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The Shots Fired At Marseilles

By Karl Radek

The assassination of the French Foreign Minister **Barthou** and the **King of Yugoslavia** by a Croat terrorist in Marseilles has demonstrated once again the state of insecurity in Europe and the many forces which are working to upset the precarious balance of European peace.

The situation in Yugoslavia itself is followed closely only by those who specialise in Balkan politics, but even those who do no more than read the reports in the European press on the situation in Yugoslavia are aware that the picture these reports give is a deeply gloomy one. The Yugoslavian correspondent of the semi-official French newspaper "**Temps**" prophesied serious happenings in Yugoslavia some time ago. Yugoslavian fascism has succeeded in holding down the people, but it has no mass support anywhere in the country. It subdued the Croat Peasant Party created by Raditch, but it was unable to offer anything to the masses of the peasants in Bosnia and Hercegovina, where remnants of feudalism still exist, and the peasants in Macedonia are groaning under a terrorist regime which is answered by the Inner Macedonian organisation, I.M.R.O., with counter-terrorism. It is hardly necessary to point out that the fascist regime in Yugoslavia has nothing to offer the workers. Although the present fascist system in Yugoslavia represents the fruits of the policy of the monopolist bourgeoisie and is maintained with the assistance of a petty bourgeoisie deceived with demagogic promises, the regime has no really effective support amongst the petty-bourgeois masses or from the monopolist bourgeoisie, which does not represent any real power in Yugoslavia. Fascism in Yugoslavia therefore evinces greater bureaucratic and feudal characteristics than any fascist system in Europe: that is to say, its chief characteristic is open violence. The difficulties which Yugoslavian fascism has to face are even greater than those facing Italian and German fascism.

Ethnographically the population of Yugoslavia is one people, but this people has not developed a corresponding political unity. The majority of the population of Yugoslavia is composed of

peasants who are split up into Greek-Orthodox and Catholic religious divisions. The churches in Yugoslavia still play a great role in the lives of the people and they hamper the development of a homogeneous national consciousness. The development of what was formerly Serbia and of the areas which were given to it after the war took place under varying cultural influences from the West and from the East. This fact alone was sufficient to produce strong tendencies towards an independent cultural life in the various districts, even within one State.

However, added to the above-mentioned factors making for the creation of an autonomous movement, there are the special interests of the bourgeoisie in Croatia and Slovenia who protest energetically against the fact that only the ruling classes of Serbia are permitted to share in the benefits of the State. The urban intelligentsia of Croatia supported this movement against the centralist tendencies of Belgrade, which installed its own Serbian officials in all parts of the country.

Parliament was dissolved and only a shadow permitted to remain. All political parties were suppressed and forced into illegality, whilst a pseudo-party was formed of the supporters of the Serbian generals, and this party alone received the right to exist and pursue its activities openly. In this way one Yugoslavian government after the other closed down all the safety valves. As no government was in a position to solve the urgent problems facing the country, and as the economic crisis ruined the State finances, throttled the Yugoslavian export trade and intensified all the existing contradictions, an explosion was bound to come sooner or later. Fierce persecution of all movements directed against the government succeeded for a time in crushing all mass resistance to the Yugoslavian State, but it naturally did not succeed in destroying the various terrorist organisations which sprang up, particularly as these organisations enjoyed the support of the secret services of those powers which were interested in weakening Yugoslavia. The assassination of the King of Yugoslavia was obviously the work of such a terrorist organisation,

What this organisation was unable to carry out on Yugoslavian territory it has now carried out on French territory, and not only the King of Yugoslavia, Alexander, the head of the fascist regime in Yugoslavia, fell victim to the internal contradictions which threaten to shatter the Serbian military fascist regime, but also the French Foreign Minister Barthou.

Yugoslavia is an ally of France. It is closely connected with France on account of the fact that the national unification of Yugoslavia was possible only as a result of the defeat of the Central Powers during the world war and the collapse of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire. The second factor which drives Yugoslavia into the arms of France is its antagonism to Italy. The efforts of the French bourgeoisie to come to an agreement with Italy have strengthened the tendencies which already existed in Yugoslavia to look for new allies, tendencies which were also encouraged by the economic difficulties of Yugoslavia. France is in a position to export capital to Yugoslavia, but it can only take a small portion of Yugoslavia's agricultural produce, and therefore certain circles in Yugoslavia are now directing their eyes towards the North, towards industrial Germany, in the hope of finding a market for Yugoslavian agricultural produce there. These hopes are ill-founded, for Germany is pursuing a strongly protectionist policy in order to favour its own rich landowners and rich peasants and to create economic self-sufficiency.

In addition to this illusion, the tendencies of Yugoslavia to seek new allies are strengthened by the fear that Italy might get a firm foothold in Vienna and that Italian troops might appear on the Carinthian frontier. The visits of Roehm and Goering to Yugoslavia were connected with the secret negotiations proceeding between Berlin and Belgrade whereby Berlin hoped to convince Yugoslavia that the Anschluss of Austria to Germany would be less dangerous to Yugoslavia than the possibility of Italian troops appearing on the Carinthian frontier. Some newspapers even declared that Berlin had offered Yugoslavia Carinthia in return for an alteration of its foreign political alignment.

The Paris visit of King Alexander was a move on the part of France to weaken these tendencies in Yugoslavia and to come to an understanding with Yugoslavia for a common policy towards Germany and Italy. French diplomacy was undoubtedly aware of the cracks appearing in the Franco-Yugoslavian alliance and also of the attempts being made to undermine the Franco-Rumanian alliance and the fact that the "Iron Guard" organisation closely connected to the Rumanian Court was working for a rapprochement with Germany. It is hardly necessary to mention the difficulties which imperialist France is having with its Polish ally. These difficulties result from the fact that the economic crisis, the internal situation, the agrarian crisis and the national questions are undermining the existing regime in all those countries which belong to the French system of alliances and creating the atmosphere for a desperate policy or adventurism against all reason and logic which should keep these countries to a policy of peace and the furtherance of factors tending to consolidate peace.

French diplomacy is faced with enormous difficulties in its attempts to maintain the French imperialist system of post-war alliances. The German fascist press never tires of pointing out these difficulties, and no doubt it will not fail to see "the hand of God" in the Marseilles events. On the other hand, Germany itself resembles an overheated boiler, and an explosion might take place at any moment. Even if Germany's efforts to dominate the Danubian and Balkan States were to prove successful, it would take over the whole heritage of contradictions and antagonisms about which the German press now speaks with such moral indignation. Neither Germany nor any other capitalist country has a recipe to cure all the ills which the Balkan States are heir to.

The French Foreign Minister Barthou, who fell mortally wounded under the hail of bullets fired by the Croat terrorists, was naturally a representative of the French ruling classes. Like all the representatives of bourgeois France, he regarded the October Revolution as a crime against the interests of France, and at the conference of Genoa he expressed this view frankly. However, Barthou was not only a brilliant orator and a great diplomat, but also a man with a wide historical horizon. The power and stability of the Soviet regime and the ceaseless increase of its strength were facts which overcame the prejudices of Barthou and compelled him to look reality in the face. Barthou saw that this reality was that the plough of the proletarian revolution had turned over the old tsarist empire for good and all and that there could be no return to the past. The understanding of

Barthou the historian became the source of action for the actions of Barthou the diplomat.

Despite the fact that he belonged to the Right wing of the French bourgeoisie, Barthou was in favour of the opening up of relations between France and the Soviet Union. Barthou not only refrained from doing anything to hamper the development of an understanding between France and the Soviet Union, but as French Foreign Minister he worked for this understanding with persistence, energy and political tact. The role which Barthou played in the question of the Soviet Union joining the League of Nations was perhaps the most brilliant page in the life story of this great politician.

A few days ago the Belgian socialist leader Vandervelde waxed ironical in the Toulon "Dépêche" on the joint actions of Barthou and Comrade Litvinov. These joint actions and the mutual respect which developed between the representatives of two great States did honour to both of them and to the two great countries they represented in Geneva. We have never forgotten at any time that we were dealing with the representative of another social system and of another world outlook. And on his part Barthou never pretended to be a friend of Communism, but he worked together with Comrade Litvinov for the maintenance of peace and against those forces which are making for the opening of a new world slaughter. Although both countries are working for the maintenance of peace from different standpoints and with different ideas and motives, their struggle for peace nevertheless remains a cause which serves the interests of humanity, and at the grave of one of the greatest politicians of the French bourgeoisie we have no cause to conceal the fact that he fell in the struggle for peace which the interests of his country demanded.

GREETINGS TO THE SOVIET DELEGATION TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

We have received from the World Committee against War and Fascism the following declaration signed by prominent French and English intellectuals and members of the Young French Republicans:—

On repeated occasions in critical moments of history, when the danger of war was immediately threatening humanity, the representatives of the Soviet Union have voiced the feelings of millions and hundreds of millions of men and women by demanding peace.

We have not forgotten the proposals for complete, general and immediate disarmament which the Soviet Union repeatedly made through its representative Litvinov at the Disarmament Conference.

Not only the peoples of the Soviet Union, but also the whole world waited with feelings of hope and fear the acceptance or rejection of the Soviet proposals. More than 120 pacifist and workers' organisations of the whole world sent to the Soviet delegation declarations of approval of the great work for peace, of the policy of peace, the main basis of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union.

The governments of the various Powers decidedly and emphatically rejected the proposals for complete disarmament and did nothing for real disarmament. Not only that, the war danger is becoming increasingly imminent, and two great Powers have openly announced their warlike tendencies by a complete policy of war incitement, of which their withdrawal from the League of Nations was a plain expression. Under these conditions the Soviet Union brings fresh proof of its ardent desire to secure peace. In the present circumstances the entry of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations is not a simple diplomatic act, but a fresh endeavour to hamper the forces of war.

It is certain that the policy of the Soviet Union will be the more effective the more those people who do not want war, who do not want chauvinism and the war-incitement of fascism to plunge the world into a fresh war, constantly multiply their efforts to promote peace.

The entry of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations encourages us to increase our fight on behalf of peace, supported by the great country of the Soviets.

We convey to the Soviet delegates our greetings and congratulate them on their peace policy.

André Gide, Jean Casson, Henri Barbusse, Romain Rolland, Paul Langevin, M. Prenant, Jean Painlevé, René Vallon, André Malraux, John Strachey, Gabriel Cudenet, Gabrielle Duchene, Francis Jourdain, Carmel Haden-Guest, André Viollis, René Audubert, Secular and Republican Youth of France.

Politics

Foreign Political Review of the Week

The shots in Serajevo and the shots in Marseilles—History repeats itself, but this time it is hardly possible to say that it is repeating itself as a farce and not as a tragedy. The shots in Marseilles were tragic, although not tragic in the sentimental sense in which they were dealt with in the press of France and the Little Entente. Speculation with tears is a business which sometimes has serious political consequences. The world was given an example of this twenty years ago. Lord Grey was right when he declared after the funeral of the Austrian heir to the throne, Franz Ferdinand, that only the tears of his children were heartfelt. We should not be surprised to hear that Mussolini had made some such remark in connection with King Alexander, for in truth there is a close parallel between the popularity of Franz Ferdinand von Habsburg and the popularity of Alexander Karageorgivitch, king of Yugoslavia.

Twenty years ago a full month elapsed between the assassination in Serajevo and the publication of the names of the men who were behind it, Major Tankojitch and Co., and before the shooting practice near Topshider became known. However, French diplomacy and the French General Staff have already raised the little Hungarian farms *Janka-Puszta* and *Mezoe-Kanisz* near the Yugoslavian frontier to the level of well-known geographical spots, for it was there that the assassins practised their marksmanship and it was there that they were trained by the officers of the Hungarian National Army *Kovacs*, *Huszar* and *Petrishevitch*. Twenty years ago an obscure Serbian customs official had to accompany *Princip* through the woods to Bosnia. This time the would-be assassins travelled to Lausanne with Hungarian passports and authentic Swiss visas, and in Lausanne they received other papers and their final instructions. It is not at all unlikely that the forged passports which they were finally in possession of were manufactured at the forgery works responsible for issuing the forged thousand franc notes of unpleasant memory. Twenty years ago the ultimatum to Serbia was being prepared and it is not at all impossible that Serbia's succession State, Yugoslavia, is now preparing an ultimatum to Hungary.

The British press is doing its best to pacify public opinion. Now that the world is aware of the possible consequences of an ultimatum it would be impossible for a political assassination to plunge the world into a new slaughter. However, the press in Paris and Belgrade has adopted a different tone. In Paris and Belgrade it is well-known that Hungary does not stand alone. Leading circles in Austria, and above all the men behind the "Reichspost," maintain close connections with Croat emigrants, and the attitude of Italy is still more important. Italy has done far more to encourage and support the terrorism of Croat national-revolutionaries than Hungary. Any action against Hungary would inevitably involve Italy in the conflict. The "Echo de Paris," the mouthpiece of the French General Staff, takes up a cool attitude towards Italy, demands that the League of Nations should proceed against Hungary and threatens "international consequences" should the League fail to do so. These discussions indicate the approach of a tremendous danger. History has repeated itself so far up to the verge of the issue of an ultimatum, but this time the ultimatum is to be addressed not to Serbia, but to Serbia's enemies.

Our chief task is to prevent the commission of a crime which would plunge humanity into a still greater misfortune than the catastrophe of twenty years ago. There must be no world holocaust as the consequence of the assassinations in Marseilles. Fascist Hungary has many crimes on its conscience apart from the support it has granted to the "Utaschi," but these are crimes which are quite insignificant in comparison with the crimes which have been committed against the working people both in Hungary and in Yugoslavia. The representatives of the working people in Yugoslavia do not want any "war of revenge" against Hungary and Italy, a war in which fascist Yugoslavia and fascist Rumania, not to mention the other "democratic" allies, would play the farcical role of "emancipators." We want no war of any sort, but whilst we are fighting against the organisation of war with all the strength at our command we must also fight against the causes

which have led to the present situation. History has repeated itself merely because the causes which led up to the events of 1914 have remained in force. The background of the assassination of Franz Ferdinand in Serajevo was the oppression of Serbia by Austria-Hungary and the unsolved national question in South-Eastern Europe. The background of the assassination of King Alexander in Marseilles is the oppression of the Croats by the Pan-Serbian bourgeoisie led by Alexander, that is to say, the still unsolved national question in South-Eastern Europe. The exploitation of the Serajevo crime to let loose the world war was the result of the antagonism between the imperialist Powers. It is our task to prevent the exploitation of the Marseilles crime for a similar purpose. We must be thorough. Our slogan must be against imperialism and for the right of self-determination for all nations.

Attempts have been made to harness all national revolutionary movements to the war chariot of reactionary Powers. Napoleon III attempted to exploit the Italian movement for freedom in his own interests. In 1915 and 1916 imperialist Germany attempted to exploit the Irish Republican movement and its leader, Sir Roger Casement, in the interests of German imperialism. The czar did his best to play the role of protector of the Balkan Slavs. In fact the whole imperialist war was fought under the hypocritical slogan: Independence and the right of self-determination for small nationalities. The Central European imperialist Powers were exposed as liars and hypocrites early on in the world war when they carved up Poland between them, but the Entente Powers played their role of emancipators right up to the end of the war and they played it with great success. The result we can see to-day. It is one of the ironies of history, but in reality it is only the consequence of the dialectics of historical development under capitalist conditions that Serbia should become one of the worst national oppressors and that Hungary and Italy, two Powers which ruthlessly suppress their own peoples, and foreign peoples too, as far as they have the chance (the oppression of the Slovenians, the Serbs and the Germans in Italy, and of the Germans and Slovaks in Hungary), should now play the role of champions of the oppressed Croats.

It is in the best traditions of Marxism to fight against those nationalists who in order allegedly to further their national interests enter into the service of the reaction, and it is one of the sharpest weapons of Marxism, made sharp in particular by Comrades Lenin and Stalin, that we should never forget in all these struggles to support strenuously the right of self-determination for all nationalities. Therefore, in our struggle against adventurism, in our struggle against the warmongers, we must never forget for one moment to fight with all the strength at our command for the abolition of existing national oppression, and this for one reason if for no other, namely, that the national and social emancipation of the peoples of South-Eastern Europe is the only guarantee that neither Serajevo and Marseilles will repeat themselves with all their terrible dangers and consequences.

We prosecute our struggle against imperialism with the same energy and determination that we prosecute our fight for the right of self-determination for all nationalities, no matter what national colours imperialism may appear in. We cannot tolerate it that the national antagonisms of the imperialist Powers offer them the possibility of sating their lust for conquest and robbery with the assistance of the national revolutionary elements where possible and with the unscrupulous waging of war where necessary.

After the conclusion of the first Balkan war, when the Austro-Marxists were praising it as a national and social war for emancipation, Lenin wrote an article in which he also dealt with the results of the war. Lenin also stressed the progressive significance of the war, but he took good care not to overestimate its importance from this standpoint. Emancipation from feudalism and the establishment of national freedom could have been achieved much more easily and at a far lower cost by a revolution, he wrote.

To-day we can see what is left of the "emancipation" brought about by the first Balkan war. And at the same time we know why it happened and what we must do if freedom is really to be won.

The path which Lenin opened up is the only path to national and social freedom.

The Municipal Elections in France—A Reverse For Fascism

By J. Berlioz (Paris)

The municipal elections which took place in two rounds in France on October 7 and 14 had a political character this time as distinct from former elections. Personalities and parish pump politics played a smaller role this time than ever before, and in many municipalities the central question around which the election was fought was the government of National Union which was formed after the fascist putsch of February 6.

Although the party distinctions of the bourgeois representatives were obscured, the official figures, inadequate as they are, reveal a *weakening of the parties which support the government and a strengthening of the Communist and socialist united front*. Our Party increased its seats from 10 to 30, whilst the socialist party increased its seats from 105 to 118. However, even these gains do not give a correct picture of the Communist and socialist gains because the municipal electoral system gives the small municipalities a greater weight in point of seats than would be justified by the votes polled. It is no exaggeration to say that throughout France the Communist Party has doubled its poll.

Those bourgeois newspapers which do not attempt to distort the result by barefaced lying are not pleased with the victory of the Socialist and Communist united front. The bourgeois press was compelled to admit that "the united front worked everywhere with noteworthy discipline." "The *Journal*" confined itself to the consolatory remark that "the results of the elections were as good as might be expected in the present difficult times." The reactionary "*Echo de Paris*" rebukes the electors for showing "a frivolous indifference to the internal and external dangers which threaten the country. There was no sign of that united civil enthusiasm which has enabled many of our neighbouring States to overcome their difficulties."

All those forces in the service of finance capital had concentrated in an energetic onslaught on the "Front Commun," as the united Socialist and Communist front has been termed. The French Prime Minister *Doumergue* did his utmost in a speech which was broadcast from all French stations to rally "all lovers of order" against the united front. *Herriot*, one of his Ministers and the leader of the Radical party, supported his chief to the utmost and both enjoyed the approval of nine-tenths of the bourgeois press. Naturally, the assassinations in Marseilles were thoroughly exploited against our Party and the vilest arguments were used. Under these circumstances the election results must be registered as a signal reverse for those capitalist forces which tried to defeat the united front.

Within the government camp the elections have produced a slight swing to the right. The Radicals and the groups of the left-centre have lost about 40 seats to those parties which are regarded as even more reactionary. In other words, a concentration around those parties which openly support fascism is beginning, and this concentration is faced by another one around the Socialist and Communist united front. However, for the moment it is no more than a beginning, for the majority of the lower middle classes is still vacillating between the two poles and is unwilling to loosen its connections with the old traditional parties.

The process of polarisation was hampered by the ambiguous attitude of the leaders of the *Radicals*. The Radical party has joined the government of National Union and supported all the fascist measures of the latter, but there is a ferment in the mass basis of the party, which consists of urban and rural petty bourgeois who have been hard hit by the crisis which is intensifying once again since the beginning of the year. In addition, those elements which cling to the old democratic freedoms feel increasingly that these freedoms are being attacked.

The Radicals were considerably weakened in the elections owing to their failure to take up a definite attitude. Officially the Radical party condemned the Communist and Socialist united front, but it left to the discretion of its local organisations their tactics during the second round of the elections. The Radical leaders have established connections with the "Alliance Démocratique" of Flandin with a view to forming a "Republican United Front," and the "Temps" and other organs of finance capitalism have warmly congratulated them on their "return to national consciousness."

In some districts, for instance Lyons, where *Herriot's* influence

is predominant, the Radicals formed a block with the right-wing parties against the Communist and Socialist united front, but in other districts the Radical candidates gave their votes to this same united front in the second round of the elections under the pressure of their electors. In general one can say that the elections were fought chiefly to win the votes of the middle classes which are so important in France both in town and country and which have previously been under the influence of the Radical party. Up to the present the latter party has succeeded in deceiving the mass of its followers as to its real policy of preparing the way for fascism.

The effective use of the Communist and Socialist united front made possible a concentration of the working-class forces and greatly strengthened working-class confidence, although up to the present no systematic joint action has been achieved and there are still forces working against the consolidation and extension of the united front. The Communist Party won important successes in various rural areas, for instance, in Corrèze and Lot-et-Garonne, but the great lesson of the elections for us is that we must extend the united front to include the lower middle classes.

It must be pointed out that nowhere did the fascists dare to put forward candidates of their own. The fascists contented themselves with supporting the most reactionary candidates of the government of National Union and supporting the governmental campaign against the united front of the Socialists and Communists. Even the armed bands of the fascists kept fairly quiet although experience has shown that they are invariably sure of immunity from any action on the part of the authorities. The social basis of French fascism remains weak, despite the desperate efforts which have been made to consolidate and extend it amongst the ex-soldiers and amongst the peasants by means of a reckless campaign of incitement against "foreigners."

The Cabinet reshuffle last week is an example of the co-operation between legal and illegal methods of fascism. *Doumergue* gives way to the "Croix de Feu" and to the "National Front" which he gives full freedom of action and permits to arm and drill, but he is sensitive to the pressure of the French masses and therefore he did not entrust the post of Minister of the Interior to *Tardieu*, but to the *Radical Marchandeu*.

The French bourgeoisie has learnt from the events in Germany and it is anxious to operate with its version of the Weimar Constitution as long as possible. The appointment of the Freemason *Marchandeu* as Minister of the Interior would appear to be a concession to the feelings of the broad masses, but at the same time the government relies on *Marchandeu* to carry out the State Reform Bill and to win the majority of his party in favour of this purely fascist measure when he reports to the next congress of his party on it.

There is no doubt that the results of the municipal elections will cause the armed fascist bands to increase their attacks on the working masses and their organisations. The French *Bruening*, *Doumergue*, is preparing the way for fascism as rapidly as possible. The Communist and Socialist united front is a powerful obstacle to the fascist tendencies in France, but it is an obstacle which must be strengthened as rapidly as possible by preparing a joint anti-fascist action on behalf of the immediate demands of the broad masses who are the victims of the capitalist offensive. French capitalism attempted to destroy the Communist and Socialist united front, and to concentrate all the bourgeois parties, both right and left-wing in a single united bourgeois front. The elections showed that the Communist and Socialist united front was increasing in strength and that considerable sections of the Radical voters ignored the appeals of their leaders and voted for the Communist and Socialist united front. We must advance still further along these lines and strengthen the united front by winning the masses of the urban and rural lower middle classes. When they are shown that the united front is their real defender they will no longer hesitate and the fascist hopes of victory in France will be shattered.

Oslo Tramwaymen's Union Demands Thaelmann's Release Oslo, October 8.

The trade union of the tramwaymen of Oslo, one of the largest unions of the capital, protested in a unanimous resolution against the maltreatment of *Thaelmann*, and demanded his immediate release. The meeting further demanded the immediate sending of a Norwegian delegation to visit *Thaelmann* in prison, in order to inquire into the treatment given him.

The U.S.A. Munitions Investigations

By A. G. Bosse (New York)

The investigation of the bribery, corruption and illicit dealings in the American munitions industry, conducted by a Senate Committee, revealed more "scandal" than any other investigation in history. Though only the surface was touched it has already proved to be far more significant even than the Teapot Dome Oil and Morgan stock-jobbing Senate investigations. The latter two simply showed graft and crookedness in high places, but the present hearings are international in scope and show not merely the identification of big business and the government, but also the complete subservience of the latter, its role of super-salesman for the merchants of death. They make clear the role of the munitions makers in labour struggles, and especially in war preparations.

The hearings, which began on September 4, ended on the 21st, to be continued in December after the November elections are over and people have time to forget some of the damning evidence brought out in spite of the timidity and suppression of the committee.

The *Electric Boat Co.* is an American submarine building company which (together with British Vickers, Ltd.) dominates the world market. Organised in 1900, Electric Boat, which held basic patents for submarines, at once made a secret agreement with Vickers, whereby it gets 100,000 dollars for every submarine the latter builds and sells. It turns the latest American, including U.S. Navy, secrets over to Vickers, which in turn does the same for the English Navy, Mitsubishi in Japan, and Vickers companies in a number of other countries. Even the 400 German submarines built during the war used American patents, and Electric Boat is suing for 17,000,000 dollars on them. Of 390 submarines Electric Boat has built, 240 were built abroad. How patriotic these people are is seen from the fact that for years they refused to allow the U.S. Navy to use their patents without heavy payment. Still, the Navy bore no grudge, and when it sent an official mission to Peru to reorganise its navy, Electric Boat profited by the recommendations for submarines. Peru was so grateful that it let Electric Boat select its business agent (Commander Aubry, of the Peruvian Navy) as delegate to the Geneva Disarmament Conference in 1925; but the agent wanted too large an expenses account. The president of the company, Carse, incidentally helped sell American investors 75,000,000 dollars worth of Peruvian bonds that defaulted. Electric Boat is building submarines for Roosevelt's big navy programme to-day.

Sir Basil Zaharoff is a stockholder in Electric Boat, under another name, and is European agent for the company. They paid him 2,126,000 dollars in commissions for bribing government officials to buy their boats; Zaharoff cheated the U.S. on tax payments on this income, with Carse helping him by saying the business was gotten in France. Sir Basil's pet "baby" was the Electric Boat's Spanish subsidiary. He suggested (1925) that U.S. Ambassador Moore in Spain do his stuff as salesman to keep out threatening German competition: "I think you should arrange for instructions to be sent to him from your State Department . . . when you inform me that your government have given the necessary instructions to their Ambassador in Madrid, I will have no difficulty in persuading the British to do it too, ditto, ditto." It was done, both in the U.S. and Britain. When the Electric Boat Co. was having trouble with the U.S. Navy Department in 1928 Zaharoff gave them advice on how to get round other officials, based on 50 years of such dealings; probably largely "doing the needful," his gentle way of saying "graft" or "bribery." He is connected with Vickers, Krupp, etc., and was intimate with President Wilson, Lloyd George, Clemenceau, Venizelos, etc.

When Bethlehem Steel started to do an armaments business in Latin America, Electric Boat got together with them and they co-operated in paying the latter's agent, Aubry (formerly Peruvian naval attache in Washington). Peru and Chile seemed about to go to war in 1927 and Electric Boat worked on Peru to arm her with submarines, while Vickers was just as busy convincing Chile that she needed a few flotillas. Though the head of the U.S. naval mission to Peru felt she needed destroyers, not submarines, Peru bought submarines; the son of President Leguia got one bribe of 50,000 dollars. Electric Boat had received inquiries from Chile, but suddenly developed a shortage and transferred the proposal to Vickers, urging that more than enough be added to the price to cover bribery and royalties. Peru asked Electric Boat to recommend her a naval inspector, one of whose duties would be to pass

on submarines. It should be mentioned that the vice-president of Electric Boat, Spear, is a former naval officer, as is Craven, manager of Vickers.

Morgan, formerly Ambassador of the U.S. in Brazil, spent much of his time trying to sell submarines (in 1922). Some 180,000 dollars in bribes was involved, and the submarines, if the orders were obtained, were to be built in Belgium by Electric Boat—it was cheaper, and therefore the idea of providing work for American workers was nothing to disturb any patriotic manufacturer.

In Argentina the Italians interfered, but Electric Boat and Vickers got together with them and the business was shared. When Japan tried to invade the South American field, Vickers got busy and the Japanese stayed out. While the Russo-Japanese war was on Electric Boat built submarines for Japan, and during the World War for England and France, but in order not to embarrass the U.S., built them in Canada. Very recently the left hand of the partnership, Vickers, has been selling American and British submarine secrets to Japan. When England was building the warship Clyde, probably using American patents, Craven asked Spear not to tell the Navy Department about it, and Spear did not. At another time Craven complained to Electric Boat about Geneva Disarmament Conferences, calling them "fancy convention" and "troublesome organisation." Electric Boat countered sympathetically that "the pernicious activities of our State Department have put the brakes on armament orders."

But the State Department was not so bad. When Turkey was being persuaded that it needed submarines, the U.S. not only arranged a conference with the Turkish Ambassador, but sent two admirals (one of whom, appropriately enough, was Hilary Jones, leading expert on disarmament at Geneva). The Navy Department was simply a puppet: Assistant Secretary Jahncke, in 1930, assured the Republican leader of Congress he would "do everything in my power" to get Electric Boat orders; "it will work out that these submarines be assigned to the private shipbuilding company at New London as understood."

Why and how this company has such influence in the executive branch of the government is explained by the fact that it maintained a great lobby at Washington, one so powerful (expenses, 1919-34, 293,000 dollars) that it put two friendly Republican Congressmen on the important Rules Committee of the House to work for them. They helped pass a Bill which enabled Electric Boat to get payment for a 3,000,000 dollar claim ahead of 3,000 other claims which had precedence. A somewhat more important aid in all this business was Electric Boat's financial connections. Their bankers are the Rockefeller Chase National Bank, Morgan's Guaranty Trust Co., and in London, Morgan, Grenfel and Co. Assisting Carse at the investigation was Senator Barbour, appointed to the vacancy caused by the death of Dwight Morrow, partner of J. P. Morgan. With such estimable connections one can understand why Electric Boat got ahead.

The next company investigated was the *Driggs Engineering and Ordnance Co.* Its financial connections were less important than Electric Boat's, but politically it flew higher. President Coolidge had the War Department give it the latest designs for anti-aircraft guns in order to boost foreign sales. But it wanted big sales. Said Assistant Secretary of War Robbins in 1928: Small sales "would only serve to disclose to the foreign power the latest U.S. developments in anti-aircraft artillery and would not develop any munitions manufacturing capacity in your plant." Always the same excuse; we give foreign powers our secrets in order to develop the defensive powers of our country; your profits are incidental. Army officers wrote articles in official magazines to "serve as very good sales literature in convincing foreign governments," Robbins pointed out. The government spent 2,000,000 dollars to develop a certain type of gun—and then gave it to Driggs. What is more, when the company tried to interest Turkey, the War Department sent the cruiser Raleigh along to demonstrate. But, alas! Vickers went Driggs one better, they used prostitutes ("women of doubtful reputation" was Driggs' bitter way of putting it). And they even used King George, in the case of Poland (in 1932), where Driggs had sold 1,800,000 dollars worth of guns. Vickers got King George to summon the Polish Ambassador, and Driggs countered by getting the U.S. to invite a Polish military commission.

In South America the Navy Department "lent" Commander Strong to Colombia to pass on the merits of munitions bought in the U.S. Strong reported to Driggs, made money through them speculating on the stock market, and now works for Colombia as mili-

tary adviser. Strong's "defence" plan consisted in advising the purchase of Driggs' anti-aircraft guns; the plan was worked out in Driggs' office. *Miranda*, an official of the Driggs Co. and fixer of bribes, later organised his own American Armaments Co. and sold millions of dollars of munitions to Bolivia, Cuba, etc. *Miranda* sold to Colombia during an armistice between Colombia and Peru: "We have chosen Colombia because they have money and Peru has very little." Electric Boat did much business with Peru, however, and credulous American speculators furnished the money. *Miranda* was advised by a State Department official to go to court to test the validity of Roosevelt's embargo on arms shipments to Paraguay and Bolivia. He is agent for Bolivia and has got orders for over a million dollars in the past year. Also one for some of the most modern types of powerful Lockheed planes from the Japanese Navy.

United Aircraft sold many airplane motors to Japan. *Soley*, the British corporation selling stocks (30,000,000 dollars worth) owned by the government and shown to be a semi-official if not secretly official agency, wrote to their agents in the U.S. last March that Japan must either bribe the U.S.S.R. or fight them before grabbing more of China. They urged that the State and War Departments be approached to purchase *Soley's* munitions stocks to sell to China in case "some sudden emergency did arise in the Far East." Whether the U.S. bought these stocks or not, it was selling right along to both Japan and China. *Soley* admitted the sale of a big block of their stocks "could alter the political balance of power of the smaller countries." For that reason, he went on, "We are to a very great extent controlled by the varying policy of the government." In 1931-32 *Soley* sold Nanking 100,000 Mauser rifles, but recently the shortage of ready funds cut their purchases.

The U.S. fixed this, giving China 30,000,000 dollars to buy American "wheat and cotton." The 10,000,000 dollar cotton loan, Senator Nye admitted, was used to buy guns and airplanes, while Japan contends the wheat loan was used similarly, and is undoubtedly right. The excuse was to boost foreign trade, help China's famine sufferers, and cut U.S. farm surpluses. Nye refused to name the sellers of the munitions. Upon the recommendation of a U.S. Army officer who was Chiang Kai-shek's adviser, the U.S. sold 150 military bombers to Nanking, with the complete approval of the State Department and despite the most violent protests by Japan. *Hull* answered Japan's spokesman, Amai, that the U.S. insisted upon her rights to trade with China. He also refused to allow the Nye Committee to put in the record the names of the sellers of the planes (probably National City Bank's *United Aircraft Corporation*). The aviation section of the Commerce Department procured former army and navy flyers to act as aviation instructors to teach the Chinese to operate these planes and run aviation schools, in order to promote sales, and to try to wipe out the Chinese Soviets.

Other testimony brought out the fact that U.S. munitions makers wine and feasted a Canton general visiting the U.S. By bribery and other typically "business" methods they got orders, some of the methods being so raw that even they had to characterise them as involving "questionable ethics."

The connection of the arms manufacturers and dispensers with strikebreaking was significant. There is the *Federal Laboratories, Inc.* of Pittsburgh, which specialises in providing employers with gas bombs, machine-guns, etc. One director of this company is also a director of the *Weirton Steel Co.*, which successfully defied the N.R.A. in its strikebreaking attacks on its workers. Another runs the *Railway Audit and Supply*, which supplies spies to break strikes. The president of *Federal Laboratories, Inc.*, *J. W. Young*, testified that he supplied tear gas to Ford's thugs, who killed the unemployed demonstrators at Dearborn a few years ago. Sales increased 5 to 10 per cent. since the textile strike began, just as they did after the Ford massacre. In all recent strikes this company sold its products. *Young* wrote to his agents:—

"We should impress upon public officials that they should spend money for the purchase of tear-gas equipment even when they cannot afford to pay salaries."

Sales of sub-machine-guns and tear and sickening gas were made to manufacturers, police, sheriffs, and the national guard, but *Young* said, "You bet your life" they don't sell to labour unions and strikers. Senator Clark queried: "In other words, if there is going to be a strike and the police are on the side of the industrialists, the employers can get ammunition, but the workers can't." Mr. *Young* agreed. During the San Francisco marine and

general strike, the Toledo strike, and the textile strike such companies did a rushing business.

Recently Mr. *Young* reorganised the Havana police department, making them more efficient in killing strikers. He undoubtedly recommended the sale of his products, and got orders. The Senate Committee unearthed some correspondence from *F. S. Jonas*, New York agent of *Federal Laboratories* and formerly South American agent for *Curtiss-Wright*. Some seven years ago Mr. *Jonas* wrote: "We certainly are in one hell of a business, when a fellow has to wish for trouble so as to make a living, the only consolation being, however, that if we don't get the business, someone else will. It would be a terrible state of affairs if my conscience started to bother me now." His conscience stopped pricking him, evidently, for he is selling to industrialists now, for use against strikers, as well as to foreign armies.

Young was questioned as to the effect of his gas on strikers. Senator Bone asked how it worked "on men who were suffering from malnutrition and physically weakened—on strikers?" Like a good Samaritan, *Young* answered, "Far less than lead bullets," and explained further, "If he weren't fed he'd have a hard time vomiting."

As soon as the testimony above cited became known, the Y.C.L., League Against War and Fascism, International Labour Defence, radical veterans and other workers' organisations picketed the plant of *Federal Laboratories* in Pittsburgh, closing it down tight for the first time in three years. They demanded the ending of munitions shipments to Latin America and the Far East.

The Fascist Manoeuvre of the Trade Union Elections

By Estella

Trade union elections took place throughout the whole of Italy in September in order, in accordance with the new statutes, to elect the provincial union executives. These so-called elections came quite as a surprise: it was only on August 29 that the newspapers first announced the holding of trade union elections, which were to be concluded by September 5.

It is clear that the fascist government were compelled by the discontent of the masses to make this "democratic" manoeuvre. The fascists, who had always denied the masses the right to elect their leaders themselves, resorted to these elections as a necessary safety-valve for the general discontent. The "elections" were intended to enable the fascist trade union leaders to draw the masses into the sphere of "corporative collaboration."

On the other hand, the fascists attempted by a certain sham "democracy" of the trade unions to hide the fact that it is intended to deprive the trade unions of the few functions they still possess. In the first place the fact was to be concealed that the workers in the factories are more and more prevented from immediately and effectively putting forward their daily demands. Whilst the sham-democratic election manoeuvre was conceded, the fascists continued to nominate the confidential councils and the factory correspondents.

The trade unions were deprived of legal recognition, i.e., the trade unions no longer have the right to represent the whole category of workers and to conclude collective agreements independently. The election of the provincial trade union leading committees is abolished; the higher trade union officials are nominated.

What was the result of the "elections"? They proved to be a downright fraud, a demagogic swindle. It suffices to read the newspaper reports, which are undoubtedly falsified, in order to realise this. Apart from the fact that the workers could not make any preparation for the elections owing to the shortness of time, the meetings at which the elections took place were held in the following manner: On the day of the elections the workers were invited to the meetings through the newspapers, which are not read by the majority of workers. The meeting was empowered to carry out the election half an hour after it had started, regardless of the number of workers present.

In many cases the fascist leaders had a complete list already drawn up, which they read out to the meeting and then proceeded to the next business. In other cases the proposed list was declared accepted without even a show of hands if only a small group of fascists applauded. There were meetings at which only the fascist leaders were present and the workers were absent. Only in rare cases did the workers succeed in starting a discussion

on the reports submitted and having the elections carried out later, with the result that it was possible to get some of the workers who had spoken in the discussion placed on the election list.

These so-called elections have once again confirmed the correctness of the slogans of the Communist Party of Italy and of the Italian Confederation of Labour. The fascists only want to deceive the masses. But the masses must make this manoeuvre recoil on the fascists themselves by making use of it to demand trade union democracy and to fight for the defence of the class interests of the proletariat. The directions issued by the Italian Confederation of Labour regarding the elections were as follows: Elect leaders of trade unions on the basis of a programme of immediate demands of the workers; put forward candidates who are pledged to defend the interests of the workers; demand election of workshop representatives; freedom of the press and organisation and the right to strike. As the elections have shown, these directives have been partly followed.

Cases are reported where the meeting of the trade union had to be postponed. This seems to have been particularly the case in Milan. Many workers see a certain connection between these cases and the particular eagerness with which Mussolini appealed to the workers in Milan. After the manoeuvre of the trade union elections Mussolini sought to continue to deceive the workers with promises. In Milan he promised them "guaranteed work, reasonable wages and decent homes." But the Milan workers, like the workers in the whole of Italy, do not believe in Mussolini's promises. The thousands of unemployed in Milan and the neighbourhood, the millions of unemployed in the whole of Italy know that Mussolini and fascism cannot guarantee them work. The workers, whose wages have been reduced by 70 per cent. since fascism came to power in Italy, do not believe in the talk about "reasonable wages," and they also know that the fascists cannot provide them with a "decent home." There is only one promise which Mussolini really means to carry out, namely, the complete militarisation of the population.

But the working people of Italy want to fight against fascism and also against war preparations. Under the leadership of the C.P.I. and of the C.G.L., they will expose the fascist deception and fight against war, which fascism is preparing.

An Attempted Coup d'Etat in Portugal

By Flario

The political police of the Carmona-Salazar government, working in close collaboration with the Spanish police, have discovered a new plot which was prepared by Liberal Portuguese emigrants in Spain.

The weapons confiscated by the Spanish police were to have been used in a new "putsch" in Portugal, similar to all those which have taken place since the setting up of the military dictatorship in 1926, and which have always ended in a collapse owing to the tactics of their leaders and of the Liberal movement. For the rest, the aim pursued by the leaders of this conspiracy leaves no doubt regarding the real intentions of the people who wish to "smash" the Salazar dictatorship. They are the same people who advocate the creation of a modern mobile garde like that of Spain in order to preserve the "prestige of the army."

The revolutionary organisations of Portugal, with the C.P. at their head, have for a long time exposed the "putschist" policy of certain leaders of the old Liberal parties, in close co-operation with the anarchist leaders, who wish to deceive the anti-fascist masses once again with the promise to overthrow the Salazar government.

They have not replied to any of the appeals of the Communist Party of Portugal to form the anti-fascist fighting front. Their tactics are confined exclusively to conspiracy, whilst they reject the participation of the working masses and the fight for their daily demands.

At the head of this group of conspirators (they have ceased to exist as a party since 1926) there stand former ministers, etc., who by their policy, which was directed against the working people, promoted the seizure of power by the dictatorship of Carmona-Salazar.

The setting up of the military dictatorship in 1926 pushed the old political leaders into the background, and that is the reason why they wish to exclude Salazar and his clique from power, in order then themselves to pursue the same policy of suppression, starvation and terror.

The news that weapons have been found in Spain which were intended to be used in a revolutionary fight in Portugal, served the governments of both these countries as an occasion for resorting to fierce repressive measures against the workers and their organisations. The big fascist newspapers in Portugal devoted long articles to this question and endeavoured to prove that it was a case of a "Communist manoeuvre," in order thereby to justify the new campaign of persecution which led to the arrest of workers and peasants.

The starving masses of peasants are seizing food, and the big landowners are demanding that the Republican Guard be strengthened in order to suppress the peasant revolts.

In the towns and the industrial centres, the employers, aided by the fascist trade unions, have launched an offensive against the wages and the standard of living of the workers. According to official figures, the cost of living has increased by more than 20 per cent. in the past year. This objective situation of the working population, the fascist policy of oppression and terror and, on the other hand, the systematic work of the revolutionary organisations, are not failing to have an effect. This year a number of mass actions have taken place in the anti-fascist fight as, for instance, the strike struggles in Lisbon, Setubal, Oporto, Alameda, etc., and the peasant revolts in the provinces of Alentejo and Estremadura. On January 18 it came to big collisions between anti-fascist students and the advance-guardists.

In these circumstances the old Liberal party leaders and anarchist leaders wished to make use of the opportunity for a new coup d'état. They do not understand, and do not even attempt to understand, that their tactics and the aim pursued by them will not meet with success nor be able to deceive the anti-fascist masses, as the latter see no other way out of their present situation than a workers' and peasants' government.

The news of the discovery of weapons and the arrest of responsible persons in Spain confirms once again the correctness of the criticism of the Communist Party of Portugal. At the same time it strengthens the real anti-fascist fight and shows more clearly the way in which the fascist government of Carmona-Salazar will be overthrown.

DECLARATION OF REVOLUTIONARY WRITERS FOR THE SCOTTSBORO NEGRO BOYS

The Scottsboro Negro boys have been kept in prison, in the shadow of the electric chair, for more than three years. They are daily threatened with being seized by the mob and murdered by hanging or burning. Three times they have been sentenced to death. Public opinion, aroused by the world campaign of protest organised by the International Red Aid, has up to now frustrated the murderous designs of the anti-Negro capitalist and landowning class.

We revolutionary writers cannot remain silent in face of the lynch terror in the United States. We cannot look calmly on while the ruling white class is seeking to murder the innocent Scottsboro boys.

We call upon the writers and the intellectuals of all countries who have rendered humanity an invaluable service by exposing the horrors of German and Austrian fascism. We call upon all those who placed themselves at the disposal of the powerful movement which wrested Dimitrov, Popov and Tanev from the clutches of the indescribable terror regime of Hitler and Goering. Work in order that the lynch terror in the United States shall become an object of loathing in the hearts of all decent men and women.

We stigmatise the lynch terror with burning words.

We protest against the monstrous trial which has been staged against the innocent Scottsboro Negro boys.

We demand their immediate, unconditional and safe release.

Paul Nizan (France), Aragon (France), Rafael Alberti (Spain), José M. Vacas Rodriguez (Cuba), Hu Lanchi (China), Louis Fischer (U.S.A.), Otto Luehn (Norway), Jean Richard Bloch (France), Harry Martinson (Sweden), André Malreaux (France), Vlad Pozner (France), D. Glinos (Greece), Emi Siao (China), N. V. Nezval (Czechoslovakia), Costa Varnalis (Greece), M. Teresa Leon (Spain), Moa Martinson (Sweden).

Spain

How the Bourgeois Leaders Betrayed the Catalonian Movement

By André Marty

The Communist Party of France has sent Comrade Marty to take part in the election campaign in the East Pyrenees district, from where he has sent the following report on the events in Catalonia.—Ed.

At the time of writing (October 14) the forces of the working class and of the peasants in Catalonia are practically intact and considerably strengthened by the rich experiences of the recent struggles. The Party and the Young Communist League are not by any means broken. On the contrary, there exist great enthusiasm and a firm determination to bar the way to the fascist reaction.

The attitude of *Companys* and numerous leaders of the "Catalonian Lefts" called forth great indignation. He believed that—as on April 14, 1931—it would suffice to proclaim the Catalonian Republic in order to disarm Madrid. He permitted General *Batet* to leave the palace of the Generalitat, where he could have kept him a prisoner, and on the other hand refused to arm the workers immediately, as the Workers' Alliance (the Communist-Socialist united front organisation) demanded.

Two hours after the proclamation of the Catalonian Republic by the "Barcelona Radio," over 81 per cent. of the towns and villages announced their allegiance to the Republic. The municipal councils were replaced by revolutionary committees, most of which consisted of two representatives of each organisation.

The C.N.T. and the F.A.I. (Iberian Anarchist Federation) refused to take part in the movement, but numerous syndicalist and anarchist workers flung themselves into the fight and took part in the committees.

Thus the workers' power was proclaimed in Sabadell, Terrassa, Tarragona, Reus, Lérida, Balaguer, Cerbéra, Agramount, Granollers, Badalona, Puigcerda, Olot and hundreds of other villages.

Nearly everywhere the red flag waved alongside of the Catalonian flag.

The Generalitat issued no orders to arm, and the leaders of the local organisations of the Republican "Lefts" nearly everywhere prevented the arming of the working population. In *Figueres* they placed the weapons in a guarded castle. But in spite of this the peasants armed themselves and gathered together. When General *Batet* commenced his attack, *Companys* did not issue a call to arms, but caused lying reports to be spread about the concentration of troops. When, therefore, the desperate appeal of *Denca* came: "Catalonians, to arms! March on Barcelona!" it was too late, for the confusion was too great.

Everywhere the Workers' Alliance seized the initiative for action; while the Catalonian leaders in general hesitated and paralysed the fight, Red Guards were formed in various places. In *Lérida* they commandeered the property of the big landowners and the church. Everywhere they maintained complete order.

The soldiers were very unreliable. In *Figueres* they said to the Revolutionary Committee: "Come armed and proceed against the officers and we will fraternise with you."

But the Catalonian "Lefts" did not want to arm the workers and disarm the civil guard. There was a revolt in the *Gerone* regiment. On October 13 seventeen sailors on board the "*Uruguay*" lying off Barcelona, were sentenced to imprisonment for life for mutinying.

At the moment of the proclamation of the Republic of Catalonia the Workers' Alliance in Barcelona issued an imposing proclamation in which they demanded arms. Out of fear that the movement might get into the hands of the revolutionaries and would demand the right of self-determination for Catalonia and proceed against the capitalist regime, *Companys* called on the population to keep calm and ordered that each organisation should assemble in its own premises.

In this way the organisations became an easy target for the guns of General *Batet*. Thus *Jaume Conte*, the leader of the "Estat Catala," was killed. The Socialist Alliance and the *Escamots* were also placed in the same dangerous situation. But the Workers' Alliance strengthened the F.N.T. (Foment Nacional del Treball), protected it by means of barricades, and sent delegates to all parts of Catalonia in order to organise the armed revolt. It

was the *Alliance* which held *Batet* in check, both by regular and guerilla warfare. On October 10 the fully exhausted soldiers fell asleep beside their guns.

If the leaders of the Catalonian "Left" had not hesitated success would have been certain.

The Communist Party and the Y.C.L. of Catalonia behaved splendidly. The people of the bloc and the socialists in the united front behaved very bravely. Thanks to skilful fighting methods, the Party and the Y.C.L. have lost only five killed and five wounded. *Olasso*, member of the C.C. of the C.P., has been wounded and arrested. The girls in the Young Communist League were in the front ranks of the fight.

The workers and peasants displayed great enthusiasm and are not discouraged by the capitulation of *Companys* and the attitude of many leaders of the Catalonian "Lefts." They declare that fascism will not come into power either in Catalonia or the rest of Spain. The Catalonian newspapers "*Humanidad*," "*Opinio*" and "*Publicidad*" are still prohibited. There is a big slump in railway and mining shares on the Barcelona Stock Exchange. The African troops, i.e., the special corps of deportees, were incited by fantastic stories of excesses committed by the Communists and Catalonian workers. Three fresh torpedo-boat destroyers have just arrived in Barcelona.

To the Labour and Socialist International

To the Working Men and Women of All Countries!

The fascist-monarchist reaction in Spain is fighting with all its armed forces—army, navy, and air force—against the working class and peasantry, who are fighting under the leadership of the Workers' Alliance the united struggle brought into being by the Communists and socialists and sealed by blood shed in battle.

A victory for the fascist-monarchist reaction in Spain following the seizure of power by fascism in Germany and Austria, would mean not only unimaginable sufferings for the workers and peasants of Spain, but would be a heavy blow to the whole international proletariat.

Only fighting unity of the working class of all countries can give real help to the Spanish workers, and can block the way for reaction in Spain and throughout the world.

In this decisive moment, when the bourgeoisie is striving to shatter one of the fighting battalions of the international working class, the Spanish proletariat, the Communist International has called on its sections to organise, in common with other workers' organisations, demonstrations of solidarity with the Spanish working class.

At the same time the Communist International approaches the Labour and Socialist International with the proposal for immediate common action for the support of the fighting Spanish proletariat and also for struggle against support of the Lerroux government by the governments of other capitalist countries.

The Communist International charges Comrade *Cachin* to enter immediately into relations with representatives of the Labour and Socialist International for agreement on concrete forms and practical carrying out of such common actions.

Executive Committee of the Communist International.

To the Socialist Youth International

To the Young Working Men and Women and the Toiling Youth of All Countries!

The Executive Committee of the Young Communist International joins in the appeal of the Communist International and proposes to the Socialist Youth International immediately to commence joint actions for the protection and support of the Spanish proletariat and peasantry, including the youth, in their revolutionary fight.

The Executive Committee of the Young Communist International charges Comrades *Raymond Guyot* and *Massi* immediately to commence negotiations with representatives of the Socialist Youth International and to work out concrete measures with them for the protection of the Spanish proletariat, the peasantry and the youth against the fascist-monarchist reaction.

The Executive Committee of the Young Communist International.

Greetings From Austria to the Toilers of Spain To the Red Aid of Spain!

The heroic, unvanquished and unvanquishable working class of Austria and its Red Aid send hearty revolutionary fighting greetings to the workers, the working peasants and toilers of Spain and Catalonia.

The most cruel fascist terror is raging in Austria. The ruling Christian clique is talking every day of conciliation, but its courts are daily pronouncing monstrous sentences one after the other. The prisons are overcrowded, emergency prisons are being erected, armed bands of the degenerate bourgeoisie are daily attacking the workers' quarters and striking down workers and toilers. Following the tsarist model, the police, without any court proceedings, without any evidence of witnesses, without the admission of any defending counsel, have up to now imposed periods of strict arrest amounting to 600 years on anti-fascists. Thousands of anti-fascists are pining in the vermin-infested concentration camps. Barbaric conditions prevail in the police prisons and jails.

But all these persecutions cannot break the fighting spirit of the toiling masses of Austria. Your heroic struggle, which is followed with the greatest sympathy by the proletariat and all toilers of Austria, inspires us in our struggles. Your persecution by the Spanish bourgeoisie also stimulates to raise higher the banner of international working-class solidarity.

Across the frontiers of fascist barbarism we stretch out our hands to you and promise to mobilise the masses still better for the defence of the Spanish and Catalonian anti-fascists, who are threatened with gallows and hard-labour sentences.

Against the military and summary courts!

Against the death sentences!

Against the barbarous prison regime!

Against the disgrace of the concentration camps, for the release of all February fighters and anti-fascists!

For practical solidarity with the persecuted Spanish and Catalonian anti-fascists!

For the release of Ernst Thaelmann and all imprisoned anti-fascists!

For the unity of solidarity action in the non-party Red Aid!

For the overthrow of the fascist regime of gallows and starvation!

Long live the fighting masses of Spain, Catalonia and their Red Aid!

Long live the International Red Aid!

Long live the international brotherly solidarity of all toilers!

Central Committee of the Red Aid of Austria.

Appeal of the International Red Aid

"The heroic struggle of the toiling masses of Spain has drawn the attention of the workers of the world to this country.

"Although the Lerrox government has succeeded in gaining a temporary success by arresting the government of Catalonia, the unrest in the country has not been pacified. On the contrary, the armed conflicts and the strikes continue. The Lerrox government has imposed the state of emergency. Many thousands have been arrested—in Barcelona alone 2,000 anti-fascist fighters have been thrown into prison, thousands have been injured, 4,000 dead—this is the bloody balance sheet of the 'restoration of peace and order' by the Lerrox Cabinet.

"But in the face of all this terror, the fighting powers of the anti-fascist masses of the workers, and their united front in the struggle against fascism, are growing and spreading.

"This heroic struggle must be energetically supported by the toiling masses of all countries. A mighty storm of protest must be raised against the shooting of the workers, against the emergency orders and mass arrests.

"But this alone does not suffice. A broad action in aid of the victims of fascist terror in Spain must be initiated. The International Red Aid calls upon all its sections, and upon the workers of the whole world, to carry on this campaign on the broadest basis of the united solidarity front.

"The International Red Aid sends its warmest greetings to the heroic fighters of the Spanish towns and country places, and especially to the political prisoners, their families, and to the widows and orphans of the anti-fascists who have been killed.

"Down with fascist terror! Long live the heroic struggle of the toiling masses of Spain! Help for the victims of the Lerrox terror! Long live the international solidarity of the masses!

The Balkans

Letter From Belgrade

By M. G.

It is a popular axiom in Yugoslavia that none of the Serbian kings and rulers have died a natural death during the past century. The popular opinion has once again been vindicated. King Alexander has joined the long line of assassinated rulers.

The military fascist dictatorship which rules Yugoslavia was established on January 6, 1929. The abandonment of the methods of the democratic parliamentary dictatorship and the adoption of an open fascist dictatorship by means of violence, the attempt to crush the movement of the workers and peasants and of the oppressed national minorities with the sword, and the opening up of an offensive along the whole line against the workers, peasants and oppressed nationalities, were the characteristics which placed the coup d'etat of King Alexander in the same category with the seizure of power by fascist movements in other European countries. However, the military fascist dictatorship of King Alexander and his henchmen had several peculiarities all its own which have considerably influenced the development of the class struggle in Yugoslavia.

The most important of these peculiarities are, first of all, that the military fascist regime in Yugoslavia is the representative expression of the dictatorship of the dominant Serbs within a State comprising various nationalities.

Secondly, the dominant Pan-Serbian bourgeoisie adopted the weapon of an open fascist dictatorship at a time when the bourgeois democratic revolution was not completed. The dictatorship is directed therefore not only against the working class and against the peasantry, but also against the oppressed national minorities, the Croats, the Slovenians, the Macedonians, the Montenegrins, and the Albanians, etc.

Thirdly, when it adopted the weapon of an open fascist dictatorship the Pan-Serbian bourgeoisie was unable to use a united and organised fascist movement enjoying mass support, because such a movement did not exist in 1929, and all efforts to create one since have failed. The Pan-Serbian bourgeoisie had to use the influential officers' clique (the so-called "White Hand" organisation) and the court clique around King Alexander. The military fascist dictatorship was unable to solve any of the problems whose solution King Alexander had promised in the manifesto he issued when he carried out his coup d'etat on January 6, 1929; it was also unable to provide the Pan-Serbian bourgeoisie with a reliable mass basis, and, as the indignation and dissatisfaction of the working class and peasant masses increased rapidly as a result of the intensification of the economic crisis, there were signs at the end of 1931 of a crisis in the camp of the dictatorship itself. The unpopular General Petar Schivkovitch, who was the first Prime Minister of the dictatorship, had to resign, and King Alexander made an attempt to legalise his regime in the eyes of the masses by drawing up a fascist constitution. The increasing pressure necessitated the opening of other safety valves and "elections" were ordered, to replace half the members in parliament and in the senate, the other half being "appointed" by the king himself.

However, all these measures proved insufficient to prevent the further development of the revolutionary resistance of the masses of the workers and peasants against the dictatorship, and the influence of the Communist Party rapidly increased; 1932 was a year in which the revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants developed rapidly. There was mass resistance on the part of the peasants against the forced sale of farms, etc., for unpaid taxes. Whole villages rose against the Serbian oppressors, and State stores were raided and their foodstuffs distributed amongst the starving masses. In the towns the strike movements on the part of the workers increased, and in the second half of 1932 and the first half of 1933 the wave of strikes caused the whole edifice of the military fascist dictatorship to shake to its foundations. In the coastal districts of Croatia (Lika and Northern Dalmatia) an insurrectionary movement broke out and was crushed with brutal violence. The Croat guerilla groups were led by the Croat fascist leader Pavelitch, who is in the services of fascist Italy, but it is significant that the struggle was opened up by the armed attack by the "Utaschi" on the police barracks Bruschna in Lika shouting the slogans: "Long live an independent Croatia! Long live Communism!" In prison it was also noteworthy that

thousands of captured Croat peasants and members of the "Utaschi" needed no more than a talk with the imprisoned Communists in order to win them over to the alliance of the revolutionary workers, peasants and oppressed peoples.

During the past few months the differences of opinion in the camp of the ruling fascist clique on the best means of maintaining the fascist dictatorship and combating the advancing revolutionary movement have greatly intensified. New fascist organisations have been formed, "Boj" and "Yugoslovenska Akeiya," and these bodies are formally in opposition to the official fascist party, "Yugoslovenska Narodna Stranka." These new organisations and "movements" are striving to get a foothold in the working masses by means of forthright social demagoguery. On the other hand, the activity of the armed fascist bands of the military fascist dictatorship, "Narodna Obrana" and "Tchetnitszi," have increased considerably of late. There were indications that these organisations, with the king at their head and supported by the military, were about to make another coup d'état along Bulgarian lines.

In this situation King Alexander, who also controlled completely the foreign political connections of the country, took various measures directed towards a strengthening of the position of Pan-Serbian Yugoslavia in the Balkans and in Central Europe. Above all, the Yugoslavian government succeeded in weakening the position of its greatest enemy—Italy—in the Balkans. The pro-Italian government in Bulgaria was ejected by means of a coup d'état and a pro-French government put in its place. The over-zealous colonisation of Albania by Italian imperialism helped Serbian imperialism to strengthen its positions in Albania and to improve its relations to King Achmed Zogu. The intensification of the contradictions between German and Italian imperialism gave King Alexander a high trump in his hand and with this trump card it was his intention to prevent the threatening rapprochement between France and Italy, which was to take place at the expense of Yugoslavia. In the question of the restoration of normal relations with the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia proved a hard nut for France to crack. King Alexander harboured dreams of one day becoming the king of all the Slavs and he was unwilling to abandon this illusion and recognise the Soviet Union, so that he offered obstinate resistance to all the French proposals in this direction.

King Alexander was very unpopular with his own people. He was notorious as a despot, a tyrant, and the direct cause of the brutal terror which crushed the whole country. His ambitious nature made him the ideal tool of the most reactionary, chauvinist and imperialist section of the ruling Pan-Serbian bourgeoisie. Alexander's elder brother Georg was forced to abandon his rights to the throne in favour of Alexander. Since 1924 Georg has been interned in a cloister in Nisch. Shortly before the beginning of the world war Alexander's father Peter was sent to a hospital and kept there away from all influence on politics. Ugly rumours have been spread about the nature of his father's death. Alexander always sought to buy over his political opponents, and if this method failed he would then adopt the most ferocious brutality. In 1917 he caused one of his best officers, Apis Dimitrievitch, well known for his connection with the Serajevo assassination, the leader of the "Narodna Obrana" and of the liberal officers' organisation, to be shot.

At Alexander's personal orders well-known and popular Communist leaders like Mark Sef Lius, Diura Diakovitch, and five secretaries of the Young Communist League were flung into prison and murdered there. At Alexander's orders the leaders of the Croat people, Stepan Raditsch, Bassaritchek, and others, were assassinated in the Yugoslavian parliament in Belgrade, and the Croat leader Predavitz, who had escaped the massacre in the parliament building, was later murdered on the streets. Characteristic for the regime of police oppression and mediæval brutality which Alexander Karageorgivitch established over Yugoslavia is the fact that in his political testament he appointed the commandant of the gendarmerie, the notorious oppressor of the Macedonian people, General Tomitch, as the representative in the Regency Council of Prince Paul.

Since the existence of the Yugoslavian State Alexander energetically opposed any amnesty for the tens of thousands of political prisoners. Yugoslavia is the only country in Europe where no Communist political prisoner has been amnestied since 1918. Thanks to his brutal exploits the hatred of the working class against the bourgeoisie in Yugoslavia was concentrated on the

person of Alexander, as also was the hatred of the oppressed peoples and national minorities against the Pan-Serbian oppressors, and the hatred of the peasants against the rich landowners and speculators.

King Alexander was the central figure of the military fascist dictatorship of the Pan-Serbian bourgeoisie. There is no doubt that his assassination will greatly accelerate the development of the crisis in the camp of the dictatorship. The intensification of the terrorist measures which has taken place throughout the country since the assassination will not succeed in holding up the development of the revolutionary movement and of the progress of disintegration in the camp of the fascists. The immediate consequence of the assassination of Alexander will be an intensification of all the internal contradictions in Yugoslavia.

The Communist Party of Yugoslavia strongly condemns all terrorist actions and equally strongly condemns those provocateurs who are attempting to exploit the assassination in order to plunge the people into a world war once again. The Communist Party will utilise the increased disintegration in the fascist camp as a result of the assassination in order to mobilise the forces of the revolutionary workers and peasants.

It will depend on the activity of the Communist Party and on its leadership of the revolutionary movement of the workers, peasants and oppressed peoples to what degree the masses will be able to utilise the increasing disintegration in the camp of the ruling classes in order to deliver the final blow against the military fascist dictatorship.

The Assassination of the King of Yugoslavia and Its Political Background

By R. Bridgeman (London)

(International Secretary of the League Against Imperialism)

The shooting of King Alexander of Yugoslavia and of the Foreign Minister of France at Marseilles on October 9, and the consternation created by this outrage, have created a new situation, which may have far-reaching results.

The reasons for this royal visit to France were the desire of the French government to demonstrate the undiminished solidity of the alliance with Yugoslavia, and to help France's ally to come to terms with Italy. This is rendered necessary by the rearmament of Germany, by the Polish-German-Hungarian rapprochement and by the consequent collapse of the former Franco-Polish alliance. Apart from the anti-Italian feeling which has been visibly growing in Yugoslavia, there has been evidence that King Alexander was co-operating with the German Nazis.

After the assassination of the Austrian Chancellor, Dollfuss, Alexander had opened his frontiers and granted asylum to the Nazi insurgents who fled from Austria and had even provided them with passports valid for return trips to Czechoslovakia and Hungary. Alexander gave Goering, the Prussian dictator, a magnificent reception when he visited Belgrade a few months ago; he had allowed freedom to the German Youth organisation in Yugoslavia, while any movement of his own national minorities—Slovenes, Croats and Macedonians—was fiercely repressed. A commercial treaty between Germany and Yugoslavia has recently been concluded. There was, in fact, abundant evidence which had thoroughly alarmed the vigilant Barthou that Hitler and Alexander were drawing nearer together. Moreover, Alexander had territorial ambitions not only as regards Albania, where he was continually coming into conflict with Italian imperialism, not only in the direction of Salonica to obtain access to the Aegean, but in Austrian Carinthia and in the Slav hinterland of Trieste and Fiume, because of his desire for naval supremacy in the Adriatic.

After the world war, 1914-1918, the victorious bloc of imperialists dictated new frontiers in Europe to suit their own interests. A series of imperialist vassal States was founded: Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Greece.

The conquerors shamefacedly betrayed their pledges to grant national self-determination and to protect the rights of national minorities. Over 40 millions of people in Europe were robbed of their right to national freedom, including Ukrainians, White Russians, Germans, Alsations, Catalans, Basques, Hungarians, Slovaks, Croats, Slovenes, Macedonians, Albanians, Montenegrins, Thracians, Bulgarians and Moldavians.

In no other part of Europe is so large a part of the population subject to government by an alien race as in the Balkans, which

can be considered as a typical example of the oppression of minorities.

Forty per cent. of the 17 millions of inhabitants of Rumania belong to oppressed nationalities. More than 50 per cent. of the total Yugoslav population of 14 millions belong to oppressed nationalities. In Bulgaria, in the district of Petritch alone, live over 200,000 Macedonians who are brutally oppressed. In Greece there are Macedonians, Turks (in Thrace), Bulgarians, Kutzo-Valachs and Jews who are deprived of their most elementary rights.

Apart from the manufacture of war material, there has been hardly any industrial development in the Balkan countries. They have been hit very severely by the fall in the value of raw materials, particularly as they are weighed down under the burden of immense loans "granted" by foreign imperialists for military purposes.

In no other part of Europe is the standard of living of the working class as low as it is in the Balkans.

In Yugoslavia the disastrous effects of the world crisis have been heightened by an agrarian crisis. Poverty and starvation are the lot of the peasants and agricultural labourers in Yugoslavia to-day, while the large landowners and the richer peasants are shifting the burden of the crisis on to the shoulders of the poor peasants and workers by raising rents, lowering wages and lengthening the working day. The prices of agricultural produce are continually falling, whilst the big industrialists are able to maintain high prices for industrial goods by means of cartels, so that the peasant has to pay three times as much for what he buys to-day as he did before the war, and double as much as in 1929. At the same time, the banks and moneylenders are exploiting the peasants and forcing them to sell their land.

Between January 6, 1929, when King Alexander abolished parliamentary government and established his own single-handed dictatorship, until January 1, 1934, 285 political trials took place in Yugoslavia, 1,278 men were condemned to 3,468 years of imprisonment, 10 life sentences and 15 death sentences were passed, and 140 Republicans, Socialists and Communists were put to death without trial.

It is a grim and shocking record—the record of a fascist dictatorship, with the king and a small camarilla of military officers as the executive.

Last November, when 196 political prisoners at Mitrovica were on hunger strike, which had reduced several of them to the point of death, the Civil Liberties Press Panel addressed a telegram to the Yugoslav Minister in London, appealing to the Yugoslav government to grant the reasonable demands of the prisoners, which were:—

- (1) Not to be flogged.
- (2) The right to receive medical attention.
- (3) The right not to die either of starvation or of cold.

The information as to their condition had been obtained by *Maitre Willard*, the well-known French lawyer who had assisted the defendants in the Leipzig trial, and had been expelled from Germany because of his activity on behalf of the accused.

The League Against Imperialism has always made it clear that it is the terrorism of alien imperialist governments which is responsible for the terrorist outrages by individuals, such as the shooting of King Alexander or of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, and that the struggle against imperialism cannot be successfully carried out by individual acts, however heroic and self-sacrificing the motive behind them may be. The League entirely condemns political murder, because it is not by the individual act but only by the conscious mass action of the workers and peasants, and of the youth especially, that subject nations can be set free.

The only real solution of the national question witnessed in the post-war period is the system of the Soviet Union formed in the territory of the former tsarist empire. This system guarantees absolute equality, voluntary co-operation and economic development for the various nations united in it and makes possible the development of national culture.

The League demands the right of self-determination for all the national minorities in the Balkan countries, including the right to sever themselves from the country to which they are attached, and warns the workers against the slogan of a "Balkan Confederation," which is being demagogically advocated by some of the imperialist Powers. It demands also complete equality and protection against all forms of national oppression, such as those which have been practised in Yugoslavia and other Balkan coun-

tries, such as the attempts to destroy the language of the national minorities and to impose the use of the Serbian language.

The League demands complete freedom in the use of the mother tongue in word and writing.

The League protests against the sending of soldiers from the national minorities to other parts of the country, and against the occupation of the territory of the country, and the occupation of the territory of the national minorities by soldiers of foreign nationalities.

There are more than 400,000,000 people subject to British imperialism to-day throughout one-quarter of the world. They are oppressed and exploited, just as the national minorities in Europe are being oppressed and exploited.

The League calls on British workers to join hands with the oppressed peoples within the British Empire, in the Balkans, and wherever one country is subjected to the rule of another, with a view to the overthrow of the imperialist system and the liberation of the conquered nations.

Increased Monarchist Propaganda in Greece

By K. Grypos

The year 1924 saw the overthrow of the royal house of Gluecksburg and the setting up of a bourgeois Republic in Greece. The monarchy had to pay the price of the disastrous military events in Asia Minor and be the scapegoat in the eyes of the working masses. Naturally, that part of the bourgeoisie which is monarchist (the landowners, a part of banking capital) and which gathers round the People's Party of *Tsaldaris*, did not abandon hopes of a royalist restoration.

For ten years, however, this party was compelled to adapt itself to the new conditions. Sentimentality had to give way in face of hard reality, thanks in no small measure to the great bankers (*Loverdos*, *Eftambios* and others), who acquired great influence in this party in the post-war years. But ex-Prince *Nicholas*, uncle of the dethroned King *George II*, eagerly continued his intrigues abroad during the whole of this time.

The taking over of power in 1932 by the *Tsaldaris* party, however, changed the situation in favour of the monarchists. For the first time in ten years the democratic camp of the *Venizelosists* had to yield up the reins of government, and the failure of General *Plastiras'* putsch on March 3, 1933, reduced the number of democratic officers in the army. The Minister for Defence, General *Kondilys*, a renegade from the *Venizelos* camp, together with the monarchist General *Metaxas*, acquired a dominating influence over the armed forces.

The monarchists considered the time favourable for intensifying their propaganda. The ex-king issued a proclamation to "his Greek people." Agents of the royal family made frequent visits to Greece. In governing circles of Greece there was talk for some time of the great intriguer *Nicholas* being made President of the Republic. These first reports were received with great hostility owing to contempt in which the royal family of Gluecksburg was held by the Greek population. The *Venizelos* camp also commenced a fierce fight against the restoration and a demagogic campaign for the defence of the Republic.

The last five months, together with the tremendous intensification of the political crisis and the quarrels over the new election of the President for the next five years, brought an unprecedented increase of monarchist propaganda. The occasion was the engagement of the British Prince *George* to the Greek Princess *Marina*, daughter of Prince *Nicholas*. All at once, the whole of the governing press in Greece filled its columns with melodramatic descriptions of this event.

But at the same time the Greek press has suddenly become interested in other sprigs of royalty. After eleven years the Greek government discovered for the first time that the eleven-year-old Crown Prince of Yugoslavia, who in the meantime has been proclaimed King *Peter II*, following the death of his father, has a birthday. And the Greek government decorated him with an order on this happy occasion. A few weeks ago the Crown Prince and Princess of Sweden were in Athens and were received with the greatest honours by the government and the President of the Republic.

The increased monarchist propaganda, however, is not confined to the ideological field. Various monarchist fighting organisations have been formed. The largest of these is the National Patriotic Union, which issues the newspaper "Hellinismos" and is finan-

cially supported by the big monarchist capitalists *Philon* and *Beis Mavromichailis*. This organisation is closely connected with the ex-chief of the secret police *Polychronopoulos*, who is in prison on account of his complicity in the attempt on the life of Venizelos, and with the monarchist-fascist organisation "Iron Peace," which recently attempted a putsch.

This fresh campaign of monarchist propaganda does not centre round the person of ex-King George II, but of the recently engaged British *Prince George*. It is known that in the last few months the British government have repeatedly attempted to bring Greek foreign policy, which through Tsaldaris is under the influence of France (the Balkan Pact), back into the British camp. An inducement like the monarchist restoration, accompanied by the greater inducement of a gift to Greece of the Island of Cyprus, would be more than enough for the Tsaldaris camp. Seventy years ago British imperialism pursued the same policy by accompanying the enthronement of its agent the Danish Prince Wilhelm with the "present" of the Ionian Islands.

The Venizelos camp has no fundamental objection to a restoration of the monarchy in the person of a **British Prince**. It is also significant that of late there has been constant talk of the well-known Angloophile politician, *Michailokopoulos*, taking part in the government.

It is probable that the most democratic officers will strongly resist any monarchist restoration, and other political leaders in the opposition camp cannot remain indifferent. A monarchist restoration, however, will find its deadly enemy in the ranks of the *working masses*. They have already proved this on every occasion and will offer sharp resistance to any attempt of this kind.

Germany

The German People Starve for the Sake of Armaments

By J. L.

Already to-day German economy is in high degree *war economy*. The fascist government's economic measures are to be explained only by a feverish adaptation of the whole of production for preparation for immediate war. A number of contradictions that strike the eye when contemplating Germany's economic development can only be explained if this set object is taken into consideration.

According to official statistics industrial production is nearly 50 per cent. above the level of 1932, about 30 per cent. above that of 1933 and no more than 10 per cent. behind 1928. Where has this surplus production got to? Exports have dropped from 478 million marks for an average month in 1932 to 406 million marks in 1933 and about 330 million marks on an average in the last few months, compared with an export value of roughly one milliard marks monthly in 1928. While at the beginning of 1932 26.2 per cent. of industrial production was still going abroad, in the summer of 1934 it was no more than 14 per cent. According to a calculation of the Institute for Trade Research, the home market in 1932 was provided with industrial goods to the value of 26.2 milliard marks, in 1933 with 30.4 and in 1934—if production for the whole year is estimated on the basis of the first half-year—with 42.6 milliards.

But where in the home market has this surplus production been disposed of? In July retail trade was 9.5 per cent. above the level of the previous year in value and 5 to 6 per cent. in quantity. The Institute for Trade Research infers from this that the increase in turnover accounts only for about one half of the increase in production. In reality the disparity between rise in production and turnover is very much more marked. For the comparatively high figure of the rise in turnover refers only to the last few months, when fear of inflation and a policy of substitute materials had already started people buying for hoarding purposes. But in 1933, the first year of the Hitler government, the production index was also above the level of the previous year, while retail sales fell by 6 per cent. If the rise in prices is not taken into account, the increase in turnover in 1934 has, at the best, only set off the drop of the previous year. The increase in industrial production, estimated for 1934 at 12.2 milliard marks compared with the previous year—compared with 1932 even at 16.4 milliard marks—implies therefore in no way an increase in consumption. How should that be possible in view of the advancing impoverishment of the masses?

The official reports talk of an "investment boom" and point out that at every trade revival the increase in production covers

in the first instance the means of production and only afterwards consumption goods. Apart from the fact that this general thesis has not been proved at all—both revival and crisis are more strongly marked in the manufacture of means of production, but revival, like slump, can very well set in with the production of consumption goods—there can be no question at all of an *investment boom* in Germany. What inducement is there for the capitalists in general for fresh investment, when they are so far from making full use of the existing means of production? In July, for example, only 54.4 per cent. of full working hours capacity was utilised! *Production could therefore be nearly doubled without industrial plant having to be extended.* The financial market, too, shows no sign of an investment boom. Issue of capital in the form of shares amounted on an average in the first seven months of 1934 to about nine millions compared with 53 million marks in the crisis year 1931 and more than one milliard marks in 1928. This year, then, as in the previous year, normal private investment of capital plays in practice no part whatever. The Reichskreditgesellschaft even estimates in its report for the first half of 1934 that the sums devoted to fresh investments remain less than those written off.

How can there be any question of an investment boom, when in one branch of production after another the erection of new plant or the extension of existing plant is being prohibited? The half-yearly report of the Reichskreditgesellschaft enumerates no fewer than 24 branches of production in which any extension of plant was last year prohibited, or for which expansion of production was made impossible by compulsory cartelisation.

The whole of the so-called "investment activity," supposed to give expression to an improvement in the economic situation, is based in fact on the State "*provision of work.*" The expenditure of the Reich for this purpose is *put at five to six milliards marks.* Disregarding the subsidies for housing, granted last winter for repairs and rebuilding—500 million marks were provided for this; since March, 1934, no more is being granted—it is mainly a matter of "*underground works.*"

What is concealed behind this harmless expression "underground works"? We have adequate proof that this refers only to the smallest extent to agricultural improvements; in the main, however, to *subterranean air ports, fortifications, gas defence dug-outs, etc.* Many thousands of labour service men are employed on such works; and although on pain of the severest penalties they are sworn to silence and the works are guarded by Reichswehr and S.S., it has nevertheless become known that such works are being carried out at feverish speed in East Prussia, Silesia and Saxony and on the northern and western frontiers.

But also among the so-called "industrial buildings" hardly any are to be found other than those that directly or indirectly serve preparation for war—either frankly military works (factories for the production of airplanes, munitions, poison gas, tanks, etc.) or new plant for producing raw materials which have become necessary only through an economic policy that is striving towards self-sufficiency in view of coming war requirements. Thus the erection of a gigantic plant for liquefying brown coal, to cost 100 million marks, is now being planned. Immense sums have been thrown away on experimental boring for oil, which has in effect produced no practical results.

The increase in heavy industrial production (iron by 66 per cent., crude steel by 50 per cent., rolling-mill products by 40 per cent., compared with the previous year), which far exceeds the average increase in production, is also only to be explained by the feverish increase in the production of airplanes, gunbarrels, machine-guns, tanks and parts of modern weapons of war of all kinds.

Attention is often drawn to the notable contradiction which lies in the fact that in spite of all the regulations affecting foreign exchange, Germany has right down to the present time been effecting *unusually high imports of raw materials*, and that in certain branches of production restrictions have been placed on production on account of shortage of raw materials, although large stocks must still be available. Thus the import of cotton in the first half of 1934 amounted to 2,415,000 double-centners compared with 2,307,000 double-centners in the pre-crisis year 1928; of hides and skins 715,000 double-centners were imported compared with 545,000 double-centners in 1928; imports of wool with 1,339,000 double-centners was only a little behind the 1928 figure of 1,420,000. Since in 1933 the quantity of raw materials imported was also higher than in past years, the present stocks must be above the

average. If in spite of this the production of textiles has been restricted by 30 per cent. and many factories are finding difficulty in procuring the necessary raw materials, how is this to be explained? Obviously by the fact that the *stocks of raw materials are being held back to provide an army of millions with uniforms and equipment*, while the population of Germany is receiving only expensive and inferior substitute materials.

Imports of ore and metals have risen still more strikingly, while at the same time convulsive efforts are being made to raise the German production of metal. Thus production of aluminium has been tripled, that of zinc doubled, of lead increased by 20 per cent.! Such production, equalling or exceeding that during the war, was only achieved with the help of big subsidies to the ore mines and smelting works.

At the same time the import of raw materials in the last few months has been pushed on by means such as can only be explained by a policy of no delay. The German importers are over-running one country after another with their orders, ordering and taking as much as they can get—and then failing to meet the bill. We have described several times the difficulties arising from this for German-English trade; now the French Minister for Trade has issued a warning to exporters that they should abstain from exporting to Germany unless they have security for payment. Acute difficulties have arisen with Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia because Germany has not paid these countries the credit balance due to them on their trade account—in the case of Czechoslovakia as much as 25 million marks, of Yugoslavia 7.3 million marks. Altogether in the last few months new debts for goods amounting to 500 million marks have arisen in this way, and Dr. Schacht is not bothering his head about covering them.

The agrarian policy, too—which has led to such an intolerable increase in the prices of the most important foodstuffs—is not to be explained solely by the big agrarians' boundless greed for profits; it is due also to the efforts, dictated by a war economy, to make Germany independent of the imports of foreign foodstuffs, and to the piling up of stocks in case of war.

What must the general consequences for capitalist economy be, when in the midst of a profound crisis such a great part of the social products, that otherwise would be available for mass consumption or for the accumulation of capital, are squandered on the piling up of military stores, on the establishment of war factories and fortifications? It is well known that this "provision of work" is being financed by the Reich with bills of exchange and tax-vouchers which are to be redeemed in the next few years. These milliards of marks, tied up in the building of strategic roads, in war factories and war material, will never return to the normal circular course of capitalist economy. *Inflation* and *State bankruptcy*, therefore, are the necessary result of such an adventurous economic policy.

In actual fact the value of the mark is only *apparently stable*. Abroad it is only kept up by means of the repeated imposition of new restrictions on business in foreign exchange. At the moment no more than *ten Reichsmarks in cash* are allowed to be taken across the frontier! The transfer difficulties that now exist with all countries indicate nothing else than that the mark is no longer valid as an international means of payment.

At home, too, the mark is in practice *hardly less depreciated* than the English pound and the American dollar. This is easily proved by a comparison of international prices. At the end of September the German wholesale index stood at 100 compared with 1913 as against 140 in 1928. On the other hand, the price index of the gold-standard countries (France, Belgium, Switzerland), stands at 77 to 89, that of the countries with depreciated currency, Great Britain and the U.S.A., at, in terms of gold, about 64. In paper pounds the wholesale index in Great Britain stands at 103, not much, that is, above the German index.

That means that the allegedly stable mark has a buying power of from 11 to 23 per cent. less than the real gold currencies, and of 36 per cent. less than the corresponding gold value in the inflation countries. In actual fact the rise in prices—judged by the wholesale index—in Germany at present is just as great as in England, while the English pound, as is well known, has already been depreciated by 40 per cent.

It might be said that this excessive rise in the price level in Germany is to be traced not to inflationist causes, but to the monopoly-capitalist economy, which forces prices up. But such a universal rise, which does not, as in the case of a real boom, result from production lagging behind demand, surely expresses nothing

other than depreciation of the currency. This is being gradually realised also by the German petit-bourgeois, who are withdrawing their last savings from the banks and investing them in material effects. From May to July of this year *withdrawals exceeded deposits by 57 million marks*, while in the previous months deposits had still exceeded withdrawals by an average of 79 millions.

If we look at German economy from this point of view, we come to this conclusion: The German workers have to slave for starvation wages, the unemployed are robbed of relief and hounded on to the land for forced labour, food prices climb to a prohibitive level, cheap foodstuffs and good materials vanish from the market, German currency becomes more and more depreciated, credit and foreign trade are ruined—and all this because the German bourgeoisie is extorting, over and above the normal capital profit, milliards of marks from the toiling people in order to increase its war preparations to a fantastic extent.

The struggle against the plundering of the working class and all toilers by the capitalist robber barons and their national-socialist slave overseers is therefore at the same time a direct struggle against the threatening imperialist slaughter of the nations. Every wage cut that is successfully fought, every increase in wages that is won, deprives German imperialism of the means that would otherwise be used for its murderous armaments. If the unemployed and all other sufferers refuse to be put off with the beggarly winter aid alms and insist through mass action that they receive adequate food, warm winter clothing and fuel, then they are wresting from the capitalists material that would otherwise be hoarded in the magazines of the war-mongers.

Introduction of General Compulsory Military Service in Germany

A number of reports indicate that steps are being taken to introduce general military service in Germany and establish a huge army. For the time being methods of voluntary recruitment are combined with those of State compulsion, but the aim is obviously the introduction of general compulsory military service in the near future. Recruiting officers approach the young workers and employees who are being forced out of workshops and offices in order to make way for adult workers, and call upon them to join the Reichswehr for one or two years. This is a violation of the provision of the Versailles Treaty that the period of military service in Germany should not be less than ten years. The recruit is promised that after he is discharged from the army he will be given work. Recruiting is carried on in a similar manner among the high schools students, most of whom have already received a certain measure of military training.

The way in which general compulsory military service is to be realised is through the Labour Service. Here! at the Nuremberg Nazi party congress, and Hitler in his speech at the Harvest Thanksgiving Festival, announced the replacement of voluntary labour service by general compulsory service. That the labour service, to a greater extent than the S.A. service, represents a military training is generally known. In an article which appeared in the "Deutsche Volkswirt" of September 28 on "Worker and Soldier," it is stated that the militarist spirit is not the natural form for the factory work but for the Labour Service. Many observers state that the march-past of the men of the Labour Service at the Nuremberg party congress made a greater impression of military discipline than the march-past of the Storm Troops.

The Reichswehr generals believe that they have in the Labour Service a more reliable reserve than in the S.A., because they believe that the men in the Labour Service are less interested in politics. They will find that they are greatly mistaken. There were already mutinies in the Labour Service camp before there was any sign of mutiny in the S.A. If the Labour Service becomes compulsory then it will be still less easy than hitherto to prevent these reserves of the imperialist army from being permeated by revolutionary workers. The intentions of Hitler and General Blomberg to drive subversive ideas out of the minds of the youth by means of military drill will be frustrated. The Young Communist League has already done good work in the Labour Service camps. This work is becoming more and more an important part of our anti-militarist tasks. The bigger the reserves which the bourgeoisie organises for imperialist war, the greater are the possibilities for the anti-militarist fight of the revolutionary workers, and especially of the working youth. Hitler agreed with the Reichswehr generals before June 30 that the S.A. should not have any privileges in the

creation of the new German army. In return Hitler was allowed to throw out a number of high officers of the army and navy who had failed to toe the line. A fresh purge of the State bureaucracy is announced. After all the blood baths and incorporations the Hitler regime does not feel itself in any way secure.

According to French reports it has come to a fresh conflict within the Hitler government, this time between Blomberg and Neurath. The War Minister imperatively demanded that the armament provisions of the Versailles Treaty be officially repudiated, as it was no longer possible to deny Germany's armaments. The Foreign Minister fears that this fresh provocation will inevitably render the extremely difficult position of German imperialism still worse. German fascism is in a quandary. As it fears a decisive blow to its authority in the Reich as a result of the loss of the Saar district after the plebiscite in 1935, the Saar is to be annexed at all cost. Therefore armaments are being piled up at a frantic pace. On the other hand the adventurers are compelled to manoeuvre in such a way that they shall not be completely isolated in this conflict. Therefore, just as fascist Germany has abandoned the Polish Corridor and Danzig, so it now announces its willingness to renounce its claims to Austria in order thereby to win back Italian friendship.

Thus German fascism plunges from one adventure into another with no other hope in view than to find a way out of its difficulties by a desperate war. The more threatening this danger becomes the more necessary it is for the proletariat to unite to avert this danger.

The Second Winter Relief Swindle

By J. L.

On the 9th October Hitler and Goebbels opened the latest collecting campaign in a mass meeting in the Kroll Opera House on behalf of their beggar and corruptionist brand of "socialism." The "Winter Relief Campaign, 1934-35," is now in operation. Although both Hitler and Goebbels practically beat their own records in blatant social demagoguery their speeches were in effect a frank confession of the deception practised on the working masses by national "socialism." How often has the German people been informed from the lips of the arch-swindlers that national socialism would abolish all differences of class and social position, that it would establish a real commonwealth of the people and a real national solidarity in place of the international solidarity of the working peoples? And what were both Hitler and Goebbels compelled to admit when they reviewed the winter relief campaign carried out in Germany last year? They admitted that the main burden of raising the funds for the relief work had rested on the shoulders of the lower social classes, classes whose members are themselves in bitter need, and that the rich, the "upper ten thousand," had evaded their responsibilities in the winter relief work, that these valuable members of the people's commonwealth, the real rulers of Hitler's "Third Reich," had no more idea to-day of the misery and need amongst the masses of the people than they had had under the Weimar Republic.

Here are Hitler's own words:—

"Whole districts of the Reich are suffering from hunger and impoverishment, and for the moment it is impossible to take any effective measures to prevent it. Many Germans do not know even to-day how great the misery is. Unfortunately it is chiefly the members of our well-to-do social classes, who have no idea of the poverty and privations which innumerable members of our people's commonwealth are suffering."

How peculiar! On other occasions the world has been informed in ringing tones that national socialism has saved the German peasantry and revived the whole German economic system. Unemployment figures are alleged to have fallen to 2.3 millions, that is to say, only one worker in fifteen is still unemployed. And yet after these magnificent successes "whole districts of the Reich are suffering from hunger and impoverishment"? Not only that, but after almost two years of national socialist rule in Germany there are still "members of our well-to-do social classes" who have no idea of the misery and need amongst the masses of the people.

In fact, the "Leader" went even further and declared that the statistics of last year's winter relief campaign had shown that "poorer districts contributed more to the winter relief campaign than districts which are economically much better off." So this time he addressed his remarks in particular to the better-off mem-

bers of the "people's commonwealth." However, he is ready with a striking explanation as to why just these elements should contribute freely to the winter relief campaign. Alms for the needy poor, he declared, are a guarantee that "the highest treasure" of the people, "political reasonableness," will be maintained. The arch-representative of "German socialism" understands "political reasonableness" to mean a state of affairs in which the masses of the people suffer hunger in silence and without complaint, whilst the upper ten thousand continue to pocket their dividends without interference, and a mercenary band of terrorists and demagogues hold the masses in check.

Goebbels, who introduced the pathetic declamations of "the Leader" with a sober enumeration of the alleged achievements of the winter relief campaign last year and the announcement of this year's measures, revealed the demagogic character of all the appeals and threats directed to the address of the "upper ten thousand" with the following plain statement:—

"Apart from the collections, the winter relief campaign will be financed chiefly with voluntary wage and salary deductions."

The "voluntariness" of such contributions in fascist Germany is already too well known to need any further comment. In a period of rapidly rising prices and the rapidly increasing introduction of short-time work, the workers, clerical employees and minor officials are expected to put their hands into their pockets and sacrifice a part of their already unconscionably low wages and salaries in order to support the starving masses and save the funds of the State and the municipalities. The State and the municipalities have no longer sufficient funds for the purpose because the "work provision" schemes or, in other words, the fascist preparations for war, have already sucked them dry.

The figures which Goebbels quoted in connection with last year's winter relief campaign were informative in many respects. First of all, it is surprising that suddenly Goebbels has such exact figures at his disposal in view of the statement of the leader of last year's winter relief campaign, Hilgenfeldt, that a statistical survey of the achievements of the campaign would be impossible. When Hilgenfeldt made his statement last March we declared that the fascists did not want to produce any exact figures for fear of exposing the widespread corruption in connection with the campaign. And further, there is a big discrepancy between the general figures given then and the figures given by Goebbels in his speech in the Kroll Opera House. Hilgenfeldt declared last March that a total of 75 million marks had been received. We pointed out at the time that this figure was much too low and that the wage and salary cuts alone must have amounted to at least 120 million marks. We also declared that the missing sums must have disappeared into the capacious pockets of the national socialist leaders. Goebbels now declares that the sums received last year amounted to 184 million marks. This is nothing but a confession of the wholesale corruption and embezzlement committed by the national socialists last year.

The total value of the collections in money and goods is now said to have totalled 358 million marks, a very fine sum. However, this sum looks much less imposing when certain comparisons are made. According to official statements the Reich treasury economised 500 million marks last year in unemployment support. In other words, the whole winter relief scheme did not even make good what the unemployed workers lost as the result of unemployment pay cuts. Seventeen million people are said to have been assisted out of the funds of the winter relief campaign. What an involuntary confession of the real situation in Hitler's "Third Reich of Power and Glory"! If the sum mentioned was really distributed amongst the needy, then each person assisted would have received about twenty marks, or less than a mark per week throughout the winter months.

However, 358 million marks is a lot of money, particularly when we remember that it was squeezed almost exclusively out of the working masses, but it makes a very poor show as assistance for 17 million people when it is compared with the 350 million marks which were thrown into the insatiable maw of the noble patron of the National Socialist Party, the industrialist Thyssen, in order to prop up his "necessitous" firm, or with the 500 million marks which was presented to the "necessitous" house-owners in the same winter in order to provide work, or with the 870 million marks which the Reich, according to official figures, spent on its armed forces: Reichswehr, air force, police, Storm

Troops (S.A.), and labour service scheme, in excess of the sums spent in 1933.

And all the other "gigantic sums" with which Goebbels juggled in his speech lose their imposing grandeur when one or two sober comparisons are made. According to Goebbels 2.6 million eggs, 12.3 million loaves of bread, and 15 million cwts. of potatoes were distributed amongst the necessitous poor, or in other words, seven hungry people shared one egg, three hungry people shared two loaves, and each person received less than a cwt. of potatoes to last throughout the whole winter.

Goebbels' fantasy was not sufficient to think of any new ideas for the winter relief campaign this year, even the idiotic "one-course meal" farce which caused a tremendous amount of annoyance to housewives and restaurant-keepers owing to the pot-sniffing proclivities of the local Storm Troops and which produced no sum worth the whole trouble caused, is to be revived this year. In fact, this year the idea is to be carried out even more strictly, and centralised "one-course" menus are to be provided by the authorities for the use of restaurant-keepers and others.

Even last year the working masses of Germany regarded the blackmail and corruptionist campaign of the national socialists in connection with the winter relief campaign with lively mistrust and hostility, and this year they have still more cause to oppose energetically the attempts of the national socialists to play the role of Lady Bountiful at their expense. Hitler and Goebbels were themselves compelled to expose the corruption which existed in the higher bodies of the national socialist Storm Troops (S.A.) when the 30th June coup was carried out, and this opened the eyes of millions of people who had reposed blind confidence in the Brown corruptionist army of locusts up to then. The real wages of those workers still at work has fallen so appreciably this year as the result of rising prices that they are not in a position to stand any more wage-cuts without resistance unless they are prepared to see their own families go hungry.

This year, therefore, an appeal is once again being made to the workers: Shut your doors and keep your hands in your pockets when the national socialist collectors come round. Not one penny for the Brown corruptionists and, above all, stern resistance to all attempts to make forced reductions from wages and salaries. Express your solidarity with the unemployed and the other impoverished members of your class by an energetic struggle in the factories for the employment of more workers, for higher wages and higher unemployment support rates, against forced labour, against the expulsion of the young workers from the factories, and against profiteering in foodstuffs. The millions of marks which are now being expended for armaments and to subsidise capitalists and rich landowners would produce a ten times greater sum for the support of the necessitous than can be squeezed out of the masses of the workers whose wages are already so low that they can hardly live. What the workers are able to spare from their hard-earned wages should not go into the collecting boxes of the Brown corruptionists, but into the fighting funds of the anti-fascists or into the funds of the Red Aid, which is assisting the victims of fascism and their dependents.

At the district congress of the Communist Party in Berlin-Brandenburg in November, 1932, Comrade Thaelmann, as the leader of the anti-fascist action and in the name of the national unemployed workers' movement, appealed to the working masses to take up the struggle against hunger and cold and for the demands of the unemployed workers: Open the coal dumps and the granaries, distribute potatoes, bread and warm winter clothing amongst the unemployed workers. The revolutionary working class organisations which put forward these demands have since been suppressed with bloody terror, and their leader, Comrade Thaelmann, is in prison, but the demands which they raised and for which Comrade Thaelmann and the anti-fascist organisations fought are more urgently necessary to-day than ever before.

With the experience of twenty months of "German socialism" before their eyes, the working masses are now rallying their forces to a proletarian united front in a struggle against the charity swindle of the "socialist" corruptionists, the brown-shirted agents of finance-capital, and for proletarian Marxist socialism which would ruthlessly expropriate the capitalist class, give the working masses the produce of their toil and abolish poverty and need once and for all along the lines which the Soviet Power has already gone.

For the Status Quo!

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany to the Saar Population

To the workers, to the working people in the Saar District!

In the name of the working class and millions of toilers in town and country in the Reich, who are striving for and organising the overthrow of the regime of fascist barbarism, we send to you, workers and toilers of the Saar, revolutionary solidarity fighting greetings. We wish to tell you how indescribably wretched the situation of all workers has become under the Hitler regime. We wish to warn you, to show you what threatens you.

The whole of the German people is suffering mental and physical agony. With us in the Reich, monopoly capital exercises unrestricted rule. Its fascist government is enslaving and crushing the working people. The wages of workers and employees have been reduced to starvation level. The miserable pensions received by the veterans of industry are being further reduced. Artisans, small business people and peasants are being reduced to beggary. A crowd of parasitic brownshirt bureaucrats is battering like a vampire on the body of the people. Beasts in human form, described by Hitler as the elite of the race, are daily torturing and murdering the best sons of the German people. A people numbering 60 millions is longing to be able to speak freely, to escape from the straight-jacket of mental and physical terror.

The economic crisis is becoming more acute. The Reich is on the verge of financial bankruptcy. The Hitler government is driving the country and the people to economic disaster. Factories are again working on short time. Wholesale dismissals are taking place. The whole of the young generation is to be driven out of the factories. All this is accompanied by a wave of rising prices. In the Third Reich the working people are facing a winter the like of which has never been known before.

The threatening catastrophe at home is driving financial capital to indulge in criminal war adventures. The whole Reich is one huge armament works. The burden of armaments is crushing the masses. The Youth is compulsorily militarised in the Labour service and military camps. Fascism is whipping up chauvinism in the most unrestrained manner. The Hitler regime has become the chief war-monger in Europe.

This fascist hangmen's regime must be overthrown in the interest of all working people, in the interest of peace, culture and civilisation. This is being proved by thousands of struggles, by the heroic daily fight waged by all anti-fascists.

In the Reich the forces are growing which by means of general strikes and popular risings will overthrow this regime of plunderers of the people. Under the leadership of the Communist Party a number of heavy blows have been dealt to the Hitler dictatorship. At the confidential council elections, at the plebiscite, by means of guerilla war in the factories and fascist organisations, the united front of the Communist, social-democratic and christian workers and toilers which is being formed has demonstrated its fighting determination to overthrow this dictatorship of capital.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany declares to the whole of the German working class and to all toilers that the next battle to undermine, weaken and overthrow the bloody fascist dictatorship will be fought in the Saar district. This battle must become an international battle against fascism in general. *From now on the whole forces of the German Party will be concentrated on this aim.* Hitler must suffer an annihilating defeat in the Saar.

The interests of the German workers and toilers demand this; the interests of our German Youth who want a safe future and do not wish to perish in the trenches demand this; the interests of all toilers in the Saar, who wish to be protected from murder and terror, demand this; the interests of the international proletariat and all friends of peace and freedom demand this.

There can be only one slogan: The Saar people must never be handed over to Hitler's bloody regime.

There is no doubt that the fight for the Saar will be a hard fight. The incendiaries who fired the Reichstag and instigated the Vienna putsch, and their confederates in the Saar will try with all the means at their disposal, with forgeries, terror, corruption and insane demagogic promises to whip up and take the Saar population by surprise.

The destroyers of the trade unions promise to give you, miners, work. At the same moment they intend to send 100,000 miners of

the Ruhr district compulsorily to East Prussia to work on the land. The German mining capitalists in Silesia, Upper Silesia, in the Worm district and the Ruhr district have set the example to the mining capitalists in the Saar district and promoted their offensive against you by their interlocking directorates.

The robbers of the right of combination are promising to you, metal workers, times of prosperity. At the same time, in the neighbouring district, in the Opel factory alone, 8,000 metal workers were dismissed. The German metal industrialists have always served as a model for the Saar capitalists Roechling and Wolff. The German capitalists have demonstrated to the capitalists of all nationalities in the Saar district how tariff agreements are to be broken by fascist terror.

The Nazis promise the moon to you, members of the small middle class and small peasants. And on the other side of the frontier 35 per cent. of all the shops in the towns are to let and the peasants are groaning under the burden of compulsory levies.

The cynical perjurers promise freedom of religion to you, christian workers and toilers. In fact, however, they have made all preparations in order to incorporate the Catholic Church in a Germanic National Church.

Reply to the demagogues and Pied Pipers: We do not want to come to Hitler, we are voting for the status quo.

Your and our fight for the status quo, for the temporary maintenance and the improvement of the existing conditions in the Saar district, is a powerful partial struggle for freedom in the Reich.

Against all calumnies that we supporters of the status quo are "betrayers" of the country, and that you in the Saar district are "separatists and pro-French," we declare: Hitler's defeat in the Saar district is the next important partial struggle for the emancipation of Germany from the Nazi occupation!

The more annihilating the defeat of German fascism in the Saar district, the more rapidly you German Saar people will be united with us in a free Germany. Whoever wants a free Germany must strive for Hitler's defeat in the Saar district.

Roechling calls us betrayers of the country, but he, who is stirring up robber war, is at the same time selling munitions, armoured plate for filthy lucre to the so-called hereditary enemy.

Krupp, who calls us pro-French, even during the war sold howitzers to the French army via Switzerland and Holland.

We Communists are the irreconcilable enemies of the German and French capitalists alike. We are the inseparable friends of the French workers who are our class brothers.

It is the murderers of the youth of the nation, the reactionaries in the cultural sphere, the exploiters and plunderers of the people, who live by legally permitted theft, the war-mongers who are leading the German people into catastrophe, who are betrayers of the country.

The Communist Party of Germany, in complete agreement with the Communist organisation in the Saar district and in complete agreement with the Communist Party of France, declares:—

It goes without saying that after the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship in Germany a fresh plebiscite in the Saar district must be carried out immediately for the purpose of reuniting it with Germany.

The Communist Party of Germany, in brotherly union with the French proletariat, will support the toilers in the Saar, who in the meantime have to continue their struggle against any national oppression of the Saar population, for their demands for democratic liberties and the right of self-determination, for a people's representation in the Saar district, elected by secret ballot and universal adult suffrage, for the right of combination, meeting and the right to strike, for the material improvement of the conditions of the workers and employees.

We are certain that you workers and employees will set up unity committees in the factories and workshops; that you will put forward your demands for higher wages, improved working conditions and holidays with pay; that you will concentrate your forces by electing central fighting committees at factory delegate conferences that you will strengthen the trade unions and use them in order to enforce your demands; that you will be pioneers of the unity of the working class.

You will best be able to do all this on the basis of the status quo. In Hitler Germany, where wage reductions threaten you and freedom of speech suppressed, where concentration camps and prisons await you, these vitally necessary struggles are fraught with tremendous sacrifices.

The Communist Party of Germany is certain that you in the Saar district, like us in the Reich, will use every means in order to prevent the population of the Saar being delivered over to Hitler Germany. We know the plans of the enemy and are convinced that any attempt at a sudden and violent coup will encounter the powerful resistance of the workers in the Saar and the solidarity of the workers in the Reich.

It must be your endeavour, with clear understanding and glowing determination, to prepare to repel every provocation and to make the factories, towns and localities ripe for this.

We know that thousands of drilled S.S. (Special Troops) gangsters have been sent into the Saar district from the Reich to kill anti-fascist workers and workers' leaders, to destroy the property of workers' organisations, to break up meetings, to organise outrages and provocations and produce an atmosphere of fear.

We are certain that you will endeavour to nip every provocation in the bud; that you will reply to the provocateurs who attack you in a way they will never forget. Experience in Germany teaches that the more energetically and ruthlessly we do this, the fewer sacrifices the fight against gangsterism costs. We welcome your determination to build up mass self-defence organisations in every enterprise, in every locality, in every street, and in particular note the unmistakable will of the factory staffs to employ fighting methods such as the situation demands.

Fathers and mothers in the Saar district, if you do not want your sons who are now being militarily drilled in the Labour Service to be sent to-morrow to carry out bloody provocations against you and their native Saar province, then call them back.

Fellow countrymen in the Saar!

Pillory and expose by Scrutinising Committees the fascist falsification of the voters' list. See to it that anti-fascists are elected on to every election committee! See to it that the thousands of falsified names in the election lists are struck out and the corrupt returning officers called to account! Demand this of the Saar government, which never was and never can be your government. Demand this of the League of Nations, which up to now has in many things objectively helped the German fascists.

Some factory staffs in the Saar have quite rightly declared that, in union with all honest and freedom-loving workers and toilers and in a brotherly fighting alliance with their social-democratic comrades and christian fellow workers, they will never tolerate a vote representing a falsification of the will of the people achieved by means of fraud and terror!

An end to the provocative sabotage by the fascist municipal authorities, who refuse the anti-fascists the use of halls and meeting places!

An end to the prohibition of anti-fascist meetings and demonstrations, while the fascists are allowed to exercise their terror undisturbed!

An end to the provocative lies that if the Saar population votes for the status quo thousands of Saar workers will be dismissed, that pensions will be reduced!

Class brothers and sisters, fellow countrymen!

If the population of the Saar decides against Hitler it will bring nearer the overthrow of Hitler in Germany. The working class in the Reich is zealously fighting side by side with you for the common aim: to defeat Hitler fascism in the Saar. If Hitler loses the battle in the Saar it will mean another nail in his coffin.

The victory of the workers in the Saar will inspire and enthuse the army of anti-fascist fighters, numbering millions, to make further victorious advances. Under the hammer blows of the workers' fists, the blood-stained, barbarous fascist regime will be shattered—the flags of freedom, of the socialist Soviet power will wave.

Down with the Hitler dictatorship!

Down with the fascist war-mongers!

Up with freedom, with socialism!

The fighting slogan of all inhabitants of the Saar is, For the Status Quo!

In this sense the Central Committee of the C.P.G. offers its brotherly greetings to all anti-fascists in the Saar.

Red Front!

C.C. of the C.P.G.

(Section of the Third International).

The Saar Coal and the Policy of the Ruhr Coal Syndicate

Doctor Goebbels, the Propaganda Minister of the German fascist government, promised the Saar miners that in the event of the Saar district becoming reunited with Germany, the German government would take over the whole output of the Saar district and would even sink new pits in Warndt. The wireless and the fascist newspapers are daily repeating these promises. There is no need to attach great importance to the speeches of Doctor Goebbels or his wireless and press hirelings, but it is a fact that in the event of the Saar district being reunited with Germany the German government will have to look for new markets to dispose of the 5 million tons of Saar coal, if the Saar mines are to continue working.

Before the war the natural market for the Saar coal was South Germany, in addition to Lorraine and the Saar district itself. In the year 1913 the sales of Saar coal amounted to:—

473,281 tons to Bavaria.
790,897 tons to the Palatinate.
631,109 tons to Württemberg.
319,281 tons to Hessen.

The total sales to South Germany amounted to 2,214,568 tons. Since the year 1920 the Ruhr Coal Syndicate commenced to oust the Saar coal from the South German markets. In the year 1933 the sales of Saar coal amounted to:—

102,507 tons to Bavaria.
238,636 tons to the Palatinate.
138,226 tons to Württemberg.
16,503 tons to Hessen.

The fact that the greater part of the Saar mines was not closed down owing to this ousting of the Saar coal from the South German markets is due only to the circumstance that the Saar coal found a market in France. Despite the fact that the Ruhr Coal Syndicate had ousted the Saar coal from the South German markets, 210,000 miners, or 48 per cent. of the number of miners engaged in 1913, were dismissed in the Ruhr district, whilst in the Saar district only 8,769 miners, or 24 per cent. were dismissed.

The following table shows the development of the markets for the Saar coal:—

	To France	To Germany
1913	1,045,163 tons	4,717,934 tons
1931	3,479,472 "	863,220 "
1932	4,041,518 "	914,221 "
1933	3,980,004 "	947,922 "

Thus, whilst in the year 1913 4½ million tons of Saar coal were delivered to Germany, and a little more than a million tons to France, in the year 1933 4 million tons were supplied to France and not quite a million to Germany. In addition, 153,000 tons of German Ruhr coal were imported into the Saar district in the year 1933 as compared with 98,000 tons in the year 1932, and none at all in the year 1913. The increased import of Ruhr coal into the Saar district is due to the policy of the Ruhr Coal Syndicate, which in the year 1933 reduced the price from 13.15 marks per ton to 12.50 marks. The cost had to be borne by the Ruhr miners, whose wages were cut and working conditions worsened.

The policy of the Ruhr Coal Syndicate towards other, weaker, coal districts shows that the mining capitalists, in the event of the Saar district being reunited with Germany, will not abandon the South German markets but will endeavour to export larger quantities of Ruhr coal into the Saar district as soon as the customs barriers are abolished.

The Wurm district had continually increased its output and the number of miners engaged. This was possible in spite of the crisis, because the Wurm coal was for the greater part purchased by the Luxemburg and Belgium syndicates. In the summer of 1933 the Ruhr coalowners, under the leadership of Thyssen and Krupp, enforced the subordination of the Wurm coal-mining industry to the Ruhr Coal Syndicate. The effects of this policy are as follows:—

The output amounted in the first six months of 1933 to 37,090,348 tons in the Ruhr district, 3,698,527 tons in the Wurm district. In the first six months of 1934 43,378,489 tons in the Ruhr district, 3,665,234 tons in the Wurm district.

Thus the output in the Ruhr district increased by 16 per cent., whilst it declined by 0.9 per cent. in the Wurm district, which resulted in a dismissal of the miners working in the Wurm coal-

fields. A similar situation prevails in the other German coal districts.

The press of the mining industrialists publishes details regarding the struggle which is proceeding between the owners of the Ruhr coal mines and those of the lignite mines in Central Germany. The Ruhr coal-owners demand that the output of lignite in Central Germany be restricted to such an extent that the relation between lignite and hard-coal output existing before the war should be restored. In the year 1913 the relation of the output of lignite to that of hard-coal was 85 to 190, whilst in the year 1933 it was 126 to 109. By restricting the output of lignite to the relation existing in 1913, the Ruhr coal magnates wish to achieve an increase in the output of Ruhr coal. The output capacity of the Ruhr district amounts to 163 million tons. In the first six months of 1934 only half of the output capacity was utilised. The Ruhr coal magnates, however, aim at a hundred per cent. utilisation of output capacity, for only then will they be sure of enormous profits. Hence their policy is directed towards the annihilation and exclusion of the small coal-mining districts of Germany. Only a very naive person can believe that the Saar district will form an exception. Goebbels, the Minister for Lies, does not believe it; that which he and his hirelings promise to the Saar workers is nothing but a swindle, just as the whole fascist policy is nothing but a downright swindling of the workers. Therefore the Saar mine workers are fighting against this fraud and for the status quo.

Mass Struggle For Ernst Thaelmann

By Fritz Heckert

Ernst Thaelmann has now been in prison for nearly 20 months. For 20 months the fascist rulers in Germany have not known how to stage the trial, what charge they could bring against him, and how they could sentence him "according to law." At first the national socialist press, in response to Goering's commands, yelled that Thaelmann must be beheaded.

The severe political defeat which the Hitler regime sustained at the Reichstag fire trial, thanks to the courageous behaviour of Comrade Dimitrov, has also influenced the attitude of the national socialists in the question of the Thaelmann trial. A simple repetition of such a farcical trial, with bought witnesses as in the Reichstag trial, would be far too dangerous an experiment. The fascist bandits and provocateurs cast round for possibilities of forgeries and deception and adopted new methods in the preparation of the Thaelmann trial.

In November last year Comrade John Scheer, a member of the Central Committee of the C.P. of Germany, fell into the hands of the German State Secret Police. He was tortured in the most inhuman and barbarous manner in the offices of the State Secret Police in the Prinz Albrecht Strasse in Berlin, and in the cellars and cells of the Columbia House (S.A. headquarters). After being under arrest for three months, John Scheer was "shot while attempting to escape." What was the special reason for this vile murder, apart from the usual hatred of the fascist brutes against the revolutionary leader? To-day we can give an answer to this question. In December last year Comrade *Werner Hirsch*, Comrade Thaelmann's secretary, wrote a letter from Columbia House, where he was imprisoned for six weeks together with John Scheer, to the Central Committee of our Party, which, by devious ways, finally came into our hands. In this letter, which it is now possible to publish as the writer has escaped from the claws of the fascists, it is stated:—

"... At last we succeeded in getting into contact with Jonny. He has been frightfully tortured. He was kept bound for hours, in the icy cold, with water pouring over him. He was beaten again and again. The chief reason for this torture was that they wished to compel him to admit as genuine forged documents, allegedly found in his archives, by means of which they wished to incriminate Thaelmann. Jonny remained firm and undaunted. These forgeries are even more shameful than the lies in connection with the Reichstag trial. . . ."

This letter from Comrade Hirsch plainly shows why the fascist murderers killed our brave Comrade Scheer in February last. He would have been a witness for the defence in the Thaelmann trial whose testimony could not have been refuted, and who would have exposed the forgeries perpetrated by the State Secret Police against Thaelmann. Therefore he had to die.

But there was a second witness who could have become dan-

gerous by exposing the shamefully framed-up charge against Thaelmann: Comrade Hirsch himself, whom the fascist forgers represent as the alleged author of a number of letters and documents incriminating Thaelmann. Steps had to be taken in order that he too should not appear as a witness in defence of Thaelmann after the fascists had failed to break his spirit after 18 months' "preventive arrest" and bestial tortures. Thus the State Secret Police resorted to a method which was already employed in connection with the Reichstag trial: Hirsch was suddenly, and quite unexpectedly, released from the Lichtenberg concentration camp. In fact the State Secret Police, contrary to their usual practice, even refrained from keeping him under surveillance. No difficulties were placed in the way of his going abroad.

The State Secret Police used exactly the same methods with Comrade *Erich Birkenhauer* at the time of the Reichstag trial in order to get rid of this important witness for the defence. Now in the case of Comrade Hirsch the motives for his release are even clearer. This important witness for the defence in the trial of Comrade Thaelmann is to be prevented from appearing before the Court and tearing to shreds the whole fabric of lies and forgeries by means of which it is intended to condemn Thaelmann.

The leader of the Communist Party of Germany and of the German working class is in exceedingly great danger. It is true that the fascist authorities have already been forced to retreat in face of the storm of protest raised in all parts of the world. The Public Prosecutor, Werner, was compelled to declare that it is not intended to condemn Thaelmann to death, but to sentence him to "only" ten years' imprisonment. But the world public must not give any credence whatever to such promises. So long as Thaelmann remains in the clutches of the fascists, so long is he threatened with ill-treatment, terror and murder.

It is not due to chance that the fascist oppressors of Germany are planning, precisely at the present time, to rush through the Thaelmann trial as quickly as possible. Precisely now, when the difficulties of the fascist regime are increasing. In face of a winter which Hitler, Goering, Goebbels and Schacht have no idea how they will be able to get through without calling forth an open economic catastrophe. Precisely now, when a visible change is taking place in the masses, in face of the growing bitterness among all sections of the working population, in face of increasing fissures in the whole structure of the Nazi rule. Precisely now Thaelmann is to be brought to trial.

The Nazi rulers themselves feel they cannot postpone it much longer. They themselves are forced to realise that this imprisoned leader of the German proletariat speaks a language which penetrates all the prison walls. By the simple fact of his existence, his unshakable revolutionary steadfastness and fidelity, Ernst Thaelmann makes his influence felt far beyond the walls of his prison. They know that this man, this revolutionary workers' leader, imprisoned for over 20 months, remains a constant indictment of their system, a festering wound in their body.

Hence the reason for the holding of the Thaelmann trial at the present time, the shortened proceedings, the exclusion of all witnesses for the defence. Ernst Thaelmann is not to be allowed the slightest right of defence. The shame of the Reichstag fire trial is to be surpassed.

Thus the fascists intend finally to rob the German working class of their leader. If their dirty plans succeed they intend to pronounce a death sentence on Thaelmann, in spite of their denials to the contrary, or at least legalise his imprisonment for the rest of his life.

That is what they want. But we must prevent it. The working class of all countries, the advanced intellectuals, every honest and freedom-loving man and woman must work to frustrate this plan and to rescue Thaelmann. Our slogan must be: Fight for the release of Thaelmann.

It is necessary to intensify this struggle to the utmost in face of the immediate danger. Here Communists and social democrats must march shoulder to shoulder. Here workers and employees, intellectuals and toilers of every kind must unite. It is necessary to raise a storm of protest throughout the whole world which shall not only frustrate all the machinations and plans in connection with this trial, not only enforce the admittance of witnesses for the defence under safe conduct, but in addition, break down the prison doors which stand between Thaelmann and freedom.

The Political Importance of the Action for the Release of Thaelmann

The International Release Committee has called for the mobilisation of forces against the new wave of terror in Germany. Together with all kindred organisations it is preparing an International Conference of Jurists which will be of great importance.

We believe that it is the duty of all Communists and revolutionary trade unionists in all countries to support this new action to the utmost of their power. It is far more than a question of a humanitarian action, of rescuing our best champions who have to endure indescribable tortures in the prisons of Goering. Let us cite the most important political arguments which have been repeatedly submitted by Comrades *Manuilsky*, *Dimitrov*, *Piatnitski* and *Knorin*.

(1) German fascism is playing a particularly dirty role in European and world politics as war-inciter and instigator of civil war. The German fascists describe themselves as the "saviours of Europe from Bolshevism."

Therefore, every defeat of German fascism by the international anti-fascist forces is of great international importance and facilitates the fight of the anti-fascists in every other country.

(2) The fascist policy of provocation deliberately aims at kindling the flames of a new world war (Austria, France, the Baltic States). The German fascists do not merely desire a rapid outbreak of an anti-Soviet war (support of Japan), they are actively participating by means of their propaganda abroad, by their emissaries and their diplomatic apparatus, in stirring up bloody counter-revolutionary civil wars in China, Spain, America and in the Balkans.

(3) The fascist policy of plundering the workers, peasants and middle classes encourages the other capitalist States to increase the robbery of the masses with the same and similar methods of terror and deception.

(4) The situation in a number of countries (Spain, France, England, etc.) imperatively calls for the broadest popularisation of the lessons provided by the last world war, the November revolution in Germany and Austria, the Weimar democracy and Hitler fascism, for all proletarians.

(5) We have succeeded in winning the vast masses who fought for Dimitrov for the action for the release of Thaelmann. We must succeed in mobilising these masses of workers and peasants and intellectuals who are fighting for Thaelmann and the German anti-fascists who are threatened with death, for the fight for the rescue of all imprisoned anti-fascists in all other countries.

It is therefore absolutely necessary not only to extend but to deepen and impart a political character to the international campaign for the release of Thaelmann and all imprisoned anti-fascists.

In Spain the solidarity campaign for the release of Thaelmann assumed enormous proportions. It had a direct and important share in rallying all anti-fascist forces. The workers in town and country know that. In a letter recently received from Barcelona we read:—

"Now we really stand shoulder to shoulder in the fight together with the German anti-fascists. We first formed the united front for the release of Ernst Thaelmann. This same united front is now fighting for freedom against the fascist military dictatorship in Madrid."

The present government of France is paving the way for the fascist concentration of forces. The fascist terrorist organisations are preparing for bloody provocations. The anti-fascist united front movement is going over to the counter-attack, and it fills us with joy when leaders of the Communist Party declare that also in France the Thaelmann campaign is a powerful factor helping to build up the united front.

In the campaign on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the outbreak of the world war, the release campaign, unfortunately, was not sufficiently connected with the anti-war campaign. This must be done now. The fight on behalf of the threatened anti-fascists, at the head of whom is Comrade Thaelmann, must be developed into the fight for the political programme which these anti-fascists represent.

We welcome the fact that the International Release Committee is placing its forces at the disposal of the anti-fascist fight in the Saar. The Release Committee in the Saar district has decided on a number of measures in order to win christian workers, anti-fascist organisations, and sections of the intellectuals for the active fight for the victory of the status quo, for a fresh defeat of Hitler.

We repeat once again: the release campaign is not a fight for individual persons. It is a powerful manifestation of living proletarian internationalism. The fight for the release of the leaders of the C.P.G. and for the rescue of the best revolutionary cadres of the German revolution must be a constituent part of the whole of our united front policy, of our fight against imperialist war, against international fascisation, against wage cuts and abolition of social achievements, for the victory of the status quo in the Saar.

International Campaign for Thaelmann's Release

Each One of Us Is Responsible for the Rescue of Comrade Thaelmann

When the news came that Comrade Thaelmann was to be brought before the so-called People's Court in the course of the present month, a revival of the international release action suddenly set in. The most varied and manifold forms of splendid propaganda were resorted to: hoisting of a red flag with the slogan "Rescue Thaelmann" over the German Embassy in London, linking up of the street fighting in Poland and Yugoslavia and also the revolutionary fights in Spain with the Thaelmann release action, demonstrations in New York and San Francisco, in Shanghai, in Tokyo, Melbourne, Cape Town and Buenos Aires—in a word, in every town in the world.

In spite of the latest reports that the trial may be again postponed, the powerful movement which has commenced must not only not come to a standstill but must be systematically increased so that by the time of the commencement of the trial, even though it should be fixed suddenly, it will be a world movement of irresistible force.

At a meeting of intellectuals held in London, it was stated that there exist all the preconditions necessary for the rescue of Comrade Thaelmann. It depends upon us, and upon us alone, whether he will be rescued. If Thaelmann is not rescued, then the responsibility falls entirely upon us. Each one of us is responsible for the rescue of Comrade Thaelmann, for it depends upon the persistence, the determination, the force of our propaganda!

We are responsible for the rescue of Thaelmann. We can rescue him, we must rescue him!

INTERNATIONAL JURIDICAL CONFERENCE POSTPONED

Paris, October 13.

The International Release Committee has reliable information from Berlin that the German Government, in view of the public indignation shown abroad, and of its own inner political difficulties, is hesitating about commencing the trial of Ernst Thaelmann, although the preliminary inquiry is concluded and the indictment drawn up, and is inclined to postpone the trial again till a "more favourable time." The latest political events, too, render it difficult for a number of jurists to appear personally at a conference on the date fixed. In order to ensure the participation of all jurists who have promised to take part, the conference has been postponed till 10th—12th November. At the same time an International Jurists' Commission has been formed, which will meet immediately should the Hitler government suddenly decide to bring up Thaelmann for trial. This Commission is composed of: **Barcikowski** (Poland), **Branting** (Sweden), **Campinchi** (France), **Victoria Kent** (Spain), **Moro-Giafferi** (France), **Pritt** (England), **Sekanina** (Czechoslovakia), **Torres** (France), **van T'Hoff Stolek** (Holland), and **Vermeylen** (Belgium).

GREAT BRITAIN

A telegram was sent to the German government on October 10 by the crews of four British ships protesting against the imprisonment of Thaelmann and demanding his immediate release.

Telegrams and letters of protest have been sent to the German Embassy and the Reichspresident by a great number of workers' organisations, dockers, seamen, etc., and also by the British section of the Writers' International.

Banners and streamers bearing the words: "Release Thaelmann!" were hoisted over the German Embassy on October 8 and across the Strand, London, on October 10 as a protest against the imprisonment of Ernst Thaelmann.

A telegram signed by over 250 intellectuals and leaders of political, cultural and peace organisations in Britain has been sent to Hitler, which reads:—

"We protest against the decision to try Thaelmann before the People's Court. We demand for him customary legal facilities, public trial, and the right to appoint his own legal defenders."

The telegram was signed by, amongst others: **H. G. Wells**, the **Earl of Listowel**, **Aneurin Bevan, M.P.**, **Julian Huxley** (famous biologist), **Storm Jameson** (novelist), **H. W. Nevinson**, the **Bishops of Birmingham and Bradford**, **Augustus John** (famous artist) **Professors Tawney, Blakett, Brierley and Haldane**, **D. N. Pritt** (leading jurist), **Leah Manning** (leader Teachers' Trade Union) **Alex Gossip** (Gen. Sec. Furnishing Trades Union), **Harry Pollitt**, etc., etc.

At the great London meeting for the release of Thaelmann, held on Friday, October 12, **D. N. Pritt** made a particularly moving appeal. He said:—

"When we started the agitation in this and other countries for the saving of Dimitrov and his colleagues, many doubted its usefulness. But Dimitrov is alive to-day because of that work. I believe that even now we can save Thaelmann by a continued demonstration in this country. The fight against fascism has brought forward many noble heroes who have faced death by torture and execution. **But we want our heroes to live. Save Thaelmann!**"

Pritt's speech is particularly significant. Not only is he one of the leading King's Counsel at the British Bar, but he is also a Labour parliamentary candidate—the first to break through the ban imposed on the Committee for the Relief of the Victims of Fascism since the Labour Party conference.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

In consequence of the report that Thaelmann was to be brought before the bloody "Peoples Court" on October 15, and in response to the appeal from the International Release Committee, the Unity Committee against fascism and imperialist war for the **Hombok** district has taken up a collection of signatures in the **Moravia Works in Hombok**. The workers employed in these works have expressed a wish to send a delegate with the Czechoslovakian delegation.

The factory committee of the **Poldi Smelting Works** adopted a resolution raising a sharp protest against the intended trial of Thaelmann. The resolution demanded his immediate release. The great ironworks chimney at **Vitkovitz**, 75 metres high, was painted with the inscription: "Save Thaelmann from the hands of the fascist murderers." On the other side of the chimney: "Long live the united front!"

In sixteen small places in Bohemia, 1,160 signatures were collected on one day for Thaelmann, and 286 crowns collected for the delegation.

A conference of the workers in **Beraun** resolved to challenge the district of **Zizkov**, which has hitherto taken a leading place in the collection of signatures and collected 900 on one day, to a competition. The conference set itself the task of collecting 3,000 signatures in one week, to win over works and factories for the protest movement, and to send a delegate to Berlin.

The students of **Prague** have resolved to collect 1,000 signatures by October 15.

Greetings from the Y.C.L. of Latvia to Ernst Thaelmann.

We, the Young Communists of Latvia, assembled at our annual meeting, send comradely greetings to you, the leader of the heroic proletariat of Germany, over the frontiers and the prison walls.

In Latvia, too, the fascists are in power, who openly imitate the methods of your inquisitors and hangmen and persecute the adult and young workers of Latvia by means of fiercest terror.

The proletariat of the whole world applauds the heroic struggle of the Communist Party of Germany. We admire the courage and the heroic struggle against predatory fascism conducted by the C.P.G. and the Y.C.L.G., trained and guided by you. They inspire us with courage and will fill us with fresh strength for the struggle with our fascists.

We are filled with deep sympathy for the C.P.G. and the Y.C.L.G. because they are conducting the fight against German fascism, which is stretching out its greedy talons after the Baltic States. The German fascists, together with the bourgeoisie of England, helped Ulmann to establish his fascist dictatorship on the backs of the Latvian workers.

We promise you, Comrade Thaelmann, to carry out a large-scale campaign for your release and the release of all political prisoners in Germany and Latvia. We shall exert all our forces in order to support the growing revolution in Germany, which will free the thousands of imprisoned comrades and deliver a crushing blow to decaying capitalism.

We shall fight until fascism in Latvia is completely exterminated. We are with you, Comrade Ernst!

Great Britain

Industrial Recovery and Its Meaning

By R. Bishop (London)

The British capitalist press is very cock-a-whoop at the moment about what it terms the "recovery" of British industry from the effects of the crisis. The basis for its optimism is to be found in the fact that last month witnessed a substantial reduction in unemployment, combined with a rise in exports.

That in certain fields there is an improvement is undeniable, but equally undeniable is the fact that the British capitalists have not that sure ground for their optimistic utterances that they would like the world to believe. One point also that must be borne in mind is that if British capitalism now shows more tangible signs of improvement than most of its rivals, it sank faster and lower (comparatively) than they did in the earlier days of the crisis.

The current issue of the "Economist" (October 13) gives some very interesting figures of profits made by representative British concerns in the last quarter (July-September). In this period 318 concerns reported total profits of £17.1 millions, against £13.4 millions for the corresponding quarter last year—an increase of 27.7 per cent.

An interesting table is printed in the "Economist," analysing the distribution of these increased profits by industrial groupings:

Net Profits After Payment of Debenture Interest, Etc.

Reports published in Quarter ended September 30

	1933 £	1934 £	Increase %	Decrease %
Breweries	4,915,373	5,915,561	20.3	—
Financial, land and Investment	605,712	800,120	32.1	—
Gas	56,012	55,202	—	1.4
Hotels and Restaurants	49,209	118,972	141.8	—
Iron, Coal and Steel	785,253	1,731,731	120.5	—
Motor, Cycle and Aviation	35,297	75,002	112.4	—
Oil	37,893	51,240	35.2	—
Rubber	222,106	384,024	72.9	—
Shipping	391,493	390,496	—	0.2
Shops and Stores ...	1,374,119	1,741,496	26.8	—
Textiles	934,564	990,241	5.9	—
Trusts	899,760	836,982	—	6.9
Waterworks	4,845	5,742	1.8	—
Building Materials ...	132,654	249,021	87.8	—
Food and Drink	214,545	283,227	32.0	—
Electric Equipment ...	76,669	113,592	48.1	—
Newspapers, Printing and Publishing	292,452	401,197	37.2	—
Tobacco	515,305	487,475	—	5.4
Warehousing	64,937	69,239	6.6	—
Miscellaneous	1,852,349	1,925,852	3.9	—

What do these figures show? They show that to some extent monopoly capitalism has succeeded in strengthening itself temporarily at the expense of the workers, who have been speeded-up and rationalised in every branch of industry. It is computed ("Labour Research," August) that throughout industry about one-fifth more is produced per worker working, while in some industries the figure is far higher.

An example—a rather extreme one, perhaps—is afforded by Sir Herbert Austin, the well-known motor-car manufacturer, who boasted recently that:—

"A few years ago a labourer used to receive 6s. 1d. for a given operation. But to-day we have persuaded him to do it for 4½d."

That represents rationalisation with a vengeance.

Rationalisation coupled with currency depreciation has enabled British industry to extend its exports, mainly in the following fields:—

Munitions (Britain is the largest exporter in the world in this field), capital exports to markets controlled by British finance capital, luxury exports to the Dominions and colonies where increased colonial exploitation has had its effect.

But the biggest gains have been in the home market, although a certain uneasiness is manifested in responsible capitalist circles, that this expansion is drawing to a close, after a very short-lived existence. Walter Runciman, President of the Board of Trade, in a recent speech, said:—

"There are signs that the home market is nearing saturation point. I have already drawn attention to the fact that it cannot be unduly expanded beyond certain limits without unduly disturbing our export trade."

There are two main lines of increased spending and a number of subsidiary ones. In the first place the enormous accumulation in the hands of big financiers, as instanced in the "Midland Bank Review":—

"Local authorities and public utility undertakings frequently find it advantageous to raise capital funds by recourse to insurance companies and other undertakings with loanable funds, and it seems likely that this method of financing has been more frequently resorted to in the past two years."

A great deal of the money of the insurance companies has found its way into building societies. Building activity is now double what it was in 1924 and shows a 50 per cent. increase even on 1929 figures. Part of the building is of a luxury character, but a considerable proportion is for new working-class housing. By means of mortgages, the companies put the repayment of their "slump" advances on the tenants at a high rate of interest. This can be seen from the fact that the building societies' advances have risen from £220 millions in 1928 to £418 millions in 1933.

The building boom, incidentally, has not meant increased employment for building workers, amongst whom unemployment is abnormally high. Rationalisation has more than countered increased activity.

The other main line is the increased profits from rationalisation, *limitation of production, etc.*, that have gone to the rich and the very rich—perhaps 100,000 all told. Certain small sections of the capitalist class have benefited from subsidies and similar things.

Whilst one sees certain industries that are flourishing, for the time being at least, they are not the main basic industries, all the optimistic talk to the contrary notwithstanding. Even the "Economist," after analysing last quarter's profits, is compelled to admit:—

"For any real measure of recovery in our big exporting industries, in merchanting and shipping—in which unemployment is mainly centred—we are still waiting. There is little sign of such recovery in the figures of net profits here analysed. Indeed, taking recent figures of profits and reserve allocations on the one hand and the small amount of new industrial borrowing as revealed by our new capital issue figures, it is evident that, though there is money to put into new enterprise, the demand for it is still limited."

In other words—it's not a devil of a lot of good extracting surplus value unless one has a market for the goods that result therefrom, and that market remains obstinately contracted.

The relation of increased profits to intensified exploitation can be seen clearly from the following facts:—

Throughout British industry as a whole, the output per head of the workers is approximately up by about 20 per cent. In the building industry it is up about 50 per cent., in the iron and steel industry by 35 per cent.

The speeding-up which brought this about makes for increasing danger in working, one result of which is the recent calamitous Gresford colliery disaster. There were 7,000 more workshop accidents in 1933 than in 1932, whilst fatal accidents increased from 602 to 688.

Imperialist tribute extracted from the colonial toilers has increased, enabling a big increase in luxury expenditure, of which notable examples are the automobile and the hotel and restaurant industries.

The effect of the Ottawa agreement has been far less than the imperialists had hoped for. For the first half of the year British exports to the Empire increased less than British exports to Europe, which went up by 7 per cent. as compared with the low level of the previous year. The proportion of exports to the Empire went up by only .2 per cent.

The very most that can be said of the effects of Ottawa is that it secured for Britain a greater proportion of the diminished Empire trade than would have been the case had the Ottawa agreement never been signed.

The main foreign gains have been in trade with the Scandinavian countries, where the depreciated £ has enabled advance to be registered, mainly at the expense of Germany.

All of which emphasises the point made earlier that the main

gains have been in the home market and the responsible capitalist economists are themselves highly dubious of the possibilities of further considerable gains in this field. The causes of the improvement in the home market can be seen in the following:—

Temporary gain in certain industries, at the expense of others, from tariffs. This is particularly applicable to the woollen and iron and steel industries.

War production—this also applies particularly to the iron and steel industries.

Increased industrial activity through pushing forward of rationalisation in every sphere.

Yet with all this, the normal signs of the early stages of a "boom" are missing, noticeably the fact that the figures of new capital issues remain far below the years preceding 1929. Such "boomlet" as there is at present is confined to industries where consumption goods are produced. There is no sign of any considerable increase of activity in those industries producing the means of production. In fact in most industries the problem still remains the disposal of surplus plant. Recently in the shipbuilding industry and now in the cotton industry, frantic plans are being evolved to scrap redundant plants, to allow of expanded profits in the others. There is no sign of real recovery in these facts.

The indications are that for the time being the tendency will be for production to hover round about the present level, and not to recede to the deepest point of the crisis.

Government plans show that war industries will continue to develop still further. As far as housing is concerned, the government shows signs that it intends to foster the building industry. The luxury industries may continue to flourish for awhile as the result of higher profits and increased colonial tribute.

But all of this does not mean prosperity—except for the very few. It means depression, with the maintenance of unemployment (with seasonal fluctuations) round about its present level. The cotton industry shows no signs of emerging from the crisis—it is sinking deeper into the mire every day. The basic industries look like continuing to work far below their capacity, which means whole areas of Britain will continue to be officially classified as derelict.

Such gains as the capitalists are making out of the present situation they will be very anxious to maintain, but can only hope to do so by ever stronger measures against foreign competitors—which will lead to further retaliation—and more determined resistance than ever to all demands for improved working conditions made by the workers.

What trade recovery there has been has stimulated the workers in every industry to agitate for a return of the wage cuts and working conditions which were filched from them in the 1931-32 period. The British capitalist class are concerned to retain such small advantages as they have gained. The contest between the various powers for the shrunken world market becomes more intense.

The economic struggle between the imperialist powers is rapidly moving on to a war footing. How rapidly can be seen from the concentration of new legislation on such measures as the subsidising of agriculture, shipbuilding, etc., and the vastly increased activity in the armaments industry, to say nothing of the Estimates for increases in personnel and machinery for the Army, Navy and Air Force.

In such a situation we find not only the employers desperately anxious to avoid strikes, but equally so the reformist trade union leaders—who by their new declaration of war policy have lined up with the National government—as witness recent events in the coal-mining and railway industries, to mention only two.

In this situation the danger of fascism and of war becomes acute. Never has there been a finer opportunity to mobilise the workers for action. They can see that to them all this "prosperity" talk means little or nothing. They are beginning to realise how unsubstantial are all capitalist "revivals."

In these circumstances the militant movement has tremendous opportunities for building a powerful united front to struggle for the demands of the unemployed, against fascism and war and for the demands of the unemployed workers. In these circumstances it is possible to mould the instrument with which the workers in Britain will eventually encompass the downfall of capitalism and march forward to a free Soviet Britain.

Manifesto of the London District Committee of the C.P.G.B. on the Borough Council Elections

On November 1 in England and on November 7 in Scotland municipal elections will take place in all boroughs and county boroughs. Elections for Urban and Rural District Councils as well as for County Councils take place at another time. In London the whole of the Councillors are put up for election every third year—the last time was 1931—but elsewhere one-third retire every year.

In London the Labour Party are confident of vastly improving their position, at the last election coming just after the formation of the National government they did exceptionally badly, only having a majority on four of the 28 London boroughs.

The Communist Party is contesting along a wider front and with more candidates than at any previous election.

The Communist candidates are fighting under the slogan: "Forward to a Soviet Britain!"

Working Men, Women and Youth of London!

Wherever workers meet in factories, trade unions, Labour Exchanges, Co-operative Guilds or clubs, conversation takes place about such questions as housing and rents, care of the children and expectant mothers, the health and education of the children, the Means Test, extra winter relief for the unemployed, and the Slave Labour Camps which the government is setting up.

The Chief Medical Officer of Health, in his Annual Report, reveals an absolutely scandalous and shocking condition of affairs. No less than a quarter of a million of the children attending school are underfed. Expectant mothers are going short of food, totally unfit through under-nourishment for the great task of motherhood. In this connection the report states: "Expectant mothers must have ample milk (two pints a day), cheese, butter, eggs, fish, liver, fruit and fresh vegetables." Where has this to come from? From the inadequate relief of the unemployed? From the inadequate wages of the workers?

Every worker knows that as things are at present, rents must be paid, whether there is food in the cupboard or not. If ever there was need for a fighting policy and a fighting Party there is that need now.

The workers have the fighting spirit—are already showing that they are ready to fight for better conditions and against war and fascism which threaten us. Already the might of the workers has won great victories. The National government was compelled by the great Hunger March of February to restore a part of the economy cuts. Wage cuts have been defeated, speeding-up prevented and working conditions defended by the London busmen, tram-men, engineers and others. The London workers have dealt smashing blows against fascism whenever it has tried to raise its ugly head. At Olympia it was challenged and exposed; at Hyde Park on September 9 it was overwhelmed by the unity of the London workers.

These victories have been won as a result of the growing unity and mass action of the workers. They would have been impossible but for the fighting leadership of the Communist Party. Day after day, by its ceaseless efforts, in the teeth of the opposition of the Labour leaders, the Communist Party has succeeded in rallying scores of thousands of London workers for a fighting policy against capitalism and fascism.

If the Communist Party can do this while it has not yet a single member on the Borough Councils or the L.C.C., how much more could it do, how much stronger could the fight be, how much wider the unity if on the Borough Councils there were a group of Communist Councillors?

How much stronger the struggle would be if the demands of the workers and the fight for them were carried right into the Council Chambers all over London. If the victories which have been won are to be carried further, then it is vital that Communist Councillors should be returned on November 1.

The Councils in and around London have wide powers on matters of great concern to the workers, as, for example, on Housing, Health, Wages, Maternal and Child Welfare, etc. The Councils are used by the National government to attack the working class. The Councils, whether controlled by Tory, Liberal, or Labour, have all administered affairs in line with the policy of the National government. Each claims to have made this or that little

concession to the workers, but all alike have operated the Means Test, have cut wages, have supported the L.C.C. Slave Labour Camps (like Belmont and Hollesley Bay), whilst the vile extravagance of the rich parasites stands out in sharp contrast to the want and suffering of the workers.

Communist Councillors will carry your fight into the Council Chambers and will carry the fight in the Councils back into the streets, the factories and the trade unions, for the following demands:—

(1) The smashing of the Means Test, provision of extra winter relief, the raising of the scales of relief, the closing down of Belmont and Hollesley Bay and the non-residential training centres. The provision of work schemes at trade union rates and the fight against the proposed Slave Labour Camps of the National government.

(2) The immediate restoration of wage cuts and trade union conditions for municipal employees as part of the fight for wage increases in all industries.

(3) The immediate reduction of rents of Council houses, the carrying out of compulsory repairs and the building of houses for the workers' at workers' rents. The taking over of all empty houses. (The last Census taken revealed that a minimum of half a million additional houses are required at once.)

(4) The provision of free school meals, of milk for mothers, of increased hospital accommodation and staffing, of children's playgrounds, etc.

(5) The defence of workers' free speech and rights, the closing down of the Blackshirt Headquarters and withdrawal of police protection for the Blackshirts. Against every form of fascism.

(6) Opposition to preparations for war, in any shape or form.

(7) The scaling down of high officials' salaries, the collection of rates for empty buildings, the reduction of rates for workers' houses and an increased burden on rich factory and property owners. Reduction of interest rates on borough loans.

(8) The special demands required by the various boroughs.

To win these demands the whole force of the working class is necessary. With resolutions pouring in to the Councils from the

workers in the factories and in the unions and the Co-operative Guilds, from the Labour Exchanges and from the working men and women in the streets backing up this programme, and with great mass meetings and demonstrations, and with an active group of Communist Councillors leading the struggle inside and outside the Council, the working class can sweep forward to victory against the reactionaries who for too long have used the Councils against the working class.

Only the Communist Party will conduct such a fight, only Communist Councillors will carry this fight into the Municipal Chambers.

It is significant that in the London Labour Party election manifesto no mention is made of the working class or of the fight for socialism. This is because the policy of the Labour Party is not a working-class policy—if it was they would not have carried out the anti-working-class instructions of the National government in the boroughs where they have had a majority for years. But the Communist Party is a working-class Party. Its whole aim is to unite all workers in the struggle against the capitalist class, nationally and locally.

Only by advancing the whole movement on these lines and building up the mass unity of the workers as was done on September 9, will we be able to gather up the forces necessary to overthrow the power of the capitalist class and secure power in the hands of the workers. Only by the Workers' Soviet Power can we finally end the reign of the parasites and build the country anew on the basis of Socialist construction.

The Communist Councillors will lead the fight against the Means Test, for Extra Winter Relief, for Food before Rents, for the lives of the Mothers and Children, for more and better Hospitals, Clinics, Schools, against the Slave Labour Camps, against fascism and the capitalist supporters who are backing it.

Communist Councillors are absolutely necessary for the workers. Communist Councillors mean a new and big advance in the workers' struggle. The workers need Communist Councillors and the Communist Councillors need the continual backing and support of the workers.

Inside and outside the Councils the struggle must go on, until the final victory of our class has been accomplished.

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

Letters From The Soviet Ukraine

I Look for the "Corpses Lying about the Streets of Kiev"

By Our Special Moscow Correspondent, L. F. BOROSS

(1) IN THE STREETS

I received the following letter from Berlin:—

"Dear friend,—I believe it will interest you to know that the German press is once more writing about a 'famine disaster in the Soviet Union.' But whilst most of the papers are merely making general assertions, and again state that millions are dying of starvation in the Soviet Ukraine, without giving time or place, the 'Kreuzzeitung' bases its assertions on an alleged letter from Kiev. The writer of this letter had seen how the corpses of hundreds of people, who had died of starvation, were cleared away from the streets of Kiev every day. What can this idiot have really seen in the streets of Kiev?"

And this kind of thing appears not only in the Nazi press. There are many bourgeois papers which have not yet quite lost the confidence of their petty bourgeois and even proletarian readers, still participating in the fascist campaign of lies about "famine in the Ukraine."

Even workers occasionally diffidently put the question in their letters: Of course we do not believe there is a famine in the Soviet Union. But perhaps there are isolated occurrences here and there which the bourgeois press is able to seize on in order to exaggerate and make a mountain out of a molehill. The hundreds of dead bodies are obviously all moonshine. But perhaps the writer of the letter saw some under-nourished people in Kiev, and imagination has done the rest, transforming them into emaciated corpses. Perhaps there is something wrong with the

food supplies of the Soviet Ukraine, since the press deals so persistently with this matter.

I therefore endeavoured to get inside the skin, as it were, of an unenlightened reader of the bourgeois press, and to forget for the moment everything I have actually witnessed in the Soviet Union. During my twenty-four hours' journey from Moscow to Kiev, I occupied myself with reading fascist newspapers in order to be able the better to see things from the standpoint expressed by the question put by my friend: "What can this idiot have really seen in the streets of Kiev?" (If he was ever in Kiev at all.)

Therefore I endeavoured to imagine that the hundreds of peasant women from the collective and individual peasant farms, who stormed the platforms at every station in the Soviet Ukraine, offering for sale, at comparatively low prices, excellent apples and pears, tomatoes and cucumbers, maize cobs, and hot meat and rice pies, had been specially commanded by the authorities to put in an appearance solely for the purpose of deceiving me, the modest writer of these lines. The assurances of my fellow traveller that I should be able to live as cheaply in Kiev as in Moscow, if not more cheaply, I also thrust aside mentally with the argument: "It is all very well for him to talk like that, he is probably an employee or a functionary; but how do the masses of the people live?"

It was in this state of mental preparedness that I arrived in Kiev. I could not see much on the evening of my arrival, as I had to wait in the vestibule of a crowded hotel until somebody left by the night train, and I could take the room vacated by him.

My first impression of Kiev was the over-crowdedness of the city. For two months Kiev has been the capital of the Soviet Ukraine. A number of government bodies have moved their headquarters from Harcov to Kiev, and the new capital has been given a new aspect. Workers are arriving continually in Kiev, and are beginning to work on building up the new large-scale heavy industrial undertakings, of which there have hitherto been but few in Kiev. They overcrowd the hotels, they place too heavy demands on a telephone service not yet adapted to the new conditions, they overcrowd the means of traffic, and even the broad footpaths of the well-laid streets. All this would be reason enough for temporary difficulties in bringing in sufficient food supplies. Perhaps the idiot in question really did see a molehill, furnishing the material for his mountain.

I spent the next day in the streets. My "second ego," well trained by my fascist reading matter on the journey, looked round for the hundreds of corpses. Even if hundreds cannot be found, surely there will be one at least, even if it is not quite dead, even if it need not be "cleared away," but is able to walk home by itself after recovering from a fainting fit. But from the first moment onwards I had the greatest difficulty in retaining any remembrance of this piece of imbecility. I found myself in one of the most beautiful cities I have ever visited. The houses are almost hidden in trees and gardens, parks and greens. Not only were there no corpses lying about the streets, there was not even a cigarette end. The scrupulous cleanliness reigning all over the town is only interrupted, inevitably, where new buildings are being erected, and there are many of these. Is it possible for a starving population to take such care of a city? I confronted my "second ego" with this question.

Going down the hill we met a number of women carrying shopping bags containing vegetables, eggs and large quantities of fresh fruit. I asked one woman where she had made her purchases. She replied that the collective farm market was at the bottom of the hill. (The collective farm market is where the peasants, mainly the collectivists, are permitted to sell their products to anyone who desires to buy at free prices.)

"Are you not a member of some factory co-operative, where you could buy cheaper?"

"Yes, my husband is working in a factory, and I can buy from the co-operative there. But nowadays we do not need to buy everything through the co-operative. Bread, meat and butter are still much cheaper there, but vegetables, fruit, and so on, are scarcely dearer in the free markets now. I even got these apples cheaper at the market to-day than yesterday at the co-operative shop. And there is a much bigger selection at the market. There has been a magnificent crop of fruit and vegetables this year."

I passed on. The shops and the spacious collective farm market were as crowded with buyers and with goods as in Moscow. In the main street—named after the Soviet Ambassador murdered in Switzerland, **Vorovski**—one notices that almost every third or fourth shop sells children's clothing and toys. On the other hand, it appeared that the large number of cafés were still not sufficient to meet the needs of the population of Kiev. In the early hours of the afternoon I could not find a free place at any table. The excellent chocolate-iced cake, with its cream filling, would have tasted better if I had been able to sit down and enjoy it at leisure.

A factory whistle announced knocking off time. Workers streamed from the wide gateway of the factory. Let us ask them if they are starving said my "second ego." Let us wait a while, I replied. Perhaps they would give an evasive answer. Let us rather follow them without speaking to them.

A few minutes later the first worker disappeared into a house, calling after his departing friend: "Alright, after I've changed I'll meet you in the 'Dynamo.'"

I waited about the place for a while, and soon I saw the same working men and women, who had entered the houses an hour before in their dusty, creased working clothes, emerge from the same doors again, washed and dressed in good, clean clothes. The men for the most part wore white trousers and gaily-embroidered Ukrainian shirts. There were many white dresses among the women, too, but gay colours seemed to dominate,

I did not see the worker again who had made the appointment to meet his friend in the "Dynamo." I observed, however, that most of the workers went in the same direction, and crowded in front of the gate of a great stone-fenced park, where tickets of admission were obtainable. Music could be heard from the park—singing, dance music, operatic selections. At the pay-boxes the workers pushed impatiently: "Why don't they have more ticket sellers?" Reply: "Where are they going to find the people?" Other voices: "We shall all get in in time."

"It doesn't look as if we are going to find any corpses here," observed my "second ego" mutinously. "But we shall see how the workers here spend the evening," I replied, and with my ticket in my hand—for I had lined up in the queue—I passed through the gateway, with its illuminated sign of "Dynamo Stadium."

(2) HOW THE WORKERS SPEND THEIR EVENINGS

Kiev does not yet possess a real "Culture and Recreation Park." But since the whole town with its environs is really one great park, this lack is not much felt. But the demand of the masses for cultural recreation is too great to be satisfied by present conditions. The Culture Park is to be laid out by next spring, for what is not accomplished in the Soviet Union when the masses of the people desire it? Meanwhile the newly completed great Stadium of the Workers' Sports Club "Dynamo" serves as substitute for the time being.

The workers flock here every evening. To-night professional acrobats are giving a performance on the large platform. To the right of the entrance, in the summer theatre, a ballet competition is going on. On the left a broad terrace offers "refreshments," and enormous quantities of ices, lemonade and cake are being consumed, and in lesser quantities even "Pilsener" beer, which is made in Kiev.

On a great grass plot dancing is going on, the participants being mostly young people. One young man acts as M.C., shows the steps to be danced, and gives the words to be sung in accompaniment. The dance begins. A wonderful training in rhythm, dexterity, and co-operation. The spirits of the dancers rise and the dance becomes merrier, but the collective does not break up; on the contrary, the team-work intensifies. One group commences spontaneously to sing in chorus: "We need no foreign soil," and all the dancers reply in a thundering chorus: "But we shall not give up a foot of ours!" Then the dance goes on.

I spoke to a young man near me, one of the dancers. He was not particularly pleased at being interrupted, but the following conversation ensued:—

"What reason have you for being so merry, comrade?"

"Do we need to have a special reason?"

"But is life at home, and at work, so pleasant as all that? I mean with regard to food and so on?"

"Of course; we don't live badly."

"What are you by trade?"

"I am studying at the technical college."

"And your father?"

(A long interruption while the dance went on.) "My father is a chauffeur. My mother does not work. I have no brothers or sisters. I find plenty to enjoy in life. And things improve from month to month. My father is now quite satisfied with the meals supplied by the garage restaurant, though at one time he often complained that good food was spoiled by bad cooking. I get good meals at the technical college. My mother can always buy us something nice to eat out of the housekeeping money. Just look at our shops: More and more industrial articles are coming in every day, and there is always a greater selection. Our town is improving every day. This stadium is new, too. You cannot walk down the streets any day without seeing something new. Our Soviet State is getting stronger every day. Why shouldn't we be gay?"

I did not ask this young man any more questions. Perhaps, I thought, his case is not typical: an only child, a student; probably somewhat over-indulged, does not need to share anything with brothers and sisters.

(To be continued)

The Week in the Soviet Union

The Anniversary of the Moldavian Soviet Republic

On October 11 the Autonomous Moldavian Socialist Soviet Republic celebrated the tenth anniversary of its foundation. In these ten years the Soviets, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, faithfully following the Leninist nationality policy, have transformed the whole economy and culture of this small and one-time backward country.

The basis of the economy of Soviet Moldavia is agriculture: namely, vine and vegetable growing. In the course of one year it has made enormous progress on the basis of collectivisation. The area under cultivation has greatly increased, while there has also been a big improvement in the quality of the produce. The area of land given over to the cultivation of vegetables, etc., has increased from 6,135 hectares ten years ago to 12,010 hectares at the present time; the area under vines has increased in the same period from 12,770 hectares to 22,710 hectares. The income of the collective farmers has increased correspondingly. Thus, for example, in 1932 there were only six collective farms which were able to distribute 7 to 10 kilogrammes of grain for each day's work performed. This year 212 collective farms attained to this level of income.

The development of agriculture serves, on the other hand, as the basis of industrialisation. The factories in Soviet Moldavia are mostly connected with the food industry. Big canning and sugar factories have arisen. The total output of industry increased from 1,800,000 roubles in 1927-28 to 42,900,000 in the current year.

The continually improving material situation of the working population increases their cultural requirements. Illiteracy in this Republic is a thing of the past. In addition to the elementary schools there are three high schools, eight technical schools, and eight workers' faculties. There are forty newspapers.

The membership of the Komsomols has increased from 2,000 in 1924 to 11,000 at the present time.

Tiraspol, the capital of the Moldavian Soviet Republic, is one of those towns in the Soviet Union whose growth is phenomenal. In place of the old tumble-down huts there are now up-to-date buildings several storeys high. In the last two years one of the biggest canning factories has been erected in Tiraspol. Dwelling-houses, factory dining halls, restaurants, and a polyclinic have been built. A big theatre, a Communist high school, a printing works, and the Institute for Popular Education are in course of erection.

The budget of the Republic amounted ten years ago to 2,650,000 roubles; to-day it amounts to 52,000,000 roubles. Investments in the industry of Soviet Moldavia amounted altogether in the past ten years to 146 million roubles. The number of industrial workers has increased from 8,100 to 40,000.

At their anniversary celebrations the working people of Soviet Moldavia showed that they fully realise that such remarkable progress is possible only under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Increase in the Daily Output of the Soviet Russian Iron-Smelting Industry

Great successes have to be recorded every month in the iron-smelting industry. Record figures were attained in September in the daily output of pig iron, steel and rolling-mill products. Thus the average daily output of pig-iron amounted in this month to 30,500 tons, as compared with 29,800 tons in June and 26,300 tons in March. The average daily output of rolling-mill products increased from 18,000 tons in March to 19,400 tons in September.

Conference of Town Soviets in the Don Basin

A conference of representatives of the Soviets of a number of towns of the Soviet Union has been held in Gorlovka. The delegates of the town Soviets met together in order to exchange experience in municipal construction and to arrange a socialist competition for the best achievements in the sphere of municipal economy. According to the agreement, those towns will be adjudged victors which achieve the greatest speed in the construction of new dwellings and public buildings, as well as in the building up of municipal economy in general, which show the best

architectural beauty and design in the new buildings, and the greatest number of model dining halls, clubs, schools, creches, baths, hospitals, etc.

This conference is an event in the fight for the further cultural progress of the Soviet towns and the well-being of the working masses. It demonstrates the rapid growth of the land of the Soviets, which is able to offer its citizens an ever-improving standard of living.

A great programme of cultural construction was commenced this year on the Moscow-Donetz Basin railway line. Up to now three million square metres buildings sites have been marked out. Forty-five new dining halls, in which 6,000 persons can be served daily, are to be erected for the workers on the line. Further, 15 creches, 40 kindergartens, and 39 children's playgrounds have been established. All the buildings are equipped with wireless sets, with loud-speakers in every room.

On that sector of the line running from Jelezk to Verluisk, clubs have been set up to which picture theatres, libraries and sports grounds are attached.

Further Successes on the Land

In the first ten days of October, in which the most important field work came to an end, there was a still greater influx of grain to the elevators and to the State and co-operative purchasing centres. That the collective peasants have a greatly increased income this year is shown by the large quantity of surplus grain they are placing on the market. Thus the collective farmers of the Moscow district have delivered six million poods of grain to the consumers' co-operatives. In the Kiev district over three million poods were sold.

These successes have resulted in a fresh influx of individual peasants into the collective farms. Thus it is reported from the Chernigov district, in the Ukraine, that over 15,000 individual peasants have joined the existing collective farms or formed new ones.

As regards the Winter sowing, on October 10 a total of 35,965,000 hectares had been sown throughout the whole Soviet Union. This already represents 90 per cent. of the total winter sowing and is 10 per cent. more than the area sown at the same time last year.

The Growth of Social Insurance

In the first nine months of 1934 the income of the social insurance exceeded the plan. The Central Council of the Soviet Trade Unions has accordingly increased the benefits under the social insurance. The budget for medical attendance has been increased by 30 million roubles. A further 16.9 million roubles has been allotted for sanatoria and convalescent homes, and an additional 11.8 million roubles for factory kindergarten and creches.

"COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL," No. 19

The latest issue of the "Communist International" contains two articles which have appeared in the "International Press Correspondence"—the leader, "The U.S.S.R. and the League of Nations," and the article of A. Mueller on "Illegal Party Work in Germany."

The main contents of No. 19 are a full-length study by Harry Pollitt of "The Work of the C.P.G.B. since the Sixth World Congress," an article on "The Weymouth T.U.C." by A. Losovsky, one on "Company Unions in U.S.A.," and two book reviews.

Pollitt's article traces the development of the Party's work since 1928, enumerating the tasks set by the Open Letter of the Comintern and the January Resolution. He then examines the questions of the practical accomplishment of these tasks and the Party's work to-day.

Losovsky, with admirable and workmanlike brevity, exposes the essence of the Weymouth T.U.C. decisions and polemises against John Mahon.

L. Madyar's review of Dr. Goebbels' latest instalment ("Vom Kaiserhof zur Reichskanzlei") is not merely the pillorying of a particularly odious creature, but an illuminating study of the agitation and propaganda methods—and, in fact, the whole character—of the German Nazi Party.

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