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## The Electoral Defeat of Hitler

The results of the "People's Plebiscite" in Germany have demonstrated that the anti-fascist united front is on the march, despite terror and despite the barrage of lies. The "People's Plebiscite," which Hitler and Goebbels stage-managed for other ends, has resulted in their own defeat and is a triumph for the anti-fascist front. The results demonstrate the advance of the revolutionary opposition led by the heroic Communist Party of Germany.

The official provisional result according to the figures of the German News Bureau was as follows\*:

	19th August, 1934		12th November, 1933	
	Votes	Percentage	Votes	Percentage
Total votes cast .. .	43,267,821	100	43,452,613	100
For .. .	38,124,030	88.2	40,601,577	93.5
Against .. .	4,275,248	9.8	2,100,765	4.8
Spilled .. .	868,543	2	750,271	1.7

As against 2.9 million hostile anti-fascist votes in the plebiscite in November, 1933, Hitler and his Minister for Propaganda, Goebbels, are now compelled to admit 5.1 million votes against them. The stage-manager of this lost electoral campaign, Goebbels, declared in one of his election speeches:—

"If we lost only one vote in this election as compared with the 12th November last year, people abroad would sigh with relief and declare: 'You see, one vote less!'"

However, in nine months the German fascists have lost, not one vote, but 2.5 million votes. Continuing his strain of humour, Goebbels reckoned out, to the delight of his audience, that at the rate of one lost vote a year national socialism would be done for in forty million years. After the result of this election let him do a little more reckoning; let him reckon how much longer he will

\* The final results of the plebiscite as since published in the press reveal an even greater defeat for Hitler.—Ed., "Inprecorr."

remain "Propaganda Minister" and how much longer he will be able to play "leaders" with his accomplice Hitler in face of a loss of 2.5 million votes in nine months.

Naturally the official figures no more give a real picture of the army of the opponents of the Hitler regime than they did in November, 1933, but a comparison of the two figures offers us a good picture of the growth of the anti-fascist mass movement and of the disintegration of Hitler's mass basis, for the effect of the electoral terror and the effectiveness of the official forgeries depend upon the strength of the anti-fascist movement.

This time, just as nine months ago, public warnings were issued that all hostile voters would be treated as traitors to their country. This time, as last time, rumours were sedulously circulated to the effect that the way each individual voted could be ascertained afterwards. As in 1933, every man or woman who distributed a leaflet against Hitler risked his or her life and freedom. The "punitive expeditions" which were sent into the working-class quarters where the voting was unsatisfactory for Hitler were still in the memory of all, but, despite all this, the flood of anti-fascist leaflets increased to such an extent that the foreign correspondents of the various bourgeois newspapers were compelled to remark on the growth of the anti-fascist propaganda. Anti-fascist slogans appeared on walls and hoardings everywhere. The growth of the anti-Hitler vote shows the increasing strength of the proletarian masses in their struggle against the fascist terror, whilst simultaneously with the disintegration of its mass basis and the loss of many of its old supporters fascism is steadily losing the power to carry on an effective mass terror.

The situation is similar with regard to forgeries. They begin in the local polling booths and the good work is continued in the local and district centres, to be concluded in the Reich's Ministry of Lies under Goebbels' management. The less forgeries are com-

mitted in the local polling booths and the more the real results get known in the districts, the more difficult it becomes for the central authorities to fake the results. Goebbels was unable to carry out his obvious intention of permitting not one vote less to be counted than was counted for Hitler in November, 1933, and the reason for this lies in the fact that the lower national-socialist organisations have been stirred up, chiefly by the events of the 30th June, and now no longer function so well as they did formerly, nor are they so reliable as they were.

A comparison of the voting results will indicate that the election figures, generally speaking, reflect the growth of the anti-fascist struggle. Just as in former times, when elections were conducted legally, the main weight of the anti-fascist votes was in the industrial towns and districts. The total result and innumerable local results coincide in a remarkable fashion with the figures of the Communist votes in former times. The 5.1 million hostile votes polled at this "presidential election" are very little above the almost 5 million votes received by the Communist Party in 1932, when it put forward Comrade Thaelmann as the leader of the anti-fascists and the only proletarian candidate against Hindenburg and Hitler.

Throughout the country as a whole the percentage of anti-fascist votes was 12 per cent., but in the industrial towns and districts it rose to 20 per cent. and more. The leading anti-fascist district was Hamburg, Thaelmann's town, where 168,000 voters voted against Hitler and 21,000 ballot papers were spoiled, as compared with 651,000 pro-Hitler votes. In Hamburg 23 per cent. of the electorate voted against Hitler, although the "heaven-sent leader" himself took the trouble to go to Hamburg on the eve of the poll and showed himself to the workers at the Blom & Voss shipyards, afterwards delivering an election address in front of the Hamburg Town Hall, an address which was broadcasted by all German stations. Red Berlin also again showed its revolutionary face. Three million votes were polled, and 493,000 were against Hitler and 75,000 ballot papers were spoiled. The capital of Hitler's Third Reich revealed over half a million staunch and unshakable anti-fascist fighters. That is a result which speaks louder than the drums and trumpets of the hastily mobilised brown storm troops who marched past the Reich's Chancellery in the evening of election day.

Similar election results showing that every fifth voter belonged to the anti-fascist front were reported from Frankfurt-on-Main, Recklinghausen (22 per cent.), Elberfeld-Barmen, Hindenburg in Silesia, Offenbach-on-Main (24 per cent.), Cologne (21 per cent.), Luebeck (24 per cent.), Bremen (22 per cent.), etc. An analysis of the election returns reveals particularly favourable results in these districts where the proletarian opposition was strengthened by the Catholic masses. For instance, in the Cologne and Aix-la-Chapelle election district 1.5 million votes were polled, of which 265,000 were anti-Hitler and 41,000 ballot papers were spoiled; that is, approximately 20 per cent. Thus the vote against Hitler has increased to 306,000 compared with 116,000 in November, 1933. The results reported from the Berlin electoral district, which embraces only the centre of the town, were similar; 1,243,000 votes were polled, of which 225,000 were against Hitler and 32,000 ballot papers were spoiled. The best result came from Hamburg, where 840,000 votes were polled, of which 168,000 were against Hitler and 21,000 ballot papers were spoiled. That represents a total of 23 per cent. against Hitler. One of every four votes practically was an anti-fascist vote!

The political significance of the result of the plebiscite cannot be over-estimated. In his election speech Hitler declared that the speediest possible settlement of the question of succession to Hindenburg was necessary in order to forestall disturbance and insecurity which might be exploited abroad, and for this reason the people was being asked for its vote only after the decision had been taken. The "Leader" thus admitted that his regime is so insecure and so shaky that it could no longer risk a normal election struggle for the presidential election. After the decision had already been taken each voter knew that his vote would be of a purely demonstrative character. All experience shows how difficult it is to mobilise the masses for an election of this kind, and therefore the anti-fascist votes which were obtained weigh all the heavier, for they are the advance-guard of the anti-fascist masses. In 1928 Comrade Thaelmann declared: "Every Communist vote is lead and every vote received by our opponents

is straw." That is a hundred times truer of votes cast under circumstances such as prevailed at the present election. In a few days' time we shall be in a better position to estimate the real total of the anti-fascist votes when we receive reports from the various districts and the various polling booths concerning the votes and the forgeries.

However, even if we are to assume that the figure of 5.1 million admitted by the fascists is the correct one, then it would still represent a tremendous strength on the part of those revolutionary cadres which are organising the struggle of at least 15 million anti-fascists amongst the toiling population of Germany. Goebbels declared that criticism might be directed against this or that measure of the national socialists, but that the "Leader" himself stood above all criticism. In fact, the illusion was widely spread that the subordinate national-socialist leaders were responsible for all evil, whilst the "Leader" himself was doing his best. The plebiscite which has just taken place deliberately put Hitler and nothing else but Hitler into the foreground. Hitler presented himself to the masses as "the man of destiny." Trust magnates and poets fell over each other in their Byzantine praise of him. The spirit of the late Field Marshal Hindenburg was conjured up to support Hitler as his successor. And all to no purpose, because the election results showed clearly that the masses are not enthusiastic about a "People's Kaiser" Adolf I.

The result of the plebiscite represents not only a heavy defeat for the fascist system, it also represents a personal defeat for Hitler, upon whose mediocre and confused personality the whole system is now more than ever dependent. It is, further, a personal defeat of the Minister for Lies, Goebbels, whose days in the Ministry for Propaganda are certainly numbered.

The aim of the plebiscite was to demonstrate the unity of the German people in its support of Hitler and to demonstrate the unshakeable personal authority of the "Leader." In reality it has shown the growth of the anti-fascist mass struggle and the diminishing authority and mass influence of national socialism in general and of its leader Hitler in particular. It has also shown how far advanced the crisis of Hitler fascism is.

For the working class this first clearly visible success of the anti-fascist struggle carried on by the Communists at the cost of innumerable lives is a further incentive to strengthen the anti-fascist united front, to break completely with the treacherous social democratic policy of wait and see, and to accelerate the open mass struggle for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship of terror and hunger.

#### The Nazi Press Laments the Effect of Communist Agitation

The "Angriff" laments the poor results of the plebiscite in the Rhenish-Westphalian industrial district, explaining it by the assertion that: "The district between the Rhine and Belgium-Luxemburg has its own special structure. During the last few months energetic propaganda from the frontier side has been observed here. In the Aix-la-Chapelle district 150,000 leaflets crossed the frontier on one day alone.

#### Too Clumsily Falsified!—Obvious Cheating in Concentration Camps

Whilst most of the constituencies have contented themselves with what may be termed a moderate falsification, and have admitted a certain number of "No" votes, in order that belief might not be destroyed beforehand in the results announced, some of the electoral districts have issued such clumsy falsifications that they are immediately recognisable as such. This applies to the Palatinate, for example, where 622,000 "Yes" votes are announced and only 32,800 "No" votes.

In the concentration camps the heads of the camps have been carried away by their ambition to shine with the "best plebiscite results," and have produced the most wildly improbable figures. It is stated, for instance, that in the Kuhberg concentration camp 41 "Yes" votes were cast, three "No" votes, and one spoilt vote. The most transparent fake is that of the Dachau concentration camp. We are expected to believe that in this notorious murder-camp, which shares its reputation with the Oranienburg and Papenburg camps, 1,572 prisoners voted "Yes," eight "No," and ten spoilt their voting papers.

## Politics

### Foreign Political Review of the Week

It was just two weeks ago that the Japanese press agency "Nishi-Nishi" sent out the alarming report that the Japanese government was contemplating a serious diplomatic demarche against the Soviet Union, a report which was immediately denied by the Japanese government. However, the soothing explanations of the Japanese Foreign Ministry had hardly been put into circulation when the British press, or part of it, was again filled with alarming reports. These reports have caused still greater anxiety than the previous ones, because this time it is no question of irresponsible press reports and threats concerning alleged frontier violations by the Soviet authorities. The war-mongers have gone a step further this time, from words to deeds. They have carried out mass arrests amongst the employees of the Chinese Eastern Railway and have deliberately increased the provocative character of these arrests by the explanations they give for their action, namely, the arrested men are accused of having organised attempts on the safety of the line, co-operated with the bandits and organised conspiracies against the lives of leading Japanese officials, etc.

-It was noteworthy with what calm and quiet confidence the Soviet press received the alarming report published by the "Nishi-Nishi" two weeks ago. The tone adopted by the Soviet press was: we know the melody, we know the text, and we know the authors. It pointed out that the whole affair was nothing more than a piece of impudent blackmail. The Japanese government wished to obtain the Chinese Eastern Railway for a song. However, the Soviet government is not prepared to part with its rights on such terms. The Japanese government therefore went in for a little blackmailing. The Japanese militarists miscalculated. The Soviet press has maintained the same attitude of calm confidence in face of the latest provocations. It is not the first time that officials and employees of the Chinese Eastern Railway have been arrested. The accusers must now bring forward their material against the arrested men, demands the Soviet press. In order to deprive the Japanese of the argument that the Soviet government has put forward impossible conditions for the sale of its rights in the Chinese Eastern Railway and that it obstinately insists on such conditions, the Tass agency has now published a detailed report of the negotiations which have taken place up to the present for the sale of the line. When the Soviet government asked the reasonable price of 625 million yen (120 million gold dollars) for its rights in the line, the Japanese negotiators countered with an offer of 50 million yen. During the course of the negotiations the Soviet government dropped down to a price of 160 million yen, and at the same time offered extremely favourable terms for the payment of this sum, being prepared to agree to the payment of the major portion of it in goods. The Japanese negotiators refused to offer more than 120 million yen and on the 13th August they broke off the negotiations, and the Japanese authorities proceeded to the usual provocative measure of arresting officials and employees of the line. These are the facts, and world public opinion can now judge them. The above is a brief summary of the contents of the Tass message which, despite the restrained tone in which it is couched, represents a telling condemnation of Japanese imperialism.

The fact that the provocative actions of the Japanese authorities represent blackmail pure and simple, and the fact that the Soviet press and the Soviet authorities are maintaining an almost incredible calm in the face of these dangerous actions, must not lead us to under-estimate the danger of war in the least. We have pointed out previously that many factors speak in favour of a postponement of the Japanese attack upon the Soviet Union, including the fact that the Japanese wish first of all to "pacify" Manchukuo. However, there are also factors which are working strongly in the opposite direction. The Japanese imperialists are well aware that, generally speaking, time is working in favour of the Soviet Union and against Japan, and there is an influential clique of war-mongering generals who would like to see war now rather than late. This clique is closely connected with the oil king Deterding and with the White-Guardist emigrants, who are powerful in Manchuria and have organised a big propaganda apparatus to whose activities it is chiefly due that the various alarmist reports are spread so quickly. This clique also maintains

close connections with Hitler Germany, which is much more closely connected with the happenings in Manchuria than most people imagine. In addition, there is the fact that the only difference between official Japan and the unofficial adventurer is one of method and not one of principle. Both official Japan and these unofficial war-mongers want war, but they are not in agreement as to whether it should be declared now or in two years' time. Under these circumstances war may break out, as the French General Petain declared, like a flash of lightning and turn the whole world into a battlefield.

As a result of Hitler's defeat in the recent "people's plebiscite" in Germany the danger of war has been particularly intensified. The whole plebiscite was arranged with the expressed intention; as admitted by Neurath, Goebbels and the whole fascist clique, of impressing world opinion with the fact that Germany, the whole of Germany, was unitedly behind Hitler. The inference being that the world must no longer close its ears to Germany's demands, but must assist it out of its foreign political isolation and permit it foreign political successes. Foreign opinion was to be shown that it was dangerous to get on the wrong side of Hitler. How the world reacted to this sort of thing is already known. A plebiscite was never so unanimously and contemptuously rejected in advance as was Hitler's by the world press. "The Times" may serve as typical of the many utterances which were published on the point in the bourgeois press outside Germany.

"The Times," in its leading article of August 17, declared:—

"It is a naive assumption that other countries will take at its face value the vote of confidence which will be recorded on Sunday and will attach the same importance to it as they would if the voters were free agents expressing independent decisions on issues which had been discussed fully and freely in the open. The object of the plebiscite is too obvious; the preparation has been too thorough; the whole manoeuvre too clumsy, to impress anyone outside Germany."

This opinion of "The Times" referred to the pro-Hitler votes, for naturally it could not expect that almost ten million Germans would be prepared to risk the tremendous danger attached to voting against Hitler or not voting at all, a proceeding which was also characterised as high treason. Before the election Goebbels announced loudly that foreign public opinion would count every anti-Hitler vote more than the total at the previous election, and now the number of anti-Hitler votes is seen to have practically doubled. A unanimous vote for Hitler in the plebiscite would not have strengthened Hitler's foreign political position in the least, but the unexpectedly strong counter-attack delivered by the anti-fascist opposition has delivered a blow at Hitler almost as strong as the events of the 30th June and the 25th July. Hitler can therefore no longer reckon on winning any diplomatic victories, and he will be compelled to take the path of adventurism.

That is no more than the logical result of the whole 19th August campaign, whose chief note was the German expansionist urge as laid down in the so-called testament of Hindenburg—lead Germany back to its old position of power and influence! The social demagogy of national socialism was deliberately pushed into the background in favour of nationalist demagogy, and this form of demagogy still has some effect, but at the same time it forces national socialism to action. Hitler dare not lose the support of that section of the population which sees in the new German imperialism the last hope. He must win successes, and if they do not come of their own he must secure them by violence.

Germany will now make its relations to Japan still closer and it will fan the flames of war in Manchuria more energetically than ever before. Hitler will be prepared to make more concessions to Poland than ever before in order to induce it to take an active part in the anti-Soviet front. However, his chief blow will be delivered against the Saar district. After his fiasco on the Danube he must win some sort of success in the Saar, cost what it may. It is unlikely that Hitler would content himself with an unfavourable result of the Saar plebiscite, but it is equally unlikely that he will be prepared to wait for the plebiscite at all.

When even the mild and tolerant Mr. Knox has been compelled to take action and prohibit the recruiting of unemployed workers for Hitler's labour service camps, which are nothing more than the cover for the organisation of a "Saar Legion," when he is compelled to seek neutral policemen for the Saar force because the existing police have already been prepared to take their part in the Hitler coup, and when even the friendly British press, which up till recently was in favour of giving back the Saar to

Germany, begins to protest loudly and demands counter-measures, then all this means that things have already proceeded very far in the Saar and that danger is already at the door. The new world slaughter can begin in the Saar just as conveniently as in Manchuria. In any case, Hitler Germany will act in agreement with Japan, just as Japan will act in agreement with Germany in Manchuria.

Our French comrades therefore did the only correct thing when, on receipt of the alarming news from Manchuria, they took action in a united front with the French socialist workers. Any war will set the world in flames from end to end. The struggle against war is therefore not only a fight for the defence of the Soviet Union, but a fight to ward off the horrors of war from France, Belgium, Great Britain and all other countries. The urgent need of the moment is a firm united front of all socialist and Communist workers and the drawing of the peasantry and the petty-bourgeoisie into this fighting front.

## The Arguments of the Polish Press Against the Proposed Eastern Pact

By Karl Radek

The relations between Poland and the Soviet Union have developed not only on the basis of a treaty of peace, but also on the basis of a long-term pact of non-aggression which precludes any aggressive policy of either of the two States towards the other and which clearly defines the meaning of the term aggressor. The diplomatic relations between the two powers have already led to a rapprochement between leading circles in Poland and in the Soviet Union. Both sides have repeatedly stressed that one must not rest content with the achievements already obtained, but that a *joint struggle for the consolidation of peace on the part of both countries must bring them still more closely together*. Naturally, the foreign policies of the two countries are not identical, and this might give rise to different conceptions concerning the further steps which should be taken to consolidate the peace of Eastern Europe and thereby the peace of the world.

There is obviously *some doubt in Poland about the utility of a regional Eastern Pact*. Whilst the Polish government is engaged in discussing the proposal in Cabinet sessions and in studying the effects of the proposed pact with other governments, the Polish press is publishing its opinions about the proposal more or less openly. The Polish press has published a great number of articles containing various arguments against the proposed pact. If one examines these arguments one finds that they resolve themselves finally into two very important and comparatively clearly formulated objections.

The first of these arguments resolves itself actually in the opinion that the care for the preservation of general peace is not Poland's business and that Poland need do no more than occupy itself with the preservation of peace on its own borders. The second argument is that although a rapprochement with the Soviet Union is desirable, this rapprochement must not go so far as to assist in the consolidation of the international situation of the Soviet Union. Neither of these arguments is formulated quite so clearly in the Polish press as we have given them here, but the reader of the Polish press will see that our formulation does not exceed that which the latter really means. We shall deal with these two arguments here.

In an article dealing with the events in Austria, which was published in the "Slovo" on July 27, the well-known Polish publicist *Mazkiewitch* writes:

"For us as Poles the most important point is that the situation in Austria continues to remain acute and that Hitler has not capitulated to Italy and France despite the failure of the national socialist attack. Hitler is a nationalist and he will not give up his claims to a part of the German nation which he sees to be in danger. He will not abandon his claims to Austria. And that is quite right, quite right. The expansion of Germany in that direction, the expansion of Germany towards the Tyrol, is in the interests of Poland."

From what does *Mazkiewitch* proceed and what are his conclusions? His attitude demonstrates the official carefree attitude of the Polish publicist world. This attitude is camouflage, for in reality no one in Poland believes that peace is consolidated. Even a pro-German publicist like *Mazkiewitch* fears the expansion of the recrudescing German imperialism. However, assuming that German

expansion is inevitable in one direction or the other, *Mazkiewitch* concludes that it would be better for Poland if the German expansionist tendencies were directed towards South-Eastern Europe. *Mazkiewitch* thinks that if Germany is engaged in the South-East peace can be maintained on the German-Polish frontiers.

We have heard this opinion often before and not only from *Mazkiewitch*. It is only the opinion that German expansionism towards the South-East is the "lesser evil," which explains the attitude of a section of the Polish press which opposes the inclusion of Czechoslovakia in a regional Eastern Pact. If Germany is to be offered the alternative of expansion in the South-East, then under the circumstances Czechoslovakia must be sacrificed. The unification of Austria and Germany would mean the encirclement of Czechoslovakia. Following on the Anschluss there would inevitably be some sort of understanding between Austria, under German leadership, and Hungary, and the second act of the revisionist drama would then commence, the struggle for the revision of the Hungarian frontiers against Czechoslovakia, Roumania and Yugoslavia. It is remarkable that the Polish press, which is in favour of the Anschluss, is at the same time in favour of drawing Roumania into the Eastern Pact.

Everyone can see that if Roumania has to defend itself against a possible threat from the West, then the best guarantee would be to prevent any attack on Czechoslovakia, which would represent the corner stone in the case of any German advance towards the South. On the other hand, any partitioning of Czechoslovakia would tremendously strengthen those elements in the Danubian and Balkan countries which are connected with German fascism. As is generally known, there are many such elements in Roumania itself and the support of any German advance towards the South would inevitably include the greatest possible strengthening of those pro-German elements in Roumania. If Polish foreign policy is not striving to strengthen these elements, if it reckons even remotely with the danger of German imperialism attacking in the East after having been successful in the South-East, then Poland is risking that serious alterations may take place in Roumania, its ally. In short, unless Poland opposes the strengthening of German imperialist influence in the South-East, it is liable to lose its Roumanian ally.

In this way the idea of consolidating Polish security by supporting German expansionism towards the South-East would be a very dangerous business even if such German expansionism did not immediately bring with it the danger of an all-in European war.

Polish public opinion should understand clearly that if Hitler follows the advice given him by *Mazkiewitch* Poland will inevitably be dragged into a war, even if that war does not begin on the Polish frontiers.

The naivest error which can be committed at the moment is to believe that peace can be maintained in one half of Europe whilst the other half sinks into blood and mud. In our present-day world, with its existing international means of transport and war, there is only *one peace, and that is a peace for all*. In the event of war it will be extremely difficult even for those countries to maintain their neutrality which are much less exposed than Poland by their situation. *Whoever desires peace must work for the general consolidation of peace, and he must be prepared to make those sacrifices which the general maintenance of peace demands*. There is no doubt that the Soviet Union wishes more than any other power not to be drawn into any struggle of the imperialist powers. It will under no circumstances serve any imperialist interests, but it feels it to be its duty to take part in the struggle for the general consolidation of peace on the assumption that a war which breaks out at the other end of the world will inevitably tend to extend and drag the whole world into the maelstrom. If the Polish government wishes to pursue Real-Politik, then it must make up its mind to do everything possible to preserve peace and not to rely on the hope that when the storm comes it will not sweep over Poland also. Any attempt to pursue a policy of my house is my castle and what goes on outside it does not interest me, will inevitably result in Poland being taken by surprise and swept into the current of events unexpectedly.

Let us now consider the second source of opposition to the proposed Eastern Pact, the argument which directly concerns the relations between Poland and the Soviet Union.

On June 28 the most-read newspaper in Poland, the "Kurier Codzienny," published the contribution of a correspondent in Paris,



*M. Ligocki.* The article was entitled "Grist to the Soviet Mill," and declared, inter alia, the following:—

"What might Poland win and what might Poland lose if the Franco-Russian rapprochement proceeds farther than ever and the old Franco-Russian alliance is restored, an alliance that brought us so much evil in the past? That is the crux of the whole question. It is clear that good relations between France and the Soviet Union are desirable for us, but from the establishment of good relations to the resuscitation of the old alliance is a long and slippery path. The French believe perhaps that behind the Polish-German negotiations there are other reasons besides the colonisation of Russia invented by them. (!) Is it not very dangerous if the Franco-Polish alliance develops into a Franco-Pan-Slav alliance? That is a game which Poland cannot play in view of its knowledge of the situation in Eastern Europe."

The same newspaper returns to the question on July 14 with another article which declares, inter alia, the following:—

"The proposed Eastern Pact is directed against the Polish spheres of influence. What attitude should Poland adopt towards this proposition? Can one be surprised if our government, feeling that a re-grouping in Eastern Europe is being arranged, a re-grouping in which Poland would play only a secondary part, is now utilising the given situation in Germany for negotiations with Berlin? Attacks must be answered with counter-attacks."

The Cracow newspaper assumes two things, first of all that the Polish government fears a re-grouping in Eastern Europe which would push Poland into second place, and secondly, that the policy of a rapprochement with Germany not only aims at consolidating peace on the Polish-German frontiers, but also a certain "re-grouping" of another sort. With this the Cracow newspaper confirms the fears which have been expressed by a number of French newspapers.

On July 23 the "*Polska Zbrojna*," the organ of the Polish War Ministry, writes in a contribution from Paris the following:—

"From the French standpoint the proposed Eastern Locarno represents a carefully-thought-out political combination. The alliance with the Soviet Union is to be renewed whilst protesting that no such alliance exists. At the same time Poland, which would lose its independence and freedom of movement so successfully won of late, would be drawn in. Poland would thus be pushed into second place and become the tool of other countries. First fiddle in the new combination would be played by France and the Soviet Union, and the combination as a whole would be directed against Germany."

Let us examine this idea. From the very beginning of its existence the Soviet Union has represented a big power of tremendous potential strength. International imperialism did its best to crush it with armed force, but it did not succeed. A number of our neighbours drew up a programme for the partitioning of the Soviet Union. According to this programme a number of nationalities (naturally with their territory!) were to be separated from the Soviet Union and "independent" States formed and linked up in a federation against the power of "Russia." This "federalist" programme is quite hopeless of achievement because the socialist industrialisation of the Soviet Union brings even the backward peoples such advantages that the alliance between them and the other peoples of the Soviet Union has been strengthened a hundredfold in recent years.

The theory which is now being developed by the "*Kurier Codzienny*" and the "*Polska Zbriona*" is about on the same level as the "federalist" programme, because the hypothesis of the attitude of the two newspapers mentioned is: the development of the Soviet Union as a great power is an evil thing for Poland and Poland must therefore oppose it. The rapprochement between France and the Soviet Union strengthens the Soviet Union even when such a rapprochement comes from the desire for the consolidation of peace. This rapprochement must be resisted, therefore, or at least "regulated" by threatening Poland's ally, France, with a "re-grouping."

If this idea is thought out to its logical conclusion then it directs itself just as necessarily against the Polish-Soviet friendship. It is quite clear that the Polish-Soviet friendship is incompatible with any attempt to oppose the valid interests of the Soviet Union. And what interest is more valid than a rapprochement with other Powers with a view to consolidating peace? It is hardly necessary to prove that a policy which directs itself against the

valid interests of the Soviet Union is a hopeless one. The Soviet Union and France will continue to take such measures as they think necessary to consolidate peace. If Poland pursues an independent policy, then the Soviet Union and France have no less reason to do so also.

However, does a rapprochement between France and the Soviet Union really damage the interests of Poland, its independence and its freedom of movement? This could only be the case if the policy of Poland were not directed towards the consolidation of peace. Otherwise such a rapprochement must strengthen the position of Poland. The contention that Poland would have to be content with second place shows again that some people like to cloak their weakness by perpetual demonstrations of their strength.

If Polish foreign policy were to adopt the ideas of those people who believe that any serious rapprochement between France and the Soviet Union must be opposed by Poland, then Poland would inevitably be led into the camp of German imperialism. If Poland attempted to demonstrate against both Paris and Moscow, to weaken its relations to these governments, then it would inevitably land in Berlin, for no matter how strong and independent Poland may want to be, it is clear that it could not remain isolated in the existing tense state of European relations and that it would have to seek support in Berlin. It would then be pushed into a secondary place with a vengeance, but it would be a secondary link in the chain of war and not in the chain of peace. In chess the opponents manoeuvre until a mate results. In our opinion the Polish publicists mentioned have gone far enough in their polemic against the regional Eastern Pact for serious Polish politicians to think the matter through to its final conclusion and abandon the dangerous game before it has gone too far.

In conclusion we shall deal briefly with the contention that the regional pact proposed by France and the Soviet Union is in reality nothing but a mask for the revival of the old pre-war Franco-Russian alliance. This contention of a section of the Polish press is nothing but a repetition of Berlin arguments. The proposed regional pact is different in principle from the old military alliance. The pre-war alliances were formed on the assumption of the community of interests of certain powers and the antagonism of interests as against other powers. The powers with kindred interests undertook to support each other against the powers with interests antagonistic to theirs. The regional pacts, however, are concluded with one aim, namely, the preservation of peace. They assume joint action on the part of all signatories to the pacts against any country which might violate peace. Thus they provide a counter-weight to the violation of peace, no matter from what side it may come, and strengthen the security of all signatories equally.

It would be wrong to believe that any particular country had been chosen by God to wage war. Attack is not the attribute of any particular State. It is all a question of their policy. The proposed regional Eastern Pact is the best means for those countries which fear the aggressive intentions of other countries and which recognise the danger of such aggression, to place on record within the framework of the pact that they themselves harbour no aggressive tendencies. *The "Kurier Codzienny" is therefore in error when it declares that the proposed pact is directed against Germany. Naturally, it is directed against the possibility of a German attack in exactly the same way as it is directed against the possibility of an attack from any other side.*

The Soviet Union is not only an opponent of any sort of encirclement of any country, but particularly with regard to Germany it would consider any attempt to hamper the legitimate development of that great country as insanity. Only madmen would seek a conflict with a country of such great potential strength as Germany possesses. Public opinion in the Soviet Union is well aware that Poland wants no such conflict. The Soviet Union also wants no such conflict. Public opinion in the Soviet Union holds that *the German people need the maintenance of peace no less than other peoples, and that therefore the proposed Eastern Pact is quite in accordance with its interests.* In an interview given recently to the Berlin correspondent of the "*Daily Mail*," the German Reich's Chancellor declared once again that Germany is not striving to secure any alteration of its present frontiers. If this is so, then there is no reason at all why Germany should not come in to the proposed Eastern Pact.

*Poland will be doing Germany nothing but a neighbourly service if it joins the pact.* Such an act would strengthen the friendly relations of Poland both to Germany and to the Soviet Union, and

it would further strengthen Poland's position as a power which represents a decisive factor in the question of the maintenance of peace in Eastern Europe.

The main arguments of the Polish press against the proposed regional Eastern Pact are not calculated to consolidate the cause of peace in Europe. We trust therefore that the Polish government will not make these arguments its own, but will sign the proposed pact. A failure to sign the pact would strengthen the suspicions of important political circles in Europe that Polish foreign policy is not directed towards maintaining peace, but rather towards supporting those tendencies which are making for a re-division of Europe.

## Chinese Eastern Railway Negotiations Practically Broken Off

The Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union (Tass) states:—

On 2nd May, 1933, the Soviet government, in pursuance of its endeavour to remove radically all possible sources of conflict with Japan, informed the Japanese government that the Soviet Union was prepared to sell the C.E.R. to Japan or Manchukuo. The People's Commissar Litvinov informed the Japanese Ambassador in Moscow, Ota, to the same effect.

On 26th June, last year, the Soviet-Manchurian Conference was opened in Tokio to discuss the question of the sale of the Chinese Eastern Railway. The Soviet delegation gave at this conference an estimate of the value of the railway, based on the actual expenditure involved in the building of the line and its present value. The purchase price named by the Soviet delegation was 250 million gold roubles (at the then rate of exchange about 625 million Japanese yen), and the documents were produced showing this price to be based on the stock-taking estimates and the ledgers of the railway. The Manchurian delegation replied by offering the obviously ridiculous sum of 50 million yen, or about 20 million gold roubles. . . . A comparison of the concessions subsequently made by the two negotiating parties suffices to refute the reports spread by the Japanese to the effect that the crisis in the negotiations has been brought about by the obstinacy of the Soviet Union.

Whilst the Soviet Union, in the course of the negotiations, has reduced its demand of 250 million gold roubles (625 million yen), representing the actual value of the railway to 160 million yen, the Japano-Manchurian representatives have only increased their offer by 70 million yen to 120. How slight this increased offer actually is can be realised from the fact that the Manchurian delegation commenced negotiations with 50 million yen—that is to say, with an offer which would obviously not be taken seriously at all for this great railway line of 1,700 kilometres, with its many buildings and equipment, and with the very considerable revenue it still has, in spite of the artificial obstacles thrown in the way of the management. A glance at these figures demonstrates that the Soviet Government has made every possible concession and sacrifice in its determination to secure peace in the Far East. But in the face of this, the Japano-Manchurian representatives have rejected in an ultimative form even the last proposals made by the Soviet government, though these made far-reaching concessions, and the Manchurian delegation has even seen fit to depart demonstratively from Tokio.

The Japanese and Manchurian press are continuing their most unscrupulous anti-Soviet campaign for the purpose of influencing the attitude of the Soviet Union with regard to the sale of the C.E.R. The Japano-Manchurian authorities in Manchuria are proceeding to further mass arrests of the employees of the C.E.R., and to other provocatory measures common in Manchuria, as carried out in the autumn of last year. Hence there can be no doubt as to which party is showing obduracy and aggressiveness, and which is responsible for the breakdown of the negotiations on the sale of the Chinese Eastern Railway.

\* \* \* \* \*

This report of the Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union (Tass) gives a smashing answer to those who wish to wreck the negotiations, for it gives an exact account of the whole course of the negotiations to the public. The Japanese-Manchukuo

authorities are striving to throw the blame for the breakdown of the negotiations on to the shoulders of the Soviet government. However, the whole world has now the opportunity to judge for itself who was really responsible for the breakdown, and which side showed obstinacy and aggressiveness. As the report of the Tass shows, the Soviet government has repeatedly shown itself prepared to make concessions. Although in this way the Soviet government showed the greatest possible good will and friendliness and agreed to make great sacrifices in the interests of peace in the Far East, the Japanese-Manchukuo authorities rejected all the Soviet proposals, and the Manchukuo delegate, the Japanese Ohasi, left Tokio. The fact that one of the representatives of the parties suddenly left the conference meant the abandonment of the negotiations. The Japanese press attempted to conceal this fact from its readers. This was done in an attempt to shift the responsibility for the breakdown of the negotiations on to the shoulders of the Soviet government and to conceal the aims which this manoeuvre cloaked.

The Manchukuo newspapers, which feel themselves much less bound by such considerations and which represent much more directly and frankly the ideas and the desires of the war-mongering section of the Japanese bourgeoisie, write much more openly and unreservedly. For instance, the Manchukuo Press Agency writes:—

“The long-drawn-out negotiations have now entered into their critical final stage and a decisive breakdown is feared. After the final breakdown, complications between Manchukuo and the Soviet Union would be inevitable.”

The agency adds meaningly that:—

“The time would then have come to settle at one blow all those questions which are still outstanding between Manchukuo and the Soviet Union and which have been left open up to the moment in the hope of obtaining a favourable settlement of the cardinal question, that of the Chinese Eastern Railway.”

The unofficial organ of the Japanese military mission in Harbin, “*Harbinskoya Vremia*,” threatens that in the event of the final breakdown of the negotiations in connection with the C.E.R. the Manchukuo government would take steps “to settle conclusively the question of the relations between Manchukuo and the Soviet Union.” These statements are clear enough and they need no special comment. Just as open and clear are the utterances of the Manchurian White-Guardist newspaper, “*Gun-Pao*,” which writes:—

“The Tokio conference has tied the hands of the Manchukuo government and compelled it to postpone the diplomatic measures against the Soviet government which it has been preparing. The breakdown of the Tokio conference means the end of diplomatic inaction and the Manchukuo government is now at liberty to take such steps as it deems advisable.”

The newspaper then concludes by warning its readers that in the immediate future “great changes” will take place, “accompanied by great surprises.”

An article published in the “*Pravda*,” dealing with the breakdown of the negotiations in Tokio, declares, *inter alia*, the following:—

“The lamentations concerning ‘the inevitability of a breakdown of the Tokio negotiations’ with which the Manchurian press greets the departure of Ohasi from Tokio confirm the suspicion that this was a deliberate action to stop the negotiations, and that it was planned by the Japanese military authorities as a provocation to justify the seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railway by force. The peaceable intentions of the Soviet government and the steadfast heroism of the Soviet Russians working on the line have long ago been recognised by all those interested in the maintenance of peace, as has also the provocative character of the actions of the Japanese imperialist war-mongers. The extremist and aggressive circles in Japan prefer illegal methods to legal ones. They prefer adventurism to negotiations, usurpation to neighbourly settlement. The Soviet government is strong enough to watch calmly, but with the closest attention, the development of the plans launched by the war-mongers and enemies of peace in the Far East.”

## Further British Co-operation With Japan

By Gore Graham

British foreign policy is based mainly on the fact that the two chief opponents of British interests are the Socialist world of the U.S.S.R. and the powerful imperialist rival, the U.S.A. It is these two basic factors in all considerations of foreign policy that provide the chief grounds for friendship between Britain and Japan. There was, to be sure, a formal alliance between these two countries for many years. And although that formal alliance ended with the Washington Convention in 1922, the friendship between the two countries has been maintained. It has also been maintained in the face of many important obstacles. One of the obstacles has been the independent imperialist aggression carried on by Japan in Asia, including the conquest of a huge part of Northern China, Manchuria, as well as the abandonment by Japan of the policy of the "open door" elsewhere in China. Another obstacle in the way of Anglo-Japanese friendship has been the extraordinarily forceful commercial competition by Japanese exporters on the world markets. That these obstacles have not been powerful enough to change the course of British policy is a measure of the far greater importance of the British anti-Soviet and anti-American considerations. A great deal of evidence has been provided proving the accuracy of this. Britain's conduct at Geneva in regard to questions affecting the Japanese, Britain's acquiescence in connection with Japan's assertion in April of her special rights to hegemony in the Far East, Sir John Simon's speech on the same question in the House of Commons in May, all show that friendship with Japan, for the reasons above mentioned, is one of the chief factors of British foreign policy.

In common with other Powers, Britain has not officially recognised Manchukuo, the puppet State of Japan. But her activities have been all too clearly revealed as not merely amounting to a passive acquiescence in Japanese imperialist aggrandisement, but actually covert support.

An important further step in British support of Japan has now been given in the recent decision (August 10) to send a mission from the Federation of British Industries to Manchukuo, including a visit of "courtesy and goodwill to Japan with the object of establishing friendly contact with representative organisations of Japanese industry and commerce." This mission has, of course, the full support of the British government, and the "Times" in a leading article on the subject dealt with the question of Britain's non-recognition of Manchukuo by saying:—

"The chief business of the mission will be to discover to what extent it is possible for British finance and British industry to co-operate in furthering this development. The field is so important, and on the face of things so promising, that the Federation, in justice to the interests it represents, **could not allow itself to be deterred from investigating it by irrelevant and extraneous considerations.**" (August 10, 1934.)

But the "Times" knows very well that not even a suggestion of the "open door" policy now exists in Manchukuo. The whole trade and economic life of Manchukuo is under the control of the Japanese. Even the goods that Manchukuo needs and which cannot be supplied by Japan, but have to come from other foreign countries, are only permitted to be supplied through Japanese agency. When the economic life of Japan's newly acquired possession is so completely closed, when the strict controller of trade, property, industrial development, and everything else in Manchukuo is the Japanese authority, with its huge Army of Occupation, then the "Times" and everybody else must realise that **any question of British finance and British industry co-operating in furthering its development can only be on the basis of partnership with the Japanese.** And the fact that it is a question of such Anglo-Japanese co-operation in developing Manchuria is additionally confirmed by the Mission's preliminary visit to representative organisations of industry and commerce in Japan. The British government may still be playing its little part as a League member and not formally recognising Manchukuo, but in this important step towards increased co-operation with Japan in developing Manchukuo it is again revealing itself as the chief friend and support of the Japanese anti-Soviet offensive.

Although the diehard "Morning Post" has devoted its columns to reports of the Japanese trade menace as much as any other British newspaper, it comments on the despatch of the F.B.I. Mission as follows:—

"There is a tendency nowadays to exaggerate the so-called Japanese 'menace' to our overseas trade and to forget that the friendship with Japan is the most valuable of our assets in the Orient . . . the impending Mission promises to be a source of political as well as economic gain to both countries." (August 10, 1934.)

Last winter Sir Harry McGowan, chairman of the Imperial Chemical Industries (i.e., one of the leading armament-product manufacturers) visited the Far East. On his return he emphasised the need for co-operation between Britain and Japan. In one speech he declared that during his visit to the Far East he was "assured by the Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs that the Japanese government stood for a policy of harmonious industrial relations between Japanese and British manufacturers. It was for us to do all we could to continue this feeling . . . Japanese and British imperialists should get together." And by way of an example he confided that Imperial Chemical Industries was already getting in touch with its opposite numbers in Japan. McGowan's advice has not been unheeded, as this recent step of the Federation of British Industries reveals.

For a long time important spokesmen of conservative opinion in Britain have been agitating against the formal non-recognition of Manchukuo by Britain. Representative papers like the "Observer" have stressed the importance of British recognition of Manchukuo. On January 21 the Peking correspondent of this paper wrote on the need for recognition. Non-recognition, it complained, was causing British companies to lose business because British Consuls accredited to the Chinese government cannot protect their interests. As British Minister in Manchukuo, the correspondent recommended the appointment of Sir Reginald Johnston, Mr. Pu Yi's (Emperor of Manchukuo) former coach. This, the correspondent added, "would be properly appreciated in Japan, particularly in view of the tense situation in the Far East." And the "Observer" printed this report without any comment.

What sort of development is taking place in Manchukuo under Japanese rule and in which the F.B.I. Mission is going to discover ways and means of British co-operation? Simply the development of the military and armament strength of Japan, above all, vis-à-vis the Soviet Union. The Japanese armed forces have over-run and repressed Manchuria for three years, and all the developments that have taken place have been the building of new roads, railways and air services, for Japanese military purposes, together with attempts to exploit Manchuria's minerals for strengthening the economic basis of Japanese war forces. Studies of the railways and roads being built or projected for building in Manchuria which have been published in bourgeois journals have revealed very clearly that these are subordinated to military strategic purposes. Certain minor developments, such as the improving of the weights and measures system, regularising the currency, have been carried out. But in the Ten-Year Plan recently launched by the Manchukuo State the following are given as its chief aims:—

2,400 miles of new railways; 36,000 miles of new roads; an air route of 2,100 miles to be achieved in three years.

Last year's budget of this new State devoted ten million pounds to its own military expenditure, which was fifty times more, by the way, than it expended on education.

For three years Japan has over-run Manchuria, repressing its thirty million inhabitants. The endless struggle against "banditry" is merely one way of describing the perpetual war of repression that is being carried out against the rebelling colonials. Assisting the several divisions of Japanese troops and the cavalry brigades there are also 120,000 Manchukian troops. But "banditry," imperialist war against the colonial population, continues. Development of Manchuria is merely the development of this state of war and the advance to the assault on the U.S.S.R.

In Japanese hands Manchukuo is before everything a jumping-off ground for the inevitable Japanese attack on the Soviet Union; it represents a broadening of the Japanese front against the Soviet Union. It will continue to be developed for strengthening Japanese military strength for war on Russia.

And that is what the British are anxious to have a hand in developing. Not merely in the pursuit of markets and profits is the Mission of British interests going out to investigate the situation, but for political anti-Soviet reasons of furthering the war on the Soviet Union.

The despatch of this important British Mission to Manchuria should be widely exposed as a new step in Britain's persistent policy of support for the anti-Soviet advance of the Japanese.

## The French Colonial Empire Becoming Shaky

By J. Berlioz (Paris)

Constantine (Algeria) was the scene on August 5 and 6 of some sanguinary happenings, the deep causes of which bear witness to the constantly growing resentment of the oppressed masses of the colonies against French imperialism. As a result of an incident that has not yet been explained—"desecration" of a mosque by a Jewish soldier—the Jewish quarter of the town was laid waste by the Arabs. There were about 30 killed and at least 200 wounded.

This is the result of a provocation systematically prepared by the French authorities in Algeria, having the object of diverting the anger of the masses of the natives, ruined and starved by the crisis, from their real enemies. Feeling the approach of revolt, the authorities seized the opportunity to turn it into an anti-semitic movement.

Openly supported by the general administration and the prefects, the colonists' fascist organisations, especially the "*Croix du Feu*" and "*Action Française*," have developed an intensive propaganda against the Jews, who—on the pattern of the Hitler-fascists—were made responsible for the misery in Algeria. Anti-semitic papers were distributed in great numbers among the Arab population, by whom they were well received owing to the fact that the handworkers and fellahs are terribly in debt and often the victims of Jewish usurers, to whom they are compelled to turn.

As if by chance, the responsible authorities of neither Constantine nor elsewhere were on the spot when these serious disorders broke out. The movement was able to spread freely, and the shops were plundered before the eyes of police and troops. But soon after a great fuss was made about the "atrocities" committed, so as to exploit the events as a means of increasing the oppression of the Arabian population. There were 144 arrests, and severe sentences were imposed without any evidence of guilt. The creation of new corps of police was demanded, and martial law proclaimed in several districts. Gouverneur Card announced that the most careful precautionary measures had been taken, while the deputy Morinaud stated that France would be stupid if she did not "make the most of" the events in Constantine.

All this amounts to an admission of provocation on the part of the government. Actually there was the danger that the discontent of the native masses might take a violent course and turn directly against the oppressors. For some months the movement has been spreading in breadth and depth and has become disquieting. On February 12 the Arab proletariat of Algeria took part in a strike and demonstration that almost took possession of the prefecture.

On May 14 more than 20,000 Arab and European workers demonstrated throughout Algeria under the banners of the Communist Party and C.G.T.U. In Oran 5,000 building workers, mainly Arabs, brought a strike to a victorious conclusion after several weeks. Draft laws, prepared by the Inter-Ministerial Commission for Mussulman Affairs and providing for police control of sermons in the mosques, restriction of Arabic instruction and (incidentally already previously in force) measures against the native press, led to great movements of protest.

At the same time the poor peasants spontaneously organised resistance against the seizure of their property for non-payment of taxes or rent, and 15,000 of them gathered before the gates of Constantine. The moment the disorders in this town began there was the greatest excitement in many places.

The cause of this anti-imperialist movement is the great distress prevailing in Algeria. Starvation in the country districts is officially admitted.

Bands of fellahs wander begging through the streets, go to the towns where they hope to find help and where they swell the army of unemployed and ruined handworkers who do not draw any relief. Landworkers have to work up to 12 hours a day, earning six French francs with which to feed a family of eight to ten persons. In their anxiety, colonists have placed food for distribution at the disposal of the villages and granted a credit of 15 million, but it has all been squandered by the high officials and the corrupt sections of the natives.

There are in Algeria 5,600,000 natives and 880,000 Europeans. The budget for education in 1932 provided 163 millions for the Europeans and only 27 millions for the native schools. Although all sections of the population are filled with a real desire for knowledge, 700,000 Arab and Kabyle children—i.e., 90 per cent. of the native children—remain in the deepest ignorance.

All this only provides further reason for condemning French imperialism, which for more than a century has lived by robbing the Algerian masses. To-day, however, the oppressed peoples in all the French colonies are strengthening their struggle against French rule.

Last May and June big demonstrations took place in Fez, Taza and a number of other towns in Morocco. The sultan was driven out of his residence and the lie was given to the triumphant reports about the final pacification of the protectorate:—

In Tunisia

"whole tribes are totally without sustenance. They are living in rough shelters made out of branches of palms and empty tins. . . . Thousands of poor people are living on roots."

The national-reformist native press is completely prohibited. The functionaries of the unitary trades unions are forbidden to enter the country; the unitary unions have been disbanded.

In the towns of Syria one strike follows another and the peasants are beginning to offer collective resistance to the high tax increases.

In Madagascar movements against tax-recovery, payment in kind and collective punishment for non-payment of ground-rent, are becoming more frequent.

The press of Indo-China is alarmed by the revival of Communist propaganda despite the most pitiless suppression. The workers' delegation that went to Cochinchina at the beginning of this year was able to bring back the following report:—

"It is erroneous and dangerous to assert that the revolutionary movement is losing ground. Nothing could be further from the truth. It is even absolutely certain that the objective revolutionary conditions are more numerous to-day than in 1933. To mention only one example: at that time neither the terrible crisis in the plantations was known, nor the bewilderment that has taken hold of leading colonial circles."

Recently the "*Volonté Indochinoise*," of Hanoi, wrote that "every message from the South brings us news of violent resistance to the tax-collectors."

It must not be forgotten that France's relative power of resistance to the economic crisis is to a great extent facilitated by the boundless exploitation of her colonial empire.

That is why the French governments are trying to develop the colonial market yet more. At the moment commissions are working at preparations for a Colonial Conference for this autumn, and have been entrusted with the task of ascertaining the extent of production and of working out a marketing programme. It is a matter of accelerating the production of raw materials, to supplement that of the mother country, in order to obtain raw materials more cheaply and in this way to lower the costs of production in the mother country.

On the other hand, the French General Staff is making great efforts to incorporate the colonial troops in its army. With a total strength of 500,000 there are at present 200,000 colonial soldiers, and among these are many who have signed on for a long term of service, for the Supreme War Council now regards this as an absolute necessity. A lot is expected from the help of the colonial troops in suppressing the proletariat of the mother country, and the fascist organisations are also making special efforts to organise the impoverished North Africans as storm troops for use against the French proletariat.

Imperialism is extremely alarmed on account of the ferment among the colonial population. In order to maintain its rule it is combining the methods of the bloodiest oppression with the corruption of the "elite" among the natives.

It is trying to set the French workers against the colonies, as we saw the other week in Lyons, where severe collisions occurred between the striking building workers and the armed Arabs taken on by the employers and police for the breaking of the movement.

Reformist leaders are helping imperialism in this disruptive activity. Thus last May Day the leaders of Algeria's reformist trades unions refused to hold a demonstration in common with the unitary (revolutionary) trades unions, and their stewards forbade the Arab and Kabyle workers to enter the unitary meeting.

The C.P. of France must give more active support to the anti-imperialist movement in the colonies, which cannot fail to weaken French capitalism considerably. The last conference of the Algerian regional organisation of the C.P. properly insisted that our cells should concentrate on the native workers, on the elimination of the last remaining colonialist deviations from our ranks, on the "Arabisation of the revolutionary workers' movement."



## Fascism

# What has Fascism Given to the German Masses?

By O. Piatnitzky\*

### The Fascist Dictatorship and the Urban Petty-Bourgeoisie

Before and during the fascist seizure of power the urban petty-bourgeoisie in Germany was in a state of violent excitement. It formed the commanding staff of the brown storm troops (S.A.) and of the black special detachments (S.S.). It was the backbone of the storm troops and it raided and destroyed the editorial offices and printing works of the Communist Party, the offices and other buildings of the Communist and other revolutionary organisations, and the offices and other buildings of the Social Democratic Party and the trade unions. It arrested and beat up revolutionary workers, gave the addresses of Communist workers to the police, denounced those who read the Communist press to the authorities, etc. In the towns it formed the mass basis of the fascist dictatorship.

What was the cause of this state of violent excitement? The fascists were very clever in their approach to these small traders, small business men, government pensioners, clerical employees, officials, ex-officers and ex-non-commissioned officers, professional men, unemployed technicians, engineers and students who had suffered increasingly throughout the course of the economic crisis and whose hope for work and well-being had gradually disappeared. The fascists paid much attention to these elements in their written and spoken agitation and propaganda, and particularly in their wireless propaganda work.

In their programme, which they promised to carry into effect without alteration immediately they came to power, the fascists made the petty-bourgeoisie a **host of seductive promises**. The following are extracts from the programme of the fascists, published before the latter came into power:

"We demand the creation and maintenance of a healthy and prosperous middle class; the immediate communalisation of the big department stores and the letting out of space in these stores to small tradesmen at low rents; first consideration to be given to the small tradesmen in all orders placed by the State, the provincial authorities and the municipalities."

(Programme of the National Socialist Party of Germany. Point 16.)

In the interests of the small tradesmen the National Socialists also demanded the abolition of the co-operatives.

In order to make the lower middle classes believe that these promises would really be fulfilled the fascists founded a "**Fighting League of the Trading Middle Classes**," as one of the supplementary organisations of the National Socialist Party.

What happened in reality after the fascists had come to power in Germany?

As is known, the fascists have not closed down the **big department stores**, and have therefore naturally not let them out to the small tradesmen. But the fascists have gone even further: they have granted a government subsidy of 14 million marks to the **Tietz** concern, which has huge department stores in all the big German towns. The big American concern **Woolworths** has its branches all over Germany. In 1932 it invested 6.4 million dollars and in 1933 7.9 million dollars. In 1932 Woolworths had 70 branches in Germany, and in 1933, the first year of Hitler's rule, this figure increased to 84.

The Government, the provincial authorities and the municipalities continue to give their orders to **Krupp**, **Siemens** and the other big capitalist firms and not to the small tradesmen, as the fascists promised.

It is true that the fascists seized the **workers' co-operatives** and the monies invested by the workers and their families in these co-operatives, but not in order to destroy the co-operatives as promised. The fascists put their own creatures at the head, and

\* This article is an extract from the pamphlet, "The Results of the Fascist Dictatorship in Germany," by Piatnitzky, which is to be published shortly.—Ed., **Inprecarr**.

the co-operatives continued to exist under commissarial leadership. On July 5, 1933, the fascist leader Ley announced:

"It is categorically prohibited for anyone to proceed against the co-operatives or their representatives. Any member of the National Socialist Party doing so or taking part in any such action will be expelled from the party."

And, finally on August 8, 1933, the same Ley, the leader of the "German Labour Front," declared the "Fighting League of the Trading Middle Classes" to be dissolved, on the ground that it had "fulfilled its tasks." The fascists were compelled to take this step because since they came to power thousands and thousands of small tradesmen, etc., have gone bankrupt, and the indignation and dissatisfaction in the ranks of the lower middle classes is rapidly growing.

The competition amongst the trading lower middle classes is increasing. A proof of this is the fact that under fascism the number of street hawkers has risen to 400,000, the majority of whom lead a miserable existence.

Before they obtained power the fascists promised to abolish various taxes which burdened in particular the broad masses, such as the new poll tax, known as the "Nigger Tax," the turnover and consumer taxes, the trading tax, the dwelling-house tax, the drink tax, the bachelor tax, etc. The fascists also promised to lower the light and water rates and the insurance rates, etc.

Were any of these promises carried out?

**All the taxes in question have remained in force**, and the fascist government ruthlessly compels the payment of these taxes. Compared with 1932 the workers, peasants and petty-bourgeoisie paid a monthly average of 21.3 million marks more on the turnover and consumer tax in 1933, although the volume of small trade had decreased. **Krupp**, **Thyssen** and the other big capitalists, on the other hand, were let down lightly by the fascists. They were freed from the payment of their share of the unemployment insurance contributions and their income tax rates were lowered. Although in 1933 dividends rose considerably, the bourgeoisie paid a monthly average of 19.2 million marks less in income tax than in 1932.

In January, 1934, the Finance Ministry issued an order for tax collection, pointing out that **any reduction of taxes did not come into question for the moment**. The same order cautiously gives the following instruction:

"Tax officials, bankruptcy officials and brokers' officials may not wear the honourable uniform of the storm troops nor the Swastika badge whilst fulfilling their duties."

As though the unfortunate taxpayer did not know without the brokers' man with the Swastika in his buttonhole that the taxes are imposed and their payment obtained by the fascist government!

The fascists also promised to "break the interest slavery" of the small debtors, to nationalise the banks, to stop all government subsidies to the big capitalists, to provide the trading lower middle classes with cheap credit, etc., etc. Such promises were broadcast on the wireless, in the press, at meetings, in leaflets and in the so-called "immediate programme."

The "Immediate Programme" declares: "We demand that the banks, currency and the credit system should be nationalise as Bismark nationalised the railways and the postal services, etc., half a century ago."

Naturally, once they came to power the fascists did nothing whatever to "break the interest slavery" of the small debtors, or even to ameliorate it. In the middle of 1933 the fascist government appointed a commission to inquire into the activity of the banks. After this commission had concluded its "inquiries," the President of the Reichbank, Dr. Schacht, declared:

"The commission has come to the almost unanimous conclusion that it is unable to recommend the nationalisation of the banks."

At the same time, the "Angriff," the personal organ of Goebbels, declared:

"With regard to the financial system, the banks and the stock exchanges, only such measures will be taken as will not interfere with the function of these institutions as the blood vessels of the economic system."

The Minister for Economics, Schmitt, declared with greater energy:—

"It is high time that an end was put to all theoretical discussions about the compulsory lowering of the rate of interest, and all such chatter."

And, finally, Schacht pacified the bankers when he declared at a conference of bankers on February 22, 1934:—

"I am in the agreeable situation of being able to assure you that the government has not the slightest intention of resorting to any violent measures."

Naturally, not a hair of the bankers and millionaires in Germany was touched. On the contrary, the richest and most powerful financial magnates are the leaders of the "Supreme Economic Council" and are guiding Germany along "Non-capitalist paths." The urban petty-bourgeoisie is learning to its cost what fascism's form of "socialism" really is. In January, 1934, 40 per cent. more bills of exchange were protested than in January, 1933. These bills were chiefly given by small and middle firms, by small merchants and tradesmen.

Before they came to power the fascists promised to cut down the wages of the high officials and to use the sums thereby saved to employ unemployed workers and dismissed officials, etc.

In reality the fascist officials who are now holding the jobs of the social democrats, democrats, Catholics, German nationalists and Jews whom they have displaced continue to draw the old salaries. Subordinate fascist leaders draw a salary of about 5,700 marks a month. How much do the higher fascist leaders and officials pocket?

The lower middle classes have also not been given the promised positions. The fascists had a certain number of positions at their disposal after they had driven out the social democrats and the supporters of the Catholic Centre and the democrats from the State, and municipal apparatus, but the number of unemployed petty-bourgeois, clerical employees, officials, ex-officers and others was tremendous. The free positions were given by the fascists for the most part to their own prominent supporters.

There are six million officials and employees of the State and the municipalities, etc., in Germany, and 42 per cent. of them were unemployed when the fascists came to power.

The bourgeoisie wants a further reduction of clerical wages, and obediently the fascists carry out its instructions.

The lower middle classes were deeply impressed by the promise of the fascists to win back Germany's pre-war position of power and influence, but this promise has also not been fulfilled, although they are being bled white in order to pay for armaments and to subsidise the big capitalists.

No matter from what angle one regards the situation, the conclusion must be the same: the fascist dictatorship in Germany has given the urban middle classes nothing whatever.

#### THE FASCIST REGIME AND THE WORKING CLASS

The fascists promised the workers in the factories that after fascism came to power they would be freed from the yoke of capitalism and from the party, trade union and co-operative leader-parasites, and that their wages would be increased.

It is generally known how the fascists have freed the German workers from the yoke of capitalism.

Instead of freeing the workers from the highly-paid officials who battered on their organisations, the fascists disbanded the organisations and seized the funds which the workers had accumulated with their pennies in the course of decades. At the same time the fascists created new "worker" organisations and new parasitic officials were placed at their head, and these new parasites receive even higher salaries than the old ones out of the "voluntary" and compulsory contributions of the workers.

As far as the wage question is concerned, the fascists are undoubtedly paying much attention to it as promised, but their efforts are in the contrary direction.

We give here the official figures published in the "Deutsche Volkswirt" No. 38 of this year, which show the reduction of wages which has taken place, despite the fact that the figures given are as favourable as possible:—

	Wages in Milliards.	No. of Workers Employed. In Millions.	Average Wages per Quarter. per Worker.
3rd Quarter, 1933 ...	6.83	13.7	498.50 Mks.
4th Quarter, 1933 ...	6.77	13.8	490.50 "
1st Quarter, 1934 ...	6.80	14.1	482.00 "

During the course of six months wages have fallen by an average of 16.5 marks, making a total of 230,250,000 marks, whilst at the same time taxation, the insurance contributions and the prices for the staple articles of everyday use have risen, as have also the "voluntary" contributions of the workers for the various fascist organisations and campaigns.

From 1929 to 1932 the number of workers in Germany who earned over 36 marks a week fell by almost 50 per cent. In 1929 it was 38 per cent. and in 1932 it was 20 per cent. In the same period the number of workers who earned less than 24 marks a week (from 6 to 24 marks) rose from 45 to 60 per cent. During the first nine months of the fascist dictatorship the number of these workers again increased considerably, whilst the group earning 36 marks a week and over declined still further.

It is unnecessary to point out that all these "benefits of fascism" are displeasing to the workers and clerical workers of Germany. The workers have expressed their feelings clearly and unmistakably in the various strikes which have taken place against further wage cuts and in the elections to the "confidential councils" in the factories.

In their efforts to find a way out of the blind alley into which their policy has driven them the fascists have now issued a law according to which all workers of both sexes under 25 years of age are to lose their jobs to make way for unemployed workers above that age with families to support. The fascists hope to break the resistance of the industrial working class by sending unemployed fathers of families into the factories, workers whose wages will be regulated not by tariff agreements, but by each employer at will, and by removing the "unruly" revolutionary youth from the factories.

The fascists have already begun to put this law into operation and clear out all workers under 25 years of age from the factories. In July the Senate of the Free Town of Hamburg advised all its employees under 25 years of age to leave their jobs and go for a year into the "voluntary" labour service organisation for rural work. The Senate also called upon private undertakings to follow its example.

Before they came to power the fascists organised a number of soup kitchens for the unemployed in various towns. They also took many thoughtless unemployed young workers into their barracks, fed and clothed them in uniforms. These young unemployed workers were then misused by the fascists to carry out raids and attacks on their fellow workers. The storm troops were filled up with such elements. Immediately they came to power the fascists increased the weekly unemployment rate by two marks, and prior to the elections of March 5 they distributed flour and fat amongst the unemployed. In this way they won the support of the non-class-conscious sections of the unemployed workers.

However, it was not long before the fascists showed their real features. They steadily worked for the abolition of the unemployment insurance scheme, and to a great extent, two-thirds perhaps, they have already succeeded.

The "German Labour Front" has already drafted a new law which will completely abolish the unemployment insurance scheme. Compulsory labour service is to be introduced for all those workers still drawing any sort of unemployment support. These workers must work hard for their support. Another aim is to send the unemployed workers out of the towns altogether.

The fascist dictatorship in Germany has brought the following "benefits" to all workers and clerical employees:—

(1) A considerable worsening of the conditions regulating the health insurance scheme, the unemployment insurance scheme, the accident, maternal and child welfare, the old age pension and orphan support schemes;

(2) The increase of the contributions of the workers and clerical employees for all forms of social insurance, and the decrease or the total abolition of the contributions formerly payable by the employers;

(3) A law abolishing the tariff agreements, the eight-hour day and the factory councils;

(4) Laws abolishing the right to organise, the right to hold

meetings, the right of free speech and the freedom of the press, etc.;

(5) The establishment of concentration camps in which revolutionary workers are maltreated, tortured and often "shot whilst attempting to escape"; and

(6) A law establishing special "people's courts" and other courts to punish with hard labour and death all attempts to expose the crimes of fascism.

So much for the fruits of fascism as far as the working class is concerned.

#### THE SITUATION OF THE PEASANTRY

Prior to the elections in March, 1933, the fascists ordered the limitation of the import of agricultural products. The customs duties on such imports were increased in many cases as much as 500 per cent. These measures applied in particular to articles of mass consumption such as chilled meat from the Argentine, butter, fat, etc. These measures, which benefited chiefly the big landowners and rich peasants and to a certain extent the middle peasants, were taken with a view to winning the votes of the peasants at the elections.

With the same end in view the fascists proclaimed a moratorium for agricultural debts until October, 1933. A section of the bourgeoisie, and particularly bank capital, was opposed to the moratorium, but it was carried through for the moment for political considerations.

These measures assisted the fascists to consolidate their positions in the rural areas. However, the banks placed the fascists under strong pressure and pointed out that even those peasants and others who were in a position to liquidate their debts were not doing so. From the beginning it was clear that the government would be unable to purchase the support of the peasants for good with a system of limiting agricultural imports. These attempts led to an artificial expansion of the prices of agricultural commodities whilst at the same time the wages of the workers and the clerical employees in the towns were being cut down. On the other hand, the prohibitive customs duties imposed by the German government produced reprisals on the part of the governments abroad interested in the German import market for agricultural commodities. And finally, the rapid rise in the price of foodstuffs caused discontent amongst the urban petty-bourgeoisie, which was the chief prop of the fascists.

Under fascist rule the prices for agricultural commodities in Germany have considerably increased. The price index for all agricultural commodities in January, 1933, before the fascists came to power, was 80.75. By the end of December, 1933, the index had risen to 93.4, or by 12.65 per cent., whereby the prices for individual articles of mass consumption had increased by much more. For instance, grain prices in Germany were three times as high as world market levels. At the beginning of 1933 five kilos of potatoes in Berlin cost 1.18 marks. By November of the same year the price had risen to 1.58 marks. In the same period the price of margarine rose by 50 per cent. and the price of pork by 48 per cent.

The high prices for agricultural commodities led to a narrowing of the home market. According to fascist figures the index of production in 1933 jumped by 25 per cent., and, again according to their figures, 2.7 millions of workers and clerical employees were re-introduced into the process of production. In truth no more than 806,000 workers and clerical employees were re-introduced into the process of production, but even this much lower figure should have resulted in an increase of consumption. However, again according to official figures, retail trade in the period from February, 1933, to February, 1934, declined by 6 per cent.

It is generally known that Germany was accustomed to import large quantities of grain from abroad. In the first year of fascist rule these imports were almost completely stopped. Measured by the normal level of consumption in Germany, this fact should have produced a considerable shortage of grain, but in point of fact Germany's supplies of rye and wheat were 547,000 tons in 1927 and 2,200,000 tons in August, 1934. In order to maintain the high grain prices the government ordered the limitation of production. In view of this year's drought the measures of the fascists in this direction have proved of great disadvantage to the German people, and it is estimated that this year's harvest will be 23 per cent. lower than last year's. Despite the increase in prices the income of agriculture has fallen.

The small and middle peasants are compelled to sell their grain, potatoes and other products in autumn when the prices are lower than in spring. The home market is not in a position to absorb the

huge quantities of agricultural products and Germany is not in a position to export them.

In order to maintain under such circumstances the high prices from which the landowners and rich peasants profit, the fascists have laid down the quotas of each product for each peasant farm to be sold at the fixed minimum prices. The peasants are compelled to sell their products through the agricultural co-operatives which are controlled by the landowners and rich peasants. These co-operatives sell their agricultural commodities in the towns at prices which are greatly in excess of the prices they pay to the peasants. The peasants themselves may not bring their products to the market.

Germany always imported cattle fodder. However, the fascists have closed Germany's frontiers to the import of fodder, so that the poor and middle peasants are compelled to purchase their fodder at high prices from the rich landowners.

Formerly many poor and middle peasants used to hire themselves out to the rich peasants in the busy period in order to earn enough to make ends meet on their own farms. This is impossible now because the fascists are driving great masses of unemployed workers on to the land. The unemployed workers in the labour service camps are also working for the big landowners and rich peasants almost for nothing—only for their food.

During the crisis years Germany's agricultural labourers, who number about 2.5 millions, suffered severely, but to-day their situation has become much worse, for they have been deprived of the right to draw unemployment support and they are unable to obtain any work.

The moratorium for agricultural debts which was introduced by the Bruening government and extended by the fascists to October, 1933, and then to April 1, 1934, was in fact rendered inoperative for the great majority of the peasants. At the moment peasant farms are again being auctioned for the non-payment of debts and taxation, with the exception of "entailed" farms, that is to say, the farms of the rich peasants. The banks have obtained their wish.

There are 5,143,000 peasant farms in Germany of which three million consist of less than two hectares of land. Before they came to power the fascists promised that these midget farms should receive additional land. The fascists have not only failed to carry out this promise, but in many districts they are putting many small and middle farms out of existence and incorporating them into the "entailed" farms, that is to say, in the property of the rich peasants.

Before they came to power the fascists promised a large-scale colonisation of small peasants on new State lands in East Prussia. In this connection they conducted a huge campaign of agitation and propaganda. In 1933 4,000 such peasant farms were colonised. This year the number is to be 8,000. In this connection it must be pointed out that in 1932, that is to say, before the fascists came to power, 10,000 peasant farms were colonised. The fascists in their work of colonisation took care to see that the colonists were the sons of rich peasants and not poor peasants.

The measures of the fascists, all taken in the interests of a small section of the landowners and rich peasants, have alienated the sympathies of the majority of the working agricultural population of Germany. In their efforts to create support for themselves in the rural areas the fascists decreed the law entailing certain farms, numbering from 500,000 to a million and ranging in size from 7.5 to 125 hectares. With regard to all these farms the right of succession belongs exclusively to the eldest son. Any partitioning of such farms is prohibited. Such farms may also not be sold. The State takes over the debts burdening such farms and gives them various advantages. These "entailed" farms represent about 19 per cent. of the total number of the peasant farms of Germany, and they will embrace about 54 per cent. of the total tilled area. This fascist measure has considerably accelerated the process of class differentiation in the villages. All members of a family living on one of the entailed farms, with the exception of the eldest son, are compelled to leave the farm and seek a livelihood elsewhere, a process making for the impoverishment of the peasantry.

Even at its present stage the policy of the fascists towards the peasants is beginning to produce protests. According to the reports of the fascist newspapers the peasants in East Prussia unanimously voted for the fascists at the elections on March, 1933, but the protests against the policy of fascism have already begun in this district. On June 11, 1933, a peasant conference took

place in **Koenigsberg** and despatched a telegram to the government protesting sharply against the failure of the fascists to carry out their promises and calling for the immediate distribution of the land of the rich peasants and landowners amongst the other peasants. On July 31, 1933, thousands of peasants demonstrated on the streets of Koenigsberg, and members of the fascist storm troops in uniform accompanied by workers marched at the head of the procession. Not a few of the demonstrating peasants ended up in concentration camps.

The conference of agricultural co-operatives in **Pomerania** also sent a telegram of protest to the government condemning the policy of the fascists in agriculture. Similar protests have come in from **Thuringia, Central Germany, Mecklenburg** and other districts. In **Schleswig-Holstein** the fascist authorities have arrested hundreds of peasants for no other reason than that the

arrested men reminded the fascist authorities of the promises made by the fascists before they came to power.

The failure of the harvest this year in Germany hits the masses of the peasants with its chief force. The lack of cattle fodder will lead to mass slaughtering of cattle by the poor and middle peasants who were compelled to purchase fodder even in years of good harvests. To-day the price of cattle fodder has gone up prohibitively. The slaughter of the cattle means the end of the poorer farms. The regulation of the grain and bread prices by the government also adversely affects the situation of the mass of the peasants. Even the central organ of the fascists, the **Voelkischer Beobachter**, wrote on July 17 that the peasant was **shouldering the whole burden of the harvest failure**.

That is the reward of the fascists for the peasants who assisted them in the establishment of the fascist dictatorship.

## Germany

# For the Unity of the German Working Class

(Statement by the Political Bureau of the C.C. of the C.P.G.)

At the end of July the C.C. of our Party held a meeting, together with a number of leading district and factory functionaries. The tactical conclusions drawn and the decisions adopted on the basis of a thorough analysis of the situation are before all of extraordinary importance for our fight for the establishment of the unity of the working class for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship and the setting up of the socialist Soviet power.

The recent events in Germany, especially the events of July, demonstrate that there is a rapid weakening of the fascist regime, an accelerated growth of the antagonisms in the camp of the bourgeoisie, growing discontent, not only among the workers but also among all the toiling masses, a rapid narrowing of the mass basis of fascism. The Nazi putsch in Austria, this attempted Sarajevo provocation of the imperialist adventurers, proves once again that Germany has become the chief force that is driving for war in Europe, and that sudden turns in the development towards imperialist war catastrophe threaten if the victorious proletariat does not forestall the incendiaries.

The appointment of Hitler as "Leader and Chancellor of the Reich" when Hindenburg had hardly breathed his last was **not the expression of the strength of the dictatorship**, but was the product of the fear of the profound unrest among the people, and was determined by the intention to forestall the danger of an outbreak of struggles on the part of the workers. At the present moment the extreme concentration of power in the hands of Hitler offers the greatest possibility of securing the representation of the interests of the most reactionary section of financial capital. The appointment of the adventurer Hitler as Hindenburg's successor **corresponds to the catastrophic policy of monopoly capital**. The real masters of Germany, Krupp and Thyssen, are driving Germany to disaster and the working population to a winter of starvation without parallel.

The growing economic difficulties, shortage of raw material and lack of foreign bills, bad harvest and bankruptcy of the State finances, threaten the working class in the first place with a new and monstrous offensive on the part of capital. The appointment of Schacht as Minister of Economy for the Reich means a whole programme of closing down of works and factories, wholesale dismissals, short time, wage robbery, increased enslavement of the youth and misery for the peasants.

In spite of the extreme concentration of power in the hands of monopoly capital, expressed in the appointment of Hitler as Reichs-Fuehrer, the differences among the heads of the bourgeoisie over State sinecures and subventions will, on the basis of the rapidly increasing economic crisis and class tensions, **find expression within a short time in explosive forms**. The fact that Hitler now bears sole and full responsibility renders it more difficult for national socialism to manoeuvre, to make out to the people that other reactionary forces are to blame for its policy of starvation and war. At the same time the close co-operation of the

Reichswehr with Hitler's S.S. troops, on June 30, and the taking of the oath of allegiance to Hitler by the Reichswehr, have greatly shaken **the illusion that a military dictatorship would represent a "lesser evil" than the Hitler dictatorship**.

No Tannenberg and plebiscite swindle can hide the fact that the demagogic diversion manoeuvres of the Hitler dictatorship have become more difficult and less lasting in their effects. The discontent of the masses will spread and deepen very rapidly. New sources of crisis are developing in the mass basis of fascism. The new offensive of capital, with the increasing hate of the working masses, brings fresh inflammable material into the ranks of the N.S.B.O. (National Socialist Factory Organisation) and the "Labour Front." A great hunger march of the youth, who have been compelled to take up work on the land as agricultural helpers, will set in from the villages to the towns in the autumn. Mass unemployment of the rural proletariat will increase, and the villages, owing to the bad harvest and the compulsory measures against the peasants, will become centre-points of social unrest. The resumption of the winter relief and compulsory contributions at the beginning of November will strengthen the hatred and increase the resistance of all sections of the working population.

In view of this situation and the prospects of the future development the Central Committee considers it the most decisive task to exert all forces in order speedily to overcome our lagging behind in regard to the growth of the objective conditions of the revolutionary crisis. The central task in this connection is **determinedly to exert all forces for the creation of unity of action** of the working class against the capitalist offensive and fascist terror, together with the social democratic workers and trade unionists and the best parts of their leading cadres, to build up broad trade unions and to strive more actively to unite the social democratic masses with our Party.

The unity of the proletariat, wrote Lenin, is its greatest weapon in the fight for the social revolution. To-day there is a profound urge for unity in the working class. There is an increasing desire to fight together in one front, in one organisation against the common enemy, fascism. Most of the social democrats and social democratic groups are developing towards the Left. A great transformation process is taking place in their ideas. The harmful illusions that fascism will destroy itself, the speculation that the dictatorship will collapse of itself as a result of the antagonisms in the camp of the bourgeoisie, are disappearing. There is increasing recognition that the proletariat can achieve socialism only by the revolutionary application of force, by the setting up of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The serious desire of the social democratic masses for the unity of our class is shown in the numerous instances in which they have united with our Party. **In a number of places whole S.P. groups have joined our Party in a body**. Through their initiative it was possible to create new Party units and to build up again units which have been smashed. There are Party cells in which the majority consist of former social demo-



crats, who are developing into brave, qualified Party workers and Bolsheviks.

But can these successes suffice? Have we done everything in order to connect the Party with the masses, numbering millions, in town and country, and to set up unity of action of the working class against Hitler's anti-working class laws? The Central Committee and a number of leading factory and district functionaries, at their meeting, have given a plain answer to this question. **The Party, it was recorded, has not emphasised with sufficient clearness the change in the objective situation and the ever-increasing desire of the workers for unity brought about by the recent economic and political development, and not adapted its tactics and its whole work to this with sufficient decisiveness.** The main work is still confined to agitation instead of proceeding concretely beyond this to the task of organising the fight. There exist serious shortcomings of our Party work in the inadequate initiative of the Party units, the independent, determined reaction to sudden events, was shown again recently on June 30. The decisive cause, however, of our inadequate connection with the masses, of joint organisation of broad resistance actions, and of the extraordinary lagging behind in the setting up of trade union unity with the social democratic and Christian workers, is the existence of sectarianism in our Party, **the sectarian attitude of Communists in the field of our mass work.**

The overthrow of fascism and the victory of the revolution will not be achieved by the existing heroism of the proletarian advance guard alone. We Communists, it is stated in the letter addressed by our C.C. to all factory and street cells of the Party, **must not confuse the danger of social democratic ideology, a danger which still exists to-day with the masses of social democrats who are striving for fighting unity.** The Austrian example, where, as a result of resolute approach to the social democratic masses, whole local and district units of the S.P. and of the Schutzbund organisations have united with the C.P., serve as a reminder in this connection.

We cannot expect the broad masses of the social democracy to unite with our Party and develop into convinced Bolsheviks if, on the one hand we say to them, the doors of our Party are open to you, and after they have joined the Party regard them as members in a lower category and as late comers; if we do not draw them into our collective work as members on a perfectly equal footing and work out and fulfil the tasks together with them. **If we treat them as fighters with equal rights and draw them into responsible Party work by giving them functions,** they will recognise all the sooner that we are honest in our intentions, and that only the programme of the Communist International, the theory and tactics of Marxist-Leninism lead to socialism. We Communists do not conceal the fact that we are striving to establish the organisational unity of the German working class and to overcome the split in the working class by uniting the social democratic masses with our Party.

One aim, the dictatorship of the proletariat, one Party, the Communist Party as the sole mass Party of the proletariat, must inspire the will to unity of the German working class.

But we do not put this question as a condition for our joint action in the daily struggle. There may still exist differences of opinion among the social-democratic workers, functionaries, and trade union groups which are contrary to our programme and principles, but this must not and cannot be a hindrance to the setting up of **unity of action together with them** against the capitalist offensive and for the overthrow of fascism.

The Central Committee, therefore decided to call upon all organisational units of our Party to approach all existing social-democratic party groups in the country, the former members and functionaries of the S.P., and submit concrete proposals to them to fight against the Labour Law and the Goering Plan, for the right of combination, for the release of Thaelmann and all anti-fascists.

**The question of creating unity of action of the proletariat is inseparably bound up with the speedy establishment of trade union unity,** this concentrated, organised power of the broadest masses of workers. It is precisely in this exceedingly important field of our mass work that we have the greatest omissions.

Our Central Committee recorded great sectarian tendencies within our Party and the revolutionary trade unions, particularly in the carrying out of these tasks. The attempt to set up factory groups of independent class trade unions as broad mass organisa-

tions was often undertaken on the narrow basis of the sectarian union of the class-conscious part, **instead of boldly attempting to win the broadest masses of the workers for this organisation.**

When, for example, the material issued by the Red Trade Union Opposition speaks of fighting groups of independent class trade unions, when in some cases recognition of the fight for the Soviet Power is made a condition of entry into the independent class trade unions, then we are not pursuing the line of broadest trade union unity, but of sectarianism, of isolation from the masses. Therefore the leadership of our Party, in their letter to the Party cells, set as an immediate task the creation of a broad united trade union mass organisation, which shall unite together the revolutionary trade unionists with all their fellow-workers formerly organised in the free trade unions and the Christian unions, and also with all S.A. men in the N.S.B.O. and in the factories who are dissatisfied with the Hitler regime, and shall connect the question of trade union unity with the organisation of the fight for the common demands of the workers.

The Central Committee considers it necessary **to propose, in a comradely manner, to the social-democratic trade union groups existing in the country jointly to build up trade unions and trade union youth sections.** In all works and factories our comrades and revolutionary trade unionists are to approach the former members of the trade unions and the best sections of the former cadres of functionaries, and all other groups still existing, with the proposal to proceed together with them to build up trade unions and a body of trade union shop stewards.

We address ourselves especially to those former trade union functionaries who, as local dues collectors, former factory councillors for instance, **have broad connections with members of trade unions and factory staffs.** The C.C. refers especially to those former free trade union and Christian functionaries who to-day exercise functions in the "Labour Front," N.S.B.O., "Strength through Joy," and in the Confidential Councils, and who are prepared to **make use of these functions in order to build up trade union groups.** Of the greatest importance for the building up of broad trade union organisations is joint organised opposition work in the "Labour Front" and N.S.B.O. against Nazi Commissioners, against compulsory contributions, for the right of self-determination of the members, etc.

The common enemy of the working class is fascism. The common will to fight against the capitalist offensive, against the workers' enslavement law, and Goering's anti-youth law, against further wage reductions, short-time work and dismissals, for wage increases, right to strike and to organise, for elected factory representatives, is for all of us **the uniting bond** to which all differences of opinion still existing must be subordinated.

Fascism has smashed the trade union, but it could not destroy the trade union class traditions. The Red Trade Union Opposition and the Red unions have nurtured and developed these traditions. They have upheld the banner of the class struggle in spite of all terror. But the revolutionary trade unions do not regard their organisations as an end in themselves. They desire nothing more ardently than the realisation of trade union unity by the joint building up of broad trade union organisations. **Therefore the C.C. has decided that the Communists shall exert their influence in the R.T.U.O. and in the Red unions, so that in all cases where trade union unity is realised, the further continuation of these organisations shall be renounced.** We as a Party realise with all revolutionary trade unionists that this step is **bound to increase the proletariat's power of action.**

Among the working people fascism has still to-day relatively great influence with the masses of the youth. The Party has not been able to a sufficient extent to organise, together with the Young Communist League and leading it, the fight for the youth, for their wishes and demands. The Party bears the chief responsibility for the sectarianism, the narrow-mindedness of the Y.C.L. and its inability to establish contact with the broad masses of the youth. The C.C. declares it to be an **essential task of the Party energetically to organise the fight for the demands of the youth** and better to guide the Y.C.L. as the immediate helper of the Party and to render it capable, by boldly championing the special interests of the youth and by carrying our socialist world outlook into the masses of the youth, to develop into the broadest mass organisation.

The Central Committee dealt in detail with the Saar question, which, just like Austria, has become a focal point of imperialist war danger and a field of struggle between fascism and proletarian internationalism. The fight of our Party in the Saar must be energetically supported by the Party in the Reich. A defeat of Hitler in the Saar in the plebiscite on January 13, 1935, will mean a tremendous step forward for the proletariat of the Reich in its anti-fascist fight. **The greater the defeat of Hitler, the more speedily he is overthrown**, the sooner will it be possible to reincorporate the Saar district in the Reich. In face of the wave of chauvinism and incitement which is to be expected, it is our duty in the Reich to make clear to the broad masses our advocacy of the status quo, of the maintenance of the present position in the Saar, and to brand the real betrayers of the people in the country, the fascist hangmen of the people. We must get the working people in the country to make clear to the working people in the Saar, by means of letters and other connections, Hitler's policy of starvation and blood, to set up patronage relations between German and Saar works and factories. Everyone in the Reich entitled to vote in the Saar must see that his name is on the voters' list, and at the same time his vote must be won for the status quo.

The C.C., at its meeting, still more expressly reminded the Party of the situation created in the S.A. as a result of the events of June 30, and called upon it to establish firm contacts with the disappointed S.A. people and oppositional groups and to win them with all their weapons for the anti-fascist fight. In face of the increasing fascist terror it is our task not only to extend the mass struggle for the release of our leader Thaelmann and all imprisoned anti-fascists, but also to organise mass self-defence, drawing in the social-democratic and Christian workers, as well as the oppositional S.A. men. The C.C. calls attention to the necessity of creating a **united defence organisation**, of uniting the one-time Reichsbanner comrades with the Red Front Fighters' League.

In view of the situation in the country-side, which is rapidly becoming more and more acute, the C.C. makes it the duty of all Party organisations to take up or increase the work in the rural districts and by **setting up land workers' trade unions and peasant committees**, to strengthen the fighting alliance between town and country. With the double enslavement of women in the "Third Reich" and the great importance of women and girls in the event of an imperialist war, the C.C. expressly calls attention to the decisions of the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. on the **creation of groups of women actives** in the Party and of **groups of women sympathisers round the Party**. A central women's paper will appear in future. The meeting of the C.C. finally devoted serious attention to the problem of cadres, and adopted measures in regard to better possibilities of training for our cadres, but raised this question immediately in connection with the winning of S.P.G. workers for active Party work and increased assistance for the Young Communist League on the part of the Party.

**The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International** will commence its sessions in a few months in the Red capital town of Moscow. It will be a witness of the tremendous socialist victory of our Soviet country under the leadership of the Bolsheviki and of our great leader Stalin. It will be a review of the rapidly increasing will to unity of the workers of the world and welcome **representatives of social-democratic workers and Party groups** from numerous countries as guests and friends. We Communists know that with the victory of the proletarian revolution in Germany a revolutionary storm will sweep over the whole of Europe. After the above decisions of the Central Committee, the heroism of our members and functionaries will imbue the Party still more with the firm will to forge unity of the German proletariat, to assimilate the decisions of the Party leadership without loss of time in all factory and street cells, and to carry them out according to the situation in the given factory or locality.

Hitler is driving Germany to disaster. The German proletariat can overcome the fascist beast and set up a free Soviet Germany if it follows the call of our Party for unity and if all units of our Party, while overcoming the lagging behind and eradicating all faults and weaknesses, **determinedly aim at setting up the unity of action and struggle of the German working class in alliance with all sections of the working population**.

## The Bankrupt Dictator in a Cleft Stick

Every new report from the battlefield of capitalist economy in Germany agrees that the "Fuehrer" of economy with the newly-baked dictator Schacht at the head are sinking deeper and deeper into the swamp and are finding no way out. The appointment of Dr. Schacht had also the object behind it that this trusted official of international finance capital would be able sooner than anyone else to get credits for raw material in America, without which the collapse of German industrial production seemed to be inevitable. But if it is also true that the President of the Bank of England, who is a personal friend of Schacht, had expressed himself in favour of American credit for Germany, the Americans are not thinking of listening to such friendly advice.

What is the outlook if the longed-for credits do not arrive? On the basis of treaties with England, France and Switzerland, in which Germany has taken upon herself the payment of interest of private indebtedness, and the agreement with Holland, on a similar basis, which is about to be concluded, Germany has the obligation to transfer yearly **about 450 million marks** abroad. At the most 250 millions of this can be covered through income from navigation, services, foreign loans, etc., so that 200 million for the year, i.e., 100 million for the coming half year remain. In addition there is the deficit in the balance of trade which, if there is no improvement during the coming half-year, works out at about 400 million marks. Therefore, even if one does not take into account any further worsening of the economic position of Germany, **half a milliard is lacking** in order to defray the import of necessary raw materials in the next half year.

But the fact must also be taken into consideration that Germany, as a result of the **bad harvest**, with rising agricultural prices in the world market, will need **larger imports of foodstuffs** if there is not to be the most terrible famine. During the last few days the German Government has reported on the trifling improvement in the outlook of the grain harvest, but at the same time reports how catastrophic the bad harvest of early potatoes and the first hay crop has been. The average for the Reich is given as a yield per hectare of 78.8 double hundredweight of potatoes, as against 120.3 the average for the last ten years. The whole yield amounted to 1.87 million tons, against 2.91 million tons, the average of the past ten years. That means a reduction in yield of round about a third! The hay harvest turned out even worse. At the beginning of August the yield was 21.3 double hundredweight per hectare against 42.6 per hectare average for recent years, in all 11.69 million tons, against 23.37 million tons. Therefore, there is only half of the normal harvest of this extremely important fodder.

In each of the last two years, when as a result of a comparatively good harvest the efforts at "autarchy" were able to make some headway, on the year's average it was still necessary to import an additional supply of food products to the value of about a milliard marks. In the year 1930-31 it was double. Thus, we can reckon the additional requirements for foreign bills for the **increased import of food supplies** as a result of the bad harvest as at least **half a milliard marks** for the coming half year.

About a milliard marks is also necessary in foreign bills, if the working capacity of industry is to be to a certain extent kept up, if the requirements of the food supply are to be half covered. For such requirements the palliatives which are now being recommended do not help at all. The beginning of the so-called "**Hundred day fight against waste of materials**," which has been propagated for some time, has been postponed, apparently on account of the "powerful echo" which this action called forth, and of the new announcements about this economising competition. In truth no one takes this tomfoolery seriously.

Another little palliative is the drive, recently brought in as a public proposal, **for the admixture of substitutes**.

For July, under the hopeful title "Lasting success in the battle for work," it was reported that the number of registered unemployed had decreased by 54,000 to 2,426,000. This, of course, is in the first place a result of the **compulsory sending** of urban unemployed on to the land after the pattern of the famous "**Goering plans**." In reality this faked figure itself shows the bankruptcy of the "battle for work." For in the same month of the previous year the number of unemployed was reduced by 387,000, and even in 1932, when Papen was Chancellor, it was reduced by 84,000. In fact, the number of working hours in industry is no longer increasing, but decreasing. But the money paid out for unem-

ployment insurance is becoming ever smaller. The Hitler government has once again substantially reduced the Government grant to the municipalities for the support of the unemployed off benefit. The municipalities in which the number of those in receipt of poor relief is less than 1 per cent. of the population, are not to receive any government grant at all, the others only the number over 1 per cent. In May the number of the so-called recognised unemployed was 797,000, i.e., 1.2 per cent. of the whole population. There will, therefore, not be many municipalities left which still get any government grant. The Minister of Finance hopes in this way to save 470 million marks in the year, at the cost of the very poorest. The hunger-leader Hitler anyway easily out-trumps the hunger-chancellor Bruening.

Since the unscrupulous agent of finance capital, Schacht, has united the office of Minister of Economy with that of President of the Reichsbank, the oracles are being consulted as to whether Schacht, Minister of Economy will defeat Schacht, President of the Reichsbank, or vice versa. In fact, if the public bankruptcy of the "battle for work," the stopping of all urgent work, and mass dismissals along the whole line is to be delayed, then the printing machine for notes must be set to work; then it will be all over with the stability of the currency, which the President of the Reichsbank has always guaranteed. If the President of the Reichsbank holds firmly on to the currency then there will be no possibility of a revival of economy, then Schacht will have to announce his bankruptcy as Minister of Economy. Herr Schacht will find no other way out of this dilemma than the crushing ruin, both of economy and of currency.

It is a matter of course that the ruling Nazi officials will find no economic recipe in their "German socialism" by which they can get out of this cleft stick. Now it is specially emphasised that there must be "no experimenting." For this reason the conference arranged for August 10 by Goltz, the "deputy leader of Economy," has been postponed, at which the "corporative organisation" of economy was to be once again settled. The N.S.B.O. is in the process of dissolution. For example, in the municipal undertakings in Berlin it is said that the N.S.B.O. has no further tasks, as the undertakings are already being carried on "socialistically." The fascist Labour Front is condemned to complete insignificance. Since the recall of the "leader of Economy," Kessler—the organ of finance capital *Deutsche Wirtschaft* announces with pleasure—there can be "no further talk of an undermining of the Reichsstand of German industry," i.e., the rechristened National Federation of Industry, under the leadership of Krupp, which actually decided policy in the time of Hermann Mueller and Bruening, and decides it also to-day.

The faithful National Socialists may, however, be comforted with the fact that National Socialism is not an economic order, but only a "world conception." The information service of the German Labour Front declares that the sacrifices which the textile workers are making when they accept short time without increase of wages, are "the expression of national socialist communal duty in the best sense of the word." But Minister Rust, at a congress of teachers, gave the wise warning to those who ask impatiently where is National Socialism in economy, "National Socialist economy will come when the people taking part in economy have become National Socialist." When National Socialist leaders of economy, such as Krupp and Thyssen, receive heavy credits for the supply of cannon, and the textile workers allow their starvation wage to be reduced without resistance, then we have the real National Socialist economy.

#### For Proletarian Fighting Unity Between Jewish and Algerian Workers

Paris, August 20.

At a great meeting held in Paris, 3,000 Algerian workers expressed their approval of the action taken by the Communist Party of Constantine. At a meeting attended by 1,000 Jewish workers, a resolution was passed for the militant unity of the Arabian and Jewish proletariat.

#### Ten Thousand Workers at Joint Action Meeting at Lens

Paris, August 20.

Ten thousand workers took part in a meeting held at Lens for unity of action. At Annoeuillin (North) a great meeting was held for unity of action against war and fascism. The subsequent demonstration march was participated in by 1,000 persons.

## The Labour Movement

### The Minneapolis Truckmen's Strike

By Bosse (New York).

There has been no strike of any moment in the United States in recent months in which the police, the military or the employers' thugs have not shed workers' blood. The Minneapolis strike of 7,000 truckmen saw four workers killed, hundreds shot or beaten, and thousands of troops brought in. It saw the government in its usual role of arch strike-breakers, and the A.F.L. labour fakers in their's of traitors. A new factor was the leadership of the strike by Trotzkyites, with phraseology radical at times, but action of a piece with the A.F.L. bureaucrats.

The employers forced the issue, as in San Francisco, hoping to smash the strike by terror. The day before the attack they tried to provoke the strikers into attacking a decoy hospital truck, hoping to make their bloodbath then. They planned it so carefully that the news reel cameramen and reporters were on the spot, and the press got out an extra edition almost before anything could have happened. The truck, with a small amount of merchandise in it, was convoyed by 150 police in cars, armed to the teeth. The strikers did not fall into the trap.

The next day carloads of armed police filled the produce market, again with an almost empty truck to convoy. The pickets also filled cars. The truck and pickets' cars crashed and the cops fired pointblank with sawed-off shotguns into the faces and then the backs of the totally unarmed strikers. Forty thousand workers participated in the funeral demonstration.

The attack was made at the very moment when a truce was supposed to be in progress, arranged by Father Haas, Roosevelt's mediating emissary. Less than a week later the governor declared martial law and the troops that had been in attendance on the police in the July 20 massacre became the rulers of the city.

The truckers were striking for the right to organise into a union and for wage increases (to a minimum of 22.50 dollars weekly) and better conditions. Some were getting as little as 8-17 dollars for 60-90-hours work, and many were being paid in damaged vegetables. In the May strike the employers had recognized part of the union, but the open shop still prevailed. Inside workers in the markets were not recognised as union members, despite a promise of no discrimination.

In February the coal drivers in the union (Local 574, of the A.F.L. International Teamsters Union) had struck for three days and won a victory. The membership increased from a few hundred to 1,000. In May the truckmen went out again with 5,000 members, and tied up the market completely for eleven days. The high point of the strike was a street battle with the employers' private army, which resulted in a victory for the strikers and forced a settlement. The Citizens' Alliance (bosses' strike-break-group) had gathered 1,600 armed deputies (business-men, college boys and underworld thugs) to help the regular police guard scab trucks. The pickets, armed with clubs, drove them out of the streets. One business-man deputy was killed and many hurt. Then the employers and police proposed a truce and negotiations, after 35,000 workers of other unions had come out in sympathetic strike (taxi chauffeurs, gasoline station men, building workers, etc.). Others were voting to strike and victory was assured.

In the May strike the farmers were frequently in conflict with the strikers. In the present strike, however, they are co-operating, displaying their joint permit on their trucks, selling direct to the consumers in a special strike market (to the grief of the commission merchants or middlemen), and are giving the strikers food or selling to them at cost, and helping them picket outlying districts. Laundry workers numbering 2,000 to 3,000 struck in solidarity and for their own demands, defying the threat of Green, president of the A.F.L., to revoke their charter and expel them. Thousands of relief workers on all projects struck in solidarity, demanding increased wages, relief and rent payments, etc. They declared their solidarity with the teamsters, condemned the murderous attack of July 20, demanded the removal of the police chief, and the ending of police conveys for scab trucks. The Trotzkyite leaders (five of the twelve on the strike committee are Trotzkyites) tried to split the unity of the unemployed by having representatives of the Left wing unemployed organisations

ejected from relief workers' meetings, from picketing and from the union headquarters.

The strikers organised efficiently. They picketed in cars directed from headquarters, and had a first-aid hospital, commissary and barber's shop there. The women's auxiliary of the union served thousands of meals daily, sold the paper the strikers issued daily in an edition of 10,000, and collected money and supplies. Other unions and farmers gave service, food, oil and gasoline, autos, etc. But the respectable Trotskyite leaders of Local 574 were more interested in working with the reactionary leaders of the A.F.L. Central Labour Council than in spreading the strike and combating the terror of the police and troops.

On July 26 the city was put under martial law, 4,000 troops being brought in. The militia raided union strike headquarters, seizing files and records and the leaders. Their alleged purpose was to search for arms, but actually, as they admitted, it was to "smash at its inception a plan for city-wide picketing." The secretary of the union had asked for troops "to protect our boys," and the Trotskyites approved this. Union meetings were banned, but were held nevertheless, one with thousands attending. Picketing was interfered with, but continued, though General Walsh said the union "was keeping to its agreement not to picket," (Times, July 31.)

The leadership of Local 574 are Communist renegades, now members of the Trotskyite Communist League. On July 11 a meeting was called to declare the strike, but these leaders put it off for five days, giving the employers time to empty their warehouses and establish others out of town for suburban deliveries. Instead of fighting the red scare raised by the bosses, they intensified it by attacking the C.P. and driving its supporters away from meetings and strike headquarters, thus further dividing the workers. The strike leaders opposed the calling of a general strike in answer to the police massacre, instead favouring a one-day transport stoppage which they did not carry out.

The settlement of the May strike shows how the present one is likely to end. Then the workers were sent back under the slogan of "arbitration," with no issues settled. An oral vote on the settlement the leaders had secretly negotiated was overwhelmingly rejected. Then a secret ballot was manoeuvred, after the Farmer-Labour Congressman, Shoemaker, and the Trotskyite leaders had bamboozled the workers into believing that "90 per cent. of the demands" had been granted, and the agreement was voted through. Secret negotiations with the N.R.A. Regional Labour Board were substituted for the strength and militancy of the rank and file. The result was that no guarantee was obtained against blacklisting and many men were at once refused jobs; the taxi-drivers who had struck with the truckmen were left out in the cold. The agreement granted some partial concessions re union recognition, but none of the economic demands, and the bosses soon took away these few concessions. Later the Trotskyites admitted what the C.P. had prophesied all along, that the bosses "are deliberately avoiding and delaying carrying out the agreement."

From the beginning of the May strike the C.P. and other Left-wing organisations took an active part by getting thousands of employed and unemployed workers to picket. Due to its failure to work adequately among the opposition in the A.F.L. generally, and among the Minneapolis truckers particularly, the Party had little influence within the union. The Y.C.L. was also active in the May strike, distributing leaflets to the National Guardsmen.

This strike, like the Toledo, San Francisco, Milwaukee, Kohler and other strikes in recent months, shows the extent to which the strike wave and murderous terror have developed. It illustrates the fact that in the present stage of the class struggle even small strikes take on a mass character, leading to the development to the general strike. They become political, being directed against the local and federal governments. It indicates again how rapidly the government is moving towards outright fascistisation, using police and military terror on a growing scale. Strikes are rapidly becoming illegal, are being called insurrections. Vigilant groups organised by the bosses and their government are the beginning of fascist bands. In Minneapolis the vigilantes were smashed up in the May strike, so in the present strike the police and troops did their work directly.

## Fight for the Unity of the Labour Movement

### The United Front and the Campaign for the Sending of a Workers' Delegation to Fascist Italy

By Gabriel Péri (Paris)

A few days ago M. Yvon Delbos, the vice-president of the radical-socialist group in the French Chamber of Deputies, launched a sharp attack in the "*Dépêche de Toulouse*" upon the pact concluded between the Communist Party and the socialist party for unity of action. Delbos is the leader of a party which is in favour of "civil peace" and which supports the *Doumergue-Tardieu* government. In the newspaper mentioned, run by the brothers Sarraut, he does not hesitate to declare that the united front between the communists and the socialists favours in reality fascism and the reaction. And he further declares that there is no doubt that the socialists in those countries which have a fascist dictatorship share his opinion.

Unfortunately for M. Delbos and the "*Dépêche de Toulouse*," the socialists in those countries which have a fascist dictatorship have already provided an answer, and an excellent answer, to their nonsense. The Italian Communist Party and the Italian socialist party have also decided on a pact for united action against fascism and war. They have documented their will to unity in a manifesto issued in connection with the events in Austria. We are already aware of the effects of this political action of first-class importance in fascist Italy and the tremendous echo which it has aroused amongst the masses of the Italian emigrants.

During the month of August, at a time when proletarian demonstrations, congresses and meetings, etc., are taking place in ever-increasing numbers throughout France and particularly in Paris, the announcement of the pact concluded between the two parties has caused indescribable enthusiasm. The Italian proletarians of all shades of opinion in France have always shown a fine spirit of internationalism. They have taken part with such spirit and energy in all the anti-fascist campaigns, and particularly in the campaign on behalf of Dimitrov and Thaelmann, that one felt that their fighting capacities would be increased a hundred-fold by the establishment of a united front. They appreciate above all the clarity with which the joint manifesto of the two parties has been formulated, the firmness with which both parties declare that there can be only one just war for the proletariat, namely, the class war, the war of the exploited against their exploiters, and the public approval given to the peace policy and the nationality policy of the Soviet Union.

How often in recent years has the capitalist press, and also certain social-democratic writers, compared "the dictatorship of Mussolini and the dictatorship of Stalin." The Italian socialists who were the comrades of Matteotti do not make this vile comparison, or at least they no longer make it. On the contrary, they declare that the Soviet Union is a shining example for the workers of the world to follow.

Under such circumstances one can thoroughly understand the deep satisfaction which the manifesto has caused amongst the Italian proletarian emigrants, and the feelings of gratitude of the Italian workers towards the Communist Party, which has worked untriflingly for so many years to establish unity of action.

That which gives the decision of the two parties its real significance is the general situation in which it was made.

It was made at a moment when the gloomy clouds over Europe burst in the thunderstorm of July 25 in Austria. It is hardly necessary to say that since then the international situation has in no way been alleviated, but rather dangerously intensified. In order to convince oneself of this it is sufficient to remember that Mussolini has not withdrawn his troops from the Brenner Pass, and that *Starhemberg* is at present engaged in negotiations with *Mussolini*. The Chancellor of Austria, *Schuschnigg*, is in Hungary. The former Kaiserin, *Zita von Habsburg*, is holding a family council in *Viareggio*. The danger of a Habsburg restoration is rapidly growing. The countries of the Little Entente, who have been promised military support by *Barthou* on behalf of France, are in a state of extreme nervousness. In short, Austria remains a storm centre.

Under these circumstances the fact that the working classes of



two countries which play a great role in these events, France and Italy, have realised their internal unity of action is of historic importance and of far-reaching significance. The Communists hope with all their hearts that the new-found unity will have its effect on the working classes of Austria and Czechoslovakia also. In any case, a new and powerful hindrance has now been placed in the path of imperialist war.

Further consideration increases the importance of the manifesto signed by the two parties. Inspired by the government and by the fascists, a fierce anti-foreign campaign is at present being conducted in France under the lying slogan "France for the French!" The government of national concentration is pursuing a policy of mass expulsion towards foreign-born workers. At the same time it is attempting to secure the support of the French workers for this policy and to jockey the French workers into a fratricidal struggle against their immigrant fellow workers from other countries.

It is absolutely necessary to oppose this campaign with all possible energy, and it is clear that the proletarian counter-attack is tremendously strengthened by the alliance for action of the "French" and "Italian" Socialist and Communist forces.

Further, the manifesto was signed by the two parties at a moment when the fascist terror in Italy is being tremendously intensified. The elements of crisis and disintegration in fascist Italy are developing rapidly. Mussolini himself admitted this a few months ago in a speech delivered in Milan. Since then the situation of Italian fascism has not improved, on the contrary, it has deteriorated. The *Arpinati* affair, which received no great prominence in the international capitalist press, was a sign of the times. *Arpinati* was one of the oldest leaders of the Italian fascist party and Secretary of State for Home Affairs. In this capacity he organised the "Bologna attempt" during which young *Zamboni* was stabbed to death by fascists. The aim of this "attempt" was to facilitate the passage of the "exceptional law." A few weeks ago *Arpinati* was arrested and sentenced to fifteen years' banishment on one of the Italian penal islands. It would be wrong to dismiss this as an unimportant report. Black-shirted fascism experiences its internal troubles, which signalise its internal crisis and its decay, as well as brown-shirted fascism. However, more important than this report are the reports now coming in from all parts of Italy, and particularly *Apulia*, showing the increase of anti-fascist propaganda and demonstrations of workers, peasants and fishermen like the demonstrations which occurred in *Marano Lagunare*.

The Italian fascist Special Court is again hard at work passing brutal sentences of imprisonment and banishment. Anti-fascists are being murdered in custody by the fascist militia. *Gramsci* and *Hofmeier* are slowly dying in prison. International proletarian solidarity on behalf of the anti-fascist fighters in the prisons and concentration camps of Mussolini was never so urgently necessary as it is to-day.

The Italian "*Patronati*" (patronage committee) in France adopted a very welcome decision, therefore, when they decided to take the initiative a few weeks ago to send an international workers' delegation to fascist Italy. Without a doubt, the establishment of the Socialist and Communist united front will give this campaign a new impulse.

The Italian "*Patronati*" have called upon all anti-fascists to lend their support to the campaign. However, the representatives of the organisations "*Giustizia e Libertà*" have put forward various objections. The "*Patronati*" are determined to do everything possible to secure the widest possible support for their campaign to send an international workers' delegation to fascist Italy, and to settle the differences of opinion between the initiators of the proposed delegation and the representatives of the organisations "*Giustizia e Libertà*."

The "*Patronati*" have also approached the Italian *Maximalist Party*. The latter has declared that it feels disinclined to take part in the central body leading the campaign, but that it will instruct its sections and its members to support the campaign. This decision is obviously contradictory, but the "*Patronati*" are of the opinion that it should not be regarded as final and that during the course of the campaign a closer and clearer relation between them and the *Maximalists* will be obtained.

In the last resort the success of the campaign will depend on how much mass support can be mobilised for the delegation. In this connection high hopes are justified. Everywhere the proposal

of the "*Patronati*" has been welcomed with great enthusiasm by the French and Italian workers. Tens of thousands of workers assembled in *Argenteuil* cheered the representative of the Communist Party to the echo when he called upon them to support the delegation. A few days previously a meeting of 1,500 workers in *Bezons* passed a resolution in support of the delegation.

In *Champigny, Bagnolet, Livry-Gargan, Montreuil and Sartrouville* thousands of workers have declared their support of the campaign in demonstrations and meetings. The movement is extending to the provinces and in *Annecy, Grenoble* and *Nancy* the proposal of the "*Patronati*" has met with enthusiastic approval.

In numerous demonstrations placards and banners with slogans in favour of the proposed international workers' delegation to fascist Italy have been carried. Lists of signatures in support of the delegation are in circulation already and innumerable workers have already signed, although the campaign has only just begun. Both French and Italian workers are joining enthusiastically in the campaign because they know that it is a question of mobilising the masses against Italian and international fascism.

## The Fight for the United Action of the Proletariat in Czechoslovakia

By Kl. Gottwald (Prague)

On July 14 last the C.P. of Czechoslovakia made an offer to all three socialist parties in Czechoslovakia to arrange joint anti-fascist and anti-war actions on the occasion of International Thaelmann Day and the twentieth anniversary of the outbreak of the world war. All three parties, who are in the coalition government with agrarians and clericals, rejected this offer. A week later, on July 22, the C.P. of Czechoslovakia replied with a detailed letter addressed to all socialist organisations and their members. In this letter the Communist Party refuted all the "arguments" against the united front, declared its unshakeable determination to continue to fight for the unity of action of the proletariat, expressed its readiness at any time to negotiate with the leading organs of the socialist parties with regard to common actions, and submitted a number of concrete proposals to the organisations and members of the socialist parties for the immediate organisation of joint action with the Communist organisations against fascism, the capitalist attacks and imperialist war.

In connection with these offers, and under the influence of the successful endeavours to form the united anti-fascist and anti-war front on an international scale, namely, in France, the united front movement in Czechoslovakia experienced a considerable upsurge. The Party organisations and the red mass organisations began, to an increasing extent, to approach the parallel socialist organisations with offers of united anti-fascist and anti-war actions. In a short time some hundreds of such offers were made. Nevertheless, it was only in a few isolated cases that whole socialist organisations with their leaderships were won for joint anti-war action on August 1. In the majority of cases in which socialist workers took part in large numbers in the August 1 action, they did so against the will of their leaders and their local organisations.

We have had a similar situation up to now in the movement of the Front against Fascism and Imperialist War, whose organs of action took part in the actions on August 1. Here, too, we are able to record only a few cases where whole reformist organisations are officially represented on the Committees of the Front. In the majority of cases individual oppositional socialist workers, who are able to influence only a part of their organisations, are on the committees.

This situation had a decided influence on the whole course of the action in connection with August 1. As is known, all anti-war actions are prohibited in Czechoslovakia by the authorities. There was hardly a single action in connection with August 1 that was not prohibited. Of course, the Party, in spite of all prohibition on the part of the authorities, carries out anti-war actions. Nevertheless, in order completely to break through this prohibition, that, for instance, the streets are really filled with masses of demonstrators in spite of the mobilisation of the armed forces of the State, a broad united front and the mobilisation of compact masses of socialist workers are necessary. This took place only in isolated cases on August 1. Demonstrations were held in more than a hundred places. At the biggest of these (in Prague) there were

5,000 present. In a considerable number of cases it came to short demonstration-strikes. Anti-war and anti-fascist agitation in the form of giving out of leaflets, painting of slogans, etc., was very good this year.

In connection with the preparation for the World Congress of Women against War and Fascism, 19 special women's conferences, 35 factory meetings of women and several hundred local meetings were held and 32 delegates to the Paris World Congress were elected, of which, however, only 17 were able to go to the conference.

Now, after August 1, the Party is increasing its efforts to realise the unity of action of the proletariat, and the first results of this work are already to be seen. Since August 1 there has been an

increased drive from below, in the factories and localities, for unity. There are already several hundred cases where revolutionary organisations have approached reformist organisations with united front offers. And in spite of the fact that the leading organs of the governing socialist parties and reformist trade unions have given their organisations strict instructions in no circumstances even to speak with Communists, the number of those socialist and reformist organisations which disregard these instructions, officially enter into negotiations with Communist and revolutionary organisations, protest against the rejection of the Communist offer by their leaders and are beginning to organise joint actions, is increasing. In short, one can say that the united front movement is growing also in Czechoslovakia.

## Proletarian Children's Movement

# The Fourteenth International Children's Week

By Fritz Heckert

In the preparation and carrying through of our International Children's Week, we must make every effort to bring the pioneer movement a tremendous step forward. In those countries, however, where, as in Germany, Fascism rules and our children's organisations are destroyed either partially or completely, we must seriously consider how we can once again build up a revolutionary mass children's organisation and bring it into action.

The working-class movement had already advanced very far before anyone thought of bringing the proletarian children consciously into the ranks of the revolutionary fight for freedom of our class. Actually revolutionary children's organisations first came into existence in the post-war period. All the work among children which had previously been carried on was of a very casual and modest character. The reason for this was that the petty-bourgeois spirit cultivated by social democracy had gained a hold on the worker's movement—"Children have nothing to do with politics, politics spoil the character." It appeared, therefore, as if politics must remain the preserve of adults with characters already ruined.

This foolish, reactionary, petty-bourgeois twaddle of unpolitical childhood very often influenced even good revolutionary workers. They also cherished the illusion that it was possible, in bourgeois society, to keep the effects of class contradictions away from the children. By this means the masses of the children were often handed over untouched to the reactionaries.

On the other hand, the monarchist and republican bourgeois State, on its part, considered it quite natural that it should use every possible means of influencing the child for its reactionary purposes. In the same way and for the same purpose the clergy were trained in the poisoning of the minds of our children. Thus the attempt was made to hide from the child of the working class the class character of the bourgeois State and the facts of the continued and rising class struggle of the exploited against their exploiters. The social-democratic talk of keeping the children away from politics was revealed, on closer examination, as a definite support of the class struggle of capitalist society against the working class struggling for its emancipation.

After the war, when the capitalist world received its first serious shock and when it was necessary to reveal to the children the whole crime of ruling society, so that they could themselves grow into men who, irrespective of the poison of bourgeois society, could become fighters for the high ideas of socialism. Social democracy continued the bourgeois-class State guardianship of the child. Indeed, in some States they created the "Unity School," as it is called, which, they said, was the first step to the abolition of class differences. But even this liberal programme was never carried into practice; everything, as a matter of fact, remained as it was. For example, in Germany monarchist legends have been left in the school books, just as in many schools the pictures of the Kaiser were left hanging on the walls. This was all cloaked with hypocritical tirades about respect for tradition. But precisely this respect for tradition, i.e., for the unlimited rule of reaction, became an occasion for national and clerical recalcitrance. Every obscurantist, every defender of the old order of society, which had

apparently been smashed by the revolution, took shelter behind this tradition and vigorously protested when any voice or hand was raised against these sacred relics. Nationalist drilling drove every free thought out of the syllabuses, which in themselves were very modest in this respect. Once again the children were brought to parades in front of Field-Marshal Hindenburg, as previously before the Kaiser, and had their heads filled with national humbug.

If the language of the class struggle had not sounded louder than the prattle of those guarding the children from "political poison," a very fundamental contamination of the minds of the workers' children would have resulted. That this pestilence has stupified a large part of the minds of young proletarians is shown by the thoughtless going over of the youth to national socialism. If the German proletariat had brought up its children to the defence of the interests of its class, then the Hitlers, the Roehms and their consorts would not have been able to win such a fateful influence on the youth.

The movement of defence against reactionary contamination of working-class youth was carried on only in a lukewarm way. This is shown clearly enough by the figures of the voting for the election of parents' councils, in which everywhere the reactionary lists won. The strikes of the schoolchildren against reactionary teachers and school officers never received sufficient attention. That the social democrats regarded such school strikes as rebellion against the god-given order is understandable from the policy of this party. This party was able to abolish the feeding of schoolchildren merely because a uniformed brass hat, as War Minister, energetically demanded an armoured cruiser.

But whatever the capitalist obscurantists may undertake in order to keep politics from workers' children, it is impossible for any length of time, for the class struggle presses heavily on the schoolroom. The strikes and demonstrations of workers, the brutal measures of the employers and police against working-class parents cannot pass unnoticed by the children. What the child itself does not see with its own eyes and hear with its own ears in the house of its own parents, it sees and hears in the streets from other working-class children. How often can we not see in the streets of German towns children playing a game in which it is not an old nursery rhyme or harmless song of past times which forms the basis of the game. The children of the workers played the struggle of their class.

When Hitler came to power he immediately devoted the greatest attention to the children. He tried to bring up the children of the working class to be an instrument for carrying through the policy of the employers against the workers. In the schools, prayers were once again introduced to the dear God who must be praised for creating rich and poor for all time. Through hymns of hate and war literature a chauvinist infection is spread in the minds of the children. They must learn to denounce their parents, i.e., if the workers are revolutionary they must greet each other with the Hitler greeting, take part in the ill-treatment and capture of children of revolutionaries; corporal punishment for children is again introduced. The children of revolutionary parents are arrested with their parents and sent into concentration camps; the children of

imprisoned, murdered or illegal comrades are handed over to the care of the State, where they are brought up to hate their revolutionary parents.

With the broadening of reaction and the strengthening of the dictatorship of the employers, which has brought boundless poverty to the working people, child labour has been re-introduced on a large scale. The future lies dark and hopeless before the workers' children in capitalist society. Every indifference towards workers' children in the past has been bitterly revenged. Any indifference now, however, is a crime against the future of our class. Therefore we must, more than ever before, no matter how difficult the circumstances may be now, take the proletarian child firmly into our hands, in order to educate it for the fight for the interests of our class. Whoever now says: let us wait and see if hostile influences do not collapse of themselves, is actually helping the infection of the youth with national and fascist poison. We cannot look on while the children are drilled for the coming imperialist war. We cannot look on while they are made incapable of taking part against the terror under which the working class suffers. We should not be indifferent to their degradation by the fascist pedagogues of the whip. We must not allow the children's heads to be stuffed with the Nazi rubbish of "race," "blood," and whatever else this worthless swindle is called, in order to stop the mind from thinking. We must remember how much confusion and helplessness social democracy brought into the working class with its chatter of subordinating the class interests of the proletariat to the common good, to the Fatherland. All of this has been shown to be helping the class enemy so that he can the more easily oppress us workers.

We must not think that all attempts to educate our children for the interests of our class will be unsuccessful because the enemy has them under his thumb, and because there is the fear that one can be denounced by one's own children. We have lived to see the small children of the proletariat taking part in the illegal work of our Party, writing our slogans on cigarette pictures and sticky backs which they themselves have prepared. We have seen how small proletarian girls and boys have stood up against the introduction of the Hitler greeting, and how they showed revolutionary solidarity in their own ranks. Our little ones already understand how to work illegally. In one school a boy softly hummed the "International." His neighbour said, "What song is it that you are humming?" He answered, "It is our song, the 'International.'" "Ah!" said the other, "show me the badge of your Party." Then the first drew a hammer and sickle on a piece of paper, and the second said, "Your hand on it, comrade, we will form a cell here."

To make this spirit live in our youth is the principal task which lies before us during International Children's Week. Set to work, all you class-conscious fighters of the proletariat. Our pioneer movement must become great and powerful, and win the workers' child out of the claws of the fascist hangmen, into the fighting ranks of our class.

#### International Campaign for the Release of Thaelmann

Stockholm, August 18.

At Västerås, the centre of the Swedish electric industry, an anti-fascist demonstration was held, addressed by a Swedish workman who has been imprisoned in a German concentration camp. His speech was enthusiastically received by over 1,000 listeners. A resolution was adopted demanding the release of Thaelmann.

Oslo, August 18.

The Norwegian Relief Committee for the Victims of Fascism has sent out a fresh appeal to the mass organisations of the workers for the intensification of the campaign for the release of Thaelmann and the other political prisoners. The campaign organised by this Relief Committee has already penetrated far into the masses of the Norwegian working class. Up to the present 198 organisations have entered protests against Thaelmann's imprisonment; these include 79 local T.U. groups and trade councils, 20 athletic clubs, 15 women's associations, and 68 public meetings and demonstrations. Besides this, a large number of individual protests have been sent in by prominent persons, including the authoress Ingeborg Refling-Hagen, the painter Henrik Sørensen, Reidar Aulie, Gerda Graff, Birgit Abrahamsen, Dr. Wessel, Dr. Hoel, Dr. Eyvin Dahl, etc. A total of about 100,000 persons have been enlisted for this protest movement. This is a large number, but the Committee still regards it as too small, and it is intended to increase it by an intensified mass campaign.

## The White Terror

### The New Wave of Terror in Rumania

By Victor Zitna (Bucharest)

A new wave of terror is at present sweeping over Roumania. With this wave of terror the liberal government hopes to stifle the deep dissatisfaction of the masses of the people with the new emergency decrees and with the attacks on the social and political rights of the working class.

Before August 1 numerous workers were placed under "preventive arrest" in all the big towns. The government took all possible measures to prevent any mass preparations for the organisation of the International Congress of Women against Fascism and War. The offices of the anti-fascist committee in Bucharest were raided and searched on several occasions and the archives of the committee were confiscated. The secretary of the anti-fascist committee in Cluj (Transylvania) was arrested and charged with having issued a postcard in connection with the international sports meeting in Paris. A delegate elected to go to the International Women's Congress in Paris by the workers of a textile factory in Bucharest was arrested at the last moment.

Whilst this new wave of terror is sweeping through the country, the proletarian political prisoners are being subjected to increasingly inhuman conditions. A delegation of lawyers who visited the notorious prison of Doftana recently on behalf of the Roumanian section of the International Red Aid returned with the report that the political prisoners were being subjected to a terrible prison regime.

On July 25 new prison regulations for anti-fascist prisoners were introduced abolishing all the rights won by the political prisoners at the risk of their lives in hunger strikes and other forms of struggle. According to the latest regulations, the prisoners may not have their trunks in their cells, or any such receptacle. Everything they possess must be given up. In addition, the prisoners have been deprived of all books, newspapers, paper and writing materials. They are permitted to have no more than one book in their cells at a time, and that book has previously to be approved by the prison governor. The prisoners are no longer permitted to make notes. They are now entitled to visits only once a month. Formerly they were permitted to write up to five letters a month, but now they may write only one, and this one has to be written under strict control at a time when they normally would be taking their one-hour exercise. Prisoners may no longer receive food from outside the prison. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the physical condition of the prisoners is very low.

Even this strict regime has been still further intensified with regard to certain comrades. Comrade *Koloman Mueller*, a fifty-year-old worker, was sentenced to 30 days' solitary confinement on bread and water for no other crime than having asked for a seat whilst shaving. Another proletarian political prisoner, *Ion Breban*, was given 25 strokes of the Roumanian equivalent of the "cat" and 30 days' solitary confinement on bread and water for demanding that he should be transferred to the prison hospital. The political prisoner *Salomon Farlandaski* was sentenced to 38 days' solitary confinement on bread and water for demanding that the parcel of food his mother had sent to him from the little village of Cetatea-Alba should be handed over.

Comrades *Peter Georgescu*, *Nicolescu* and *Cristea* and five other comrades have been transferred from the prison of Văcărești to serve the final four months of their sentences in Doftana. When they arrived there they were immediately placed in solitary confinement without any reason being given.

However, even this brutal and inhuman treatment cannot break the spirit of our comrades. One of the most important tasks of the revolutionary working-class movement in Roumania is to spring to the assistance of those comrades who are being slowly done to death by the government of boyars and capitalists. The Roumanian section of the International Red Aid is compelled to work illegally, but it has already organised a broad mass campaign on behalf of our imprisoned comrades and with such effect that even the bourgeois press has been compelled to deal with it. Numerous letters and telegrams of protest are arriving at the Ministry of Justice in Bucharest, and this campaign must be still further increased in order to prevent the authorities from "legally" murdering our comrades.

# In the Camp of Social Democracy

## The New Programme of the Danish Social Democracy

By Aksel Larsen (Copenhagen)

The new programme of the Danish social democracy was adopted unanimously and with "spontaneous" enthusiasm, but without any debate, at the enlarged meeting of the Executive Committee, which was attended by 165 delegates. Thus reports the social-democratic press.

If one bears in mind that this document is diametrically opposed to the old socialist theories and principles and actually means the abolition of the former programme, then this unanimity without any discussion seems more than remarkable. Even if the leading clique of the S.P. of Denmark has arrived at a uniform opinion, one would have assumed that the adoption of the manifesto would have been preceded by an exhaustive debate. But this was not the case. According to the principles of dictatorship and the leadership principle, the Prime Minister read out his message, which was then approved with a unanimity such as is customary only in the German Reichstag.

The Danish social democrats polled 660,000 votes at the last parliamentary elections. The leaders of the party themselves claim that the S.P. has 190,000 members, 60 daily newspapers and a theoretical review. Also the Youth League has its own organ. But neither at the membership meetings, nor in the daily press, nor in the theoretical organ was there any discussion of the policy of the party or the views expressed in the new programme. The drafting of the programme had nothing to do with "democracy." It expressed the will of a clique of leaders imposed on the party from above without any discussion. It means the setting up of the authoritarian principle.

The contents of this new programme permit no doubt. It is true, mention is made at the beginning of the abolition of capitalist private ownership of the means of production, but in the introductory section the actual intentions of the Danish social democracy are expressed with welcome frankness:—

"The central committee of the social-democratic party, adhering to the social-democratic programme, the aim of which is to rally the whole exploited population for the purpose of capturing and abolishing capitalist private ownership of the means of production, appeals at the present time to all sections of the population who are suffering from the crisis called forth by capitalism and calls upon them to rally round a positive policy for the restoration of sound and ordered relations in society."

The programme refers to the abolition of capitalism and at the same time calls upon the working population to help to restore "sound and ordered relations in capitalist society! The statement that it is intended to adhere to the old social-democratic programme must not be taken too literally, as farther on we read:—

"Therefore now is not the time to deal with theories and programme points which must be left to the unknown future."

By this "unknown future," of course, is meant Socialism. It is further stated that

"In the past years of crisis the social democracy has drawn the conclusions from the great change in the world situation, regardless of principles which were set up under quite other conditions."

According to the social-democratic view, therefore, principles are something which can be accepted or thrust aside from day to day according to the requirements of the moment. The programme does not say much about the working class and working conditions. The compulsory arbitration laws and the social "reforms" here speak a sufficiently plain language. Where the programme makes vague references to shortening of working time or to factory councils, it is strongly emphasised that these measures are in the interest of the employers, and therefore they have no cause to be anxious. The programme promises settlement of the question of agricultural debts and at the same time requests the big peasants "to show greater consideration to the agricultural labourers."

As regards granting equal rights to women, the programme follows the same principles as Hitler: women are to be expelled from production. This, however, is intentionally stated in such a concealed form that at meetings such an intention can be denied,

whilst in actual practice it is carried out in the municipalities governed by the social democrats.

The demand for disarmament is abandoned and hope is placed in the League of Nations, at the disarmament conference of which, by the way, the Danish delegate, the social-democratic leader **Alsing Andersen** voted against disarmament. At the same time it is declared that the social-democratic government will act "loyally" towards the army and navy. The social-democratic government is already "loyally" preparing a programme of fresh naval construction.

Finally, the programme definitely demands an election reform which shall prevent "a division of the constituencies prejudicial to Parliamentarism." It is quite clear that the purpose of this "reform" is to exclude the Communists from Parliament.

In conclusion, the programme expresses its opposition to dictatorship—but above all its opposition to the "dictatorship movement bearing the name of Communism," and only in a second passage pronounces against the "various forms of fascism." Regarding fascism, the programme maintains that it is "called forth by the agitation and movement emanating from Russia." Therefore, combat Communism and the Soviet Union and fascism will disappear of itself.

The Danish social democracy (or the leaders who decide the policy of the party) is fully aware of the seriousness of the capitalist crisis. It knows that the further existence of capitalism is possible only if the State apparatus is placed more completely in the immediate service of finance-capital and the working population exploited more shamefully than ever, if every individual capitalist, with the aid of the State apparatus, is subordinated to the interests of capitalism as a whole.

In other countries the carrying out of the fascist dictatorship is entrusted to the fascists. The Danish social democracy declares itself ready and capable of exercising this dictatorship itself.

The precondition for the fascist dictatorship is the existence of a social mass basis. And therefore the social democracy offers itself to the big financiers as the biggest party in the country. It reckons that its influence is still firmly established in the working class and can be maintained, especially if the Communists are suppressed. It bases these calculations on its domination of the trade union apparatus. In order at the same time to "win new ground," in order to secure for the "dictatorship of democracy" a mass basis outside of the actual working class, and in order to compete successfully with the national socialists, the programme makes all sorts of promises to the petty bourgeois circles, promises which can never be realised under the capitalist system.

With this programme the social democrats are also preparing for a possible election campaign in the coming autumn. They quite realise that with this new programme they will win new supporters from the open bourgeois parties, but at the same time lose the support of very many workers. Therefore the fight is being intensified against the revolutionary movement and against all workers who fight for the interest of the working class. The social democrats would like best to pass a new election law before the elections in the vain hope that they will thereby be able to keep the Communists out of Parliament.

But the workers are growing impatient. In **Esbjerg**, the largest harbour town on the West coast of Denmark, the workers at the general meeting of the Trades Council cleared out the old social-democratic leaders and elected a leadership from the ranks of the trade union opposition. The social-democratic leaders immediately commenced a contemptible disruptive work and are now endeavouring to manoeuvre the affiliated bodies out of the Trades Council.

In **Fredericia** the representatives of 28 of the largest local groups of the Workers' Union (the largest trade union in the country) recently met together in order to discuss the burning question of unemployment, after the government had refused to prolong the special benefit to the unemployed beyond April 30. This Conference decided at the same time to invite all local branches of all trade unions in the country to a national conference to be held on September 23 in Copenhagen. This Conference will discuss the burning question of the freedom and independence of the trade union movement. Here the workers will discuss the right to fight and strike for their elementary and most urgent demands. The preparations for the Conference and also the Conference itself will certainly be a starting point for organising and setting up an opposition movement on a broad basis in the trade unions.



## Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

# The Congress of Soviet Writers

The first congress of Soviet writers was opened in Moscow on the 17th August. The congress was preceded by a series of conferences and discussions in the various Soviet Republics and autonomous districts throughout the Soviet Union. Foreign authors from all parts of the world are attending the congress, for they feel perhaps more than others the tremendous attraction exercised by the new centre of socialist culture. The broad masses of the working people throughout the Soviet Union displayed the greatest interest in the convening of the congress. The echo of the congress amongst the workers and peasants has been unusually strong, a symptom of the tremendous advance of culture amongst the masses in the Soviet Union. The relation of the poet to the masses which has characterised long periods of human history has been radically changed in the Soviet Union. The "divine halo of the chosen" has given place in the Soviet Union to the firm consciousness of the poets and authors that they are a section of the builders of the new socialist society and its culture. Recent years have given a great impulse to socialist culture in all respects. Thanks to the increase and extension of the material basis for culture and to the tremendous growth of technical knowledge, the intellectual horizon of the masses has extended enormously. The natural sciences, all branches of art and the products of the highest mental functions, all things which in a society based on exploitation are the privilege of the chosen few, are becoming the immediate affair of the masses of the people to an ever-increasing extent in the Soviet Union.

The whole of the Soviet press welcomes the opening of the congress of Soviet writers and devotes much space to its first day. In a leading article the "Pravda" writes:—

"The congress of Soviet writers developed into a real celebration of Soviet culture. Soviet culture arose and is developing as a culture of the broad masses of the people. Thousands, tens of thousands of facts concerning the cultural advance of the broadest masses of the people brilliantly confirm the historic truth of the words of the great leader and teacher of the proletariat, Lenin, when he declared in argument against the Mensheviks that only the seizure of power by the proletariat and its struggle for socialism could guarantee any real advance in the cultural levels of the masses of the toiling people. The proletarian dictatorship, which abolished the exploitation and oppression practised under the capitalist system, which built up a powerful socialist industry and a powerful socialist agriculture, and which educated hundreds and thousands of new men and women, created thereby a magnificent basis for the splendid development of socialist culture. To-day this can be seen everywhere. What are the facts? The Soviet Union has almost completely abolished illiteracy and it has built theatres which are the admiration and envy of the best producers in Europe. Under the Soviet power the network of middle and high schools throughout the country has increased enormously. Modern technical science has been mastered by hundreds of thousands. The most modern and most complicated machinery is now being produced in the Soviet Union as well as the finest instruments of mechanical precision. A brilliant galaxy of philosophers, economists, inventors, explorers and scholars of all sorts has been produced from the ranks of the working class. And all these achievements, tremendous though they are, are only the beginning, the first halting steps of the new Soviet culture which is opening up such a period of flourishing development that the renaissance itself will be eclipsed by it.

"On the other hand, art in the capitalist world is in a hopeless state of decadence, for the vital spirit of those classes which nourished it is dying rapidly. It is not for nothing that the best representatives of bourgeois art welcome with enthusiasm the birth and the rapid development of a new cultural life for humanity in the Soviet Union, the country of socialism. They recognise that the capitalist system is doomed and therefore they welcome the birth of the new world. One of the clearest indications of the victory of the cultural revolution in the Soviet Union is the fact that the overwhelming majority of the non-party writers and artists in the Soviet Union have

now turned definitely towards the Soviet power and socialism. The overwhelming majority of the Soviet writers and creative artists are unconditionally behind the Party of Lenin and Stalin, with the proletariat and with the whole people of our socialised Soviet country. Our Soviet writers find the source of their inspiration and their creative work in the vital power of the proletariat, in the power of the working masses, and that is the sole centre of their allegiance."

In connection with the opening of the congress of Soviet writers the Soviet press publishes a series of messages from prominent writers, artists and public men both in the Soviet Union and abroad.

André Gide writes: "The Soviet Union is marching triumphantly at the head of historical development. It has opened up a new path for humanity. Sooner or later every country and every people will have to take this path. For the first time in history the Soviet Union shows us in reality that new society of which we have all dreamed but for which we have hardly dared to hope. It is therefore of particular importance that the Soviet Union should lead the world on the field of cultural achievements also."

The Scandinavian writer Martin Anderson-Nexoe writes: "All of us can learn from the work of the young Soviet authors. A section of these young writers have succeeded in thrusting their creative roots deep into the new ground which has been opened up. They are already closely connected with the proletariat. One can feel this when one discusses with the men from the factory and the collective farm about this new literature. The Soviet Union has entered into a new phase of culture and the peoples of the Soviet Union are advancing with joyful faces and supreme confidence into the new life before them. Let the writers give this expression in their works."

Jean Richard Bloch, writing to the Soviet authors, declares: "Your struggle is of the greatest significance for us. We hope that your problems will be ours to-morrow. The way in which you solve your problems will be of the greatest possible importance for the future of revolutionary literature. Therefore I tell you that we have come to the Soviet Union buoyed up with great hopes."

Dimitrov writes: "I send my warmest greetings to the representatives of the most advanced literature in the world. The magnificent advance of mass literature in the Soviet Union shows to the whole world that only the dictatorship of the proletariat, which frees the working masses economically and politically, can free the way to an unexampled development of production, science, technique and art, and to an unexampled development of the creative forces and the intellectual energies of the millions. The tremendous service rendered by the Soviet writers is that in their work they give expression to the truth about the victory of socialism over one-sixth of the world's surface and that in this way they assist in the struggle to free the masses of the toilers in the capitalist countries from their spiritual bondage. The heroic struggle of the revolutionary workers in the countries of capitalism will undoubtedly find its literary expression in the works of the Soviet authors, for throughout world literature to-day they are the only protagonists of the revolutionary standpoint—the lessons of Marx and Engels, Lenin and Stalin, under whose banner the proletarian world revolution will be victorious."

The well-known Leningrad Soviet author, Nikolai Tichonov, writes: "Where else in the world is the poet in a position to recite his verse to tens of thousands of listeners? Where else in the world could a congress of authors like this take place, a congress at which hundreds of writer delegates, representing thousands of others, can discuss their art and the methods of representing the life of their country for the benefit of the workers of the world? Our socialist fatherland is a country of youth and courage. Our society demands of its members the best and finest in them and not the exercise of their worst and pettiest instincts. I know nothing more magnificent than our country."

## Letters From the Soviet Union

By Our Special Moscow Correspondent (L. F. Boross)

### 1. Foreign Workers in the Soviet Union

The Schutzbuendler are no longer merely guests in the Soviet Union. They have taken their places in the ranks of the mighty army of co-creators in the work of socialist construction; they are now workers in the large-scale undertakings in Moscow, Leningrad, Kharkov, Rostov, Stalingrad, etc. They are living among their Soviet class brothers, seeing and experiencing what these are seeing and experiencing. It is only in their language and in their passports that they are still foreigners. As far as rights are concerned they are the equals of the toiling masses of the Soviet Union. In accordance with the Soviet laws, inspired by the spirit of internationalism, they have even the same franchise as the working citizens of the Soviet Union; they have the same right to take part in deciding all questions relating to their international Soviet fatherland.

What did they know about the Soviet Union before they came to Moscow? Their source of information was the social democratic press, in part the bourgeois press. And this information was calculated to influence them in two directions. Either what they read was obvious lies about failures, about starvation, about the dictatorship of a small clique and the like. Their proletarian instinct told them: this cannot be true. Still they could not help thinking that these were perhaps exaggerations; but perhaps these exaggerations contained some grain of truth, however small. Perhaps there was no starvation, but the talk about the lack of democracy, about the "dictatorship over the proletariat" was perhaps not so improbable. They knew from their own experience how undemocratically they were treated even by their own Social Democratic Party when their opinions differed from those of the Party Committee. Probably it was worse in the Soviet Union, where the Bolshevik Party made no claim to appear democratic.

The second kind of information was that supplied by Otto Bauer. He took into account these trends of feeling among the workers. He did not shrink from writing about the successes of the Soviet workers; he even recognised that socialism is being built up in the Soviet Union. But he endeavoured to adopt a cool and sometimes even patronising air towards the great work of the Soviet proletariat. "We shall do it quite differently"—this was the fundamental thesis of his articles. This insidious poison was much more effective than the bitter venom spat out by Kautsky or Cardinal Innitzer. "The Soviet Union is not bad, there is much to be admired about it; but its cause is not our cause." This was the standpoint which the *Arbeiterzeitung* was fairly successful in spreading among its readers. And many a Schutzbuendler came to the Soviet Union still holding this standpoint.

And now there are 500 Schutzbuendler who are not only witnesses of but form part of the Soviet reality. What is their opinion now?

The members of the second party of Schutzbuendler, when inspecting the Dynamo Works, experienced a little surprise. When they arrived at the factory to inspect it, as they had inspected many other Moscow undertakings, they were welcomed in their native Vienna dialect, on behalf of the workers and management, by a workman employed in the factory. He spoke as warmly about the undertaking as if it belonged to him. At the end of his brief speech he offered to show "our factory" to the visitors.

Not only the voice, but the face, of this representative of the Dynamo Factory struck the Schutzbuendler as familiar, and very soon the visitors exclaimed: "Why, that is our old friend Stern."

Comrade Stern, who had received the "foreign guests" on behalf of his proletarian factory, as one of the masters, was no other than the commander of that division of the Schutzbund which captured the North Station in Vienna in February. Now he works at a lathe in the Dynamo Works, and seven other Schutzbuendler with him, including Comrade Steiner, member of the Austrian S.P. since 1913, functionary of the Schutzbund since 1919, leader of the February struggles in Sternitz, fighter at the Floridsdorf North Station. The other comrades, too, were for many years faithful and convinced functionaries of the Austrian Social Democratic Party. The welcome given the visitors by Comrade Stern and his companions shows that even in this short time they regard the Dynamo Works as their own factory.

A few weeks have passed since then. The fraternisations, the receptions, the first impressions, are over. The Schutzbuendler who arrived first have now been working for more than six weeks in their new situations. This is long enough to get to know a factory, its institutions, and its life, and it is long enough to enable these new workers to refute the objections raised by their former social democratic leaders in order to restrain them from following the example of the Soviet Union. Above all, they are able to answer the question as to whether they have found represented in the Soviet country and in the Soviet factories, a cause which is alien to them, which in Otto Bauer's opinion the workers should observe at most, but should not love. Or have they found "our cause" a real workers' power, and really proletarian factories? And have the Soviet workers—the Schutzbuendler can now judge this from their own experience—no political and intellectual freedom, as stated by Otto Bauer? Or . . .

"Can we feel that we are in a workers state here?" Comrade Steiner repeated the question I put to him, when I visited him at his place of work.

"The moment we crossed the frontier we felt that we were in quite another world, the world of the workers. The relations of human beings to one another are free, independent, proletarian. We have visited divisions of the troops of the Red Army, and were able to convince ourselves that a higher degree of discipline can be attained by comradely relations than by drill. Here in the factory, too, we had an excellent reception. It is scarcely noticeable that there are any superiors. The managers are proletarians like ourselves, but they understand the responsibility of their work excellently."

Comrade Steiner stated that he had spent four weeks at the health resort Essentuki. Here he had not only recuperated his own health, but gained an insight into the mighty apparatus of social insurance, which exceeds anything ever imagined in regard to the care of the workers.

The Schutzbuendler expressed the greatest admiration for this social insurance system, especially for the fact that workers in need of rest and recuperation are able to pass their holidays in the finest health resorts. According to the present possibilities, one place in a health resort falls to every eighth worker of the factory yearly. Two-thirds of these workers are sent away on medical advice, at the expense of the social insurance; the other third are sent to the health resorts by the works and factories, as a reward for specially good work. Besides this thousands of workers can pass their free days in rest homes.

Special care is accorded to those workers who have been employed for more than ten years in the same undertaking. There are 738 such workers in the Dynamo. These receive additional foodstuffs, paid in part by the factory; additional holidays of twelve working days (independent of whether their basic holiday is two or four weeks), free complete repairs for their dwellings once in three years. Workers who have been in the same undertaking for over twenty years (there are 122 such workers in the Dynamo) receive besides this a free dinner daily in the restaurant, free suits and shoes, and other privileges.

The Schutzbuendler were unanimous in declaring that the dinner given by the factory kitchen is good and ample. Comrade Steiner even said that the helpings were too large for him. The dinner consists every day of soup (often with meat), meat with vegetables, and dessert.

Comrade Muecke declared that he was particularly astonished at the comradely relations between the workers and the managers; he was accustomed to very different managers. "We can see that the managers here are also workers."

The electric fitter Bobias, who took part in the fighting at Schlingelhof, sprang from the motor-wagon for electric trains on which he was working and pointed proudly at the wiring: "I have fitted all the cables on this wagon myself." He has been completely carried away by the enthusiasm of his Russian shock brigade follow-workers. In reply to the question of how he liked it here, he replied with a smile: "Very well indeed up to now, and if there is anything that we don't like then we can change it. Here we are not only allowed to state our opinions openly, it is actually demanded of us." He was especially pleased at the visits to the theatres and the excursions undertaken jointly by the workers.

Distelberger, a young tool fitter from Steyer, has also grasped what it means to work for himself, for his own class. In reply

to the question of how he liked working here in the factory, he replied that he would not feel quite satisfied until he had caught up with the work performance of the Russian workers working at the right of him. He was already able to compete successfully with the workers whose benches were on the left of him. The head of the department remarked that Comrade Distelberger was too modest; he was one of the best workers of his workshop. But Distelberger is dissatisfied with himself. He feels that he is not yet giving enough to the socialist state. He is entirely satisfied with all that the factory is giving him.

The Floridsdorf barricade fighters Moedelberg and Hummer, as also all the other Schutzbundler, laid special stress on the unbounded international solidarity of the Soviet workers. As barricade fighters they would have been treated as lepers in any capitalist country. Even in Czechoslovakia, where their social democratic party comrades are in the government, they were treated as scarcely tolerated refugees, as undesirable aliens. But the Soviet workers see in the struggle of these barricade fighters against capitalist exploitation in Austria a part of that same international struggle for socialism which they are carrying on as shock brigaders in their socialist works and factories.

Comrade Stern spoke with the greatest enthusiasm of his experiences in the Soviet Union. His eyes shone as he spoke of the profound sense of security felt by the Schutzbundler from the first moment of crossing the Soviet frontier. He was surprised at the exemplary manner in which the needs of the workers are provided for in the works and factories which he has inspected, and especially in the Dynamo Works where he is working. Light and airy workrooms and the latest achievements of technique facilitate the work. In reply to a question as to what drawbacks he had noticed at his place of work, Comrade Stern replied that there were still many shortcomings arising from the lack of experience of a number of the workers. The chief of these is the insufficient care of the machinery. And at times a great shortage of tools hampers the process of production. "But," Comrade Stern continued, "That is the reason why we are living in a workers' state; in order that we may put all our experience at the service of removing these shortcomings. If we make suggestions for improvements, they are always taken up. The managers, engineers, and workers all form one collective serving solely the interests of the working class and exerting its utmost efforts to promote the work of socialist construction." Stern admires the tremendous possibilities of development within the reach of every worker.

"At one time the majority of the present foremen and engineers came into the factories without any technical or other knowledge, often without being able even to read or write. To-day many of them have better knowledge than the most skilled of the workers and technicians in Austria."

The Floridsdorf Schutzbundler Barak was not in the factory at the time of my visit. An article written by him for the factory paper is, however, of great interest. Here he states:

"The introduction of electric welding threw thousands of smiths, founders, and other workers out of employment in Austria. Here the workers, set free by the electric welding process, find occupation in other undertakings. Here working hours are reduced to six for heavy work, and the working clothes and shoes are supplied by the undertaking. In Austria an electric welder has to perform this hard work for eight and more hours at a stretch. . . . I should like to see one of my Russian fellow-workers here working in one of our factories. On the first day he would catch the first train back home."

## The Week in the Soviet Union

### Aviation Day in the Soviet Union

Aviation Day, the day of Soviet aviation, was celebrated in the Soviet Union on August 18. The chief celebrations took place on the Moscow sports flying grounds, where a new air club was founded.

During the course of the celebrations 19 balloons rose into the air, their gondolas bearing streamers with slogans and portraits of the leaders of the international and the Soviet proletariat. One of the balloons carried a streamer with a portrait of the German Communist leader Ernst Thaelmann and a demand for his release. "Air-trains," one of the latest achievements of Soviet aviation, rose into the air. Such an "air-train" consists of an "air-loco-

motive" drawing three "carriages" or attached gliders. In the air the couplings between the "locomotive" and the "carriages" are released and the "carriages" glide off on their own. The displays met with tremendous enthusiasm on the part of the mass of spectators. A number of new gyro-planes were also shown.

A Soviet air squadron which had just returned from Irkutsk took part in the display, as also did the great Soviet planes which had just returned from Paris and Rome, where they won the respect of the foreign experts.

Numerous parachute descents were made into the air field. The largest land plane in the world, the "Maxim Gorki," equipped for propaganda work, and the Soviet airship "Pravda" also took part in the display, which developed into a tremendous demonstration on the part of the masses of their enthusiasm and joy at the latest achievements of the powerful air fleet which they have created. Many workers employed in the factories and mines, metal workers, textile workers and miners, are now learning to fly. They are taking their courses of lessons without interrupting their normal day's work at the factories, etc.

### The Truth—A Fine Harvest

Despite the lying reports which have appeared constantly in the bourgeois press of many countries, reports from all parts of the Soviet Union show that good harvest results have been obtained. Total figures up to August 10 show that throughout the Soviet Union the Soviet farms, the collective farms and the individual peasant farms had brought in the harvest over 840,409,000 hectares, or 59 per cent. of the total area under grain. In the Crimea and some districts in the Ukraine the harvest has been completely got in. By August 10, 13,309,000 hectares had been harvested or about 98 per cent. of the total area under grain in the Ukraine.

The harvest in Siberia and in the Far Eastern districts, is particularly good and considerably larger than last year's harvest. Good quality grain is pouring into the silos and elevators all over the country. Whilst the anti-Soviet press throughout the capitalist world continues to write of "bad harvests" and "hunger in the Ukraine," etc., the Soviet and collective farms in the Ukraine had fulfilled over half of their grain delivery quotas by August 10.

Those collective farms which suffered a shortage of seed, as a result of drought and other natural calamities last year, received seed supplies from the State, as well as other assistance. The grain loans given in this way have to be paid back during the course of three years. The first instalment would have been due on October 1 of this year, but a number of collective farms which have already harvested their fields have already settled their obligations without waiting for any demand from the State.

The latest successes of the collective farms have not been without their influence on those peasants who are still carrying on in the old individualist fashion. A new stream of individualist peasants to the collective farms has set in and in many cases new collective farms have been formed in the Ukraine, in Northern Caucasia and in Western Siberia.

A report from the Central Volga district declares that the Kamenny Brod District, which built large irrigation works with the support of the Soviet government, in order to combat the frequent droughts experienced in the neighbourhood, has had a magnificent harvest. Up to 25 cwts., a hectare of wheat and up to 33 cwts., per hectare of barley were harvested. The peasants of the district have now decided to extend their irrigation works to water a further 6,000 hectares of land.

### People's Commissariats for Local Industry

In order to further the development of local industries, secure the best possible utilisation of local natural resources, and to develop local industrial initiative, the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union has decided that People's Commissariats for Local Industry shall be organised in the autonomous republics of the Soviet Union. These new People's Commissariats will take over the charge of all industrial undertakings in their areas and relieve the People's Commissariat for heavy industry, manufacturing industry, the timber trade and the food and drink trades of the Soviet Union which previously managed them. The new commissariats will also take over the direction and organisation of new branches of production, the building of new industrial undertakings, and the reconstruction and extension of old ones in their areas. These new institutions will also organise the distribution of the products of the industries under their management, see to it that the State price policy is adhered to, and train new industrial cadres, etc.

## Book Review

### Co-operation in the U.S.S.R.

By R. Bishop (London)

This book fills a long-felt want in the literature on the Soviet Union available in this country. Despite the great output of such books, the Co-operative movement has received singularly little attention. Of books on industrial construction, on agricultural progress, books dealing with the health services and the educational system, as well as general descriptive works and historical treatises, there has been an abundance—some good, some indifferent, some bad and some very bad.

But, apart from an odd pamphlet or two, literature on the Co-operative movement of the U.S.S.R. in English is non-existent. Maybe the author of this book is right when he suggests that the reason is that the Co-operative movement is not sufficiently dramatic. Certainly the drama of the construction of Dnieprostroi, of wholesale collectivisation, of the fight for Socialism in town and country is missing, but the importance of the subject is no less great.

Ninety per cent. of the population of the Soviet land depend upon the Co-operatives for their daily necessities, without which they would not have been able to perform the miracles of Socialist construction which they have done.

The Co-operative movement in the U.S.S.R. should be of special interest to British workers, for here in Britain is the birth-place of the movement, and here to-day is the largest Co-operative movement in capitalist lands, exceeded in size only by that of the U.S.S.R.

The two movements, however, are very different. In Britain the "diy!" continues to play a leading role in the scheme of the Co-operative movement where capitalist products are sold side by side with their own products and in competition with them, and where capitalist ideology still plays a big part.

In Britain the capitalist governments are always trying to devise ways and means of hampering the Co-operatives. The recent campaign of the Beaverbrook press will be remembered by most readers. It was typical of the general capitalist attitude to a movement which, with all its deficiencies, has rendered great services to the workers during many a strike, and is capable of rendering still greater services in the struggles of the future as it becomes more and more under militant working-class leadership.

Mr. Paul has studied his subject very closely and during 1932 studied it upon the spot. He pays full tribute to the great work that has been accomplished, but also notes the inevitable shortcomings that were unavoidable during a period of such intense growth. But if he were to go back to the Soviet Union to-day he would notice that the last year has seen tremendous developments in what may be called the amenities of Co-operative shopping in the Soviet Union. The first task was to increase the amount of goods available and to organise stores in every centre of population. The task now is to increase the variety and quality of goods and to make the stores more attractive.

The new dairies, grocery stores, fruit shops, etc., that began to make their appearance in Moscow towards the end of last year, have now spread to all the provincial towns, and in cleanliness and attractiveness are far in advance of the ordinary shops, are in fact the equal of the shops to be found in the main shopping streets of London and other British cities.

Not only does the average Soviet citizen get the bulk of his goods for domestic consumption from the Co-operative stores, but he also gets the main meal of the day either through the Co-operative factory kitchen or through Ors, the organisation of self-supply where the workers of a particular factory organise their own dairy and vegetable farms, as well as piggeries and poultry

\*"Co-operation in the U.S.S.R.," by Leslie A. Paul. (Gollancz, 3s. 6d.)

farms to supplement the supply of foodstuffs obtained from other sources.

The author shows the scope of the Co-operative organisation by giving figures of two large cities.

Leningrad has a membership of 1,300,000, which represents nearly 100 per cent. of the adult population.

Kiev has 320,000 shareholders, over 60 per cent. of the adult population. No dividends are paid them. What profit is made communally goes back for communal use and for social and cultural improvements in the life of the employees.

The author gives a very interesting "potted" history of the Co-operative movement in tsarist Russia. The employers and the government did not encourage a free Co-operative movement, for, as Mr. Paul says: "to have done so might have encouraged a dangerous independence among the workers." He instances the way in which they functioned:—

"Quite often the rules of these early societies permitted factory managements to appoint members of the board, and sometimes these rules imposed educational qualifications upon management committee members, which in a largely illiterate country effectively removed the societies from the control of the workers. In such circumstances the Co-operatives could not become independent organisations under working-class control. The usual corruption of Rochdale principles followed this dependency; shares became very dear, and societies, often paying high dividends secured from trading with non-members, were little more than close corporations yielding profits to a favoured few, and, as such, indistinguishable from capitalist enterprises."

Nevertheless, in 1914 the capital of the Russian Co-operative movement was three million pounds, its turnover thirty million pounds, and its membership over a million and a half. The attitude of the government he describes as follows:—

"Co-operative societies were permitted, but not encouraged by the tsarist government, which, while seldom overtly hostile, spared no pains to hamper their progress. It was not easy to start a Co-operative society under tsarism. It was necessary to obtain the consent of the governor of the province. . . . The governor would make the fullest enquiries concerning the political reliability and social status of the founders."

In chapter three the author very fully describes the organisation and scope of the Soviet Co-operative system, and shows conclusively its democratic character. Those people who believe that the dictatorship of the proletariat and a fascist dictatorship have anything in common will get an eye-opener if they read this book. Proletarian dictatorship is working-class democracy.

The Co-operative movement is more than a trading organisation which raises the standard of living of the workers and peasants. It is also a great educational organisation. In 1932 it ran 380 specialised schools with 552,000 students and had an expenditure of 171 million roubles. All these figures have since been greatly exceeded.

Co-operation under capitalism and Socialism is well summed up by Comrade Orsini, the president of the Leningrad Co-operative Union, in the following words:—

"You work under conditions of capitalism. We work under conditions of Socialism, therefore our progress under favourable conditions cannot be measured against yours under unfavourable conditions, but our ways lead to the same end and our common work for a common goal must bring us closer. The difference between our movements is simply defined: our movement is serving the workers—yours is going to."

That is the note on which Mr. Paul concludes his book, a book which can be recommended to every Co-operator in Great Britain. It is a book to buy—but, if that is impossible, it is a book which should be got into every Public Library and recommended to every worker, to whom it will prove a revelation of what wonders true working-class co-operation can achieve once the workers have conquered power.

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