, for the sake of the great happiness of living on the earth, of which he, in conformity with the constant growth of his needs, wants to cultivate the whole as a splendid habitation of humanity united in one family.

Having said so much about the defects of our literature, I am obliged to mark its merits and achievements. This is neither the place nor the time to point out the striking difference between Soviet and Western literature and ours. This exacting and lengthy job will be done partially by Comrade Radek in his keen report. I shall say only it is quite clear to every unbiased judge that our literature outstrips the Western by its new topics, and I wish to remind you that many of our writers have been appraised in the West much higher than here in their fatherland. I spoke full-voiced and joyfully on the achievements of our literature in 1930 in an article published in "On Literature," and also in many other articles in this book. Four years of intensive work have passed since that time. Does this work entitle me to raise the appraisal of the achievements of our literature? The high appraisal of a number of books given by our principal readers, workers and collective farmers entitles me to do that. These books are known to you and therefore I will not name them, but will only say that we have already a solid group of authors who can be recognised as the leading group in the development of our belles lettres.

This group unites the most talented Party writers with non-Party people and the latter become "sovietised" not only in words but in deeds, mastering more and more the general universal sense of the heroic work of the Party and the workers and peasants of the Soviet power. It should be borne in mind that approximately 100

years, counting from the end of the 18th century, were needed for Russian bourgeois literature, to enter forcefully into life and exercise a certain influence upon it. Soviet revolutionary literature has attained this influence in the course of fifteen years.

The high demands made on our belles lettres, rapidly strengthened by our reality, and the cultural and revolutionary work of the Party of Lenin are to be explained by the high importance which the Party attaches to art and fine literature. There has never been and there is no state in the world in which science and literature could enjoy such a comradely assistance, such care to raise the professional qualifications of the workers of art and science.

The state of the proletarians must educate thousands of excellent "masters of culture" and "engineers of spirit." This is necessary to regain for the whole mass of working people the right to develop the mind, talents, and abilities of which they have been deprived throughout the world. This intention, practically feasible, lays upon us writers strict responsibility for our work and our social behaviour.

The Union of Soviet Writers unites 1,500 members, that is one writer for every 100,000 readers. This is not much, considering that the inhabitants of the Scandinavian peninsula had at the beginning of this century one writer per 230 readers. The population of the U.S.S.R. continuously and nearly every day demonstrates its talents. This, however, does not mean that we will soon have 1,500 writers of genius. Let us dream of 50 only. And, not to deceive ourselves too much, let us plan for five writers of genius and 45 very highly gifted. I think that will do for the beginning. The rest of the writers will be people who are insufficiently attentive to reality, badly organise their material and carelessly work on it. To this number must be added many hundreds of candidates to membership and then hundreds of "beginners" in all the republics and provinces. Hundreds of them write and some of them are already printed. I suppose that there are about 100,000 young people in this country who strive to work in literature. Of course, the future Literary University will not be able to absorb even one-tenth of this army.

Now I shall put a question:—

Why has this congress of writers been organised and what aims does the future union set before itself? If it is aimed only at the professional welfare of literary workers, it was hardly worth while making such a noise about it. It seems to me that the union must set before itself not only the professional interests of the writers, but also the interests of literature as a whole. The union must take upon itself to a certain extent leadership over the army of beginners, organise them, distribute the forces on different jobs and teach them how to work on the material of both the past and the present.

Work is going on at present in our country on the "History of Plants and Factories." To draw into this work highly qualified writers has turned out to be very difficult.

We must know the history of the past of our republics. Hundreds of beginners can be drawn into this work which will furnish them the widest opportunity of self-education and of raising their qualifications by means of collective work on the raw materials and mutual self-criticism. We must know whatever was in the past, but not as it has been told so far, but in the way it is elucidated in the doctrine of Marx-Lenin-Stalin and put into practice by labour in the mills and fields, by labour which is organised and led by a new force of history—the will and reason of the proletariat of the Union of Socialist Republics.

Our congress must not only strike an account before the readers, must not only be a parade of our talents, but it must undertake the organisation of literature, the education of young writers on work of All-Union importance and of a thorough conception of the past and present of our fatherland.

New Department Stores in Stalingrad

This month a new big departmental stores, the biggest in the town, was opened in Stalingrad. Its fittings and equipment are completely modern and it will have special departments for the sale of foodstuffs, musical instruments, perfumery, drugs, etc., manufactured articles, boots and shoes, toys, household articles, tailoring, etc. It has a large café and restaurant and special smoking rooms, etc. On the opening day 30,000 workers visited the stores and 110,000 roubles were taken.

The Festival of Literature

Moscow, August 27, 1934.

Yesterday evening the delegates to the Soviet Writers' Congress assembled in the Moscow Park of Culture, together with the toilers of the red capital, for a great festival of Soviet literature. "Never before were so many writers assembled in such a joyful mood," declared the Georgian writer *Paolo Jashvili* at the Congress. And never before have so many readers joined with their authors in such a joyful festival as on the eve of August 26.

In spite of cool weather the Park was crowded. The writers marched past through the main road, over one kilometre long, leading to the theatre, which was lined by a huge crowd who greeted their writers with music and flowers. It was a triumphal procession of the writers, headed by the German writer, *Oskar Maria Graf*.

The evening session of the Writers' Congress had been transferred to the theatre of the Park, which was besieged by tens of thousands of people, not mentioning the 30,000 people accommodated in the theatre itself. "The history of world literature has never known such a meeting," declared the oldest of the delegates, the Armenian poet *Shirvansade*. Formerly, he said, the writer was separated from his readers by a deep chasm; now, thanks to the revolution and the victorious working class, the writer's poetical work is attentively followed by the millions strong army of Soviet readers. *Shirvansade* then stated that the great teachings of Lenin and Stalin had given a fresh impulse to creative work, and that among the people who were formerly enslaved and oppressed by the Russian rule of gendarmes a fresh national culture is now springing up. *Theodor Plivier*, the German revolutionary writer, endorsed *Shirvansade's* enthusiastic statements, but at the same time expressed his profound sorrow for the terrible fate of the German workers in the concentration camps and under the fascist yoke. He mentioned the burning of the greatest works of art by the Hitler fascists.

Suddenly, after *Theodor Plivier's* speech, the lights were put out, and, to the bursting of rockets, there appeared in flaming blue light Lenin's words: "Literature must become part of the general affairs of the proletariat." Literature has already become part of the affairs of the proletariat. That is the deep meaning of to-day's demonstration. The well-known words of Lenin, that true literature begins where there are not thousands and tens of thousands, but millions of readers, have proved true. And these millions of readers are represented here; their constantly increasing demands give a fresh stimulus to Soviet literature.

At the moment when this vast audience listened to the speeches of the masters of literature, at the moment when it heard with loud bursts of applause the poems which the authors themselves recited, at the moment when it listened thoughtfully to the music of Beethoven, at the moment when a little girl handed to the famous child writer *Chukovski* a bouquet, at this moment one felt that such veneration of Literature and Art by the masses is only possible as the result of the heroic deeds of this great mass of readers, who have created a life hitherto unknown and are bringing forth works of art which are worthy of this life.

The wonderful festival of literature lasted till late in the night. Everywhere thousands of people greeted their masters of words and the masters of words greeted their readers. Proletarian Moscow surprised the foreign guests by the numerous delegations and its warm love for art and literature. The festival in the Culture Park was a joyful gathering, the memory of which will remain long in the hearts of the writers and readers.

GREAT SUCCESS OF SOVIET STAND AT INTERNATIONAL AIRCRAFT EXHIBITION IN COPENHAGEN

Copenhagen, August 26.

At the International Aircraft Exhibition, which is visited daily by 20,000 persons, the Soviet stand is the centre of attention. The newspaper "Politiken," whilst emphasising the utilisation of aviatics in the Soviet Union for cultural purposes, comments: "The Soviet stand shows that in the Soviet Union aviatics are entirely free of war tendencies. Special attention is drawn by Molokov's aeroplane, which saved 40 members of the Cheljuskin expedition." The paper concludes: "A variety of other instructive material bears witness to the mighty development of aviatics in the Soviet Union. The exhibition will doubtless give much food for thought. Much has been spoken of the difficulties of the Soviet Russian motor industry. But at this exhibition a 12-cylinder motor is shown which is a miracle of up-to-date technics."

Letters From the Soviet Union

By our Special Moscow Correspondent, L. F. Boross

(1) Factory Culture

The term "factory culture" is one little used—at least in the sense in which we want to use it. But in the new world of the ruling working class there are new conceptions, which must be designated with new names. It is not sufficient to speak of proletarian culture as such when describing the cultural achievements of the Soviet Union. The fact that all cultural objects, all the cultural possibilities possessed by the country, belong to and serve the workers of the works and factories, the whole of the toiling masses: from the schools, theatres, and libraries, to the sports grounds and recreations centres, is only one part of these achievements. What is essential and new in the development of Soviet culture is to a great extent the fact that the works and factories themselves have become magnificent centres of cultural creative work. And if we take only one instance which is quite general in the Soviet Union such as the factory press, we can always find new elements to observe in its development.

To-day it no longer suffices to see in the factory newspapers of the Soviet Union merely the proof of a really proletarian freedom of the press, and to compare the real freedom of the workers' press with the alleged "liberty of the press" in the democratically camouflaged countries of capitalist rule. If one were to inquire to-day of a worker employed in the Moscow motor-car factory about the liberty of the workers' press in the Soviet Union, the answer deserved would be one received recently by a foreign workers' delegate: "You might as well ask an Edison if he possesses the 'techminimum'" (techminimum is the definition of that elementary technical knowledge which every worker in a Soviet undertaking should possess).

It is characteristic of the cultural level to which the proletariat of the Soviet Union has risen that the masses feel an urge not only to learn, not only to read, but to write, to undertake some journalistic, literary and artistic activity. The thousands of wall newspapers in every department of every factory, the daily newspapers brought out by every large industrial undertaking, written and published by hundreds of thousands of worker correspondents and skilled worker editors in the Soviet Union, no longer suffice to satisfy this mass urge. The form in which this mass urge forces its way towards a factory press of its own, written by itself, and published by itself, differs very much in the various works and factories. There are undertakings, for instance, like the Rostov factory for agricultural machinery, or the Charkov electro-mechanical factory, in which there is not only a daily paper published by the whole undertaking, but special printed departmental newspapers for each of the shops. Besides these various daily newspapers, the workers of the Charkov electro-mechanical factory issue special leaflets in connection with factory events.

The factory press of the Moscow motor-car factory "Stalin" has developed along different lines to this, more practically and yet offering greater variety. Here there is only one printed daily paper (besides the numerous wall newspapers, which are not printed). But the workers of this factory publish not only this daily newspaper, but a technical scientific monthly, a literary periodical, and an illustrated satirical paper.

The authors of this "press combine" are exclusively workers and employees of the factory. In their daily paper they write of their successes: but at the same time they criticise their weaknesses and shortcomings.

The question arises: what would be the fate of this young worker Gendler, for instance, if he were to subject a capitalist chief, in however "democratic" a capitalist country, to such severe public criticism as he does here, in No. 137 of the factory newspaper, in the case of the chief of the model department and of the manager of an auxiliary shop of the motor-car factory, criticising them and reproaching them with insufficient care of the interests of the factory. Not only would he be thrown out of this factory, but he would probably not find work so easily in any other factory in the country. But what happens here? If the criticism of the superior has been justified, then his answer generally appears speedily in the newspaper, to the effect that he has taken the necessary measures for improving the faults. This is followed a short time afterwards by an inquiry from the editor,

asking whether the persons responsible for the deficiencies have actually kept their promises, or whether sharper measures are necessary. It need not be said that the workers criticise not only the management or foremen, but also themselves and their fellow-workers. The factory is a united proletarian collective from the director to the charwoman, and its members in their public utterances have no other motive than the common interests of the ruling working class.

The columns of the literary periodical are filled exclusively with contributions from the workers employed in the factory: poems, stories, critical notices, etc. It is not so long since the liquidation of illiteracy was the pivot on which cultural work turned in the works and factories, and now the "literary supplement," as issued with practically all factory newspapers, no longer suffices as an outlet for the creative forces of the proletariat released by the revolution and by socialist construction. The motor-car factory workers have taken the next step, and are issuing their own literary periodical, in which they set themselves the task:—

"With the aid of the readers it is intended to develop criticism of the creative activities of the factory writers and poets; new literary talents are to be discovered; the young writers are to be helped in the difficult but grateful task of mastering artistic language. We shall greet the First Union Congress of Soviet Writers by well-advanced literary study and by qualified artistic creations."

Of the 40 successful, and in many cases artistically valuable, caricatures contained in the last number of the satirical periodical of the factory, 39 have been drawn by workers of the factory itself, and only one by a professional artist. The central satirical and humorous periodicals, with their editions of 40,000 to 50,000 copies, though in themselves excellent, can only devote a very limited space in their columns to each individual factory. And the 24,000 worker masters of the motor-car factory experience many more humorous events, providing cause for laughter for all the workers in the factories than could be contained in the joke corner of the daily paper. And there are also many annoyances, drawbacks, and shortcomings which can best be remedied by comradely satire. What is there to prevent the workers from replacing the "Satirical corner" by a humorous satirical periodical of their own in effective polychrome printing? The daily successes keep the ruling working class in constant good spirits; proletarian dictatorship offers every gifted worker the possibility of developing his talent for writing or art; and there are no capitalists to gag the press of the proletariat, or to deprive it of the necessary means. And since these prerequisites for the publication of a humorous periodical exist in every Soviet factory, there can be no doubt that the initiative shown by the workers of this motor-car factory will speedily be followed by thousands of others.

That these newspapers and periodicals, which form at the same time an important weapon in the fight for the socialist development of the factory, satisfy a real need on the part of the workers is shown by their large circulation: the daily newspaper, the literary paper, and the humorous satirical periodical, have a circulation of ten thousand copies each; the technical scientific paper, published by the engineers and technical staff of the factory, has 200 readers among the workers of the factory, besides many contributors.

When it is further added that many hundreds of thousands of factory workers and numerous collective peasants contribute at the same time to the central newspapers and periodicals, then it will be seen that that worker was right who regarded the question about the "liberty of the press" as extremely out of date. It is no longer a question of mere liberty; it is a question of the fruits of that liberty which the proletariat fought for and won in the revolution.

The struggle against the last remnants of the old tsarist Russian lack of culture is not yet ended; on many sectors of this cultural front the struggle is still going on for the most elementary rules of cleanliness, for the use of soap and tooth-brushes, or for the achievement of the most elementary stage of education and culture. But there are already millions of workers in the strongholds of socialist construction, in the socialist works and factories, who have already attained a degree of mass culture impossible in

any capitalist country, so that a very definite advance can already be recorded towards one of our ultimate socialist aims: **the abolition of the antagonism between physical and intellectual work.**

(II) Metro

It is simply miraculous how street traffic in Moscow grows from day to day. The streets look as if a mass demonstration of trams and motor buses was continually going on. Every day witnesses not only more and more traffic on the streets, but always something new. The customary picture of the old red trams is interspersed by new green trams, fitted with every comfort: automatic closing doors, illuminated signs, upholstered seats, withdrawable steps as precaution against passengers jumping off and on whilst the tram is in motion.

In motor-bus traffic, a new type of carriage is not an individual phenomenon, as it is on the tram-lines. And here it is at the same time of greater importance. For old Russia, too, produced tramways, whilst the motor-bus is a product of the last two years. That the new types of motor-buses are gaining the upper hand in the streets of Moscow signifies that the old and uncomfortable English "Leyland" buses are more and more giving place to the new, larger, and more comfortable Soviet motor-buses made by the Moscow Stalin Works.

A short time ago the "Isvestya" reprinted some old notices from the year 1923. Among these there was a notice to the effect that two French firms had put three motor-buses at the disposal of the Moscow public utilities, for trial runs, in view of the plan of introducing motor buses into Moscow. To-day such a notice—though it is not so very old—sounds like an All Fools' Day joke. To-day Moscow possesses more buses per mile of streets than in almost any other city in the world. Some of the lines—the Railway Station Line No. 1 for instance—run every three minutes, and in the course of the next few weeks they will run every minute.

The latest means of traffic in Moscow is the trolley-bus, equipped luxuriously both inside and out. These are electric motor-buses or "railless trams," with rubber tyres, electric motor, and flexible overhead trolley wiring, permitting the car to swerve some metres to the right or left. The speed of the trolley-bus is greater than that of the tram or of the motor-bus; its working expenses, and hence the fares, are less than those of the motor-bus and somewhat greater than those of the tram. It is characteristic of an economy without capitalists that the fares are not determined by either profit interests or capitalist considerations, but solely by the working expenses, with one exception only: the workers and employees of the works and factories, as also students and school children, travel half-price on special permits.

This, then, is the picture presented by Moscow mass traffic during this last year without an underground railway—the last year of its "prehistoric" period, as it is here jokingly referred to. The frightful crowding of former years is now only noticeable during the few rush hours of traffic. Before four o'clock in the afternoon, and after eight in the evening, it is possible to travel with more or less comfort. Greater and more decided improvements could scarcely have been attained, with the old means available, by a city whose population has increased in a few years from 1½ millions to almost four (3.7). And it does not require much calculation to observe that even with these means everything has been accomplished which only a ruling working class could accomplish for itself.

Under the earth 70,000 workers are engaged in fundamentally altering the traffic of Moscow. In this case "fundamentally" is not merely a figure of speech. "Fundamentally" signifies in some places a depth of 40 to 50 metres, equivalent to the height of a modest sky-scraper! 70,000 workers and employees are working on the first line of the Moscow underground railway. Among them there are 4,500 engineers belonging to every possible special department. And among them the first 12 "underground railway engineers" who were trained at the new underground railway faculty of the Moscow Traffic Technics College. This is a new profession, and one which will presently become a mass profession in the Soviet Union. For after the completion of the lines envisaged in the second Five-Year Plan, Moscow alone will have an underground railway covering almost 90 kilometres. In Leningrad, too, the work of planning a widely ramified underground railway is going on, and the other new or extended workers' cities will not want to be without an underground railway for long. The underground railway is, of course, not a socialist invention in itself. A

number of capitalist cities, too, have underground railways. And yet the railway being built beneath the streets and squares of Moscow is something fundamentally new, something unprecedented. It is the first underground railway which has been built **without capitalists.** It is the first underground railway to be built and utilised without two hostile classes confronting one another: on the one side the profit-greedy capitalists with the upper stratum of municipal officials whom they have corrupted, and on the other the masses of the cruelly exploited navvies and other workers, and the passengers plundered by excessive fares or high taxation (or both). It is the first underground railway in which only one set of interests is represented, the interests of the workers who build it and will use it. For they themselves are its owners.

The first section—a main line 11 kilometres long and a small cross line 1 kilometre long—will be opened for traffic within a few months. The greater part of the excavating work and over three-quarters of the concrete work has already been completed. All the Soviet undertakings coming in question for this work are working at high pressure on the manufacture of the rolling stock. It is not yet quite two years since the tunnel was commenced. What has made such an unprecedentedly rapid pace possible? There can be no doubt that the engineers and workers employed abroad on the building of underground railways have possessed greater experience and greater technical skill, that in all probability they have had to cope with fewer organisational shortcomings, and that they have seldom had the experience of work having to be done twice on account of a preliminary failure owing to inexperience. And yet the Moscow underground railway will be completed in an incomparably shorter time than most of the Western underground railways, and undoubtedly it will keep the promises made by the workers in the inscriptions on the hoardings, both as regards the practical planning of the lines, the comfort of the carriages, the equipment, and the architectural beauty of the railway stations: "The best underground railway in the world for the proletarian capital."

The difference lies in the fact that it is not merely a handful of capitalists who are interested in this undertaking, but the whole of the millions of the population of the proletarian capital; and they not only have it at heart, but are working actively for its completion. And working not only politically and organisationally for the furtherance of the undertaking, but actually physically. Has it ever been seen anywhere else in the world that the population has hurried on Sundays to the spots where underground railway building work is going on, and has cleared away rubble, broken stones, mixed concrete—without asking for payment, simply as a Sunday pleasure, in order to help the workers to finish the job more speedily? Such a state of affairs would be entirely impossible in a capitalist country, for here such assistance would not be of any help to the workers, but only mean extra profits for the building contractors. But in Moscow there are hundreds of thousands of the toiling masses, from every stratum of the population, who have already done volunteer work for the underground railway.

The last Plenary Session of the Moscow Soviet was devoted almost entirely to questions of the underground railway. Bourgeois municipal councils are accustomed to invite to such important discussions the representatives of the capitalist firms, the representatives of the shareholders. The Moscow Soviet, too, invited the "main shareholders" to its session. And these appeared—the shock brigades of the underground railway, the people who have invested the most "capital" in the building work in the form of enthusiastic socialist work. They eagerly discussed the deficiencies which remain to be overcome. The concrete possesses the necessary firmness, but this is still being attained by an excess proportion of cement, up to the present almost 7,000 tons more than laid down in the Plan. The work for ensuring the water-tightness of the tunnel is not yet up to quality. All this will be improved during the next few months. The 70,000 workers now helping for the first time in their lives to build an underground railway—they come for the most part from the villages—will be the skilled elite troops in the building of the next railway. Thus human beings grow with their socialist tasks. The workers from the finished sections are already being transferred to the second and third lines. After all the lines have been completed (term fixed 1937) seven lines will intersect the great capital and its suburbs in all directions, bearing trains of eight carriages each, running at intervals of 1½ minutes.

Another question. Where does the city of Moscow find the

enormous sums required to finance the building of the underground railway? Whence the "capital" in a country where there are no capitalists? But it is precisely because there are no capitalists that it has been possible to raise the necessary "capital." And what such an undertaking requires is no trifle. In scarcely two years it has swallowed up over 400 million roubles. The completion of the whole railway will demand many further millions. And this is not the only expense being met by the city of Moscow. The Moskwa-Canal in course of construction, the great dwelling houses and hotel buildings, the street making, the great parks and gardens being laid out everywhere, the cultural and recreation institutions, the libraries, the new granite embankments of the Moskwa river, the mighty undertakings for promoting the health, the prosperity, and the culture of the toiling masses—all this costs hundreds of millions yearly, perhaps milliards. Where does all this come from?

We repeat: It comes by reason of the fact that there are no capitalists. Those sums can be employed for these purposes which in a capitalist city would be paid out to parasites and wasted by them. Such a municipal policy as this is only possible where capitalism is not hampering the development of the productive forces of the proletariat. One comparison suffices: A few years ago Berlin was a much "richer" city than Moscow. And yet the North-South line of the underground railway could not be completed on account of "lack of capital." Retrenchment in communal expenditure has become a general phenomenon in all capitalist countries. Where there are no capitalists, everything advances, without being interrupted by crises. Without capitalists, the toiling masses expend their best powers in order to make their cities larger, more beautiful, more magnificent, pleasanter, more comfortable. This is the sole explanation of the fact that the one-time trading town of Moscow, which had scarcely one asphalted street, where a diving suit was almost necessary to walk in the streets at all in the spring, and where a few luxurious palaces were surrounded by a sea of wretched wooden huts, is now on the road to becoming within a few years the most beautiful and best equipped city in the world, the worthy capital of the proletarian world revolution.

The Week in the Soviet Union

Successful Harvesting in the Soviet Union

Reports are coming in continually, from every part of the Soviet Union, on the successful bringing in of the crops in August. On August 25 over 62.5 million hectares of grain had already been harvested in the Soviet Union, or 77 per cent of the whole grain area. At the same time almost 35 million hectares of grain had already been threshed, or 13 million hectares more than at the same time last year. In the Ukraine the grain harvest is practically completed, 14,649,000 hectares have already been harvested. The bringing in of the crops is almost concluded in North Caucasia.

The collective farms are beginning to distribute the crops among their members, and to store the seed for next year. The delivery of the grain quotas to the state grain centres is proceeding in steadily increasing quantities. By August 25 the August Plan of grain deliveries had been over-fulfilled by 25.8 per cent. From Siberia, Ural, the Central-Volga district, and other Eastern districts, where the harvest work has only now commenced properly, owing to the climatic conditions, exceptionally good crops are reported. On many collective farms the crops are double, and even triple, those of last year.

The Council of People's Commissars has confirmed the Plan drawn up for ploughing work in the autumn of 1934. According to the Plan, 41.8 million hectares of new land are to be cultivated, or 5.3 million hectares more than last year. This means that about half the soil to be sown in the spring of 1935 will be ploughed this autumn. This ploughing of new land in the autumn is not a new agricultural measure. But never before has it been applied to such an extent in the Russian village. Timely autumn

ploughing is one of the most effectual means of increasing crops, especially in regions liable to drought, where crops can actually be doubled by means of timely autumn ploughing.

With regard to the East of the Soviet Union, where the crops this year have been incomparably better than last, these excellent results have been brought about not only by the abundant rain, but by the organised work of the collective peasants, especially the deep ploughing undertaken almost everywhere in the autumn. This work could not be carried out formerly with the primitive implements at the disposal of the individual peasant farm. Many collective and Soviet farms had made the whole of their land ready in Autumn for the spring sowings. The extension of the network of machine and tractor stations, with their efficient machinery and organisations, and the increasing organisational and economic consolidation of the collective farms by the successful accomplishment of this year's sowing and harvesting work, guarantee the fulfilment of the autumn ploughing plan over the enormous area of 40 million hectares.

Footwear, Hemp and Jute Industry Surpass the Plan

In the period from August 10 to 20 the footwear factories in the Soviet Union produced 1,230,000 pairs of shoes, thereby fulfilling the production plan 110.6 per cent. In the hemp and jute industry, production in the same period amounted to 376 tons of rope (104.4 per cent. of plan), 221 tons of string (124.9 per cent. of plan), and sacking material for 1,315,000 sacks (101.4 per cent. of plan).

The Struggle for Rakosi's Release

Budapest, August 29.

The illegal Red Aid of Hungary writes us:—

"In spite of the frightful persecution to which our organisation is subjected, we are continuing the struggle for the release of our heroic *Rakosi*. We are combining this struggle with a campaign for the release of Ernst *Thaelmann*. The hunger strike organised by the political prisoners in the jails of Budapest in June, in protest against the continued imprisonment of *Rakosi*, gave fresh impetus to our campaign. This heroic struggle aroused much sympathy among the masses, and strengthened their militant determination. On July 1 there was an effective Red Aid demonstration on the Vaci-ut in Budapest. Red flags were carried, and the 'International' was sung until the police dispersed the demonstration.

"On July 6 the building workers' R.A. group held a flying meeting. The woodworkers' groups held another on the same day. On July 8 a meeting of 800 peasants adopted a resolution for the release of *Rakosi* and against war. At a works meetings of the workers of the building contractors, P—, a workman gave a report on *Rakosi* and *Thaelmann*. A protest resolution was passed unanimously and enthusiastically.

"A few days ago a flying R.A. meeting was held at the gates of the R. and Sch. factory in Budapest. The speakers dealt with the struggle against war and fascism, for the release of *Rakosi* and *Thaelmann*. Most of the workers employed in the factory took part.

"At a trade union meeting of the workers of the fine metals trade a R.A. functionary spoke against imperialist war and for the release of *Rakosi* and *Thaelmann*. A protest resolution was signed by 150 workers.

"Whilst on an excursion, 50 worker sportsmen arranged a meeting, and protested against the imprisonment of *Rakosi* and *Thaelmann*.

"The movement for the release of *Rakosi* is growing steadily among the toiling masses. The same may be said of the campaign for *Thaelmann*. We shall not weary in the struggle, but shall intensify it till these prisoners are released. Mobilise the toiling masses of all countries, for it is only by this means of mass protest that the heroic fighters can be rescued from the clutches of the fascist murderers."

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