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Strengthen the Fight Against Imperialist War!

The Soviet Union Enters the League of Nations

By Bela Kun

The Soviet government has accepted the invitation of 34 member States of the League of Nations to enter the League. In the League of Nations meeting a decision to accept the Soviet Union as a member State was adopted with 39 votes in favour, 3 against and 7 abstentions. The first proletarian State in the world, which 18 States under the leadership of the big imperialist powers once attempted to crush by armed intervention in order to drown socialism in blood, has now entered the League of Nations as a victorious socialist great power. The proletariat of the Soviet Union, the advance guard of the international working class, is in possession of State power in its land. It has become a factor of world politics with which world imperialism, despite its bitter hatred of the Soviet Union, must reckon in all its calculations. The imperialists of the world must reckon with the Soviet Union all the more because the Soviet Union has forces at its disposal such as no capitalist State has. The Red Workers' and Peasants' Army of the Soviet Union is under the control of a workers' and peasants' government and based on a population of 170 millions of people, amongst whom the last vestiges of class differences are rapidly being liquidated. This Soviet proletariat has as its ally the whole of the international revolutionary working class, and the working masses in the imperialist countries and in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. The Soviet proletariat has already proved irrefutably not only that the socialist order is superior to the chaos of capitalism, but that it is the only way to abolish this capitalist chaos which brings such misery in its train for the working masses.

The very existence of the Soviet Union is a bulwark against imperialism. It is the first State in the history of the world that has used its whole power, both economic and otherwise, in the interests of the whole of the working people instead of to maintain a system of exploitation and oppression against the working people. The October Revolution and the Soviet socialist State showed for

the first time how imperialist war can be defeated. The Soviet Union has steadfastly used its growing powers in the struggle for peace not only in favour of the peoples of its own territory, but in favour of the working people all over the world. The invitation to the Soviet Union to enter the League of Nations, an arena where up to the present the weapons for a new imperialist war have been forged without let or hindrance and plans for a new division of the world war drawn up, is a victory for the unswerving policy of peace pursued by the Soviet government although it is by no means a final guarantee for the maintenance of peace.

Two of the great powers did not take part in the invitation to the Soviet Union to enter the League of Nations, the two military-fascist States *Germany* and *Japan*, both of which had previously resigned their membership of the League. They withdrew from the League of Nations because they felt that in view of the intensification of all the imperialist contradictions and under certain circumstances even the League of Nations might hamper the outbreak of new imperialist wars. Up to the last minute both these countries were violently hostile to the entry of the Soviet Union into the League because they both regard the Soviet Union as the only country which is determined to oppose fascism and war to the very last. But not only fascist powers refused to take part in the invitation to the Soviet Union. States in which the classical forms of bourgeois democracy still prevail, like *Switzerland* and *Belgium*, also refused to give their names to the invitation. This fact shows clearly that the question of fascism or bourgeois democracy is not the decisive point which determines the attitude of the capitalist countries towards the Soviet Union, but rather the immediate and temporary foreign political interests of the States concerned, the momentary attitude of the leading imperialist States or groups of States to the question of war or peace. However, the foreign political interests of the imperialist powers and their attitude towards war and peace can change at any moment. Only such

persons and parties in the working-class movement who support not only the momentary peace policy of the bourgeoisie, but also and at all times its preparations for war and its war policy can pretend that the international proletariat can regard the maintenance of peace as guaranteed and the danger of imperialist war a thing of the past as a result of the alteration in the composition of the League of Nations.

It is not only the danger of war in the *Far East* where Japan is threatening the Soviet Union, and it is not only German fascism which is coming to a closer understanding with Polish fascism, which represents an immediate danger to the peace of the world and to the bulwark of peace, the Soviet Union. Who would care to give a guarantee that there are not States amongst those who signed the invitation to the Soviet government who will be at the head of the preparations for war at the next change in the world political situation? The only guarantee of peace, the only secure and certain guarantee, is the *Soviet Union and its allies, the international proletariat and the working masses of all countries.* The leader of the world proletariat, Comrade *Stalin*, declared in his speech to the Seventeenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union:—

"The strength of the Soviet Union is due also to the fact that it enjoys the support and assistance of the international proletariat. The working class of the Soviet Union is a part of the international proletariat. It is its advance guard. Our Republic is a child of the international proletariat and there can be no doubt about that. If we had not had the support of the workers in the capitalist countries we could not have retained power and we should not have been able to create the conditions for the building up of socialism, and in consequence we should never have been able to achieve the successes we have achieved. The international alliance of the workers of the Soviet Union with the workers of all capitalist countries, the fraternal alliance of the workers of the Soviet Union with the workers of the world, is the keystone of the strength and power of the Soviet Union."

This alliance of the workers of the Soviet Union and the workers of the world in a joint struggle for peace is the real guarantee for the maintenance of peace. Only this alliance can consolidate and extend the victories of the proletariat, and one of these victories was the invitation of the Soviet Union to join the League of Nations. This alliance, which is based on the proletarian internationalism of the revolutionary working class, and on the revolutionary Communist Workers' Parties which carry on the struggle for unity of action against fascism and against imperialist war, must be extended and strengthened in order that the Soviet Union may continue successfully its struggle for peace in a capitalist environment, and in order that the source of all imperialist war, capitalism, may be destroyed.

Now as before the entry of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations, the workers in the capitalist countries will take their alignment purely from their alliance with the proletariat of the workers' and peasants' State. They will continue to keep their eyes on the one country which is the ally of the international proletariat in its struggle. Although the bourgeois countries and their ruling classes may be in favour of the maintenance of peace temporarily and may seek a rapprochement with the Soviet Union temporarily, their enmity against the proletariat and against all the toilers and their hunger for further profits at the cost of the workers and for new territories at the cost of other countries remain implacable. As *Stalin* declared: "We take our alignment now as in the past from the interests of the Soviet Union." The interests of the Soviet Union which is threatened by a new imperialist war and by those who are arming most feverishly for it, the fascists, are the interests of the workers of the world as a whole. The defence of these interests is the task not only of the Soviet proletariat, but of the workers of all countries. The defence of the common interests of the workers of the Soviet Union and the workers of the world demands the intensification of the struggle against imperialist war, the intensification of the work to secure unity of action in the ranks of the workers in the capitalist countries, and unity of action between the international proletariat and the workers of the socialist continent, the Soviet Union.

This unity of action against fascism and war and for the defence of the Soviet Union and for socialism, is the real guarantee of peace.

Politics

Foreign Political Review of the Week

There is one point on which the anti-Soviet press is certainly not far wrong, namely, when it declares that the great Powers, England, France and Italy, even when they were seriously endeavouring to secure the Soviet Union's admission into the League of Nations, were acting only with considerable reluctance. They repeatedly stated that they quite understood and appreciated the standpoint of the opposition, but . . . But it was a question of preventing a war in which they can win nothing and lose everything, and as things are at present it is necessary in order to maintain peace to have the co-operation of the Soviet Union. For such an important matter it is worth while that the imperialist states, whose economic system is based on the exploitation of the many in the interests of the few, and which accordingly has as a precondition the misery, the degradation, the stupification of the people, should meet together with a state which is likewise interested in the maintenance of peace, but mainly for the purpose of building up its economic system, which has put an end to exploitation and now only serves to increase the material and mental well-being of its inhabitants, but equally for the purpose of saving its own people as well as the working people of the whole world from the horrors of war. One can quite understand that the diplomats, these highest representatives of the exploiters and oppressors, did not find their task an easy or pleasant one, but this time they yielded to necessity and not to their own inclinations.

Precisely last week it was plainly revealed beyond all doubt that the war-mongers are unceasingly at work piling up the inflammable material with which they intend to set the world ablaze. Germany was the first to come forward. It rejected the Eastern Pact. This action was an affront to France, England and Italy, who in addition to the Soviet Union are seeking to bring about the conclusion of this pact. It is true, the Eastern Pact presupposes the abandonment of plans of conquest in the East, which means the renunciation of the cardinal point of national-socialist foreign policy. Hitler, however, who has already renounced so much, does not want to do this. In rejecting the Eastern Pact, the object of which is to guarantee peace while maintaining the existing frontiers, Germany admits its intention to wage a war of conquest in Eastern Europe.

The second threat to peace was made by Japan, which, openly pointing to the strained relations with the Soviet Union, has concentrated the whole of the forces of the State of Manchukuo in the hands of the occupation army. The civil officials behind which the military authorities were hitherto concealed were intended to "pacify" the population and to deceive them with regard to the actual state of martial law. Japan is now discarding its mask and treating Manchuria as a colony. Such action can only mean that Japan is feverishly preparing for military adventures. This does not necessarily mean that to-morrow there will inevitably take place an attack on the Soviet Union. There are certain obstacles to this: the fact that the Soviet Union is well-prepared to defend itself and the inadequate preparation of Germany for an attack. The Japanese measures, however, show us the direction in which things are tending.

Poland came forward as the third party in the war alliance. After having been compelled, as a result of the pressure exerted by France, to give up the game of intrigues in Geneva against the Soviet Union, the Polish government declared through Colonel *Beck* at the full meeting of the League, that it no longer recognises the obligations it undertook to protect minorities. As a matter of fact Poland has never carried out these obligations. It is not the fact of their rejection, but the form in which it took place that is of importance. At the moment when the League of Nations is proceeding to undertake a new grouping of forces in order to render the work of the war-mongers more difficult, Poland declares that it will not submit to the decisions of the League of Nations: this time the decisions in regard to the question of minorities and later, of course, other decisions.

The fact that these moves on the part of Germany, Japan and Poland took place simultaneously indicate that these Powers are pursuing a common policy. The "*Baseler National-Zeitung*" is right when it states:—

"The meaning of Poland's action is that there is no

Franco-Polish defensive alliance, but there must be a concealed German-Polish offensive-alliance, which is only waiting for the first opportunity in order to come into operation. The one-time hereditary enemies wish to set out together in quest of booty. There is little use in saying that, apart from ethical considerations, it is obviously suicidal for Poland, for it seems that the statesmen in Warsaw do not recognise this or, what is more probable, they intend by leaving Germany in the lurch at the critical moment, to extend their own frontiers still further. The dangerous chauvinistic talk is becoming all too plain: it is stated that in order to become a great Power Poland must have more land and a larger population. France, however, will now have to defend in Warsaw the minorities against Poland, for these minorities are in fact the Versailles Treaty. Everything has become still more uncertain and threatening; 'eternal' enemies are temporarily reconciled because some States wish first to act together in annexing more territory before they fly at each other's throats. All this is taking place in Geneva, at the League of Nations, which symbolises international co-operation and defence of treaties.

However, things are happening also outside of Geneva which serve the same criminal aims. Poland and Germany are not alone. There has been talk for some time of the Hungarian Prime Minister Goemboes paying a visit to Warsaw. As Goemboes' predecessor Count Bethlen advocated closer co-operation with Germany, it naturally follows that this is connected with a rapprochement of Hungary to Poland. Germany and Poland wish to make a thrust not only towards the East, but also towards the South and to crush Czechoslovakia. Poland has already picked a quarrel with its Southern neighbour; it wants, allegedly, to protect the Poles in the Teschen district and in addition to annex the half of Slovakia. It needs Hungary as a war ally. And Goemboes has at once responded to the call. He is quite prepared to shed the blood of the Hungarian soldiers in order in return to grab the half of Slovakia as booty. This is a dangerous game, but these gentlemen are prepared to hazard a great deal. A world slaughter would mean their complete annihilation, but it is the *only* means by which they hope to achieve their revisionist aims.

In addition to these events the question of the Franco-Italian rapprochement is one which is still in the forefront in the field of foreign politics. Whilst, on the one hand, one might be inclined to see in such a rapprochement a strengthening of the tendencies making for peace, because France will thereby be in a position to defend itself better against Hitler Germany, on the other hand there are increasing signs that Mussolini is pursuing his policy solely in order to protect his rear in Europe so as to have a free hand in Africa, namely, against Abyssinia. So the Yugoslavian press report, which as the enemy of Italy keeps a sharp on it. But at the same time as this report an official announcement appeared in the Italian press in which the fascist party members are called upon to make preparations for punitive expeditions . . . abroad.

The fascist dictatorship, like every other reactionary dictatorship, needs foreign-political successes. Before the plebiscite in 1929 Mussolini bought the Pope and the whole of the Catholic clergy for two milliard lira. This sufficed for a short time. The international wave of fascism, above all the victory of national socialism in Germany, and in connection therewith the flooding of Italy with foreign visitors, increased the prestige of Mussolini and secured handsome profits for the hotel proprietors. That again sufficed for some time. At the same time, however, the misery of the people increased, as did also the budget deficit, and the joyful fraternisation of the two leading fascist countries was followed by imperialist squabbles. Mussolini therefore must do something "great," must win fresh admiration. Whilst in Geneva he is endeavouring to secure European peace and to draw the Soviet Union into the League of Nations, he is preparing for war in Africa. Fascism, no matter in what form it may appear, means war.

The Soviet Union obtains in Geneva a tribune from where, with the help of its best diplomatic representatives, it can work for peace, for peace in Europe, for peace in Asia and for peace in Africa. But the international situation is very serious. The imperialist antagonisms have become more acute and are driving for a violent solution. Even those imperialist Powers which to-day are interested in the maintenance of peace cannot be relied upon. The Soviet Union's work for peace can be crowned with success only

if it is supported by the peoples, namely, by all toilers. From now on it must be our chief task to secure this support for the peace work of the Soviet Union. Every day which we win for peace will be a day gained for the further strengthening of the Soviet Union and for the further strengthening of the whole of the workers' movement. Should it, however, come to war, we shall then be able to fulfil with the greatest success our revolutionary task, which is to convert the war of the imperialists and interventionists into a war against the imperialists and the interventionists, and thereby create the world-wide Union of Soviet Republics. This is a tremendous task, which, however, we must solve. Let us be ready!

Representatives of the Soviet Union in Geneva

By Gabriel Perri (Geneva)

After a week filled with intrigues and manoeuvres the imperialist powers finally decided to invite the Soviet Government to join the League of Nations, and the Soviet Government answered in the affirmative immediately.

The trouble which caused the long drawn out negotiations was the obstinacy of a group of small powers which were determined to prevent the entry of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations, or at least to delay it as long as possible. There is no doubt that it was reactionary Switzerland which offered the roughest and most obvious resistance. After a difficult session the Swiss Government finally decided to vote against the extension of an invitation to the Soviet Union. This decision was in accordance with the wishes of the Swiss Credit Anstalt and of the Swiss Bank Gesellschaft, which subsidise such counter-revolutionary associations as the Ligue Aulbert. It was also in accordance with the wishes of the churches, and in particular the Evangelical Church, and with the wishes of the fascist circles in Switzerland, which maintain close connection with the national socialist officers in Germany and with the officers of the Swiss army.

The campaign of reactionary circles in Switzerland was not in accordance with the feelings of the great majority of the people of Switzerland, not only the Swiss proletariat, but also the hoteliers and those many trading undertakings which are interested in furthering their business connections with the Soviet Union. This campaign would certainly never have been strong enough to delay the entry of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations if it had been supported from outside, and in particular by certain imperialist powers.

At the beginning of last week, when the League of Nations Council decided unanimously (Portugal and the Argentina with-held their votes) to offer the Soviet Union a permanent seat on the council, and when it appeared as though the necessary formalities for extending the invitation to the Soviet Union to join the League of Nations would be settled rapidly and without much friction, Germany informed the powers that it would not join the proposed Eastern Pact. At the same time, the Rengo Agency expressed the dissatisfaction which the news of the coming entry of the Soviet Union into the League had caused in the leading circles in Tokio. These moves found their echo in the League of Nations. When Barthou read the French draft of the proposed invitation to the Soviet Union to the League Council, the representative of Great Britain, acting once again as the ally of Hitler and the Mikado, announced that the French draft was not acceptable to His Britannic Majesty's Government. The representatives of the Australian and Canadian Governments made a similar declaration. They declared that in their opinion the Soviet Government should not be invited to enter the League of Nations, but merely invited to put forward an application for membership. In the meeting of the League of Nations de Valera supported this point of view, as he declared, on the basis of the statutes of the League in regard to the acceptance of new members.

However, the whole history of the League of Nations shows that nothing is more vague and uncertain than its statutes in this connection. As Pertinax pointed out in the "Echo de Paris," since the League of Nations existed the acceptance of new members has always proceeded in complete juristic anarchy, and the only criterion was always political interest. However, the aim of the anti-Soviet group in the League of Nations, led by Great Britain, was to delay the acceptance of the Soviet Union as long as possible and to cause it to take place in a form which would be a humiliation for the Soviet Union and a triumph for Berlin and Tokio.

In fact, thanks to the pressure exercised by the British Gov-

ernment the negotiations were protracted for several days, although finally the anti-Soviet manoeuvre was unsuccessful. The plan broke down against the determination of the representatives of the Soviet Union, who were guided by the following considerations: The Soviet Union is not a beggar at the door of the League. The negotiations for the entry of the Soviet Union were not begun by the Soviet Government. The Soviet Union would be prepared to enter the League only after a clear invitation had been extended to it to do so. In other words, the proletarian State would not be prepared to submit to any exceptional treatment, and that further the Soviet Government would be prepared to accept no special undertakings beyond those of the League of Nations Pact. That was the unbending attitude which the Soviet representatives adopted. This attitude was finally victorious, as the exchange of notes of September 15 indicate.

The negotiations and their conclusion provide us with two lessons: For the first time the majority of the imperialist powers announced officially that the co-operation of the Soviet Union was necessary in the cause of peace, and that the Soviet Union represents a factor without whose co-operation it is impossible to think of securing world peace. The imperialist powers have been compelled to admit before the peoples of the world, who are threatened by the most terrible of all wars, that the only bulwark of peace is the Soviet Union. This admission is equivalent to a condemnation of the former open policy of war against the Soviet Union, and also a condemnation of the attacks which are being prepared against the proletarian State. Whether its authors like it or not, the invitation to the Soviet Union to join the League of Nations is equivalent to a joint diplomatic recognition of the country of the proletarian dictatorship.

The member States of the League of Nations have announced that the independence, security and territorial inviolability of the Soviet Union are all elements of world peace. Before the imperialist powers arrived at this proclamation, which is in such flagrant contradiction to their whole former policy towards the Soviet Union, the Red Army had first to repulse the imperialist invaders, the working class of the Soviet Union, under the leadership of the Party of Stalin, had first to build up socialism, the international proletariat under the leadership of the Communist International had first to create a watchful guard for the workers' State, and Soviet diplomacy had to make the greatest possible efforts for years to maintain peace and to build up the Soviet Union into a bulwark of world peace.

What is the value of this proclamation of the capitalist powers, and may the proletarian watch over the Soviet Union now relax its attention? Certainly not. The entry of the Soviet Union into the League is a great victory for the unswerving policy of peace pursued by the Soviet Union, but the intrigues which attempted to prevent the entry of the Soviet Union represent sufficient proof that the danger which threatens the Soviet Union is still a real one. By its entry into the League of Nations the Soviet Union will do its best to make the plans of the war-mongers and intriguers more difficult of realisation, but the Soviet Government knows full well that the best guarantee of security lies in the fraternal alliance between the workers of the Soviet Union and the workers in the capitalist countries.

The attitude of the Polish Government shows clearly how serious the situation still is. On September 13, Colonel Beck, the Foreign Minister of Poland, announced that in view of the fact that the provisions for the protection of national minorities were not universally binding on all States, his Government no longer felt itself bound by the treaties protecting national minorities signed by Poland in 1919. The proposal to make provisions for the protection of national minorities apply to all countries cannot be carried out within the framework of the League of Nations and the Polish Government is well aware of this. The Polish Government has used this formulation knowing full well that it must be rejected, and with the intention of taking the inevitable rejection as a pretext for its own action in repudiating the provisions for the protection of national minorities within its own territory.

What is at the back of Poland's sudden anxiety for the rights of national minorities? Until quite recently the disputes about the national minorities had brought Germany and Poland into sharp antagonism in Geneva. It was the national minority groups in Polish Upper Silesia which complained most bitterly against Polish repression. Since then these groups have been sacrificed by Hitler in order to facilitate his flirt with Pilsudski. Further, it

would seem that Colonel Beck's pronouncement does not affect the agreement made in 1922 between Germany and Poland concerning Upper Silesia. On the contrary, it is quite certain that Poland, whose anti-Soviet tendencies have been increasingly expressed since the signing of the recent agreement between Germany and Poland, is trying to protect itself in advance against any complaints on the part of the national minorities in its territory in the fear that the Soviet Union might make itself the spokesman of these minorities. The real attitude of Poland can be defined as follows: At a time when Hitler Germany is in conflict with the League of Nations, the partial breach between Poland and Geneva lessens the foreign political isolation of Germany and proves that Germany has its allies even within the League of Nations. And at a time when France is striving to open the doors of Geneva to the Soviet Union, the Polish State asserts its "independence," by violating an agreement signed in 1919 on the basis of an exchange of correspondence between Clémenceau and Paderevski. It is not difficult to see that in these circumstances the question of the national minorities is nothing but a pretext.

The national socialist press of Germany recognises this and has extended to Poland its warmest congratulations. It is easy to see that the initiative taken by Colonel Beck was the result of a carefully worked out plan between Hitler and Pilsudski when one observes the enthusiasm with which leading circles in fascist Germany welcomed the Polish initiative, and the violence of the chauvinist demonstrations which took place in Warsaw and one of which was directed against the French Embassy.

The following remarks must be made about the consequences of Colonel Beck's action: Poland's decision has intensified the crisis of the 1919 system, it has placed still further strain on the international situation, and put forward once again the question of a re-division of the world. It was enough that Colonel Beck should formulate his announcement in order that for the first time the question of the revision of the peace treaties should come before the League of Nations meeting clearly through the action of the Italian delegate Baron Aloisi. The latter declared that if the principle of revision, put forward by Poland, were permitted to pass then the same principle would have to be applied to all other questions which were settled at the peace conferences, beginning, as Baron Aloisi clearly indicated, with the territorial clauses of the treaties of 1919.

On the other hand, Poland's attitude has shown that the rapprochement between Poland and Germany has produced a counter-blow against Poland on the part of a series of powers of whom some, like France, are openly hostile to the rapprochement, and others, like Great Britain, are not prepared to defend the violation of the treaties openly. The result was that both Barthou and Sir John Simon rebuked Poland in more or less the same tone and that a general revulsion towards Poland was produced.

It is becoming more and more clear that those powers which are most determined on war, are at the same time the most aggressively anti-Soviet and that they are steering for a conflict with the League of Nations. On the other hand, the powers left in the League are, although naturally they remain imperialist powers, not interested at the moment in encouraging any armed attack on the Soviet Union.

The entry of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations does not transform that institution into an instrument of an effective struggle against war. The entry of the Soviet Union can be explained by the alterations which have taken place both inside and outside the League by the crisis. The entry of the Soviet Union is justified by its efforts to isolate the worst of the war-mongering powers. In this sense the action of the Soviet Union, far from countering the action which is being conducted by the Communists all over the world for the establishment of a united working-class front, rather supports it.

Worker Sportsmen for Ernst Thaelmann

Strassbourg, September 16.

The members of the workers' athletic association "L'Avenir" have sent a resolution to the German Embassy in Paris, demanding the release of Ernst Thaelmann and all imprisoned German anti-fascists.

Zurich, September 17.

The members of the workers' football club *Thalwil*, in a signed resolution, demand the immediate release of Ernst Thaelmann.

Italian Fascism Changes Its Foreign Policy

By Ercoli

The foreign policy of Italian imperialism is about to undergo a radical change. Fascist Italy, which has always regarded French imperialism as its chief enemy and which has deliberately and systematically incited the masses in an untiring campaign of chauvinism directed against France, is about to conclude an agreement with France.

The danger in the present situation is that such a change in the foreign policy of Italian fascism might produce pacifist illusions amongst the masses. We have consistently pointed out that Italian fascism, with its policy of provocation and war-mongering and with its reckless chauvinist and militarist propaganda, is one of the most powerful factors in Europe making for the outbreak of a new and terrible world war.

Preparations for war in Italy have never been conducted with the same energy and speed as they are at present being conducted. New great warships are being built. A milliard lira has been voted to strengthening the Italian air fleet. All the war factories in Italy are working at top pressure. Almost every day we receive information that this or that engineering factory has now begun to produce weapons and munitions of war.

In connection with the recent events in Austria five classes of reservists were secretly mobilised in Italy at the end of July, and the experiences of this mobilisation have now been taken by the Italian General Staff as an opportunity for examining and revising the whole machinery for the mobilisation of Italy's forces in the event of war. The last great army manoeuvres were held with the theme of a war against an enemy threatening the eastern frontiers of the country. Mussolini in his speech stressed the importance of this fact and declared that war could break out any day. He also declared that, thanks to fascism, Italy was a "militarist and warlike nation."

The foreign policy of Italian fascism was always "revisionist" as a result of the fact that in face of the difficulties of its own situation and the difficult economic problems which it cannot solve, Italian imperialism was always compelled to insist on a re-division of the world amongst the imperialist powers, a re-division of the colonies and spheres of influence.

Even when Mussolini supported the French march into the Ruhr in 1923 Italian foreign policy was revisionist. Mussolini hoped that the French action would lead to a conflict of which he could take advantage to put forward all the demands of Italian imperialism. However, the course of events was quite different and for years Mussolini was compelled to content himself with playing a subordinate role in the League of Nations, utilising the differences between the other imperialist powers in his own interests and manoeuvring between them.

The accession of Hitler to power in Germany opened up the question of a revision of the peace treaties quite openly and offered Mussolini new perspectives. However, precisely the coming to power of national socialism in Germany caused the imperialist antagonisms between Germany and Italy to intensify rapidly and produced quite a different result from the one Mussolini had expected. In this fact is to be found the key to an understanding of the change which is about to take place in Italian fascist foreign policy.

Was there any agreement between the national socialist party in Germany and the Italian fascist party before Hitler came to power, and did this agreement refer also to international questions? There is every reason to believe that such an agreement did exist. It is very probable that both the fascist powers intended to place the world suddenly before the question of a revision of the peace treaties by an unexpected and noisy exit from the League of Nations. However, in the end Hitler took this course alone whilst Mussolini contented himself with a threat. Mussolini's attempt to disintegrate the League of Nations did not go beyond the conclusion of the "Four-Power Pact," a pact which had no permanent effects because the imperialist aims of Germany were put forward with such energy by Hitler fascism that they ran entirely contrary to the interests of Italian imperialism at once.

Whilst Mussolini considered that any German expansion should take place towards the East, Hitler fascism, whilst agreeing with Eastern expansion, demanded also that its wishes with regard to Austria should be immediately complied with. The *Anschluss* of Austria to Germany is the most serious and immediate danger which threatens Italian imperialism. The carrying out of the

Anschluss would mean the complete collapse of all the imperialist expansionist plans of Italian fascism in the Danube Basin and in the Balkans. It would also represent an immediate threat, both political and military, to the Italian frontier. Italian imperialism must therefore prevent the *Anschluss* at all costs unless it is prepared to be driven into the same situation as it was in 1914-15.

The idiotic contention of the fascists that the only way to maintain the peace of Europe is to establish fascist dictatorships in all countries on the grounds that fascist governments are far better able to come to an agreement amongst themselves, has been completely refuted by the course of events. Facts have shown that on the contrary the establishment of fascist governments represents a new and powerful factor making for world war, and that this is a perfectly natural and inevitable tendency in view of the fact that fascist governments represent the most reactionary and chauvinist elements of the bourgeoisie in any country.

Up to the present Italy has succeeded in preventing the Austro-German *Anschluss*, but its success was made possible by the fact that it sought support from French imperialism. Could Italian imperialism prevent the *Anschluss* without the assistance of French imperialism? That is very doubtful. The matter was demonstrated clearly enough in connection with the July events in Austria when the chauvinist French press openly encouraged Italian fascism to pursue its offensive to its logical conclusion and march into Austria with its troops and make an end of German fascism's chances once and for all. This was obviously an attempt at blackmail, the same attempt which France has been making against Italy during the past two years and which made it possible for France to undermine Italy's position with the conclusion of the Balkan Pact.

Will Italian fascism enter the system of alliances which French imperialism has created in order to maintain its hegemony on the European continent? It is more probable that Italian fascist foreign policy, whilst adapting itself to the present situation, will nevertheless continue its manoeuvres between the various imperialist groups and thus remain a factor making for war.

It is very interesting to observe the open attacks on Hitler fascism which are now appearing in the Italian press. The Italian press declares that German fascism is barbarism and that the German Reichstag was set on fire by Hitler and Goering. Such polemics against German fascism will undoubtedly have their effects on the situation at home, because a new disappointment has been added to all the others.

Various points have already been mentioned as part of the proposed agreement between France and Italy. Italy will probably receive satisfaction in connection with the descendants of Italians living in Tunis, but although this question is quite important it is not of much economic significance to-day. France is prepared to revise the frontier to the North of Lake Tchad in Italy's favour and is prepared to grant Italy "a free hand" in *Abyssinia*. These are all important points, but their importance is not immediate. It is reported that the Italian General Staff is not in favour of an attack on *Abyssinia* at the moment because it regards the prospects of war in Europe as being too immediate to permit any such "diversion."

The burning question of the day for Italy is the question of the relation of forces in the Basin of the Danube, in the Balkans, and in Central Europe in general. Italian imperialism cannot simply join the French system of alliances without trying to realise its own hegemony in the Basin of the Danube, and if any agreement is actually come to with France there is no doubt that Italy will raise the question of its own hegemony in the Balkans once again.

Once Italian fascism is quite sure of French support there is no doubt that it will be prepared to go still farther politically in the Austrian question and, if necessary, in the military question. This will naturally intensify its antagonisms with fascist Germany. And secondly, *Yugoslavia* will be the point of friction which may see European powers facing each other in arms. In this connection the Albanian question will undoubtedly become sharper. Thirdly, it is quite possible that Italy will try to secure the support of those allies of France who are vacillating at the moment, Poland, for instance.

The result in any case will be only a further intensification of the international situation, an increase of the prevalent insecurity, an increasing possibility of sudden and unexpected changes and, in a word, an intensification of the danger of imperialist war. Another point which must not be forgotten is that the plan to find

a solution of Europe's difficulties in the formation of an anti-Soviet bloc was worked out by the German fascist Arthur Rosenberg in co-operation with a group of Italian fascist leaders and in agreement with Mussolini.

The struggle against the danger of war and for the defence of the Soviet Union and against fascism, which is one of the main factors in the preparation of a new imperialist world war, is therefore once again before our Party and all the Parties of the Communist International as the most urgent, most immediate and unavoidable task of the moment.

The Strike Wave in the U.S.A.

By Bosse (New York)

The present strike wave in the United States is politically the most important in its history, and is already involving more workers than in 1933 when one million struck. It is an almost spontaneous uprising, since the A.F. of L. bureaucrats are opposed to strikes, and the "Left" wing does not yet have the leadership of the wide masses of workers. It results from their worsening economic conditions, from the intensified drive of the employers and their "New Deal" government for wage cuts, speed-up, and to prevent union organisation. Under the N.R.A. monopoly capital is trustifying industry to an unprecedented degree and merging itself with the State apparatus, at the same time that it enslaves the workers in company unions.

The San Francisco general strike was the high point of the strike wave politically, though the present general textile strike, over the heads of the A.F.L. officials and directed against the N.R.A., may become far more important. The mere fact that 1,250,000 textile workers forced their officials to call them out on strike, the greatest numerically in American history, indicates the depth of the strike movement and it is only beginning.

Clause 1a of the N.R.A., which had to promise the workers the right to organise into unions caused hundreds of thousands of previously unorganised workers to rush to join or to organise unions, usually against the wishes of the A.F.L. reformist leaders. When the N.R.A. proved to be a device for company unionising the workers they struck everywhere to enforce the promises of the New Deal. Last year the strike wave was so motivated. This year it is also directed against the drive for wage cuts and a lower standard of living; it bears out the analysis of the April Convention of the C.P., that "the masses are accumulating enormous revolutionary energy, and big class battles are maturing." What distinguishes this strike wave from the great ones just after the war and previously is that it is directed against the capitalist State, since the N.R.A. has put the great employers directly into the administration of the country.

The economic basis of the strike movement may be seen in the report summarising the first year of the N.R.A. issued by Richberg, head of the Executive Council of the Roosevelt Administration. It shows that profits of 402 corporations grew from \$3,300,000 dollars in the first half of last year to \$35,870,000 in the same period of this year, or 100 per cent more. Wages, however, have gained only 8.5 per cent, while the cost of living rose 9.6 per cent. The N.R.A. has increased profits enormously while lowering the workers' standard of living. Richberg reports a gain in payrolls in June over last June of 37 per cent, with two million more employed (probably largely relief jobs, temporary and at starvation wages). On a per capita basis, however, this is simply a wage increase of 0.6 per cent. If July figures had been taken, and they were available, industrial output would have shown a drop of one-fifth from last July (19 per cent., according to the "New York Annalist").

Unemployment still totals 15 1/2 millions (estimate of the Labour Research Association, as well as the Richberg figure for the number applying for jobs in the year ending June, 1934). In June it was 10 per cent above June, 1933, but the drop between April and July was 5 per cent, and the downward tendency is growing. June employment was only 74 per cent of the 1926 average, and wages only 85 per cent. July showed a further drop of 17 per cent in payrolls and a continued decline in jobs (360,000 factory workers alone). Food prices at the end of July were the highest in 2 1/2 years, and 22 per cent over April, 1933; the masses paying 2 1/2 milliard dollars more for their food. This winter, Federal officials expect a further rise of at least 7 per cent (due to the drought, crop destruction, and N.R.A.).

A concrete example of how the N.R.A. has increased profits at

the expense of the workers is that of Morgan's Auto Trust, General Motors:

	Profits Dollars	No. of workers	Payrolls Dollars
1932	164,979	116,152	143,255,000
1933	83,213,675	137,764	171,184,000

Average wages in 1933 (1,240 dollars) increased only eight-tenths of 1 per cent, while profits grew 500 times. The government standard of a subsistence level is 1,500 dollars. Such is the New Deal for the workers—and for the capitalists. These figures bear out the Communist analysis that the N.R.A. is an instrument of finance capital, instituted for the purpose of speeding up trustification, increasing profits, raising prices, lowering the workers' standard of living, and in general attempting to escape from the crisis at the expense of the masses.

The correlation between the strike movement and the N.R.A. is shown by a report of Prof. Feldman ("New York Times," July 22) that in 1933 over 775,000 workers struck (an underestimate), losing 13,426,000 man-days. Of these five-sixths occurred in the second half of the year (the N.R.A. began in July, 1933). The Department of Labour states that in January, 1934, 1,926,000 days were lost in strikes and lock-outs, and in May 3,478,000 days. For the first six or seven months probably 15,000,000 days were lost already, and the textile strike will boost this figure tremendously. That under the N.R.A. strikes are becoming increasingly political is recognised and admitted even by bourgeois professors. Thus Feldman estimates that in the decade 1916-1926 political demands (for union recognition, etc.) caused one-fifth of all strikes, while in the past year they accounted for three-quarters. Also in steel and auto, etc. strikes were narrowly averted, but the settlements made are still under attack, and so the issue is by no means settled.

The labour correspondent of the "Times," L. Stark, recently wrote two articles which made admissions of amazing frankness. He wrote of the growing ascendancy of the rank and file, saying "their distrust of older leaders and government boards . . . present a phenomenon that will make for important changes in many unions and will powerfully affect the future of the labour movement." The rank and file are "on a rampage": at a meeting of delegates of 80 auto locals the A.F.L. representative was ordered off the floor. They were all young men, straight from the bench, who "want to run our own show."

In a second article (September 2) he expects rank and file distrust of the top A.F.L. leadership to lead to a spread of "irresponsible strikes, further general strikes, and movements of revolt led by the 'Left' wingers."

The Washington correspondent of the "New York Times," Cattelge, wrote (July 21) of the "revolt against the old union oligarchy," saying that "the cruder and more radical element will continue to be a dominant factor in labour relations, and probably an increasing degree." The employers fear lest labour "be driven into such close cohesion as to make the workers of this country into a class-conscious mass. They are afraid of the general strike as a weapon of a new San Francisco." The New Deal made the company union an integral part of the N.R.A., and therefore of the State apparatus. At the same time it recognised the A.F.L. to the extent that it could betray rank and file "Leftward" movements by that section of the workers which could not be dragooned into company unions. Roosevelt's intention evidently is to unite these two streams, company union and conservative A.F.L., under government auspices, using them to smash strike movements, as in the recent threatened coal, steel, auto, textile, railroad, and other strikes. The success of the N.R.A. in breaking or forestalling strikes is shown by figures of the National Labour Board (so discredited, it had to be supplanted by the new National Labour Relations Board) of 2,000,000 affected by "disputes," 1,500,000 workers were reported as returned to work, being kept at work, or had their disputes adjusted. This is strike-breaking on a large scale. But the settlements were such that in San Francisco and Minneapolis real strikes soon broke out again, and in steel, auto, etc., everyone predicts strikes before long. The Communist solution for these disputes is the picket line, and rank and file control of the strike and of settlement negotiations.

In preparing for further betrayals and to hamstring the militant opposition of the rank and file, which threatens their official life, the A.F.L. leaders, headed by Green, have issued a pogromist

ukase against the Communists. It contains three provisions: (1) to expel all Communists from the unions, (2) to get police action against militant rank and filers, (3) and to get government to deport all alien Reds. This is aimed at all militant workers, for the resolution defines "Communists" vaguely: "They avoid going so far as to make it clear they are Communists." This campaign of terrorising all opposition is intended to put through more easily the Roosevelt programme of wage-cuts, compulsory arbitration, police and vigilante terror, and war preparations. In the painters' union in New York Green took the first step, by expelling a militant local which prevented the betrayal of the recent strike. The A.F.L. is also attacking the anti-Nazi movement in the U.S. in the true social-fascist fashion.

As soon as the textile strike threatened to break out, its leaders, MacMahon and Gorman, followed Green's line by attacking the Communists. MacMahon stated: "In nearly all recent textile strikes of any importance radicals who had no connection with the United Textile Workers have entered into the strike." That their attack on the militants was to cover up their treachery is shown by their sabotaging all preparations: refusing to build up a strike fund, or to mobilise all other unions to aid with funds, picketing and other support; refusing to mobilise the workers against the terror of troops, thugs, etc.; and preparing to sell out by compulsory arbitration and federal mediation. In the textile, as in the aluminium and other strikes, the A.F.L. leaders "stalled" for months, talking strike but refusing to call it, while the employers speeded up production and built up huge reserves of manufactured goods.

How quickly the government followed up the Red scare campaign of Green and MacMahon is seen in the following citation from the "Boston American" (September 2): "Secret agents of the Immigration Service were dispatched to every (textile) mill centre, with orders to ferret out alien agitators. These agents were given orders to make arrests and start deportation proceedings at the first sign of trouble." The first threats were made against Communist textile leaders. C.P. and "Left" wing headquarters are being raided in various parts of the country, as part of the terror campaign begun in the San Francisco general strike. Local and federal officials have answered the strike wave and Party's activities in it by large-scale terror, both "legal" (police and troops) and extra-legal (vigilantes). This is to be expected, since the struggle is no longer between the workers and bosses, but against the entire State apparatus. The growing political character of the strike movement is evidenced by the increasing fascist methods used in combating it.

In summing up the strike wave, we can point to the higher forms of class action, involving great masses not directly on strike; its growing political character, turning strikes for the smallest demands into actions against the State; the rapid fascisation of the capitalist regime; the strike-breaking role of the A.F.L.; and the growing militancy of the rank and file, turning toward the "Left" more and more. The militant determination and heroic sacrifices of the workers shows they are ready for a real struggle for their demands.

The Communist Party has played a growing role in the strike movement, and the masses are responding wherever it has been active. In Minneapolis work in the A.F.L. union was neglected and the Party was a minor factor. In San Francisco and Toledo, especially the former strike, the Party and "Left" wing organisations were a very important factor. These strikes, as well as others, prove that workers can be involved in strike struggles over the heads of the A.F.L. reformists, under the Party's ideological leadership. They show the need for stressing revolutionary opposition work in the A.F.L. and independent unions, and for involving every Party member in this basic work. The necessity of work in the armed forces, for the Party as well as for the Y.C.L., becomes more imperative, especially among the national guardsmen.

The tasks of the Party growing out of the strike wave include the following: to unite the working class and aid it to achieve independent class action in struggling for its immediate demands; to organise its resistance and counter-attack against the efforts to lower its standards of working and living; to direct the fight (for jobs, relief and social insurance, for the right to strike and organise, for wage increases, etc.) along militant lines; to expose the betrayers of the working class within its ranks, from the A.F.L. misleaders to the Communist renegades; to combat social-fascism

and fascist developments by spreading revolutionary ideology; to raise the political level of the masses in the struggle so that they realise the role of Roosevelt and the N.R.A., and to bring them to a realisation of the revolutionary way out of the crisis.

The Party must build the revolutionary mass organisations in the leading industries and factories. It must win over the most active and intelligent elements among the workers in struggle, so that it will come to the leadership of mass struggles. A fundamental task, in the words of the C.C., is for all members to "increase their efforts to win the A.F.L. workers for class struggle trade union policies." As the strike wave spreads and deepens and the Party plugs away more steadily at the day-to-day work in the unions and strike struggles it will achieve these tasks.

Planned Economy in the Organisation of Unemployment in the U.S.A.

By W. Romm

How many unemployed are there in the United States? A discussion on the subject was carried out recently in the press between the Chamber of Commerce of the U.S.A. and the American Federation of Labour. The Chamber of Commerce maintained that the A.F. of L. was overstating the number of unemployed; there were not ten millions, but merely seven millions, and when it was further remembered that "normally" there were two million unemployed in the country, then the actual figure was reduced to "only" five millions.

But the calculations of the A.F.L. are by no means exaggerated. On the contrary, they represent rather an under-estimation of unemployment, for they scarcely take the increase of population into account, and do not count among the employed "persons living with their relations in the country."

But whatever may be the exact figures of unemployment—and nobody knows these exact figures, since in America there is no unemployment insurance nor an official registration of the unemployed—the dynamics of unemployment are nevertheless important. The figures given by the A.F. of L. are undoubtedly too low, but they do not fail to reflect these dynamics with tolerable accuracy. These figures give the number of unemployed as follows:—

	In thousands
June, 1931	6,841
June, 1932	11,853
November, 1932	11,000
March, 1933	13,689
June, 1933	12,204
October, 1933	10,122
January, 1934	11,755
February, 1934	11,433
March, 1934	10,849
April, 1934	10,551
May, 1934	10,248
June, 1934	10,812

We see therefore that after all the efforts of the N.R.A., after about seven milliards have been expended in the form of credits, subventions, financing of public works, etc., unemployment is at about the level of the autumn of 1932, the last month before the presidential election. If an average is struck among the various and contradictory statements adduced, we find that the policy of the "new deal" has given work to about 10 to 12 per cent. of the unemployed.

Stuart Chase writes in the "Washington Post" that if the labour productivity per man and hour in 1923-25 be taken at 100, the corresponding figure in 1933 was 142. This means that 76 workers were able to perform work requiring 100 in 1925. Hence, even were the industrial undertakings to have orders enabling them to work normal capacity, there would still be 9 to 12 million unemployed workers. In order to absorb the whole army of unemployed, the industries would have to introduce the 26-hour week. The N.R.A. codes envisage, however, a 40-hour week.

If the number of unemployed is put at 10½ millions, this still does not include the large numbers of other persons in the U.S.A. who are dependent on public assistance. According to the statistics issued by the federation for the organisation of public relief, there are 4,477,503 families, equivalent to 16,826,000 persons, living on such relief. But even these figures fail to give a clear idea of the situation, for at the present time the drought catastrophe has plunged three million farmers into poverty, and the number of

persons in need of public assistance has increased proportionately.

The Liberal "Nation" calculates that there are five million families, or 20 million persons, dependent on public assistance, without counting the farmers ruined by the drought. And it is certainly no exaggeration to say that about one-fifth of the population of the U.S.A. is dependent on charity.

One million eight hundred thousand persons are employed in the various public works all over the country. The administration of public works has expended 3.6 milliard dollars for this purpose.

The bourgeois economist Professor Pitkin describes this population living on public assistance as the "extra-economic" population. In other words, a section of the population which is excluded from the process of production and thus does not represent a "purchasing power." The idea has also been put forward that this population should be converted at the same time into an "extra-political" population. The honour of this suggestion falls to the reactionary organisation, the "New York State Economic Council," whose members are chiefly republican industrialists of the State of New York. At the beginning of August this organisation published a declaration demanding the prohibition of general strikes, sympathetic strikes, and picketing, and, further, that persons in receipt of public assistance should be deprived of political rights.

The capitalist and government circles are realising more and more that the present unemployment is no temporary phenomenon, but something which has to be reckoned with for a long time. Nobody seriously believes that any programme of public works (at the present time the house building scheme) can really draw any essential numbers of the unemployed into the process of production. And the growing realisation that unemployment, as well as the sums expended for this purpose, must be organised according to "plan," proves perhaps more than anything else the hopelessness of the contradictions of capitalism—the more that here we are dealing with the most powerful and richest of the capitalist countries.

In July a notice was published in the press to the effect that the federation for the organisation of public relief intended making the Washington district a sort of experimental field for carrying out a new plan for "self-help for the unemployed." Here all charitable funds were to be expended on establishing farms and factories giving work to the unemployed. Shops, too, were to be opened, where the agricultural and industrial products thus produced were to be sold. In this manner the unemployed were to produce the necessities of life for each other. Cash benefit was only to be paid to persons physically incapable of working. The 80,000 unemployed from Washington and its environs were to form a complete economic sector of their own, a sort of perpetual motion apparatus.

Nothing came of all this, however, and the whole plan has been dropped. Something similar has, however, been attempted on a smaller scale in other parts of the country. According to the newspapers, experiments in "co-operative self-help" are being made in 150 places. In many places the experiment takes the form of an exchange between groups who are running small agricultural enterprises and workshops. Exchange traffic of this kind cannot, of course, suffice permanently. In Ohio, the local group of the federation for the organisation of public relief has established dozens of small undertakings. These methods are the subject of vicious attacks by the private enterprises (and in the U.S.A. all enterprises, railways, etc., are private, with the exception of the post office). They are regarded as competitors, and condemned as "socialist" and "Russian" methods. The authorities for their part seek to justify themselves and offer all sorts of guarantees. When the livestock was bought up in the drought-stricken districts, and worked up into tinned meat, the State organs issued assurances that this tinned meat would not be put on the market, would not lower prices, but would be used solely for distribution among the recipients of public welfare service. The same assurance had to be given to the leather manufacturers. With regard to the "co-operative self-help" experiments, the federation for the organisation of public relief declares that it has not the slightest intention of making "socialist experiments."

The advanced and politically conscious sections of big capital are well aware that something must be done with an "extra-economic" population numbering 20 to 25 millions; and they are also aware that they may make some profit out of it. The can-

neries tinning the livestock from the drought areas, and the manufacturers of the tins, have already been able to record improving business.

The "unemployed sector" beginning to form in American economy may well play a not inconsiderable part in reducing wages, and to reduce wages is at the present time one of the most important tasks, perhaps the very most important task, of American big capital. This sector, paid a wage of 25 cents per hour, will cause the wages of the industrial workers to be reduced, and not vice versa.

The chairman of the federation for the organisation of public relief, Hopkins, declared at the Anglo-American press club in Paris on August 5 that after studying the system of unemployed insurance in Europe he could state that the impression spread abroad that the Roosevelt policy was socialist in character is entirely false, and that, on the contrary, this policy aims at consolidating and promoting capitalism. Hopkins declared that he had arrived at the conclusion that the European forms of unemployment relief run counter to the American tradition. In America aid is given in the form of productive work, not in the payment of benefit. He could not imagine that the unemployed in America would be content to receive money over the counter of the labour exchanges year in and year out without doing any work in return.

But the unemployed show indignation, too, at times when called upon to break stones for 25 cents an hour, and when these 25 cents are not even paid in cash but in food tickets. The workers' press calls this forced labour, something as much disliked by the American workers as the idea of forming up in queues at labour exchanges like the English unemployed. Not magnanimity is at the bottom of these attempts at the "planned organisation" of unemployment, but necessity. And they are attempts which cannot either satisfy the taxpayer or liquidate the army of unemployed.

Germany

Trotsky and Otto Wels

By Kurt Heinrich

The German working class is faced with big class struggles. The events of the 30th June were not, as some people imagine, merely a precautionary measure on the part of German fascism against the threatening rebellion of the petty-bourgeoisie, but, above all, a terrorist defensive measure against the permanent and growing hostility of the working class. The demands of the disappointed petty-bourgeoisie were only a reflection of the unbroken power of resistance of the proletariat which expresses its deadly enmity towards fascism in the most varied forms. Hardly two months have passed since Hitler's attack on his brown-shirted storm troops (S.A.) and already German fascism has ordered a second "cleansing action." This time the action is not directed even outwardly against a petty-bourgeois formation, but against the organisation into which fascism has squeezed the German workers—the "German Labour Front."

German fascism is about to open up the big attack on the standards of living of the working class. On the 1st October the "National Labour Law" is to be in force everywhere; in other words, from that date on there are to be no more wage tariff regulations for the workers. Every worker is to be completely at the mercy of his employer. In this situation even the fascist "Labour Front" is proving a hindrance to the coming attack on the last vestiges of the social gains of the working class. The resistance of the working class is making itself felt even in this fascist organisation, and the leader of it, Dr. Ley, has been compelled to issue an announcement to the effect that "certain elements" are attempting to "sabotage" the work of the "Labour Front." Ley declares:—

"I am therefore to remove party Comrades Bruckner, Krueger, and Hauenstein from their posts because they have not carried out my instructions."

Already there are indications which show that the National Socialist Factory Organisation (N.S.F.O.) is to be the object of the second blow, for no fascist organisation can withstand the pressure of the militant working masses of Germany.

German finance capital has announced through its mouth-piece, Schacht, that it is not prepared to wait any longer for

the fulfilment of its demands. The fascist labour law was to have come into force on the 1st May, but, in view of the determined resistance of the working class, the fascists did not dare to do this, but to-day the catastrophic economic situation compels them to declare the 1st October as the last day for the law to begin to operate. The German proletariat will answer this frontal attack with mass action. The winter of 1934-35 will see great class struggles in Germany.

In this situation the German working-class needs a clear understanding of the conditions in which it must fight. It needs a revolutionary strategy and decisive tactics which will corner the enemy and defeat him. Only the Communist Party can provide the working class with this. There is no longer any social democracy as an organised central force in Germany. As far as a social democracy does exist, embodied in its central committee in Prague, and as far as it has any significance as a political factor, it opposes the revolutionary tactic and propagates its old policy of coalition with the bourgeoisie. It changes its phrases, but it retains its old policy. Up to the 30th January, 1933, the leaders of the social democracy were with the bourgeoisie and they are with capitalism still. And with them are that refuse of the working-class movement which Lenin referred to as "the remnants of the historic forms of yesterday," the **Trotskyists**.

Since the 30th January, 1933, reformism has adopted special methods of confusing the working class. Its interpretation of fascism as the rule of the petty-bourgeoisie, its perspectives, its slogans and its tactics all serve to confuse the working class and to hamper its struggle against fascism. We shall prove this on the basis of the attitude of the social democracy since the 30th January, 1933, and on the basis of the counter-revolutionary services of Trotsky.

The Thirtieth of January, 1933

How could capitalism be saved at a moment when the hatred of the working class against the open, terrorist rule of the bourgeoisie was beginning to overcome the decade-long disruption of the working-class movement? That was the question which faced the Prague central committee of the social democracy in the months which followed the 30th January, 1933. An answer was found which probably represents the most peculiar achievement of social-democratic policy. The social-democratic leaders tried to persuade the working-class nothing more and nothing less than that fascism was not a form of oppression and exploitation adopted by the bourgeoisie as the owners of factories and land, but the rule of the clerical employees and officials of the little tradesmen and artisans of the peasants and the landworkers, and of the intellectuals. The social democracy produced this monstrosity in order to draw the attention of the working class away from the bourgeoisie as a class.

Otto Bauer, the leader of the Austrian social democracy, declared:—

"The new ruling power does not represent any particular class, but the **refuse of all classes**. A despotic State power has subjected all classes to itself." ("Der Kampf," September 8, 1933.)

According to Otto Bauer, therefore, fascism has also subjugated the bourgeoisie.

The central committee of the social democracy in Prague gave expression to the same idea in a somewhat more decorative form when it declared:—

"Hitler is the belated successor of the petty-bourgeois romantic socialists. . . His attitude is one of cowardly dejection in face of the tremendous development of the productive forces, a puerile wish to restore 'the good old days' when petty-bourgeois economic forms provided their protagonists with the modicum of happiness. His attitude is the arm-chair and carpet-slipper ideology of the petty-bourgeois Philistine." ("Revolution against Hitler," page 12). **Trotsky** is in the same front of conscious deception and treachery to the German working class as the social democracy. In his own fashion he declares:—

"Before our eyes democracy in Germany was replaced by the absolutism of Hitler whereby all the traditional parties were smashed. To-day the German bourgeoisie

does not rule directly. Politically the German bourgeoisie is completely under the thumb of Hitler and his hordes."

"The German bourgeoisie is completely under the thumb of Hitler," declares the exposed traitor to the working class in a desperate attempt to save the bourgeoisie as a class and to prevent the working class from taking the only correct path of the class struggle for the overthrow of capitalism.

The Communist International defends the class standpoint of the proletariat against fascism as the dictatorship of finance-capital in a ceaseless struggle against the counter-revolutionary services rendered to the bourgeoisie by the central committee of the social democracy in Prague and by Trotsky. In its resolution of April, 1933, the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the C.I. declared:—

"On the 30th January the German bourgeoisie gave the fascist Hitler and his National 'Socialist' Party instructions to set up an open fascist dictatorship."

These diametrically opposed interpretations of the fascist dictatorship have two perspectives and two tactics as their result.

Two Perspectives

The social democracy, as far as it still exists and propagates its opinions through the central committee in Prague and through the Miles group, regarded its task as not only drawing the attention of the working class away from the chief enemy, but also in persuading the workers that they could not possibly fight at all. The policy of the social democracy during the first few months after the establishment of the fascist dictatorship in Germany was guided by this task.

On the 30th January, 1933, the German working class undoubtedly suffered a defeat. The victory of fascism was not a matter of small moment, and the German working class will never forget that it was the social democracy which prepared the way for the victory of fascism and the establishment of its regime of blood and iron, through the policy of the 4th August, 1914, the policy of the first years of the revolution, the policy of coalition with the bourgeoisie and of disruption in the ranks of the working class. However, from the very first day of the Hitler dictatorship the German working class realised clearly that what the bourgeoisie had not succeeded in accomplishing in alliance with the social-democratic party, it would certainly not succeed in accomplishing with Hitler under far less favourable conditions. Now, as before, the workers are implacable in their hatred and enmity for fascism. After the 30th January, 1933, the German working class was not faced with the danger of the disintegration of its own class, but with the task of finding the next opening for the struggle against fascism, of mobilising the masses, of organising its own ranks, forming leading groups in the factories, and giving the masses a consciousness of its own power, organisation, confidence, and fighting courage. The Communists put forward these tasks and fought to perform them with heroism and determination.

The attitude of the social democracy was very different. The analysis of the class character of the fascist dictatorship was made with no other end in view but to deceive the proletariat and rob it of its fighting spirit. And for this reason the social democracy spoke of the "terrible defeat" which the working class had suffered. "The path of the German working class leads into the darkness of hopeless slavery," declared Max Klinger in the organ of the social democratic central committee. Otto Bauer invented "the period of the counter-revolution." The German working class was urged to see no other perspective but that of bloody reaction in its darkest form. The same perspective was offered to the German workers by the Socialist Workers' Party (S.A.P.), the Brandlerists, etc.

However, **Trotsky** was the one who gave the most detailed and thorough picture of this perspective of hopelessness and despair. For Trotsky the German events were not something which had struck one section of the international working-class movement. Unlike Otto Wels, Trotsky likes to see things "in their relations," and these relations were authentically Trotskyist. The Communist International regards the features of the present period as being determined by the general crisis of capitalism which is on the threshold of a new round of wars and revolutions, but for Trotsky the contrary is true: not revolutions, but years of reaction are in front of the working class.

Prior to the accession of Hitler to power Trotzky gave us his picture of the next decade or two:—

"The victory of fascism in Germany would mean an interruption in the development of revolutionary successes for the immediate future, for the next ten or twenty years, the collapse of the Communist International and a howl of triumph from world imperialism in its most loathsome and bloodiest form."

After January 30 this picture was touched up in still more glaring colours. What the central committee of the social democracy in Prague was afraid to say, Trotsky said. He painted a picture of the German working class as only a counter-revolutionary defeatist could do:—

"The average German worker, including the Communist, feels like a shipwrecked traveller. His organisations, his press and all his hopes have been swept away by the wave of fascism. The shipwrecked traveller is now concentrating his attentions, not on building another ship, but on obtaining a roof over his head and a piece of bread to gnaw. A feeling of depression and political indifference is the inevitable outcome of such tremendous catastrophes." ("La Verité," April 21, 1933.)

In its eighteen months of struggle against Hitler the German working class has given Trotzky his answer. In the April days of 1933 such disintegrating work might have had dangerous consequences if the German workers had not already realised for whom Trotzky was drawing up his perspectives. Trotzky seems to have felt this himself, for "the shipwrecked traveller," as he called the German worker, was no longer enough for him. Even before Hitler came to power he had prophesied "the collapse of the Communist International" and "a howl of triumph from world imperialism," and it became necessary to prove the correctness of his prophecy. Trotzky did not hesitate for long, and once again the Soviet Union had to be dragged in. The "next ten or twenty years" were to bring, not only the victory of fascism, but, the traitor dared to write it down, the collapse of the first workers and peasants State in the world. This vision is characteristic for the counter-revolutionary Trotzky, filled with hatred against the revolutionary working-class movement and utterly confused by the events. No less characteristic is the cowardice with which the visionary expresses himself. He begins indirectly and full of assumed anxiety for the fate of the Soviet Union:—

"It would be cowardice and short-sightedness to try to minimise the greatness of the danger: A catastrophe is gathering above the head of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the leading Party of the first workers and peasants State in the world."

What sort of a catastrophe? The collapse of the Soviet Union. The only consolation that Trotzky has to offer his readers is that he, Trotzky, will see to it that this collapse is no more than "a historic episode":—

"The historical account which must now be drawn up is one for a period of many years. The collapse of the Soviet Union will, in the last resort, be no more than a historic episode, but it will be one of the most terrible in world history." ("La Verité," March 17, 1933.)

That was Trotzky's idea of the future of the Soviet Union, of the German working class, of the international working-class movement; ten to twenty years of the most brutal and bloody counter-revolution. That was Trotzky's perspective.

That was also the perspective of the central committee of the social democracy, at whose instructions the furthest developed of the social fascists, Miles, painted the following picture of the future:—

"Unless we are successful in overthrowing German fascism . . . the capitalist cultural circle will devour itself and capitalist society (including the proletariat.—K. H.) will collapse as a result of its own contradictions, just as two thousand years ago the flourishing culture of classical antiquity broke down against the limitations of slave economy. The history of humanity . . . will then be thrown back for many centuries. Then perhaps the 800 millions of undeveloped and backward people who are now cooped up in South Eastern Asia will pour over the old countries of capitalist culture and a new dark age will open up in the history of humanity." ("A New Beginning," page 21.)

It is basically the same picture as the one Trotzky has to offer, but less concrete and less highly-coloured. The agreement between

the social democracy and Trotzky refers not only to the estimation of fascism, but also to the perspectives which are opening up. The class significance of this is clear. The aim was to draw the attention of the proletariat away from the main enemy, to hold it back from the day-to-day struggle against the national socialist dictatorship. The aim was to prevent the working class recovering its strength and mobilising its forces so that it could take advantage of the first crisis of fascism to intervene systematically by mass action.

Trotsky was well aware that as far as reformism in Germany still had any prospects only the social democracy could do the trick, and that therefore the social democracy must be justified and protected in the eyes of the working class. Trotzky undertook this very difficult task. Whilst the German workers were realising even before January 30, 1933 that the social democracy was the pacemaker of fascism Trotzky asked in surprise:—

"How can one fail to see that the interests of the social democracy and of fascism are irreconcilable?" ("Die Weltbuehne," No. 23.)

That is just what the central committee of the social democracy in Prague would like to convince the workers:—

"National socialism and socialism are hostile principles. They face each other irreconcilably. There can be no community of interests between them, nothing but a life and death struggle." (Revolution Against Hitler," page 2.)

The Prague central committee refers here to national socialism and socialism as "hostile principles." The bourgeoisie as a class is deliberately left out of the game. However, that is not enough for Trotzky and he goes still further:—

"The social democracy had the task of saving the bourgeoisie from the proletarian revolution, but fascism had the task of saving the bourgeoisie from the social democracy." ("Die Neue Weltbuehne," No. 28, page 849.)

The social democracy as the deadly enemy of the bourgeoisie and fascism as the saviour of the bourgeoisie not from Communism, but from the social democracy, that is how far Trotzky, the lackey of the bourgeoisie, is prepared to go in his services to the counter-revolution.

THE 30th JUNE, 1934

In the meantime the events of June 30 have taken place. It does not need to be said that no one was in a position to forecast the form in which the first great crisis of German fascism would take place. However, the coming of such a crisis was certain, for everyone who saw the decisive truth of the class relations in Germany. On the one hand the working class was neither defeated nor disintegrated by fascism, and on the other hand the bourgeoisie was able to solve none of the burning problems of Germany. This relation of the two main classes in Germany determined the character of the fascist regime. With considerable class acumen a bourgeois newspaper expressed this truth in the following words:—

"On June 30 German national socialism experienced a turning point in its history, and one which promises to be even more significant for its future than even the seizure of power on January 30, 1933. We shall probably be able to see this more and more clearly as the bloody events of the last day in June recede more and more into the background." (The "Prager Presse," July 22, 1934.)

Not January 30, 1933, and not the epoch of fascism and counter-revolution determined the features of the present period. June 30, the harbinger of the developing revolutionary struggles and the danger of new imperialist wars, with the growing urge of the international working class to a joint struggle against fascism and against imperialist war and for the proletarian revolution, that is what places the stamp on our time.

June 30 exposed more than anything which had gone before the real content of the social democratic and Trozkyist policy.

Remember, that according to Trotzky, the fascist dictatorship was set up in Germany in order to save the bourgeoisie from the social democracy. What did this newly-discovered "deadly enemy" of the bourgeoisie have to say before and after June 30? A few days before the bloody events the social democracy used some frank language. For months it had been talking of a "revolution against Hitler," but when news of the intensified dissension in the ranks of the German bourgeoisie leaked abroad, all this was suddenly forgotten. On June 22 the social democratic newspaper

in the Saar District, "**Die Deutsche Freiheit**" indicated the possibility of a governmental crisis in fascist Germany and laid down the standpoint of the social democracy to it as follows:—

"The German working class must maintain neutrality for the moment in the struggle which is now commencing, whilst continuing and strengthening its underground work."

Here the "**Deutsche Freiheit**" expresses against its will the sense of the policy which the social democracy had pursued since June 30: Neutrality, no active intervention in the first great crisis of German fascism.

One might object that in this case it is nothing more than the individual expression of opinion of the editor of the newspaper in question. The objection cannot be maintained. A man who indicates that good information is at his disposal felt compelled to attack the standpoint given and gave the following very interesting facts to the world in an article entitled: "Flight Into the Camp of Reformism" which appeared in the "**Freiheit**":

"The ideological reorganisation which the German emigrants must undertake is by no means carried out yet."

The events of June 30 showed:—

"That this first sign of the approaching storm was considered by many to be a signal to begin juggling with opportunism again."

And the author then informs his readers what is really at stake:—

"The debates which have developed around the possibility of a conservative dictatorship begin in many cases where they stopped in the spring of 1932, when General von Schleicher extended his invitation to form a new front. What even Leipart regarded as impermissible opportunism two years ago appears to many to-day to be the chance."

The writer informs us concretely:—

"It is not so very astonishing that a number of former trade union leaders long ago established the closest connections with the monarchists and the generals." ("**Deutsche Freiheit**," July 13, 1934.)

As we observe, the "deadly enemy" of the bourgeoisie is already negotiating with a view to being permitted to tolerate a monarchist cabinet. The social democracy is also reckoning with other possibilities. It knows very well that despite the policy it has pursued in Germany during the past few months, the masses under the leadership of the Communist Party will continue their struggle against the bourgeoisie to win back their rights and to settle the question of the revolution in a positive sense. The political attitude of the social democracy in the event of a decisive crisis of fascism in Germany was already laid down in its programme. The mass of phrases might succeed in concealing from some the real character of the social democratic policy. However, the social democratic organ in the Saar District considers that the moment has arrived to reveal the truth without any decoration. The "**Deutsche Freiheit**" considers that there are only two standpoints within the social democracy with regard to the question of future power in Germany. The first one is:—

"There were and still are socialists who believe that the application of the leadership principle possesses social and historically binding force, and that the socialist transformation might be brought about by the force, will and destiny of a single man. In short, the idea of the proletarian socialist dictatorship is bound up for them with the person of the dictator."

And the second standpoint is:—

"If democracy is regained in heavy struggles, then it will have new features and a new form. . . . It will equip leaders with the greatest possible powers, a small circle of men who will act, order and take the responsibility." ("**Deutsche Freiheit**," July 19.)

A year ago Trotzky asked:—

"How is it possible not to see that the interests of the social democracy and the interests of fascists are irreconcilable?"

How, indeed!

June 30 loosened the tongue of the social democracy. The social democratic central committee in Prague betrays just the same urgent desire to co-operate with the bourgeoisie as it did before January 30. The only difference is that to-day this co-operation is not to take place on a bourgeois democratic basis. A capitalist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie carried out by the social democracy—that is, the programme of Miles and of the central committee of the social democracy.

In his own fashion Trotzky gives this policy his blessing. It is given in an appeal published in No. 25 of "**Unser Wort**" (Our Word):—

"Hitler realised that he is threatened, not only by an insurrection on the part of his own storm troops (S.A.), but that the bourgeoisie, together with the Reichswehr, were planning something against him, and that they intended to replace him by some more competent blood-sucker. In order to save himself he has compromised with the bourgeoisie and with the Reichswehr."

Thus, Hitler is presented as an independent factor as against the bourgeoisie and the Reichswehr, on the one hand, and the storm troops (S.A.) on the other. The working class is naturally not even considered.

The much-heralded "revolution against Hitler" has now been quietly removed from the agenda of the social democracy. A year ago we read:—

"Fascism can neither be reformed nor compelled to withdraw. It can be overthrown only." ("**Die Neue Weltbuehne**," No. 28. Page 862.)

Miles said much the same thing:—

"This fascist capitalism will not fall of its own accord; it must be overthrown." ("**A New Beginning**," Page 19.)

And the central committee of the social democracy itself declared:—

"Against despotism there is nothing but the weapon of revolution." ("**Revolution Against Hitler**," Page 2.)

All that was said before June 30.

At a time when the chief task of the working class was to collect its forces in the day-to-day struggle against the Hitler dictatorship, the social democracy talked of a "revolution against Hitler," and at a time when the revolution against Hitler and the bourgeois dictatorship actually took on an immediate significance, the social democracy abandons its slogan of revolution and steers towards its old coalition policy with the bourgeoisie.

BONAPARTISM INSTEAD OF FASCISM

How are the workers to be convinced of the necessity of giving up all idea of a revolution? Trotzky himself took over this task. He solves the problem by proving that since June 30 there has really been no fascist dictatorship in Germany at all:—

"The forecast made by us that Hitler fascism would develop into a Bonapartist dictatorship of the State apparatus, and in particular of the Army, has come about more quickly than we thought, more dramatically and with incomparably less stable perspectives."

According to this, therefore, there is no fascism in Germany, but Bonapartism, and therefore the revolution against fascism has become superfluous. Small wonder that the whole social democracy praises Trotzky for this argument.

It is hardly necessary to point out that Trotzky's "Bonapartism" is just as much a means of confusing and misleading broad sections of the workers as his Hitler fascism was.

Bonapartism has nothing essential in common with the present State power in Germany. As a governmental form Bonapartism developed "precisely under democratic conditions." (Lenin.) It was the State power of the bourgeoisie on the way from feudalism to capitalism.

In his "**Peasant War**" Engels points out:—

"In order to protect all the possessing classes against the pressure of the working class, the old absolute monarchy had to resolve completely into the State form specially constructed for this purpose, the Bonapartist monarchy."

When certain possibilities for a Bonapartist regime showed themselves in Russia, in 1917, Lenin declared expressly:—

"Bonapartism in Russia is not a fortuitous occurrence, but a natural product of the development of the class struggle in a petty-bourgeois country with a fairly well-developed system of capitalism and a revolutionary proletariat." (Lenin's Collected Works. Vol. 21, page 70.)

It is quite clear that these class characteristics of Bonapartism are not present with regard to the German bourgeoisie. All that Bonapartism and fascism have in common is a section of the mass basis, the slum proletariat and the adventurism which expresses itself in German fascism in the open preparations for a new world slaughter.

In contradiction to Bonapartism, the class relations in Germany to-day permit of no manoeuvring:—

"On the part of the State power, supported on the army between two hostile classes and forces which are more or less equally balanced." (Lenin.)

The State power in Germany is the direct instrument of finance capital which can maintain itself so long as the social democracy (although it is destroyed as an organisation) can succeed as a political tendency in perpetuating the disruption of the working class and preventing the establishment of working-class unity. Precisely in order to draw the attention of the workers away from the role of the social democracy and the form of bourgeois rule, Trotzky has invented the theory of Bonapartism.

After all this it can surprise no one that in Trotzky's appeal issued after June 30 no class tasks are put forward for the proletariat. The class struggle continues, it is true, but it is proceeding in quite a different sphere.

"The class struggle is still raging, indeed, it even breaks out in the leading circles of the regime, amongst the ministers and generals."

The class struggle inside the bourgeoisie, amongst the ministers and generals! That is the latest ideological commodity Trotzky has to offer. Naturally, this lumber has been borrowed from the social democracy. In July, 1934, **Otto Bauer** discovered the "classes" of the generals and Reich President Hindenburg. ("Kampf," No. 3, page 110.)

It is clear that under such circumstances there is nothing more for the working class to do:—

"You will be attacked above all on the economic field. If you succeed in extending your influence and strengthening your ranks then you will have a chance of maintaining at least your present existence of hunger and want."

That is all! The circle from the social democracy to Trotzky is closed. Prior to June 30 the revolution was the magic word in order to hold back the working class from the struggle against fascism. To-day even the ordinary daily struggle against fascism is no longer necessary because the bourgeoisie is carrying on the class struggle within its own ranks. As the social-democratic press demands, the working class must remain "neutral." Woe betide the workers if they dare to go over to the attack!

"We warn you against adventurism and illusions. You are not yet strong enough to undertake the first struggles."

That is Trotzky. The political field is to be left to the bourgeoisie and the social democracy—that is the wish of Trotzky and the social-democratic leaders.

NOT REFORMISM, BUT REVOLUTION

There is a deep abyss between the social-democratic and Trotzkyist ideology on the one hand and the policy of Communism on the other. Trotzky and Wels declare that the world is faced with a ten to twenty-year period of counter-revolution, that the international working class is impotent, and that in the coming years the policy of the working class must be to win back bourgeois democracy and not to achieve the proletarian revolution. The Communists, on the other hand, declare, and historic development and the daily experiences of the class struggle prove their point, that the crisis of the fascist form of bourgeois rule is maturing, that the forces of the working class are growing and that the task of the German workers is to prepare for the proletarian revolution. The working masses are recognising more and more clearly the bankruptcy of the bourgeois forms of government, and that the dictatorship of the proletariat and the rule of the Soviets is the only way out of the crisis. Upon this basis an amalgamation of the groups of social-democratic workers with the Communist Party is taking place in Germany. The workers are flocking to the one revolutionary class Party of the proletariat. The German workers have had enough of the chain of defeats caused by the policy of the social democracy. Now they are demanding Leninist victories.

However, these chief characteristics do not complete the picture of the situation in Germany.

It is clear that sections of the working class are still intimidated by the fascist terror. These workers see that a change has taken place in the working class and amongst the toiling masses as a whole since June 30, but they do not yet recognise clearly the aim and the methods of the struggle which is being conducted for the overthrow of fascism. There is no doubt that fascism as a bourgeois regime is bloodier, more brutal and more ruthless than democratic parliamentarism. Under such circumstances some social-democratic workers are inclined to ask whether therefore the struggle against Hitler fascism should not be placed in the

foreground instead of the struggle against capitalism. The peculiarity of the situation, however, is that the only force which can overthrow Hitler is that force which at the same time is determined to overthrow capitalism once and for all. Any serious struggle against Hitler threatens the very existence of the bourgeois dictatorship. Only that force which does not hesitate to attack capitalism and which is prepared to risk everything to overthrow capitalism can successfully overthrow Hitler. The social democracy is in favour of capitalism, and therefore the utmost it could do would be to replace Hitler by a new bourgeois coalition government. Only the implacable enemies of capitalism can carry on the struggle against the fascist labour law, against the expulsion of the young workers from the factories, against wage cuts and for the freedom of speech and of the press, for the right to organise, the right of coalition and the right to strike—to mention only a few of the immediate demands of the workers. Only those who are prepared to organise the struggle against capitalism as a whole do not fear the revolutionary character of the struggle against fascism, and this struggle can have no other character but a revolutionary one.

The social-democratic workers will decide for Communism not only because it shows them the proletarian revolution as the only way out of the crisis, but also because no other party but the Communist Party, the real and deadly enemy of the capitalist system, fights for the daily needs of the workers. Whilst Trotzky joins hands with the central committee of the social democracy in Prague, and warns the workers against any attacks on fascism, and whilst Wels and Stampfer even declare that the working class can fight fascism only when the bourgeoisie permits it to do so, the Communist Party declares to the masses that the struggle must be begun immediately and at the same time it prepares for this struggle, mobilises the masses of the workers in the factories and organises action against the fascists.

The Communist Party is the only representative, not only of the class interests of the German workers, but also of their immediate daily needs, and that accounts for the deadly enmity of the central committee of the social democracy in Prague and that is the reason why, in his appeal in connection with the events of June 30, Trotzky knows no more urgent task than the struggle against the Communist Party:—

"The first task for the most advanced amongst you is to organise yourselves into a new Communist Party."

That is Trotzky's service to Hitler.

The struggle on behalf of the daily needs of the working masses will be extended by the Communist Party of Germany into a struggle for the overthrow of Hitler by the proletarian revolution. Every action on behalf of the immediate demands of the workers unites, consolidates and strengthens the German proletariat to carry the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism to a successful conclusion. Because the social democracy is opposed to the abolition of the system of capitalist exploitation it has abandoned the slogan of the "revolution against Hitler" because under existing conditions in Germany this slogan represents a danger to fascism. Friedrich Stampfer, the former editor of the social-democratic "Vorwaerts," has become more modest and calls the social democracy nothing more than "the enemy of despotism." The revolutionary phrases of a year ago are forgotten.

The decisive questions of the class struggle which arise before the German working class are answered in an absolutely contrary fashion by the Communist Party of Germany and the social democracy, as far as the latter can be said to exist at all. Reformism is still attempting to put forward the bankrupt, hated and exposed tactics of the shipwrecked social-democratic party of Germany against the strategy and tactics of international Bolshevism which has fought for the unity of the working-class movement in Germany since 1918 and which has established it in a life and death struggle against capitalism, which has led the proletariat of Russia to victory and which is building up socialism in the Soviet Union. The social-democratic workers will therefore take the following appeal of our comrade **Wilhelm Pieck** to heart:—

"The Communist Party appeals from deepest conviction and with an honest will to all social-democratic workers and to all the former members of the reformist trade unions to join forces with us Communists in a joint struggle against the Hitler dictatorship. . . . The unity of the working class in the struggle against capitalism and in its organisations is the preliminary condition for the victory of the proletariat." Not reformism, but revolution. Not pacts with capitalism in

order to replace Hitler with a bourgeois coalition government, but the overthrow of Hitler by a systematic struggle against capitalism for its overthrow and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. That is the policy for which the workers of Germany, and above all the social-democratic and trade union workers, will join forces with the Communist Party and prepare together in the daily struggle for the immediate demands of the workers to overthrow Hitler and establish the rule of the working class.

The C.C. of the C.P.G. to the Toiling Peasants

Smallholders, Tenants, Settlers, Landworkers and Small and Middle Farmers of Germany!

Under the Hitler dictatorship the agrarian crisis has become wider and deeper. Beneath the cloak of the struggle against the crisis in agriculture monopoly-capital and the big landed proprietors have extended their power over the countryside. Extortion in credit-interest and taxes from you poor and medium peasant masses has become aggravated. The parasitic rents and subsidies paid to the landed proprietors have been raised. Interest on borrowed capital has soared to a usurious level. Owing to the fall in labour wages and the uninterrupted rise in prices the market for the small and medium farmers has become very seriously restricted. The establishment of the fascist obligatory central depots has had the effect of forcing agriculture and trade in agrarian products into the system of imperialist preparation for war. The compulsory regulation of the agricultural market has driven you small and medium agrarian producers from the market more than before. This enforced control has cut the vital nerve of innumerable smallholdings and agricultural concerns. Fascism has further increased the power of the big manufacturing industries: the butter factories, mills, preserving industry, the sugar and tobacco factories.

Thus, in the "Third Reich," monopoly-capital and the landed estates are indulging in absolute orgies of profits. But you poor peasants and landworkers are being plundered, enslaved and forced deeper and deeper into dependence on monopoly-capital and landed property. Gigantic burdens in the way of mortgages and tenancy dues, of taxes and duties and the additional burdens of increasing costs, are weighing like a ton weight on your shoulders.

Heat waves, drought and storms have afflicted the German villages. Large parts of the grain, fodder and field-produce harvests have simply been dried up and burnt up on the fields. An almost unexampled failure of the harvest has befallen German agriculture. This year's harvest amounts to only 70 to 80 per cent., and in many places to only 50 per cent., of the yield of last year's harvest.

Especially you toiling peasants, with your small and medium livestock farms, have suffered the worst possible injury! Several hundred thousand dairy cows, many hundreds of thousands of pigs and poultry, have had to be slaughtered because the anti-peasant Hitler dictatorship has forbidden the import of cheap foreign feeds. The livestock had to be sold at ruinous prices, if it was not to die in the stable, in view of the shortage of fodder. Hitler, Schacht and Darré have refused to make foreign exchange available for the provision of foreign fodders for the small and medium farmers. The purchase of raw materials (iron, steel, nickel, etc.) for war production is to them more important than the alleviation of the lot of the toiling peasants. For the peasants the most profound want creeps from cottage to cottage, from farm to farm.

(1) HITLER HAS BROKEN, NOT INTEREST SLAVERY, BUT HIS WORD

A deep ferment, a wave of anger, hatred and indignation, is sweeping the German villages. Hitler, the business manager for finance-capital, has deceived and betrayed the toiling peasantry. It was on your shoulders, you small farmers, tenants, settlers, cottagers and middle peasants, that the Hitler dictatorship came to power. The Nazis promised you the kingdom of heaven on earth. The exploitation of the land workers was to come to an end. The peasants, hungry for land, were to receive land. Interest slavery was to be broken, the agrarian crisis overcome. Autarchy was to bring happiness to the village, and the whole Hitler policy well-being and peace to the German people.

"National Socialism" has made good not a single one of its promises. Exploitation of the land workers has increased, their

standard of living has become worse, they have been degraded to be slaves, deprived of rights, of the landowners and feudal Junkers. The land question has not been solved. The extent of the land-hungry village destitution is greater than ever. The capitalist land monopoly of the landowners is enjoying absolute triumphs. Bankrupt estates are being put on their feet again with the help of millions extorted from the people. Interest-slavery has not been broken; it has been considerably aggravated. The small peasants not "capable of inheritance" have been handed over to the mercy of the interest grabbers. The result of the efforts towards autarchy is the increased bankruptcy of the State and the local authorities, the collapse of German exports and an aggravation of the capitalist trade war. The fascists, who set fire to the Reichstag, tried with the Nazi putsch in Austria to kindle the flames of war in Europe. Instead of orderliness, peace and quiet, fascism brings slavery, terror, provocation, an adventurist foreign policy. Through its policy of adventurism and war, fascism can any day let loose the flames of war. But this war will burn down the towns, villages and fields, and peasant cottages and farms, and trample them underfoot.

Hitler has broken not interest-slavery, but his word. He has brought, not happiness, but slavery and impoverishment to the village. Not improvement in agriculture, but its ruin is the result of the fascist agrarian policy.

(2) THE SWASTIKA: THE WHIP OF MONOPOLY CAPITAL OVER THE VILLAGE!

"Community of the People," "Village Unity," "Blood and Soil," "Home and Soil"—these are the phrases with which Hitler and Darré and their Brown peasant bureaucrats want to fuddle the producers in the village. But never was the contrast between village rich and village poor greater than to-day, never was the domination of the big farmers and the feudal Junkers more boundless than now.

The big farmers and Junkers, mainly producing grain, have been allowed exorbitant fixed prices for grain and fodder. This year's bad harvest is for them good business, for the predatory grain speculators it means a successful profit hunt. But the toiling people must starve. The middle and small farmers mainly producing livestock get no fixed prices; they get "minimum prices," and the State and the wholesalers pocket the profits. The livestock slaughtered in emergency have to be given away for next to nothing to the parasitic wholesalers and corrupt central depots. In order to safeguard the big farmer's profits, you toiling livestock farmers are compelled to buy fodder at unheard-of prices. You have to supply the eggs, milk, cheese and butter you produce to the central depots at prices that are an insult.

"The times when every farmer ran his farm according to his own interests are past! Whoever fails to follow official instructions will get to know us!" So run the orders of the National Peasant leader Eitz von Ruebenach, in the "Westdeutsche Bauernzeitung" (West German Peasant Paper). On pain of being chased out of house and home, tortured in a concentration camp, outlawed and boycotted, the producers of the villages are to obey the big capitalists and Junkers. "Should a farmer, of his own accord, fail to meet his financial obligations, then the person to whom the money is due has the opportunity of demanding that the farmer be driven from house and home." That is how the "N.S. Landpost," of March 30, 1934, incites the moneylenders to chase you peasants from your land.

The whole national socialist fats policy is one big failure. Owing to the forcing up of the price of butter the market for butter has become extremely restricted. The poor population in town and country, in a position to buy only small quantities of margarine, helps itself out by using jelly, jam, and turnip tops. The grindingly exorbitant duty of 37.50 marks per centner and the customary additional dues increase also the price of foreign butter. Herr Darré has introduced a strenuous policy of subsidies in order, particularly in the sphere of the cultivation of oil seeds, to pass on further profits to the big farmers. Thus the vast subsidies, which apart from this are being poured down the throats of the Junkers and owners of baronial estates through the "Osthilfe" scandal, are being further increased, while the toiling peasant is faced with bankruptcy and ruin, with the prospect of being driven from his land, and sees before him only a dark future.

The "entailment law" is eulogised by the Nazis as "agrarian socialism." In reality this law is an instrument for the rule of

monopoly capital; for the big farmers and Junkers it is good business. This law is driving hundreds of thousands of the toiling younger sons of farmers from soil, farm and home. The "debt cancellation" for the peasants inheriting farms is a bluff and a fraud; for payment of debts merely receives another name. The small percentage of the small and middle farmers entitled to inheritance may no longer perform subsidiary work, and in the future they may no longer raise a mortgage. Thus they are driven into the arms of the moneylenders, from whom they raise personal credits at high interest and with whom they must pawn all they possess in money, their sales products and their crops as they stand.

A "black" money market has already been formed as a result of the shortage of credit. Secret usury, granting of credits at blackmailing rates and shady speculation, are flourishing. All this is the sober truth and the background of the slogans "Peasant Nobility," "Blood and Soil." Instead of "overcoming the class struggle in the village," the exploitation of the village poor has increased and the conflict between the poor and the well-to-do of the village has flamed up with the greatest vigour.

You land workers have suffered an unexampled cut in your wages. You have been deprived of unemployment insurance and of fixed wage agreements; they have taken from you your freedom of movement; and through the "land helpers" ordered compulsorily from the big towns many of you are losing your jobs. The "Third Reich" crushed your land workers' unions and deprived you of the right to strike.

You land helpers have been and are being shipped like cattle in hundreds of thousands into the villages, torn from your families. You are being sold like cattle to the big farmers and Junkers; the small and middle farmers, on the other hand, are forced to take you against their will. You are being forced into bond labour service of the big farmers for a beggarly ration.

You young peasants driven from house and home, you land workers and land helpers—fascism means to force you through a medieval hireling system into a slave-like "settlement." According to this "hireling" system, which is still in force in the Balkans, in Italy, Southern France and parts of North Germany, you are to be pressed into conditions of serfdom, by which you are to remain for the rest of your lives degraded as the slaves of the feudal lords. As land workers you are not to be paid in cash, but you receive a cottage and a piece of land from the estate to some extent "on lease." By means of laborious slave-labour on the baronial farm and in the fields you are to pay the rental. That means the withdrawal of the money wage for ever, for ever the abolition of freedom of movement and slave-like dependence on the lord of the manor.

Thus behind the phrases about "Village Unity" and "Community of the People" there is hidden the most degrading serfdom and the most dishonourable oppression for the toiling village population.

Toilers of the village! For years the fascists have told you that the unemployed, the factory and mine workers from the industrial towns are responsible for your misery. A year and three-quarters of Hitler dictatorship has shown you how disgracefully you have been deceived. The "Third Reich" has increased your misery. The increasing impoverishment of the big cities, the 30 to 40 per cent. wage cuts for the industrial workers have hit you too as severely as possible. It is not the workers—it is the fascists who are guilty of your misery! Look for a moment at the following figures:—

Consumption of meat fell in Germany from 3,182,000 double-centners in 1932 to 2,551,000 double-centners in 1933. Consumption of eggs dropped from 7.82 million in 1932 to 6.92 in 1933. The year 1933 is the first year of Hitler rule! The criminal wage cuts under the brown dictatorship have destroyed the purchasing power of the broad masses and consequently demolished or restricted the market for your products. In 1934 misery still further increased. Thus you see daily more and more that the workers' calamity means also your ruin.

Like an avalanche the peasants' misery is swelling. Now there is room not only for grousing and "cavilling," now there must be struggle if you toilers in the village do not want to go down in misery. Your lips have been pursed long enough, now you've got to whistle!

Not struggle against the proletariat, but the closest fighting alliance with it—that must be the slogan of the peasant producers!

We appeal to the toiling peasants and land helpers: Don't let the fascists set you against each other!

The land helpers are forced labour slaves, not parasites or idlers! The toiling peasants are not the enemies of the workers, but equally enslaved and oppressed fellow Germans! Both sections must join together for the struggle!

Not "village unity" with the big farmers, Junkers and the brown peasant bureaucrats, but united front of all the poor, oppressed and suffering people of the village—that is what is needed to-day!

The united front, unity in struggle and in action of all workers of the countryside—no matter to what party, what religion or point of view they may belong—that is the necessity of the hour!

Away, therefore, with every division and split! Closest fighting alliance between the small and middle farmers and the land workers and land helpers! Fascism—that is the enemy of the whole people! It must be fought down if the toiling peasantry is to live and our Youth to have a prosperous future!

In a bold, untiring, united struggle you toilers of the village must fight for your vital demands, if you want to save yourselves from total ruin, from the bankruptcy of your villages and catastrophe for the entire peasant population.

We Communists call for this united struggle for the alliance between town and country! We are fighting with each and for each peasant who revolts against the Hitler slavery and plunder; we are fighting with every peasant group, with every peasant organisation that is ready for the fight for the demands of the toilers of the countryside.

We appeal to the social-democratic land workers and poor peasants to unite with us Communists, with their groups, for unity in struggle and action, together with us to carry through the re-establishment of the Free Land Workers' Union, to elect everywhere joint representatives on the estates. We appeal to the land helpers to carry the revolutionary struggle into the village and to join voluntary land helpers' fellowships!

We appeal to all Christian and national-socialist farmers to form in all villages, together with us Communists, with the social-democratic poor peasants and with the land workers and land helpers, uniform fighting committees of the toiling peasants, which shall take up the leadership and direction of the peasants' struggle.

We suggest to the toiling peasants that they shall form organised oppositional groups in all peasant organisations, developing within these associations the struggle for the peasants' demands!

We Communists, the sole genuine friends of all the poor and oppressed in the towns and villages, raise the following peasants' demands and appeal to the smallholders, tenants, settlers, hired hands, land workers, land helpers and small and middle farmers to make these demands their own!

We demand the immediate grant of State aid for the drought and storm districts, the application of the Osthilfe millions to the distressed areas of the small and middle peasants!

We demand the immediate confiscation of all stocks of grain and fodder held by the big farmers, Junkers, big millers and wholesalers and the safeguarding of the stocks for the use of the toilers and the livestock farms of the toiling peasants.

We demand the handing over of the stocks of the State compulsory collecting depots for the same purpose!

We demand the provision of foreign exchange for the duty-free import of grain for bread, legumes and fodder (bran, oilcake, oilcake-meal, etc.), so that the adequate feeding of the workers in town and country and the maintenance of the livestock of the toiling peasants shall be assured.

We demand the free supply to the toiling peasants of seed, straw and turf litter from State resources and the abolition of all monopoly costs on fodders containing oil!

We demand the supply delivered free of fodder and litter for the toiling peasants in the distressed areas!

We demand the immediate abolition of all compulsory supplies to the central depots and the reduction of prices for the consumers!

We demand the lowering of prices for the consumers at the expense of the wholesalers, cartels and middlemen! We demand the raising of small-production prices for milk, eggs and slaughter cattle at the central supply depots (milk and egg collecting depots, etc.) at the cost of wholesale profits and the exorbitant profits of the central depots.

We demand the supply to the small livestock farms at reduced prices, out of State resources, of young slaughter and dairy stock and poultry in the place of the stock slaughtered in emergency!

We demand the complete exemption of the land workers and small peasants from all taxes, contributions, rents and interest, with the simultaneous prohibition of the cancellation of current tenancies, credits and leases. We demand the immediate stopping of all attachment and auction proceedings against workers and working peasants, as well as the abolition of the slaughter tax.

We demand, further, full indemnification for all losses suffered by the small and middle peasants as a result of bad harvest and storms, emergency forced sales and other compulsory State measures.

We demand the restoration in full of standard wages for the land workers, cancellation of all wage cuts made since Hitler came to power, the restoration of all former allowances.

We demand standard wages, regulated labour agreements, food and quarters fit for human beings, and the right of the compulsorily despatched land helpers to return at any time to family and home!

We demand, together with the masses of the big cities, the full right of assembly, association and strike, as well as establishment of complete freedom of the press.

Toilers, Peasants, Land Workers and Land Helpers!

Mobilise the villages for these demands of the Communists, which are your demands. Send your delegates and spokesmen to the representatives of the "Reich Peasant Estate"! By your attacks at the meetings, by collective petitions and addresses to the village and financial authorities, bring forward your demands! Issue illegal leaflets and newspapers and gather together at the illegal meetings of peasants!

Organise the widest Peasants' Self-Aid against the fascist oppressors and usurers. By mass pressure prevent every attachment or compulsory sale of the property of the small and middle farmers! Boycott the parasitic brown central depots! Bring your goods yourselves, wherever you can, to market! March in your masses past the financial palaces, past the offices of the land councillors and district peasant leaders, of the village magistrates. You may be sure of the help of the urban workers in your actions!

In the struggle for the above immediate programme and for your special local demands, fight for the complete overthrow of peasant enslavement and peasant oppression, for the driving out of the parasitic big farmers, Junkers and lords of the manor, the blue-blooded agrarians, the ducal and princely landlords; fight for the overthrow of fascism, for the taking over of land and soil by the toilers of the village.

(5) WHAT WILL THE COMMUNISTS DO IN THE VILLAGE AFTER TAKING POWER?

Working peasants and land workers!

Fascism has not fulfilled one of its programme points, not one of its promises, because it is the terror regime of monopoly-capital. Not one capitalist or big landowner has been expropriated. The mass hatred and mass indignation of the toiling people, particularly the growing resistance and strike movements of the proletariat, have already led to a crisis for the Hitler dictatorship, to an increasing weakening in the Nazi regime. For the "Third Reich" has become the arena and stage for the enrichment of the rich and impoverishment of the poor.

Over there, however, where Communism is in power, where the workers' power is governing in alliance with the peasants, an end has been put to the impoverishment of the masses of the toiling peasants. The Soviet Power, which hoisted the Red Flag with the Hammer and Sickle over one-sixth of the earth, has expropriated the manufacturers, bankers, owners of department stores, the big farmers, Junkers and feudal lords without compensation, and handed them out of their lordly seats, villas, castles and citadels, and handed over the factories and mines as well as the land and the soil to the workers, producing peasants and hand workers. The Soviet government has nationalised all big undertakings and consequently broken also the capitalist monopoly prices that in the capitalist world are strangling the toiling masses of the peasants.

It is a lie and a slander if the brown deceivers try to delude you into believing that the Communists, on taking power, meant to take away their property from the small and middle peasants, meant to drive you from your land and set fire to the farms, cottages, barns and churches. Those are the lies told by those enemies of the people and oppressors of the peasants, who expro-

priate whole villages (Rhoen), drive entire families of peasants from house and home, persecute priests and faithful, and weigh you down with an immense burden of interest, rent, taxes, dues and compulsory contributions!

We Communists guarantee to you small peasants: After the proletariat has taken power you will not only be able to retain your small property in full, but beyond that we are going to increase it! We are going to take from the big farmers and Junkers their buildings and land without indemnification! The leased land belonging to them, hitherto let to the small and middle peasants at exorbitant rents, will be taken from them and handed over to the small peasants as property. Landed property, including the buildings and implements of the big landowners, will be given to the land workers of the estate or big farm for collective management. Big socialist Soviet estates, managed collectively, will become the source of well-being and productive progress in the village. Together with the disarmed big landowners, manorial and feudal lords, all the land speculators and village usurers will also be driven out.

We are going to eliminate all usury, abolish rental and annul all small and middle peasants' debts to the big farmers, Junkers and the fascist State! We are going to free you from the pressure of taxation!

You will obtain the common timber and grazing rights over the forests and pastures on private and State property!

You are going to get free of charge the buildings, machinery, implements and seeds that the socialist workers' and peasants' government will take from the big landowners.

Through the socialisation of the big urban factories and supply of modern agricultural machinery at reduced prices, you will be able to participate in the new technique that to-day is the monopoly of the big farmers.

The proletarian State will give the greatest possible assistance to the small peasants' farms in every sphere.

Under the proletarian State the agricultural co-operatives, from being organisations which under capitalism mainly serve the rich and the powerful farmers, will become organisations for giving aid to the poor peasants, tenants, settlers, land workers and middle farmers!

Middle farmers, listen!—The proletarian State will abolish rental for you too! You will receive every advantage if you recognise the government power of the working class and carry on no kind of economic and political sabotage against socialist construction.

The example of the Soviet Union—that must also be an example for the toilers in the German village. Before the October Revolution of 1917 the poverty-stricken peasants of Russia, who made up 60 per cent. of the total peasant population, were recklessly exploited and plundered by the big farmers, landowners and the dictatorship of the Tsar. The Soviet Government put an end to the destitution of the peasants.

Immediately after the assumption of power by the workers in alliance with the peasants under the leadership of the Bolsheviks, 200 million hectares of land were taken from the landed proprietors, princes, grand dukes, and the Tzar's family and given to the land-hungry peasants as property!

From the village rulers, the big farmers and princely land kings, the Soviet Government took equipment, etc., to the value of 660 million marks and gave it to the village poor! The Soviet Government annulled more than 660 million small farmers' debts for rent, and started more than 5.5 million new farming concerns.

Thus the Communists only take from the rich, the owners, the parasites and enemies of the people, and give it to the poor, the oppressed and the suffering. Under the Soviet Power the peasants are free men on free land. By free election they chose their Councils, the organs of the self-administration of the Soviet citizens. The Soviet Government provides the village with inexpensive seed. It is ready to assist the peasants with help and advice for the better use of the soil.

Under the Soviet Power the farmer need not fear drought. Irrigation on a large scale, free supply of seed for re-sowing and fertilisers, were this year the relief measures taken by the Soviets, by which a failure of the harvest was prevented and a good medium harvest achieved.

The Soviet Government provided and provides the peasants free of cost with tractors, reapers and threshers and other modern agricultural machinery.

Thus the well-being of every peasant in the land of socialism

is growing, and has been growing from year to year. The workers, peasants and soldiers of the Red Army work together and with success at increasing the area under cultivation, at increasing the yield of the soil, at building up livestock farming on an immense scale, at overcoming natural catastrophe. Socialist construction is going forward victoriously in the land of the Soviets, whose population has grown in a few years from 150 millions to 168 millions.

Workers of the German Village! The Example of the Soviets Shows the Way

Rally together beneath the Red Banner of the scythe! Fight in the spirit of the vintners' revolt of the Moselle peasants, in the spirit of Thomas Muenzer and the Peasants' Revolution, fight with the Party of Thaelmann, the peasants' friend, fight with us Communists for a free socialist Germany, in which there shall be no exploited peasants, deprived of their rights, but only a healthy peasantry with healthy children, on free land, on free soil. But the fascist dictatorship of capital will fall only when the exploited masses of the people in town and village are united! Never must there be a return to the Weimar regime of corruption! Never, either, a return to the regime of lord and slave under the monarchy! There is only one way out: that is Communism!

Forge the firm unity in struggle and in action of the toilers of the village; forge the unbreakable alliance between town and country for the overthrow of fascism, for the establishment of the workers' power! The workers' power, in alliance with the toiling peasants, will alone sweep away all finance capitalists, landlords and land kings, and assure to the village prosperity and well-being and to the youth a future of happiness!

Down with the Hitler dictatorship, that is hostile to the peasants!

Long live the people's revolution!

Long live a free, socialist Germany!

Long live socialism!

Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany.

International Campaign for Thaelmann's Release

THE THAELMANN TRIAL

The preliminary inquiry in the Thaelmann case has been suddenly brought to an end. Meanwhile we have been able to ascertain the following details (special report from the International Release Committee):—

The official statement given the Spanish journalist, **Armesto**, that the Thaelmann trial would not be held before the People's Court, as also the information given **Christofel**, the secretary of the Autonomous Customs Officials' Union in Marseilles, that the trial will probably not take place for three months, are both statements unworthy of credence. We receive confirmation from three different sources that there are strong forces at work which are bent on bringing Thaelmann up for trial suddenly, and within a very short time, before the "People's Court," in order to face the international public with an accomplished fact. Parts of the original indictment have now been removed, as likely to promote an anti-Hitler feeling among the agricultural population and the Storm Troops. Since eighteen months of preliminary inquiry have brought nothing to light incriminating Thaelmann, the State Secret Police has drawn up protocols in which isolated sentences from Thaelmann's speeches, torn from their context, are construed into incitement to acts of violence, offences against the explosives laws, and attacks on leading politicians. These misrepresentations of Thaelmann's utterances are supposed to impart genuineness to the indictment.

All the speeches, articles, and pamphlets brought out by Thaelmann since 1925 are to be adduced to substantiate the indictment. Thaelmann is to be made responsible for all the newspaper articles and pamphlets published by the C.P.G. all over Germany. The indictment designates as high treason Thaelmann's speech in Paris in October, 1932, in which he demanded the cancellation of the expenditure for police and army, and the use of the funds thus released for the aid of the war cripples and the unemployed.

In view of the ferment in Germany, of the international protest against the Terror, and the change of feeling in the Saar district, opinions on the date of the trial differ greatly. All our informants are agreed that there is great danger of a sudden brief trial, in camera. Goering is determined to prove by means of the Thaelmann trial that the wave of terror commencing with the Reichstag fire is necessary and legal.

Great Britain

Waging War on Fascism

By R. Bishop (London)

On **September 9** conclusive proof was offered, if proof was necessary, of the detestation in which fascism is held by the working class of **London**. One hundred and fifty thousand London workers turned out to demonstrate against a Blackshirt demonstration in Hyde Park. A very modest estimate, that of the Liberal "**Manchester Guardian**," computes that the fascists were outnumbered by twenty to one. And the same paper asks: "On what scale would the opposition have been had it had the whole force of organised labour behind it?"

Actually, of course, the mighty concourse in Hyde Park had to meet not only the opposition of the National government and its press, but also that of the reformist leadership of the **Labour Party** and **Trades Union Congress**, who issued a call to London workers to stay away from the Park and through its daily journal, the "**Daily Herald**," campaigned unceasingly towards this end.

The whole press, with the exception of the "Blackshirt," admits that the fascists were (in the words of the Anti-Fascist Committee's call to action) "drowned in a sea of organised working-class activity." Even the "Daily Mail" and other journals sympathetic to fascism, had to admit that the Blackshirt rally was a complete fiasco. The Labour "**Daily Herald**," however, preferred to concentrate on the weakness of the Blackshirt mobilisation rather than on the strength of the workers, and described the counter-demonstration as "a few hundred Communists." The fascists, they declared, were drowned in laughter, and they lyingly declared: "the organised workers obeyed the behest of their leaders and stayed away."

The "Blackshirt" did its best—a pitiful best—to represent the occasion as a great victory for their leader and announced that the next stage towards their conquest of Britain was to be another Albert Hall meeting. This is announced for **October 28**. The **Anti-Fascist Committee**, however, have secured the Albert Hall for **October 26**—two days earlier.

The Albert Hall is London's greatest meeting place. In 1918 the Albert Hall was the scene of a great working-class victory. Following a series of demonstrations there in celebration of the Russian Revolution, a meeting was arranged for early in December. Every ticket had been sold days beforehand, when, at the last minute, the manager informed the promoters of the meeting that the booking was cancelled.

An aristocratic Victory Ball had been arranged for a few days later. The electricians threatened that if the workers' meeting was threatened the light would have been cut off for the Victory Ball—and all of the Royal Borough of Kensington would be plunged into darkness. The London transport workers made it clear that they would help also. No trains would have stopped at the Underground stations serving the hall. No bus would have dropped passengers near it. No taxi-driver would have accepted fares for that destination. The tie-up would have been complete. Quickly the hall authorities capitulated. The workers' demonstration was held and was packed to overflowing.

Such a lesson in solidarity needs to be borne in mind now, when the official leaders of Labour are doing their utmost to break the solidarity of the anti-fascist front.

The Albert Hall has been granted to the Anti-Fascist Coordinating Committee and two days later to the Blackshirts. The earlier date will be the occasion for a mighty mobilisation of London's anti-fascist forces to carry the campaign a stage further than was reached on September 9. The latter date saw a huge mobilisation of working-class forces, gained by a combination of steady mass work and attention-drawing publicity devices.

Banned from official use of the air, the anti-fascists gate-crashed the British Broadcasting Corporation outside broadcasts from cinemas and restaurants, whilst from the roof of Broadcasting House itself and other public buildings flew flags announcing the counter-demonstration and rallying the masses to turn out. Widespread chalking and the dissemination of a million handbills ensured that all London knew of what was taking place. Close on a hundred trade union branches, several district committees of important unions, and the national executives of two unions,

broke through the ban of the reformists and officially supported the demonstration.

The campaign succeeded because it was taken right into the factories, right into the union branches and district committees, right into the heart of the working-class districts.

One of the most outstanding features of the occasion was the discipline displayed by the workers. Despite the presence of the entire London police force, it would have been impossible to stop the workers, who were straining at the leash, from driving the Blackshirts forcibly from the Park, had it not been for the way in which they responded to the leadership of the organisers of the counter-demonstration in a spirit of perfect working-class discipline.

The restraint shown by the workers was in striking contrast to the sadistic violence displayed by the Blackshirts at Olympia and wherever else they were in a position to do so.

By their action the workers gave their answer not alone to the Blackshirts, but also to the National government and the reformist leaders of the Labour movement. One of the most striking features of the mighty counter-demonstration was the manner in which the workers showed that they understood that the fascist menace comes not only from the exhibitionist Blackshirts, but from the staid and sober activities of the "democratically elected" National government. They showed that fascism will be fought whatever form it may take, or from whatever source it comes.

The workers by their actions rejected the treacherous counsels of the National Joint Committee of the Labour Party and the Trades Union Congress, which urged a free hand for Mosley.

As a result of September 9 the mass movement against fascism has gained in prestige and influence. No time is being lost in following up the advantages gained. Once more the Labour Party has been appealed to by the Communist Party to learn from the lessons of September 9 and to strengthen the fight against fascism by participating in the preparations for future action. The latest letter from the C.P.G.B. to the Labour Party says:—

"The response of the London workers to the anti-fascist demonstration in Hyde Park on September 9 has brought out more strikingly than ever before the tremendous desire of the workers for united action against fascism. This desire is in keeping with the attitude of the workers all over the country, which was also strongly indicated in the speeches of the rank and file delegates to the Trades Union Congress at Weymouth. . . . It is because of this situation and the splendid possibilities that are now opened for a further advance of the workers' fight against fascism and war that we now propose a joint meeting between representatives of the Communist Party and your organisation for the purpose of an exchange of opinion and discussion free from all restrictions on all questions relating to the united front."

The workers are anxious to fight against fascism. The anti-fascists are determined not to allow sectarianism to interfere with the widest development of the struggle, but all the indications are that the reformist leadership will still obstinately refuse to follow the lead set in France, Italy, and Austria, where the fight against fascism has led to the signing of united front agreements between the Social Democratic and Communist Parties.

In addition to their Albert Hall meeting, the Blackshirts are trying to rehabilitate themselves in the provinces. To this end they have taken Bellevue, Manchester's largest exhibition and fair-ground for a demonstration on September 29.

All the indications are that the Blackshirts will receive just as warm a reception from the Manchester workers as they got in London. Already a considerable trade union agitation is under way. The following resolution from the Ashton branch of the General and Municipal Workers' Union is typical of many that are being passed:—

"That this branch calls upon all trade union branches to support the demonstration against fascism to be held at the Bellevue Gardens on September 29, 1934."

Resolutions are pouring into the Manchester Trades Council from affiliated trade union branches calling on the Council to support the counter-demonstration. Similar resolutions from nine branches of the Amalgamated Engineering Union in the area have been received by the district committee of that union. The anti-fascist committee is carrying on a vigorous campaign in the working-class streets and at factory gates, everywhere meeting with an enthusiastic response from the workers. Not in Manchester alone,

but in the surrounding towns of Rochdale, Oldham, Bury, etc., the campaign is being waged, and big contingents of anti-fascist workers will march on to Bellevue to demonstrate against fascism.

The Blackshirt campaign has been in striking contrast to that of the workers. Wherever the fascists have shown themselves they have been literally hounded off the streets. Every attempt to hold a meeting has met vigorous resistance from the workers. Lavish expenditure on poster advertising and in the press, as well as considerable support from business circles, cannot counterbalance the fact that the whole of Manchester's working class is up in arms against the Blackshirts.

Once again the reformist Labour leaders are to the fore in attempting to secure Mosley a hearing. J. R. Clynes, ex-Cabinet Minister, has been the mouthpiece of reformist policy on this occasion. At a meeting he addressed in Manchester last week he adjured the workers to have nothing to do with the counter-demonstration. Needless to say, his remarks caused considerable resentment. Nothing the reformists can do will prevent Manchester from vying with London for the honour of most completely routing the Blackshirts.

What is happening in Lancashire and London is also happening all over the country. Not alone in the great industrial centres, but everywhere that workers are to be found, anti-fascist resentment is surging up. The lessons of Germany and Austria have not been lost upon the British working class, however much the reformist leadership may care to ignore them.

Austria

The Corporative Construction in the Factories

By Herbert (Vienna)

The law published on the 28th of June on the formation of works communities in the factories has not received the attention it deserves on account of the tense political situation. Actually it corresponds in significance—as Resch, for many years the Minister for Social Affairs, and the present Government Commissioner for all workers' accident insurance institutions, has correctly stated—with the German law for the regulation of national work, which it follows thoroughly in its main lines.

As Resch said, the new law is distinguished from the Factory Committee law by two main characteristics:—

(1) "The presumption made up to now that there always and in all circumstances exists a natural antagonism between the factory owner and those employed, is abandoned."

(2) "A further principle which is contained in the new law demands the greatest possible freeing of the individual factory from outside connections which are all too far-reaching."

How do these principles work out in practice?"

First of all, that the influence of the shop stewards ("trusted men"), who are to take the place of the factory committee from now on, is to be greatly limited. Control of the economic leadership and particularly of the wages policy of the individual undertaking, which in any case for years was only on paper, no longer obtains.

Secondly—and this is much more important—that the shop stewards can no longer adopt independent decisions, as the factory committee did previously. The right of making decisions is given to the works community, in which the employer sits, with a right of veto, side by side with the shop stewards. For—on the firm "democratic-authoritative" principle—the one vote of the employer counts as much as the votes of all the shop stewards put together. In these circumstances the function of the shop stewards is naturally extremely problematical, even if one were to assume that these shop stewards really represented the employees—which actually is not the case. It is naturally only a play on words when Resch puts forward the argument that the Austrian law is distinguished from the German because it does not recognise the idea of "factory leader." What is decisive is the condition that here, as there, the employer has the last word in all questions of rights of the workers and that at the most the shop stewards can make suggestions.

Thirdly, the shop stewards, above all, should serve for the "education and schooling of the workers." If this method of speech is translated from the language of the encyclica into common-or-garden talk, it means that the chief task of the works community is to represent the interest of the employer to the workmen. Here also the new law can be linked up with the "sound

tradition" of the free trade unions, for this task was to the forefront under the slogan of "economic democracy."

Finally, the law contains the prohibition of strikes, it is true not expressly but in a hidden form. If in the works community no resolution is taken, then the regulating of the strike question comes under the Conciliation Bureau: that is to say, an office corresponding to the German Trustees of labour, which is composed equally of employers and functionaries of the Unity Trade Unions (Fascist Unions) and in which the representative of the State has the casting vote. The decisions of the Conciliation Bureau are binding.

What has been said is enough to show the similarity between the law on works communities and the German law for the regulation of national work. But actually the Austrian law is even more hostile to the workers as far as this is in any way possible. For, whereas according to the German law the shop stewards are elected by the workers, this is not the case in Austria. Clerical-fascism has learnt from Hitler's defeat in the factory committee elections in the spring, quite apart from the general disinclination for elections on the part of Austrian fascism, be they ever such "arranged" sham elections. The law indeed provides for secret elections of the shop stewards, but only in the distant future, "when the working class is prepared for full co-operation with the new social order." For the moment—just as with the constitution—the "authoritative" transition provisions, which provide for the nomination of the shop stewards by the trade union which can recall them at any time, rank as law. Since—as Resch had sadly to admit—"it will take a considerable time yet before the shop stewards can be appointed in all factories," because the workers "infected by Marxism" up till now were so little interested in the Unity Trades Unions that in many cases the nomination of shop stewards was not possible, not to speak of co-operation between them and the workers, the law is to come into operation in individual factories only when they succeed in appointing such shop stewards. Until then the present situation in the factories remains as it was: i.e., in some factories the elected factory committees as far as they have not lost their mandate remain; in others, factory committees appointed by the trade union; and, finally, in a large number of factories no factory committees at all.

Works communities will encounter bitter opposition from the working class. If the gentlemen of the government and of the Patriotic Front want to get a picture of this opposition, then they should take a look back at their experiences in the organisation of the so-called Unity Trade Unions. The shop stewards ("trusted men") appointed by the government have been real "mistrusted men," who from the beginning found a wall erected against them in every factory. The Communist Party and the Central Committee for the building up of the Free Trade Unions call the workers to a tough, untiring fight against the formation of works communities and reject every attempt of the fascists to misuse real shop stewards, who have the workers of the factory behind them, as lackeys of the employer. The workers will rather elect their own shop stewards for each important demand and make them the spokesmen of their cause against "mistrusted men," employers, and government commissioners. The workers have not taken the bait of the unity trade unions, who promised them greater advantages for lower subscriptions, they will even less take the rope which the government and the employers are twisting for them. The revolutionary free trade unions, which reject every compromise with the fascist system, every "gleichschaltung," supported by the will of the workers in the factories, will raise the demand for freely elected shop stewards, in the place of the fascist shop stewards ("mistrusted men").

Preparations for Monster Meeting in Paris

Paris, September 14.

The French Release Committee has decided to organise a great release demonstration in October, in the largest meeting place in Paris, the Luna Park. This is to be carried out on the basis of the anti-fascist united front, with the aid of mass organisations, numbering over 30, affiliated to the Release Committee. The demonstration is to be addressed by leading French politicians and by a number of intellectuals of world-wide repute, who will speak on fascist justice, the Thaelmann scandal, and the demands of public opinion. Among the speakers will be one of the three delegates from the Saar who recently saw and spoke to Thaelmann in Berlin.

For the Unity of the Austrian Working Class (I)

By Herbert

The powerful inner movement which has been stirring the whole of the Austrian working class since the February fighting is characterised above all by the ever-increasing desire for unity. Many Schutzbuendler and social-democratic workers, who before the February revolt had been deceived by the lying statements of their leaders into believing that the Communists' call for unity was only a manoeuvre and did not emanate from a genuine desire for unity, came to recognise on the barricades who are the real splitters of the working class and who are really striving for unity.

Thus since the February days feeling in favour of a real united front has existed not only among those workers who immediately joined the Communists, but also among those who for the time being remained in the camp of the "revolutionary socialists" or built up their own illegal organisations in the Schutzbund, in the "Red Front," etc. Already during the May First campaign the "Red Front" became merged in the Communist Party and at the same time important organisations of the revolutionary socialists decided either to go over to or work in close co-operation with the Communist Party.

The Vienna Party Conference of the Communist Party, which was held in June last, decided to convene a unity Party Congress. A few days afterwards there appeared an Open Letter from the Central Committee of the C.P. calling upon the socialist workers to join the united front and establish working-class unity. The leaders of the revolutionary socialists and of the Schutzbund could now no longer disregard the insistent demand of the masses for unity. The leaders of the revolutionary socialists addressed a letter to *Friedrich Adler*, in which they demanded of the Second International that it should conclude a pact of non-aggression with the Third International "at least in the fascist countries." When Adler rejected this demand and at the same time adjured the workers not to enter into any agreement with the C.P., but to remain true to "the democratic labour movement of the West," the revolutionary socialists decided to enter into united front negotiations independently with the C.P. of Austria. At the end of June a conference of the Vienna Schutzbund was held in Bruenn, Czechoslovakia, at which the representatives of the Vienna Schutzbundler informed *Otto Bauer* and *Julius Deutsch*, who were present at the conference, that they had already set up the united front with the Communists without waiting for permission from Bruenn, and in addition were striving for organisational unity with the Communists.

Following on this declaration, negotiations took place in the course of July in the whole of Austria between the Communist Party and the organisations of revolutionary socialists and the Schutzbund, at which agreement on the setting up of a fighting alliance was achieved. It was further agreed to continue the efforts to create a united revolutionary party, which in our opinion can only be a Bolshevik mass party, and to discuss all questions connected therewith in a comradely manner. In the course of the practical common struggle it became apparent that the greater part of the Schutzbund desire the union of all revolutionary elements in a united Communist Party "according to the Russian model," and that the same development is taking place in the ranks of the revolutionary socialists. Thus in the working-class district of Florisdorf, in Vienna, out of 848 revolutionary socialists who were asked, 770 declared themselves in favour of immediately going over to the C.P. and only 78 against.

At the end of July the negotiations between the C.C. of the C.P. and the C.C. of the revolutionary socialists and the Committee of Action of the Schutzbund led to the formation of a central Committee of Action, whose first act was to issue a joint manifesto in connection with August 1. At the same time it was decided that such Committees of Action should be formed in every district and in every locality.

Parallel with these negotiations, negotiations for amalgamation were begun. These are still proceeding and there is every prospect of their being brought to a successful conclusion shortly, so that the approaching Party Congress of the C.P.A. will be a congress at which all revolutionary parties and groups will be united as proposed by the Vienna Party Congress of the C.P. in June.

Up to now we have spoken only of the activity of the Austrian leaders and of the rejection by the Second International of any agreement with the Communists. What was the attitude of the

Foreign Committee of the S.P. of Austria, headed by Otto Bauer? Bauer's tactics were as follows: Immediately after February 12 he refrained from any reference to the Communists whatever. He knew that if he were immediately to attack the Communists this would only result in a further widening of the breach between himself and his followers, and he therefore attempted to save by means of "self-criticism" what still remained to be saved. When, however, the desire of the Austrian workers for unity became ever stronger Otto Bauer tried to take part in the united front movement in order to be able to sabotage it more effectively. Whilst, on the one hand, he published an article on the "New Hainfeld" (the foundation Congress of the S.P. of Austria, at which the Radicals and the Moderates were merged into one party, was held at the end of 1888 in Hainfeld), on the other hand he prepared an article for the July number of the "Kampf" (the theoretical organ of the S.P. of Austria) full of vile abuse of the Third International and the Austrian Communists. Whilst, on the one hand, he declared that in Austria nothing separated the social democrats from Communists, he attempted, on the other hand, to make out that the actual question in dispute was whether the Austrian workers should belong to the Second or to the Third International.

And when, at the end of July, unity of action between the Communists, the revolutionary socialists and the Schutzbund was actually realised, and this on the basis of inexorable fight against the government, which, following the Nazi putsch, was seeking to get into contact with the "Lefts," what did Otto Bauer do? Whilst the Committee of Action of the Austrian workers declared that "to enter into any negotiations or any pact with the government, members of the same, intermediaries or with the leaders of the Nazi storm troops, meant helping the government," and instructed all organisations belonging to it to abstain from any such negotiations, Otto Bauer wrote an article in the August number of the "Kampf" in which he declared that it is incomparably harder for the government to come to an understanding with the working class to-day than it was before February—which means that Otto Bauer still considers such an understanding possible. At the same time Bauer, through an intermediary, commenced negotiations with Dr. Winter, the agent of Austrian fascism.

Otto Bauer's double-dealing will, however, help in no small measure to destroy the last illusions in the ranks of the militant social-democratic workers. It will help them to recognise that a party can be a revolutionary party only if it breaks with the reformists of all shades, when unanimity of opinion prevails in the party. Such a party can only be a united Communist Party. Otto Bauer's declaration of his readiness for an understanding between the working class and the government has been made at a very inopportune time for him, namely, at a time when the C.P. of Austria is making preparations for a Party Congress which will be marked by the rallying and uniting of all the revolutionary forces. He has thereby made the decision of the question of unity easier for every worker in Austria. The worker has only to ask himself whether he is for unity with the government or for unity with the real revolutionaries, with the Communists. The C.P. confidently leaves the question of unity in the hands of the Austrian working class, who have had the experience of the February fights and as a result are able to see through the confusing slogans of the reformist leaders. Unity will triumph, because it is being demanded by the masses more insistently every day.

Thaelmann Campaign in the Warsaw District

Warsaw, September 13.

A Thaelmann Committee has been formed in the town of **Lowicz**, and it has already held a number of meetings. Similar meetings have also been held in the villages around Lowicz. A meeting for peasant women was especially well attended. In the town of **Sochaczew**, a workers' meeting, at which Polish and Jewish workers were present, also elected a Thaelmann Committee. Another such Committee has been elected in the town of **Grojec**. In **Blonie** (a factory town in the immediate vicinity of Warsaw) a meeting was called for the formation of a Thaelmann Committee; 200 workers were present, and a Committee of 15 was elected. Four of the members of this Committee are members of the Youth Organisation of the Polish S.P., who are remaining in the Committee and taking part in the Thaelmann campaign, in spite of orders from their leaders to withdraw from it.

Fight for the Unity of the Labour Movement

For the United Front of the Proletariat in Poland

By J. Lenski

I.

The united front action which is being carried out with ever-increasing persistency by the Communist Party of Poland has at last begun to overcome the obstacles set up by the social-democratic leaders and the difficulties involved in the conditions of development of the revolutionary movement.

Both the international situation and the situation in Poland itself have created suitable conditions for the broad carrying out of united front tactics.

The bloody experiences of the German and the Austrian proletariat have had an effect on the working masses of Poland. The collapse of the Austrian social democracy, which was always lauded and held up as a model by the leaders of the Polish and socialist party and the "Bund," has made a particularly big impression. As a result of the bankruptcy not only of all the talk about the "democratic growth into socialism," but also of all attempts of the social democracy to live peaceably together with the fascist dictatorship, the united front with the Communists has gained more and more supporters in the ranks of these parties.

At the same time the capitalist offensive in Poland has assumed enormous dimensions. The government of **Pilsudski** and **Kozlovski** have announced their intention to liquidate the remnants of the social and political achievements of the working class, and in the first place to launch an attack on the trade unions. In this threatening situation it becomes urgently necessary to unite the forces of the proletariat.

Already eighteen months ago our Party declared itself ready to work together with any workers' organisation which wished to fight against capitalism. In the resolution adopted by our C.C. in June last it stated that:—

"Not only the economic but also the political fights must form the basis for the setting up of the united front of the masses,"

that the Party must resolutely go beyond the narrow limits within which its activity was formerly confined, that it must tear down the barriers between the social democratic and Communist workers and find the way to the social democratic organisations. In a word, a powerful united front movement must be created in the masses, in the reformist trade unions and in the ranks of the social democratic party.

All the proposals made by us hitherto relating to questions of vital importance to the working class have been rejected by the leaders of the Polish socialist party on various excuses. Every rejection was connected with manoeuvres in order to deceive the working class.

When, for example, the Central Commission of the trade unions rejected our proposal to organise with them a one-day general strike in February against the anti-working-class fascist laws, the Commission solemnly announced that they themselves would proclaim a general strike. This promise was never fulfilled.

The attitude of the leaders of the Polish socialist party to the united front action for the release of Comrade Thaelmann was provocative in its hypocrisy. The central organ of the Polish socialist party, the "Robotnik," met this action with a dirty, disgusting campaign of incitement against the consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union. In the reply which the Warsaw Committee of the Polish socialist party made to the Open Letter of our Party Committee, they counterposed to unity of action organisational unity under the banner of the Second International, and hypocritically declared that "there is no reason why Thaelmann's release should be specially demanded as there are thousands of rank and file workers pining in the underground torture chambers." It was in this sense that the Polish socialist party leaders sought to influence their organisations.

It was not until August 18 that the "Robotnik," under the pressure of the masses, condescended to make some general references to the expediency of joint action by the socialists and Com-

munists for the release of political prisoners, and mentioned that "the pact between the socialists and Communists in France could become a point of support and facilitate the work in other countries." It did not, however, draw any conclusions from this with regard to Poland.

For a long time the leaders of the Polish socialist party, taking advantage of the illegality of our Party, attempted to persuade their organisations that the Polish Communists rejected the non-aggression pact as a condition for an honest united front. When, however, it became impossible to use this argument any longer, a new condition was suddenly brought forward: There can be no talk of a united front so long as the Communists regard the policy of the Second International as a betrayal of the interests of the working class. Our answer was simple: We do not wish to hide from the workers for a moment that this policy was a policy of saving the capitalist system from the proletarian revolution, a policy of subordinating, not only the historical, but also the daily class interests of the proletariat to the interests of this system. For this reason we do not put forward as the immediate platform of the united front any political slogans relating to fundamental principles, but such slogans, demands and forms of struggle as are acceptable to all workers no matter to what party they may belong. We are convinced that in approaching you with concrete proposals for a united front we are expressing the will of the broadest masses of the workers. We desire, together with these masses, to destroy all obstacles which have been placed in the way of the united front. It is for you to decide whether you intend to continue to set up these obstacles.

Therefore, united front without engaging in mutual abuse. United front regardless of differences of political view, but at the same time without concealing these differences of view.

Our task—we tell the workers of the Polish socialist party and the "Bund"—is to achieve unity, anti-fascist mass action and the class unity of the trade union movement, as against the demagogic "unity" of the fascists, which fetters the trade unions to the fascist State apparatus.

II.

Examples of the united front in the proletarian lower organisations, in the sub-districts of the Polish socialist party and in the trade union organisations are becoming more and more frequent. Whole organisations of the socialist youth have entered into a united front with the Y.C.L. Thousands of workers in the Polish socialist party and the Bund, as well as hundreds of their functionaries, have voted for the Communist resolutions demanding the release of Thaelmann.

Our action against the concentration camps has met with strong support in the ranks of the Polish socialist party. The social democratic workers clearly realise that the concentration camps are a whip to be used against the workers, against all toilers who offer resistance to capitalism and fascism. To-day the government places Communists behind barbed wire. To-morrow it may be the turn of the workers in the Polish socialist party. They therefore see that they must fight to-day and not wait until to-morrow.

Our united front proposal for the defence of the trade unions threatened with incorporation has met with a big response among the masses. The proposal was accompanied by a declaration that the joint defence of the trade unions will lead to the class unity of the trade union movement, which our Party conceives as an organisational unity of the trade unions against capitalism and fascism on the basis of the class struggle and of inner trade union democracy.

Our Party attaches special importance to united front action against imperialist war, for the defence of the Soviet Union, which is immediately threatened by Japanese and German imperialism, the allies of Polish imperialism. It is the aim and endeavour of our Party that the defence of the Soviet Union shall be expressed in active support of the peace policy of the Soviet government by all workers' organisations. In the platform of the united front against war our Party includes the demand for the conclusion of the Eastern Pact and the annulment of the Polish-German Treaty, which contains secret military clauses.

Evidence from various sources goes to show that we are penetrating the organisations of the Polish socialist party and of the Bund with our initiative for the united front and that we have won the support of many sub-district committees. On the other

hand, we have not yet overcome the resistance and vacillations of the middle functionaries.

The setting up of the united front between the Communist and social democratic parties of France, Austria, and Italy is helping to overcome the sabotage of the socialist party leaders. The tenacious united front action of our Party is breaking down the Chinese wall between the Communist and social democratic functionaries.

By giving the necessary swing to our united front action our Party will prepare the way for the revolutionary unity of the proletariat. In this way the proletariat will also increase its influence over the masses of exploited peasants whom the government is endeavouring by means of empty promises to separate from the fighting workers. The united front will increase the role of the proletariat as the leader of the masses of peasants, of the oppressed nations, and of the impoverished middle classes in the fight against monopoly capital, fascism, and imperialism.

Who Prevents the United Front?

By D. V.

The sharpest and most effective weapon for the defence of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie was and is the disruption of the working class. To-day, as in the past, the social democratic parties and the Second International employ every means in order to increase and perpetuate the destruction of the unity of the working class so as to protect the ruling class from the united front which is growing in spite of every obstacle placed in its way. When brutal terror and demagoguery prove of no avail, the social-democratic defenders of the capitalists resort to forgeries, distortions and calumnies in order to maintain control over the masses and to continue the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie.

With this end in view the **Dutch social democracy**, together with the reformist trade unions, committed a forgery. In a leaflet addressed to the unemployed, issued on February 17, 1934, which, however, has only now reached us, they seek to put words into the mouth of a member of the Presidium of the Communist International, Comrade **Piatnitzky**, and impute to the words a meaning which makes it appear that the struggle of the Communists is a sham struggle, a mere play with words, empty phrases and a real sabotage of the unity of the working class.

The leaflet against the unity of the working class, entitled "Truth" No. 12, maintains that the Communist International instructed all its Sections to "destroy the unity of the working class wherever this is possible." In order to prove this assertion it quotes the speech of Comrade Piatnitzky, delivered at the Thirteenth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, from the "Rundschau" No. 7 of January, 1934, and states that Comrade Piatnitzky administered a rebuke to all Communist Parties which had undertaken serious attempts to establish the united front.

In this leaflet the Dutch social democracy come forward as defenders of the Communist Parties of **Norway**, **Czechoslovakia**, and **France**. They keep silent, however, with regard to **Holland**, because they realise that the Dutch workers have immediately before their eyes the struggle of the Dutch social democracy against the establishment of the united front, and therefore can better see through the lies regarding this sector of the class struggle than other sectors which are far off.

This forgery is perpetrated by the Dutch social democracy which has ceased every struggle against fascism, against the danger of war and for the defence of the interests of the workers. At its party congress at Easter, 1934, it rescinded its own decisions adopted at its congresses in 1928 and 1931 regarding the attitude of the social democracy in the event of war, and left it entirely in the hands of the government and of the trade unions to adopt such measures as they might see fit to meet an attack. This same social democracy stabbed the workers in the back in the big struggles of the Amsterdam unemployed against the robbery of unemployment benefit in July, 1934, incited the police against them and demanded the adoption of drastic measures against the workers. "**Het Volk**," the central organ of the Dutch social democracy, wrote on July 6, 1934, after numerous workers had been killed and wounded by the volleys fired by the police:—

"The unrest in the Jordaan district is the work of precocious youths; the leaders are mere lads, unemployed, driven to despair by poverty and led astray by a constant campaign of incitement. They do not know what they are doing. It is sad to have to record this. Behind these young men, however, who have the feeling that the world has no use for them, and this through no fault of their own, are the splitters of the labour movement, far in the background of course, behind the front, where they are in no danger of being hit by bullets."

In face of the indignation of the working masses, who are striving for unity, the Dutch social democracy was compelled to "yield." On July 9 it approached, naturally not the C.P. of Holland, which has always fought for the united front, but the yellow trade unions, in order to discuss the proclamation of a protest strike of the most important factories "in order to call a halt to reaction."

This Dutch social democracy, in its leaflet to the unemployed, distorts into their direct opposite the words of Comrade Piatnitzky regarding the united front. In regard to the Norwegian Communists Comrade Piatnitzky is made to say the following:—

"In reply to a statement made by Tranmael that, owing on March 18, 1933, that under the given circumstances there was no sense in discussing the question who is to blame for the disruption of the working class, the Communists or the social democrats.

"I think that not only conscious or unconscious agents of the Labour Party could 'agitate' against this party in such a way."

The leaflet then proceeds to state:—

"This means, therefore, that Communists who honestly wish to set up the united front are driven from the leadership."

We now quote the real text of the speech of Comrade Piatnitzky from No. 7 of "Rundschau" of January 20, 1934, to which the leaflet refers (see "International Press Correspondence," No. 15, page 368):—

"In reply to a statement made by Tranmael that, owing to the attacks of the Comintern on the policy of the Second International, a united working class is impossible, Comrade Kristiansen, secretary of the Communist Party of Norway, in a speech at a students' meeting held in Oslo on March 18, 1933, said that in the present situation it was no use discussing who was responsible for the split in the working class, the Communists or the social democrats.

In connection with the Liberal bourgeois minimum programme, which the Labour Party advanced as the programme for a social democratic government, the central organ of the Communist Party, in its issue of October 24, 1933, wrote:—

"Nearly half a million adult workers and small peasants stand for the proud slogans of social democracy. 'Forward to a free, socialist Norway!' 'The whole nation must set to work!' 'And we declare that our electors will fulfil their duty if it comes to fighting for the slogans.'"

I think that only conscious or unconscious agents of the Labour Party could "agitate" against the Labour Party in this way. The Presidium of the Plenum ought to appoint a commission to investigate the situation in the leadership of the Communist Party of Norway; but this does not mean that those comrades who formerly brought the Party to a state of isolation from the masses should be reinstated."

The Communist Party of Norway, by its attitude, which was condemned by Comrade Piatnitzky, unconditionally surrendered the weapon of criticism of the social democracy. The election policy proposed by the C.P. would have abolished the independence of the C.P. of Norway and delivered the masses into the hands of the social democracy. But the leaflet wants to make the workers believe that "Communists who honestly wish to set up the united front are driven from the leadership." Comrade Piatnitzky's statements show, however, that the united front cannot be brought about in this manner, and he indicates the mistakes which must be avoided in order to achieve a real united front of struggle, which would liberate

the Norwegian workers from the capitalist dictatorship and the influence of the Norwegian social democracy.

The falsifications contained in the leaflet issued by the Dutch social democracy also show how the Dutch social democrats and their comrades in the other countries conceive the "unity of the working class" for which they pretend to be fighting: a gag for the Communists, no criticism of the policy of coalition with the bourgeoisie, and unconditional joining of the front of the bourgeois State.

The leaflet further maintains that Comrade Piatnitzky "told off" the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in the following manner:—

"Whilst the social democrats and the reformists are conducting an excellent agitation among the workers in the factories for the actions of the social democratic ministers... the Communist trade unions are not agitating with the same persistency against the social democrats and the modern trade unions."

Regarding the rebuke administered on account of the united front we quote the following from the leaflet:—

"After the appeal of the Communist International the Central Committee of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia proposed to the two social democratic parties the setting up of the united front. The Communist Party committed the serious mistake in that in its appeal 'it did not expose the social democracy right from the beginning.' This means: the Communists ought to have sabotaged the united front right from the beginning. If they do not, they are told off."

The Dutch social democrats endeavour in this way to make it easier also for their Czechoslovakian colleagues to carry out their coalition policy with the Czechoslovakian finance and agrarian capitalists without being disturbed by the revolutionary workers and to slander the Communists as the saboteurs of the united front.

Whoever reads the actual text of Comrade Piatnitzky's speech will realise that the first "quotation" represents a criticism of the methods of agitation of the red trade unions of Czechoslovakia, which in effectiveness lag far behind that of the reformist trade unions: (see "International Press Correspondence, No. 15, page 369):—

"While the social democrats and the reformists skillfully carry on work with individual workers in the factories to induce them to support the social democratic measures of the government, the Red trade unions do not, with the same persistence, carry on agitation against the social democrats and reformist trade union bureaucrats, whose activities daily provide a wealth of new material for their exposure."

In another passage Comrade Piatnitzki points out a mistake committed by the C.P. of Czechoslovakia during its struggle for the united front (see "International Press Correspondence," No. 15, page 369):—

"After the Comintern had issued the appeal to form a united proletarian front (in March this year), the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia made a proposal to the two social democratic parties, to the Czech national socialists (the party of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Benes), and to the Czech socialists, to form a united front. In doing so, the Central Committee committed a very serious blunder in that it did not, from the very outset, in its invitation to these organisations, clearly and openly explain to the masses of the workers the reactionary role that social democracy and the national socialists were playing. As a consequence of this mistake, the face of the Party became still more blurred as the united front campaign developed, and it led finally to a very definite tendency on the part of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia to distort the policy of the united front into a bloc with social democracy."

Thus here, too, we have a criticism of the mistakes of the Communist Party which were calculated to deliver the revolutionary workers over to the social democratic defenders of Czechoslovakian capital and convert the unity in struggle into unconditional dependence upon social democracy—that social democracy whose German and Czech representatives are members of the Czechoslovakian government and are responsible for every measure of the bourgeoisie for suppressing the workers.

Only recently they decided to reduce the social insurance benefits in order to diminish the "social burdens" of employers.

The social democracy of Czechoslovakia consistently rejects the united front offers of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia. Its main slogan is "unity of the 'Left' camp, which must include all who are capable of loyal collaboration." Their united front programme is an economic programme providing for the acquisition of the sources of raw material and the main branches of industry by means of "purchase and reasonable indemnification of the proprietors." "Whether the Communists can be included in this 'Left' camp will be seen from the French experience (with the united front—D.V.)." ("Pravo Lidu," August 9, 1934.)

The mistakes of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia caused the Party to be in danger of a "united front" in this sense. Comrade Piatnitzki exposed these mistakes and thereby enabled the C.P. of Czechoslovakia to remedy them and better to organise the struggle for the united front.

And, finally, the third forgery of the leaflet: Because the French Communists honestly tried to establish the united front they received "blows in the face" from Moscow. As a proof, the following "literal" quotation is given:—

"The Central Committee of the C.P. of France committed serious opportunist mistakes at the end of 1932 and the beginning of 1933 in the carrying out of the united front. For three months the leaders of the C.P. of France were engaged in discussions with the socialist party regarding the forms of the united front. They accepted one condition after another submitted by the socialist party, even one pledging both parties to refrain from accusations and insults against the other party. By accepting this condition our Party agreed that 'the meetings must bear the character of mutual respect and discipline.' These discussions on the united front 'only ceased on the intervention of the E.C.C.I.'"

The leaflet then adds the following comment:—

"Thus it is seen that the French Communists received orders from Moscow that no united front may be brought about."

Let us glance at the actual quotation contained in "International Press Correspondence," No. 15, page 364:—

"The Central Committee of the Communist Party of France committed serious opportunist errors at the end of 1932 and the beginning of 1933 in carrying out the **united front**. For three months the leading body of the French Communist Party carried on negotiations with the socialist party concerning the terms of a debate that was to be organised on the question of unity generally. Accepting one after another the terms demanded by the socialist party, including 'the mutual obligation to abstain from accusations and insults,' an 'equal number of invitation tickets,' etc., they eventually came to an agreement that the 'meetings must bear the character of mutual respect and discipline.' These negotiations for the organisation of a debate on the 'scientific' significance of the unity of the working class were brought to an end only by the intervention of the E.C.C.I."

This is the actual text of the quotation. The "Truth" of Dutch social democracy believed it could bolster up its lame argument by omitting the following passage, which follows immediately after:—

"The mistake the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France made was not, of course, that it carried on negotiations with the central committee of the socialist party, although it is difficult to understand why they should negotiate with P.U.P.ists, renegades, and people who have been expelled from the Communist Party, who represent nobody. Their mistake was that they failed to carry on negotiations for the organisation of a united front of struggle between the Communist and socialist workers on definite questions and on a definite programme; instead, they discussed the organisation of a debate on questions concerning the united front. These negotiations were carried on in the following manner. . . ."

The authors of such forgeries attempt by such shady means to mislead the toilers. They calumniate the Communists as the enemies of the united front and maintain that they themselves

not only demand the establishment of the united front, but are fighting for the organisational unity of the working class and are therefore compelled to reject the united front proposals of the Communists. This is their latest device in the struggle against the united front. They conceal from the masses the fact that organisational unity cannot be brought about without unity of action in the struggle against the bourgeoisie.

The Communists do not conceal their aims and intentions. The Programme of the Communist International states that the united front is **the most effective means of successful struggle against the capitalists, a means of the mobilisation of the masses**. This struggle for the united front is at the same time **a means of exposing and isolating the reformist leaders**, because it shows the working class, which is interested in the establishment of the united front, how the reformist leaders are preventing the class mobilisation of the masses, the successful struggle against capital and the victory over the capitalists, and for this purpose do not stop at lies, calumnies, and distortion.

A real mobilisation of the working class can be achieved only on the basis of a **concrete political platform of class struggle**. It means real unity of action, the proletarian united front. According to social democracy, "unity of the working class" means unity with the bourgeoisie, the perpetuation of the fascist dictatorship.

The Communists propose unity of action for the struggle against misery, against war and fascism. The joint united actions of the masses will not only represent the first victorious skirmishes in the great class battle, but will prepare for the creation of the most important condition for the ultimate victory of the proletariat, the militant unity of the working class.

The C.P. of Czechoslovakia Offers to Conclude Anti-Fascist Pact with the Social Democracy

Prague, September 16.

The C.C. of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia has addressed a letter to the C.C. of the Social-Democratic Party which reads as follows:—

To the Central Committee of the German Social-Democratic Labour Party in the Czechoslovakian Republic, Prague.

We wish to approach you in the matter of the fight against Henlein fascism.

There is no doubt whatever that the fascist Henlein movement, taking advantage for demagogic purposes of the bad economic, political and national situation of the toiling masses in the German-speaking districts, has with its unbridled, chauvinist-fascist demagogy, won large masses of the middle classes, of the peasantry and also a part of the workers. It is quite clear to us that the Heimatfront, the successor of the swastika fascists, is an agency of Hitler fascism in the Czechoslovakian Republic, that it is the embodiment in Czechoslovakia of the "German Front," as it exists in the Saar district. It would be a serious crime against the working class to under-estimate this movement.

On "Defence Days" your party has marched together with the Henlein people. Apart from polemics in the papers and a few local cases your party has up to now not come forward against Henlein fascism. Your party bodies refused to take part in a counter-action on the occasion of the big parades of the Heimatfront in Schluckenau and Graupen. The "democratic" authorities are endeavouring to make it impossible for our Party to undertake any open and legal action against Henlein fascism. If this situation is allowed to continue it will mean, in view of the almost unrestricted freedom which the fascist Heimatfront enjoys under the "democratic" regime, that ever larger masses will be delivered over to the chauvinist-fascist demagogy of the Henlein front.

We regard it as absolutely and urgently necessary to offer determined resistance to Henlein fascism. This resistance can only consist in united and determined action against Henlein fascism by the working class. Our Party is making the greatest efforts to set up the united fighting front against Henlein fascism. Our endeavours, which are successful among the workers, are however, continually hampered by the fact that the higher bodies of your party reject united action against the agents of Hitler in Czechoslovakia, against the Henlein front. It is necessary in the interest of the successful fight against the fascist Heimatfront that this hindrance should be removed.

We therefore propose to you, after your having rejected united action in other questions, to set up the united front of the proletariat at least in the question of the fight against Henlein fascism, and for this purpose to conclude between your and our Party an **offensive pact against Henlein fascism**, similar to the pact concluded against fascism in the Saar district. This pact should contain the following points:—

(1) Mutual support and joint opposition to all actions, demonstrations, meetings, etc., of the fascist Heimat front. Three arrows and the sickle and hammer, side by side, to come into action against **Henlein fascism**.

(2) Carrying out of a joint, powerful anti-fascist action against Henlein fascism in the whole of the German-speaking district of Czechoslovakia (joint meetings, demonstrations, etc.).

(3) When joint actions are undertaken against Henlein fascism, mutual attacks between the Communists and the social-democratic party shall cease and the whole fire directed against Henlein fascism.

(4) Anybody violating the conditions of the pact or sabotaging the fight against Henlein fascism will be fought as a strike-breaker.

We are firmly convinced that such a non-aggression pact will be gladly welcomed by the social-democratic workers and that the united front of the proletariat against Henlein fascism can be set up on this basis. We are profoundly convinced that such a united front would deal an annihilating blow to the Nazi agents in Czechoslovakia, the fascist Heimat front, and speedily clear the Hitler agents out of the German districts.

We propose that the anti-fascist demonstration on October 7 in Karlsbad against the fascist Henlein parade, in which our Party will take part in any circumstances, shall be carried out on the basis of the conditions of the offensive pact proposed by us against Henlein fascism, in spite of the fact that your Karlsbad district committee has turned down the offer of joint action made by our comrades. We are firmly convinced that October 7 in Karlsbad will prove not only the possibility, but also the enormous advantage of unity of action against Henlein fascism.

We call upon you to consider our proposals and to let us know whether you are prepared to send your representative to a conference at which all the necessary details of the offensive pact against Henlein fascism can be settled. We propose that this conference shall take place not later than the 20th of this month.

With proletarian greetings,

Central Committee of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia.

Prague, September 12, 1934.

SEVEN GLASS WORKERS' ORGANISATIONS APPEAL FOR UNITED ACTION

Seven of the organisations of the glass workers in the Haida-Stein-Schoenau district (Red trade unions, German and Czech reformist trade unions) have set up a united front of action against wage cuts among the glass workers of their district. These organisations have sent fighting greetings to the glass workers of the Gablonz and Eisenbrod districts. The seven organisations signing the appeal call upon their fellow glass workers to set up unity of action also in their district.

The White Terror

Bulgaria, Hell of Hells

By Henri Barbusse

Bulgaria forms a dark spot even on the gloomy fascist and pro-fascist background of present-day Europe. A short time ago, when, as representative of a deputation bringing a protest, I called at the Bulgarian Embassy and the official who received me shouted indignantly because I compared the situation in Bulgaria with that of Hitler Germany, and said: "No, that is not the same thing!" I replied the only difference is that Bulgaria, being a smaller country, naturally has fewer victims. One cannot venture to say even this now. Since 1933 the industrious, honest, noble, but unfortunate Bulgarian people have been persecuted and oppressed more systematically and cruelly than any other people. The victims are, firstly, the Bulgarian revolutionaries, men and women of the type of **Dimitrov**, the indomitable Communist Party of Bulgaria, the pride of our epoch, and in addition all those who are not the agents and spokesmen of the government clique: the great majority of the people. The whole of Bulgaria is a concentration camp and a slaughter-house.

In the midst of the white terror which has been raging un-

interruptedly since the world war there are three periods marked by particular savagery: 1923, 1925, and 1934.

In 1923 Zankov seized power by a coup d'état. It is impossible to enumerate all the crimes committed on the orders of this blood-bespattered reactionary. He received permission from the Entente to increase the army by 10,000 men in order to wage war against the Bulgarian people. All revolutionaries, in fact all opponents of the fascist power, were hunted down, subjected to indescribable torture and foully murdered. Those who ventured to criticise the methods of the government were mutilated and slaughtered in the police prisons or murdered in broad daylight in the open streets by gangsters in the pay of the authorities.

These were the characteristic features of the rule of the hangman Zankov, who declared at an interview: "The Western Powers should be thankful to me. I have worked for international capitalism."

The number of victims of the white terror following the Cathedral explosion in Sofia amounted to or even exceeded 20,000.

The governments which followed that of Zankov were no better. The sham amnesty issued under the Ljaptchev government, like all manoeuvres of this kind, had as its chief object to set at liberty all actual criminals who had been imprisoned owing to accident or by bungling on the part of the authorities, and to entice the opponents of the government who had fled abroad back to Bulgaria, in order afterwards to put them out of the way.

Bulgaria was visited by a terrible economic crisis. Trade declined by 70 per cent., unemployment figures amounted to 300,000, a tremendous number for this small agrarian country. In the midst of all the oppression and misery one fact stood out: the Communist Party achieved considerable success at the election in 1931.

There followed a fresh period of intensified white terror. On May 19, 1934, there took place the "coup d'état of the colonels." Two military adventurers, **Weltschiew** and **Georgiev**, seized power. Weltschiew is the Bulgarian Hitler, but works only behind the scenes; Georgiev, the Minister for Justice and the Prime Minister, is the Bulgarian Goering, who appears in the limelight.

The **World Committee Against War and Fascism** (Amsterdam-Pleyel) sent **Gabriel Cudenet** to Bulgaria in order to investigate the revolting facts of wholesale imprisonment, torture, murder and sentences which had come to the knowledge of the public. Gabriel Cudenet, chairman of the French Radical Socialist Party, deputy chairman of the League for Human Rights, is a thoroughly honest man and at the same time a keen observer and gifted writer.

During the four days he was allowed to stay in Sofia he was able to carry out an investigation which only confirmed the revolting facts which had already aroused public opinion. Wholesale arrests (800 in one month), cruel torture in order to extract confessions and names from prisoners (which did not succeed in the case of the Bulgarian comrades), police expeditions accompanied by murders, monstrous trials in which the military prosecutor demanded and obtained countless death sentences.

This terror is directed not only against the Communists, whose heroic resistance has not been weakened, and against the workers' organisations, but also against all citizens who have still retained a love of liberty and sense of dignity or who venture to criticise Hitler.

However, there is no complete unity among the fascist rulers. There are fractions in the camp of the hangmen. Everybody is suspected by Weltschiew and Georgiev. They arrested Zankov and are having a watch kept on General **Volkov** for fear that this highly qualified butcher is not working solely for their benefit. They have withdrawn from King Boris, who has already helped so much to depopulate Bulgaria, the right to grant pardon, out of fear that he might acquire too advantageous a role for himself in the work of exterminating the people.

These crimes and abominations cannot be tolerated any longer. It is in the interest of the toilers and intellectuals of all parties and social strata to express their solidarity with the martyred people of Bulgaria. By defending this brave and inflexible advance-guard they are defending their own rights. Cries for help are being raised from every side, because the imperialist fascist front is being strengthened or set up on every side. A defeat on one sector of the international fighting front is a defeat or a victory for the world-embracing army of the exploited and oppressed.

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

Poetry, the Theory of Poetry and the Tasks of Poetic Creation in the Soviet Union

Speech Delivered to the All-Union Congress of Soviet Writers

By N. I. Bucharin

Our country is now going through a completely new phase in its development. On the basis of a tremendous and unparalleled growth of the productive forces, of technical reconstruction, of a rapid and successful reorganisation of economic relations, and of a tremendous increase in the labour activity of the masses, a great advance of culture in general is taking place. This process is expressing itself in many ways: The new proletarian intelligentsia is growing and consolidating itself on the fields of mental activity, from engineering to philosophy. A powerful framework is steadily rising from out the masses of our people. Groups of workers, the banner-bearers of our new culture are growing up in the villages. The whole mass of the toilers is being drawn into a powerful channel of new ideas, new tasks and new social standards. A tremendous number of new needs and new demands are rising. The horizon of our people is rapidly widening. The tasks of our movement are becoming increasingly difficult, increasingly complicated, and increasingly differentiated. The new socialist men and women are developing in an almost fantastically swift process of maturity, and all the problems of socialist construction, including the cultural problems also, are being raised to a new and much higher level.

At the same time the capitalist world is becoming pregnant with terrible catastrophes owing to the development of its own contradictions. The social barometer in the capitalist world is pointing to storm.

The moment for a general analysis has therefore come for literature, too. Our experience must be co-ordinated, our general direction clarified and the new tasks which arise from the historical position of the victorious proletariat and from the whole rhythm of this the most interesting epoch in the history of humanity, must be formulated.

(1) POETRY

The actual theme of my speech is the problems which arise in the work of poetic creation in the Soviet Union, but before I proceed to it it would be as well to examine critically a number of general questions of poetic creation in view of the many instances of unclarity on the point. This lack of clarity affects our literary criticism in particular. Our literary criticism plays a great role, but not always a constructive one.

First of all, poetry as such. It is quite clear that one must differentiate between particular characteristics of the language of poetry and the corresponding poetic thought, because thought is closely and indissolubly bound up with language.

The art of poetry is the fixing of emotional experience in words. As compared with science, poetry has a "warmer," temperamental, picturesque and metaphorical basis.

Poetic labour and its product poetry is a special form of social activity and, despite the specific nature of poetic creation, it is subject to the laws of social development.

As the fixing of emotional experience in words, poetry is the mediator in particular of the world of feelings. However, these feelings and these experiences are the feelings and experiences of historic-social human beings and in a class society of class members. Poetry is a social product, one of the functions of concrete, historic society, and it reflects in its own form the special characteristics of the age and, where it is produced in class society, of its class.

The objective and active significance of the social function of poetry consists, speaking generally, in the reproduction of the experience and education of character, in the reproduction of certain group psychologies.

(2) POETICS AS THE TECHNOLOGY OF POETRY

Generally speaking, the most burning problem is considered to be that of content and form. I am of the opinion that the thesis of the unity of content and form is absolutely correct. But it is generally assumed—and that is an anti-dialectical error—that this unity presupposes the contradiction, the antagonism. Literary science must interpret the laws of literature as a whole, as a social function, as a peculiar "superstructure," and it must include the question of form in its interpretations.

Formalism in theory is closely allied to formalism in art. The chief error of this formalism is that art is separated from the complex of living society. The analysis of form is useful and necessary, but the formalists regard it as the be all and end all.

This question is one of particular urgency and importance at the moment, as we are faced once again and in all seriousness with the problem of the cultural heritage in general and with the problem of mastering the technique of art in particular.

How can we learn from the old masters, from the classics and their predecessors? The general answer to this question is given by materialistic dialectic, according to which the "negation" is not a simple process of destruction, but a new phase in which, to speak with Hegel, "the old exists in a raised form." In this type of "movement" a "succession" is possible which dialectically represents both a breach with the past and its peculiar perpetuation. The truth is that a whole series of factors begin to lead a new life in other relations and in another framework, so that an "all-unity" is maintained.

(3) THE CHANGE

I shall now deal with the question of poetic creation in our country.

I shall mention three of the prominent "old" poets who came in some way or the other in contact with the revolution: Blok, Yessenin, and Briussov. Two further poets appeared under quite different preliminary conditions and exercised a tremendous influence on the development of our poetry: Demian Biedni and Vladimir Mayakovski.

Demian Biedni is a real proletarian poet. The chief principle of his poetic labours is to write for the masses, to write popularly in the true sense, and to influence millions. In this respect he takes up an exclusive position in the history of Soviet poetry. His language is a powerful language spoken by millions. It is a flowing and gripping language which has its roots in folklore. Compared with the so-called literary language his language is, if you like, primitive, but it is a healthy and relative primitivism which finds its expression in Demian Biedni's poetry. The poetry of Demian Biedni is the living refutation of the prejudice against "tendencious poetry" which was once very widespread.

At the same time, a critical remark must be made, and in all probability it will produce a further critical remark from my friend Demian Biedni. The remark is that in my opinion he is not taking into consideration in his work all the changes which are taking place, the tremendous growth of culture and its rich content. It is true that he chooses new subjects, but otherwise everything remains the same. He is therefore getting old in his style, and that is the obvious danger for him.

The other great figure in our poetry is Vladimir Mayakovski. This very talented man, with the voice of thunder, worked his way through to the proletariat from petty-bourgeois circles. In the stormy days of the revolution Mayakovski appeared as the voice in the street. The poetry of Mayakovski is deep reality. He gave Soviet poetry so much that he has already become a Soviet "classic." He "lives on" in almost all our young poets.

(4) THE CONTEMPORARIES

The development of Soviet poetry has already brought forward much that can be considered as a great achievement of the epoch. In the capitalist world we see a strained and unhealthy eroticism, a pessimistic isolation and cynicism, or the vulgarity of the "racial" poets of the Horst Wessel type. In our country, on the other hand, we see the development of a courageous, optimistic and joyous poetry in harmony with the victorious advance of the millions and reflecting the tremendous achievements in the struggle for the building up of a new world. Our Soviet poetry already has its heroes and its subjects. It has already become the ideological reflex of the new world which is advancing to ever more definite forms of socialist culture.

Under the influence of Mayakovski a whole school of "Komsomol poets" arose. Amongst them were some really talented men: for instance, Boris Pasternak, N. Tichonov, I. Selvinski, and N. Asseiev.

Boris Pasternak made the breach with the old world during the imperialist war. He is the embodiment of the master of his craft, conscious of his aims, but withdrawn into himself and working zealously and with perseverance at his form. Pasternak is original, and that is his strength, for he avoids any sort of routine, but it is also his weakness, for this originality develops into an egocentrism, and his poems tend to be unintelligible as a result of their great subjectivity and their excessive fineness.

In a certain sense **Selvinski** is his antithesis. **Tichonov** is particularly interesting as a result of the fact that he has extended the circle of his subjects, and uses Caucasian, Central Asiatic and other motives. **Asseiev** is the most "orthodox" pupil of Mayakovski. He is a very topical "poet-agitator" and a man of great poetic culture. However, his undeniable talent is adversely affected by his theoretical direction. He fails to observe that Mayakovski is no longer sufficient to satisfy us, and that the "Agitka" is now much too elementary a form of poetry and that the age now demands monumental works of poetry.

Soviet poetry is by no means exhausted with poetry in **Russian**.

Poetry in the non-Russian tongues in our country is no longer a dependant of Russian Soviet poetry. It is a very great and independent force, a noteworthy part of the general poetry of the Soviet Union. It is one by the unity of its direction. It is socialist in content and national in form.

But is not that poetic material which is now contained in the treasury of our poetry not pale and poverty-stricken in comparison with the gigantic content of our life? Have we succeeded in representing even to a small degree the great collapse of the old world of culture in the orient and in the occident? Have our poets mastered sufficiently the great heritage which has been left to them by the great poets of all ages and all peoples as the victorious proletariat demands of them? No, and again no!

Our poetry must be brought to understand the whole significance of our epoch. "The niveau of poetic consciousness must be raised systematically."

(5) THE LEVEL OF POETIC CREATION IN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE TASKS OF POETRY

When we regard the level of our poetry we must confess that we are still very backward, that we have taken only the first few steps along the world historic path of the new poetic culture. In comparison with the gigantic content of life, the content of our poetry is pale. Our poetry has not yet raised itself to the level of understanding the whole significance of our epoch.

And here we arrive at another question: the question of the multiplicity and unity of poetic material.

Once when dealing caustically with bourgeois political economy **Marx** wrote that it was "a highly moral science" and that its real ideal was "the ascetic but usurious miser and the ascetic but productive slave." In a biting characteristic of the hypocrisy of bourgeois economic teachings, **Marx** wrote: "Abstinence, the renunciation of worldly pleasures and of all human desires. The less you eat and drink, the fewer books you buy, the less you go to the theatre, to the ball or to the public house, the less you think, love, theorise, sing, paint, fence, etc., and the more you save, the greater will become the treasure that neither moths nor rust shall corrupt, your **capital**."

These searing remarks throw a light on the positive opinions of **Marx**. **Marxian Communism** has as its aim the illimitable and multifarious development of human desires. It wants a full and

all-round development of all the potentialities of man, and not a poverty-stricken, one-sided mutilation of man in this or that direction.

Love, theoretise, paint, think and fence—**Marx** certainly did not place these non-comparable things side by side without deliberate intention. All these things are no "sin," but thoroughly excellent functions in the life of man for whom labour is the "first" function. This is the direction in which we are now going. We have tremendous difficulties to overcome and we have to fight every inch of our way, but we are going forward. And from this follows the compelling conclusion: **The material of poetic creation must be in accordance with the multiplicity of our great epoch and all its contradictions.** Unity must be obtained from the standpoint from which the material is used and not by the unification itself. This standpoint is the standpoint of the victorious struggle of the proletariat.

If we need a multiplicity of poetic material, it is not difficult to see that as a result of the alliance of form and content a multiplicity of poetic form is necessary also.

The rhythm of an elegy and rhythm of a soldier's song cannot be the same, because the resonant aspect of the figure is at the same time its emotional content aspect. But if we admit the great multiplicity of poetic material and consider it desirable, and, as a consequence, also the greatest possible multiplicity of poetic form, what is in this case the unifying factor of form? If there is really a unity of form and content, then the unity of the material (the multiple unity) must be in accordance with the **unity of form** (the multiple unity). The answer to this question is: The unity of this multiplicity will be obtained by the unity of style or the unity of method.

The forms of poetic creation must be its most multifarious forms which are made into a unity by a uniform great style or by the method of socialist realism.

I shall devote the last part of my speech to the question of **socialist realism**. Dialectical materialism is the philosophical basis of socialist realism. Socialist realism is that special method in art which is in accordance with dialectical materialism. It is the transference of dialectical materialism into the world of **art**.

What is the difference between socialist realism and simple realism? Above all the difference is in the material of art. We have had many opportunities of showing that the unity of form and content does not exclude its antithesis. **Tretiakovski** has said: "In literature in general two things must be noted. First of all, the material or the work which **Pythia** wishes to write, and, secondly, the versification, that is the method of composing the verse."

Socialist realism differs from simple realism in that it always places in the centre of attention the representation of socialist construction, the proletarian struggle, the new socialist men and women, and all the often complicated "relations and intermediaries" of the great historic process of our day.

Is this the only difference? Or has socialist realism any special methodological and consequently also style peculiarities which differentiate it from bourgeois realism? Naturally there are also such factors. These factors are closely connected with the content of the material and the conscious aim of its authors, which is dictated by the class position of the proletariat. With the development of socialist society the difference between physical and mental labour will gradually disappear. A new type of human being will develop in whom intellect is no longer apart from will. He really recognises the world in order to change it. Contemplation of the object, simple representation of the object without any attempt to show the tendency of movement, without any attitude towards the practical alteration of the material world, will gradually disappear into the past.

In this connection the question of **revolutionary romanticism** arises. If socialist realism is characterised by its activity and by its effect, if it does not give merely a dry photo of the process before it, but rather the whole world of passion and struggle projected into the future, if it sets the heroic beginning on the throne of history, then revolutionary romanticism is a part of it. Romanticism is usually placed in antithesis to realism, because in the majority of cases romanticism was connected with an idealistic hovering in metaphysical dimensions and "other worlds," because the agitated feelings straining for "the elevated and the beautiful" went beyond the bounds of the material world.

This happened also because apart from that, realism made

use of a narrow and contemplative language and found its expression in so-called "objectivism." It was narrow because it did not reveal the tendencies leading into the future. It was contemplative because it confined itself to pointing out the already existing, although not in its "pure form." In our situation romanticism is connected with **heroism**; not with a metaphysical heaven, but with a material earth. Our romanticism is concentrated on victory, victory over the enemy and victory over nature. And, further, socialist realism is not the simple recording of the already existing, but as it lays bare the tendencies of development in the present it leads into the future, and it leads actively. For this reason it is senseless to create an antithesis between social realism and romanticism.

To a certain degree the old realism was anti-lyrical, whilst the old lyric form was to a certain degree anti-realistic. Socialist realism can take its alignment from humanity only. In the last resort socialism is the development of new human qualities, the enrichment of the ideological content, the development of the multiplicity of humanity and the abolition of the poverty of humanity divided into classes, into narrow occupational categories, and into urban and rural dwellers. The whole world of feelings of these developing new human beings, including the "new eroticism," if one may call it that, is the field of socialist art. The lyric form is not in conflict with socialist realism, because it is not an anti-realistic lyric which seeks the metaphysical world beyond our own, but the poetic representation of the ideological movement of the developing socialist human beings. **And socialist realism is not anti-lyrical.**

And here a related problem may be put: Socialist realism is not anti-lyrical, but it is anti-individualist. This does not mean that it gives no play to personality and does not permit it to develop. Socialism means the real flowering of personality, the enrichment of its content, and the intensification of its consciousness as a personality. However, the development of individuality which is furthered here is not the development of individualism, or, in other words, the development of that which separates man from man. On the contrary, the feeling of collective interdependence which is one of the characteristics of socialism and the effort to give it a poetic form will undoubtedly express itself in stylistic peculiarities in socialist realism. **Social realism is therefore anti-individualist.**

This type of poetic work which reflects the epoch in its most general and universal form by embodying it in its own concrete and abstract representations, representations which are both as universal as possible and with the greatest richness of content, does contradict the old realism in the usual sense of the word. This is also the case, for instance, with Goethe's "Faust." In form it is certainly not the representation of a concrete historical process, but rather of the struggles of the human spirit. At the same time, however, "Faust" is a philosophic-poetic conception of the developing bourgeois epoch. In my opinion a work like "Faust" with a different content, and in consequence also a different form, but maintaining the greatest possible degree of universality, would undoubtedly belong to the category of socialist realism which represents the most monumental form of the poetic creation of socialism.

These are the chief characteristics of socialist realism in its fundamental principles. From this we draw the conclusion that socialist realism is the method of poetic creation and the style of socialist poetry to represent the real world and the world of human feelings—a style which differs from that of bourgeois realism, both in the content of the subject poetically treated and also in the special peculiarities of the style.

We have seen that the development of our poetry pre-supposes a tremendous increase in our poetic culture in general. It must be admitted quite frankly that occasionally, and particularly with those who are ideologically nearest to us, our poetry is primitive. However, it is just the richness of the associations and feelings, of thoughts and ideas which are conjured up by a work, which is a sign of its importance. When we compare the work of many of our poets with the work of **Verhaeren**, we observe how many ideas, even philosophic ideas, are present in his work, how many problems, comparisons, and pictures, and how much culture his work possesses. In our country a rhymed slogan is very often taken as poetry. One can appeal to **Mayakovski** here, but the stamp of time has set its mark upon him also, for our life has become far more complicated and we must advance with it. **Culture, culture and again culture! It is high time to make an**

end of the Bohemianism and slothfulness in our midst. It is time to remember that really great masters of their art, even men like our own genius, Puschkin, "Iight-hearted and careless," were hard workers and knew much, that they stood at the pinnacle of contemporary culture. It would be foolish to demand that all poets should be academic philosophers and critics. It is not by accident that one man becomes a philosopher and another a poet. The latest work of the member of our academy, **Professor Pavlov**, explains the physiological side of this phenomenon. However, this does not mean that we need abandon our demand for an advance along the whole line of the general culture of our poets and of their poetic culture. We must not remain stationary at our present level. Those who are anxious to create in fact "a **Magnitostroi of literature**," those who are equipped with a comprehending attitude towards art, must do everything possible to make themselves the possessors of all the treasures of world culture.

Audacity is our slogan, comrades, now.

The Ural in the Stream of Socialism

(2) THE GIGANTIC TRACTOR WORKS "STALIN" INCREASE THEIR TEMPO

By A. Komyat

Chelyabinsk, Beginning of July.

The metallurgic giant of the Ural, Magnitogorsk, has been named the socialist city. But it is not the only socialist city of the Ural district. A superficial glance might give one the impression that in Magnitogorsk there are only the beginnings of a socialist city. The streets of Magnitogorsk are still uneven, they are not yet macadamised; very few parks have been completed as yet, heaps of rubbish still lie about everywhere, and in some places the fresh plaster is falling from houses which have had to be built in all haste. In Magnitogorsk everything still shows signs of the *tremendous efforts* being made to build up a new world from "nothing" (this "nothing" is, however, in reality a very tangible actuality: Communist Party, Soviet power, socialist economic order, immeasurable natural wealth of the country).

Things are different in Chelyabinsk, where the technically, architecturally, and hygienically perfect factory building and workers' dwelling houses of the caterpillar tractor works "Stalin" stand out against the sky. Chelyabinsk shows what Magnitogorsk will be in the future. In new Chelyabinsk socialism is revealed to the observer even if he is not capable of penetrating to socialist essentials; here socialist content and socialist form are in much closer accord. Here order already reigns, in spite of the feverish pace of the work. Here the workers' dwelling houses are magnificent buildings; dirt and rubbish have been cleared away, the broad tarred streets enable traffic to be efficiently organised, factory buildings and blocks of flats are surrounded by flower beds. Here almost everything has already been furnished to enable the 60,000 working men and women and the children of this second socialist city to live happy, carefree lives.

And yet Chelyabinsk, no less than Magnitogorsk, has a history which is a heroic epic of emancipated labour, of the creative forces and the efforts of the toiling masses of the Soviet Union. Work was commenced in 1931, and a few months later the mighty workshops of the iron and steel foundries sprang out of the ground; the smithies, the tool department, the mechanical and fitting workshops, the laboratory. In burning heat and in intense cold the work has gone on. A worker from the steel foundry told me:

"American experts, engineers, and technicians, whose advice we sought, designated it as pure madness to build concrete walls when the thermometer showed 30 to 40 degrees of frost, to rivet the traverses, to put in panes of roofing glass at dizzy heights, to erect machinery. But we managed it all, for our enthusiasm for the work, our determination to complete the work, to build up *our factory*, bearing the name of our beloved leader Stalin, in record time, was boundless.

These words contain the whole "secret" of the victories of socialist construction.

Here, as in Magnitogorsk, there have been enormous difficulties to overcome. One advantage, as compared with Magnitogorsk, was that the workers could be given temporary accommodation in the old town of Chelyabinsk, so that the dwelling houses for the incoming workers did not need to be built with such haste. A second advantage was that the experience already gained in other factories, especially in the Stalingrad tractor works, could be

made use of here. The organisational errors committed in Stalin-grad could be avoided. But here, too, the progress of the work depended to a great extent on the punctual arrival of machinery from abroad.

Above all: the question of cadres of skilled workers was an urgent one. Here, too, the first necessity was to convert unskilled into skilled labour. Here, too, something which capitalism has taken whole generations to accomplish had to be accomplished within a few years.

Has this problem been solved in Chelyabinsk? Yes, it has been solved, or is approaching solution. "Facts are hard things." By the middle of 1933 the first caterpillar tractor emerged from the fitting workshop. The curve of the performance of the undertaking shot rapidly upwards. In June, 1933, only 40 tractors were turned out; but by June, 1934, the workers of the "Stalin" works turned out the same quantity in one single day (37 to 38 tractors)! By the end of 1934 over 10,000 tractors will have left the works.

The workers of the "Stalin" works are, however, still not satisfied with this performance.

A great banner hangs in the fitting shop, with the inscription: "The fields of the collective farms are waiting for new tractors. The 'Stalin' tractor works must increase their speed." The Plan envisages a final goal of 40,000 tractors, this output to be attained in well-calculated stages, in order that each step of the way may be firmly secured by means of increased numbers of cadres of thoroughly trained workers.

The working enthusiasm of the Chelyabinsk workers is fabulous, their hunger for higher technical knowledge unbounded. A few examples suffice:—

A worker named *Jessin* is employed in the works. He is 33 years of age, and has been awarded the Lenin Order for his exemplary work. At the time when he commenced working here he was a simple and ignorant peasant. But did he feel himself lost in this labyrinth of machinery? Not at all. By means of practical work he gained his first technical knowledge, and extended this theoretically by incredible diligence and perseverance at the evening courses of technical instruction. It was not long before his American foreman could teach him nothing more. *Jessin* has invented things, and they have proved useful. *Jessin* has thought out methods of increasing output; and though his foreman has designated them as impossible, they have proved possible. To-day his department needs no American foreman.

Another example: The worker *Krilov*, 24 years of age, has beaten the records of the smithy workshop almost daily. He increased the prescribed norm to 80, to 90, and then to 100. To beat this record appeared impossible. A few days ago a conference took place among the old cadres of the works. *Krilov* rose and declared: "I make the conference a present. I am going to try to increase the norm to 120." And he accomplished it! To-day *Krilov* is the head of a whole department.

A final instance: The engineer *Churkin*, of peasant parentage. In 1914 he was working as an apprentice in a Tula factory. From 1921 to 1925 he extended his knowledge by means of evening classes in technical subjects, and then graduated from the Leningrad Polytechnical College. To-day *Churkin* is one of the best engineers of the "Stalin" works.

The proletarian revolution has brought what was at the "bottom" to the "top." It has cleared the path for all the talents and abilities of the working class.

There are innumerable such heroes of work, such *Jessins*, *Krilovs*, and *Churkins*, known and unknown, visible and invisible, in the Soviet Union, in Chelyabinsk. They are not isolated cases, but typical of the new socialist human being, moulded in the fires of the Soviet economy of to-day. They are the rich harvest of a planned cadre policy, which is penetrating into the great masses of the toilers, thanks to its helpers in the Communist Party, the Y.C.L., the Pioneers and October Children in the factories, the trade unions, and other mass organisations. This cadre policy is served in Chelyabinsk by two great elementary and secondary schools, a factory school, a factory technical college, a number of other schools for improving technical knowledge, a Communist cadre university, a school for training trade union functionaries. This cadre policy is further promoted by extensive propaganda and agitation, by long columns in the newspapers every day. Praise and blame are accorded publicly in the interests of the cadre policy.

A number of the printed factory paper of the Stalin Works, "Our Tractor," lies before me. The first page of this number

(No. 142) contains three announcements in thick type, highly characteristic of the methods employed here—and elsewhere in the Soviet Union—in order to improve the quality of work and to increase labour productivity. I give these announcements as they stand:—

I.

Three hundred and fifty-eight workers from the fitting shop have passed the examination for minimum technical knowledge: 68 per cent. have passed with first and second honours, 32 per cent. passed. The Y.C.L. group of the motor fitting shop occupy the leading place, 23 of the young workers, including 18 members of the Y.C.L., passed with distinction.

As a result of these tests the quality of work has improved, and there is less waste and fewer breakdowns of machinery. But all groups have not prepared themselves as efficiently for the technical examination. In places where the Youth organisation has not carried on mass work among the young people with regard to technical propaganda there is still much waste and no fight is being carried on against it.

II.

The Y.C.L. has not yet mobilised its cadres for factory and social work—so states the report of the foreman of the fourth row of machines, *Basov*.

Not all the members of the Y.C.L. have grasped what role they must play in leading the non-party masses.

In our row a member of the Y.C.L., *Perfilieva*, has exceeded the norm, reaching 125 and 150 per cent. She has mastered the technics of the milling cutter and revolver lathe. Comrade *Perfilieva* has taken an active part in social work as a trade union organiser. It would be good if she would pass on her experience to the other comrades.

The Y.C.L. member *Sokolov* has fulfilled the Plan for his work by 200 per cent. *Sokolov* knows his technical work thoroughly, and is an energetic social worker.

III.

Record of Socialist Competition

Up to the Mark:

(1) Party organiser of the foundry: *Kolessnikov*.

(2) Party organiser of the tool shop: *Pavlyutshenko*.

Lagging Behind:

Party organiser of the smithy workshop: *Gusev*.

I can already hear the hypocritical shrieks of trade union bosses abroad, who have spent their whole lives in betraying and speeding-up of the workers: "But this is coercion, this is speeding-up!" But no, gentlemen! This is the ethics of work among the ruling proletariat, this is voluntary work, self-training in collective socialist work, the self-criticism of the strong and invincible. And all this would not be possible if the workers of the Soviet Union were not themselves convinced that the cause for which they work is their cause, that they are working for their factory and their socialist fatherland. It would not be possible if the workers did not know that every quantitative and qualitative improvement in their performance improves their own material and cultural conditions—and not the contrary as in the capitalist countries—and brings them nearer to general prosperity.

"Facts are hard things"! These buildings and these institutions for the physical and intellectual welfare of the Chelyabinsk workers actually exist. The mile-long front of new workers' dwellings houses; the magnificent Park for Culture and Recreation, with its sports grounds, its baths, its rest home; the theatres, clubs, and libraries; the great factory kitchens, where 25,000 dinners are served daily to the workers in clean and inviting dining rooms. All these are as much a reality as are the slums in the capitalist countries, the "labour" exchanges unable to give work, the crowded workshops.

The proletarian revolution has done away with the historical antagonism between town and country. The Stalin Works, fighting in the foremost ranks of industrialisation, are establishing ever closer contact with the second great division of socialist economy: collective agriculture. The Stalin Works have taken over the patronage of a large number of agricultural undertakings. They are giving every possible help to a number of machine and tractor stations, Soviet and collective farms, etc. They send the collective farmers tractors, horses, textile goods, articles of general use. They send delegations to the rural districts; agitation brigades, Party organisers, leaders for the organisation of children's creches, voluntary helpers for social work in the rural dis-

tracts. The Stalin Works have put into actual practice the slogan: "Every factory its own food basis!" They possess four gigantic agricultural undertakings working for the Stalin Works alone.

And at the apex and at the base of this mighty organisation, of this marvellous socialist pyramid, there stand the members of the C.P.S.U., of the Leninist Young Communist League, the 7,300 tried and tested shock brigaders, ready for any sacrifice, setting an example and spurring on the others to increased effort.

The Week in the Soviet Union

Mendelyev-Jubilee Congress

On the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of the birthday of the greatest Russian chemist, D. I. Mendelyev, the Academy of Science in Leningrad organised a Congress which was attended by scientists, engineers and chemists from all parts of the Soviet Union and numerous foreign experts.

The Congress dealt with the discoveries and theories of Mendelyev, which resulted in a great revolution in chemistry and laid the foundation for modern chemical science. The Soviet Union is greatly indebted to the great savant, the more so as the dreams of Mendelyev, which could not be realised in tsarist Russia, are now being fulfilled. Mendelyev, who set up the "periodic table" of the elements and thereby became a pioneer in the field of modern chemical science, dreamed his whole life of a fundamental combination of theory and practice, of the establishment of a large industry, of the industrialisation of agriculture, of the exploration of the arctic region and the stratosphere. In the Soviet Union to-day these dreams are being realised.

The Congress heard a number of reports given by foreign and Soviet scientists. The German professor, L. Meitner, delivered a lecture on the "Nucleus of the atom and the periodic system"; the Soviet scientist, S.S. Nametkin, delivered a lecture on Mendelyev's work in the sphere of naphtha research and the naphtha industry. The director of the Lomonosov Institute of the Academy, Prof. Fersman, showed in his lecture, "Mendelyev's periodic law in geo-chemistry," that Mendelyev's periodic law in connection with the new discoveries of the physicists Rutherford, Bohr, and Geisenberg form the basis of the further development of geo-chemistry. Professor Chenyayev spoke on "The chemistry of the inner spheres of complex alloys," etc. Professor Fersman concluded the Congress by summing up its results and stating that it had become a factor uniting the foreign and Soviet scientists and a factor furthering the development of modern chemistry. He pointed to the growth of the chemical industry and scientific research activity in the Soviet Union and to the duty to continue on the path indicated by Mendelyev.

Discovery of Fresh Mineral Wealth

The prospectors' group of the trust for the procurement of rare metals discovered rich arsenic ore in Utch-Imtchak (Kirgisia). The work for the extraction of arsenic will commence next year. Rich arsenic ore was also discovered in the district of Arivan-Burinsk. Wolfram ore has been discovered in Kara-Kumy.

Light Industry in August

Although the monthly plan was not fulfilled in all branches of industry, light industry in general increased its production, especially towards the end of August. The cotton industry supplied in August 15,969 tons of spun cotton (110.5 per cent. of the plan), 11,892,000 metres of raw cotton (90.3 per cent.), and 91,728,000 metres of finished cotton material (95.2 per cent.). The wool industry supplied 3,519 tons of spun wool (99.7 per cent.), 6,514,000 metres raw wool (100.3 per cent.), and 5,827,000 metres finished woollen cloth (97.2 per cent.). The output of the hosiery industry in August was 43.1 per cent. higher in regard to stockings and 55 per cent. higher in regard to underwear than in August last year.

The shoe factories supplied in August 3,800,000 pairs of shoes, and thus fulfilled the plan 110.1 per cent.

Rapid progress has been made in the industry manufacturing rubber shoes and rubber soles. In August the Ivanovo combine for rubber soles delivered 1,493 tons of rubber material (104.1 per cent.). In the first eight months of the year "Krassny Bogatyr" in Moscow supplied 14,500,000 pairs of rubber shoes, i.e., 200,000 pairs above the plan.

New Factories

This year a large number of new food factories have been established. Refrigerators have been erected in the towns of Rykov, Rjasan, and Makeyevka. In Taldy-Kurgan (Kasakstan) a fresh sugar refinery has started operations; in Kamsk (East Siberia) a condensed milk factory has been established with an annual output of ten million tins of condensed milk. The Krasnograd factory for the manufacture of concentrated fodder has an annual output of 35,000 tons. A factory for the manufacture of non-alcoholic beverages has been established in Stalingrad; its annual output will be 50,000 hecto-litres. In Ordchonikidse a factory for the manufacture of tinned fruit and vegetables has been established; part of it is already working. Another vegetable and meat canning factory commenced working in Hussenbach (Volga German Republic). It will supply 21 million tins annually.

The food industry of the Leningrad district is making good progress. At the beginning of the year there were 31 factories in this district; their number has now increased to 65, and at the end of the year 102 food factories will be working.

Radio-Telephone in Central Asia

The radio-telephone station at Chardshui, which connects Chardshui with Ashahabad and Tashkent, has been completed. There now exists a direct connection between Ashahabad and Moscow.

In the International

Seventh Convention of the C.P. of Canada

By J. Warren (Toronto)

The Seventh National Convention of the Communist Party of Canada was held in Toronto on July 23-28. The historic significance of this Convention was that it summed up the results of the work of the Party during the past five years, that it could record a really great growth of the influence and membership of the Communist Party of Canada and its fighting capacity, and that it laid down the tasks of the Party in the maturing great class battles.

At the sixth Convention, held in 1929, the C.P. of C. decisively defeated the right-wing MacDonald and Trotskyist Spector groups and theories, and under the leadership of *Tim Buck* definitely turned to Bolshevik mass work among the workers and small farmers of Canada. In 1931 the Conservative Bennett government launched a vicious attack on the C.P. of C., declaring it illegal under Section 98 of the Criminal Code, and sentencing the members of the Political Bureau, with the General Secretary *Tim Buck* at the head, to five years' imprisonment in Kingston Penitentiary. Thus the Seventh Convention took place in the third year of the illegality of the C.P. of C., when the Communist Party has been successful, however, through its leadership of mass struggle and the broad campaign developed by the Canadian Labour Defence League, Canadian section of the I.R.A., particularly around the attempt to murder *Tim Buck* in his prison cell by the guards, to achieve the release on parole of five of the imprisoned leaders. At this very time the mass struggle for the release of *Tim Buck* and *Tom Ewen* and for the legality of the Communist Party of Canada is rising to new heights.

Within this period the Communist Party of Canada has not only succeeded in reorganising its work on an illegal basis with its ranks intact, despite the State terror, but has greatly increased its influence and membership, reaching a membership of 5,500 with 114 nuclei (practically 20 per cent. of the number of the organisations directly in the shops and mines). The revolutionary trade unions of the *Workers' Unity League* have been built up to a membership of 37,000, constituting the only or the largest unions in a number of industries (lumber, needle trades, mining). The other mass organisations of the workers and small farmers have also grown considerably. The workers' press has greatly increased its circulation and new publications have been established. The revolutionary workers' paper, "*The Worker*," has become a bi-weekly with a circulation of 15,000, and steps are being taken to transform it into a "Daily Worker" in the near future.

Due to the difficulties resulting from the illegal position of the C.P. of Canada, the number of delegates to the Seventh Convention was limited to 57. Many delegates were shop and mine workers directly from the main units in the concentration industries, while a number were also members of reformist unions. The growing Party organisation among the French-Canadian workers in *Quebec* were represented. The majority of the delegates, which came from

all important industries and sections of the Party, were under thirty-five years of age.

The Seventh Convention listened to three main reports: on the general situation and tasks; on the economic struggles and tasks in trade union work; on organisation. The Convention organised the following commissions: trade union; women; agrarian; youth; organisation; press and literature. The commissions worked up the draft resolutions on the various fields of work of the convention. Every delegate participated in the discussion. The resolutions were adopted unanimously at the end of the discussion and then the new Central Committee was elected.

The main reports, the discussion and the resolutions of the Convention gave an exhaustive analysis of the general situation and tasks. The Canadian bourgeoisie, under the leadership of the Bennett government, has thrown the burden of the crisis on to the workers, the masses of farmers and large sections of the petty-bourgeoisie, thus achieving an easing of the position of the financial oligarchy and a small rise of production, particularly evident in the war industries. The Canadian bourgeoisie has consistently adhered to a war policy, particularly in the direction of war provocations against the U.S.S.R. (Ottawa and London Conferences, embargo on Soviet goods, friendly relations and supplying war materials to Japan) and also has participated in and supported the subjugation of the revolts in South America and the Carribean, where the Canadian financiers have large investments. In order to carry through the offensive on the Canadian workers and farmers and as a preparation for war, the Bennett government has carried through a sharp attack on the rights and struggles of the workers, outlawing the Communist Party in 1931, centralising, increasing and training the infamous Royal Canadian Mounted Police to smash workers' strikes and demonstrations, bringing the militia with full military equipment to break strikes, and bringing into play not only Section 98, but the sedition laws, unlawful assembly laws, etc., to arrest and imprison many workers' leaders and thousands of militants in the various struggles engaged in by the Canadian working class within this period.

The sharpening offensive on the living standards of the workers and toiling masses is carried through by cutting down the wages of the workers, speed-up and rationalisation, inflation, cutting relief and establishing forced labour and slave camps for the unemployed; monopoly prices on farm products particularly sharpened through the new Natural Products Marketing Act and the debt-collecting debt adjustment legislation, the taxation burden on the farmers, petty-bourgeoisie and workers, growing trustification and squeezing out of the smaller industrialists. The fascisation of the State apparatus is quickly taking place, copying during the latter period most of the features of the Roosevelt administration in the U.S.A. The broadening of the police terror, particularly directed against the immediate struggles and the revolutionary unions, is being supplemented with fascist gangs. A tremendous increase of demagogy and manoeuvres on the part of the bourgeoisie and the three capitalist parties (Conservative, Liberal and Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, i.e., Socialist) is going on, accompanying the introduction of codes and many other measures of the N.R.A. in the U.S.A. This development of fascisation is the result of the resistance organised and led by the Communist Party of Canada against the Hunger, War and Terror policies of the bourgeoisie and the tremendous radicalisation of the working masses, expressed particularly sharply in the rise of strikes, unemployed struggles and the struggles of the small farmers. The united front organised by the Communist Party of Canada against the economic offensive, against fascism and political reaction and against imperialist war, bitterly opposed by the social-fascist leaders of the reformist unions and the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, is making great headway, mobilising ever larger sections of the workers in the reformist organisations.

The *strike wave* has been continually mounting during the past three years, at the present time reaching a peak higher than any year since the Winnipeg General Strike in 1919. While three-quarters of the strikes in 1933 were organised and led directly by the C.P.C. and the Workers' Unity League, the characteristic of the strikes in this year is that the workers in the reformist unions (A.F. of L., A.C.C.L.) have been set in motion and are coming out on strike, often over the heads of the union officials. Other features are that the strike wave is now reaching the basic industries (metal, mining, auto, textile) and larger enterprises, the tendency to embrace whole industries in general strikes (needle

trades) and that the struggles reach a sharper intensity than ever before.

The Seventh Convention called for a decisive turn to work within the reformist unions and the concentration industries. The Third (December, 1932) and Fourth (June, 1933) Plenums of the C.C. had called the attention of the C.P. of Canada to these main tasks and some definite successes have been achieved, but the Convention characterised the work heretofore as only the first beginnings of mass work. In this regard the Convention decisively liquidated an opportunist resistance to this line of the Party which was particularly expressed by the leaders of the work in the western coal fields. The Convention issued a *Manifesto* to the working people of Canada, calling for unity in the struggle against the offensive of the bourgeoisie on the living standards of the masses, the growing fascist attacks on the rights and struggles of the workers and the preparation for imperialist war, and for the struggle for Soviet Canada.

With the transportation, steel, metal-mining and textile industries as the main concentration industries, the Convention laid down the control tasks for the quick building of the C.P. of Canada among the basic sections of the Canadian working class, developing firm Bolshevik leadership in the units and sections, raising the theoretical level of the Party membership, vastly improving the mass agitation and propaganda work of the Party and recruiting new thousands of workers into the Party and the revolutionary trade unions and mass organisations. Rousing enthusiasm and complete unanimity on the line of the Convention are indications of the great development of the C.P. of Canada during the past few years, the development of its leadership and of the broad ranks of the Party, and are a guarantee that, despite all the terror and fascist demagogy of the capitalist class, the Communist Party of Canada is growing and preparing to meet the approaching tremendous class upheavals as a Bolshevik Party, a worthy section of the Communist International.

Expulsion of Barbé from the C.P. of France

The Central Committee of the C.P. of France, on the proposal of the membership meeting of the Saint Quen district and of the North Paris District Party Committee, has decided to expel Barbé from the Party.

At one time the leader of the Barbé-Célor opportunist-sectarian group, founded by Doriot, Barbé has become an element harmful to the Party and the cause of the revolution.

From the moment Barbé, supported by his friend—before all by Célor, who afterwards became a police agent, occupied a responsible position in the Party leadership, he formed a clique, a narrow group, which worked together, thereby maintaining secrecy towards the Party and the Comintern.

This group became specially harmful since 1929, after August 1, when a great part of the members of the C.C. were arrested and accused of conspiracy against the State.

The opportunist-sectarian group of Barbé and Célor took advantage of this circumstance and practically liquidated the regular functioning of the Party organism. They distorted the inner-party regime, suppressed all party democracy, and made the atmosphere unbearable. They misused the "appointment" of cadres and the method of "co-opting"

One of the results of the activity of the sectarian group was a decline in the membership of the Party. Barbé, Célor and their friends regarded this as a "normal" symptom of health, which, they said, was to be explained as due to the "Bolshevisation" of the Party.

They made expulsions from the Party into a regular system. Despite the warning and the endeavours of many comrades, they expelled d'Auffray, the Mayor of Clichy, and six Paris municipal councillors without regard to the interests of the Party and of the working class. The same applies to Lauz, etc. . . .

They sought to discredit functionaries such as Monmousseau, Racamond and Marcel Cachin.

Up to this time Barbé was an opponent of Doriot. He fought him passionately, making use thereby of the most evil means. Through Rolland he resorted to measures of "surveillance," and went so far as to declare that "Doriot's shame consisted in his being defended by Cachin" (declaration in the French Commission at the Sixth Congress of the Comintern), only because Comrade Marcel Cachin fought against the group methods.

The Barbé-Célor group obstinately opposed the fight on two fronts, quite falsely interpreting this theory for their own purposes

as meaning that for the Party there was only one danger: Right opportunism.

The Barbé-Célor group abandoned the defence of the daily demands, announcing that the "fight for the beef steak" was historically obsolete and that there could be no social insurance under the capitalist system.

The group adopted a dictatorial attitude with regard to the trade unions and their functionaries, issued bureaucratic orders, and completely disregarded the mass character and the formal neutrality of these organisations.

The application of the leading role of the Party in a mechanical manner, contrary to Communist principles and methods, the talk about imparting a political character to strikes, the repeated insistent and inopportune interference in strike struggles disregarded the necessity of indefatigable activity and self-sacrificing struggle of the Communists for the every-day demands of the workers, while the methods employed by the Barbé group in the trade unions inevitably led to regrettable set-backs in the C.G.T.U.

The Barbé-Célor group, when they had the leadership of the Party practically liquidated the united front tactics. It was not due to chance that in the years 1929-31 there was not a single united front proposal. The Barbé-Célor group developed theories and tactics which implied a fight between Communist and social democratic workers (social democratic workers and leaders were called bloodhounds, the demonstration in Champigny, etc.). Barbé himself admitted that the results of the policy of the group had "held up the development of the Party for at least two years and disarmed the Party."

Thus Barbé, through the policy of the group, weakened the Party and facilitated the work of the class enemy. Despite these deplorable results, the Party gave Barbé the opportunity of making good his errors. But Barbé has now become the political advisor of the disruptor Doriot, of whom he has been the opponent on repeated occasions; he is now carrying out the policy of the group in Saint Denis.

Yesterday he weakened the Party by an inner Party struggle; to-day he is seeking to weaken it by an open fight and by organising the split in Saint Denis.

Behind the hypocritical phrases about the political unity of the working class and the formation of one workers' party, he is really out to liquidate the Party and fight against the Comintern. Barbé, like Doriot, has completely forsaken Communist principles and become their worst opponent.

Yesterday Barbé, through his left-sectarian policy, incited the Communist workers against the social democratic workers, and thereby brought grist to the mill of those who are interested in splitting the working class. To-day he is endeavouring to incite the Communist workers of Saint Denis against each other, according to whether they are for or against the policy of the C.C.

Yesterday he deprived those who did not please him of their functions, conducted a nepotist policy, appointed and co-opted into the various organs those whom he assumed would obey him.

Now, when he resigns from the Saint Quen district, he has himself arbitrarily "co-opted" into the Saint Denis District Committee.

Yesterday he discredited Cachin, Racamond, Semard, and organised the "surveillance" of Doriot. To-day he extends his nefarious work to all leaders of the Party, to the C.I. and the Soviet Union, whose foreign policy he calumniate by declaring that he has no inclination to follow all the shifts and manoeuvres of such a subtle diplomacy, and spares Doriot, his new and doubtless temporary ally.

To-day he defends Lebrun, who has been expelled from the Party, while it was he, Barbé, who compiled the material for the indictment against Lebrun.

Barbé has now shown himself to be that which he always was, a person without principles. He now shows his whole two-facedness, and has proved the insincerity of his self-criticism and his promises after the exposure and expulsion of Célor.

The C.C., while expelling Barbé from the ranks of the Party, calls upon all workers of Saint Denis to restore the unity of the Party, to fight against the organisers of the split and to maintain among themselves, as well as among all workers of the big working class town, the comradely and brotherly bonds which must exist between comrades in arms.

The C.C. of the C.P.F. protects the socialist workers against the intrigues of Barbé, which run counter to unity of action.

By getting rid of the splitters and opponents of the pact

concluded between the Communist and Socialist Party, we shall endue the unity of action with the greatest power.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of France.

Proletarian Youth Movement

Convention of American Youth League

By Al Steele (New York)

The Seventh National Convention of the *Young Communist League, U.S.A.* (June 22 to 27) was held on the crest of a rising wave of class struggles that swept the country like a tidal wave. Hundreds of thousands of workers and youth were striking and preparing to strike. The boss class and the Roosevelt government was hurriedly pushing through one step towards fascism after another by means of compulsory arbitration, company unions, and unheard-of nationalistic and chauvinist incitement and terror against the workers and unemployed. The workers responded with still greater battles. The ruling class is more and more setting its hope on outright fascism and war. It was in this situation that 113 regular delegates and 43 fraternal delegates met. Many came from basic industries, fresh from the great class battles developing to-day in the U.S., fresh from the mass strikes sweeping the country. All sections of the toiling youth were represented.

The largest number of delegates from any one industry were from the metal shops, of whom there were 18. Steel and auto were each represented by nine, needle by 11, marine by five, lumber by four, seven each from the building trades and shoe leather, and two from aircraft. There were also youth from the printing trades, coal fields, radio shops, offices, and domestic service. In addition there were four students and six farm youth. Most of the delegates were under 23 years of age and in the Y.C.L. less than three years. The overwhelming majority were American-born, 21 being Negro youth.

From the first moment to the last burning enthusiasm worked up the proceedings to a high pitch. Strong in the knowledge that they were pursuing the correct path, and firm in the determination to mobilise the youth for the revolutionary way out of the crisis, these delegates radiated the unquenchable spirit of the proletarian revolution.

Gil Green, general secretary of the Young Communist League, delivered the main report for the National Committee of the League. Every problem facing the working youth was dealt with. The report recorded the considerable growth of the League since the Sixth Convention: The membership had doubled, from 3,000 to 6,000; the number of shop nuclei had increased ten-fold, from six to 60. New auxiliary arms of the revolutionary youth movement with a combined membership of 10,000 had been organised; a wide anti-war and anti-fascist movement had been initiated.

The key problem discussed was the question of the leadership of the economic struggles. Though a vast improvement could be recorded in the participation of the Y.C.L. in strike struggles, it still was not sufficient. The majority of the strikes, and particularly the big strikes, simply swept on, over the heads of the League. The basic question is still that of organisation of revolutionary unions, and work in the A.F.L., independent and company unions. The way to build the League is by leading the strikes, unemployed movements, the struggle against forced labour, against child labour and misery, as well as the struggles of the farming youth and the oppressed Negro young people. All these questions must be linked up very closely with the struggle against fascism and war. In addition, Comrade Green dealt with the struggle against social fascism.

The following sub-reports were made:—

(1) Organisation, by John Marks; (2) Trade Union Work, by Lou Cooper; (3) Negro Question, by Claude Lightfoot; (4) Work among the Unemployed Youth, by Leonard Patterson; (5) Children's Work, by L. Kaplan; (6) Struggle Against War and Fascism, by S. Prince.

The following were the commissions in the convention: Recruiting and Cadres; the Farm Drought; Auto; Steel; Mining; Radio; Negro; Unemployed; Marxist-Leninist Education; Children.

A high point in the Convention was the report of Claude Lightfoot, Negro delegate from Chicago, who received 33,000 votes in the last election. In clear, simple language he reported for the National Committee on the work of the Y.C.L. among the Negro youth. The reports of Jack Olse, District Organiser of California, dealing with the longshore and marine strike (which later developed into the General Strike in San Francisco), as well as the

report of *L. Patterson*, who reported on unemployed struggles, but showed particularly how the seamen of Baltimore had won complete control of the distribution of relief, were outstanding.

The Convention brought out many shortcomings in the League—hiding the face of the Y.C.L. in the economic struggles, insufficient participation in the strikes and other struggles of the workers, insufficient work among the armed forces, the Negro youth, the children.

The Convention marked a high point in the development of internationalism in the League. When a motion was made to send a cablegram to *Thaelmann*, and later to the *Cuban League*, the Convention rocked with enthusiasm. A number of representatives of the *Canadian League* were present.

The Convention made some important decisions to insure the growth of the League in the next period. Among the outstanding of these was to double the membership by January 1, and to increase the circulation of the "Young Worker" to 35,000 by the end of the year. The climax of the Convention came with the speech of *Comrade Earl Browder*, General Secretary of the Communist Party, U.S.A. He analysed the basis of the progress and shortcomings of the American League. He showed that just as the Sixth Convention was the first Convention free of the old Lovestoneite and Trotskyite opportunist elements, which made possible this further growth of the Y.C.L., so this Seventh Convention marked the beginning of the break with the period of sectarianism in the League, the beginning of the breaking of its shell of isolation from the masses of youth. This sectarianism is at the bottom of all the present faults of the Y.C.L., and its breaking marks the beginning of the solution of the major problems facing the League. *Comrade Browder* likewise showed the need for the fight against all forms of opportunism, right and "Left." The question of the *Marxist-Leninist training*, of the active cadres, in fact, of the entire membership as well as the mass of youth, was one of the most important problems dealt with by *Comrade Browder* as well as by the Convention as a whole.

After the election of the new Central Committee and of delegates to the Sixth World Congress of the Young Communist International the Convention closed. There can be no doubt that the spirit that pervaded the Convention will sweep throughout the country, adding strength to the great battles now developing everywhere.

The Children's Movement

Fourteenth International Children's Week

(From 1st to 8th of October, 1934)

By E. Schwarz.

The bourgeoisie is doing its utmost to maintain its threatened power which has been shaken by the world economic crisis and by the growth of the revolutionary movement, and it is conducting an intensified offensive against the economic and political rights of the working class. The tremendous growth of unemployment, the systematic depression of wages, the plundering of the peasantry and of the municipalities and the general deterioration in the standards of the working masses, have led to a fall in the birthrate on the one hand and to an increase of infantile mortality on the other, to the creation of a huge army of homeless people and to tremendously difficult conditions for the new generation which is growing up. The children of to-day suffer from under-nourishment and hunger, from unhealthy housing conditions, and from a lack of proper clothes and boots. The economies made by the authorities in educational expenditure worsen the situation of the working class child in the schools. The classrooms are overcrowded, many children have a long way to go to school and less welfare work is carried on on behalf of the poor children, and in particular the children of the unemployed.

The decaying capitalist system has created a tremendous apparatus to educate the children of the proletariat. The bourgeoisie, which does not bother about the physical conditions under which the children have to grow up, has created a great system to imbue the minds of the workers' children with capitalist ideology.

With the intensification of the class contradictions, the class character of the State apparatus makes itself more and more clearly felt because the bourgeoisie is compelled to use it more and more openly to maintain its own positions and hold down the

workers. Although the workers are already very clear about the class nature of the bourgeois State in its struggles, they still harbour great illusions about the character of the bourgeois educational system. For a long time many workers believed that the school was unpolitical and neutral, etc. That was a great mistake. The school was always and is to-day the class monopoly of the bourgeoisie and therefore the bourgeoisie carefully does everything possible to counter the efforts of the class-conscious workers to give their children a proletarian class education.

The struggle against bourgeois class education was not organised effectively, and to-day the whole school system is being flooded with fascist ideas and in most countries the bourgeoisie has already developed a State system to educate the children of the proletariat in the spirit of religion, fascism, chauvinism and militarism. The bourgeoisie wishes to capture the brains of the working class children. Let us take a look at the present educational system of the bourgeoisie in a number of countries.

Germany

In fascist Germany, where Hitler promised before he came to power to care for the children, to introduce meals for the children on a wide scale, to abolish child labour and to build hygienic schools, the schools are being closed down to-day as they were before Hitler came to power and many teachers are being dismissed. Despite the articles in the fascist press, meals for children have not been introduced and the parents of the children have still to buy the necessary school equipment. However, the fascists have built up a highly-organised system of militarism and fascism for the children.

The most important part of this system is the school. The children are taught about the shameful Versailles Treaty and that the only solution is a war against France. The children are compelled to take "Oaths of Vengeance" and they are taught that all evil comes from "Marxism and from the Jews." A systematic campaign of incitement is conducted against the Communists, who are presented to the children as "sub-human and criminal." Competitions in collecting are organised between the various classes, and the prize is a picture of Hitler. At every possible opportunity celebrations are organised in connection with the "national revolution," the Storm Troops (S.A.), etc. The Hitler greeting, with upraised arm, has been made compulsory in all schools. The children are also encouraged to take part in field exercises, bomb throwing, gas-mask exercises, etc.

Another measure is the introduction of the so-called "land year." This year twelve experimental camps were set up to accommodate 1,500 children. In 1935 the "land year" is to be generally introduced and to serve as the ninth school year. The fascist "Voelkischer Beobachter" of the 9th January, 1934, tells us clearly what the aim of this is:—

"That section of the school children who go to the camps are to be influenced decisively for the good and the effects of bad housing conditions and political incitement at home counteracted."

We see, therefore, that fascism is attempting to kill two birds with one stone. It hopes to get rid of the trouble of the school children leaving school and at the same time to influence the children of the proletariat in the spirit of fascism.

Austria

Many changes have taken place in the schools in Austria since the Austrian fascists came to power. School prayers have been made compulsory and all children must take part in religious instruction. All children are compelled to wear a special fascist badge and to take part in governmental celebrations en masse. They are also compelled to join the clerical fascist children's organisations. The school system in Austria is being used more and more to glorify the former Habsburg monarchy.

Poland

The schools in Poland are also completely instruments of the bourgeoisie. An intensive propaganda is conducted in the schools in support of the fascist children's organisations. In the higher classes military instruction is obligatory. Thousands of children are forced to join the various fascist children's organisations.

Czechoslovakia

The situation in Czechoslovakia and in many other countries which are outwardly countries of bourgeois democracy, is not

much different. The "peace celebrations" have been stopped, and in their place comes "the defence of democracy," the "defence of the fatherland," and the struggle against the subversive elements.

The bourgeoisie avails itself of the help of the Church and all the Church schools in Slovakia have been left untouched and are even supported by State funds. Wireless has been introduced into the schools in order to give the army officers the opportunity of taking a hand in the education of the children, and lectures are given by them in "defence" against bombing raids, poison gas and in the use of gas-masks, etc. Leading bourgeois statesmen also speak to the children through the wireless.

The social democracy supports the efforts of the bourgeoisie to concentrate the education and training of the children of the workers into the hands of the State, and the bourgeois and social democratic organisations have founded a joint organisation which has over a million members "to defend the Fatherland."

France

A draft Bill for the militarisation of the school children has been drawn up in France and to some extent its provisions have already been put into operation in the schools. Here also the bourgeoisie is throwing off the mask of "unpolitical neutrality." Typical of the situation is the close co-operation between the schools and the military-fascist organisations.

We are faced with an increasingly dangerous enemy. The bourgeoisie needs men and women who will put up with everything and not bother their heads about working-class politics. By educating such men and women in the schools it hopes, together with its apparatus of violence, to extend the life of bourgeois society.

It is the task of the Communists and of all workers to defeat these plans of the bourgeoisie. On the basis of the facts quoted above, we must mobilise the children themselves in the schools and expose the real character of the capitalist educational system to them.

It is of paramount importance that the proletarian children and the proletarian youth should be saved from the toils of bourgeois ideology. This is no easy task in view of the tremendous resources and possibilities at the disposal of the bourgeoisie, but the class-conscious workers must oppose the bourgeois educational system with their own revolutionary class education, and to this end they have formed the proletarian children's organisations. Regarding this revolutionary education, Lenin declared:—

"Our education must be closely connected with the struggle of the workers against their exploiters in order to assist them to solve the problems which arise from the teachings of Communism."

The basis of our education of the workers' children must be, therefore:—

"To draw the children as far as possible and in the most effective way into the class struggle of the proletariat and into the revolutionary activity of the Young Communist League and of the Communist Party." (From the programme of the Young Communist International.)

Naturally, this must be done in a fashion which is suited to the mentality of the children. In view of the increased efforts of the bourgeoisie to win the proletarian children and educate them in a capitalist spirit, it is the task of the revolutionary proletariat to increase its efforts to educate the children of the workers in the spirit of the revolutionary struggle, to rescue the children from the ideological influence of the bourgeoisie and to conduct a ceaseless struggle against the deterioration of the situation of

the children and against all attempts to militarise them and make them into young fascists.

The whole working class must be mobilised in a struggle against further impoverishment, against national and social oppression, against the militarisation of the schools and in favour of the demands of the children. The unemployed workers' committees and all other working-class bodies must fight for free meals for the children in the schools, for free clothing and footwear. Meetings, conferences and demonstrations of the children and their parents must be organised and the necessary measures in the struggle discussed with them.

Those workers who still fail to realise the importance of the children in the struggle of the proletariat must be told of the achievements of the proletarian children, of the ten thousand children who went on strike in **Brux** in support of the miners, of the children who went on to the streets with the workers in **Hamburg, Paris, and Philadelphia**, of the children who carried cartridges to the **Austrian barricade fighters** and brought them food during the fighting, of the children who carried out anti-fascist demonstrations after Hitler came to power in Germany, who tore down Hitler flags and howled down fascist teachers in the class rooms.

The results which the proletarian children's movement have obtained in Poland, the United States and Czechoslovakia are sufficient proof of the necessity of revolutionary proletarian education and of the struggle against bourgeois education. Working-class children properly educated have taken part in the struggles of the adult workers and put forward their own demands in a united front with the adult workers.

In connection with the daily struggles of the workers we can educate the children in the spirit of the revolutionary proletariat and win them for the **young pioneer movement**.

The class-conscious workers must do their utmost to develop the young pioneer movement into a powerful mass movement of the proletarian children. It is the duty of all proletarian organisations to look after the education of the children, as it is the duty of all class-conscious parents not to neglect the revolutionary training of their children, in order to rescue them from the capitalist ideology of the bourgeois school and win them for their own class. The class-conscious workers, and above all the young Communists, must be the organisers and leaders of the proletarian children's movement and they must do everything possible to develop it into a broad mass organisation of the working-class children.

The most important fact to be considered is the education of the children in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, in the spirit of hatred against the bourgeoisie of their own country and hatred of chauvinism and national oppression. Particular attention must be paid to teaching the children about the Soviet Union and the activity of the Young Pioneers there, and pointing out that the programme of the Communist Party for the schools has already been carried out and that the Young Pioneers take an active part on all the fields of socialist construction.

The **Fourteenth International Children's Week** must be an occasion for the mobilisation of the whole working class to fight against the misery of the proletarian children and for an improvement in their lot.

The **Fourteenth International Children's Week** must be the beginning of a new great drive for proletarian education and for the creation of a proletarian children's mass movement. This week must be a symbol of the alliance of the three generations in the struggle against capitalism.

The **Fourteenth International Children's Week** must lay the foundations for the building up of a mighty children's movement of Young Pioneers in the proletarian class struggle.