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The War Danger Becomes Ever More Threatening

An Unrelenting Struggle in Word and Deed Must Rouse the Toilers!

The dangerous indications which always precede a new outbreak of war are increasing in sinister fashion. Competition in armaments is assuming gigantic dimensions. Germany and Japan, the two countries which are shaken most of all by financial, political and economic crises, are leading the dance. But the other States do not lag behind either. Great Britain increases the strength of its air force, Italy builds new warships, the U.S.A. arms on land and sea, France increases its military budget by a further three milliards. The war industry has become the axis of production throughout the entire world.

The feverish activity of the General Staffs corresponds to the busy comings and goings of the diplomats and their ink-slinging journalist hacks. The imperialist English bourgeoisie, which regards the splendid advance of the Soviet Union with growing concern (fearing the effect on its own wage slaves, but particularly on its colonial slaves), encourages Germany and Japan quite openly to war on the Soviet Union. Japan, above all, strives with great persistency to draw all the States bordering the Soviet Union into a military alliance, as is proved by its most recent approach to Turkey. Japanese imperialism seems in actual fact to be making the last preparations in order to commence hostilities as soon as possible. The provocateurs are particularly busy

at their work. No day passes without some "incident" or other. The leading economic journal of the English bourgeoisie, that eminently reasonable weekly—"The Economist"—heads its last leader: "The Moribund Peace."

In this situation the announcement made by the **World Committee against War and Fascism**, to the effect that it aims to increase its activities against war and fascism to a gigantic degree, will be greeted with great enthusiasm by all opponents of war.

"The National Committees and their subordinate organs will now proceed to action without delay"—writes C. Ulrich in the last number of "Weltfront"—"in order to rouse and stir up the workers and peasants, the intellectuals and small traders, the youth, the women, and the ex-servicemen, and to inspire them for the protest movement. They will prepare the **World Congress of Women**, which is to take place in Paris from August 4 to 6, by means of thousands of protest actions and meetings against fascism and war. They will organise **mass frontier gatherings** at the danger points of imperialist war, and call upon all transport workers to **boycott the transport of all war materials**. They will tirelessly propagate amongst the masses the **defence of the Soviet Union and of Soviet China** as well as the right to freedom of

the entire Chinese people and the people in the colonies. They will direct all their energies towards multiplying the effectiveness of the action for the liberation of Thaelmann and all anti-fascists in Germany, at least ten times during the coming weeks.

"Let us do everything so that the millions rise before the imperialist bourgeoisie drives them to the slaughter, so that they will rise against fascism."

The fact that this action against war is connected in the closest possible way with the struggle against fascism is by no means due to an accidental grouping of Powers. Fascism is the demagogic bulwark of war, while conversely war is the real ideology of fascism in its most revolting form—a crude but precisely because of that an almost tangible solution to poverty—to become sated by plundering other peoples; that is if the robbery succeeds. In reality, of course, it is no solution, for a victorious war at best can only bring advantages to a very small stratum. There is only one real salvation for the masses of toilers: the proletarian revolution, as it was brought to living reality in the Soviet Union, which made an end of the exploitation of man by man, restored national liberation to more than 150 peoples, and is leading 170 millions of people to a level of material and mental well-being undreamt of hitherto, as a consequence of the planned utilisation and increase of the productive forces. The proximity of Japan and the British Empire to the Soviet Union plays a certain role in the present grouping of the Powers to be sure. The main point, however, is the social antagonism, the method of oppressing their own people and those of other countries on the one hand, and the liberation of their own and other peoples on the other. For this reason the German bourgeoisie is lining up with Britain and Japan—whose main life element is the spilling of blood—the blood of its own people and those of other peoples. For this reason German fascism becomes more and more the driving force for the approaching holocaust.

The most characteristic difference between to-day and the position in 1914 is that not only do imperialist Powers confront one another, but that the Soviet Union is also on the map; should the imperialist bourgeoisie succeed in strangling it, then the consequence would be not merely the appeasement of the imperialist lust for expansion, but the hunger, the poverty, the enslavement, the degeneration, in one word, the ghastly domination of the bourgeoisie, would be prolonged thereby for decades, whereas it can live at best only for a few more years if the Soviet Union is allowed to advance—this exemplary model of a society without exploitation and oppression, a productive community of material and spiritual well-being. Each imperialist war is conducted for the purpose of enslaving other people and for the maintenance of the domination of a relatively small upper stratum over the rest of their own people. It is certain that wars can break out between the imperialist robbers themselves, for after all there are sharp conflicts amongst them, particularly between Japan and America, Germany and France, Germany and Poland, France and Italy, etc. Nevertheless everything points to the fact that Japan will first of all attack the Soviet Union.

The approaching war, which will immeasurably surpass all its predecessors in ghastly sacrifices, has therefore a special purpose, to drive back humanity—which has reached the threshold of real salvation—into the most fearful servitude.

This consciousness must lend enormous power to our struggle, must embrace and draw into activity the masses in town and village, and the best of these millions, are with us and not with them.

This action which has been initiated by the Committee against war and fascism must become a clear warning: you want to destroy the Soviet Union, but you only speed up your own destruction.

Politics

Hitler's Trip to Venice

Before the fireworks let off in the Campagnila in honour of Hitler had burnt out, before the conversations between Mussolini and Hitler in the historic castle of Strund on the Lido had taken place, an article appeared in the London "Daily Telegraph" on the reasons for Hitler's intended visit to Venice:—

"The meeting between Mussolini and Hitler is the reply to the formation of a bloc between France, the Soviet Union,

Turkey and the Little Entente. The success in international politics which Litvinov has achieved in France, Turkey and in the Balkan States has called forth a natural and inevitable reaction; the rapprochement between Germany and Italy."

We know very well that such a bloc does not exist; at present only the outlines of a collaboration between the Soviet Union and the bourgeois States, who for various—often purely imperialist—reasons are interested in the maintenance of peace, have become visible. England did everything at Geneva in order to prevent, or at least to delay such a collaboration. Hitler and Mussolini have continued this work at Venice.

Even before this meeting the situation and the policy of Italy were estimated as follows in the Paris "Temps":—

"Italy views with a certain amount of disfavour the rapprochement between France and the Soviet Union, and this the more so because it sees that the threads between the Soviet Union and the Little Entente, between the Little Entente and the Balkan States, are being spun more and more closely, that the foreign policy of Turkey and Bulgaria has taken quite another direction than that which would be desirable from the Italian standpoint. In these circumstances Italy fears that a Continental bloc might be formed without Italy; it fears the creation of a system of European alliances, which would mean the collapse of its policy in the Near East by depriving Italy of the possibility of obtaining raw materials from the Soviet Union in the event of international complications, and could even assume the physiognomy of an anti-fascist formation."

It need not be emphasised that in the case of the Soviet Union it is not a question of setting up alliances in the usual meaning of the word, but of securing peace. It is a question of having ready a sort of international straight-jacket against the chief war-mongers, i.e., against fascist Germany and Japan.

"The Times," in its comments on the meeting between Hitler and the Duce, states that the Führer, who has arrived at a critical period of the national socialist revolution, is seeking to consolidate the international situation of the Third Reich and is therefore resuming collaboration between Germany and Italy. And indeed the demonstrations and parades in Saint Mark's Square cannot conceal the fact that Hitler had to swallow a number of bitter pills in Venice. He sought the support of fascist Italy, and had to pay a high price for this conditional and doubtful support. The price is the recognition of the independence of Austria, the abandonment of intrigues and machinations in Yugoslavia, Greece, in the Balkan States generally and in the Danube Valley against Italy's plans. Hitler, however, has swallowed this pill. At the same time as his assistant and lieutenant, Goebbels, kow-towed to Pilsudski in Warsaw, assured the "Pollacks"—as they were formerly called in national socialist terminology—of the friendship of the Third Reich, requested the old Marshal Pilsudski to meet Hitler in Danzig and again confirmed the abandonment by Germany of its claims to Danzig, the Corridor, Posen and Upper Silesia, the Leader himself, in Venice, at Mussolini's wish and demand, renounced his claims in regard to Austria, to the Anschluss and the "Gleichschaltung" of Austria.

The "Temps" writes, triumphantly:—

"After having expressly abandoned the territorial demands in regard to Alsace-Lorraine, after having given Poland assurances with regard to the Corridor and Upper Silesia, Hitler now ceases Germany's pressure on Austria."

The second pill which Hitler had to swallow in Venice was Geneva and the Disarmament Conference. England is striving for a rapprochement, and if possible an agreement, between France and Germany, and MacDonald in his speech at Seaham already again called upon Hitler Germany to return to Geneva. Mussolini, who himself snaps his fingers at the League of Nations and the Disarmament Conference, supports MacDonald's manoeuvre, which is aimed at preventing a further rapprochement between the Soviet Union and France for the purpose of securing peace. Mussolini supports Germany's armament demands, but at the same time has given Hitler to understand that it would be advisable to fall in with England's manoeuvre in order to gain time. Mussolini has apparently taken on the role of mediator between France and Germany. This means, however, that Hitler was obliged to make further concessions in the question of Germany's "equality." This was also the purport of Herr Ribbentrop's interview with Barthou, even if it has led to no result for the time being. France still in-

sists on Germany returning to Geneva unconditionally. In order to prevent a further extension of the collaboration between France and the Soviet Union, Hitler was obliged to swallow the Geneva pill. The "Temps" reports:—

"There was still another question which was discussed between Mussolini and Hitler: the question of the relations between Germany and the Soviet Union. It is known that Germany rejected Moscow's offer of an Eastern Locarno. . . . It is certain that the Italian Prime Minister firmly insisted on a rapprochement between Germany and the Soviet Union. He condemned, among other things, the policy of Herr Rosenberg, the head of the Foreign Political Department of the national socialist party, a policy aiming at an anti-Bolshevist crusade by an alliance between Germany, England and Italy. How far the Duce has succeeded in getting the Reichs-Chancellor to come round to his point of view, the future will show."

Hitherto Italy has striven to keep open the way to Odessa via Constantinople in order to be able, in case of need, to obtain Don-Basin coal, iron ore, mineral oil and food from Soviet Russia. Italy has realised that a rapprochement between the Soviet Union and France is calculated to reduce Italy's role in European politics to a minimum. Rosenberg's foreign policy was rejected in Rome as being non-realistic. In any case an attempt is to be made to restrain the Soviet Union from further extending collaboration with France, the Little Entente and the Balkan States for the purpose of maintaining peace. This would require that Hitler abandon Rosenberg's policy and return to the Rapallo policy. We do not know whether Hitler has swallowed this bitter pill also.

The German Ambassador in Moscow, Herr Nadolny, has announced his resignation, and the German Ambassador in Bucharest, Herr von Schulenburg, is to be appointed in his place.

The Third Reich is writhing in the clutches of an economic and a home and foreign political crisis. The suspension of cash transfers on the long and short-term foreign debts, and especially on the Dawes and Young Plan loans, has led to retaliatory measures on the part of England and France. A creeping inflation is commencing in Germany. The autarchic policy, armaments, purchase of raw materials for war purposes, the budget deficit, building of fortifications, State subsidies to capitalists and junkers, the maintenance of an enormously swollen State apparatus are calling forth an economic disaster. The adventurist policy of the Third Reich has caused all States, which for one reason or another are interested in maintaining peace, to draw more closely together. England and Italy are attempting to make capital out of this position of Germany, and Mussolini already pocketed his profits on the occasion of the meeting with Hitler in Venice.

Hitler had to swallow three very bitter pills in Venice. Litvinov had proposed in Geneva the conclusion of regional pacts for securing peace—agreements between groups of States with undertakings to render mutual aid against the aggressor. During his stay in Berlin Litvinov proposed to the German Ambassador, Dr. Neurath, such a Pact for Eastern Europe. In Venice, Hitler and Mussolini concluded a united front against the conclusion of such regional pacts. The meeting in Venice was directed against the peace policy of the Soviet Union.

The Czechoslovakian "Democracy" Copies Hitler

By G. Friedrich (Prague)

The policy of "uniting the Czechoslovakian people," demanded by Czechoslovakian financial capitalists and the big landowners, striven for by the fascists and energetically supported by the social-democratic parties, is already bearing fruit. The Presidential election and the glorification of Masaryk connected with it were the beginnings of this "union" which is to serve the Czech bourgeoisie as a basis for their fascist measures.

The Czechoslovakian government has now made a further step in this direction. With the agreement of the representatives of all government parties, including the social-democratic parties, the Ministerial Council has drawn up the new Enabling Bill and submitted it to Parliament for acceptance. This, however, is only a formality, as the passing of the Bill is already assured beforehand. The new Enabling Bill goes beyond the existing law and gives the government power to govern for a further year (up to June 30, 1935) by means of emergency orders. In the first place the government, on the basis of this Enabling Act, will have the possibility of revising the social legislation; it can change the customs duties

and carry out administrative reforms. In spite of these open dictatorial powers that the Enabling Act confers on the government, the representatives of the government, and before all the social fascist parties, have the brazenness to declare that democracy is still maintained and the rights of Parliament preserved. The social fascists even praise this law as a sign of the firmness of the coalition.

One of the first emergency orders, which will come into force on July 1, will worsen the conditions regarding social and sick insurance. The waiting period is lengthened in the case of sickness, contributions are increased, the rights of the members of the families of insured persons are reduced, maternity and sick benefit cut down and whole categories excluded altogether from health insurance. The social fascists, for whom the health insurance institutions have always meant fat sinecures, agreed to these attacks on the rights of the workers in order to retain their well-paid jobs.

Another emergency decree, which renders collective treaties binding and by means of which wage struggles are to be prevented and further wage cuts legalised, is also represented by the social fascists as a success for the working class.

Of the further "economic measures," mention should be made of the creation of a grain monopoly, which is to secure huge profits for the big agrarians and the social-democratic co-operatives. The government is still engaged in setting up an export institute which shall organise export at the cost of the State treasury and entirely in the interests of the employers. The Rediscount Institution which has been set up is to commence as soon as possible with its inflationist activity in order to place about two milliard bank notes at the disposal of the employers.

All these anti-working-class and fascist measures are accompanied by intensified persecution of the militant movement of the proletariat and before all of the Communist Party. For this purpose the existing penal laws are being extended and rendered more stringent. The bourgeois-social fascist government is preparing in this connection a number of decrees which are specially distinguished by the fact that they compare almost word for word with the corresponding provisions of the German Hitler government. A number of political and economic laws of Czechoslovakia faithfully follow the footsteps of Hitler, Dollfuss and Mussolini. Thus the press law has been so amended that the government has the right to prohibit the sale, in tobacco shops and on railway bookstalls, of newspapers alleged to be hostile to the State. Further, newspapers which have already been once prohibited can be suppressed for a year. This provision is directed exclusively against the Communist newspapers, all of which have been prohibited more than once. The government further plans to introduce an emergency order, compelling the newspapers to publish proclamations of the President of the Republic, of the Prime Minister, members of the government, etc., on the front page immediately the editors receive them. And finally, following the example of Dollfuss, the press is to receive instructions in what form it may publish sensational news, the size of type which may be used in the headlines, etc.

The crown of all these fascist measures is the planned State protection of the government parties and their leaders. This provision is intended before all to protect the social fascist parties and the social fascist Ministers from Communist criticism. The exposure of the treacherous behaviour of the social fascist Ministers is from now on to be prohibited and punished as crime against the State. All these plans and measures, which have already been partly carried out and against which the Communist Party is organising a mass struggle, show how the Czechoslovakian democracy is being "perfected" with the active assistance of the social democracy, how the Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie is consistently striving to set up the open fascist dictatorship. The only force which stands in the way of these endeavours is the Communist Party, which is mobilising the masses for the fight against fascism and to prevent the setting up of the open fascist dictatorship.

Anti-Labour Unemployment Law of the Swedish Social Democracy

By S. L. (Stockholm)

Sweden is still one of those countries without any proper unemployment insurance, although it is an industrially developed country with a numerous proletariat and although social-democratic governments have been in office for longer periods than in any other country.

At the parliamentary elections in the year 1932 the social democracy put forward the demagogic demand for obligatory unemployment insurance, and it owes its big election victory mainly to this demagogy. The social-democratic party has now been in office for two years. There are hundreds of thousands of unemployed in the country, but this burning question has not yet been solved. The elections to the provincial diets and the municipal councils will take place in Autumn, and the social democrats are therefore obliged to undertake a fresh manoeuvre in order to prove that they "safeguard the interests of the workers." This is the reason why the government have passed a bill in parliament introducing a voluntary unemployed insurance.

Needless to say, the social-democratic press is endeavouring to represent this miserable piece of legislation as a new achievement of the coalition policy. As a matter of fact, the employers have no obligation whatever to pay contributions to this unemployment insurance; the State has to pay only 21 crowns per year for each insured unemployed, so that the insured persons have to bear the greatest part of the expenditure, i.e., 60 per cent. The social-democratic Welfare Minister assured the bourgeoisie that his "insurance" will cost the capitalist State less than the ordinary poor law relief.

According to the new law, only those workers can be insured who are in work at the time of the introduction of the law. The 250,000 to 350,000 unemployed, i.e., a fourth of all wage workers, will thereby be entirely excluded from this insurance. But also those workers who become unemployed in the course of the next four years will not receive any unemployment relief. The new bill also contains the provision that only those workers who in the two following years pay at least 52 contributions will be entitled to benefit, which means that thousands of casual workers will have to pay large sums to the unemployed insurance fund without receiving any benefit at all. If an insured worker has drawn benefit for a period of 120 days, he must pay at least 26 weekly contributions in the next twelve months before he will be entitled to further benefit.

The daily benefit is fixed in the bill at 2 to 6 crowns, but in certain cases it may be even lower. As this unemployment benefit is paid only for a very limited period, it is totally inadequate in view of the chronic unemployment prevailing in Sweden.

The insurance is not obligatory for all wage workers; it is based on voluntary affiliation of the trade unions to the unemployment insurance fund. Although the workers have to raise the greatest part of the fund, a State supervising authority will have the right of disposal of the fund. This supervising authority can compel the unemployed to do blacklegging work, as, according to the provisions of the bill, the unemployed are bound to accept any work offered them. The supervising authority has also to decide which of the strikers or locked-out is to receive benefit. It has also to decide whether an insured worker who changes his occupation is to be credited for the contributions he has already paid. The supervising authority is entitled to stop payment of benefit for a certain time of the year, to reduce the period of benefit, and nominate the administrative board and the auditors. It is also entitled to "punish" certain trade unions with the withdrawal of State grants to their unemployment insurance funds, etc.

All these provisions, which are obviously to the disadvantage of the insured, has called forth the greatest resentment in the ranks of the workers. Even the chairman of the printers' union declared that his union would not affiliate to the State insurance fund, as the printers' union possesses an unemployment insurance fund which grants much better benefit to their members and which they control themselves.

The members of parliament of the opportunist Kilbom party again played a treacherous role during the discussion of this bill in parliament. They sharply criticised the bill, but abstained from voting against it, in order not to endanger its passing.

By passing this anti-labour measure the social-democratic leaders have prevented a proper solution of this question in the interest of the workers and helped the employers to limit still further the freedom of the workers.

Only the Communist members of parliament came forward as consistent opponents of the bill and declared that it does not bring any alleviation of the lot of the unemployed. They submitted their own proposal, according to which all workers are to receive adequate unemployment relief at the cost of the employers and of the State for the whole period of unemployment. Of course, this proposal was rejected by the bourgeois-social-democratic united front.

Germany

The Ferment in the Factories

In the huge undertakings of the Berliner Verkehrsgesellschaft (*Berlin Traffic Company*), with its 20,000 employees, our comrades had extraordinarily difficult conditions of work during the first months of the Hitler dictatorship. In this undertaking the N.S.B.O. (the Nazi factory organisation) had a real mass following. The participation of the Nazis in the traffic workers' strike in November, 1932, gave the fascists here a certain appearance of "workers' representatives." It is true that the Nazi officials attacked the striking workers in the rear as soon as the solid strike front began to be broken through, under the pressure of the social fascist trade union bureaucracy, but the open betrayal by the socialist party of Germany made it possible for the Nazis to play the role of defender of workers' interests.

In the summer and autumn of the year 1933 there were a number of arrests of red functionaries and measures taken against them which for the time being weakened our work. But now the cell has been built up again, it publishes its factory paper regularly and can count on support from the extraordinarily rapidly developing mass dissatisfaction of former Nazi adherents against the Nazi management. For the Brown officials, with the notorious *Engel* at the head, have not fulfilled a single one of the workers' demands which they themselves in the time of their opposition demagogically put forward; they have introduced along the whole line changes for the worse in comparison with the previous social-democratic German national regime.

For instance, the working day is being more and more lengthened, shift work introduced in such a way that the conductors were never even certain of the agreed pause between working shifts. Sunday work, too, for which before a 50 per cent. additional overtime payment was made, is now enforced without compensation. The sharpening of the regulations of work, the increased work of some of the employees, is correctly taken by the staff as the introduction to new mass dismissals. The newly-introduced payment of wages by instalments has roused general dissatisfaction.

In addition, there is the threat of a new *reduction of wages*. According to a new order, the wages of the workers and employees in municipal undertakings are to be, in general, "approximated" to the wages and salaries in State undertakings, naturally only in so far as that means a wage reduction. The new wage agreement of the Berlin Traffic Company, by all accounts, has already been worked out, and contains essential changes for the worse. But up to now the provisions of this new wage agreement have been carefully kept secret from the workers. An employee in the wages office was dismissed because he let out that a wage reduction of twenty marks is planned for one category of the workers.

Arbitrary dismissals are on the order of the day. Not long ago an employee in the Britz station was dismissed because he let fall an unfavourable remark about the Hitler regime. A Brown superintendent in the Lichtenberg station has discovered an original way of persecuting Communists: he told the employees that the promised engagement of workers was not carried out because the Communists in the factory had distributed leaflets and papers before the 1st of May.

But such persecution can no longer deflect the bitterness of the workers in the undertakings from the guilty ones, the Nazi officials. This is shown in the passive resistance which is put up towards all Nazi meetings. The Brown officials were particularly enraged by the bad attendance at the last great meeting in the Sport Palace. In one depot the superintendent complained that five hundred cards had been sold, but only 37 workers came to the meeting. At the regular factory meetings all possible methods of control over the attendance were used, but all were frustrated by the men. For instance, a list of those present was introduced which the workers had to sign. With wrath the official ascertained afterwards that many more names were signed than workers turned up at the meeting. He raged at the "cliques" which had been formed, which signed up the names for others. The N.S.B.O. officials had no better experience with the collection of control stamps.

Certainly this sabotage of Nazi meetings is still a comparatively low form of opposition. In those places where our forces are adequate we strive for open oppositional speeches at the meetings. But even so this passive resistance is characteristic of the mass

dissatisfaction with the Nazis, which creates favourable conditions for increased revolutionary mass work.

We have received a report from *Upper Silesia* :—

Miserable hygienic and safety conditions gave rise to a mass movement at the *Castellenko pits*. The movement was of a spontaneous nature; the Nazi factory committee came out in favour of the workers' demands. Although the whole staff was behind these demands, the local Nazi leadership agreed with the "factory leaders." The Nazi factory committee was dismissed. The strike feeling which existed among the men after this measure could not be brought into effect because our organisation in this pit is not sufficiently consolidated.

In the same district there was a conflict between the unemployed and the Nazi authorities. For many years unemployed miners were to be evicted from their homes because of arrears of rent. The workers' families refused to vacate their dwellings. The movement in opposition took on such forms that the Catholic press found it necessary to take a stand against evictions. The Catholic priests also used the situation to strengthen their popularity at the expense of the Nazi officials; in churches filled to overflowing, they preached against "unchristian" treatment of the poor. When later, under the pressure of the Nazi authorities, they had to make a declaration from the pulpit that they had no right to deal with such questions in the church, the anti-fascist mood of the masses became still more bitter. The Nazis finally found it better to withdraw the order of evictions.

Oppositional movements against wage reductions have been reported recently from the textile industry in *Aix-la-Chapelles* and *Wupperthal*. Here also they were mostly spontaneous movements, passive resistance and strikes of short duration, through which the changes for the worse which had been planned could partly be averted.

The well-known *munition factory* Rheinmetall in Dusseldorf is a speaking example of the sharpened methods of exploitation which have become usual under Nazidom. Here 1,000 workers were newly taken on, a "business revival" which is understandable in the factory which produces gun barrels. But the piece rates were so arranged that half the workers in the factory could not earn the minimum wage. Workers go home with 15 to 18 marks a week. Wages of 10 and 13 marks are by no means rare. To all complaints the Nazi factory committee replies: As nothing can be done, you must exert yourselves more. And so a large number of the newly employed are soon compelled to give up the work, among them not a few of the "old guard" of the Storm Troops.

On February 28 one of the dismissed workers hanged himself opposite the Labour Exchange.

Awakening in the S.A.

We have before us a whole number of reports from the S.A. and the Hitler Youth. They furnish evidence of the profound discontent, the disillusionment, prevailing among Hitler's storm troops. In an official report of an S.A. leader it is stated:—

"I gather from reports, both written and oral, that here and there attempts are being made to undermine the militant spirit of the S.A. Wrong treatment of the S.A. men, incapable sub-leaders, long hours of duty, bullying treatment, employers whose power in the factory is unrestricted as ever, job-hunting, miserable wages—all this is bound to spoil the best spirit and give unclean elements, spies and other scoundrels, the opportunity to incite and mislead the honest-minded S.A. man."

The unclean S.A. leaders describe the true situation: "Our Storm Troop is 175 men strong, but only a hundred report for duty. The others have excuses: doctors' certificates or say that they have to work overtime. At most only 30 per cent. are convinced Nazis. There is great dissatisfaction on account of the constant collections, low pay for working on the land. The population is not friendly towards us, as the whole district is still Communistically inclined."

Another report states:—

"Two S.A. men brought a 'Red Standard,' which they received through the post, to the premises of the local storm troop. It was passed from hand to hand and the contents were keenly discussed. One of them said: 'The Communists are right in many things.'"

Another report:—

"It can come very quickly to resistance, to a revolt. If

one or several big factories should commence resistance on account of the coming worsening of working conditions, then such a revolt could very quickly break out. Would the Communists then take over the leadership? It is to be hoped so. If a revolutionary crisis should arise, at least a third of my storm troop would be on the side of the Commune, and only a fifth at most would fight on the side of the authorities."

It is this situation in the S.A. which led to the reorganisation measures which were carried out at the beginning of May, because it was ascertained that "the lower units had not been sufficiently permeated with the ideas of national socialism." Very little will be achieved, however, with this reorganisation, because it is impossible to reorganise the spirit. Daily life with its questions of class struggle and the work of the Communists have affected the S.A. men. To-day we must call to mind the words of our imprisoned comrade *Ernst Thaelmann*, spoken by him on 1st November, 1932, at a meeting in the Sports Palace in Berlin:—

"We remind the rebelling S.A. and S.S. men of our historic fight against the iniquitous peace of Versailles. We say to them: If to-day you still point your pistols at your revolutionary brothers and sisters, at the real fighters against Versailles, at our proletarian army of freedom, we say to you: the time will come when you will recognise that you have been deceived by your leaders."

The hour is approaching! It is up to us to speed its coming!

Hitler's Offensive Against the Agricultural Workers

By E. Hörnle

The bloody offensive of the fascist dictatorship destroyed the basis for a broad class movement of the agricultural proletariat led by the Communist Party of Germany. Hitler made gigantic promises to the land workers. In so far as the social-democratic leaders of the German Land Workers' Union still retained office in March and April, 1933, they utilised their positions to voluntarily "co-ordinate" their organisations. In spite of this, they were deposed by the Nazi job-hunters. Throughout the whole of 1933 there was no lack of "land workers' demonstrations" at which the Nazi bureaucrats and Junkers expressed their sympathy for the agricultural workers. Above all, the land workers were promised that they would get their own houses and some land for themselves. They were to secure so-called "possibilities of advance" by means of "settlement." From time to time "Trustees of Labour," like Count von der Goltz in Pomerania, allowed some particularly crude farm manager to be arrested for "un-social behaviour" in order thereby to demonstrate "German socialism" in action. With the spring of 1934, however, the congenial mask of the Nazis was dropped. A savage employers' offensive was initiated against the land workers, who were taken completely by surprise; wages, hours, the right to leave employment voluntarily were all attacked.

The offensive of the employers was well prepared. Already in September, 1933, the land workers were completely "liberated" from "Unemployment Insurance," while previously the worker facing dismissal at the end of a year had to be insured for at least six months. The agricultural workers were deceived into believing that the employers were now forbidden to sack them in the autumn and through the winter, as had been very customary. The Junkers, naturally, took very little notice of these promises. The official report itself announces 162,378 unemployed in agriculture and 20,210 in forestry at the end of December, 1933. Unemployment was, of course, considerably greater, for most of the unemployed workers in winter seek other jobs, hoping, at least in the weeks free of frost, to secure other work. The report in actual fact calculates the total figures for all unemployed in December, 1933, as 231,000 in the purely agricultural areas, and 773,000 in those areas which are mainly agricultural. According to this the number of unemployed land workers in the winter of 1933-34 was at least half a million.

National socialism systematically seeks to replace the professional land workers by means of its "land helper" system, that is, through more or less unpaid compulsory labour. Young unemployed workers from the towns are deported in masses and are delivered up to the large-scale farmers for work, first of all for six months. The exploiter is even compensated by the State for this to the tune of 18 marks per month. Already in April, 1933, approxi-

mately 300,000 such "helpers" were demanded. In December, 1933, itself their number was already over 162,000. They are "kept" by the big farmers, while, as the East Prussian and Rhenisch Labour Offices very discreetly admit, married land workers, so-called deputants, go hungry.

On February 23, 1934, there appeared in the "Westdeutschen-Bauerzeitung" (West German Peasant Journal) an article by Dr. Timm on behalf of the Reich Institute for Unemployment, in which mention was made of an instruction by the President of the Reich Institute to all Unemployment Exchanges. This instruction was to the effect that every unemployed man has to be examined to find out whether or not "he comes from the country or has been recently engaged in agriculture." Dr. Timm spoke openly in this article of the necessity for the introduction of a "return card" which means the "prohibition of voluntary leaving jobs within certain limits." The official "Nationalsozialistische Landpost" no longer explains these measures by the "shortage of hands," but by "ruthless breach of contract" on the part of the land workers. This is an indication that the passive resistance of the land workers has increased. At the end of March, Mutschmann, the State Secretary for Saxony, even went to the extent of threatening the industrial undertakings with periodic control, that is with real hunts for the slaves who have run away from agriculture.

What is the reason for this offensive just at this period? There are three reasons. First because national socialism has not succeeded in really overcoming the agrarian crisis even for the Junkers and big farmers. The "fixed prices" for corn have collapsed to such an extent that a price guarantee will only be undertaken for a certain quota in the coming harvest year, and even now the quota of flour from the mills has been reduced by 25 per cent. since April 1. The bankrupt State finances and enfeebled industry can no longer bear new rises in prices or new subsidies to the Junkers. The only possibility left for capitalist struggle against the crisis is attack on the workers' wages. Wages in German agriculture are alleged to constitute 40 per cent. of the total expenditure. Thus the overhead charges of the employers are to be reduced at the expense of the worker.

The second reason is fear of a "flight from the land" which "continues persistently" according to a statement of the Reichstaathalter for Mecklenburg—Herr Hildebrand—in the columns of the "Westdeutschen Bauerzeitung" for March 30, 1934, and which destroys all the fine phrases about the great success of the "Labour Battle" and the contentment of the land workers. The Junkers are afraid that the "flight from the land" on the part of their slaves, together with the industrial boom which has been promised for so long, will result in a really perceptible lessening of the "reserve army" on the land, and strengthen the will to struggle of the land workers.

Having said so much, we have already indicated the third reason. Even amongst the land workers the new "national labour law" is not being accepted without protest and resistance. What this new "labour law" means is already revealed in the new agreement ukase of the Labour Trustee for Pomerania and Mecklenburg, Count von der Goltz. According to this, the official number of hours which are to be worked annually are 2,825; this means at least 10 hours per working day from March 1 to October 15, to which 24 days' overtime without compensation may be added. But this figure, approximately 2,850 hours per annum, is only a part of the real working time of the land worker. Loading of sacks, for example, must be done "outside working hours." The men who tend the animals and the men who drive the carts have also to work on Sundays. And since wages are paid not in money, very often not even in kind, but frequently in holdings, this kind of remuneration means a further additional increase of working time in the summer of at least two hours per day. Female labour is officially supposed to have been done away with, but "it is assumed that the women will not demur at doing important and necessary work, e.g., milking, washing, etc." The agreement laid down by the Count does not mention child labour, hitherto prevalent, e.g., turnip-hoeing. As previously, it is permissible for a few pence.

The methods of exploitation have been sharpened. Thus in connection with piece work it is stated:—

"Piece work must be carried through thoroughly. In all cases where no agreed rate has already been fixed, the employer and worker must themselves agree on a rate before piece work is commenced. The carrying through of piece work

must not be retarded or interrupted."

The last sentence is the decisive one. It goes without saying that the least refusal of work under Nazi rule is treated as a political crime and punished by the courts, and probably by the methods peculiar to the S.A.

The depths of poverty and cultural misery in which the land workers are compelled to live, just as previously, is demonstrated by an appeal published in "Der Deutsche," the central organ of the "Labour Front," on February 15, in which the houses of the land workers are described as follows:—

"The house is the heart's delight of the land worker's home. What does the 'ancestral home' look like, in a great many cases even now? Gloomy and narrow, unhealthy and decaying, dirty and ugly, these are the characteristics of many of the land workers' houses."

How comes such "self-criticism" in a Nazi journal? Not for the land workers' sake, but for that of the Junkers.

"The landlord must be enabled to remove this housing misery."

According to fascist ideology, all Junkers and big farmers are kindly souls who shed bitter tears over the fact that things are so bad for their workers. A whole theory, which raises the serfdom of the late mediæval times as the highest possible aim, is elaborated in the pages of the official "Deutsche Agrarpolitik" for January, 1934, by a certain Ostermayer. The days of "hereditary servitude" are expressly emphasised by him, days when—

"the necessary labour forces, being legally 'tied to the soil,' were thereby assured. . . . Such assurance is also to be desired in the peasant undertakings of to-day."

Things are beginning to move amongst the German land workers. The attempt by fascism to tie them to the soil once again, that is to bind them to the hated farm of the hated slaveholder, will increase embitterment still further. The system of "land helpers" recruited from young industrial workers can lead to an extraordinarily potent ferment on the farms. This is the end, above all, to which the illegal enlightenment and organisational work of the C.P.G. is directed, work which will show the mass of German land workers the path to revolutionary class struggle, will help them to formulate their demands, to prepare their struggles and to carry them through victoriously, in spite of the exploiters and the S.A.

The International Campaign for the Release of Thaelmann

Prague, June 11, 1934.

The Czechoslovakian delegation which have returned after vain attempts to visit Thaelmann, have given the following report of their efforts:—

"After our arrival in Berlin, the first place we called at was the Ministry of Justice in the Voss-Strasse. We were introduced to an official who deals with requests. After waiting for a long time we were told that we could not be received and that we must apply to the Czech Embassy in order to obtain permission and confirmation of what organisations we represented. The Czechoslovakian Embassy, however, refused to give any confirmation, stating that we had no right to interfere in the affairs of the citizens of a foreign country. We were referred to the Propaganda Ministry. Here the porter, who in all probability had already been informed of our presence in Berlin, refused to give us any information and referred us to Department II. of Goebbels' Ministry. Here again the porter, as soon as he heard that the delegation wished to see Thaelmann, snatched the form of request out of the hand of Dr. Bedoe, who was about to fill it up. From here we were sent to the Hitler House, where we were received by impudently grinning fascists in uniform. The fascists who spoke to us sarcastically declared that they would immediately admit us into a concentration camp and, if necessary, provide us with quarters there. The delegation, however, gave a fitting reply which soon put a stop to the fascists' sarcasm. From the Hitler House we were sent to another branch of the Propaganda Ministry, which was likewise informed by telephone that we were coming. Here we were promised that we should be given the possibility of visiting Thaelmann, provided that we brought an 'official permit.' When we saw that our efforts encountered the insurmountable resistance of the regime, we decided at least to visit Frau Thaelmann, whose address, however, we did not know. We therefore enquired at the police headquarters, but the police authorities refused to give us Frau Thaelmann's address. Thus when all our attempts proved in vain we were compelled to return to Prague. Wherever we went we were constantly followed."

Prague, June 11, 1934.

The Ostrau social-democratic paper, "**Duch Casu**," comments on the joint Thaelmann action of the French social democrats and Communists and makes use of this occasion to engage in anti-Communist and anti-Thaelmann incitement. It declares that the "leaders of the Communist Party of Germany cannot be regarded as heroes," and in order to prove its assertion the paper resorts to a lie. It writes: "This cannot be said even of Thaelmann, who after the burning of the Reichstag building went voluntarily to the police headquarters and declared that the Communist Party had not planned any armed action and had nothing to do with the fire. This action can be understood from a human point of view, but it is impossible to speak of any Communist and revolutionary heroism in this connection." By means of such slanders the social-democratic press is attempting to undermine the growing united front of the working class in Czechoslovakia for the rescue of Thaelmann.

Prague, June 11, 1934

A delegation of workers from the Prague factories went to the German Embassy in order to protest against the intended murder of Thaelmann and against the Communist trial which is at present taking place in Berlin. The police guard in front of the Embassy, however, refused to allow the delegation to enter the building. One member of the delegation, however, succeeded in entering the building and demanding to see the Ambassador. The latter refused to receive the delegate, whereupon the latter left a written protest, in which it is stated:—

"The Czechoslovakian working class considers it its sacred duty to prevent by every means the intended murder of our comrade, Thaelmann, the leader of the German working class." The Ambassador declared that he would forward the protest of the Czechoslovakian working class to his government.

At the same time a delegation of the Committee for the Rescue of the Victims of Fascism proceeded to the Rumanian Embassy in order to lodge their protest against the murder of the woman student, **Averbuch**, who was recently handed over to the Rumanian authorities by the Czechoslovakian police. The delegation demanded the severest punishment of all who are responsible, either directly or indirectly, for the murder of Comrade Averbuch and at the same time protested against the trial of the Rumanian railway workers. The Ambassador personally promised to send this protest to the Rumanian government.

Prague, June 11, 1934.

In the Ostrau district, i.e., in Orlau, Moravian Ostrau and Silesian Ostrau, meetings of functionaries of the local branches of the Red miners' union were held. All these meetings adopted protest resolutions against the pending trial of Thaelmann and demanded his release. These resolutions were sent to the German Embassy in Prague.

Oslo, June 11, 1934.

At the mass demonstrations against the contemplated exceptional law against the trade unions, convened by the Oslo Trades Council and attended by about 45,000 workers, on the motion of the anti-fascists, a resolution was adopted protesting against the fascist terror in Germany and demanding the release of Thaelmann, Torgler and all other political prisoners.

At a similar demonstration in Trondhjem, attended by more than 7,000 workers, a similar resolution was unanimously adopted.

Copenhagen, June 13, 1934.

On June 12 a delegation of three Danish students, who were elected at a public meeting of students as delegates to visit Thaelmann, and who took with them a document demanding the release of Thaelmann and bearing 1,600 signatures (among them being 50 of prominent Danish personalities, physicians, architects, jurists, artists and State officials) went to Berlin. The students' delegation was detained at the German frontier and refused admission to Germany. It was obliged to return to Copenhagen, from where it sent a telegram of protest to Goering.

Madrid, June 13, 1934.

The "Athenæum," a semi-official cultural and art centre, decided on June 12 to call on the German Ambassador and demand the release of Thaelmann.

At a sports festival of the German colony in Madrid the swastika flag was hoisted. A huge demonstration of workers replied to this with cries of "Freedom for Thaelmann; long live the C.P.G.!"

The release action for Thaelmann is meeting with a wide response throughout Spain.

Austria

Austria's Mission

New Imperialist Agitation of Austro-Fascism.

By Gustav (Vienna)

The Thirteenth Plenum placed upon all Communist Parties the duty of carrying on the sharpest fight against the growing nationalist, chauvinist infection of the masses by the bourgeoisie. The peculiar situation of Austria as a focal point of imperialist contradictions has led to the position that here at one and the same time two imperialist tendencies are competing with one another.

With the slogan of "One People," "One Kingdom," the national socialists pursue the "Anschluss" (union) with new-German imperialism. The catchword of a united Great Germany should enthrone the youth of Austria to die on the battlefield for the greater profit of Krupp and Thyssen, for the reconquest of lost territories and colonies, for conquest of Soviet territory.

Austro-fascism has just recently coined its own imperialist catchword. The Heimwehr, under Starhemberg, and a wing of the christian socialists, under Schusnigg, Minister of Education, have opposed the slogan of the Nazis with the idea of "Austria's Mission." The magazine "Der Christliche Staendestaet" (Christian Corporative State) assists in the theoretical reasoning for the slogan. It should show the youth of Austria an imperialist aim, which, without union with Germany, indeed through separation from Germany, will bring new greatness.

The main idea of new-German imperialism is the winning of all one-time German territories. This lays claim to round about one-third of Europe. The new-Austrian imperialism demands the domination of non-German territory by German Austria. Behind "Austria's Mission" is hidden, therefore, in reality nothing else than the old Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Only the ideological trimmings have been somewhat altered.

The reasoning of new-Austrian imperialism, corresponding to the whole bigoted hypocrisy of Austro-fascism, leads straight to an instruction from God himself.

"We can, without presumption, aspire to be the tool of the heavenly will for the reconstruction of Europe, and beyond that of the whole world."

declared **Starhemberg** in a great speech on "Austria's Mission in Europe."

At the same time, in order to take the wind out of the Nazi sails, it is emphasised that in this way Austria serves the whole of the German nation.

Yes, only the Austro-fascists have correctly grasped the essence of the German nation, whereas the Nazis falsify it:—

"The natural impulse of the German nation is to be the centre of a European family of peoples and to attract to it nations of less advanced culture. A nation so great and outstanding as the German cannot find sufficient scope for its activity in the territory inhabited by members of its own people; it is only a means to a higher purpose, to the gathering together of many peoples."

The old monarchy, indeed, had fulfilled this purpose. Its destruction has not changed the German mission of Austria:—

"And, if to-day, the framework which made it easier for German-Austrians to live up to their historical mission and that of the German people has been broken, nevertheless this German Mission of Austria, as before, continues unchanged." ("Der Christliche Staendestaet," No. 12.)

The Austro-fascists also want "in some way or another, to be connected with the Mission which the Austrian patrimonial dominions fulfilled at one time in the framework of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy." They openly lay claim to dominate the Danube basin.

"Here, in the Danube basin, we Germans of Austria will show that in us the old German forces still dwell, which once upon a time enabled our forefathers to create a world kingdom. We want to influence greater spaces than those spanned by the frontiers of our Austria of to-day." (Starhemberg.)

Since the great insane Austro-fascists are themselves quite clear that the degenerate Austrian bourgeoisie cannot reach this imperialist aim with the force of arms, their lust for conquest is clothed in a peaceful, cultural-civilising veil.

"We are of the opinion that it is, above all, the indwelling

cultural forces which must give us the power to fulfil our mission abroad, which is determined by our geographical position among other peoples in a peaceful manner." (Starhemberg.)

The "Christliche Staendestaat" uses Mussolini's words also for Austria:—

"An Empire can be spoken of in regard to a nation which directly or indirectly leads other peoples without conquering a single square foot of its territory."

The flowery dreams of the Austro-fascists have no prospects of fulfilment. The toilers of the nation, to whom Starhemberg wants to bring culture and leadership, know only too well what lies behind it. The workers and peasants have not forgotten the time of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, with its national and social oppression. They know that the renunciation of force and conquest by the Austro-fascists is only the renunciation of the fox of the grapes, which hang too high for him. They know that the phrases of culture only hide the desire for the old, enormous profits which the Vienna finance-capitalists drew out of the oppressed peoples of the monarchy, for the tremendous taxes which poured into Vienna. And, lastly, they have no desire for a culture which shoots down women and children, for in this respect their own bourgeoisie is able to act no worse.

The bourgeoisie of the succession States have also no desire to subject themselves to the leadership of the Austrian bourgeoisie, who have not even shown themselves capable of managing their own business. It has no desire to divide the exploitation of their own people with others. Therefore the new imperialist efforts of Austria meet with the most blunt refusal by the States concerned, and sharpen the already tense imperialist contradictions.

In connection with their incapacity to make their imperialist thoughts a reality through their own forces, the Austrian bourgeoisie develop another variant which is to find their realisation at the tail of the imperialist policy of Mussolini. The organ of the Heimwehr, the "Oesterreichische Abendzeitung," joyfully greeted Mussolini's claim to conquests in Asia and Africa, which he put forward after the conference in Rome. They hope to get rich crumbs from it for Austria:—

"The whole of Asiatic trade can increase to an extent hardly imaginable to-day, and then the importance of Vienna as a trade centre of the Danube, which flows into the Black Sea, will be tremendously increased. Vienna could become, which is and once was its destiny, a centre of trade up to the Levant, and thereby would be given its old political mission to a greater extent."

Thus the bourgeoisie itself exposes its talk of "Austria's Mission" as a drive for increased profits. The toilers of Austria refuse to die for capitalist profits.

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In the difficulties of rotting Austria, this suppurating wound of the decaying capitalist system, the growing generation is degenerating economically and intellectually. The bourgeoisie wants by its imperialist catchword to put the drive for a better life, for manual and mental labour, at the service of the maintenance and strengthening of social and national oppression. The Communist Party and the Young Communist League in opposition to this show the only goal which is really worth living and dying for: the freeing of the toilers from the yoke of national and international capitalism, for a brotherly collaboration with the toilers of other countries. Not "Anschluss" (Union) with the Third Reich, not "Austria's Mission in the Danube basin," but the slogan of the toilers of Austria must be the fight for Soviet Austria, for the union with Soviet Germany and all other Soviet States.

Trebling the Number of Teachers in the Soviet Union

The incessant growth of the network of schools in the Soviet Union necessitates a constant increase in the number of teachers. In this year alone, in the R.S.F.S.R., 24,000 students are being trained in pedagogical institutes. This is three times last year's figure. Forty-two new pedagogical teachers' training institutes with two-year courses are being opened this year in the R.S.F.S.R.

The Labour Movement

Economic Struggles in Yugoslavia in the Years 1932-33

The economic struggles of the working class of Yugoslavia in the year 1932 showed that the Red Trade Union Opposition considerably lagged behind in organising and leading the struggles of the working masses. In the year 1932 there were 29 strikes, participated in by 9,600 workers. This meant an increase of only 14 per cent. in the number of strikers as compared with the year 1930. Most of the strikes in 1932 were of a defensive character. Seventeen strikes, participated in by 5,040 workers, were led by the reformists, and eight strikes, participated in by 4,250 workers, were of a spontaneous character, a fact which witnesses to the militancy of the workers.

The Red Trade Union Opposition, however, led only a small number of strikes, namely, three, participated in by 450 workers. The cause of this weak activity of the R.T.U.O. was the wrong trade union policy of the former leadership of the C.P. of Yugoslavia and of the revolutionary trade union centre, expressed before all in an underestimation of the importance of revolutionary work in the reformist trade unions. As a result of the weakness of the R.T.U.O., the reformists succeeded in preventing the outbreak of a great number of strikes or throttling them after they had already broken out. This fact not only explains the small number of strikes in 1932, but also why most of the strikes (72.1 per cent.) ended in a defeat.

The year 1933, however, witnessed an improvement in the activity of the R.T.U.O. The number of strikes and of strikers increased considerably. There were altogether forty strikes, involving 15,126 workers, which was an increase of 54.3 per cent. compared with the previous year. Especially characteristic of the increasing revolutionary upsurge is the fact that most of the strikes (53.5 per cent.) were of an aggressive character and that a considerable number of the strikes developed into political struggles against the military-fascist dictatorships. The reformist leaders endeavoured to throttle the fights of the workers and rendered help to the police in crushing the movement. A second feature of the workers' struggles is the rapid increase in the percentage of strikes led by the R.T.U.O. (five strikes, participated in by 5,050 workers). Whilst of the total number of strikers in 1932 only 4.5 per cent. fought under the leadership of the R.T.U.O., in 1933 the percentage of strikers under the leadership of the R.T.U.O. was already 34.7 per cent. It must be pointed out, however that the number of spontaneous strikes and also the number of workers participating in them likewise increased (7,450 strikers as compared with 4,250 in 1932). These figures show that the revolutionary upsurge is proceeding at a much more rapid pace than the R.T.U.O. is overcoming its backwardness in the sphere of organising and leading the workers' struggles.

The strike movement developed most strongly in the mining industry; 51.5 per cent. of the total number of strikers were miners. The majority of the striking miners were under the leadership of the R.T.U.O. There were also big spontaneous strikes of the sawmill workers and textile workers. At the same time there was a decline in the number of strikes in the chemical and smelting industries, while the movement of the railway workers was very weak. The reason for this is to be sought in the extreme weakness of the work of the R.T.U.O. in these branches of industry and the treacherous role of the reformist leaders.

Whereas in 1932 only 11 per cent. of the strikers achieved a complete or partial success in their struggles, in 1933 43.6 per cent. achieved a success.

The R.T.U.O. has continued to become stronger and the strike movement to increase also in the present year. As an illustration we cite the figures regarding the strikes in the first two and a half months in 1934. Whilst in the corresponding period of last year there were only two strikes, with a participation of 350 workers, this year there were nine strikes, participated in by 2,360 workers. In these strikes in January, February and March, 1934, 57.5 per cent. of the total number of strikers fought under the leadership of the R.T.U.O.

Unfortunately, it must be stated that up to now the growth of the strike movement in Yugoslavia is not accompanied by an equally rapid increase in the struggles of the unemployed. The

various revolutionary struggles of the unemployed under the leadership of the R.T.U.O. (demonstration of the unemployed in Zagreb and of the unemployed landworkers in Petrovo) failed to develop into a broad movement. Thus we witness a growth of the strike movement, and an increasing revolutionary upsurge, in which, however, the former fails to keep pace with the latter. The intensification of the strike movement, however, is a sign that this fault is being overcome.

The R.T.U.O. has just succeeded in several cases in imparting a political character to economic struggles. It has been able in a number of cases to draw broad masses of unemployed workers and of the toiling peasants as well as the wives of the strikers into the movement.

At the same time, however, there are numerous weaknesses and shortcomings in the work of the R.T.U.O., of which the following are the chief: the R.T.U.O. has not yet succeeded in bringing about a real united front from below in all the actions and struggles of the workers. It does not adopt adequate organisational measures in preparation for struggles, and it makes still less use of these struggles in order to strengthen itself organisationally. It has not been able to extend the struggles and to raise them to a higher level. After a strike struggle there is a certain relaxation in the activity of the R.T.U.O. The activity of the R.T.U.O. among the workers in the important industries, especially in the armament industry and the transport industry, is inadequate, as is also its work among the women and the youth. The systematic struggle to expose the fascist and reformist leaders is still insufficient. The struggle of the R.T.U.O. for the leadership of spontaneous strikes and other struggles of the workers is also inadequate. The R.T.U.O. does not pay sufficient attention to the organisation of struggles of the unemployed.

The revolutionary trade union movement of Yugoslavia must make strenuous efforts to overcome these shortcomings. The further progress in the activity of the R.T.U.O. in 1934 shows that it is advancing on the way to winning the leadership of the masses of workers in their fights against the capitalists and against fascism.

Trade Union Movement

Progress of United Front Action in the Trade Union Movement of France

By Bénier (Paris)

On June 8 the Executive Commission of the C.G.T.U. addressed to the rank and file of the reformist trade unions and to the Administrative Commission of the C.G.T. a proposal for common action for the repeal of the emergency decrees, for the defence of trade union rights, for the extension of relief to all unemployed, for the disarming and disbanding of all fascist organisations, for the defence of the standard of living of the miners, etc. To achieve this end the C.G.T.U. proposed the joint organisation of big meetings and demonstrations and a 24-hour strike of the civil servants, post, telegraph and telephone employees, the railway workers and the miners.

The Administrative Commission of the C.G.T. met on the following day. It issued a statement to the press that "a short debate took place on the letter of the C.G.T.U., and it was decided to confirm the decision of the previous Congresses on this question." Thus the reformist leaders persist in sabotaging the united action, stigmatise this united action as a Bolshevik manoeuvre, and again suggest that organisational unity be realised by the return of the members of the C.G.T.U. to the "old house." This answer is not surprising. The leaders of the C.G.T. are fully occupied with spreading their programme, permeated with a purely fascist ideology, of a renewal of capitalism and of the bourgeois State and organising contact with the neo-socialist party, the big associations of the ex-servicemen and the agrarian party, in order to come to an agreement regarding a demagogic programme of "economic democracy" and the strengthening of the authority of the State.

But this decision of the leaders, who fear the organisation of struggle which would soon push them aside, is opposed in the lower organisations by a powerful urge for unity, for immediate action. At the recent Congress of the Union of Postal Employees, almost the whole time was taken up by the question of the class collaboration of the postal employees' leaders with the bourgeoisie,

and a strong opposition to the policy of the C.G.T. was expressed. The programme of the C.G.T. of a renewal of capitalism was sharply criticised. When Jouhaux mounted the platform he was greeted with booing and cat calls and he had to deliver a defensive speech. For the first time at a union congress the authority of the leaders was shaken and a large minority openly opposed the whole policy of the reformists.

The Congress of the post, telegraph and telephone employees, which took place the following day, was a still greater demonstration. There were passionate speeches for and against expressing confidence in the International Labour Office and the League of Nations. The vote of confidence was passed by 16,080 against 7,182 votes. The resolution which was adopted declares that Jouhaux's participation in the Geneva Labour Office must be subject to the approval of the National Committee of the C.G.T. In regard to the question of unity, the resolution demands that the C.G.T. shall employ bolder and speedier means than hitherto. The Congress gave an enthusiastic ovation to the secretary of the Unitary Postal Employees, who came to the Congress in order to speak of the means proposed by the C.G.T.U. for rallying the masses in the struggle, and greeted him with the singing of the "Internationale."

A similar powerful movement is noticeable among the railway workers. There are at present 40 committees of action and 12 unity trade unions of the railway workers, and these organisations are rapidly developing. At the Congress of the Unity Railway Workers' Union there were present eleven reformist delegates, of whom seven took part in the discussion. The manifesto which was drawn up by these reformist delegates advocates the holding of joint meetings of local unitary and reformist trade unions for the purpose of arriving at class unity trade unions. This manifesto was afterwards sent by the reformist trade union of Chalons-sur-Marne to all railway workers' organisations of the C.G.T.

At the recent Congress of the autonomous union of the tax collectors, a large minority, having a fourth of the votes, came forward very energetically against the ambiguous policy of their leaders, who placed the two trade union federations on a par and had sought an agreement with the reformist leaders about a common action. The methods of the C.G.T. were sharply criticised and the Congress endorsed the proposals contained in the letter of the C.G.T.U. to the C.G.T.

Thanks to the unceasing activity of the red trade unions and in spite of sectarian resistance in some lower organisations of the C.G.T.U. and in spite of certain opportunist mistakes, the united front action is on the march in France and the fighting will of the rank and file is so strong that the reformist leaders have been unable to frustrate it by any fresh manoeuvre.

The White Terror

For the Right of Asylum

More and more new facts are becoming known concerning the expulsions and even handing over of toilers from the different countries, whence they had flown, in order to avoid long sentences of imprisonment or even execution at the hands of their own governments. The bloody terror in fascist Germany compelled not only revolutionary workers to go into exile, but also people belonging to strata of the toiling middle class. Emigration has been considerably increased as a consequence of the defeat of the uprising in Austria. Not only were revolutionary Austrian workers compelled to flee Austria, but the Hungarian emigrants who have been domiciled in Austria for years were compelled to emigrate again as a consequence of the measures adopted by the Dollfuss government. Hungarian emigrants were arrested in masses in Austria and are to be delivered up to the Horthy government.

All the more burning, therefore, is the question of the struggle for achieving the right of asylum for all those who have had to flee from the persecutions of the ghastly terror and oppression in the various countries. The question of the protection of the political emigrants is not an affair merely for one party but the most burning question for the toilers the whole world over.

In France alone, 60 political emigrants of different nationalities were expelled immediately after the great street battles in February; the threats uttered by Chiappe against the emigrants, in the press, being thereby realised. Every day new expulsions take place.

Czechoslovakia, because of its geographical position, has now become a particular centre point of German and Austrian emigration. Here, also, the emigrants enjoy no right of asylum, although four social-democratic Ministers are in the government. The smallest occurrences are made the occasion for expelling the persecuted toilers out of Czechoslovakia, forcing them to return to the clutches of the executioner.

Switzerland itself—the classical land of emigration—has closed its frontiers to the persecuted since a few years ago. Expulsions are here on the order of the day. Italian emigrants are condemned to long terms of imprisonment.

The Belgian government, also, does not lag behind in the matter of persecution of emigrants. In January, 1934, alone it arrested and expelled 37 German, Polish, Rumanian and Italian emigrants. Numerous emigrants who had participated in the strike struggles of the Belgian working class were also affected by these expulsions. Five German social-democratic workers who spoke disapprovingly of the policy of the German social democrats, in a discussion, and declared them to be responsible for the development in Germany, were likewise expelled.

A few weeks ago four German emigrants were handed over to the Gestapo from Holland. A charge of high treason is to be initiated against them, which means, under the circumstances, a death sentence.

Dozens of other examples could be enumerated from all other countries—from Spain, Argentine, Luxemburg, and from the Scandinavian countries, where the social democrats rule, and where the toilers sought refuge from persecution but where they are expelled on the slightest excuse.

When expulsions take place the authorities most frequently make the pretext that the passport is not in order, or some other offence relating to the passport. It is therefore obvious that the arguments of the so-called democratic governments or authorities, who expel a political emigrant for a passport offence and already persecute him at the frontier are nothing else but subterfuges for covering up the naked facts. A real right of asylum must be demanded and secured which will grant refuge for all the toilers persecuted by the fascist bands, and which will also not brand them as men of the second class—i.e., that they are also given the right to work and to participate in the economic and political life of the country where they find refuge.

The fact that the **International Labour Defence** has issued a call for the protection of those persecuted by the fascist terror—the political emigrants—and that it has summoned all for the struggle for a real right of asylum is therefore to be greeted. This initiative on the part of the I.L.D. must evoke the widest response from all toilers, no matter what their political affiliations may be. A stop must be made to the terror against the political emigrants by means of a broad mass movement. The governments in the capitalist countries must be shown by means of mass protests on each expulsion that the toilers will react against each blow against the emigrants persecuted by fascism and class justice, as against every blow directed against themselves. Having regard for the intensified fascisation and the fact that the present conditions regarding the right of asylum involve brutal treatment and destitution, even the danger of death itself, the toilers of all countries must demand:—

No expulsion of political emigrants!

The provision of a real right of asylum!

Letter from the Dungeons of Rumania

The Rumanian railway workers, who have been sentenced to severe terms of imprisonment for having taken part in the fighting in February last year, have sent the following letter to the C.C. of the Communist Party of Rumania as a reply to the numerous proofs of international solidarity they have been accorded:—

“Dear Comrades,

“We received your letter with the greatest enthusiasm. The increasing love and solidarity shown to us by the exploited and oppressed masses, and in particular by the railway workers of Rumania and of the whole world, strengthens our power to stand all the sufferings we have to endure in the prisons of the bourgeois-landowners' dictatorship. The vengeance of the hangmen of the working class has thrown us into prison because we stood at the head of the heroic fight of the railwaymen in February last year. We were in the front ranks of the revolutionary battalion of

Grivitza, who were not prepared to part with their last crust of bread in order to save and strengthen the regime of robbery and exploitation. Class-conscious, we stood before bourgeois courts where the dictatorship, after bloodily suppressing the revolt in Grivitza, attempted to justify its bestial crimes by seeking to bring charges against the C.P. and the revolutionary trade unions, to break the united front which has been hallowed by the blood of the fallen, and to isolate the railway workers from their real leader. These base intentions of the hangmen were exposed and frustrated. The sentences which were pronounced—the condemnation of Comrades **Doncea** and **Petrescu** to imprisonment for life and the rest to sentences ranging from five to twenty years—are therefore nothing else but brutal class vengeance.

“The cases of a number of us are to be heard shortly by the Court of Appeal. But we shall not be present at the proceedings, and therefore will not have the opportunity of accusing those who are really responsible for the bloodshed in Grivitza. Those who have been sentenced in their absence and arrested in the meantime will be brought before the military court, where they will follow the example of Doncea, Petrescu and all other revolutionaries who have fearlessly come forward as accusers of the fascist regime of the dying capitalist world. We have no illusions with regard to our appeals or the fate of those who will once again appear before the class courts. We expect no mercy from class justice.

“All the greater and all the firmer, however, is our trust in the forces of the proletariat and of all exploited and oppressed and in the fighting strength of the workers of all countries. It is from these that we expect our release and the ending of our sufferings in the murderous prisons of the bourgeois-landowners' dictatorship in Rumania.

“From these prisons we send our revolutionary greetings to the railway workers who are faced with fresh fights against the application of the statute, which is to introduce for them a barrack regime of slavery. We, who have been condemned to imprisonment for life on account of the February fights last year, say to the railway workers: There is no other path open to you than the path of struggle which was pursued in February, 1933, under the leadership of revolutionary organisations, with the Communist Party at the head. Extend the revolutionary united front; make use of all the lessons and experiences of the past.

“We send our revolutionary greetings and thanks for their class solidarity to the Paris workers, to the proletariat of Czechoslovakia and of all other countries. We send the warmest proletarian greetings to the railway workers of the Soviet Union and of the Moldavian Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic, who are building socialism and whose example inspires us in the fight against the capitalist order.

“Long live the new victorious February for a Soviet Rumania!”

Fight Against Imperialist War and Fascism

Women as Victims of Fascism and Militarism

By M. Schorr

The nearer imperialist war with all its horrors and cruelties approaches the more the ruling class resorts to terrorism against the toiling masses.

At the head of the terrorist countries stands Germany, which since the seizure of power by the fascists has become a constant menace to peace. There are tens of thousands of women among the 170,000 anti-fascists pining in the concentration camps and prisons. In the women's prison in Berlin Barnimstrasse there are four times the number of prisoners who could be quartered there in “normal” times. Of the 78 concentration camps in Germany, three are specially reserved for women. A Nuernberg woman, **Betty Suess**, because her husband was a Jew, was maltreated by S.A. men, dragged through the streets till she became insane and had to be sent to an asylum. In Stuttgart, **Ella Roesch**, a nurse, was sentenced to 3½ years' imprisonment because she had sent letters to the Court protesting, on behalf of workers' organisations, against the terrorist sentences. **Franziska Kessel**, a former Communist member of parliament for Frankfort, was sentenced to two years' hard labour for distributing anti-fascist leaflets, and was murdered in prison.

The following are the names of some of the women who have been murdered by the S.A.: Frau **Struth** (Hamborn), **Käthe Schuhhold** (Duisburg), **Anna Roeder**, **Clara Wagner**, Frau **Schmaue**, Frau **Weiss** (61 years old, in Berlin). **Grete Messing**, a working woman of Selb, was shot by fascists in the street, and **Grete Groh**, a Young Communist and member of the Saxon Diet, was bestially tortured to death by the S.A.

In **Austria**, where, after the February struggles, the corpses of hundreds of women and children were found among the ruins of the Vienna municipal tenement buildings, thousands of men and women barricade fighters are pining in the prisons.

In fascist **Poland**, among the 15,000 political prisoners there are 900 women. Among the 57 accused in the Lutsk trial there were nine courageous women, who were tortured just like their men comrades during the preliminary examination, but who courageously declared to the fascist judges their determination to continue the struggle against fascism and imperialist war.

During the strike of the textile workers in Czenstochau at the end of 1933, in the course of which the working women occupied the factories, a great number of them were seriously wounded and poisoned with gas. In a peasant's trial in White Russia, **Regina Kaplan** was sentenced to 18 years' hard labour by the summary court.

In **Italy**, **Viana Iside** was sentenced to eight years' hard labour; after five years of terrible sufferings she died in prison. **Ruvera Camilla**, who has been sentenced to 14 years' imprisonment, is suffering from tuberculosis, but in spite of this she is kept in prison. **Santhia** was sentenced to 11 years' imprisonment because, as a functionary of the I.L.D., she had paid out relief to political prisoners. **Georgina**, a woman textile worker, is serving a sentence of 18 years' imprisonment; she has already passed 11 years in prison, is seriously ill, but is still detained in prison.

In **Bulgaria** death sentences were pronounced in Schumen on 16 persons, including two women students of the teachers' college, **Maria Beluva** and **Svetana Christeva**. These two girls were brutally murdered by the police long before the trial, and the sentence was only a juridical sanction of this foul murder. Many other women, among them some students, were sentenced to three and five years' imprisonment for having distributed appeals for the Anti-War Day in 1933.

Particularly cruel is the terror against the toilers in the **Far East**. The famous Chinese woman writer **Ting Ling** was arrested in May, 1933, in her flat in the international concession of Shanghai and terribly tortured. Since then there has been no news of her fate, and the Kuomintang government forbids the newspapers to publish anything about her. This means that she is no longer alive. In 1933 seven Chinese women students were arrested on suspicion of having murdered the chief of the Manchurian State police. They were sentenced to death and executed. Three other women students were killed on their arrest.

In **Japan** the number of political prisoners, among them many women, is increasing. On a single day, on October 30 last, 107 women were arrested in Tokyo on account of their participation in the anti-war struggle. Among the arrested were many women teachers and girl students. The press is not allowed to publish any report of these arrests. In spite of this the groans of the tormented political prisoners reach the public through the thick prison walls.

The International Labour Defence draws the attention of all anti-war fighters to this insane, bestial, bloody terror of the fascists and the war-mongers. It is mobilising the toiling men and women for the struggle against all forms of terror, as part of the struggle against imperialist war.

The International Women's Rally—the World Congress against Imperialist War—will devote a large part of its discussions to the question of struggle against fascist terror and for international solidarity for its victims, and thereby promote the struggle against imperialist war and gather the broadest sections of toiling women under the banner of the anti-war movement. The I.L.D. is mobilising its 14 million members and the toiling masses for active participation in this important anti-war demonstration under the slogans: against imperialist war, for the defence of the Soviet Union, for international practical solidarity with the victims of fascist terror.

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

The Birth of Two Nations

Travel Impressions of the Kabardino-Balkarian District

By Our Special Moscow Correspondent—**L. F. Boross**

Kabardino-Balkarian District . . . we never learned anything about this in our geography lessons at school. The Austrian, Chinese, German and Swiss workers' delegations which I conducted on their journey through the Soviet Union had likewise heard nothing of such a district, one delegate only thought that there were wild Caucasian mountain people in this region. A Russian woman comrade who travelled with us and who had visited this district eight years ago talked enthusiastically about these mountain folk who are taking their part in the construction of Socialism in such a splendid fashion that they have received a high reward from the Soviet government. She warned the delegates, however, that there were still backward elements; many women still wore the veil. The capital of the district—**Naltschik**, was a fairly large village with 5-6,000 inhabitants. One should not make comparisons with West-European standards.

Thus after this preparation we arrived at Naltschik, full of romantic and exotic expectations. What we found, however, was not a large village, but a clean, beautiful, highly-cultivated small town; with approximately 40,000 inhabitants, with splendid buildings, wonderful parks, sport grounds, schools, theatres, and a large hotel with running water in each room.

The delegates angrily regarded the comrade: "What kind of a yarn did you tell us about backwardness and suchlike in these parts?" The local comrades, however, came to her aid and explained that she was not to blame; she had told no lies. Not nearly eight years ago, but four or five years ago, things had been the same as she had described them. Naltschik was a small village, there had been not a single two-storied house, a backward pastoral people had dwelt there in former times. What we now saw as far as culture and civilisation was concerned was all the creation of the Soviet Power, and almost entirely the result of the first Five-Year Plan.

Kabardines and Balkarians are two Caucasian mountain peoples. There are approximately 120,000 Kabardines and 40,000 Balkarians. Before the Revolution they were either the slaves of big Russian landlords or impoverished mountain herdsmen. They were also called mountain robbers. Comrade Fedin (now chairman of the Naltschik Town Soviet) described this past life:—

"They called us robbers. Why? We only had the choice either to starve literally to death—for our work as herdsmen could not secure us our maintenance throughout the whole year, or to take what we lacked—where we could find it from the landowners, though we broke even the Czar's laws."

To-day, hunger and poverty have disappeared from the fully collectivised Kabardian-Balkarian district. Along with them the "romance" of the mountain robbers has also disappeared. The Kabardian and Balkarian "mountain robbers" are to-day peaceful and successful collective farmers and collective herdsmen, they are to-day industrial workers, employees, leading trade union, State and Party functionaries, to-day they are teachers, professors, scientists.

Teacher: a new revolutionary profession in Kabardino-Balkaria. A decade and a half ago there was not only not one single teacher throughout the whole of Kabardino or Balkaria but there were no scholars either. Before the Revolution only 0.3 per cent. of the population was able to read or write. And these could only read and write Russian, not their mother tongue. A Kabardian or Balkarian calligraphy simply did not exist. Kabardian or Balkarian schools? They existed only in the prophetic dreams of some of the pioneers of this people. National culture? This thrived merely as a common hate against the Russian landowners and their State.

This State was destroyed by the working class and the toiling peasantry under the leadership of the Communist Party. The mountain herds rallied round the proletariat and its Communist Party with enthusiasm and love. And when the bourgeoisie and the landlords strove to re-establish their lost power the Kabardian and Balkarian mountain folk defended their newly-won national and social freedom tooth and nail, under the leadership of the first Kabardian Bolshevik, Comrade Kalymov (the present area secre-

tary of the C.P.S.U.). There lie buried under the memorial erected to the memory of the victims of civil war in Naltchik Park many of those who fell in the struggle, or who were tortured to death by the White Guards. Amongst them are the father and brother of Comrade Kalymov.

Hand in hand with national freedom there came economic liberation. In this area, which previously knew no industry whatsoever, large power works, factories (above all meat-canning factories, dairies, then glass and cement factories, mines, etc.), were built during the course of the first Five-Year Plan.

The cultural liberation of the Kabardian and Balkarian peoples required enormous work. It was not sufficient to build schools. First of all the caligraphy had to be invented by means of which teaching could be undertaken. The well-illustrated, nicely got up school books—from history and physics to chemistry and higher mathematics, are all printed in a caligraphy which the proletarian revolution was first to create.

99.7 per cent. illiterate? That was once upon a time, not so "very, very long ago," when time was measured according to how one thought or felt about it. In reality it is hardly ten years ago. To-day, apart from the very old folks, there is hardly any illiteracy whatsoever. On the contrary there is a school-system in the Kabardian and Balkarian mountains such as is not to be compared with any of the most civilised West European countries. We travelled to the mountains with the delegates. We made a short pause in a Balkarian mountain village some 50-60 kilometres from the railway station, a village which is situated at an altitude of 1,200 metres. We found in this little mountain village a school in which 15 teachers provide the children of a single village with knowledge necessary to a free citizen of the Socialist State, and all carried through in their own mother-tongue. Of the 15 teachers 12 were Balkarians and three were Russians. The latter only teach languages, while all other lessons are conducted in the Balkarian tongue. As an "addition" to the lessons each child received a warm mid-day meal in the school every day. This is no "charity" but the application of a law which is operated throughout the entire Soviet Union.

Perhaps this school is an exception? By no means. According to the documents of the Supreme School Authority in the District, this school, which roused so much enthusiasm amongst the delegates, is regarded not as a model but rather as "below the average" and "needing improvement." There are roughly 300 elementary schools throughout the Kabardian-speaking district, and 70 in the Balkarian district. In addition there are throughout the area as a whole, 50 secondary schools, as well as 10 professional schools and technical institutes—all using the language of the local population. In Naltshik itself we saw a special school for artistic education of the children. The language used at the lessons is the national one everywhere, but the spirit of the lessons is that of socialist internationalism everywhere. In a school in Naltshik I asked a little 14-year-old Kabardian boy what he knew about the countries outside of Russia. He then delivered to us a splendid discourse about the position and the causes of the world economic crisis, the oppression of the proletariat and peasantry in the capitalist countries; he spoke to us about the revolutionary movement in Germany and Austria and at the end asked us a question in his turn—why had we not succeeded in tearing Comrade Thaelmann from the clutches of the fascists?

Agriculture is developing throughout the district at a tremendous pace since collectivisation was initiated. Previously the district could not supply its own requirements of grain. To-day it has a surplus of grain. Instead of having to work with the wooden plough the district is served by a number of machine and tractor stations and over 500 tractors. Spring this year saw an extensive drought. It had not yet rained once in this district this year, up to the day of our departure—(May 20th). Nevertheless firm assurance and self-confidence reigned amongst the collective farmers. They now see the gigantic power of the collectives. They fashion artesian wells over night. They divert the water from the mountain streams to the cornfields, they gather all their forces in order to meet the hostile natural forces with Bolshevik discipline. As we left they showed us their excellent sowing and said to us: We promise you that, whether it rains or not, we will have a good harvest, and a kilogramme of meat, butter and cheese apiece on top of that for every working day. An old man in his "nineties," but a sturdy collective farmer all the same, said sadly: "It's a pity that I wasn't born a few decades later. Life is now a pleasure."

The Week in the Soviet Union

The Great Victory of Socialist Agriculture

The Soviet press calls attention to the great victory achieved by socialist agriculture in the present Spring sowing campaign. The figures for June 10 show that the sowing plan for the whole of the Soviet Union has been fulfilled 100.4 per cent.; 93,283,000 hectares of land were sown, of which 70,449,000 hectares belong to the collective farms, 11,177,000 hectares to the Soviet estates, and the rest to the individual peasant farms.

This tremendous victory had been thoroughly prepared and organised by the gigantic work performed by the workers and peasants of the country under the leadership of the Party, its Central Committee, with Comrade Stalin at its head.

It is the first time for many years that the sowing plan was fulfilled at such an early date. On June 10, 1930, only 85.4 per cent. of the plan had been fulfilled; on June 10, 1932, 85.7 per cent.; and on June 10, 1933, 92.5 per cent.

The country has never experienced a similar tempo and such good quality of field work as in this year. Stalin's speech on the well-being of the collective farmers and the Bolshevik collective farms has become the strongest stimulus in the struggle for a good harvest.

The best districts of the Soviet Union, after having fulfilled their sowing plan, are continuing work and thereby surpassing the stipulated figures. Thus, for instance, in Western Siberia half a million hectares beyond the plan were sown. In Northern Caucasus the sowing plan was surpassed by 8.4 per cent. Also the Volga German Republic has sown 8 per cent. more than the area stipulated in the plan.

Central Asia is already supplying grain. The collective farms of Turkmenistan have delivered the first harvest yield. In Uzbekistan harvesting has commenced.

Increase of Real Wages

On June 15 the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the R.S.F.S.R. published a decision on "the change in the scale of rents for dwellings for the lower-paid categories of workers and employees." This decree changes the rent regulations of May 14, 1928, in such a way that rent is to be reduced for toilers whose monthly income does not exceed 145Rs.

As is known, in the Soviet Union rent is calculated according to the monthly income of the tenant, taking into account the number of persons economically dependent upon him. The calculation of rent is based on a special law.

The reduction in rent resulting from this new decree amounts to 10 to 80 per cent., according to the income of the tenant and the number of persons economically dependent on him.

For those workers and employees whose wages have recently been increased, the rent for dwellings remains the same as before.

State pensioners, whose cash income does not exceed 30 roubles a month, as well as students, pay the insignificant sum of 5½ kopeks per square metre for rent.

The new rent decree means an increase of real wages. The same aim is pursued by another government decree, according to which children's homes, crèches, and similar institutions are not allowed to increase the prices for the children of those parents whose wages have recently been increased.

Industry

The June plan of the Cheljabinsk Tractor Works envisages an output of 1,000 tractors. The workers are exerting every effort in order to achieve this aim. In the first ten days of June 278 tractors were constructed as compared with 226 in the first ten days of May. On several days 40 tractors were turned out. The factory departments which formerly lagged behind are now working excellently. A reserve quantity of spare parts, which were very scarce formerly, has now been manufactured, so that the assembling of the tractors can proceed uninterruptedly. The workers have become accustomed to working on the conveyor belt.

The factories constructing agricultural machines are working at full speed in order to complete the orders for the new harvest. The factories of the "Glavselmash" Trust have to supply spare parts to the value of nine million roubles, of which 3.6 million roubles' worth must be supplied by July 1.

These factories supplied agricultural machine parts to the value of 5.5 million roubles up to May 21 and thereby fulfilled their task before the stipulated time. The most important suppliers are the three factories of Ljubersk, Rosselmash, and Communard, which have to supply two-thirds of the orders.

It is reported from Sverdlovsk that at the end of May, in the Electro Works of Kyschtymysk, the first plant for the production of valuable metals, including selen, which is used in the aeroplane and radio industry, will commence working. The plant can meet the whole demand for selen, which was hitherto obtained from abroad.

An expedition of geologists of the Central Institute for Geological Research has discovered uran and radium on the Southern slopes of the Kurmansk district in Tjashikistan, not far from Chodshent. Uran ore has also been found in the neighbourhood of Sarym-Sachlar. Of particular importance is the discovery of uran acid, as it indicates the existence of large quantities of ore containing uran.

For the Rescue of Comrade Rakosi!

Precisely two months have passed since Comrade Rakosi completed his sentence of eight and a half years' hard labour and was conveyed to the Budapest prison, where he is completely isolated from the other prisoners and treated like a convict. The only privilege granted him in view of his great physical weakness is that he is allowed to get better food at his own cost. The fate of Comrade Rakosi is arousing the deepest sympathy even in circles of the Hungarian intellectuals. The Hungarian working class is filled with indignation at the treatment of Rakosi. Several demonstrations have already taken place in the streets of Budapest. In the last demonstration a red flag was unfurled. The demonstrators marched to the house of the bloody judge *Toereky*, who some years ago sent Comrades *Salley* and *Fuerst* to the gallows, and whom the ruling clique of Hungary have evidently now selected to sit in judgment on Comrade Rakosi. The Budapest police, who were sent in large numbers to protect the judge, attacked the demonstrators, arrested two young workers, but were unable to seize the red flag.

According to latest reports, fifty political prisoners in the prisons of *Waitzen*, *Oedenburg* and *Szegedin* have entered on a hunger strike to enforce their demand that Rakosi, who has already served eight and a half years' imprisonment, shall be released. The Ministry for Justice has ordered the prisoners on hunger strike to be forcibly fed; this forcible feeding is being carried out with the greatest brutality. This practical solidarity displayed by the enslaved Hungarian proletariat in order to achieve the release of our comrade who is threatened with death, must become the greatest stimulus to the international proletariat in order to compel the Hungarian rulers to set free Comrade Rakosi.

Proletarian Women's Movement

Working Women in the U.S.A.

By Hy. Kravif (New York)

Women Who Work, by Grace Hutchins, is the most recent of the books prepared under the direction of Labour Research Association. (International Publishers, New York, \$1 and \$2 editions.)

A factual and well-documented study of the exploitation of women under capitalism in present-day United States, this book is a pioneer work on the subject by a Marxist writer.

An introductory chapter outlines historically the enforced subjugation of women and points out that under modern capitalism, just as Marx said, this subjection of women has a fundamental economic base.

The author then launches into a description of what the 10,750,000 working women (22 per cent. of all persons listed by the government in 1930 as "gainfully occupied") are doing, the industries in which they are distributed, and in what trades. Special mention is also given to girl workers, of whom there are more than a million and a half under 20 years of age.

There are nearly 2,000,000 Negro women workers, some 500,000 in farm work and more than 1,100,000 engaged in "domestic service."

A section is devoted to describing women in the war industries; some 22,000 work in the rayon and chemical industries alone. The "nitrocellulose process of making rayon in an artificial silk plant," remarks the author, "can be changed overnight into the production of dynamite." The resolution of the Thirteenth

Plenum of the E.C.C.I. will be remembered in this connection. It spoke of "increasing the mass work among women, at the same time promoting and training even now a body of active Party women who, during the war, could in a number of cases replace mobilised comrades."

The 3,000,000 married women wage earners have the double burden of the job and taking care of children and family. There is no national maternity insurance or child nursery law in the United States covering them, and the few State laws which do exist are inadequate. The health of working-class mothers and children alike is sacrificed to the God of profits.

The author writes:—

"In countless textile mills and tobacco plants, in clothing sweatshops, in canning factories and other industrial establishments, women have been working 11 and 12 hours a day and even 72 hours a week."

State laws governing hours for women are consistently violated. In others, the "law" allows 9, 10 and 11 hour days, and weekly hours from 54 to 70, especially in the textile mills of the South. Night work is still common. In Massachusetts, for example, there was a law prohibiting work for women in textile factories after six o'clock at night. In July, 1933, the governor of the State set aside this law at the behest of millowners and with the approval of General Hugh Johnson, right-hand man of President Roosevelt's N.R.A.

"Old at 30" is the amazing verdict of employers who seek to employ women under that age so that they can be assured the maximum amount of production at the lowest wages. This is true especially in the textile and food industries, and numerous examples of stretch-out are cited. In the cigar and tobacco industries, where women outnumber men, 74,000 to 49,000, as a result of rationalisation new machines have thrown 50,000 workers out of jobs in the past ten years and the remainder have been forced to work at a faster pace to increase production.

What are the wages of these women workers? In New York and Illinois, two leading industrial States, the average wage in June, 1933, was found to be twelve dollars. But this average serves to conceal wages of much less than this amount paid to thousands of women workers.

In a number of women-employing industries, women's earnings "range from 20 per cent. to 70 per cent. below men's earnings, and they average about 41 per cent. below. In bread and bakery products, fruit and vegetable canning, and confectionery in New York, women earned less than half what men earned."

The May, 1933, strike of workers in St. Louis nut factories, which was led by the revolutionary Food Workers' Industrial Union, revealed wages of 75 cents to 2.50 dollars a week for Negro women, and an average of 4 dollars a week for whites. The militant policies of the union and the unity of black and white workers won higher wages and better conditions.

There are also excellent chapters in the book on unemployment and health of women workers. The enormity of the crimes of capitalism against the working class, particularly towards women, is nowhere more clearly exposed than here.

These conditions exist in the "democratic" U.S.A., and there are similar conditions under capitalism everywhere. But in the Soviet Union:—

"The freeing of women from domestic slavery, the levelling of the sexes, the active part played by women in building the only socialist country in the world, these are the symbols of 'the struggle to emancipate the whole of toiling humanity.'"

And that working women of the United States are becoming increasingly prominent in this struggle to emancipate the whole of toiling humanity, no one can doubt after the evidence presented in this book. A lengthy chapter on "**Women in Strikes**" traces the participation of women workers in struggles from 1924 to 1933.

Women have proved to be among the best fighters for the working class, as shown in their heroism in textile, coal and other struggles led by the militant Trade Union Unity League in recent years. Yet the American Federation of Labour either ignores the role of women workers or discriminates against them, following out the same line as that of the bourgeoisie.

It is, of course, impossible to relate, however briefly, all the information crammed into this book of nearly 300 pages. **Women Who Work** was a necessary job, and it could scarcely have been better done.

Marxism-Leninism

The International Importance of Stalin's "Foundations of Leninism"

By Bela Kun

I.

Three Bolshevik works have exercised an **immediate, a decisive** influence in shaping the ideology, the policy and the organisation of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries. The **first** is Lenin's work, "**The State and Revolution**"; the second work, also by Lenin, is "**Left-Wing Communism**"; the **third** is Stalin's "**Foundations of Leninism**," the first foreign edition of which appeared nearly ten years ago in German.

There are other Bolshevik works—before all by Lenin and Stalin—which have had a great political effect on the members and the leading cadres of the Communist Parties. The influence of the two above-mentioned works of Lenin and of Stalin's "Foundations of Leninism" was, however, of a special kind. Regarded from the standpoint of the ideological, political and organisational development of the Communist Parties, their effect has not only been exceedingly broad, but it has also been most **extraordinary** in regard to quality.

In the first historical period of the Communist International, before and immediately after the founding of the World Party of Communism, Lenin's work, "**The State and Revolution**," became the chief weapon in winning the **Communist advance-guard**. The chief works written by Lenin at the time of the imperialist war remained almost entirely unknown in the European workers' movement. His works written before and during the war against the rotting and rotten social democracy—especially his book on imperialism—only later became the common property of the Communist Parties and even of their leading cadres. This circumstance was one, and not the least, of the reasons why the rebellion of the "Left" radical elements in the social-democratic parties of the western countries, and in fact even the effects of the great October Revolution on the workers' movement outside of Russia, did not by a long way lead to a thorough enlightenment of the views of these groups in regard to the fundamental questions of the workers' movement and of the proletarian revolution. Lenin's "State and Revolution" brought for the first time an element making for theoretical order and clarity in the chaotic confusion existing in the minds of the rebelling oppositional workers. Many of them at first welcomed this work only as restoration of Marxism which had been falsified and desecrated by social democracy. Very few of them at that time recognised that this book constituted a further development of Marxist teachings on a new stage of social development based on the experiences of two revolutions. Nevertheless, the "State and Revolution" fulfilled its mission among oppositional masses in the social-democratic parties. It became the theoretical platform of all those elements which, before and soon after the founding of the Communist International, formed the first ranks of the Communist advance-guard. The **political-organisational role** of this work, its **decisive** influence, consisted precisely in the fact that it brought about the final division between centrism and revolutionary Communism on the basis of the relationship to the bourgeois and the proletarian State, to bourgeois and proletarian democracy. None of the leading centrists took up a position based on the views set forth in the "State and Revolution." Not only Kautsky, but all the theoretical and political leaders of Centrism, who demagogically proclaimed that the "workers' councils should be embodied in the Constitution" of the bourgeois democratic republic, rejected the "State and Revolution."

The whole content of this work, the teachings laid down in it, formed the subject of political discussions not only in small circles, not only among "educated" people. After its publication abroad this book was heatedly discussed at public meetings. The political discussions and organisational quarrels between the supporters of the revolutionary tendency in the workers' movement on the one hand, and the various shades of the opportunist tendency on the

other, were for the most part fought out with this book in the hand. There was no other work which, in the first fierce fights for the formation of the Communist advance-guard, for the founding of the Communist Parties and the Communist International, played such a big role in winning for the advance-guard the elements which were seeking, mostly spontaneously, the revolutionary way and the revolutionary means.

Lenin's other work, "**Left-Wing Communism**," accompanied and guided the next historical step in the organising of the Communist advance-guard and rendering it capable of performing its historical role. After the first gathering together of the forces of the Communist advance-guard in the capitalist countries, a great quantity of theoretical and practical slag of every kind of petty bourgeois revolutionary-social democratic and anarcho-syndicalist—tendency remained clinging to the young Communist Parties. The petty bourgeois revolutionary theories, the pseudo-Left views which arose in nearly every country as an elementary reaction to the petty bourgeois opportunism of the Second International, attempted to continue their sectarian existence within the Communist International and to give their sectarian stamp to the Communist World Party. The boycott of the reformist trade unions and of parliament, the denial of the role of the Communist Parties in the revolution, the failure to understand the relations between party and class, between leader, party and the masses, between party and soviet, and a whole number of other sectarian ideas threatened the newly-founded Communist Parties in the fulfilment of their historical task of creating the preconditions for the victory of the proletarian revolution, in the winning of the majority of the working class and of the toilers in town and country. There were many leading and influential elements in the Communist Parties which regarded Bolshevism only as a "Maximalism," which differed from "other fractions of Socialism" (Serrati) in that it did not recognise any minimum programme as being justified in the given period and was concerned only about "the realisation of the maximum programme of the social democracy." The members and the leading cadres of the Communist Parties found in Lenin's "Left-Wing Communism" the first comprehensive treatise on the nature and development of Bolshevist Russia and the methods of applying Bolshevist policy in the capitalist countries, and therewith the weapon against "Left" and Right sectarianism.

The effect of this book was in no way restricted to the sphere of propaganda and theory. This work of Lenin on Bolshevism was based not only on the exceedingly important experiences in the development of Bolshevism in Russia; it generalised for the first time in a connected manner all the experiences of the Communist Parties and movements west of Soviet Russia, and thus laid down the basis of the strategy, tactics and organisation of Communism under the new conditions of the general crisis of capitalism.

Stalin's "Foundations of Leninism" reached the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries at a time when the relative stabilisation of capitalism opened up to them a new, special period of the fight against capitalism, against social democracy and for winning the masses. This new period at the same time brought with it a whole number of vacillations within the various Communist Parties. Stalin's work determined the policy of the Communist Party in the period of stabilisation and the shaking of this stabilisation. The historical function of this work for the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries was of a threefold nature.

Firstly, Stalin's work clearly and precisely expounded the **international character** of Leninism against the tendencies which attempted to push it back or limit it to Russia.

Secondly, it determined the position of Leninism in the development of the theory and practice of Marxism and of the international labour movement. It did this, on the one hand, by

showing—against the social-democratic calumnies which sought to characterise Leninism as a turning away from Marxism—its character as a **restoration of Marxism**, and on the other hand by demonstrating—against the opportunist tendencies within the Communist International—the **justification for the existence of Leninism in general, its independent position on the theory and practice of the workers' movement, and its character as a further development of Marxism in the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions.**

Thirdly and finally, the historic function of Stalin's book in the development of the Communist International was the **working out of the revolutionary perspective** in a period of the development of the international revolution and of the Communist Parties, when a number of vacillations in the ideological and political field against the unity of the Communist International made their appearance, which if they had become stronger would have meant the danger of losing the revolutionary perspective and of the isolation of the Communist advance-guard from the masses of the working class and the toilers.

Thus the international importance of Stalin's "Foundations of Leninism" by no means lies solely in the fact that it systematises the teachings of Lenin, that it gives a clear and precise summary of Leninism in the fight against the tendencies which wished to falsify or refute Leninism. It has acquired international importance also, and much more, by reason of the fact that it represents a theoretical enrichment of Leninism, that it continues it further and thereby politically determines the further development of the Communist International after the death of Lenin, in the second and third period of post-war development. **Stalin's book, the "Foundations of Leninism," was both theoretically and politically the preparation of the Leninist Programme of the Communist International.**

(To be continued)

The Algebra of Revolution

75th Anniversary of the Publication of "A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy"

By A. Leontiev

In June, 1859, there was published in Berlin "A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy," by Karl Marx. Three quarters of a century is a long time, but the last three quarters of a century occupy a unique place in the history of humanity. Time has proved itself to be a strict judge of the numerous publications of this epoch. But Marx's "Critique" is as fresh to-day as it was on the day it first appeared. The secret of this fact is that Marx placed the whole power of his genius, the revolutionary passion of his heart, the whole strength of his spirit in the service of the proletariat, in the service of the class which will free humanity from the yoke of exploitation, the class to which belongs the future.

Already at the commencement of his social-political activity Marx joined the revolutionary movement. Having arrived at the sphere of "material interests" and of the class struggle connected with it, Marx occupied himself with a thorough study of political economy. In the middle of the 'forties of last century he worked out, together with his friend Friedrich Engels, the foundations of **scientific Communism**. Convinced that only the working class constituted the powerful revolutionary force which is called upon to renew the world, Marx took an active part in the proletarian organisations and soon became one of their foremost leaders.

On the eve of the revolution of 1848, the "Communist Manifesto," this immortal herald of the proletarian revolution, was published. Marx was feverishly active at that time. He organised the first troops of the class-conscious proletariat and conducted a ruthless fight against the betrayers and pseudo-friends of the people. Marx made use of the period following the revolution of 1848 for intensified work in order to forge the theoretical weapon of the proletariat. He had to work under conditions of terrible poverty and was forced to wage a bitter fight for existence.

In a letter to Engels, Marx jestingly wrote that one who possessed no money whatever could hardly deal with the theory of money. In a letter he wrote that he was compelled to occupy himself not so much with political economy as with his personal economy.

I hope to achieve a scientific victory for our Party, wrote Marx to his friend, Weidemayer, when informing him of the approaching publication of the "Critique." Marx's expectations could scarcely

have been more magnificently fulfilled. This work was, and remains, a **powerful theoretical weapon of world Communism.**

The Preface to the "Critique" occupies a prominent place in the treasury of Marxism. Here there are given in laconic form the foundations of the teachings of Marxism. Not a few "critics" of Marxism have broken their heads on the granite wall of this Preface. A number of generations of proletarian revolutionaries learned the art of class struggle from this **Algebra of Revolution**. Marx formulated the "general result" at which he had arrived in the following words:—

"In the social production of the means of life, human beings enter into definite and necessary relations which are independent of their will—production relations which correspond to a definite stage of the development of their productive forces. The totality of these production relations constitute the economic structure of society, the real basis upon which a legal and political superstructure arises and to which definite forms of social consciousness correspond. The mode of production of the material means of life determines, in general, the social, political, and intellectual processes of life. It is not the consciousness of human beings that determines their existence, but conversely, it is their social existence that determines their consciousness. At a certain stage of their development, the material productive forces of society come into conflict with existing production relations, or, what is but a legal expression for the same thing, with the property relations within which they have hitherto moved. From forms of development of the productive forces, these relations turn into their fetters. A period of social revolution then begins." ("A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy" Preface.)

Bourgeois society develops the class antagonisms to the extreme; the gulf between the classes becomes ever wider. At the same time, however, bourgeois production relations are the last antagonistic form of the social mode of production, for, said Marx, the productive forces developing within bourgeois society create at the same time the material preconditions for the solution of this antagonism.

In his review of Marx's "A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy," Engels wrote that with the further development of our materialistic thesis and with its application to the present, there is suddenly opened before us the perspective of a great revolution, the greatest of all times.

The greatest revolution of all times, which was foreseen then by Marx and Engels, has become the great reality of our time. The proletarian revolution has triumphed in an enormous country. Marx's prophecy, that capitalism closes the pre-history of human society, has proved true. The construction of Socialism in the Soviet Union gives from year to year and from day to day ever clearer proofs of the gigantic advantages for the toiling masses connected with this ending of the pre-history of humanity. The building of the classless socialist society in the Soviet Union means this great transition to the actual history of humanity, a humanity freed from the abominations and barbarism of exploitation.

Marx published his "Critique" as the first edition of his main work, with which he aimed at discovering the economic laws of motion of modern society. Marx worked with extraordinary exactness and constantly revised his manuscripts. Thus the first volume of "Capital," with the sub-title "Critique of Political Economy," did not appear until eight years later. The second and third volumes of "Capital" were published by Engels after the death of Marx. But already at the time of the appearance of the "Critique" all the important parts of the great work "Capital" had been outlined by Marx. This fact is proved by many manuscripts written at that time.

Some published portions of these manuscripts, in particular the brilliant "Preface" to the "Critique of Political Economy" are of enormous value. Marx had already sketched out the plan of his whole work before he published the first part. Several variants of this plan were drafted by him in preparatory manuscripts. In a number of letters Marx mentioned its most important points. The plan was a programme of "anatomical" investigation of bourgeois society, beginning with its simplest cell, the commodity, and ending with its crowning in the shape of the world market, produced by the capitalist mode of production. In one variant of the plan, the following points were noted in connection with the world market: Crisis, disintegration of the method of production and of the social order which are based on exchange value, real transformation of

individual work into social work and vice versa. In this variant of the plan, therefore, Marx had in mind for the concluding portion of his researches an investigation of crises, these **memento mori** of capitalism, and of the preconditions for the rise of the socialist society on the ruins of capitalism.

The inevitability of the decline of capitalism and the victory of the socialist order—this idea runs like a red thread through all Marx's economic researches. In a letter to Engels, Marx humourously remarks that there is no mention in his "Critique" of capital, although it bore the sub-title of "First Book on Capital." This edition dealt only with the commodity (first chapter) and money (second chapter). Marx wanted to deal with capital in a third chapter which should appear in the next edition. Nevertheless, the "Critique" constitutes a work of outstanding interest for our time, for the epoch of the decline of capitalism and the victory of Socialism. In investigating the nature of **Commodity**, Marx exposed in this economic cell of bourgeois society the germs of the contradiction which will finally bring about the collapse of the capitalist system. Money meant the further development of these contradictions. **Money**, as the highest product of commodity production and of exchange, serves at the same time as a starting point for **capital**.

Capitalism, which at the time of Marx was still in full vigour, is now mortally wounded. But the old robber is not yet dead: it is exerting all its forces in the fight against the proletarian revolution; it is causing incalculable suffering to toiling humanity; it is taking toll of innumerable victims from the ranks of the working class. Therefore the pages of the "Critique," in which Marx, with the whole thoroughness of his genius and the passion of a great revolutionary, discovered the profoundest secrets of the economic structure of bourgeois society and the most hidden main springs of its economic mechanism, are of the greatest importance at the present time.

At the beginning of 1859, when he was preparing the manuscript of the "Critique" for the press, Marx expected a new upsurge of the revolutionary wave in Europe. In a letter he remarked that he reckoned stormy events would prevent him from concluding his work after 15 years of labour. He said that if he thereby came too late to interest the world in such things, the fault would be only his own.

The present epoch is the epoch of the powerful creations of the revolution which Marx foresaw. And in spite of this, "such things" as are dealt with in the "Critique" still interest the world and will interest it for a long time, for the ideas worked out by Marx have long become the material force dominating the masses numbering millions, and the theories of Marx and Engels, further developed by Lenin and Stalin, serve as an indispensable weapon to the masses who are proceeding to storm the citadels of capital. This theory is the weapon of millions who are building up Socialism in the Soviet Union.

When the "Critique" appeared, the bourgeoisie attempted to kill this work of Marx by a **conspiracy of silence**. The ruling class, however, was soon compelled to adopt more elastic tactics. They could not kill Marx by means of silence, for his teachings had found their way deep into the working masses. In place of the conspiracy of silence there was used the secret poison of **revisionism**.

At the present time the bourgeoisie, like a savage animal, is resorting to the most ruthless means of fighting. In Berlin, where the "Critique" was first published 75 years ago, the fascist vandals are burning the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. But the bonfires on which these books are burnt at the same time herald the approaching doom of capitalism; they cannot conceal the class struggle which is raging under the fascist dictatorship.

"It is said that in the West, in some countries, Marxism has already been destroyed. It is said that it was destroyed by the bourgeois-nationalist trend known as fascism. That is nonsense, of course. Only those who are ignorant of history can talk like that. Marxism is the scientific expression of the fundamental interests of the working class. In order to destroy Marxism the working class must be destroyed. And it is impossible to destroy the working class. More than 80 years have passed since Marxism stepped into the arena. During this time scores and hundreds of bourgeois governments have tried to destroy Marxism. And what happened? Bourgeois governments have come and gone, but Marxism still goes on." (Stalin.)

Marxist-Leninist Education in the U.S.A.

By A. Markoff (Director, Workers' School, U.S.A.)

At the Eighth National Convention of the Communist Party of the U.S.A., held in Cleveland, Ohio, April 3rd to 8th, Comrade Browder, in his summary, emphasised strongly the need for theoretical training as an important and integral part of the political education of our members.

What has our Party done in this respect?

We can answer this question by saying that considerable progress has been made by the Party in this field and that we are in a position to register definite achievements as well as many shortcomings.

Since 1927 the Party has carried through one full-time training school on a national scale every year; it also carried through one regional school in the mid-western territory in 1931. There have been a number of full-time training schools conducted on a district scale. In the main, the national training schools have been successful. There have been many shortcomings and weaknesses in those schools, especially those of the period between 1927 and 1930. The schools reflected the same weaknesses which existed in the Party, due primarily to the factional strife existing in the Party in that period.

Beginning with 1930, the Party, having rid itself of the renegade elements, proceeded as a unified organisation, guided by our international Party, the Communist International. The subsequent national full-time training schools brought to the Party definite positive results. A number of the comrades graduated from those schools can be found in leading positions of the Party.

The district training schools, with the exception of a small number, have been weak. This is due mainly to the lack of experienced instructors, poor organisation of the schools, and also poor selection of students. The Commission on Schools set up by the Eighth National Convention of our Party adopted plans for the centralisation of this work, and many of the shortcomings mentioned will be overcome in the future.

The classes in the sections, units, classes for new students, etc., manifest a general defect: the work is not systematised, it is sporadic and poorly organised. The districts in our Party must examine this work carefully, and work out plans for better training of the comrades in the units, sections, etc.

There are at present **Workers' Schools** in a number of cities in this country, which attract thousands of workers and other elements, who come there to acquire a knowledge of Marxism-Leninism. These schools conduct the classes in the evening and the courses are open to both Party members and outsiders.

Up to about two years ago the **Workers' School in New York** was the only institution of its kind in the Party. Attempts were made in several districts to organise similar institutions, but it is only within the last two years that definite schools have been established in various places, such as **Chicago, San Francisco, Cleveland, Boston, Detroit**, and rudiments of schools exist in a number of other places.

The following figures demonstrate the rapid growth of the School in New York:—

1923-1924	46 students
1924-1925	60 students
1925-1926	700 for the three terms
1926-1927	1,000 students
1927-1928	1,500 students
1928-1929	2,000 students
1929-1930	2,000 students
1930-1931	2,700 students, 3,000 registrations
1931-1932	3,200 students, 3,800 registrations
1932-1933	4,500 students, 5,200 registrations
1933-1934	5,903 students, 7,280 registrations

(Under registrations we mean the number of courses registered for)

The above figures are computed on the basis of three terms per year.

The Boston Workers' School reports the following registrations: For the year 1932-1933, 150 students; for the year 1933-1934, 350 students.

The Workers' Schools in Chicago, Cleveland and other cities report similar increases.

The school year of 1933-1934 marks a phenomenal increase in

the registration at the school. In the three terms of this year the school shows a registration of almost 6,000 students in the central school and several hundred students in the two branches.

We can also record a qualitative improvement in the school, especially since 1929. The Central Committee of the Party has taken control over the school, and with the help and guidance of the leading members of the Party, considerable improvements have been made in curriculum, the management of the school, etc.

The first and most important function of the schools is the teaching of the theory of Marxism-Leninism. The schools also serve as a recruiting ground for the Party and the Young Communist League. Hundreds of individuals are attracted to the schools; among them there are many who hear about the Party for the first time. During the school term the Party is brought forward, the students become involved in various campaigns conducted by our movement, and thus learn about the Party. Many of them join the Party or the League and become active members in the movement. The schools also serve as a very good medium for the popularisation of the Party press and Party literature. In the school in New York, in addition to the literature used as texts, thousands of pamphlets issued by the Party and the C.I. are sold.

The school terms are usually of three months' duration, and the courses are given once a week. The curriculum consists mainly of courses in the Principles of Communism, Political Economy, Marxism-Leninism, History of the American Labour Movement, History of Class Struggles, Dialectic and Historical Materialism, Problems of the Negro Liberation Movement, Problems of the Trade Union Movement, Principles of Communist Organisation, Problems in the Youth Movement, History of the Russian Revolution, Public Speaking, and language courses, such as English for workers, Russian, etc.

One of the most outstanding shortcomings of the Workers' School is the social composition of the student body. While the number of workers from the basic industries attending the school is still very small (they constitute only about 10 per cent. of the entire student body), workers employed in light industry constitute about 30 per cent. of the student body. The rest of them are office workers, students and various other elements of the population. Certain schools, operating in cities where heavy industry predominates, show a better composition than the school in New York. In the immediate future the Workers' School is planning to call a conference of representatives of mass organisations and labour unions to discuss this problem, and through this means attract more workers, and thus improve the general composition of the student body.

The rapid growth of the school created difficulties with regard to the teaching personnel. The school is compelled to employ the services of young teachers who have had little experience. This places before the school the important task of training new instructors. Plans are being made for the training of a group of comrades within the next year for this particular work.

Another difficulty faced by the school is the reading material for students in connection with the courses. There is a great scarcity of the works of Marx and Engels and Lenin in the English language. There is also need of texts written in very simple language, so as to be understood by the average worker. In the course of Trade Union Problems and Principles of Communist Organisation there is actually a lack of material.

During the last two years many intellectual groups have expressed their desire for Communist education. With the aid of the Workers' School, many groups have been organised and instructors sent by the Workers' School, and thus the dissemination of the theory of Marxism-Leninism is also carried on in this section of the population.

The radicalisation of the workers and the toiling farmers is proceeding at a rapid pace. This radicalisation of the masses can be utilised by the Party in an organised manner and directed into the proper revolutionary channels only with the aid of well-equipped cadres. In addition to developing cadres of leading comrades, the entire political level of the members must be raised as quickly as possible. Therefore the problem of political education is of the greatest importance for the Party and the theoretical work must be strengthened and increased. The Central Committee of the Communist Party is determined to carry out a broad programme of theoretical training in the Party. The district organisations must in turn make every effort to develop this work, conduct full-time district training schools, build Workers' Schools, and develop educational work within trade unions and mass organisations.

In the International

The First Party Congress of the C.P. of Catalonia

By V. Uribe (Barcelona)

The first Party Congress of the C.P. of Catalonia was an important event. For two days more than 100 delegates from all parts of Catalonia discussed all the questions confronting the Party. The debates, which were conducted quite openly, were very enlightening for the workers of Barcelona, in particular for the anarchist proletarians.

The Party Congress showed the great political and ideological unity of the C.P. of Catalonia and its complete agreement with the political line of the C.P. of Spain and of the Communist International. It must be borne in mind that it was precisely in Catalonia that the so-called "worker's alliance" was set up—an organisation patched together by the renegades of the workers' and peasants' bloc, the Treintists and socialists, an alliance against the united front and against the revolution. Our correct united front tactics enabled us to frustrate the counter-revolutionary plans of the "Workers Alliance" and to win thousands of anarchist workers for the fight and for the militant unity of the proletarians and peasants of Catalonia under the leadership of the C.P.

The anarchists, who for years have monopolised the leadership of the proletariat in Catalonia, have brought about an atomisation of the class forces such as exists in no other province of Spain. There are trade unions of the C.N.T. (anarchists), opposition trade unions (Treintists), trade unions of the U.G.T., trade unions under the leadership of the Socialist Union, autonomous trade unions, and now the "Esquerra" (Left government party) wants to organise Catalonian trade unions. In these circumstances it is the main task of the C.P. of Catalonia to establish the unity of the trade unions on the basis of the class struggle, to set up trade union unity groups in the trade unions and factories, embracing all anarchist, Treintist and Communist workers. The activity and the prospects of the C.G.T.U. in Catalonia were very thoroughly discussed at the Party Congress and the correct carrying out of the adopted decisions will enable us to consolidate our influence organisationally and to create a powerful trade union movement guided by the principles and the tactics of the R.I.L.U.

The Party Congress discussed for the first time the question of the role of the Party in the national and social emancipation movement of Catalonia. The theses adopted by the Congress emphasise that the "Statute," which to the masses appeared to be a great achievement in their struggle for national and social emancipation, has greatly disappointed the Catalonian population. The Statute is a compromise between Spanish imperialism and the bourgeoisie and the big landowners of Catalonia, and is directed against the interests of the broad masses. The theses clearly set forth the tasks of the Party:

"The Communist Party of Catalonia, whilst proceeding to the carrying out of its historical task, the overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie and of the big landowners, by mobilising the broad masses for the national and social emancipation of the toiling population of Catalonia, for the struggle for the right of self-determination right up to separation, for the setting up of the Soviets of workers, toiling peasants, soldiers and sailors, will conduct an irreconcilable struggle against Spanish imperialism and the traitors to the cause of the emancipation of the Catalonian people: the Esquerra, the Generalidad (Catalonian's government) and its agents."

The agrarian question, which has called forth so many struggles in Catalonia, was thoroughly discussed by the Party Congress. The Party was shown its tasks in the rural districts: to lead the fight against the semi-feudal contracts, against the burden of taxation imposed upon the peasant masses. The firmly organised toiling peasants, who are the main support of the Esquerra, are greatly disappointed, especially as a result of the recent government decree regarding the cultivation contracts, which has disastrous consequences for the toiling peasants. The Party Congress therefore recommended the organisation of peasant committees, defence organisations, the non-payment of taxes, rent, etc.

The C.P. of Catalonia submitted to the Party Congress the report of its activity, from which it can be seen that the Party

is on the way to acquiring the leadership of the mass struggles: greater activity in strikes, anti-fascist mobilisation of the workers on the basis of the united front led by the Party and the Y.C.L. on April 22 and 29, participated in by numerous anarchist workers and workers of all tendencies.

The C.P. of Catalonia has exerted great efforts in order to overcome its lagging behind the masses. The Party Congress has set the Party the task of becoming the advance-guard and leader of the national and social emancipation struggle of the Catalonian people and the leader of the agrarian revolution. The Party must overcome the organisational weaknesses which were revealed at the Party Congress, recruit thousands of fresh champions and, with the assistance and under the leadership of the C.P. of Spain and its Central Committee, win the majority of the proletariat of Catalonia and the advanced masses in the rural districts for Communism, for the Soviets, for the workers and peasants' government and make Catalonia the unshakable bulwark of the victory of the Soviet revolution in Spain.

The Main Tasks of the C.P. of Yugoslavia

(From the Decision of the C.C. of the C.P.Y. on the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.)

We publish below an extract from the last portion of the resolution of the C.C. of the C.P.Y. on the decisions of the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. The first portion of the resolution deals with the following questions: (1) What changes have taken place in the period between the Twelfth and Thirteenth Plenums? (2) Before the transition of the world economic crisis to the revolutionary crisis. (3) The victory of fascism in Germany and the new revolutionary wave. (4) Preparations for imperialist war.—Ed.

The Enlarged Plenum of the C.C. of our Party, which took place in October last immediately before the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., set the Party a number of new and big tasks. The decisions of the E.C.C.I. impose upon the Party the duty to fight with still greater energy against fascism, against imperialist war, for winning the majority of the working class, for ensuring the leading role of the proletariat in the struggles of the peasantry and the oppressed nationalities, and in particular in the struggle for the overthrow of the Pan-Servian military-fascist dictatorship.

The most important of these tasks are the fight against fascism. In Yugoslavia fascism arose before the commencement of the world economic crisis and has become the main method of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie of the ruling nation. The economic crisis of capitalism has accelerated the tempo of disintegration of fascism in Yugoslavia.

The appraisal of fascism made by the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. fully applies to Yugoslavia and is completely confirmed by the experiences and the results of five years of orgies of fascist Pan-Servian terror in our country. In addition to the fundamental general features which are characteristic of every variety of fascism, the Pan-Servian military-fascist dictatorship possesses a number of qualities which are peculiar to it and which the proletariat must take into account in the fight for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship. The most important of these peculiar features are:—

(a) Lack of a fascist mass party and of a broad basis for fascism among the working masses;

(b) Leading role of the reactionary officers' clique and of the King in the fascist dictatorship;

(c) In Yugoslavia the military-fascist dictatorship is not only an instrument for the class exploitation of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie, but also of national exploitation of the suppressed nationalities on the part of the bourgeoisie of the ruling Servian nation;

(d) Fascism has become the main form of the bourgeois dictatorship in the conditions of an uncompleted bourgeois-democratic revolution (national and peasant questions).

Although fascist terror has been raging for fully five years the bourgeoisie has not succeeded in solving a single one of the questions the solution of which were promised by the dictatorship.

Owing to a number of mistakes, weaknesses and shortcomings in the work of the Party, and in particular owing to the fraction and group struggles in the leading bodies of the Party which went on for years, the Party has not yet been able to make use of the failures and defeats of the military-fascist dictatorship and, on the other hand, of the tremendous worsening of the position of the toiling masses in order to organise the revolutionary alliance

between the workers, peasants and the oppressed nationalities which would overthrow the hated fascist rule.

To-day the main force capable of organising and heading the struggle of the exploited and oppressed masses, the Communist Party, has already recovered from the blows dealt to it in the first years of the fascist dictatorship.

The disintegration of the Pan-Servian military-fascist dictatorship is expressed (a) in the growth of the revolutionary movement of the workers (increase in the number of strikes, the first political strikes and demonstrations of the workers), in the fresh upsurge of the peasant movements (the collisions in Valjevo, the movement of the peasants against land taxes, etc.), and in the growth of the national-revolutionary movement of the oppressed nationalities. These facts compelled the dictatorship to carry out various manoeuvres under the "democratic" cloak.

The Communists have to expose, firstly, the chauvinistic ideology and Pan-Servian nationalism, which is being propagated among the masses under the cloak of "South-Slav Empire." It is particularly necessary to expose the fraudulent assertions that "peaceful" Servian imperialism is threatened by its imperialist Italian and Hungarian rivals; secondly, the preparation for imperialist war and the participation of Yugoslavia in the preparations for a war of intervention against the Soviet Union, carried out by the so-called protection against air and gas attacks, by the formation of rifle associations, militarisation of the youth, settling of Komatchachi in non-Servian districts, etc.

The Communists must explain to the masses that the policy of defending the imperialist "peace" treaties means continuing the oppression of the other nationalities by the big-Servian bourgeoisie. The Communists oppose the revision of the peace treaties by means of an imperialist war, and instead, propagate their destruction by the revolution and the granting of the right of self-determination to the oppressed nationalities up to their separation from Yugoslavia. The Communists must demand the resumption of diplomatic and trade relations with the U.S.S.R., at the same time explaining to the masses that an eventual resumption of diplomatic relations between fascist Yugoslavia and the socialist Soviet Union would in no way diminish the danger of an imperialist intervention against the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia's participation in the preparations for this intervention.

Thirdly, the so-called "democratic" manoeuvres of the military fascist dictatorship. The holding of the municipal elections and elections to other bodies as well as the toleration of certain sham-oppositional parties on the basis of the recognition of the existing fascist regime are nothing but an attempt to win the masses for fascism by making use of their democratic and Parliamentary illusions.

Fourthly, the fascist measures of so-called assistance to the peasants and the toiling masses. The law for the liquidation of the peasants' debts means salvaging the bankrupt banks, by squeezing usurious interest out of the impoverished peasants. The carrying out of concealed inflation by the issue of silver coins and the pledging of the gold reserves for the secret loans mean fresh exploitation of the toilers and greater dependence of Yugoslavia on the National Bank of France. The development of the war industries and the favourable treatment accorded to foreign capitalists who are transferring their textile factories to Yugoslavia because labour power is here much cheaper, do not lead to any improvement in the economic situation. All these measures only worsen the position of the workers, the peasants and the oppressed nationalities and lead to an intensification of the economic antagonisms.

Fifthly, all attempts to fascise the labour movement. It is necessary to expose and thwart the creation of the fascist trade unions ("Strukovna zvezna in Slovenia, national trade unions, workers' sections of Yugoslavian N.S.) and the fascisation of the clerical and reformist trade unions. The creation of the social-democratic party within the system of the fascist parties and the attempt of the social fascist leaders to harness the trade unions to the chariot of this party, are likewise measures aiming at the fascisation of the labour movement.

Sixthly, all attempts to fascise the national emancipation movement. The spread of clerical fascism on the part of the Slovenian people's party in Slovenia and of national fascism among the Croat bourgeois parties, as well as the increasing fascist orientation of the Croat clericals and a part of the Croat national reformists, represent a serious danger to the national emancipation movement of the Croat and Slovenian people.

(To be continued)

Proletarian Mass Organisations

The Results of the Executive Meeting of the International of Proletarian Freethinkers

By Jan Jansen

The Executive of the International of Proletarian Freethinkers met in Paris from May 6 to 8 last. The Executive meeting had the task of thoroughly examining the work of the various Sections and of the Executive since the last International Freethinkers' Conference in August, 1932, and laying down the line of militant atheism for the immediate future.

The results of the Executive meeting can be summed up in the following main points:—

(1) The development of the capitalist ideology reflects the approach of the collapse of capitalist economy. This ideology combats scientific progress and promotes religious mysticism, masked with empty phrases of "ultimate recognition." This ideology aims at hammering into the minds of the worker the fascist theory that race questions are decisive for the fate of every individual and not the relations of production and property; that there is no sense in the worker's life if it is not wasted on the battlefields for the benefit of "his" capitalists.

The militant atheist is a dialectical materialist. Therefore he perceives in the development of capitalist ideology not only the signs of the collapse of capitalism, but also the consolidation of reactionary influence upon millions of ideologically backward toilers.

(2) The organisations of militant atheism are organisations of a world conception. There still prevails in various sections of the I.P.F. the erroneous and, at bottom, reformist conception that this militancy is devoted exclusively to combating the Church and religion, to exposing it as a buttress of capitalism. Necessary as this struggle is, it is not in itself sufficient. Owing to the close connection between the Church and fascism and in view of their common ideological offensive against the working class and the toilers, the militant atheists are faced with the task of conducting a struggle against the whole capitalist ideology, both its religious and fascist expressions. In the same manner the struggle for winning the christian workers is a struggle to draw them into the anti-fascist fight. The Executive meeting recorded that the struggle against the fascist ideology is inadequately developed in various sections of the I.P.F. This weakness is one of the main reasons for the sectarian character of most organisations of militant atheism.

In the struggle against capitalist ideology and fascist cultural barbarism it is not sufficient to reveal its counter-revolutionary character. Also in the cultural sphere the toiling masses are raising the question of the way out. The popularisation of the tremendous achievements of socialist cultural revolution in the Soviet Union, the development of the creative forces of the Soviet workers and peasants under the leadership of the C.P.S.U. is a strong weapon in the hands of the militant atheists in the capitalist countries.

(3) Struggle against capitalist ideology means before all struggle against the ideological poison of capitalism in the ranks of the working class, against reformism. It is stated in the resolution of the Executive meeting:—

"This ideology is, like the opium of religion, a dangerous weapon in the hands of the bourgeoisie. It is a barrier against the advance of the class-consciousness of the workers, against revolutionary class struggle. To combat and destroy it is a necessary precondition for the victory of the working class over fascism."

Although the fascists in Germany and Austria disbanded the reformist freethinkers' organisations and although, with the exception of France and Belgium, the sections of the reformist Freethinkers' International are only insignificant sects, it does not follow that there is no mass basis for reformism on the atheist front. The neglect of systematic opposition work in the reformist "German Freethinkers' League" has so isolated the proletarian Freethinkers of Germany from the atheist workers influenced by the reformists, that to-day, under the conditions of fascist terror, it is very difficult to get into contact with them and to draw the militant elements into our front. On the other hand, the successes of the revolutionary freethinkers' opposition in Austria during the last few months show that fascist terror does not con-

stitute an insurmountable obstacle to the winning of the reformist freethinkers on the basis of the united front of struggle against clericalism and fascist cultural barbarism.

(4) The sections of the I.P.F. must penetrate to a greater extent than hitherto into the mass organisations of the Church and of fascism. In the countries which are under a fascist dictatorship the carrying out of this task has become a vital question for the militant atheist organisations. The Executive meeting proudly recognised the struggle of the proletarian freethinkers in the countries of fascist terror.

(5) The Executive meeting, in a special report, drew the attention of the European and American sections to the great importance of atheistic mass work in the colonies. The experiences of the Indian section of the I.P.F. are an indication of the great possibilities existing, but at the same time show the weaknesses still obtaining in colonial work.

(6) Most of the sections of the I.P.F. still reveal both organisational and ideological sectarian weaknesses. A typical example of these weaknesses is the position of the atheistic press. At the present time the sections of the capitalist countries are publishing altogether 32 newspapers in 14 languages, of which 10 newspapers appear illegally. But only in a few countries, in Germany, France, Bulgaria, India and Czechoslovakia, has the atheistic press developed on a broad basis. In the remaining sections the newspapers have a very small circulation.

The Executive meeting, as an expression of their close connection with the whole revolutionary class struggle, confirmed the decision, which had been already carried out, to affiliate the International of Proletarian Freethinkers to the World Committee against Imperialist War and Fascism, and to the International Committee for the Release of Thaelmann and the other imprisoned anti-fascists. It called upon all sections to take the initiative for the setting up of district, local and factory committees and to exert all their forces in order to wrest Ernst Thaelmann, the leader of the German working class, from the clutches of his fascist jailors.

The Executive decided to convene the Fifth World Congress of the International of Proletarian Freethinkers in the first half of 1935 and instructed all sections thoroughly to prepare for this Congress by mass actions, by organising the anti-clerical and anti-fascist united front, and thereby to make the Fifth World Congress a powerful demonstration of militant atheism.

Proletarian Commemoration Days

Dimitrov on the Tenth Anniversary of the Death of Blagojev

May 7th was the tenth anniversary of the death of Dimitri Nikolayevitch Blagojev, the founder and leader of the revolutionary orthodox wing of the social-democratic party and of the C.P. of Bulgaria, one of the first founders of Marxist circles in Russia in the 'eighties. On this occasion the Bulgarian political emigrants in Moscow, together with the Society of the Old Bolsheviks, organised a commemoration meeting.

At this meeting Comrade Dimitrov made the following speech: I was for many years a disciple and one of the most intimate colleagues of Blagojev. As the founder of our Party, Blagojev was distinguished from others by special features which are characteristic of the movement of the Bulgarian orthodox wing and witness to the kinship between the Bulgarian orthodox wing and the Bolsheviks. These characteristic features of our leader Blagojev were the following:—

(1) **Irreconcilable hatred of the bourgeoisie and its Menshevist tool;** class against class was the slogan, the line of Blagojev and the Bulgarian orthodox wing.

(2) **All for the Party of the proletariat;** complete subordination of the personal life, the personal interests, the personal will to the interests and the will of the Party of the proletariat.

Unshakable and boundless belief in the strength and in the future of the working class.

It seems to me that it was these factors which were chiefly responsible for the successes of our revolutionary movement in Bulgaria before and immediately after the war. These factors helped us to shatter the Bulgarian Mensheviks as they had never

been shattered outside of Bulgaria. These factors helped the Bulgarian Party after the war to proceed on the path of Bolshevism—(applause)—and, together with the Russian Bolshevik Party and under its leadership, to become one of the founders of the Communist International. (Applause.)

Blagojev and the movement of the Bulgarian orthodox wing showed various features distinguishing them from the Bolsheviks and Bolshevism. And, although we became the co-founders of the Comintern, we were not yet Bolsheviks by a long way, not proper Bolsheviks. The circumstance that we were not yet Bolsheviks led to our mistakes in the year 1918, to the mistakes committed by us immediately after the war, at the time of the mutiny of the soldiers and also at the time of the fascist upheaval on June 9, 1923. This circumstance prevented us from organising and leading the heroic September uprising in 1923 in a Bolshevik manner and thus securing its victory. And, finally, this circumstance prevented us from realising the profound difference existing between ourselves and the Bolsheviks in the fundamental questions of the proletarian revolution.

Comrades, in the 35 years of my revolutionary and political activity I have committed not a few mistakes, but two of these mistakes of mine are unforgettable and unpardonable: the first mistake I committed together with the C.C. of the Party on June 9, 1923, when the fascist upheaval took place, and when we adopted a so-called "neutral" attitude to it; the second mistake consisted in the fact that not only myself but the whole Party did not realise in time that our Bulgarian orthodox movement was not yet Bolshevism. We did not draw the necessary conclusions from the difference existing between the orthodox Bulgarian wing and the Bolsheviks, we did not draw the appropriate lessons and thereby retarded the Bolshevisation of our Party, the Bolshevisation which undoubtedly could have been achieved much more rapidly and with less sacrifices.

Comrades, not only our friends, but also our enemies, each in his own way, commented on my personal heroism at Leipzig. But during the trial and after it I thought that I had displayed the same heroism repeatedly in our revolutionary movement, and I not alone but dozens, hundreds and thousands of orthodox Bulgarian workers who have always fought courageously. I must even say that one of the peculiarities of the Bulgarian orthodox comrades was the courage with which they fought against their enemies. Thousands of orthodox comrades were killed in the September rising; many of them would have saved their lives if they had been prepared to declare that they would abandon Communism. If I had behaved at the Leipzig trial as a former orthodox Bulgarian, I would have been courageous, but I would have confined myself to my personal defence, I would not have conducted the fight against fascism. When I stood at the bar in Leipzig and Berlin I kept in one of my hands, the left one, the penal code of the German State, and in my right hand the Programme of the Comintern. (Protracted applause.) At every step I made use of the Leninist arsenal in the struggle against the enemy, against fascism. I did not fight as an orthodox Bulgarian comrade but as a Bolshevik, for only the Leninist teachings, the Leninist method, **Bolshevist heroism** render it possible to fight in such a way as to ensure victory.

I believe that the past of the movement of the Bulgarian orthodox is not a minus, but, on the contrary, a plus, provided that the revolutionary traditions and the good points of the orthodox wing, their Marxist experience, have changed in the Bolshevik smelting furnace. Our Party has already taken the decisive steps on this path. It is still faced with a big task. The Party was able to draw from the September rising all the necessary lessons for its Bolshevisation; it thus has made the defeat which it suffered in this rising the precondition for the victory of the future proletarian revolution in Bulgaria. The Party has won the majority of the working class, it is fighting for the consolidation of the alliance between the proletariat and the toiling peasantry, and, under the banner of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin, is proceeding on the path to a Soviet Bulgaria.

Comrades, we have learnt, we are learning, and we shall learn from the glorious Russian Bolsheviks. We are glad that we are able to strengthen our fighting will and our belief in victory from

the example of the old Bolsheviks who are still alive. I personally, when I was in chains in prison, often remembered how the revolutionary proletariat had to live in tsarist Russia. I remembered the hundreds and thousands of our old Bolsheviks, their energy, and how fearlessly they fought in spite of all difficulties and dangers lying in their path. What heroism the Russian Bolsheviks displayed in the period of civil war and later in socialist construction! And if they all emerged with honour and glory from all these fights, I said to myself, I, the Bulgarian Communist, must unswervingly stand at my post and show on the international tribune to the German proletariat, to my Bulgarian brothers and the proletariat of all countries, how a Bolshevik can and must fight against the bourgeoisie and fascism, how a Bolshevik fights who is profoundly convinced of the inevitable ultimate victory of the proletarian revolution. (Prolonged applause.)

Ljubov Jovoshevitch Dimitrova

At the Reichstag Fire Trial in Leipzig, the fighting programme of the Communist International became flesh and blood in the person of **Georgi Dimitrov**. The name of Dimitrov is a symbol throughout the world of the fight against fascism, of proletarian victory.

But only very few—only his most intimate friends—know to what extent his wife and comrade Ljubov Jovoshevitch, by her unceasing care and assistance, helped in the formation of a hero of the proletarian revolution in the person of Georgi Dimitrov. We are obliged to think of her on the anniversary of her tragic death, which took place on May 27, 1933. After long and painful illness, which deprived her of the possibility of helping her true friend and life companion, who had been loaded with chains and flung into the fascist prison, the fiery heart of Ljubov Jovoshevitch ceased to beat.

Ljubov Jovoshevitch was a person possessing great capacities. Coming from the ranks of the Servian proletariat, she went through the hard school of struggle for bare existence, and in early youth linked her faith with that of the labour movement and acquired unshakable faith in the power of the proletariat. In Bulgaria, where she went in 1902, she joined the revolutionary party of "Orthodox" Marxists. Here she soon acquired a leading position. Comrade Ljubov Jovoshevitch worked in the trade union movement, especially in the seamstresses' union, and for three years edited the union paper. She was one of the best propagandists in the party of the "Orthodox."

Ljubov Jovoshevitch Dimitrova was a well-known and beloved proletarian poetess in Servia. From 1901, until she emigrated to Bulgaria, she worked regularly on the social democratic newspaper "Rodnitchie Novans," in which she published her poems. She resumed work on this paper in 1909. Comrade Ljubov Jovoshevitch published many proletarian poems in the Servian language. After the war she published poems also in Bulgarian. Among her papers are a great number of unpublished poems in Servian, Bulgarian and Russian. The chief theme of her poems was the fight of the workers, the summons to fight and victory.

The most remarkable characteristic of this woman was her boundless devotion to, and unwearying care and exceeding love for, her husband and comrade-in-arms, Comrade Georgi Dimitrov, the leader of the Bulgarian workers. Their union, which lasted nearly 30 years and was unequalled in its beauty, was that never-failing source of power, boldness, persistency and tenacity in the most difficult moments of struggle. And this attachment was of course not the simple attachment of a wife to a husband, it was the attachment to the man who had devoted all his extraordinary capacities absolutely to the service of his class. It was the fulfilment of her own duties to her class.

It is with the feelings of great loss that we think of Comrade Ljubov Jovoshevitch. The Party has lost a splendid member and Comrade Dimitrov his best, irreplaceable companion and friend in life. May the memory of Comrade Ljubov Jovoshevitch remain in the hearts of the Bulgarian and Servian workers, in the hearts of all who knew her!

Paraskeva Dimitrova, Kolarov, Grosdanov, Iskrov, Mavrov, Spiridonov, A. Vladimirov, Rossen, Voldanov, Jelena Dimitrova, Bratanski, Genova-Zoneva, Bielov, Kabatchiev, Zvetkov, Bojkov, Marek.

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