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The U.S.S.R. and the League of Nations

Not since the year 1926 has there been a meeting of the League of Nations which has attracted such general attention as the present one. In 1926 Germany entered the League. It appeared as if the ring of Powers round the Soviet Union in favour of intervention had at last been completed, the main aim which the League of Nations had set itself at that time. Poincaré was at the head of the government in France. The most influential man in the English Cabinet was Sir William Joynson-Hicks, who organised the raid on the Arcos premises. It did not, however, come to a war of intervention. Germany did not become the jumping-off ground for the invasion of the Soviet Union, but a field of investment for foreign capital. Millions of dollars, pounds, gulden and Swiss francs poured into Germany and led to a tremendous boom. What inducement, therefore, was there for Germany to engage in a war against the "barbarous" Soviet Union for the "welfare of humanity" when it was enjoying this very tangible welfare?

With the victory of national socialism in Germany a tremendous change took place. Germany started feverishly to arm, and every day it became clearer that the rulers of the Third Reich were deliberately manœuvring themselves into a situation in which they must take up the fight against the "hereditary" enemy, against France. The aim of Hitler's foreign policy is to conquer territory in the East. The precondition for his success, however, is the annihilation of France. Thus he writes in his book, "My Struggle":—

"The future aim of our foreign policy must be not a Western and Eastern orientation, but an Eastern policy in the sense of acquiring the necessary land for our German people. As strength is necessary for this, France, the deadly enemy of our people, is ruthlessly throttling us and depriving us of strength. We must make every sacrifice calculated to contribute to the destruction of France's efforts at hegemony in Europe.

"Only when this is fully realised in Germany . . . shall we be in a position to bring to a conclusion that perpetual, and in itself so unfruitful, struggle between us and France, of course under the condition that Germany really sees in the destruction of France only a means in order to be able afterwards to give our people scope for expansion in another place."

Precisely before the meeting of the League of Nations Hitler-Germany organised a tremendous display of its preparedness for war. Military drill, camps, field kitchens, field latrines, German women who are already carrying young soldiers in their wombs, huge parades of troops. All this, in the midst of a people which has the greatest organising ability and the best technique! And as a worthy concluding note the noisy rejection of the Eastern Pact which should guarantee the peace of Europe. In fact, why should they resort to measures for the maintenance of peace when they are preparing for war at a feverish pace? This attitude of Germany was indeed bound to give not only France, but England and Italy—which in the world war, in order to safeguard their own interests, fought on the side of France—food for thought. And they, too, like France, must seek connection with the Soviet Union, that Power which rejects every idea of conquest, and which with the whole of its tremendous power is seeking to maintain peace and is prepared to make the greatest sacrifices in order to achieve this aim.

In the meantime, the predatory character of imperialism is shown by the fact that those Powers which are compelled by immediate necessity to seek a rapprochement with the Soviet Union are doing so only hesitatingly, as if they had not given up the idea that their interests coincide with those of the war-mongers. Every victory of German imperialism is a defeat for Poland. Nevertheless, Poland is one of those Powers which is placing the greatest obstacles in the way of the setting up of a temporary peace front. The council of the League of Nations has held a meeting at which the last obstacles to the Soviet Union's entry into the League were

to be removed. No decision, however, can be adopted because the Polish Foreign Minister *Beck* has not received any instructions and therefore cannot decide what his attitude shall be. Poland has not had time yet to decide its attitude to a question which has been engaging the attention of the public for months. England and Italy are adopting a passive attitude in Geneva. Out of politeness they have left it to France to tame the recalcitrants. If it was a question of imperialist advantages they would probably act a little less politely, but more energetically. England, it should be remarked, is acting not much differently from Poland. The "Times" had the baseness to seek to gloss over the Japanese lies regarding the complicity of the Third International in the recent attacks on the Chinese Eastern Railway. The men behind the present incitement against the Soviet Union are the English capitalists; the oil kings and the English armament manufacturers. They even influence a part of the French press (the "Journal," "Matin" and others). If France, England, and Italy honestly desire to set up a peace front they possess adequate means in order to curb a few rascals.

In addition to the meeting of the League, Mussolini's endeavours to win Czechoslovakia for his policy in Austria, but at the same time to clear up the old antagonisms with France, occupy the foreground of international politics. For Czechoslovakia the domination of Vienna by Mussolini is the lesser evil. A great Germany under Hitler's leadership would threaten the South German possessions of Czechoslovakia. Italy now proposes to include Czechoslovakia in the so-called Danube Agreement. Mussolini hopes thereby to play off Czechoslovakia against Yugoslavia. On the other hand, Czechoslovakia hopes to be able to win Italy away from the front of the revisionists, or at least considerably to reduce the danger which hitherto threatened Slovakia through Hungary. For some time past the Italian press has been singing the praise of Czechoslovakia. At the same time the press of the Czechoslovakian democracy has been lauding Mussolini. As regards the improvement of relations with France, certain progress has been made in this connection since Mussolini quarrelled with Hitler. This improvement of relations is expressed in Mussolini's speech in Bari, where he praised the superiority of the Mediterranean culture over that of the swastika. But in practical matters, in the clearing up of the antagonisms in the Mediterranean, in the question of naval competition, of the Italian claims in Tunis, no progress whatever has been made. France will not hear of any weakening of the Little Entente as intended by Mussolini with his rapprochement to Czechoslovakia. The "Temps" declared on Sunday: The precondition for a Franco-Italian understanding is a Yugoslavian-Italian understanding.

Italy's approachment to Czechoslovakia has called forth great nervousness in Hungary. It is being asked: Does Italy intend to leave Hungary in the lurch after having used it as a battering ram against the Little Entente, after having obtained possession of its stocks of gold and foreign bills as payment for weapons and aircraft sold to it at exorbitant prices? This was the reason why the notorious Count Bethlen thought fit to remind Italy that Hungary had not taken up any attitude in regard to the Austrian question. If Hitler had control of Vienna, however, it would mean complete revision for Hungary. One can judge, therefore, how "unselfishly" Hungary has acted in not having made a present of Austria to Hitler. But what has not yet happened may happen. Accordingly Count Bethlen recommends Mussolini not to go too far in his friendship with Czechoslovakia.

If the present persistent efforts of the Soviet Union to set up a temporary peace front and in this way to keep the dogs of war on the leash for a time succeed, it will be a great political triumph for the Soviet Union. It is of tremendous importance for the further development of the international situation that even the attitude of the imperialist Powers for or against the entry of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations, is determined by the standpoint: for or against peace, and in this way it has come to be recognised throughout the world that the Soviet Union is the stronghold of peace. However, the intrigues in the League of Nations as well as the whole tangle of foreign-political relations between the States show that, so long as these Powers dominate, various groupings are possible which can for a time help to maintain peace. But things are pursuing their inexorable course and are driving for a forcible solution of the antagonisms. The leopard cannot change its spots, and the imperialist Powers cannot refrain from robbery. Only the overthrow of the imperialist Powers can do away with the danger of war.

Politics

The Political Significance of the Arrest of Fascist Leaders in Italy

By Rone

A few days ago the newspapers published reports of the arrest of several fascists in Italy, including a certain number of local leaders, in particular in the province of Emilia (Romagna), and of Arpinati, the former Under State Secretary in the Ministry of the Interior.

The events which have taken place in the last few weeks are fairly plain indications of the growing difficulties with which Italian fascism is confronted at the present time. One of the first signs of the increasing acuteness of the situation was Mussolini's recent speech in the so-called Chamber of Deputies, a speech in which the Duce himself was compelled to recognise that not only has fascism not kept and is not able to keep the promises of greatness and prosperity made to the Italian people for the last twelve years, but that also all the working people of Italy and of the world (he forgot the Soviet Union!) must be prepared: (1) to accept in the future a lower standard of living than in the past and, as he himself expressed it, lead an ascetic life; and (2) to take part in a new war which is imminent.

This "pessimism" on the part of Mussolini is to be attributed to various facts to which he himself referred, and to several others which the "representatives of the nation" did not consider it expedient to communicate to the public. Among the first facts are the growing deficit of the State budget, of the trade balance, and the payment balance. Further, the fact that the Italian taxpayers, and above all the peasants, are no longer able to bear the present burden of taxation, the uncertainty regarding the stability of the lira, the lack of any indication that it will be possible to predict a real revival of production and trade, the growing discontent (Mussolini did not openly admit this, but it was evident he had it in mind) not only among the workers and among the toiling peasants, but also among nearly all sections of the small and middle bourgeoisie in town and country. Among the facts not mentioned by Mussolini special reference must be made to the increasing number of mass movements and of the collisions with the fascists and with the forces of the State to which these movements are more and more frequently leading. The majority of the poor and middle peasants have seen their standard of living become worse from year to year and have finally been completely ruined. Whilst the taxes continually increased there was a disastrous drop in the price of agricultural products, in some cases by more than 50 per cent. Silk cocoons, for instance, which have always been one of the most important products of Italian agriculture, especially of the small peasants, and which before the war were 3.50 lira a kilogramme, are now only 2 lira (one must remember that the value of the present lira is worth only about 25 gold centesimi), which means that their price has sunk to less than one seventh of the pre-war price. To this must be added the worsening of the agreements under which the peasants hold their land and the bankruptcy of numerous credit institutions in which the peasants had deposited their savings.

On the other hand, the majority of the retail traders have been ruined by the crisis, which greatly reduced their income whilst the taxes continuously increased. The young intellectuals who had completed their studies had no prospects of employment. The civil servants and other employees had to suffer repeated cuts in their salaries. It is therefore not surprising that discontent has seized not only the workers but also the small and middle bourgeoisie and even spread to the ranks of the fascist party.

But the most decisive factor in the situation—with which all the others are connected—is, of course, the working class as a whole: the industrial workers and agricultural workers; the latter are more numerous than the former, numbering nearly five millions as compared with a little less than four million industrial workers, and have a very fine fighting tradition.

Even according to fascist statistics the wages of the industrial workers since Mussolini seized power have been reduced by 40 to 50 per cent. and the wages of the landworkers by 50 to 60 per cent. For a certain category of workers—above all the women and young workers—these cuts amounted to 70 to 80 per cent. At the same time there has been a terrible speeding up in industry,

and on the land the workers have to toil from dawn to dusk. These facts, added to the immediate consequences of the crisis, have called forth unprecedented unemployment. According to official statistics, for more than three years there have been on an average one million completely unemployed. As a matter of fact the number of completely unemployed, according to the estimate of the foreign bourgeois journal "Current History," is between 1,800,000 and two million. Even according to the fascist newspapers the whole of the landworkers in Italy do not work more than a hundred days in the year.

At the same time as the standard of living of all sections of the working population fell in such a terrible manner, the dividends of 261 of the most important joint stock companies amounted to 4 per cent. in 1930, to 5.8 per cent. in 1931, to 3.9 per cent. in 1932, and 6.3 per cent. in 1933. Still more significant are the dividends paid by the nine largest financial institutions of Italy in the same period. They amounted to 12.9 per cent. in 1930, 13.4 per cent. in 1931, 10.4 per cent. in 1932, and 13.8 per cent. in 1933.

These facts expose in a striking manner the real nature of the "Corporative State," this so-called "third system," which according to the fascists places labour and capital on the same level. The workers, the unemployed and the peasants are more and more frequently taking up the struggle against this "third system" by means of street demonstrations, strikes, individual actions (setting fire to crops, destruction of vineyards, etc.), and by making broader and more methodical use of the existing legal possibilities: fascist trade unions, "Dopolavoro" ("After Work") mutual aid funds, etc., at the meetings of which the workers express their discontent and their fighting determination by speeches, by ridiculing the fascist leaders, by appointment of workers' commissions who negotiate with the employers or the authorities over the heads of the fascist leaders.

All these facts have obviously no decisive importance; they do not suffice for the moment radically to change the existing relation of forces between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and to transform the situation, but they nevertheless show that there is "something new" in Italy, namely, an objective situation which offers the greatest possibilities of development to the revolutionary movement and which, therefore, confronts the bourgeoisie with the necessity of attempting to manoeuvre in order not to lose its mass basis and to prevent a violent outbreak of the discontent of various strata of the working population.

Already, more than 18 months ago, the first differences of opinion in this sphere became evident not only in the ranks but even among the leaders of the fascist party. A part of the leaders, represented by the party secretary **Achille Starace**, were of the opinion that they must not yield an inch as this would mean the "beginning of the end," but, on the contrary, must intensify the terror and oppressive measures against all discontented elements and against all opponents of the regime. Another part, represented by **Leandro Arpinati**, a former leader of one of the most important fascist movements in Italy (Emilia) and Under Secretary of State in the Ministry of the Interior, was in favour of a compromise with all the democratic and social-democratic leaders, and in order to achieve this aim—i.e., to extend the mass basis of fascism—advocated a broad amnesty, the abolition of the Special Courts and the Exceptional Laws, and taking a certain number of social-democratic leaders into the apparatus of the fascist State, the fascist trade unions, etc.

About 18 months ago Arpinati lost his fight and was dismissed from his post as Minister for the Interior, where he was in fact the acting Minister. However, Mussolini carried out a part of his programme: Amnesty (even if a very limited one), a fairly liberal interpretation of the amnesty decree itself, a little less harshness in the sentences of the Special Court, negotiations with the social-democratic leaders and a compromise with a group of them (the group connected with the former mayor of Milan, **Caldara**), on the basis of which this group would receive permission to publish a "socialist" paper.

But suddenly, shortly after the events of June 30 in Germany, there was a sharp swing to the Right in the whole home policy of Italian fascism. Up to the present **Caldara's** journal, which was to have appeared in July, has not yet been issued; the Special Court has increased the savagery of its sentences, and in the hope of thereby making a greater impression has even ceased to publish the names of condemned persons, confining itself to announcing the "crimes" of the accused and the sentence imposed; every-

where the oppression has become more stifling than in the past, and, finally, a few lines were published in the newspapers to the effect that **Leandro Arpinati** and several other fascists, including many former leaders of fascism in the **Emilia** district, had been expelled from the party, arrested and sent into banishment on account of lack of discipline.

The fascist newspapers, in their reports, do not give any details regarding the real causes of these drastic measures and regarding the activity of Arpinati and his followers. Nevertheless, we can assume that the expulsion of Arpinati from the fascist party and his arrest with 300 of his followers is a not unimportant episode in the political life of Italy, for it obviously shows: (1) the strained situation in Italy and the maturing of very acute antagonisms, which under the pressure of the discontent and the movement of the masses must inevitably break out openly; (2) the differences of opinion which—for the first time since the **Matteotti** crisis in 1924—are developing strongly within fascism, i.e., within the bourgeoisie of Italy, regarding the best way to prevent a considerable upsurge of this mass movement; (3) the small manoeuvring capacity which the bourgeoisie of Italy has to-day, as a result of which it is compelled brutally to suppress any attempt to render more mild its system of "totalitarian" terror and oppression.

The Upper Class Crisis in Rumania

By Victor Zitna (Bucharest)

Although there has been a certain improvement in a number of industries in direct connection with the increased preparations for war, other branches of industry in Rumania continue to show a downward tendency. Two of the main factors of the economic crisis in Rumania are the continued deficit in the balance of foreign trade and the depreciation of the lei, which has lost 30 per cent. of its par value.

In October, 1933, the **Vaida** government was compelled to stop transfer payments to meet Rumania's foreign debts, a measure which was greeted with howls of indignation in the French financial press. **Vaida's** government was later replaced by the existing **liberal government**, which opened up negotiations with the French creditors. An agreement has now been arrived at, according to which Rumania's creditors agree to abate their claims providing that they receive the rest of the payments regularly. One of the demands of Rumania's foreign creditors is that the government should balance its budget as some guarantee that the payments agreed to will actually be made. As the revenue of the government is steadily sinking on account of the increasing impoverishment of the working class and peasant masses, the technical adviser of the National Bank, **Roger Aubrin**, proposes that further cuts should be made in health, education and similar social expenditure.

These proposals have already been adopted by the government in effect and a start has been made with the dismissal of many thousands of officials. The government is unwilling to face parliament with its proposals, so, instead, it is asking for special powers which would permit it to issue "emergency decrees" off its own bat in order to "simplify the State apparatus." The appointment of all officials is to be revised, providing that they have been in the service of the State for no longer than ten years. The government move is directed in particular against those officials who are members of national minorities.

The government proposals have caused such indignation that its representatives have been compelled to beat a retreat temporarily, and **Tartarescu** announces that the government intends to obtain no more than an economy of 800 millions and that the proposed emergency decrees will probably not be completely carried out. He even suggests an all-round decrease in the salaries of all State officials instead of the proposed mass dismissals.

In its struggle for a balanced budget the government is also turning its attention to the pensioners. Their pensions are no longer to be paid in cash, but in tax coupons. The use of these coupons as means of exchange is becoming more and more common and represents a cloaked inflation. A congress of pensioners is to take place in Bucharest this month to discuss the new situation.

This year's budget deficit is estimated at three milliard lei, and the government proposes to float an internal loan to cover it, and at the same time to finance the organisation of an armament industry. The prospects of this loan are not very bright.

The general economic crisis and the growing resistance of the masses of the Rumanian workers and peasants, as shown in the

rising wave of strikes and in the campaign in connection with the trial of the railwaymen of Craiova, have caused reactions amongst the ruling classes themselves. The Rumanian bourgeoisie and the Boyars see no other solution for their troubles but the adoption of a fascist dictatorship, but there are strong differences of opinion in their ranks as to the best way to do so. Numerous combinations are being made at the moment in bourgeois political circles with a view to replacing the existing liberal government.

The Camarilla around the King has not abandoned its desire for an open fascist dictatorship based on the army, the "Iron Guards" and a certain number of politicians like Goga, Argetoianu and Averescu, but the liberals and the National Peasant Party, supported by the French Foreign Office, are opposed to this.

Inside the Liberal Party itself a struggle is proceeding between the old guard under Bratianu and the young guard under Tartarescu, the Prime Minister. Tartarescu is in favour of the continuation of martial law, the press censorship and the alteration of the constitution along authoritative lines. A group has also formed itself in the party under the influence of the masses which demands the maintenance of all democratic freedoms, but this is a manoeuvre to prevent the disappointed supporters of the party from breaking away and going over to the "Left."

Similar struggles are going on inside the National Peasant (Zaranist) Party. Maniu is well aware of the deep discontent of the masses and is trying to exploit this discontent in his own interests, whereby he has openly attacked the royal camarilla. His activity of late clearly shows that he is determined to carry on the struggle against that section of capitalism which finds its representatives in the royal camarilla and which enjoys the support of British and German imperialism. A meeting of his supporters in Sovata passed resolutions against martial law, against the press censorship, and against the proposed measures to dismiss many officials. The lawyer supporters of Maniu have offered to represent free of charge all those officials who are contemplating legal action against the government in defence of their rights. By these means the National Peasant Party hopes to retain its support amongst the masses. The Vaida fraction in the party openly opposes Maniu and supports the royal camarilla, but this fraction is in the minority.

The national congress of the National Peasant Party is to take place in September and it will draw up a programme for a new government. The party is striving to deceive the masses with phrases about "a new peasant State." In reality the programme of the party is a fascist one cloaked in demagogic phrases. The ideal of Mihalaches, the leader of the National Peasant Party, is to further the formation of a class of well-to-do peasants which would provide a solid basis for a National Peasant Party government. The party programme also provides for the re-valuation of the lei, a measure which would mean inflation and all its consequent miseries for the working class and peasant masses.

The unrest within the ranks of the ruling classes is the expression of the intensification of the economic crisis. We are witnessing what is really an "upper class crisis" of the Rumanian bourgeoisie. New groupings, new alignments, and new splits are taking place within the ranks of the bourgeoisie. The Communist Party of Rumania is utilising this situation in order to mobilise the masses of the workers and peasants, the officials, and the national minorities for a struggle to secure a revolutionary solution to the crisis.

The Revolutionary Movement of the Proletariat in Ecuador

By Ricardo A. Paredes

The world crisis of capitalism made itself felt also in Ecuador, a country ruled by imperialism and possessing many feudal features. The crisis brought about a sharper differentiation of the classes, whilst at the same time intensifying the differences within the ruling classes, and caused a regrouping of the political forces. The movement of the broad masses has also reached unprecedented dimensions.

The economic crisis in Ecuador is the most serious it has ever experienced. It has brought into movement the proletariat, which in the course of its struggles at the beginning of 1934 was able to lay the basis of a firm trade union movement.

The partial improvement of the economic situation which has set in recently is due mainly to inflationist measures. The imposition of protective tariffs on certain products manufactured in the

country, such as shoes, textile fabrics, flour, butter, etc., has led to considerable friction among the various groups of exploiters. The improvement in the economic situation is also due to the orders for war material, in particular shoes and grain, during the conflict between Colombia and Peru and the time of the mobilisation of the reserves in Ecuador.

This apparent revival, however, displays all the negative features and all the symptoms of a fresh intensification of the crisis, which is developing within the frame of the general crisis of capitalism.

The economic consequences of the policy of the bourgeoisie and of the feudal landlords are fatal for the toiling masses. As a result of inflation speculation was rampant, which caused an increase in the prices of all the important articles of consumption, in particular of goods imported from abroad. The price of medicines rose 300 per cent. and that of many industrial articles were doubled. The purchasing power of the masses greatly declined. Although a number of workers were again absorbed in industry, this took place at the cost of the remaining workers and employees, whose wages had fallen by at least a third during the last two years. The small pensioners and depositors have been ruined by the inflation.

The increase in prices and the demand for labour induced the workers to commence a struggle, which at the beginning bore the features of a struggle of the people for a reduction of the prices of articles of consumption, but which developed into a proletarian struggle as soon as the workers went on strike.

Since the end of 1933 the toilers of Ecuador have commenced to become more and more independent of bourgeois influence. The fierce struggle of the toiling masses against the Martinez Mera government of hunger and terrorism led to street demonstrations, political general strikes and protest movements of all kinds, which brought about the downfall of this government. But although the Communists were the most active fighters in the foremost ranks, the influence of the bourgeois opposition groups was still very considerable.

The recent struggles, however, in particular those in Guayaquil, already displayed a definite class character and had a clear Communist leadership, as a result of which the trade union movement in Ecuador received a powerful impetus. During 1934 the young Communist Party of Ecuador has consolidated itself, liquidated the fractional struggles, made a serious turn in its whole policy and taken up active trade union work.

The starting point of the proletarian movement in the present year was the setting up of the united front under the leadership of the Communist Party. The Communists penetrated into the labour organisations, a great number of which have even small employers in their ranks and tend to partake of the character of mutual benefit societies. In Guayaquil, where the labour struggles reached their highest point, the Communist Party at the beginning of 1934 possessed no influence in the proletarian organisations, because it was isolated from the masses, thanks to its wrong policy in the trade union sphere. By changing its methods of work the Party was able to establish the united front, and a unity committee against speculation was set up. The socialist party and the reformist trade unions, although at first offering fierce resistance, were compelled by the pressure of the masses to join the united front. Nearly all the organised forces of the workers in Guayaquil, the unions of workers and employees, the small traders, the C.P. and the S.P. joined the unity committee, which was reinforced during the struggle by new and reconstructed organisations.

The unity committee energetically set to work and compelled the municipal council of Guayaquil and the government to adopt measures against the speculators. In order to divert the movement, which had assumed dangerous dimensions for the bourgeoisie, the municipal council of Guayaquil, on the proposal of the socialist leaders, who had entered into negotiations behind the back of the unity committee, granted a loan of 10,000 sucres for the establishment of people's kitchens. The Communists exposed this manoeuvre and the loan was withdrawn.

From the first commencement of the struggle the Communists displayed their superiority over the two other wings of the movement: the anarcho-reformists and the socialists, who were fiercely opposed to each other and only united in their common attacks against the Communists. The anarcho-reformists and the socialists, however, withdrew from the unity committee just in the middle of the fiercest struggle, when a street demonstration was prohibited by the police. The Communists, however, succeeded in re-establishing the united front. The numerically insignificant anarcho-

reformists left the unity committee, but the socialists were compelled to remain in it, but continued their sabotage until they ultimately withdrew just before May 1.

As a protest against the prohibition of the street demonstrations the unity committee proclaimed a 24-hour general strike for May 1. A number of trade union committees were formed, which later developed into powerful trade unions. The Communist Party, which led the movement, worked in the unity committee through its fraction, and the Communists were the most active elements in the struggle. At that time the movement was an outspoken proletarian struggle, which was conducted for higher wages and for the trade union organisations.

The strike movement commenced this year with the spontaneous strike of the railway workers of *Puerto Bolivar*, which ended victoriously. In the factory "La Internacional" in *Quito*, the most important textile factory in the country, two strikes took place one after the other which led to the radicalisation of the workers of *Quito*. The strike of the slaughtermen in *Ambato*

ended without success owing to the lack of experience of the local Communists.

The government which had followed the Martinez Mera government attempted to frustrate the general strike on May 1 by proclaiming this day a national holiday. The workers thereupon proclaimed the strike in those undertakings which never stop working on such holidays: the telephone service, the street car and auto-bus service, etc., and fought with great energy, offering fierce resistance in the streets of *Guayaquil* to the attacks of the police. The railway workers joined in the general strike. In some factories the strike was continued and in many cases ended in success. The practical result of this strike movement was a powerful upsurge of the labour movement, in particular the creation of a number of important trade unions.

The young proletariat of Ecuador is faced with the prospect of big struggles. A fresh strike wave is imminent. It is the most important task of the Communists and of the revolutionary workers of Ecuador to prepare for these struggles.

Germany

The Nuremberg Congress and the Decline of National Socialism

As children in the dark shout the louder the more frightened they are, so Hitler's demonstrations are becoming noisier and more blatant the nearer he feels his fall approaching. Every possible arrangement was made to make this year's congress of the national socialist party in Nuremberg, "the congress of victory," superior in every way to last year's congress.

There were still greater masses hustled to the congress, still greater processions organised, still more armed men were concentrated, the decorations were still more pompous and still more speeches were delivered by the national socialist leaders. Only one thing was not greater and that was impossible to organise. The triumphant feelings which existed last year amongst great masses of the national socialist supporters were not present this year.

Every day a different division of national socialists marched past "the Leader," who took the salute, and in this way hundreds of thousands defiled before Hitler during the week of the congress. On the first day it was the men of the uniformed labour service companies. The next day it was the political formations of the national socialist party. The third day it was the Hitler Youth. The fourth day it was the storm troops (S.A.) and the special detachments (S.S.). And on the fifth day it was the Reichswehr. And every day it was the same picture: "the Leader," illuminated by Bengal lights, gesticulating and mouthing, the masses shouting "Heil!"

However, the fanfare of trumpets, the roll of drums, and the boastful phrases which roared over immense distances by powerful loud speakers were not sufficient to stifle completely the inner anxiety and the feelings of insecurity which expressed themselves in the speeches of "the Leader." Heavily-armed guard companies of the Reichswehr did duty night and day outside the hotel in which Hitler was staying, whilst the storm troops (S.A.), which had occupied such prominent positions a year ago, were kept well in the background and out of harm's way this year. Not all the solemn promises and oaths of "eternal fidelity" could wipe out the remembrance of the events of June 30 and the subsequent days. "The Leader" is afraid of his guards and the guards are afraid of their "Leader."

Behind the seat, almost one might say, the throne, of "the Leader" were imitations of the coronation insignia of the German imperial house. In this naive and absurd fashion "the Leader" indicated his secret longings.

At the opening session of the congress a *manifesto* of Hitler was read, drawing up a balance of the past year and pointing out the future tasks facing the movement. "The year," declared the *manifesto*, "brought with it the final consolidation of the power of national socialism in Germany." "Final consolidation"? What finally consolidated it? The massacre of Hitler's old friends and associates on June 30 and the subsequent days? Is it a sign of

"final consolidation" when the leaders of a movement begin to slaughter each other? Or was it the death of Hindenburg which gave Hitler the "supreme command" over the Reichswehr which brought about this "final consolidation"? More than once in the history of the world a despot has united supreme governmental power with the supreme command of the armed forces, but never once did that act prevent the development of a revolution. When Hitler decrees again and again "the national socialist revolution has been concluded," what does that indicate if not his constant fear of a new revolution? Precisely because Hitler and his accomplices can already hear the underground rumblings of the approaching revolution he is doing his best to give his allies courage. Hence his grotesque command to historical development:

"The nervous age of the twentieth century has found its final conclusion in our movement. During the next thousand years there will be no further revolution in Germany."

The revolutionary working class of Germany has defied the worst ravages of the Hitler terror for eighteen months and has continued its work for the proletarian revolution. It will hardly consider the mouthings of a megalomaniac as sufficient reason for abandoning its work. At last year's congress of the national socialist party Hitler delighted his followers with a theory that the working class was racially of too poor a stock ever to grasp the high ideals of national socialism. That was a frank confession of the inability of the national socialists to deceive the workers. Since then the course of development has shown more and more clearly that Hitler is losing the support of even those masses who had been deluded by his demagoguery. Hitler's manifesto quotes: Forty million voters for Germany's resignation from the League of Nations, 39 million voters for the national socialist Reichstag panel, and 38 million voters for Hitler as the supreme dictator of the German Reich, and describes this as "a gigantic development."

And in truth, the "gigantic successes" of national socialism on all fields bear a striking resemblance to this "gigantic development." Hitler declares that he is amused when the enemies of the national socialist regime point to the four million oppositional voters as a serious oppositional block. But since when does a normal man express amusement in the wildest and most reckless threats? The manifesto refers to the oppositional voters as "a group of outsiders, renegades and persons not wanted by us in any case," as "a Fronde of destructive elements" and as "simple fools." And amongst the tasks enumerated at the end of the manifesto is one which calls for a concentrated effort to win over these "misguided German people who belong to us by blood and who have not yet found the way into our ranks perhaps because of ignorance and delusion."

However, those who "imagine that they can now resume their old activity of destruction and sabotage" are threatened with "the

fist of the national socialist State, which will hit them hard, no matter who they may be."

That is not the language for people to adopt who claim to have founded an empire which will last for a thousand years. Rulers who really believe that the overwhelming mass of the people have confidence in them do not use such threats. That is the language of blood-thirsty tyrants who fear the growing anger of the exploited and oppressed masses and who tremble at the idea that the repressive measures against them may soon become ineffective.

This fear of the rulers of Germany is heightened by the fact that they know that in view of the present situation of extreme and intensifying economic crisis they have little room for social manoeuvres to deceive the masses. They must content themselves with repeating their old worn-out demagogic phrases and with consoling the masses with the promise of a better time in the far distant future. In his speech to the members of the labour service Hitler declared:—

"We do not want to be socialists in theory, but real national socialists in fact, and we intend to grasp this problem thoroughly and solve it thoroughly."

The real national socialism which Hitler promises here consists, however, only in the promise that the workers shall not be regarded as an inferior class.

With regard to the national socialist programme, Hitler asked for a prolongation of his promise for years, centuries in fact. There was not a single mention of the bumptious Four-Year Plan, but Hitler consoled his hearers with the following profound statement:—

"The final fulfilment of the national socialist State is therefore unfortunately dependent on the development of the national socialist education of our people. This, however, cannot be a matter of the immediate present; it is a task which will take a long time."

In another passage, however, Hitler declares that with the winning of all the positions of power in the State by national socialism all the necessary conditions have been created

"for a superior and effective fulfilment of the national socialist programme from above."

Despite this statement, however, the tasks which are to be fulfilled prior to the completion of the national socialist education of the German people, which is to take anything up to a thousand years are confined to the following list, as the concluding portion of the manifesto points out:—

The reorganisation of the national socialist organisations, their transformation into a "blood brotherhood" against which "anyone who dares to attack our national socialist State will be destroyed," the cleaning of the national socialist organisations from all those elements which are not prepared to belong to them "in absolute obedience," a new attack on all those who oppose the national socialist dictatorship, and the education of all the supporters of national socialism to self-sacrifice and patient steadfastness.

If one takes a closer look at the threats which have been uttered against the enemies of national socialism one observes that, despite the massacre of June 30 and the subsequent days, Hitler fears not only the indignation of the oppressed masses, but also treachery in his own ranks, a stab in the back from those powerful interests which raised him into the saddle and which could give him his marching orders at any time they thought fit to dispense with his services.

What else but this fear prompted the apparent tautology of the brilliant remark: "Where we stand no others are standing" and the threat:—

"Therefore we shall crush ruthlessly from the first moment of its appearance any attempt to overthrow the leadership of the national socialist movement and of the Reich by violence, no matter from whom it may come."

Perhaps he had in mind his friend *Goering*, who has once again been pushed very much into the background during the past few weeks and who wandered round the congress in full uniform like a lost dog and never took the floor even on one occasion. It was noteworthy that Hitler's immediate associates at the congress were such types as *Goebbels*, *Darré*, *Ley*, *Rosenberg*, *Streicher*, etc., all prominent national socialists, notorious for their unscrupulous demagogy and known as incompetent bunglers, adventurists and compromised corruptionists, and men enjoying no confidence in the ranks of Hitler's capitalist masters, *Krupp*, *Thyssen*, *Schacht*, etc.

Following on the massacre of the chief leaders of his storm troops (S.A.), the collapse of the putsch in Austria, and the reverse he suffered in the plebiscite of August 19, Hitler is apparently more than ever anxious about his own popularity, the continued support of the masses and the loyalty of his immediate followers, and he suspects conspiracies of the reactionaries and the monarchists everywhere, particularly in view of the rumours that they have taken up relations with *Goering*. At the time of the *Roehm* crisis he fled into the arms of *Goering* for protection, but at present it would seem as though he were looking for support against *Goering* from the demagogic wing of his party. This continued vacillation, which characterised his attitude prior to June 30, increases the confusion and uncertainty and aggravates the new conflicts which are developing within the fascist ranks. In a passage characterised by the grammatical weakness which has more than once made Hitler a laughing stock amongst intelligent Germans, he declares:

"Stability and self-confidence in the ranks of a ruling regime condition each other mutually and without them no success is possible."

For once the man who has a command over the German people, but none over the German language, is right here. Because the system is unstable and shaken to its foundations, "the Leader" is losing his confidence, and because he is growing more and more nervous and vacillating himself he heightens thereby the insecurity of his regime.

This inner insecurity and lack of confidence was expressed most clearly in Hitler's speech to the members of the storm troops (S.A.) and the special detachments (S.S.) who marched past him to the tune of the famous soldier's song "I had a Comrade," a gruesome and grotesque incident in view of the events of June 30. The torrent of Hitler's speech, usually interminable, was strangely diminished when he addressed his brown-shirted storm troops. It was probably the shortest speech he ever delivered. He declared that "the black shadow" which had gathered over the movement had had nothing to do with the storm troops. A fatuous remark in view of the fact that the Chief of Staff and dozens of the highest leaders of the storm troops were the victims of the slaughter. However, Hitler continued in this strain and declared his relation to his storm troops was the same as ever, and that only a lunatic or a liar could pretend to believe that he would dissolve that which had taken him years to build up.

Why then did Hitler feel it necessary to massacre the leaders of the storm troops after the government decision to reduce the size of the storm troops? Why did Hitler declare that the storm troops had been "unnecessarily increased in strength" in his speeches which followed the terrible events of June 30? Why does the manifesto to the party congress announce that it is necessary to clean up the storm troops? There were no answers to these obvious questions in Hitler's speech. Hitler still fears to acknowledge openly the orders he receives from his capitalist masters and which he carried out so brutally on June 30. The less he feels loyalty to his followers the more eagerly does he swear that he will remain loyal to them eternally.

Our murdered comrade *John Scheer* declared in an article written shortly before his death, that the 1933 congress of the national socialist party was a threat to the working class and a war parade of German imperialism. This year the military character of the congress was more strongly emphasised than ever. The 50,000 members of the labour service companies marched in uniform and in military formation with spades over their shoulders like rifles. The nationalist socialist Secretary of State, *Hierl*, declared that he spoke in the name of 250,000 men trained in the labour service camps. It is clear that these men are trained reserves of the Reichswehr, although their training is poor and they represent a by no means reliable body.

Although there were enough pacifist phrases, the usual war incitement was not neglected. There was no applause when Hitler delivered his prepared pacifist phrases, but the applause came when he declared unmistakably that he would be prepared to "guard the honour of the German people with all means." The manifesto declares that the German people wish to live in peace and friendship with "those nations which were formerly hostile to us," recognising that "a new war would lead to nothing but Communist chaos." The aim of this remark was apparently to warn the imperialists against wars between themselves and to turn their attention to the more desirable aim of a war against the Com-

munist world power, the Soviet Union. Rosenberg was even clearer in his speech on "the rise of the youth throughout the world." His speech was full of unqualified abuse against the Soviet Union, "where," according to Rosenberg, "scores of millions of people are being forced to do inhuman labour." The protagonists of forced labour for the unemployed and the sending of unemployed young workers willy-nilly into the country districts for hard labour have every cause to protest about "forced labour in the Soviet Union," but apparently Rosenberg is in agreement with Goebbels, who declared in his speech that propaganda was "a matter of productive phantasy." However, if Schacht puts his threat of stopping the 120 million marks in foreign currency which have previously been granted to Goebbels for foreign propaganda into execution, Goebbels will find it difficult to put his "productive fantasy" into action abroad.

This money was wasted, literally wasted, and that was confirmed by the contempt with which almost all foreign diplomatic representatives in Germany treated the invitations to be present at the congress. Only Japan and Poland were represented at Nuremberg. All the other imperialist powers had preferred to stay away. Last year the general secretary of the Italian fascist party was present at the congress and the two fascist movements fraternised, but this year Mussolini used the opportunity offered by the congress to hurl words of contempt and menace at "the barbarians across the Alps."

It is hardly necessary to point out that the balance of the past year of national socialist activity on the economic field is, if anything, worse than the results of its activities on the foreign political field. The loud-mouthed bellows, so full of words on other subjects, had not a word to say about the economic prospects. Even one of the "co-ordinated" newspapers could not conceal its dismay at the flagrant contradiction between the bumptious confidence in the prospects of "the next thousand years" and the complete uncertainty with regard to the immediately ensuing months. Carefully inserted in the usual mass of praise and declarations of eternal loyalty, the "*Berliner Tageblatt*" published the following sceptical remarks:—

"Even one year can prove to be a very long time when a people is in urgent need. One winter can be dangerous when the poor are cold and hungry. . . . A thousand years represent a long span of time. State forms, cultural forms and peoples come and go. What was once great can be forgotten when such a span of time is passed. We mortals do not know how long the ideas of national socialism will live."

That is perfectly true. None of us know exactly how long, but we do know that the national socialist regime will last not a thousand years, but hardly a few years more. Referring in his manifesto to the enemies of his regime, Hitler declared:—

"They represent nothing but opposition. They have neither belief nor a programme."

A man dares to say that who has himself so brutally disappointed the belief his supporters once had in him, and who now, although he possesses the whole power in the State, has no other programme but the terroristic defence of capitalist rule. The opposition in Germany has neither belief nor programme. Would it be possible that without a programme and without a firm belief in their mission to emancipate the German people hundreds of thousands of Communists and other workers could stand the maltreatment and torture of the concentration camps, the risks of the daily illegal work, the threat of the bloody courts of Hitler, the threat of death at the hands of the fascist executioners. Would this be possible unless the men and women concerned believed steadfastly in their cause?

During the eighteen months it has ruled Germany national socialism has proved to the full that it represents nothing but a programme of mass deception and the brutal use of the State power against the people in the interests of capitalism. The working class and the other sections of the toiling people will not let themselves be consoled with a promise of good times in the next thousand years. They are rallying more and more round the programme which led the Russian workers to overthrow the bloody edifice of Tzarism and capitalism, and to build up socialism in a great struggle to expel misery, hunger, exploitation and oppression from the world, round the programme which alone can free Germany from hunger, misery, slavery and impoverishment for ever, round the programme of the Communist Party.

Nuremberg and the Abandoned Nazi Programme

The Emancipation Programme of the C.P.G. Shows the Masses of German Workers the Way Out

The Nazi Party Congress in Nuremberg is meeting at a time of crisis of the Hitler dictatorship. This crisis had already commenced in spring as a result of the elections to the factory "confidence councils." On June 30 it broke out openly. In the past two months it has become increasingly acute. A plain sign of this is the defeat which Hitler, as the embodiment of the dictatorship of finance capital, sustained at the plebiscite on August 19. If the fascist rulers, even in spite of terror and falsifications, are compelled to admit that 7.5 million votes were cast against Hitler, this only shows how deep the crisis of the fascist dictatorship is.

The crisis will give its stamp to the Nuremberg Congress. The party congress has the task of continuing the work which Hitler commenced with the "clean-up" on June 30. There is to be no more talk of the "second revolution." At the same time the party congress will prepare the way for the carrying out of a new and increased employers' offensive.

The second question is the intensified war incitement of the fascists, which is intended, on the one hand, to divert attention from inner difficulties and, on the other hand, ideologically to prepare the country for war. In the last few weeks the Hitler government has greatly increased its endeavours to bring about an anti-Soviet bloc. The fascist government of Germany is more and more copying in Eastern Europe the provocative actions of Japanese imperialism in the Far East.

Of course, the Nazis will continue their social demagogy and their talk about "German socialism," etc., in order to retain their control over the masses. But this demagogy is becoming increasingly difficult for them because the situation more and more imperatively demands of them that they openly carry out the policy of finance capital.

With the shots fired on June 30, with which it was intended to destroy every idea of the second revolution, any hope of the demagogic promises being fulfilled—with these shots Hitler at the same time riddled the programme of the national socialist party, the chief document of national socialist demagogy. The leaders of the national socialist party solemnly declared that this programme was "unalterable," and swore to defend it with their lives. The Supreme Leader himself has now torn it to shreds. Whoever in the Third Reich now ventures to demand the fulfilment of the "unalterable" 25 points does so at the risk of his life.

The Nazis would, therefore, like their programme to sink into forgetfulness. We Communists, however, must see that the masses are again and again reminded of these 25 points, and at the same time we must proclaim our programme of social and national emancipation of the German people. On the occasion of the Nuremberg Party Congress of the National Socialist Party we call to the masses of the Nazi followers: You employees, members of the middle class and peasants have already come to see that this programme represents lies and deception. You are seeking for a new way in order to escape from poverty and misery. Our programme of emancipation for the working people of Germany, the programme of the Communist Party, shows you this way. This programme does not promise you a paradise in the future. It tells you what you yourselves will accomplish with the aid of your mass strength under the leadership of the C.P.G., and what you must do to-day in order to achieve your emancipation.

In the fight against the Versailles slavery the Hitler party demanded in its programme:

"(1) We demand the union of all Germans in one great Germany on the basis of the peoples' right of self-determination.

(2) We demand the equality of the German people with other nations, abolition of the peace treaties of Versailles and St. Germain."

The Hitler government has been in power for twenty months, and which of these programme demands have been realised? None whatever! Hitler has abandoned the idea of the union of all German people. He has converted Germany into a hell for the German working people and into a source of war, and thereby barred the way to the Reich to the German working people in Austria, South Tyrol, Upper Silesia, Danzig and the Saar. Instead of securing the right of self-determination and equality of all

German people Hitler has robbed the German people of all rights. Only the financial magnates and the fascist gangsters in their pay have any rights in Germany. Hitler has not abolished the Treaty of Versailles. He has converted Germany into a hotbed of imperialist war and imposed heavy armament burdens on the German workers, which are greater than even the reparations burdens were. Hitler could not and cannot bring the working people of Germany national emancipation.

The Communists however, will be able to do so! They hold the key to national emancipation in their hands. The Communist Party and its emancipation programme declares that national emancipation can be achieved only through and together with social emancipation. In order to shake off the Versailles yoke, the yoke of imperialism in general, including German imperialism, must be shaken off. Only the Soviet power, won under Communist leadership, can give the working people real right of self-determination. Only the Soviet power, therefore, can unite the whole of the German people. Immediately after the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship and the setting up of the workers' and peasants' rule the following measures will be carried out:

"The German Soviet Power, under the leadership of the Communists, will conclude a fraternal alliance with the U.S.S.R., arm all working people and create a powerful red army. In alliance with the working people of the U.S.S.R. Poland, France, Czechoslovakia, England, etc., it will secure union with Soviet Germany to those German districts which express a wish for it and declare null and void all the imperialist treaties concluded by the bourgeoisie against the interests of the workers."

The Nazis made most extravagant promises in connection with the fight against capitalist mismanagement. Their "unalterable" programme contains, for example, the following demands:

"(11) Abolition of unearned incomes, breaking of the chains of interest slavery.

"(12) In view of the enormous sacrifice in blood and treasure which every war demands of the people, personal enrichment by war must be regarded as a crime against the people. We therefore demand the complete confiscation of all war profits.

"(13) We demand nationalisation of all trusts and monopolies.

"(14) We demand profit-sharing in the big undertakings.

"(15) We demand large-scale extension of the provision for aged people.

"(16) We demand ruthless fight against those who by their activity injure the common interests. Common criminals, usurers, profiteers, etc., are to receive capital punishment, no matter what their religion or race."

The Hitler government has not only fulfilled these programme points, but in its whole policy has done the exact contrary. Unearned incomes have not been abolished but increased. Not a single shareholder has been expropriated. The brown-shirt bureaucracy swallows up millions without work. As Hitler himself admitted, one S.A. bureaucrat in Berlin squandered 30,000 marks a month alone on banquets. Hitler himself is drawing 420,000 marks a year from the Eher publishing firm and 189,000 marks from the "Voelkischer Beobachter" without doing a stroke of work in return. Interest slavery has not been abolished, but finance capital has set up its terrorist dictatorship.

Not a single war profiteer has had to give up a penny. Instead, Hitler has now secured for Krupp, Thyssen, Roehling, etc., who made huge profits in the world war, further huge war profits from armament orders. To these new war profiteers there are now added the jackals of the "labour battlefield," who are receiving millions in connection with Hitler's "work provision" scheme. Whilst the "labour battle" brought the working masses robbery of unemployment benefit, wage cuts and compulsory contributions, higher prices—in a word, a further worsening of their condition, a small stratum of rich capitalists were able to increase their profits still more. The Hitler government, of course, does not think of taking away from the capitalists the profits they have made out of the "labour battle."

Instead of the trusts being expropriated, the State property is being flung to the financial capitalists. Thus the Third Reich has given back its share in the big banks; it has sold its railway preference shares to the private capitalists, handed over public utilities to private capital, etc. Naturally, there can be no talk of workers having a share of profits. Dividends and profits are increasing, but wages are falling. It is only the national socialist bureaucrats who

share in the profits. Old age insurance and social insurance in general are not being developed but cut down. Pensions are being reduced, insured persons are deprived of any control of the health insurance institutions.

Not a single money-lender, profiteer, etc., has been executed. On the other hand, over 40 revolutionaries who fought against the system of the extortioners and profiteers have been slaughtered. Hundreds of honest class fighters, among them our unforgettable John Scheer, have been "shot while attempting to escape." Capitalist mismanagement has not been abolished. For the sake of capitalist profits Hitler is driving Germany to disaster. **Only Communism can bring salvation.**

In our emancipation programme we Communists show you the way out of the capitalist hell. We say to all you toilers, that you can achieve socialism only if you violently shatter the power of the bourgeoisie and their fascist State apparatus, if in its place you set up the dictatorship of the proletariat and use it in order to expropriate the capitalists. The abolition of capitalism and the building up of socialism are impossible without the abolition of the private property of the capitalist exploiters. Therefore, the way out of capitalist misery must lead to the Soviet power.

"The German Soviet Republic, under the leadership of the Communists, will ruthlessly put a check to the machinations of the bank magnates and exploiters, and unhesitatingly expropriate without compensation all the banks, the big enterprises, railways, the stores of the big capitalists and convert them into social property. It will nationalise wholesale trade, free the workers from predatory profitmakers, and crush with an iron fist any speculation.

"Under the leadership of the Communists the German Soviet Republic will take possession of all the food and articles of necessity in warehouses and granaries and place the food at the disposal of the unemployed and all those in need."

"The German Soviet Republic, under the leadership of the Communists, will, by introducing the seven-hour day, the five-day working week, and increasing the purchasing power of the masses, secure work and bread for all unemployed. It will increase wages by abolishing the profits of the employers, the unproductive expenditure involved in the capitalist method of production, and all expenditure for imperialist armaments. To all parasites it will ruthlessly apply the principle: He who does not work, neither shall he eat! By taking over the whole means of production it will create the pre-conditions for an unprecedented revival of the country in the interest of the working masses themselves and create pre-conditions for the development of foreign trade, in the first place with the U.S.S.R."

In order to do away with the misery of the peasants the national socialist party demanded in its programme:—

"(17) We demand a land reform adapted to our national requirements, a law for the expropriation of land, without compensation, for the benefit of the community, abolition of ground rent and prohibition of the speculation in land."

Already in 1928 Hitler, under the pressure of his big capitalist backers, was obliged to declare that he was not in favour of the expropriation of the big landowners. When he obtained power in 1933 he buried all his promises and consoled the peasants with a "Four-Year Plan." He has been in power 20 months. No land reform has been carried out, no law introduced for the expropriation of land for the benefit of the community. Ground rent has not been abolished. Nothing has been done against speculation in land. The peasant has not received any land. On the other hand, Hindenburg, Goering and other Brown bureaucrats, as well as the junkers, have been given land which was the property of the State or municipalities. The whole reactionary agrarian legislation of the Hitler government is directed against the working peasants; it serves to strengthen the position of the big junkers and the big peasants. Only Communism, only the Soviet power can help the peasants.

"The German Soviet Republic, under the leadership of the Communists will expropriate, without compensation, the whole of the landed estates of the big landlords, the churches and cloisters, of the Hohenzollerns and the princes, together with all the buildings and appurtenances thereto belonging, and hand them over gratis to the peasants and landworkers for their free use."

In order to "save the middle class" from ruin, the programme of the national socialist party demanded: —

"(18) We demand the creation of a sound middle class, immediate (!) municipalisation of the big stores, which will then be let at cheap prices to small tradespeople."

Hitler has been in power for 20 months, and what has become of the "immediate" municipalisation of the big stores? The retail traders and artisans are being ousted more than ever by the big monopolies and multiple stores. The middle class is being plunged into deeper misery. It is oppressed by a heavy burden of taxation. The middle class can only be saved by Communism, by the Soviet power.

In the "fight" against "corruption and bureaucracy," the Hitler programme demanded:—

"(6) We fight against the corrupting parliamentary system of giving positions to people simply because they belong to a certain party, without regard being paid to their character or capacity."

Nowhere in the world has there been such a developed bureaucracy and such a swamp of corruption as has existed in Germany since Hitler came to power.

In the German Soviet Republic the masses will thoroughly clean out this Brown Augean stable of corruption.

"The German Soviet Republic, under the leadership of the Communists, will shatter the bourgeois State apparatus from top to bottom and secure the participation of all workers in the State government on the basis of proletarian democracy by means of the Soviets, as well as in the control and management of the banks, industry, railways, the big agricultural undertakings and the whole of the social property."

This comparison of our emancipation programme with the points of the Nazi programme shows that the Nazi programme has long since become a scrap of paper, but that our programme embodies the demands and desires of the broad masses of toilers. After the Nuremberg Party Congress a new wave of disappointment will sweep over the Nazi followers. For this party congress cannot and will not bring the masses anything.

What did the previous party congress bring? Instead of the fulfilment of their hopes, the party congress of 1933 offered the masses nothing but race incitement. It brought an increased anti-Semitic campaign in order to cloak the terror campaign against the proletariat. In his last article our unforgettable John Scheer gave a profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of the 1933 Nuremberg party congress. In this article he wrote regarding anti-Semitism:—

"Anti-Semitic incitement is always directed in the first place against the revolutionary proletariat. Anti-Semitic actions are launched by the bourgeoisie in critical times in order to frustrate the revolutionary class struggle."

The correctness of these words is demonstrated on the occasion of every anti-Jewish incitement staged by the Nazis.

This year the disappointment and resentment of the one-time Nazi followers became apparent already before the party congress. The great success of the anti-fascist fighting front, under the leadership of the C.P.G., at the plebiscite on August 19 has increased the fighting spirit and determination of the masses. The party congress will not be able to check this development. It will not stop the crisis of the Hitler dictatorship. We must therefore propagate and explain more energetically our emancipation programme among the working masses. This programme is the banner in the fight for the German Soviet power. The task of the present moment is to rally the toiling masses round this programme, to lead them into the fight for their daily interests on the basis of this programme.

It is necessary to set up a broad united action of all who are fighting against Hitler. Joint action of the Communists and of the existing social democratic groups against fascism! Win these groups for the proletarian organisational unity in the C.P.G.! In the fight against economic misery and the increased capitalist offensive it is necessary to launch and organise mass struggles for higher wages and relief. Re-establishment of the free trade unions as organs of the class struggle, that is the slogan under which the workers in the factories create trade union unity.

Unemployed, offer active resistance to all attempts to press you into labour service! Refuse en masse to carry out the commands of the fascist labour officials!

Away with all compulsory contributions, not a penny to the Brown corruption funds! Peasants, demand and fight for drought relief!

Defend yourselves against the Brown terror. Mass resistance

to the terror! Hinder the State Secret Police spies in their contemptible work!

Members of the Labour Front, the Hitler Youth, and all fascist mass organisations! Organise the fight against the fascist starvation dictatorship! Render the work of the bureaucrats impossible wherever you can! Use these mass organisations in order to rally all revolutionary forces!

Fight for the release of Ernst Thaelmann and all anti-fascist prisoners!

S.A. men! Hitler and the national socialist party have betrayed you! They are your enemies! Fight with us against this common enemy! Follow the example of our comrade Scheringer!

We workers and toilers have only one enemy: the fascist dictatorship of finance-capital. Therefore we want to fight all in one front for its overthrow, for the victory of Socialism.

The Faked Annual Account of National Socialism

Hitler's manifesto to the party congress in Nuremberg, and the speeches of his press chief Dietrich, the Secretary of State Reinhardt, Minister Darré and the corrupt chief of the "Labour Front" Ley contain various figures intended to illustrate the magnificent successes of the past year of national socialist rule in Germany. The real results of the national socialist regime are too obvious to be cloaked by such figures, for the masses feel them directly in the increase of prices, the decrease of wages, the expulsion of young workers from the industrial areas to perform forced labour in the country, and the progressive impoverishment of the petty-bourgeoisie and of the peasantry. Despite this, however, we intend to compare a number of facts with the fake statistics offered at the Nuremberg congress.

(1) According to *Dietrich* the income from land and forestry has increased from 3.75 milliard marks in 1932 to 4.35 milliard marks in 1933, that is, by 600 million marks. According to *Darré* the price yield of agriculture increased by 800 million marks. If these figures are correct then the urban population of Germany must have expended 800 million marks more in foodstuffs in 1933 although the wage income of the workers in the towns did not increase. At the same time the situation of the mass of poor peasants has not improved, so that the 800 million marks must have gone into the pockets of the big landowners.

(2) The value of industrial production is said to have increased from three milliard marks in January, 1933, to 3.86 milliard marks in January, 1934, and to 4.40 milliard marks in July, 1934. According to the very unreliable official statistics of the fascists themselves wage income during the first quarter of 1933 was 5 milliards, in the first quarter of 1934 5.8 milliards, and in the second quarter of 1934 6.5 milliard marks (after deducting a million marks for the salaries of the State officials, etc.). From these figures it follows that under the Hitler regime the share of the working class in the values produced by it has fallen from 17 to 15 per cent.

(3) The national income, which includes according to the usual capitalist computation the income of all classes of the population, including the capitalists themselves, is said to have increased by about a milliard in 1933 as compared with 1932. However, the wage income of the working class has increased, according to official figures, from 25.9 to 26.1 milliard marks, or by 200 million marks. On the other hand, however, even the official statistics admit that at least 500 million marks were "economised" in unemployment insurance payments. According, therefore, even to the faked official figures, the total income of the working class during 1933 decreased by about 300 million marks, whilst on the other hand the possessing classes have to thank Hitler for an increase of a milliard marks in their income.

(4) According to the press chief Dietrich, the confidence of the people in the stability of the currency and in the favourable development of the economic system was expressed in savings activities. Savings bank deposits increased from 9.9 milliard marks at the end of 1932 to 11.7 milliard marks at the end of June, 1934, or a monthly average increase of 100 million marks. In the crisis year 1930-31 the savings bank deposits increased from nine milliard marks to 11 milliard marks, or by an average of 111 million marks a month. In other words, the confidence of the small savers in the economic situation was greater under the rule of the "cursed Marxists" than it is under Hitler. Before the period of economic crisis, however, the average monthly increase was 170 million marks. Since May, 1934, however, the picture has changed,

and the volume of deposits is going down. It decreased by six million marks in May and by no less than 45 million marks in June. If the earlier increase in savings bank deposits is to be regarded as a sign of confidence in Hitler, then the decrease which is at present taking place is just as surely a sign that *that former confidence is waning*.

(5) And now for the most important figures which go to prove the "successes" of the national socialists on the economic field. The national socialist leaders are still brazen enough to assert that they have reduced the volume of unemployment from 6 to 2.4 millions, that they have thus given "bread and work" to 3.6 millions of unemployed workers. In reality, of course, it is not possible to take the unemployment figures of January, 1933, the worst point of the seasonal unemployment, for the purposes of comparison. According to the official figures of the health insurance authorities the number of insured workers employed increased from 13.4 millions in July, 1933, to 15.5 millions in July, 1934. However, amongst these registered workers are about a million in the labour service camps, in the land helpers scheme and on task work. These men, many of whom have been driven out of their homes in the towns into the country areas, are working excessively for "wages" which are lower than the unemployment rates were which they formerly received. Another million approximately may have found work, owing chiefly to the increased production of the war industries, but masses of workers are on short time and earning wages so low that their condition is little better if at all than it was when they were unemployed. And then there is the important fact that the cost of living in Germany has increased considerably, a fact which is conveniently ignored by the national socialist statisticians. As an example, the price of peas was 26 pfennig a pound last year, whilst this year at the same time the price is 32 pfennig a pound and has even risen lately to 40 pfennig a pound. The price of haricot beans has risen recently from 18 to 22 pfennig a pound, lentils from 23 to 26 pfennig a pound, and the cheapest sorts of jam from 40 to 45 pfennig a pound.

Let us mention in conclusion that since Hitler's accession to power the gold and foreign exchange funds of the Reichsbank have been reduced from a milliard marks to 78 millions, that as a result of a shortage of raw materials the German textile industry is working no more than a 36-hour week, that the supplies of cotton are sufficient for two months' normal consumption only, that six foreign countries have already threatened to establish compulsory clearing houses in order to recoup themselves for the sums owing to them by German importers, that in all foreign countries Germany's credit is completely ruined, that Germany's balance of foreign trade in the first six months of 1934 ended with a deficit of 252 million marks, and that the trade turnover is below even the low level of the crisis year 1932, and our readers will have a good idea of the real "successes" of the national socialist activity on the economic field.

The Struggle of the World Relief Committee Against the Wholesale Executions in Germany

By H. D.

On August 30 our comrades *Hans Voit* and *Friedrich Rapior* were executed in Dortmund, allegedly for having on March 7, 1934, killed an S.A. man. This new judicial murder adds one more to the innumerable bloody crimes committed by the Hitler fascists.

Ninety-two death sentences against anti-fascists in hardly 14 months, 41 executions, 15 death sentences commuted to lifelong imprisonment, 36 prisoners in the condemned cells awaiting execution, 92 murders carried out under the pretext of intellectual instigation, murders of anti-fascist workers. The execution of our comrades *Luetgens* and *Huetting*, the condemnation to death of *Broede* and *Matern*, of *Epstein* and *Ziegler*, must become a signal for an energetic international campaign against the shame of wholesale executions.

Several weeks ago the World Relief Committee called upon the toilers and the intellectuals, all anti-fascist forces of the world, to carry out such a campaign. The C.C. of the C.P. of Germany, in its resolution of August 1, 1934, attaches the greatest importance to the campaign against the wholesale executions in Germany. It states:—

"The C.C. of the C.P. of Germany instructs the Party organisations and the mass organisations to prepare for open demonstrations of larger masses of workers against the continued execution of revolutionary workers. The workers must

under no circumstances permit any further executions without protesting against them by means of broad mass actions. It is the task of the Party to prepare these actions already at the commencement of the trials."

The World Relief Committee endeavoured to win the masses of toilers and intellectuals on an international scale for this campaign and to arouse their solidarity for the struggle of the heroic German anti-fascists. The slaughter of the three young workers *Huetting*, *Woythe* and *Rochow* on June 15, which coincided with the five death sentences in the Buelow Square and Horst Wessel trials, were storm signals. On June 23 the "**Gegen-Angriff**" published an article by **Comrade Muenzenberg**: "Nobody can Remain Silent any Longer!" in which he stated:—

"The most courageous and best champions of the German revolutionary youth are being cowardly murdered in cold blood. The most courageous and most loyal champions of the German working class are being dragged to the scaffold by Hitler's executioners. It is inconceivable that a great part of world public opinion can keep silent any longer in face of this cowardly legalised slaughter of innocent, defenceless prisoners."

On June 30, the St. Bartholomew night of German fascism, the World Relief Committee issued an appeal protesting against the fascist bloody justice. This appeal, which was issued together with the manifestoes of Relief Committees in Great Britain, in the United States and in France, was signed by 70 well-known intellectuals and prominent personalities in public life.

At the same time the "**Gegen-Angriff**" received a number of declarations from individual anti-fascists of all countries in support of the protest of the World Relief Committee. Count Michael Karoly, in an Open Letter which appeared in "**Gegen-Angriff**" on June 30, demanded that the wholesale executions in Germany be combated with the same energy displayed by the anti-fascist intellectuals and toilers of the whole world in the campaign to rescue Dimitrov and Thaelmann. A great number of German anti-fascist writers and artists publicly endorsed the slogan: "Nobody can remain silent any longer!"

The anti-fascist organisations in the various countries have done their utmost to support this campaign. On the suggestion of the British Relief Committee, a meeting of the "Women's International Peace Crusade," held in London on June 25, unanimously adopted a resolution protesting against the legal murders, against the People's Court, and demanding the release of *Ernst Thaelmann* and all persons awaiting execution in the dungeons of the Third Reich. At the beginning of July the World Committee against War and Fascism, together with other big anti-fascist mass organisations, issued a manifesto calling for more energetic action against the bloody sentences of the Hitler Courts. At the same time the first delegate conference of the World Relief Committee, attended by delegates of anti-fascist factory committees, trade unions, pacifist and jurists' organisations, was held in Paris.

In New York, during the Thaelmann campaign, Comrade Muenzenberg spoke at a meeting attended by 15,000 workers and called upon the hearers to intensify the campaign against the executions in Hitler Germany. At meetings in Philadelphia, Detroit, Chicago, Milwaukee and in a number of other towns, attended by thousands of Ford workers, jurists, writers, doctors, members of proletarian cultural organisations, the slogan: An end with the murders! Down with the murderers! was popularised.

At the end of July the World Relief Committee issued a detailed bulletin enumerating the 92 judicial murders committed or planned in Hitler Germany and investigating all these cases from a juridical point of view. Stirred by the rousing letter of Comrade *Hermann Fischer*, who was executed on May 19, more than 100 letters were sent to intellectuals and organisations calling upon them to organise the sending of letters to the condemned in the death cells of Hitler Germany, relief by means of patronage of the families of the executed anti-fascists and those condemned to death in Germany. In the big winter relief campaign of the World Relief Committee, by which it is intended to supply the families of 125,000 political prisoners of Hitler Germany with food, clothing and money, the relatives of the death candidates will receive first consideration.

Since August 19 the campaign against the wholesale executions has entered a fresh stage. Simultaneously with Hitler's sham amnesty manoeuvres, fresh mass arrests of anti-fascist workers, intellectuals, etc., are taking place. Monstrous sentences are being pronounced every day by the People's Court in Moabit behind

closed doors. The blood which was shed on August 30 in Dortmund must cause the anti-fascists of the whole world to intensify their struggle, to redouble their efforts for the rescue of those who are still alive. Who will be the next victim? How many signed death sentences are still in the desks of the "People's" judges?

The struggle has commenced; it must be continued and extended. It is necessary to organise individual and collective protest declarations, mass letters to the death cells in Germany, practical help in the form of patronages and relief actions in ever larger numbers until not a single fascist Court in Germany and no brown hangman will dare to lay a hand on an anti-fascist, until we have enforced the release of Ernst Thaelmann and all hostages and victims of fascism, together with the comrades in the condemned cells of the Third Reich.

International Campaign for the Release of Thaelmann

ROMAIN ROLLAND ACCEPTS POSITION OF HONORARY PRESIDENT OF THE RELEASE COMMITTEE

Zurich, September 10.

The indefatigable veteran Romain Rolland has written the following letter to the International Release Committee, accepting the position of Honorary President of that body:

"For us Thaelmann is more than the brave, honest and upright man he has always been. He has become the symbol of the proletariat, which, though forced to retreat for the time being, is nevertheless unvanquishable, and to-morrow will be victorious. He is the flag of our international faith.

Romain Rolland."

Villeneuve (Vaud), Switzerland, September 1, 1934.

THE AUTHOR M. BROD AND THE COMPOSER H. KRASA SUPPORT THAELMANN CAMPAIGN

Prague, September 8.

The Czech historian Professor Nejedly has issued a protest appeal—which has already been published—for Thaelmann, Ossietzky, Renn, and the other victims of fascism. This is now receiving the support of a number of well-known persons in Prague. The author, Max Brod, writes: "I have read Professor Nejedly's appeal against the imprisonment of Thaelmann, Renn and Ossietzky, and join in this protest.—Dr. Max Brod." The composer Hans Krasa has sent in a similar declaration.

BRILLIANT MASS DEMONSTRATION FOR THAELMANN

A mass demonstration, organised by the Red Aid in a workers' district of Gothenburg, was attended by over 2,000 persons. The demonstration adopted a sharp resolution to be sent to the Swedish Government, protesting against the expulsion from the country of political refugees, and demanding at the same time that the German Government should release Thaelmann. In the course of the demonstration 108 new members joined the I.L.D.

THAELMANN CAMPAIGN IN SPAIN

Madrid, September 5.

The Spanish Committee for the Release of Thaelmann has resolved to take the following measures for intensifying the campaign: Regular publication of a bulletin for the whole Spanish press, development of the Release Committees in the provinces, seaports, and large works and factories, formation of women's commissions, distribution of literature.

The Juridical Commission, under the leadership of Victoria Kent, has at the same time issued an appeal to the Spanish jurists of all anti-fascist tendencies to intensify the struggle for Thaelmann's release.

The Union Socialista de Cataluna (Socialist Party of Catalonia, government party, not affiliated to the Second International) has declared its entry into the Thaelmann Committee, and has placed its press and active workers at the disposal of the committee for developing the campaign in Catalonia.

The best known barrister in Catalonia, Angel Samblancant, has taken over the leadership of the Catalonian Juridical Thaelmann Committee. The Union Socialista de Cataluna has decided to send eight social-democratic lawyers to take part in this committee. The committee has made a thorough study of the whole of the material, conferred with a representative of the International Release Committee, and has resolved to sign all the communiqués issued by the International Juridical Commission in Paris, led by the barrister Campinchi.

Great Britain

The Lesson of September Ninth

By Harry Pollitt (London),

On September 9 the London workers answered the call of the Anti-Fascist Co-ordinating Committee to "drown the Blackshirts in a sea of organised working-class activity," by demonstrating in larger numbers than on any occasion since May Day, 1926. In the face of the organised opposition of the Reformist Labour Movement the workers turned out in such numbers that, according to the "Manchester Guardian," the Blackshirts and their supporters were outnumbered by twenty to one.

If ever there was a time when it was justified in feeling proud of membership of the C.P.G.B. it has been during these recent months, when each day has seen the Communist Party giving the lead in the fight against our class enemies, a lead which has been followed by an increasing number of workers.

Every member, every unit of the C.P.G.B. was mobilised for September 9, and the whole campaign was carried out in an atmosphere of intense enthusiasm. It was a model of the way in which political campaigns should be run. This is not to say that our campaign was free of weaknesses and of mistakes—from the latter we shall profit in the future. But in spite of all weaknesses the mass of workers realise that September 9 would have been an impossibility without the Communist Party. This is a fact we must hammer home.

The campaign marks a tremendous advance. It exposed more clearly than ever before the supine and defeatist leadership of the Labour Party, who urged the workers to "keep away from Hyde Park," and who tried to hold the ring for Mosley. The line of the Citrines and Hendersons was the line of the capitalist press. With one voice they urged the workers to listen to their leaders, to be deaf to the call of the Communists.

To this the Communist Party replied:—

"Fight fascism now; its growth can be arrested: it can be defeated."

Now we must go forward to reap where we have sown, to build up our Party. This is the important task, although its full importance is not yet realised by a large proportion of our membership. Our comrades have shown themselves to be tireless in their activity, to be self-sacrificing in all that they do; nevertheless, the building of the Party, the recruiting of members is the last thought—not the first—in their minds.

Yet, and no one knows it better than our members, without a truly mass Communist Party there can be no effective united front, no successful advance, no victorious conquest of our class enemies, no successful revolution, no building up of socialism. This is a fact beyond dispute.

There are in Britain countless thousands of workers and intellectuals who pay verbal tribute to the Soviet Union, its constructive achievements in industry, agriculture and the cultural fields, its power and its peace policy. These workers and intellectuals pledge themselves again and again to defend the Soviet Union.

We must put the question to them bluntly: "Why was the Russian Revolution successful against tremendous odds?" And then we can ask: "Why is socialist construction succeeding, and why are the two worlds—the dying world of capitalism, fascism, barbarism and war, and the world of socialist advance, peace, culture and achievement all along the line?"

The answer rings out with crystal clearness: The existence of the Communist Party. This is the lesson we must hammer home. Why is it that in Austria and Germany the fascist murderers have wiped out all other parties but the Communist Party? Because the Communist Parties alone are based on indestructible principles and forms of organisation that no terror, no illegality can defeat them. If anyone thinks I am exaggerating I will quote an anti-Communist witness, Douglas Reed, special correspondent of the "Times," in Germany:—

"Those who take a long view of history may ponder the fact that the Communist Party as an organisation alone survives of all the parties that national socialism has destroyed. The Conservatives, the Socialists, the Catholics, the Democrats, the Liberals, all have been swept into the dustbin of time. The Communist Party, which it was the primary purpose of National Socialism to destroy, remains a skeleton force, working underground, its members still apparently in organised relationship

with each other; its activities an obstacle—waiting for its opportunity, waiting for National Socialism to collapse in the stress of a new war or some such thing.”

It is no coincidence that the same is true of Austria. The reformist leaders say: Shun Communism, place all your reliance upon the Labour Party, the T.U.C. and the Co-operative Party are all that are necessary. These are sufficient of a united front for anyone. Yet their counterparts in Germany and Austria were knocked out of the ring at one blow when the crash came, whilst the Communist Parties live and strengthen their work.

Our members must realise that now is the time to build our Party, that every minute counts. The test of all work must be—how many members are being recruited. These recruits cannot be made apart from the daily work and campaigns of the Party. Recruiting is part and parcel of every campaign—not a thing apart.

Never was there such great interest in our Party on the part of the masses of workers, never was our leadership so readily responded to—yet our Party has, up to now, grown but slowly. This must be a cause of serious perturbation to us all.

This position must be ended. From now on the Communists in Britain must cultivate a fierce resolve that the Party shall grow, shall continually develop, expand and really become the mass Party of the working class.

The Weymouth Trades Union Congress Summed Up

By R. Bishop (London)

The Sixty-sixth Trade Union Congress has ended, and as was obvious from the beginning, the General Council managed to pilot through all the main plans of their policy without being seriously interfered with by the organised militants who were present as delegates. This is in no way to belittle the efforts of these militants—who did amazingly well with the limited opportunities at their disposal. It simply means that the reformist caucus retain hold of the machine, and with their overwhelming numbers and control of the block vote they were able to brush aside all opposition, no matter how great a volume of rank and file opinion such opposition represented.

Ever since 1926 it has been true to say that the Trade Union Congresses have successively marked further progress to the right. This year the rightward swing was even more pronounced than formerly. It showed itself in the attitude to war, to fascism, to unemployment and to the economic struggles which the workers in every main industry are demanding.

On the other side of the account one can put the greatly improved organisation of the militants. At last year's congress such opposition as there was came from a handful of more or less unorganised delegates, whose anarchic and uncoordinated efforts made but a poor showing. This year the militant opposition was definitely under Communist leadership, either party members or workers willing to work closely with them. They seized on every major issue and challenged the retrograde policy of the leadership. Even the Liberal "News-Chronicle" described the debate on war in the following terms:—

"The debate was on a high level and the extremists can claim to have done quite as well as the orthodox speakers."

The conclusion of the Trade Union Congress has left the reformist policy naked for all to see. There is no single difference on any major issue between it and the policy of the openly declared bourgeois parties. Of course, there are differences in phraseology. For instance, on the question of war, the T.U.C. leaders tried to pretend that they had not completely thrown overboard the General Strike, but had left the question in abeyance—last year the principle of the General Strike against war was definitely adopted. But how little this year's proviso means can be seen from the leading article of the "News-Chronicle," of September 7:—

"The Trade Union Congress yesterday disposed in no uncertain manner of an attempt to revive the proposal for a General Strike against war. . . . British trade unionism has rejected with scorn this counsel of despair, and has committed itself definitely to the practical ideal for which the League of Nations stands. There can be little doubt that, when later in the autumn, the same opportunity is presented to the Labour Party they will choose the same course."

The highly reactionary "Daily Telegraph"—semi-official voice

of the Foreign Office—is equally delighted. It says in a leading article on the same day:—

"The Trade Union Congress yesterday accepted by an overwhelming majority the carefully considered joint report of the General Council and the Labour Party on the course to be pursued in the event of an imminent threat of war. It now remains for the Labour Party to show similar wisdom by rescinding the resolution passed unanimously at Hastings last year. . . . Obviously the General Council has gained a signal victory over the hotheads in its own ranks and in the Labour Party. . . . We congratulate the T.U.C. on its tardy but still timely recognition."

So the T.U.C. is committed to support of a "defensive" war, to a system of Pacts within the League of Nations, and its spokesman, Gibson, declared in advance that the British Government is not likely to appear in the role of an aggressor.

Mr. Citrine, General Secretary, idol of the capitalist press, and representative of "sound statesmanship," made a speech attacking fascism. Last year he also made a speech attacking fascism. Next year, maybe, he will make another of a similar character. In the meantime all he does is to issue statements forbidding affiliated organisations or their members from demonstrating or taking any other action against fascism.

As a matter of fact the statement on fascism and Citrine's speech are very revealing things. The original agenda for the congress did not contain any such item. Fascism at the T.U.C. was an afterthought—an afterthought engendered by the fact that through the action of the militants at Olympia and elsewhere widespread public feeling has been aroused against fascism, and that the bureaucrats realised that they were in great danger of missing the boat entirely.

So, at one and the same time, the bureaucrats spare no effort to kill any working-class action against fascism and themselves prepare a denunciatory statement—coupled with a denunciation of dictatorships in general—thus side-tracking the struggle and leaving the fascists, so far as is in their power, in possession of the field. And at the T.U.C., with its serried ranks of major and minor bureaucrats and its small handful of militant rank and filers, such tactics succeed. In London, on September 9, hundreds of thousands of workers in Hyde Park showed that they were not infected by this ideology, but were determined to show their abhorrence of fascism and their determination to stamp it out by every means within their power.

Even the "New Statesman," organ of the radical intelligentsia, is impelled to say of the T.U.C. statement on fascism:—

"To overcome fascism it is not enough to ban uniforms and not enough to denounce it, even when the denunciation is as able as Mr. Citrine's. Fascism cannot be conquered by standing at a distance and blowing loudly upon a trumpet—tactics which have not succeeded since the capture of Jericho." The comments of the imperialist "Evening Standard" are also illuminating on the policy of the congress as a whole:—

"Mr. Citrine has spoken, and Socialism has been dumped into the backyard among the old tin cans of Free Trade and Bimetallism as a 'chimerical notion,' good enough for the social millennium but not worth bothering about to-day. . . . Labour has swung to the right, and except for a slight Tory tinge of planning and protection, the party henceforth will be indistinguishable from the Liberals. This is an event of first-class importance, and it was suitably celebrated at the graveside of the (Tolpuddle) martyrs by the singing of 'Abide With Me' instead of the 'Red Flag.'"

Economic struggles received only the most scanty attention. Almost the only proposal put forward to help in the co-ordination of the mighty mass struggles that are pending was one to take a levy from all unions of 1d. per week per member, whenever a recognised strike is in progress. And this resolution was damned with faint praise and praised with faint damns by a leadership, which was obviously opposed to it but had not the courage to oppose it openly. Ultimately the way found of relegating the proposal to limbo was to submit it to the General Council for their consideration.

In the chairman's speech a militant note was sounded, the need of consolidating the economic struggles of the workers was stressed. But the congress has ended as it started, with a complete lack of co-ordination and a complete absence of preparation for the fights that lie ahead in every main industry.

The bureaucracy had an opportunity for displaying their sound

statesmanship in a series of "practical schemes" put forward for the formation of Public Utilities Corporations—which are what pass for Socialist schemes in the Reformist Labour Movement of Britain. These corporations, of which the London Passenger Transport Board is a fair sample, are the embodiment of the same policy which the present National Government is carrying out with regard to electricity and the various departments of agriculture. The Labour Party and T.U.C. want to extend these boards, which are quintessential bureaucracy and nothing else, to the iron and steel trade and to the cotton industry. And they term this policy an instalment of "practical" socialism. It bears no relation to Socialism, being but a desperate attempt to make capitalism work.

In every field of its endeavour the Trade Union Congress registered its integration with British capitalism. In every field it showed its preoccupation with checking struggle—struggle against fascism, against war, against unemployment, against imperialist terror, against industrial slavery.

To-day the capitalist press pats them on the heads, like so many good dogs that have come to heel at their master's bidding. But outside in the factories, the mills, the pits, the railway sheds—wherever workers are employed—there is a growing demand for action, not only against new cuts and new institutions, but also for the restoration of cuts imposed during the last three years. There are growing indications of restlessness with the official policy. The resistance to the fake "settlement" arrived at with the railway companies showed widespread indignation, but quite the most significant event of this character is the way in which district committees and branches of powerful trade unions deliberately flouted the ban on the September 9 anti-fascist demonstration and turned out with their banners on the day, which had been exorcised as unholy by the bureaucracy.

On the floor of Congress the bureaucracy is supreme—they can flout all united front overtures, they can adopt purely capitalist policies, but in the country there is a growing number of workers becoming more closely welded together organically who are prepared to fight against reaction, wherever it emanates from, and to build up a united front with all and sundry—no longer frightened by the label "Communist"—no matter who forbids them.

Fight for the Unity of the Labour Movement

The Social Democratic "Sphinx"

By F. B.

Under the pressure of the growing revolutionary fighting spirit of the working class against fascism and against the danger of war, and under the pressure of the great successes obtained by the peace policy of the Soviet government, many social democrats have declared themselves prepared to defend the Soviet Union. Amongst these social democrats are not only men who deserve the title "Left-wing" on account of their honesty of purpose, but also many Right-wing social democrats who now feel themselves compelled to speak in defence of the Soviet Union and against any war of intervention. We say to speak deliberately, because with these latter elements words and deeds are not the same thing. This can be seen very clearly in the columns of those social-democratic newspapers which cannot resist the temptation of doing their bit to stoke up the latest anti-Soviet campaign in connection with the events in the Far East and the Japanese war provocations. A leading article published in the social-democratic "Volksrecht" in Zurich on the 21st August gives a particularly glaring example of the provocative intentions of these social-democratic enemies of the Soviet Union.

As a peg on which to hang its remarks the "Volksrecht" takes the campaign for working-class unity, which it so hates, and writes:—

"A united front agreement has been concluded in France between the leaders of the Socialist and Communist Parties. . . . We do not wish to discuss in any detail the aims which the Russian wirepullers have in so doing, but we should like to point out certain facts which develop from the Franco-Russian military alliance."

These social democrats are trying to suggest that the forma-

tion of a working-class united front in France is in support of French imperialism and under the instructions of the Soviet Union, but at the end of the same article the writer declares exactly the contrary, namely, that the foreign policy of the Soviet Union supports not French imperialism, but German imperialism. The article concludes with the following words:—

"The Russian rulers are playing a dangerous game. The workers of the world must unanimously raise their voices against a policy which has nothing to do with international working-class solidarity, for Russia must not be permitted to make itself the pacemaker for national socialism."

What proofs does the social-democratic "Volksrecht" offer in support of this fantastic statement? Purely and simply the fact that the Soviet government maintains diplomatic relations with many capitalist countries, including Germany. The "Volksrecht" demands the following, therefore:—

"Russia, the country of the workers and peasants, should be the first to carry out with the greatest possible energy that which each worker demands from his fellow-workers, namely, the struggle against fascist Germany, a struggle not only in words, but in deeds."

This social-democratic newspaper calls on the Soviet government to take action against Germany, though surely a better policy for it to adopt would be to appeal to the social-democratic members of capitalist governments. These capitalist governments not only maintain diplomatic relations with the fascist government of Germany and encourage trading with Germany (for instance, Sweden's supplies of arms to Hitler Germany), but they also persecute all the workers in their own countries who make any real attempt to fight against fascism, and the campaign of repression is carried out by social-democratic Ministers and Police Presidents. The "Volksrecht" demands an international boycott of German goods, a measure which is not an effective one in the fight against Hitler Germany, but what is it doing to put its own demands into operation?

The whole manoeuvre is directed chiefly to provoking the Soviet Union. These social democrats would like to see the Soviet Union plunged into a struggle which would lead to its foreign political isolation and to the collapse of its unswerving policy of peace. These social democrats would like to see the Soviet government pursuing an aggressive foreign policy along the lines of that pursued by the German and Japanese fascists in order that a bloc of the reactionary States could then be formed against it. These social democrats would like to provide the German and Japanese war-mongers with a pretext for an attack upon the Soviet Union. That is the real significance of their anti-Soviet campaign of incitement. If the government of the Soviet Union followed the "advice" of these social-democratic "well-wishers" it would inevitably slide into war.

And, secondly, these social democrats want to prevent unity of working-class action at all costs. They are doing their best to present the united working-class front, which has been formed in France, as a foreign political manoeuvre of the Soviet Union. They are trying to draw the attention of the workers away from the question of unity of action in that at the same time they pretend to see "a contradiction" between the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the united front policy.

The article in question is entitled "The Russian Sphinx," and it tries to present the policy of the Soviet government and the policy of the Communist International as inscrutable and ambiguous.

However, the foreign policy of the Soviet Union is perfectly clear. It is utilising the imperialist antagonisms deliberately in order to prevent the formation of a counter-revolutionary bloc of interventionist States against it, or at least to make the formation of such a bloc more difficult. The policy of the Soviet government is a policy of peace, and it secures a breathing space in which the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union can continue their work for the building up of socialism, and in which the workers of the capitalist countries can complete their preparations for the coming struggles.

In his article, "Any Argument is Good Enough against the United Front," Comrade Bela Kun made the following striking comparison:—

"The Soviet Union, which is for the moment the only proletarian State and is also, as experience has shown, the bulwark of the proletarian revolution and even of the bourgeois

democratic national-revolutionary struggle of all oppressed peoples, is really compelled to conclude pacts with the governments of capitalist countries. It even works to obtain the conclusion of such pacts in order to maintain peace in the interests of the whole of humanity. The Soviet Union is compelled to conclude such pacts, just as the workers in the capitalist countries are compelled, so long as they have not taken over the conduct of the capitalist undertakings by revolutionary means, to conclude collective agreements with the capitalist employers. . . . The Soviet Union carries on the same proletarian policy on the field of its foreign relations. It utilises the antagonisms between the various capitalist Powers in its own interests, i.e., in the interests of the workers of the Soviet Union and in the interests of the workers of the world."

That is the clear line of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union.

At the same time the Soviet government carries on a struggle against the fascist war-mongers by its unswerving policy of peace which exposes the fascist machinations in the eyes of the masses of the workers all over the world. An effective struggle against fascism and the danger of war can be carried on only by supporting the policy of peace pursued by the Soviet government, by establishing unity of action in the ranks of the working class, and by fighting against all those elements which are attempting to provoke a war against the Soviet Union. There is no "contradiction" here, no "riddle" to solve, and no ambiguity. The united working-class front in France has been formed to fight not only against Hitler fascism, but also and mainly against the French bourgeoisie, against its emergency decrees, and against its fascist intentions.

If we must compare anything with the Sphinx, then it is the social democracy which one day declares itself in favour of the defence of the Soviet Union and the next day takes part in the incitement for a war of intervention. At least, it is Sphinx-like for many social-democratic workers. It is, therefore, our task to show these workers that there is little mystery here either and that in reality the social democracy is pursuing a quite ordinary double game in the interests of the bourgeoisie, in the interests of the struggle against the Soviet Union, and in order to prevent the establishment of working-class unity of action. It is our task to assist these social-democratic workers who are prepared to take part in the revolutionary struggle to solve the riddle of the Sphinx, and that they can do in a joint struggle with all the other sections of the working-class movement against the bourgeoisie and against its agents in the ranks of the working-class movement.

For the Class Unity of the Trade Union Movement in Poland

By G. Henrykovski

The announcement contained in the proclamation of the fascist government of the nationalisation of the trade unions and a fresh attack on the social insurance has sharply put the question of the proletarian united front to the whole working class of Poland. Thanks to the systematic efforts of the Communist Party of Poland it has gradually succeeded in breaking down the walls of mistrust which the leaders of the socialist parties have set up between the socialist workers and the Communists. In several districts of *Warsaw*, in *Zyrardov*, *Czenstochau*, *Piotrkov*, *Grodzisk*, in the *Bismarckhuetten* in Upper Silesia, our comrades succeeded in bringing about joint conferences with local organisations of the P.P.S., the "Bund" and the socialist Youth organisation. In several localities, above all in *Warsaw*, joint actions of socialist and Communist workers have been carried out.

Italy and Germany have taught the Polish workers what they have to expect from the nationalisation of the trade unions so loudly praised by the fascists. The workers realise that this "trade union unity" means deprivation of the right to strike, the liquidation of the elected factory representatives, the unrestricted power of the employer in the factory, unexampled exploitation and political oppression.

The difficult position of Polish fascism caused the government to proceed to open robbery of the remnants of the workers' rights. There has been only a very slight improvement of the situation in the main branches of industry. The ferment among the broad masses is spreading in the towns and in the rural districts. Even after the introduction of the Special Court the strike wave still continues. At present more than 20,000 workers are on strike in *Lodz*. The ferment in the villages is increasing owing to the devastating consequences of the flood and the bad harvests in all

districts. The mass basis of the ruling fascist bourgeoisie is shrinking.

The nationalisation of the trade unions aims at robbing the workers of the remnants of legal possibilities of organisation; it is an attempt to deliver the workers over to the arbitrary will of the factory owners, the coal magnates and the big landowners. The government is bringing this plan of the nationalisation of the trade unions into connection with the further liquidation of the remnants of social insurance. The Ministry for Public Welfare proposes the following alterations: The right to receive old-age pension is to be granted to persons who have worked for 15 years (instead of five years as hitherto) and only on reaching the age of 65 years (instead of 60 years as hitherto). The pension for workers incapacitated as a result of accidents occurring while at work is to be granted only when the victim is incapacitated 75 per cent., instead of 50 per cent. hitherto; members of a worker's family between the age of 16 and 65 are not entitled to any health insurance relief; the treatment in sanatoria is being abolished, etc.

Immediately after the announcement of this fresh attack on the workers the Party called upon the proletariat to show the bourgeoisie in mass demonstrations that the working class will not submit to the fetters of fascist incorporation. At the same time the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Poland proposed to the leading bodies of all socialist parties and of the class trade unions in Poland the organisation of the following protest actions:

"To convene workers' meetings in all factories, mines, on the landed estates and all trade unions in order to protest against this fresh attack by the fascist government. Against any attempt to convert the trade unions into organs of the fascist State we propose the organising of street demonstrations and protest strikes leading to the general strike throughout the country."

The C.C. of the C.P.P. has now appealed for the third time within two months to the leaders of the P.P.S. and of the Bund, although our two former united front proposals—the first to organise a campaign for the release of *Comrade Thaelmann* and against the introduction of concentration camps in Poland, the second to organise a joint demonstration on the 20th anniversary of the outbreak of the war—were both rejected by the C.C. of the P.P.S.

The socialist workers are realising as a result of their own experience of what worth are the arguments of *Niedzialkowski* (Polish socialist party leader) and *Alter* (leader of the "Bund") that the chief reason why the united front has not been set up is the refusal of the C.P. of Poland to cease its attacks on the socialist party.

We, of course, cannot remain silent when, in face of the threatened smashing of the trade unions, the chairman of the Central Trade Union Commission, *Kvapinski*, seeks to pacify the workers and wishes to convince the fascist government that the incorporation of the trade unions is contrary to the interests of the fascist state. In the August 3 issue of the "Robotnik," the central organ of the Polish socialist party, *Kvapinski* wrote:—

"The Polish State was won with the blood of the best sons of the working class. It is our common home, where we all live. And we will defend it as we have defended it formerly. . . ."

"The Prime Minister *Kozlovski* is an intelligent man and can be convinced."

Thus the fate of the Polish workers depends upon whether the Prime Minister, who has brought his programme into harmony with the employers' associations, can be convinced or not. The Polish proletariat, which has had the warning example of Germany, where the mass organisations of the trade unions were surrendered by *Leipart* to the fascist bands, will not follow this path.

The way to defend the proletarian mass organisations against the blows of the fascists is not by means of bargaining and compromises with the government, of complimenting the fascist Prime Minister, but by means of the proletarian united front, resolute defence of the trade unions, unity of the whole proletariat on the platform of the class struggle and of the class trade union movement, converting the trade unions of the Central Commission into militant class organisations.

The trade union movement in Poland has been split by the reformist leaders. In the first years after the setting up of the independent Polish Republic the Communists succeeded in bringing about the unity of nearly all the trade unions. It is thanks to the C.P. of Poland that unity was established between the Jewish and

the Polish trade unions. After this unity had been achieved the leaders of the Polish socialist party and of the "Bund" trade unions deliberately set out to split the trade union movement. Whole district organisations of the railwaymen's, metal workers' and miners' trade unions were expelled or dissolved and the "Left" trade union functionaries who fought against the capitalists were ousted from the organisations. There followed wholesale expulsions of "Left" T.U. organisations from the tailors', leather workers', wood workers' and other trade unions. The expelled organisations have, of course, not given up the fight and continue to exist either legally or illegally. It was the reformist trade union leaders who, at the Third Trades Union Congress in Warsaw, announced the "breaking off of all relations with the Communist Party. The setting up of parallel "Left" trade unions was therefore a result of the systematic disruptive policy of the reformist leaders.

The Red Trade Union Opposition in the trade unions of the Central Commission have drawn up the following programme for the realisation of inner trade union democracy:—

(a) Immediate convening of the general and sectional meetings in order to elect new Committees;

(b) Introduction of elections on the basis of proportional representation in all trade union bodies;

(c) Formation of youth sections in all trade unions for the purpose of drawing the working youth into the trade unions and withdrawing them from the influence of the government fascist and national-democratic organisations;

(d) Reinstatement of all who have been expelled from the unions on account of their revolutionary convictions and activity, guarantee of freedom of opinion and agitation within the trade unions;

This is a platform with which every worker who is striving for a strong united organisation will certainly declare himself in agreement. It is a platform on the basis of which the Red Trade Union Opposition is prepared to unite all parallel trade unions.

The Red Trade Union Opposition is doing everything in order that its members shall take part in the daily work of the reformist trade unions. The Red Trade Union Opposition is not a transition organisation to independent "Left" trade unions, but its whole work is directed towards achieving the realisation of class unity of the trade union movement.

The action proposed by the C.C. of the C.P.P. for the defence of the trade unions which are threatened with incorporation leads to their unity and internationalisation. In the fight against the fascist State trade unions the proletariat will forge the class unity of the trade union movement.

Splendid United Front Demonstration in Madrid

A splendid anti-fascist and revolutionary demonstration took place in Madrid on the occasion of the funeral of a young worker murdered by the "Falange Espanola" (Spanish Phalanx), a fascist army in the service of Primo de Rivera's son.

On August 29 a group of fascists attempted to distribute leaflets to the unemployed in the Madrid workers' quarter *Cuatro Caminos*. When numerous workers showed their resentment the fascists withdrew after firing several shots. The young worker, *Joaquin de Grado Escalona*, a member of the Central Committee of the Y.C.L., proceeded courageously against the bandits and, although he was unarmed, he seized one of them. Thereupon a fascist fired at him from behind at short range. Bleeding profusely, the Young Communist collapsed and died. The bandits escaped without the police making any attempt to arrest them.

The news of this abominable crime soon spread throughout Madrid and aroused the fierce indignation of all the toilers. A few days ago the fascist *Merry de Val*, who had murdered the woman socialist *Juana Rico*, was acquitted by the court in spite of all evidence against him. The fresh murder aroused still further the resentment of the workers of Madrid, who passionately discussed the necessity of setting up the united front advocated by the Communist Party.

The Madrid proletariat knew and appreciated *Joaquin de Grado* as a devoted champion of the workers. "*Mundo Obrero*," the organ of the Communist Party, gave an appreciative description of *de Grado's* work. All the trade unions called upon their members to attend the funeral. The Young Communist League and the Socialist Youth issued the same slogan.

On the day of the funeral about 50,000 workers assembled in

the cemetery. The funeral procession was headed by representatives of the Y.C.L. and of the Communist Party, of the Socialist Party and the Socialist League and the relatives of the murdered comrade. They were followed by the proletarian choir and more than 70,000 toilers, who with raised fist marched past the coffin.

Speeches were delivered by the representatives of the Y.C.L. and of the Socialist Youth League. The latter declared that they are ready to join in united front actions as often as their Communist class comrades called on them. Comrade *Trifon Medrano* welcomed this promise on behalf of the Y.C.L. Other speakers were the woman member of the C.P. Comrade *Pasionaria* and the socialist deputy *Margarita Nelken*. Comrade *José Diaz*, the secretary of the Communist Party, delivered the concluding speech.

The splendid anti-fascist demonstration at the grave of the Young Communist *Joaquin de Grado* shows the desire of the whole proletariat to fight in a common front against fascism. This united front has in fact been set up. It is necessary now to set up a permanent organ of this united front. On the day of the funeral demonstration in Madrid the Socialist Youth of Asturia decided take up the common fight with the Y.C.L.. In numerous towns, in particular in the province of Granada, similar actions have been agreed upon.

Fight Against Imperialist War and Fascism

A Perfidious Japanese Note

By M. Magnien (Paris)

On September 5 the Japanese Foreign Ministry and the Ambassadors of Japan published the answer of the Japanese *Minister Hiroto* to the protest of the Soviet government against the illegal arrest of citizens of the Soviet Union who are employees and officials of the *Chinese Eastern Railway* in Manchuria. The answer is perfidious and hypocritical and its aim will be seen by everyone.

Hirota declares that "the arrests in question in Manchukuo were carried out in the prosecution of normal legal action against a conspiracy intended to cause the wreck and derailment of military trains on the Chinese Eastern Railway." It is the same song and the same singer: Japan is not responsible, but the "government of Manchukuo." The whole world knows that Manchuria is a Japanese colony and that the actions of the so-called Manchukuo authorities are under strictest control from Tokio. And how does it come about that it was *Japanese police* who examined the arrested citizens of the Soviet Union and maltreated them in order to extract "confessions"?

Hirota also declares concerning these wrecks and derailments that "in their attacks on the trains the bandits make no attempt to plunder them," and that "citizens of the Soviet Union do not suffer in any way from the wrecks." The inference Hirota wishes to make is obvious: the bandits are not "normal bandits" and they do not attack citizens of the Soviet Union, therefore they are agents of the Soviet government. However, Hirota had plenty of opportunity before drafting his note to examine the details of the attack by bandits on train No. 11, which was plundered on the southern section of the Chinese Eastern Railway, whereby a number of citizens of the Soviet Union were injured. This provocation was organised badly. It cost enough victims, but it was too clumsy. It came out immediately that the bandits were armed with Japanese rifles and Japanese munition.

Hirota also tries to present himself as quite objective. Referring to the complaint of the Soviet government concerning the violent anti-Soviet campaign in the Japanese and Manchurian newspapers, he declares, "the Japanese government cannot be made responsible for the news and articles which appear in the Japanese press." This attempt to evade responsibility will convince no one. Everyone knows that the vile anti-Soviet campaign is inspired and encouraged by the Tokio government. The Japanese hold on Manchuria is so strong that it would be impossible for the newspapers there to publish anything which had not the approval of the Japanese General Staff and of the Japanese government.

In the name of the Japanese government Hirota then adopts the lying accusations which have been made against the arrested citizens of the Soviet Union and declares:—

"The Japanese government is seriously perturbed to dis-

cover from what circles the instructions for such conspiracies originate. . . . In accordance with the information in our possession, almost all the employees of the Chinese Eastern Railway who were recently arrested belong to certain secret societies whose aim it is to disturb the peace in the State of Manchukuo. Some of these employees have given instructions to the bandits and provided them with explosives."

That is the last straw! One would have thought that the Japanese government would be more careful, but these arguments have no other aim than to prove the correctness of the lies spread by the Japanese and Manchurian newspapers for which earlier in his answer Hirota denied all responsibility. Hirota's statements are identical with the assertions of the *Rengo Agency*, of the *Kokutsu Agency*, and of the "*Harbinskoya Vremia*" (the official organ of the Japanese Military Mission in Manchuria), which dare to say that "a certain Soviet Russian secret organisation has been given instructions to organise depots of explosives and munitions, etc., in Manchuria, and to organise train wrecks with the co-operation of the Chungusian bandits."

The aim of Hirota's note, which protests against articles which have appeared in the Soviet press exposing the provocateurs and their backers in Manchuria, is to give the anti-Soviet campaign of incitement a new impulse and to add fuel to the fire of propaganda to "drive the Soviet representatives out of Manchuria and to give the Chinese Eastern Railway to the government of Manchukuo." Hirota's note justifies in advance all the actions of aggressive Japanese circles in the organisation of new provocations and new acts of violence, and it adds weight to the threats which are being made against the Soviet Consulates in Harbin and Pograditchnaya, and against the Soviet management of the Chinese Eastern Railway.

The White Terror

Against the Fascist Crimes in Bulgaria!

An Appeal by Dimitrov, Popov and Tanev to the Working People of all Countries

With the establishment of the military dictatorship in Bulgaria a regime of the blackest reaction set in. The working masses have been deprived of the last remnants of the political rights won in the course of decades at the cost of untold sacrifices.

All political parties and workers' organisations have been dissolved. The main blow, however, is directed above all against the revolutionary class organisations. The press of the working people has been destroyed, the right of assembly abolished. In place of the workers' mass organisations, which have been dissolved, the fascist military government is forcibly setting up incorporated fascist trade unions.

The fascist-military government has drenched the towns and villages of Bulgaria in blood. It has caused the most active part of the working masses to be shot. The murder expedition commenced in Macedonia were extended over the whole country. Many victims have fallen in Sofia, in Plovdiv, Stara Zagora and other towns. Comrade Andrei Jurikov, a young, courageous Communist functionary, was recently shot.

The fascist military dictatorship is seeking to behead the mass movement of the workers and toilers in order thereby to check the indignation of the masses. It is resorting to wholesale arrests in the whole country. It has filled all the prisons to bursting and is setting up concentration camps. In Sofia, Plovdiv, Stara-Zagora and other towns and villages several thousand workers and peasants—members of the dissolved legal workers' organisations—have been arrested. They have all been subjected to the most brutal torture. On August 15 the trial of 150 soldiers of the Plovdiv garrison commenced before the military court. The prosecution is demanding the death penalty for all the accused, whose sole crime is that they showed solidarity with the anti-war and anti-fascist fight of the working class and took part in the August 1 campaign.

The new reactionary government is unexampled in its dastardliness.

At the moment a fresh case is being framed up against the be-

loved leader of the working people of Bulgaria, Comrade *Janko Panov*, member of the Central Committee of the C.P. of Bulgaria. Comrade Panov has already been in prison for eight years. He is accused of having "taken part in the Sofia Cathedral outrage." The provocative act of blowing up the Sofia Cathedral was the work of the Bulgarian fascists, and resulted in the shooting of several thousand Communists without any trial whatever.

We were also accused of having taken part in this outrage. This accusation, however, was raised not by the Bulgarian, but by the German hangmen, who were later compelled to drop this charge.

The fascist military government has supplemented the existing Law for the Protection of the State by issuing a new decree, according to which death sentences must be carried out immediately without any further proceedings. This means that there can be no appeal against these sentences.

For this reason we sound the alarm, for there is very serious danger of some hundreds of death sentences being executed.

The life of our comrade, Janko Panov, is also in immediate danger. We do not even know whether he is still alive. The incorporated fascist press maintains silence regarding his fate, as it does regarding all trials of revolutionary workers and peasants.

The fascist, K. Georgiev, shuns publicity. He wants physically to annihilate his political opponents, quietly, without causing any sensation.

The Bulgarian Prime Minister, K. Georgiev, is vying with Hitler and Goering. We call upon the working people in the whole world, upon all honest people who took part in the fight for our release, upon all who are fighting against German fascism, for the release of Comrade Thaelmann, the beloved leader of the German workers and toilers, to join in the protest campaign led by the International Red Aid in order to defend Comrade Janko Panov and thousands of the heroic sons of the working masses of Bulgaria.

Your powerful protest compelled Goering and Hitler to set us free, your energetic fight will also compel the Bulgarian murderers to retreat.

Rescue the thousands of victims of the fascist black military reaction in Bulgaria!

(Signed) G. DIMITROV, W. POPOV, B. TANEV.

The "Suicide" of the Communist Adolf Koepfel

Communique of the C.P. of Western Ukraine

The official Polish Telegraph Agency has sent to the whole press a communiqué entitled: "The suicide of a Communist," in which it is stated that a few days ago **Adolf Koepfel**, a Communist, allegedly committed suicide in the police prison of **Przemysl**. According to the findings of the court medical commission, he committed suicide by hanging himself.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Western Ukraine categorically declares that this communiqué of the Polish Telegraph Agency is not in accordance with the facts. **Adolf Koepfel, one of the leaders of the District Committee of the C.P. of Western Ukraine, who was recently arrested in Przemysl, did not commit suicide, he was bestially murdered by the police in the dungeons of the police prison in Przemysl.**

Koepfel was arrested together with a group of working men and women, and like the other prisoners was terribly tortured for six days in accordance with the notorious Lutsk methods. Koepfel died as a result of the tortures and beatings, which injured his lungs and kidneys, and the pumping of water through his nose. As in similar cases the police hung the corpse from the bars of the cell and circulated the lying report that their victim had committed suicide.

The lying character of the communiqué is obvious to anyone who knows the rules obtaining in the police prisons, according to which everything, such as suspenders, shoe laces, ties, belts, knives, etc., with which the prisoners could commit suicide, are taken away from them. The lying character of this communiqué, and in particular the assertion that Koepfel hanged himself "out of fear of responsibility," becomes still more obvious when one

considers the fact that Adolf Koeppel was a revolutionary, steeled in the class struggle, that he had been arrested several times before, and had served a prison sentence of four years in Tarnopol.

After the murder of **Stepan and Adam Wasjut in Uhoweck, near Kovel**, the murder of Comrade Koeppel is already the third murder of revolutionaries committed by the police within a month. This proves that the fascist **Pilsudski-Koslovski** regime, like the Hitler regime, with which it is allied, is systematically murdering anti-fascists, especially Communists, in the occupied district of Western Ukraine.

These murders, the physical extermination of the champions of the working class and of the leaders of the national emancipation struggle of the broad toiling masses of Western Ukraine, are intended, together with the torture in the prisons (Lemberg), the pacification of the Kovel-Lutsk district, the concentration camps and the dissolution of the anti-fascist mass organisations (U.S.O. and the A.I.A.P.), the trade unions, co-operatives, and the red "Prosvita" (cultural organisation), to terrorise and crush the broad masses of the people and to render impossible their struggle against the shifting of the burdens of the crisis on to the shoulders of the toilers, against the liquidation of the remnants of social insurance and of the trade unions, against the liquidation of unemployment benefit, against wage cuts and evictions, against imperialist war and against the counter-revolutionary attack on the Soviet Union which is feverishly being prepared by the Pilsudski and Hitler governments, together with the imperialist Japanese government.

The Central Committee of the C.P. of Western Ukraine calls attention to the counter-revolutionary activity of the O.U.N. (Ukrainian nationalist organisation), which complements the terror of the occupation government by means of murders and attempts on the lives of revolutionaries (Comrades **Majlov, Shkalbyn, Boshykovjev**).

The Central Committee of the C.P. of Western Ukraine calls upon all workers and peasants, the toiling intelligentsia, all anti-fascist organisations, all who wish to fight against the fascist terror, to raise immediately a powerful protest against the bestial murder of the Communist worker Adolf Koeppel and the peasants Stepan and Adam Wasjut.

We demand the immediate exhumation of the body and a post-mortem examination in the presence of representatives of workers and peasants, of delegates of the anti-fascist organisations, of physicians and lawyers delegated by the anti-fascist organisations. The government will, as usual, attempt to hush up the affair. This must not be permitted. The best sons of the working class, the champions of the great cause of social and national emancipation, must not be murdered with impunity. This bestial deed of fascism must be avenged.

By immediately holding mass meetings, demonstrations, political strikes, passing protest resolutions, by the setting up of anti-terrorist committees, the toiling masses will compel the fascist government to clear up the case of the comrades Koeppel and Wasjut.

Harsher Prison Regime for Rakosi

Paris, September 8.

The latest news of the situation of Rakosi in prison is extremely alarming and deserves serious attention. The executioners are doing their utmost to ruin Rakosi physically and morally before his trial.

Letters from Rakosi to his relations show that his health is seriously affected, and that he is subjected to a regime worse than even that of his eight years of penal servitude. He has declared to his lawyer, Dr. Levinson, in the presence of the secretary of the Hungarian Minister of Justice, Dr. Csank, that these last three months of remand in custody have been worse than the eight years in penal servitude.

All letters from his relations and friends, including the solidarity declaration from the world-famed author, Andersen Nexoe, have been received by him only after great delay. Many have not been given to him at all. His letters are frequently not sent out. Books and periodicals are mostly refused him. He may only read books permitted by the prison management. His visiting time has been reduced from one hour weekly to 30 minutes, and later to only a few minutes. Other privileges are similarly curtailed. It need not be said that in such an atmosphere as this the nerves are strained to the utmost, especially in the case of a prisoner

cruelly deprived of the expected release after eight years of most brutal tortures in prison. The Hungarian White bandits are determined to annihilate this resolute revolutionist once and for all. But at the same time Rakosi's letters show his faith and hope in the international solidarity of the workers, who have already once stayed the hand of the executioner. His letters show how these expressions of solidarity from the toiling masses encourage him, though they reach him in a censored form.

The Hungarian bourgeoisie is resorting to a number of measures, with the aid of the press, to deceive the international public. The pretence is maintained that Rakosi is in no danger and that even his release is possible. The workers must not permit themselves to be misled by these manoeuvres. The toiling masses of Budapest, under the leadership of the Red Aid of Hungary, have given a trenchant reply to this manoeuvre. They organised a demonstration in front of the Ministry of Justice, protesting against class justice and against the murder regime, and demanding energetically the release of Rakosi and all revolutionary and anti-fascist prisoners.

The struggle for Rakosi's release must not slacken for an instant, but must be given even greater impetus. It must prove that the international solidarity of the toiling masses, which gained the release of Dimitrov, Popov, and Tanev, will fight for and obtain the freedom of Thaelmann, Rakosi, and all the revolutionary and anti-fascist fighters imprisoned in the fascist prisons and concentration camps.

Demonstration on Behalf of Comrade Rakosi in Montevideo

The Hungarian Jesuit priest **Bangha** is travelling on behalf of the Hungarian government in South America in order to carry on patriotic propaganda under the cover of religious sermons. The Hungarian Workers' Association of Montevideo was invited to such a sermon. The workers decided to accept the invitation. As soon as the so-called religious service was over, a worker got up and delivered the following speech:—

"Hungarian fellow-workers! In the name of the Hungarian workers in Uruguay we declare to the missionary of the Hungarian government, Pater Bangha, that we raise the sharpest protest against the intended legal murder of our class brother **Mathias Rakosi**, and that we demand his immediate release. We protest against the persecution by the Hungarian government of our fellow-workers and our organisations."

The last words were drowned in the shouts of protest of the faithful. The demonstrators thereupon sang the "International," and left the church. They continued to demonstrate in the streets of Montevideo under the slogans: "The murderer Bangha should talk about the Zrinygasse" (police presidium in Budapest), "Down with the white terror!" "Long live the Communist Party of Hungary!"

In the International

The Fractional Struggle Among the Korean Communists

To All Factory, Mill and Village Communist Groups in Korea*
Dear Comrades,

Our country is one of those countries in which there is not yet a recognised Communist Party. This is explained exclusively by the severe factional struggle between the Communists which in our country has taken on an entirely unprecedented and monstrous form.

The factional struggle excluded every possibility of training the members of the Party in the spirit of a principled policy. It

* In Nos. 11 and 14 of "Inprecorr" we published the "Platform of Action of the C.P. of Korea," worked out by an initiative group of Korean Communists. We have now received (with considerable delay, it is true) the appeal of the same initiative group on the necessity for the complete liquidation of the factional struggle among the Korean Communists. The initiative group attaches great importance to this document, and in its covering letter expresses the hope that it will serve as an ideological and political foundation for rallying the Korean Communists and restoring the Communist Party.—Ed.

dulled the Party spirit, destroyed the discipline of the Party, broke up the unity of its ranks and undermined the authority of the Party in the eyes of the workers and peasants, drawing them away from positive work. The Korean Communists, absorbed by factional conflicts, were not occupied with the organisation and the leadership of the struggles of the workers and peasants for their economic and political interests, they did not wage a struggle against national reformism, and did not aid the development of the national liberation movement of the toiling masses. As a result of the factional disintegration, the heroic work of individual honest comrades, unconditionally devoted to Communism, was almost entirely destroyed.

The further the factional struggle developed, the more hideous was the character that it assumed until it directly merged with the provocative activity of the Japanese gendarmerie and police. The Japanese imperialists ably utilised the factional contradictions of the various groups and corrupted a number of Communists. In the full swing of the factional struggle conditions were created in which provocateurs and spies could absolutely freely penetrate the ranks of the Communists. And in a whole number of groups they played a leading role. (The Kim-chana, Kho-er, De-gee-sen cases, etc.) Some of the most devoted revolutionaries were lost as a result of the activities of these spies, and they fomented the factional struggle with the aim of weakening and disintegrating the ranks of the Communists and discrediting them before the toilers.

This shows that all the factional groups without exception, regardless of what they are called and when they arose, played and continue to play the role of marionettes in the hands of the Japanese police.

The Comintern, taking all this into account, was compelled to disband the C.P. of Korea by a special decision in December, 1928. This decision demanded the liquidation of all factions and at the same time pointed out the path to the formation of a new, genuine Communist Party as the vanguard of the toiling proletariat.

The formation of a centralised, disciplined, mass underground Communist Party with a single ideology is the main and basic task of the revolutionary movement of the Korean toilers. The chief elements of which the Communist Party, with iron discipline and with Bolshevik principles of conspiracy, should be formed are the advanced workers and peasants who have come forward during strikes, demonstrations, peasant conflicts and other forms of mass struggle against their class enemies.

To our regret, we have not yet got such a Party although there are all the grounds for its formation. The working class of Korea, the Party of which must be the C.P. of Korea, has already written a number of brilliant pages in the history of the class struggle in Korea. It is sufficient to recall the general Gen-sen-sku strike and a number of other strikes which took place during the past few years, in order to be convinced that the workers of our country have the desire and the determination to struggle against their class enemies.

The absence of a genuine Communist Party holds back the development of the struggle of the Korean toilers, and in the first place, of the Korean workers against Japanese imperialism and its allies.

The absence of such a Party is felt particularly now when a new wave of the revolutionary movement of the masses of the people is developing in the country. The present situation in Korea is characterised by the fact that the entire policy of Japanese imperialism is summed up in its trying to adapt our country to the needs of the imperialist wars of pillage. Japanese imperialism, striving to extricate itself from the crisis at the expense of the toiling masses, is more and more intensifying the oppression and exploitation of the masses of the people. On the other hand, it is savagely preparing a war against the U.S.S.R.—the bulwark of the world revolutionary movement. In consequence of this, the situation of the Korean toilers, which is already miserable enough as it is, is becoming constantly worse. Unemployment is increasing, the peasantry is being ruined on a mass scale, particularly the poor peasants, and an army of poor peasants consisting of many millions is being formed. To all this there is added the fact that the robber war of Japan in China has already ruined millions of toilers. The Korean bourgeoisie, which more and more proceeds along the path of capitulation to Japanese imperialism, also comes forward in the struggle against the masses of the people. Under these conditions, only the C.P. of Korea can ensure the successful development of the struggle of the Korean

workers and peasants against the existing order and for the complete independence of Korea, for the abolition of the land-owning rights of the landlords, for the eight-hour day, for a radical improvement in the conditions of the workers, and for the establishment of the workers' and peasants' Soviet power. There are no other paths. Only the C.P. of Korea can correctly lead the struggle of the working class and ensure its hegemony in the national liberation struggle against Japanese imperialism.

We, an initiative group of Korean Communists, conscious of the importance and the responsibility of the given historical moment, set ourselves the task of forming a united Communist Party for organising and leading the struggle of the Korean toilers. We appeal to the Communist workers in the factories and mills and to the Communists in the villages, to whom the interests of the Korean revolution are dear, to respond to our call. We, proposing a platform of action for the C.P. of Korea, call upon all Communist workers and Communists in the villages to fight for those demands which are set out in this platform and taking an active part in this struggle, to organise themselves into Communist groups in the enterprises and in the villages.

Thanks to the firm and undeviating anti-faction line of the Comintern, a considerable part of the factional groups have been exposed before the toilers. But there are still remnants of factional groups which, in connection with the growth of the workers' and peasants' movement, strive to penetrate into their midst in order to continue their rotten factional struggle. For this reason the process of forming Communist groups in the factories, mills, docks, villages, on the ships, railroads, and other places of work, should be accompanied by a severe struggle against all factional groups and factionalists. The factionalists should be exposed and driven out of our ranks. The rage of the masses should be directed against them. Under the present conditions, when factional groups without exception and when every factionalist is objectively a tool in the hands of Japanese imperialism for the purpose of disintegrating the revolutionary ranks, they should call forth in us justified disbelief and lack of confidence with regard to their political honesty. We must show exceptional vigilance with regard to all these varieties of provocateurs. The admission of any former factionalist into the Communist groups that are to be newly organised in the enterprises and villages can only be decided after he has shown his devotion to the cause of the revolution, not in words but in deeds, in the revolutionary struggle.

Only in this way, by organising and rallying together the most advanced workers and peasants in the Communist groups directly in the enterprises and the villages, at the same time isolating and exposing the factionalists, will we be able to organise a genuine Communist Party, worthy to bear the high name of a section of the Communist International.

We, the initiative group, boldly state that notwithstanding any of the artifices of the factionalists, the agents of Japanese imperialism in the ranks of the workers, notwithstanding their attempts to frustrate again the endeavour to form a Communist vanguard of the Korean proletariat, we shall overcome all difficulties and attain our aims with the aid of the newly organised Communist groups of workers and peasants. We are entirely able to liquidate the factional groups, and rally the best Communist elements from the workers and peasants in the towns and villages.

Long live the Communist Party of Korea!

Long live the Comintern—the General Staff of the world revolution!

Down with the factional struggle, the instrument of the Japanese imperialists in disintegrating the ranks of the revolutionary movement of the Korean toilers!

Initiative Group of Korean Communists.

21,700 STUDENTS ADMITTED TO TECHNICAL COLLEGES OF THE SOVIET UNION

Moscow, September 7.

Twenty-one thousand seven hundred and fifteen new students have been admitted this year to the 82 technical colleges run under the auspices of the People's Commissariat for the Heavy Industry. A number of the colleges have enrolled more students than was originally intended. In Moscow, for instance, 5,700 students passed the entrance examination, and 4,981 were admitted in place of the 4,960 for whom room was originally provided. The same applies to the eleven technical colleges in Leningrad. In the Ukraine 6,444 students have been admitted to the 23 existing technical colleges instead of 5,750, as at first intended.

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

Modern Literature and the Tasks of Proletarian Art

Speech Delivered by Karl Radek at the Congress of Soviet Writers

In his report **Maxim Gorki** sketched in broad outlines the development of literature from the days before humanity was split up into classes and when its struggle for existence was reflected in song and saga, up to that point when bourgeois literature began to decline. The literary history of class society is the history of the separation of literature from the lives of the masses of the people.

It has been left to me to give a description of the last period of this bourgeois literature, a period in which all the parasitic and decadent tendencies of bourgeois literature appear in their sharpest forms.

The process of capitalist decay is not a steady and uninterrupted process, for even during the period of capitalist decline we can observe here and there and in certain places some temporary progress. In the same way, and quite naturally, the literature of declining capitalism is still capable of producing great works of art here and there, in certain places and among certain peoples. It is our task to recognise and demonstrate the general tendencies of development.

Modern literature was one which began with the world war. Three of the most important historic events of the past twenty years form the criterion on the basis of which we can judge the content and the tendency of world literature: the world war, the Russian Revolution and the seizure of power by fascism in a number of countries.

WORLD LITERATURE AND THE WAR

All the great names in international literature, the men who thought themselves above the influence of concrete and material interests and who believed themselves the representatives of art for art's sake, proved to be on the side of the imperialists when the war broke out and drove millions of workers and peasants into the shambles.

Even great literary men like **Anatole France**, one of the greatest sceptics and a man accustomed to seek a material basis even in the insurrection of the angels, believed that the war had originated without any economic causes and without the struggle of the trusts and cartels, and he "bowed the knee before this war."

The only one amongst the prominent bourgeois writers in the belligerent countries who did not lay down his arms at the behest of the moloch imperialism was the great humanist **Romain Rolland**, but he hid his head from the horrors of war and tried to ameliorate them by organising assistance for the prisoners of war.

Only two writers of world fame were against the war: **Maxim Gorki**, who proved even then that Lenin was right when he called him a proletarian writer, and our oldest friend, **Martin Anderson-Nexoe**. (Applause.) That was naturally not at all fortuitous, for they were both representatives of the working class.

Only two writers of world fame were against the war: **Maxim** the masses of the people who were tiring of war, did the first sign of literary protest appear, and once again its appearance was no accident. In 1916 **Henri Barbusse** came forward with his book, "**Under Fire**," and Lenin and all of us who were at that time with him in Switzerland recognised it immediately as the first expression of the developing protest of the masses of the people.

In this book, whose chief significance lies in the fact that it represents the war as slavery and hell for the masses of the people with unexampled trenchancy and truth, we find Corporal **Berni Bertram** in the front-line trenches arousing the French soldiers with a name full of promise for the future—**Karl Liebknecht**.

Corporal **Bertram** was not a fighter against imperialist war. He accepted the war as an unavoidable fact against which it was impossible to revolt. He expressed the exhaustion of the masses of the people, but not the spirit of revolt.

Only after the war and after the Russian Revolution had found

an echo amongst the working classes in all countries and had made the bourgeoisie doubt whether it dared risk driving the masses of the people once again into the blood and mud of war, a hell out of which they might emerge as the banner-bearers of the proletarian revolution, did a voluminous pacifist literature begin to arise and protest against the war. This literature is very large and the best-known name is that of **Erich Maria Remarque**, whose novels, however, show that this literature still accepts the yoke of imperialism whilst protesting against it.

In his first book, "**All Quiet on the Western Front**," **Remarque** paints a gloomy picture of the extermination of masses of the common people in the shambles of war, but nowhere does he make any protest against the slaughter. In his second book, "**The Way Back**," in which he describes the return of his heroes to their homes, we find a glaring example not only of the impotence of bourgeois literature in face of war, but also its unwillingness to fight against it. **Remarque's** hero returns to Germany and finds the civil war raging. He flies from it and goes into the country in order to become a teacher. It never occurs to **Remarque's** hero that he might assist in overthrowing the social order which inevitably produces war.

It is not given to everyone to be a pioneer, and **Remarque's** hero does not want to be a pioneer in the struggle against imperialism. He hopes that his task, the teaching of children, will silence the dead. However, we know that **Remarque's** modest solution will not silence the dead. On the contrary, it will assist in providing the moloch of war which demanded so many victims in the years 1914-18 with new supplies of cannon-fodder. **Remarque** himself who protested against the war, but refused to fight fascism, is now a refugee from his country, which has since been conquered by fascism, which is a regime for the preparation of new wars.

However, **Remarque's** books did express to some extent that protest against the horrors of imperialist war which was developing amongst the masses of the people, but our present-day bourgeois pacifist "anti-war" literature is already bankrupt; it already admits the inevitability of new imperialist wars.

Take for example the books, articles and speeches of **Jules Romain**, a man who counts himself amongst the literary humanists who announce the achievement of peace amongst the peoples by means of intellectual co-operation. In his works he puts forward the idea of the United States of Europe, but if this idea is not to be a utopia it can be realised only as a bloc of the European imperialist Powers against the United States of America, against Japan or the Soviet Union. Or take **H. G. Wells** as an example, the author of "**Mr. Britling Sees It Through**," in which **Wells** expressed his humanitarian protest against war. **Wells** is now of the opinion that the years 1935 to 1985 will inevitably see the world at war. For fifty years, according to **Wells**, humanity is to engage in exterminating itself.

The complete and utter bankruptcy of the pacifist idea in literature is clear. Instead of the opium which was ladled out to the masses in the period of revolutionary advance in the years 1918-23, we now find that war is being preached from the moment a group of imperialist countries took up the struggle afresh to secure a new division of the world. From pacifist deception modern literature went over to open preparations for war. A literature is now developing which quite openly prepares for this war. In Japan there is a whole industry at work turning out this literature. Novels describing the coming war with enthusiasm are appearing by the dozen and being distributed among the masses of the people by the million. One day it is a novel about the coming war against the Soviet Union, and the next day it is about the war against the United States.

A new "heroic literature" is arising in Germany also. A com-

pany of writers like **Johst** and **Beumelburg** have begun the ideological work for the preparation of the coming war.

Judged from the standpoint of art this new literature is valueless. It is advertisement material for the future corpse factories. It must be pointed out again and again that bourgeois literature as a whole has no antidote against this literature of its frankly fascist and imperialist wing, for bourgeois literature admits the bankruptcy of pacifism and at the same time it fears the proletarian revolution and dare not appeal to it.

If we sum up the attitude of bourgeois literature to the great historic event which cost humanity the lives of ten millions of people, and which ploughed up the whole basis of capitalism, we must admit that on the whole bourgeois literature has fulfilled its task. Bourgeois literature did not develop into the voice of protest, into a struggle against world imperialism. It developed into an instrument to glorify war or to lull the masses into a false sense of security and put them off their guard.

In the **West proletarian literature** is taking its first awkward steps. One can already find quite a number of books which deal with the revolt of the masses against the war. These books vary in quality, but proletarian anti-war literature dates from such books; for instance, the novels of **Johannes R. Becher**, which are full of indignation against war, and the books of **Theodor Plivier**, which give us a striking picture of the revolt in the German navy.

Our Japanese comrades have won undying fame for themselves. In defiance of the fact that the prisons of Japan are filled to overflowing with the proletarian fighters, the young proletarian literature in Japan has even succeeded in portraying the ferment in the Japanese army in Manchuria. It is also striving to exercise a positive effect on these happenings.

However, we must not forget that in this respect our proletarian literature is faced with what is practically virgin soil. The literature of the bourgeoisie has submitted to the moloch of war. The literature of the proletariat must give the working masses a picture of the complicated mechanism of murder and destruction which modern capitalism has produced. It must show the masses the strings in the hands of the monopoly capitalists which make the marionettes of bourgeois diplomacy dance until the stage is cleared again for the world slaughter of the masses of the people. The task of our proletarian literature is to give expression to the protest of the masses of the people and to their growing will to fight, and it must show them clearly the only way out of the crisis and out of the war, the way which the proletariat of the Soviet Union took when it called the proletarian republic into being.

Our friends amongst the band of foreign writers often ask us what they should do in the event of a new war. Some of them have even declared that they would immediately join the Red Army. We appreciate their feelings greatly, but we must tell them definitely: think less of what you will do when war breaks out and more of what you should do right now as writers before war has begun, to show the masses of the people the fate which imperialism is preparing for them in a new war. (Applause.)

The first task of our proletarian literature is to give the masses a picture of the preparations of imperialism for war, on the one hand, and the great peaceful work of the Soviet Union on the other. It must show the masses why they are being driven into war and how they should fight against it.

WORLD LITERATURE AND THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

The world war produced the Russian Revolution. History places bourgeois literature before the question: What was the Russian Revolution, and what attitude should be taken towards it? World bourgeois literature stood the second test no better than the first.

Future historians will find present-day bourgeois bookshelves full of books, novels and polemical works, in which the lights of bourgeois literature describe the Soviet Union as the waste product of hell and the Russian Revolution as, in the best case, a revolt of slaves driven to desperation by the sufferings of war.

With one or two honourable exceptions, such as **Romain Rolland** and **Bernard Shaw**, who gave some thought to the matter and bowed their heads to the revolution of the proletariat and the peasantry of Russia without, however, realising that the revolution was the beginning of a new epoch for the human race, bourgeois literature as a whole proved itself to be a literature of lies when it dealt with the Russian Revolution.

H. G. Wells was an opponent of armed intervention and we are grateful to him for that, but let us take a closer look at his book "**Russia in the Shadows**," which was published in 1920, after he had visited our country and seen, so he wrote, the destruction of the last vestiges of civilisation. Wells gave credit to the idealism of the Bolsheviks, but he declared their aims to be Utopian. However, quite a number of bourgeois writers who visited our country during the period of the civil war succeeded in giving a fair picture of our heroic struggle. It is sufficient to point to the books of **Phillips Price** and **Arthur Ransome**, but none of them grasped the fact that a new epoch in the history of humanity had dawned.

After the civil war came the period of the New Economic Policy, and the bourgeois writers thought they saw in it the confirmation of their theories. The Bolsheviks, they declared, were going back to capitalism, but being cunning politicians they called the old economic policy of capitalism the New Economic Policy, in order to make the bitter pill more appetising. That was, generally speaking, the attitude of bourgeois literature to the New Economic Policy, although the romanticists amongst the bourgeois writers were offended with us for our new policy.

After the years of reconstruction came the years of socialist construction, the years of the Five-Year Plan and at the same time the outbreak of the world economic crisis of the capitalist system. Once again bourgeois literature found itself face to face with a phenomenon which it did not understand, but this time the phenomenon was in their world and not in ours.

It must be pointed out that the world economic crisis of capitalism and the great constructive activity of the Five-Year Plan exercised a greater influence on world literature than all that which had gone before, including the world war and the Russian Revolution.

THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM AND THE SPLIT IN THE CAMP OF BOURGEOIS LITERATURE

There is not a single country to-day whose most prominent writers would not admit the existence of two facts, both of which would have appeared incredible to them: the unparalleled world crisis of capitalism and the tremendous development of socialism in the Soviet Union. This circumstance has compelled the more courageous in their ranks to do some hard thinking and in many cases to turn to us.

Even prior to these two events the bourgeoisie had lost its monopoly of literature, because in all countries a proletarian literature had begun to develop, but as a result of these a split took place in the camp of bourgeois literature itself.

Let us take the case of **Theodore Dreiser**. Here we have a man who had made himself a big name in American literature even before the war, a man who only a few years ago declared openly that his whole experience of life gave him no clue to what was happening in the world and that he was at a complete loss. This man now not only stands up courageously for the Soviet Union, but calls upon his fellow Americans to follow the example of the people of the Soviet Union.

Or the case of **Romain Rolland**, the greatest living French author, a man who never wished to have anything to do with fighting of any sort, a man whose humanism separated him from us. To-day he declares in his "Farewell to the Past" that the Soviet Union has opened up a new path for the human race.

However, Dreiser is a realist, and even in his earlier works he pilloried the evils of capitalism, although he failed to draw the necessary conclusions, and Rolland, although he was never a fighter at any time, was a great friend of humanity. In these two cases therefore the revolution in their ideas is more understandable, but now **André Gide**, a writer who was so completely alienated from the ordinary workaday life of the world, comes forward and declares that the development of the capitalist countries and the development of the Soviet Union have convinced him of the necessity and the desirability of the fall of capitalism and of his duty to support socialism and the Soviet Union with all the forces at his command.

We are thus witnessing a split in the camp of bourgeois literature. Naturally, such a process never takes place easily and without friction, and it is very important that we should understand that which prevents many writers—honest writers—from taking their place on our side of the barricade, that we should strive to understand the painful process through which they are going.

Some of them who are already sympathetic with our aims cannot decide to take up the struggle with us.

These writers were given a lesson by history on the 10th May, 1933, when German fascists collected in hordes on the squares and open places of Germany's towns and burned not only the books of Gorki and Stalin, not only the works of proletarian writers like Ludwig Renn, but the works of all humanitarian writers, declaring: "Who is not with us is against us!" On the 10th May, 1933, the German fascists declared to the writers of the world: "There is no neutrality in the struggle which is taking place on the battlefield of history."

An argument which these writers put forward is worthy of careful analysis because it is the mainstay of their attitude. They honour the Soviet Union and declare: "Yes, great things are taking place in your country. Whole peoples are finding their language for the first time in history. The slave of yesterday has risen in your country. The woman has risen in your country from her position of bondage. We don't know what to call this process, but it is a fact. There is revolutionary power behind you, but in the West we know no such power."

BETWEEN PROLETARIAN LITERATURE AND FASCISM

The final hindrance which prevents many writers from coming to our side is seen most clearly in two dramas by **Bernard Shaw**. The play entitled "Too Good to be True" gives voice to the desperation of the intellectual who grew up under the influence of Darwinism and Positivism, and in the period of capitalist advance, when all values seemed eternal. And such an intellectual finds himself faced with the greatest material, political, and ideological crisis of capitalism. He observes the collapse of all his intellectual dogmas and declares in despair: For a thoughtful man to fail to grasp what is going on about him means the end. He sees himself toppling into the abyss.

The writer who sees the decay of capitalism and the decline of democracy is unable to see any revolutionary force in the West which could lead Europe to victory. Unless he succeeds in discerning this revolutionary force after all he will either seek self-destruction or try to combat the crisis of capitalism with the methods of the charlatan. These methods are offered to him by the fascists who would like to persuade him that fascism is the "Left" wing movement which would do away both with capitalism and democracy and establish a new world order.

We Soviet writers must point out to our hesitant friends abroad that the Russian Revolution was the first proletarian revolution in the world and that it was victorious not because socialism is a form which found social conditions for its existence only in Russia, but because in Russia, thanks to its special historic development, Lenin's iron party was first formed and succeeded in forming the battalions of the revolution and making the proletariat into the leadership of the masses of the peasantry and of the poor middle class. However, the source of the Russian Revolution is a joint one. It comes from the decay of monopolist capitalism. It was the contradictions of capitalism which made the Russian revolution possible and which will make possible the world victory of the proletariat.

Whoever fails to grasp the international character of the Russian Revolution, whoever fails to understand that our revolution was the beginning, not the end, of the world revolution, whoever fails to grasp that the Communist Parties in the West, no matter how weak they still may be in some countries, are the beginning of the same revolution which won victory in October, 1917, whoever does not grasp that will be consciously or unconsciously a victim of fascism. For whoever does not realise that there are forces in his own country which are capable of conducting a successful struggle for power, of putting an end to capitalism and lancing the ulcers of capitalism, whoever does not put his services at the disposal of these forces in the struggle for socialism will end up willy-nilly on the other side of the barricade.

We Soviet writers must tell our friends, the revolutionary writers of the West, that we deeply appreciate every assistance they render to the Soviet Union, but we must tell them at the same time in the undying words of Karl Liebknecht: "The enemy is in your own country." (Applause.) And in your own country the forces are developing which can overthrow this enemy.

FASCISM AND LITERATURE

We Soviet writers, gathered here in congress, extend our hand to those writers abroad who are on their way to us, no matter

how far away they still may be so long as we can observe the will to assist the working class in its struggle and to stand by the Soviet Union. We say to them that the best way they can assist us is to fight shoulder to shoulder with the working class of their own country, with its revolutionary minority against all those dangers which rob them of their sleep at night and which have destroyed their aesthetic equilibrium. Writers who do not realise this will inevitably end in the camp of fascism. It is therefore of tremendous importance that we should consider with them what fascism means for the world of culture and literature.

The fascists declare: there is no literature which is above the battle. Either you are for us or against us. If you are for us, then write from our point of view, and if you are against us, then your place is in a concentration camp. Goebbels, Rosenberg and the other fascist leaders have said that hundreds of times.

There is one very talented writer named **Hans Fallada**. In his book, "Little Man What Now?" he has given the world a splendid description of the sufferings of the masses in bourgeois society, and shown the world how the masses are deceived by the representatives of capitalism and bourgeois democracy. He described social democrats and fascists, but for many people it was difficult to judge whether he was in favour of fascism or not.

Just as Hitler came to power another book of Hans Fallada's appeared, entitled, "Whoever Once Ate From a Tin Plate." This book, too, showed great talent, but it is a completely hopeless book. In a foreword Fallada wrote that his book referred to the past, and that the fascists, now in power, would create new conditions. Fallada wanted to save himself and his book by declaring that it referred only to the past, but he did not succeed. The fascists condemned his book.

Fascism betrayed the interests of the petty-bourgeoisie, and it knows that the men and women who read this latest book of Fallada's, which describes how capitalism crushed the petty-bourgeoisie under democracy will inevitably say to themselves, "But under fascism things have got still worse instead of better." Fascism demands that writers should paint a picture of the rise to well-being of the masses under fascism, and warns them against showing any sympathy for those who are crushed by capitalism.

Our young proletarian literature was not immediately able to produce works like the books of **Panferov** and **Scholochov**, but from the beginning on there was never a period when it produced works of so inferior artistic merit as are now being produced by fascist writers. Our literature has produced weak efforts, but, on the whole, what it produced was true to life.

In the world of Polish literature there is not a single book which gives the masses a convincing picture of fascist Poland. The most important writer in the Pilsudski camp, **Kaden Bandrowski**, a man of real talent, made an attempt at an epic of modern Poland. The first two volumes of his trilogy, "Black Wings," were translated into Russian.

Neither in this trilogy nor in another trilogy which **Bandrowski** has written are any supporters of Pilsudski described.

Italian fascist literature can now look back on a history of ten years. I shall not go into details concerning any of the ten novels which are considered in Italy to be the best. It is sufficient to say that not one of them could stand any test applied to a novel of artistic merit. Instead, I will quote you the verdict of a fascist literary critic on the state of fascist literature. Writing in the "**Giornale d'Italia**," **Ernole Rivalta** declares:

"Our literature describes a youth which abandons itself to perverse instincts, which radiates not an atom of light, and which is dominated by animal lusts. That is not a literary invention. It is the depressing truth which is embodied by men born in the first decade of the present century, men who did not experience the horrors of war, who did not fight for the fascist revolution, and who have produced no great works. They are the embodiment of chaotic futility. We ought quickly to stop their mouths."

Can you imagine any of us declaring that our young **Komsomols** are worthless because they were born at a later time, took no part in the revolution and therefore produced no great works? We know very well that our young **Komsomols** are the pride of our country, and that they are doing very great things. (Applause.)

Another fascist literary critic, **Gerardo Cassini**, writes in the "**Lavoro Fascista**":

"Literature must be imbued with a new vitality. It must

be compelled to take part in the building up of our new history."

In other words, under fascism Italian literature is not taking part in the building up of that which fascism terms "a new life."

And here is a third fascist literary critic, **Tolesio Intelandi**, the editor of the "Tevere," who writes:

"Give us an author who is able to describe our peasants as satisfied and our workers as happy and contented."

He admits that there are no such writers in Italy. In short he admits that since the accession to power of fascism in Italy there has been no literature which produces great figures.

We must give an answer to a question which is the fundamental one from the standpoint of literature: Why does literature decline under fascism? The reasons for this decline are quite clear. They lie in the whole history of the development of art and literature.

Why did the world of literature produce a Shakespeare in the 16th century? Why were there great writers in the 18th century and in the beginning of the 19th century? Why are there no great writers to-day who could take their places side by side with Shakespeare, Goethe, Schiller, Byron, Heine and even Victor Hugo? Literature in the bourgeois period was always a bourgeois literature, and it served the aims of the bourgeoisie, but in the period when the bourgeoisie was fighting against the dominance of feudalism, when it was freeing the spirit, if only its own, from the labyrinth of mediæval thought, when it was letting loose the productive forces of society, it produced writers who described these great struggles.

But where is the writer who could convince the masses of the workers and peasants that the imperialist world war was a blessing?

Try to find one prominent contemporary writer who could write a truthful book about Italian village life, and at the same time convince the peasants and us that fascism had brought freedom to the villagers. A faithful portrait of Italian village life has been written by an author named **Silone**. This man has made great political errors in his life, but he gave a truthful picture of his subject and he is an anti-fascist. The truth about Italian village life can only consist in demonstrating that far from having abolished capitalist exploitation in the villages, fascism in Italy has increased the exploitation and oppression of the villagers.

In the period of the decline of capitalism the fascists can destroy literature, but they can put nothing in its place. Even a bourgeois writer who fails to understand the whole picture of life before him and who fails to grasp what fascism is, must surely realise that fascism means decline, decay and decadence for literature. And whoever wishes the further development of world literature, whoever wishes to see the development of a new literature, whoever has the well-being of literature at heart, this powerful lever of humanity which provides the human race with such deep pleasures, which enriches the lives of millions and which is the source of brilliant creative activity, that man must take his stand shoulder to shoulder with the proletariat in the struggle against capitalism and fascism, for in this struggle and as a result of it a new literature, a great literature, will develop and flourish.

THE BIRTH OF REVOLUTIONARY AND PROLETARIAN LITERATURE

We are witnessing the birth of revolutionary and proletarian literature. We are observers not only of the development of Soviet literature which is rapidly winning for itself a first place in the literature of the world, but also of the birth of proletarian literature all over the world.

In the works of **Lenin** we find all those basic principles which determine our attitude to the problem of proletarian literature. Lenin has given us his verdict on the various writers of the bourgeoisie and of the feudal landowners, and his general attitude towards the cultural revolution. Trotsky's contention that a proletarian literature is an impossibility is based on his failure to realise that the world revolution will embrace a protracted period of time, a period in which the proletariat will suffer defeats and gain victories, that the world revolution is not a short spontaneous outburst in connection with a given constellation of circumstances connected with the war, an outburst which will quickly subside; and, secondly, on his denial of the possibility of the building up of socialism in one country alone.

Proletarian literature in our country was made possible only

as the result of seventeen years of fighting, during which the proletariat of the Soviet Union laid the basis for the construction of socialism and began the work of building socialism, seventeen years of struggle which caused the release of tremendous cultural forces in the proletariat and awakened a desire in the masses of the toilers to see a reflection of their struggle in the literature of the day a reflection of their hopes and of their efforts.

On the other hand, the world proletariat, whose advance guard is engaged in a ceaseless struggle against the dominance of the bourgeoisie, the proletariat which has experienced rapid advances and bitter defeats, which is a witness to the decay of bourgeois culture in the countries of capitalism and the birth of a new proletarian socialist culture in the Soviet Union, this international proletariat cannot remain silent in face of these convulsions.

All these great struggles must find their reflection in literature, and the most interesting thing about the development of proletarian literature in Germany is that it came from the lap of the proletariat itself, that it was created by men who worked in the factories or in the Party as officials and organisers. It is sufficient to mention such names as those of **Marchvitzka**, **Gruenberg**, **Klaeber** and **Plivier**.

Proletarian literature has not only succeeded in capturing the attention of public opinion, but it has also won many bourgeois writers over to its camp. I do not refer to such writers as **Johannes R. Becher**, who was always a revolutionary and did not find his way to Communism via literature. But **Ludwig Renn** came to us not only as the result of his own struggle, but under the influence of the development of proletarian literature.

When we turn our attention to another part of the world, to **Asia**, and when we observe what is going on in **Japan**, we see a remarkable phenomenon—the development of a proletarian literature which is greater in volume than that of any other country in the world, with the exception of the Soviet Union. This proletarian literature of Japan is moving in its simplicity and in its close adherence to the struggle of the proletariat. **Koboyasi**, **Kukushima**, **Seketi**, **Hayashi** and **Tokunatchi** are all writers who have come from the ranks of the Japanese proletariat and peasantry.

In the **United States** we find also that radical changes are proceeding in the ranks of the intelligentsia and that this process is reflecting itself in the birth of a proletarian literature. This literature occupies itself not only with facts as they are, with a condemnation of the barbarities of capitalism, but it also fulfils the function of defending the immediate interests of the working masses.

In **France** also a proletarian literature is developing, and writers are emerging from the ranks of the proletariat and from those social strata nearest to it, and proclaiming themselves openly as Communists and proletarian writers.

In **Great Britain** also we can see the beginnings of a proletarian literature. In the heart of bourgeois England, in **Oxford**, where the sons of the bourgeoisie receive their final polish, we observe the crystallisation of a group which sees salvation only together with the proletariat.

Parallel with these young shoots which are springing up from below, from amongst the masses of the people, we can also see changes taking place amongst the intelligentsia of the old order, amongst men and women who until recently were hostile to us or at the most neutral. These changes are the harbingers of still greater social changes. Naturally men like **Theodore Dreiser** and **Romain Rolland** did not come to us merely because certain sections of the petty-bourgeoisie in town and country made their way in our direction in their search for a way out of their troubles. These men came to us because their minds drove them to us, but between the minds of such representatives of the old bourgeois order and the minds of the petty-bourgeois masses there is no impassable Chinese wall. The change which has taken place in the attitude of such men is a symbol and a symptom of coming changes amongst the masses of the people.

When I discussed the chief hindrances in the way of these older writers when they tended to come towards us, I mentioned two main factors: First of all, many of them failed to recognise the revolutionary forces at work in their own country, and, secondly, they hesitated to plunge into the inevitable struggle. But if one dismisses for the moment these two hindrances, what is then the bond which keeps these hesitant writers in the camp of the enemy? What are the ideas which we must assist them

to overcome? It is chiefly the idea of individualism. It is the idea which causes them to declare: "I am a writer. My work is carried on in the world of mental activity. I cannot subordinate myself to the discipline of a party. Any party is a hindrance to an artist and fetters him. I want to be a free artist of the revolution, but I cannot be a soldier in the ranks of the revolutionary army." This is more or less the formulation of the idea which is at the back of the minds of all those writers who would honestly like to join us, but who are hesitant about it.

Our arguments alone are not sufficient to overcome this difficulty. They will help it is true, but it is the outbreak of the struggle itself which must finally convince them that they can take part in the struggle only as soldiers of the revolutionary army, that no army can fight successfully unless its cohesion is based on internal unity and discipline.

Despite all these difficulties the course of history is forcing these writers to come to us. In this way we have experienced the change in **André Gide**, an incredible fact for the world of bourgeois literature. We have seen the greatest living French writer, **Romain Rolland**, come over to our ranks, and we have observed further how the author of "Enchanted Souls," who in the first volumes of this work found his heroine had got into a blind alley and broke off the work altogether because he had not the faintest idea how to get her out again, has since continued the work from a new angle which assures him of a historic solution. The final volume of the work shows his heroine in a conscious struggle with conscious aims.

I consider this work of Romain Rolland our greatest triumph, not only because this great writer found his way to us in it, but because on this way he rose higher as a writer than he had ever risen before, even in his best trilogy "Jean Christophe."

Romain Rolland has found the way to us. Hundreds of other prominent writers are on the way to us or will find the way soon. Many of them will find the way after many wanderings (for such a development cannot be completed in a day), but only on condition that they do not regard their art as a sort of sport, on condition that they maintain close connections with the masses of the people, on condition that the great drama which humanity is at present experiencing, the decline of the old order and the joyful birth of the new, penetrates through their hearts to their brains, through hearts which beat in rhythm with the aspirations of the masses of the people.

When, after the death of Vladimir Ilyitch Lenin, we gathered in the auditorium of the Grand Theatre to take our last leave of him, **Nadeshda Konstantinovna Krupskaya** uttered words which I should like to place once again before all those writers who are seeking the way to us. These words sound unusual. She declared: "Lenin loved the people from the bottom of his heart."

And when our leader Comrade Stalin answered the congratulations of the party and the proletariat on his fiftieth birthday he used words which, coming from such a reserved man as he is, could only have come from the depth of his heart. He declared, deeply moved, that he was prepared to give his blood "drop by drop" for the proletariat.

Words such as those used by Nadeshda Konstantinovna and Stalin are not often heard on the lips of Communists, but we, too, are discussing great questions here, the approach of the great writers to our camp, men who can render the workers and peasants great service in their struggle, and we say to these men:

"You can be a master of your craft and nevertheless not be able to portray this great struggle, but you will be able to do it only if a great love for the fighting masses develops in your hearts, masses who are not only suffering and fighting, but who represent the only basis on which a new life can develop. Great art is impossible without that attitude to the revolution and the struggle you wish to portray."

Our young proletarian authors suffer from other maladies than those of the old masters of bourgeois literature. They are suffering from a lack of culture. In what does this consist? First of all, like all writers, they proceed from their own experiences. They proceed from what they have felt and experienced, and their experiences consist only of the fight in the factories, at demonstrations and, in the best case, in the armed struggle in their particular district. And that is their whole world, and in this world there is a proletariat on the one hand and a bourgeoisie on the other, and that is all. That is no Communist method. The Communist method demands that the writer should be acquainted with life

in all its variations, for these variations will play a great role in the decisive struggles into which humanity is about to enter.

And, secondly, our proletarian writers have not yet mastered form. No bourgeois schools have provided them with literary culture. The proletarian writer must find his way by tiresome and persistent work to a form. He must succeed as he succeeds in the factory in mastering his job.

All this demands time, and it makes it the duty of all proletarian writers to find their way into the treasure-house of the great literature of the past and to the works of the greatest of the modern masters in order to learn from them, but they must do this without losing their connection with the masses for one moment, without alienating themselves from the struggle of the masses for one moment, and without transforming themselves from participants in this struggle into mere observers. The great writers who have come to us must be of assistance to our young proletarian writers in their efforts to master the technique of their art, and in this way they will shorten the birth pangs of the new great proletarian literature.

We are firmly convinced that this proletarian literature will develop from an organic unification of the best representatives of the old intelligentsia who come to us, with our own young proletarian writers.

JAMES JOYCE OR SOCIALIST REALISM

Writers very often approach us with questions relating to form. We listened to speeches here delivered by our friends from abroad who spoke not only of what the epoch of revolutions and modern reality offered them, but who also gave us advice from their own experience of masters of their craft. They expressed the fear that Shakespeare had not died by accident in our country, but that he had been stifled by our concern for literature.

To-day the cultural line is advancing on a long front. In Shakespeare's day only a very small proportion of society could take part in the world of culture. Even if we assume that the percentage of talented people was greater in this small world of culture than it is in ours, still, when we storm the world of culture millions strong then our chances of producing more Shakespeares and other geniuses are a hundred times greater than they were then. (Applause.)

The average French writer has mastered a form in his work which is certainly not inferior to that of our best writers. We need not be surprised at that. The French and British workers still handle their tools better than our workers do, who have been at the bench no more than three or four years, perhaps. We must, therefore, study form not only from the classics of past literature, but also from the literature of dying capitalism.

Must we learn from great artists like Proust the capacity to sketch the slightest movement with infinite care? That is not the question. The question is: have we a direction of our own or must we let ourselves be guided by others?

James Joyce regards the task of the artist as the photographing of dung-heaps through a microscope with the aid of a film camera.

Joyce is of the opinion that a writer should show reality to the world by taking a slow-motion film of it, movement by movement, no matter whether it is a movement of the mind or the body, until finally a big canvas is covered. But does Joyce give a true picture of life in this way? No. Joyce's choice of a subject for his filming is determined by his own standpoint. He does not represent life as a whole in his works, but picks out things which characterise the futility of the petty-bourgeoisie, and therefore he never succeeded in seeing even the petty-bourgeoisie as it shows itself in a struggle. We are thus not faced with a new objective method of presenting life, but merely with a choice of happenings from the standpoint of a petty-bourgeois who sees no way out of the cultural crisis.

But let us go on. Naturally our literature has no use for the Joycean microscopic method. When we wish to show what moves a man who was a peasant in a village yesterday and is a worker in the factory to-day, fighting with all his forces for the success of his factory and for the victory of socialism, we do not need any microscopic exposure. All we need is to think ourselves into the chief situations in the life of the people. We must place ourselves in the situation of the masses of the people. We must remember what the factory offers these collectivists to-day as compared with what it offered formerly, and what feelings the difference produces in the masses. We need no microscope for this.

Our literature has found the great path along which its creative activity must proceed. This path is a development from the best historical traditions. Soviet literature stands with both feet upon the basis of international reality as a whole, both on the basis of the reality of declining capitalism and on the basis of the reality of rising socialism. Our method of work must not consist in picking out bits which please us. We must not represent only the heroic worker on the one hand and the wicked capitalist on the other. We must succeed in representing the struggle of capitalism, the decline of capitalism, and the birth of socialism in all their contradictory elements. We call this form of realism socialist because it is not merely a photograph of life. It demands an understanding of the direction in which life is moving. Life is moving rapidly to the victory of socialism, and only a writer who realises the direction in which the world is moving will be able to represent in broad outlines the basic principles of this movement.

Our literature is the first in the world, although our masters are still behind the literature of the West in form. Ours is the only literature which gives the masses of the people all over the world a real answer to the questions which are of importance to them, which gives them a faithful picture of the decline of capitalism and the rise of socialism.

A little while ago I read in the "Neue Deutsche Blaetter" the answer which a German worker who had escaped from a fascist concentration camp gave when he was asked what the workers had read whilst they were under the thumb of fascist sadists. He declared that they had read Panferov's "Brusski." And I was proud of our literature and that these workers had found the strength to read it under such circumstances.

We are not suffering from conceit, for both Lenin and Lenin's best pupil, Comrade Stalin, have warned us against self-praise and conceit.

When we declare that our literature is the first in the world we are well aware that our literary successes are not only a result of our literature itself, but also, and chiefly, a result of the fact that we have laid down the basis of socialism, and we want our comrades abroad to follow our example. We shall be happy when we can say that the German, Japanese, Polish and French working masses have created a better literature than ours, because such a literature will be able to develop only when they begin to build up socialism also.

We must say to our Soviet writers: Go to the best representatives of proletarian revolutionary literature abroad and learn from them. Help them to draw a picture of our country which will carry conviction to the workers in other countries. And to our comrades abroad we say: You will be able to create a great literature only in the struggle under the banner of the proletariat, only in the struggle in which the Soviet workers fought, in the struggle for which the best representatives of the proletariat all over the world have fought and given their lives.

Our workers are thirsting for something more than representations of collectivists and shock-brigade workers. They want a description of the worker who defies fascist terror and works illegally to forge the future of the proletariat in Germany. They want a description of the Chinese coolie who only yesterday was a work beast in the eyes of the white man, but who to-day is fighting his way in China with bare feet, but a rifle in his hand, a rifle captured from the enemy, in order to unite the Chinese people to achieve socialism.

We expect from you, our comrades abroad, that you will assist us to see how the French and British workers live and work, those men whom we regard as our brothers, but whose lives we see only unclearly as through a haze.

Before our Soviet writers and the revolutionary writers of other countries there is a tremendous field of work. All we need is courage and confidence. Have no fear, we shall not stifle any Shakespeares; on the contrary, we shall encourage them. We shall create a literature which will be superior to that of the Renaissance, for the literature of the Renaissance took the slave culture of Greek and Rome as its model and it represented the interests of rising capitalism. Our literature, on the other hand, reflects the ideas of the new socialist order of society.

This literature, which we shall create in co-operation with you, will be the great literature of love to all the oppressed and exploited and hatred to all the oppressors and exploiters. It will be a life and death struggle against the exploiting classes. It will be

a literature of love and respect to woman, whom we have raised to be our comrade. And it will be a literature of love to the coloured races who have been treated as the pariahs of humanity.

Let us imbue this literature with the soul of the fighting proletariat, with its passion and its love, then it will be a literature of great pictures and great consolations. It will be a literature of struggle for socialism and a literature of the victory of international socialism.

The Ural in the Stream of Socialism :

(1) MAGNITOGORSK—THE SOCIALIST TOWN

Magnitogorsk, Beginning of July.

By A. Komjät

Four and a half years ago, when the first spadeful of virgin soil was turned in this region, there was nothing to be seen but the steppe, the unending steppe. Had human beings ever trodden this ground? The footsteps of the unhappy exiles, banished by tzarism, who trod this weary path on their way to Siberia, had long since vanished. Not a house, not a hut, not even a tree. A deadly silence, unbroken and unending.

And to-day? To-day a forest of chimneys towers up against the skyline, and one block of houses after another is seen as far as the eye can reach. To-day the sound of busy labour fills the air day and night; to-day the hungry jaws of the excavators seize upon the iron ore of the magnetic mountain, spewing it out again into the electrically driven trucks, the ore crushers, and the mighty blast furnaces; to-day great streams of molten iron and steel flow from the furnaces; waggons filled to overflowing with rails, girders, section iron, and all the products of the rolling mills and foundries, pass in endless succession; to-day this once barren district is producing all the materials for the manufacture of the new tractors, combines, turbines, lathes, the new machinery, the new tools of socialist construction, the new guns for the defence of the socialist fatherland.

To-day Magnitogorsk stands here—the giant of the second metallurgic basis of the Soviet Union. To-day Magnitogorsk stands here, the socialist town of a free population of two hundred thousand souls, conscious of their own power.

The creative power and enthusiasm for work of the ruling proletariat, of the toiling masses of the Soviet Union, their devotion to the cause of socialism, their faith in the Party of the Bolsheviks, are unbounded. Stalin had scarcely issued his call for the combination of the coking coal of the Kusnetz district with the ore of the Ural, for the creation of a second metallurgic and fuel basis to supplement the one already existing in the Ukraine, and tens of thousands of workers and peasants streamed from every corner of the mighty country to the Magnetnaya Gora. This was in 1930. The work commenced. Eighteen months later the great coffer dam across the Ural river had been completed by the heroic exertions of the shock brigaders. This dam is the largest of its kind in the world. At an amazing speed seventy square kilometres of factory area were staked out in the sterile steppe, the ground excavated, blasted, covered with scaffolding, mechanism, depots, sheds, buildings.

The gigantic undertaking grew at a fabulous rate. From the end of 1931 onwards one department after another, one plant after another, commenced working: the central electricity works, the heart of the whole; the blast furnace plant for smelting the ore, with four of the largest blast furnaces in the world, the six Martin steel furnaces, the rolling mills, the ore dressing plant, the coking and chemical plant. And then the auxiliary departments: the mechanised workshops, the smithies, the model shop, etc.

And this enormous combine, mechanised to 100 per cent., has been completed in these few years, as if it had been conjured up out of the earth. This whole gigantic complex is now working with the greatest precision. One figure suffices: In the first six months of this year the output of pig-iron was 525,000 tons.

What tremendous difficulties have been overcome here, and have still to be overcome! The building of the factories and plants has had to be accompanied *simultaneously* by the building of tens of thousands of dwelling barracks and dwelling houses for the workers—an extra burden unprecedented in the history of the building of new factories. The working processes of the various departments are closely interdependent. But some of the plants could not be made ready for work when others were already needing their co-operation. The machinery and spare parts ordered from abroad, since the Soviet Union was not yet manufacturing

them, frequently failed to arrive at the times promised. Transport difficulties often caused delay in the delivery of materials from the other parts of the Soviet Union. All this interrupted the continuity of the work.

Most of the workers who had to attend to the machinery came from the rural districts. They were peasants, unskilled labourers who had perhaps never seen a machine in all their lives before, to say nothing of working with one. These had first to be taught, to be converted into skilled workers. Perhaps there is no other place in the Soviet Union where the problem of learning and mastering technique has been so acute as precisely in Magnitogorsk. The lack of skilled labour has been one of the chief causes why Magnitogorsk is not yet working at its full capacity and why the increasing output is not equal in the various departments. But all these difficulties have been overcome or are being overcome by the enthusiasm for work and the readiness for self-sacrifice of the workers, by the work of the 3,500 Communists, the 6,000 members of the Y.C.L., and the 5,000 Udarniki who have set the example to the others. The technical skill of the workers increases steadily. The departments which have failed to keep the pace are being brought into line by energetic aid from all sides. Great sums are again being invested in the enterprise and more plants are being added, more blast furnaces, more Martin steel furnaces, more coking plant, more blooming mills. According to the Plan for 1934, 500,000 tons of steel and iron are to be produced, and the same amount of rolling mill products. By the end of the year the output of pig-iron is to be increased to 1.3 millions tons—a quantity representing a factor of international importance.

Eighty thousand workers are employed in Magnitogorsk, in the works and on the new buildings. In what kind of homes do they live? What are their wages, what are their food supplies, how are they trained, how are their children educated, what provision is made for their cultural needs?

All around the factory buildings the white walls of the great blocks of workers' dwelling houses may be seen. These are not such imposing buildings as the Karl Marx and Goethe tenements in "red" Vienna were before they were smashed to pieces with artillery, but they stand on the granite basis of the Soviet Union, not on the sliding sands of Austro-Marxism. These houses will never be stormed and taken by the mercenaries of capitalism! Here the process to be observed in the capitals of the capitalist countries is reversed. There the workers, no longer able to pay the rent of their homes, are forced to camp in wretched shacks on the allotments on the outskirts of the cities. Here in Magnitogorsk, as in all the towns of the Soviet Union, the workers are gradually leaving the wooden houses and temporary barracks and moving into the new sultit and airy houses. Over 15,000 workers are living in such houses here. By the end of this year new workers' dwelling houses are to be built on an area of 60,000 square metres, and 30,000 barrack houses are to be demolished. The day is not far distant when in Magnitogorsk, as in Gorkovo in the Donetz Basin, the last wooden barracks will be solemnly burned down as a sign of the increased prosperity, the increased culture of the workers.

In the capitalist countries 50 million unemployed are starving. The position of the workers still in employment is not much better. Their scanty wages are being steadily reduced. They are in constant dread of what to-morrow may bring. Here in Magnitogorsk, as in the whole Soviet Union, where work is a matter of "honour, of fame, of heroic courage," there are no unemployed. Here everyone works: men and women, old and young. Their rates of wages are such that even with a beginner's wages they need not starve. In Magnitogorsk the skilled workers earn 300 to 800 roubles a month, the unskilled 120 to 300. Tremendous differences in wage rates, to be sure! But here the path is open to every worker to rise to a higher category, and that very rapidly if he utilises the thousands of opportunities given him of improving his qualifications. Here not only the product is on a conveyor belt, but human beings as well move steadily forward if they exert themselves to acquire improved technical knowledge. Take the worker Filonov, for instance: A short time ago he was still an unskilled worker in the Ukraine, to-day he is the pride of the factory, one of the best shock-brigaders in Magnitogorsk, and foreman in the blast furnace department, the type of the new socialist human being. And there are many such Filonovs in Magnitogorsk!

Every care is devoted to supplying the needs of the workers in Magnitogorsk, as everywhere else in the Soviet Union. The most important foodstuffs are supplied to them at low prices. They can

get a good dinner (three courses), served in the large clean dining rooms, for 90 to 140 copecks.

Every care is taken to maintain and safeguard the health of the workers in Magnitogorsk, as everywhere else in the Soviet Union. There are two big hospitals, and a number of rest homes, for workers who are ill or in need of recuperation. Thousands of places are reserved yearly for the Magnitogorsk workers in the best health resorts of the Soviet Union.

Magnitogorsk, this huge wave in the stream of socialism, flooding the Ural region and the whole of the Soviet country, mirrors a thousandfold the truth: Socialist culture is for the masses! This city, which has only existed four years, has already 18 schools, including several colleges (a technical college for improving the skill of workers, a metal working and a building technical school), a number of works schools, a big factory school for 5,000 apprentices, a workers' faculty for adult workers, and a Communist evening university. It has 20 different workers' clubs with libraries, a great central library, theatres and cinemas, 200 "Red Corners" with books, a special theatre for working youth. This youngest of the Soviet cities and of the whole world possesses no fewer than 12 newspapers, including three daily papers: the "Magnitogorsk Worker," the "Magnitogorsk Young Communist," and the "Metal" (organ of the blast furnace department). The workers employed in the various departments, as also the transport workers, publish papers of their own, appearing every two days. Besides this a number of agricultural newspapers are published every two days. Even former kulaks living in Magnitogorsk, and convicted persons working at liberty in Magnitogorsk, have papers of their own. Socialist culture is for the masses!

Lenin, in his book: "The Development of Capitalism in Russia," commented on the old Ural:—

"Direct remnants of institutions originating under slavery, highly developed sorage system, fettering of the workers to their places of work, low productivity of labour, backwardness of technics, low working wages, manual labour, primitive wasteful exploitation of the natural resources, monopolies, competitive limitations, isolation and separation from the general advance of trade and industry; this, taken as a whole, is a picture of the Ural."

This was old Ural. But this old Ural exists no longer. The proletarian revolution has done away with it once for all. The new Ural: this is Chelyabinsk with its tractor works "Stalin," this is Sverdlovsk with the "Uralmasch," this is the collective fields of the Ural district, this is Magnitogorsk—the socialist town.

Foreign Workers in the Soviet Union

The Fellow Workers of the Austrian Schutzbundler

By our Special Moscow Correspondent, L. F. BOROSS

In an earlier report we described the opinions expressed by the Austrian barricade fighters now employed in the Dynamo Works, when speaking of their new place of work. Let us now take a closer view of these Dynamo Works—one of the numerous large-scale undertakings of Moscow.

The enterprise itself is not a new one. It commenced its activities in pre-revolutionary Russia. That is to say, from the formal standpoint it commenced its activities at that time. In reality the undertaking is as new as the country in which it is working, as new as the human beings which it employs. In pre-revolutionary days the works employed 500 persons. At the present time it is employing ten thousand workers and employees. Formerly it assembled small motors from parts imported from abroad. To-day it is manufacturing crane motors in various sizes, from 2 to 125 kilowatts, electric locomotives, all equipment for tramways, for electric trains, for underground railway cars, trolley buses, machinery for lighting trains, electric fittings for steamers, electric fittings for oil locomotives, for the most part equipment which was not manufactured in the Soviet Union, either in these or any other works.

Formerly the managers were . . . but who does not know what a capitalist manager is like? The present manager, Schukov, is a former engine-driver. The deputy-manager, Kovlev, whom I had the opportunity of talking to personally, told me his life himself: From his ninth to his twelfth year he was a farm boy on the farm of the landowner Henshahonov, and of other landowners in the village of Satino. After this he led a life of semi-starvation in Moscow till he succeeded in learning a fitter's work; he then worked as a fitter till the revolution. In August, 1917, he joined

the Red Guard, fought with it in October, and did not return to civil life till long after the October revolution. He fought all through the civil war, was a Red Partisan, then the leader of a Partisan group. When victory was finally assured he took over a number of Party and trade union functions. Meanwhile he learnt and learnt, extending his economic knowledge. He then became head of a department in a foreign trade delegation of the Soviet Union, and since 1933 he has held his present position. As is the case with all the deputy-managers of large-scale undertakings in the Soviet Union, Comrade Kovlev has charge of the work of supplying the needs of the workers in the enterprise. Of all the members of the management, he comes most immediately in contact with the Schutzbuendler. His career—the typical career of a leading functionary of Soviet economy—in itself confirms the declaration of the Schutzbuendler that the relations between themselves and the management is like that between worker and worker, and even, as one comrade remarked, like that between barricade fighter and barricade fighter.

Director Kovlev, too, is of this opinion. The Schutzbuendler have accustomed themselves with remarkable rapidity to the conditions—new to them—of a Soviet factory. More rapidly than many other foreign workers, they have grasped not only their rights, but their duties towards a socialist undertaking. Kovlev was only able to explain this by stating that the revolutionary struggle on the barricades was evidently an excellent school for the work of socialist construction. The working discipline of the Schutzbuendler is exemplary; their working methods, acquired in a highly developed industrial country, promote the training of new workers' cadres. They concern themselves not only with their own work, but take an interest in everything going on in the works, and lend energetic aid where they observe any deficiency; this shows that they are already fully conscious of their position as socialist co-masters of a socialist undertaking.

In the departments where the Schutzbuendler are working the same spirit of comradeship prevails among them and their Russian colleagues. Not only are the Schutzbuendler enthusiastic about their new place of work, but the Russian workers are proud of the Schutzbuendler. In reply to the question why they are pleased to have the Schutzbuendler as fellow workers, the steel-moulder Loginev, one of Steiner's fellow workmen, answered: "They are good workers and good class fighters. We are glad to be able to learn much from them about the work—and on the other hand they can learn a great deal from us. And we are pleased that workers who are fighting against capitalism, and are persecuted by it, have been able to find work and a home with us. We are glad that we are working not only for ourselves, but that our work is of international importance."

It is a characteristic fact that precisely these Schutzbuendler, who had been told for years that in the Soviet Union the workers possess no political freedom whatever, no intellectual liberty, may now be heard emphasising in every discussion: "At last we feel ourselves as free human beings." It is no wonder. If they had not seen more in the six weeks of their work in the factory than I saw on this one afternoon, it would suffice to give them their new views on freedom and proletarian democracy in the Soviet Union.

I wanted to speak to the works councillor. His room was full of people. He apologised: "Comrade, you can see that I cannot place myself at your disposal now; I have a meeting." I looked round at the meeting. It was a session of a "deputation group," that is, of those dozens of the workers of the factory who are members of the Union, Town, or District Soviets. About 40 comrades were present. Among them Suvorov, a tool fitter and a member of the Moscow Soviet, in which he works in the section for sewerage work; Kiselova, who was a servant girl till 1931, subsequently an insulation worker in the Dynamo, a member of the District Soviet, one of the managers of the trading department. Then there were eleven "Socialist deputies" of the People's Commissariat for Finance, who work in their free time in the Commissariat with the rights and authority of heads of departments and superintend the work. Seven socialist representatives of the Commissariat of Justice among them the *turner Pryanitschnikov, who is a member with full rights of the Supreme Court of Justice*. Here in their own factory these workers discuss the affairs of the state and municipality; they represent a daily and hourly contact between the wishes of the workers and the state power. Only workers who were absolutely deaf and dumb—the comrades declared—could fail to find possibilities of free expression of opinion, for the workers

themselves either run the business of the state or superintend it.

In the middle of the long corridor in the building used by the social organisations, many workers were passing in and out of one of the doors. This was the central library, which has branches in all the departments and workshops and possesses over 47,000 volumes. Here much activity was going on, for the workers were preparing for the Congress of the writers of the Soviet Union. In this library conferences of the readers are organised and are frequently taken part in by the best writers of the Soviet Union. These writers come to the works and factories to report on their work as writers. During the last few months the factory newspaper "Motor" alone has published 500 to 600 criticisms written by factory workers on the works of the Soviet authors. In the workshops, during the dinner hour, on rambles and steamer excursions on holidays, discussions are organised on the latest writings of the Soviet authors and on the problems engaging the attention of the Writers' Congress. The factory newspaper organises competitions for the best poem, the best story, and the best feuilleton, written by the workers of the factory.

The library of the Dynamo Works does not present anything like the appearance imagined by a Philistine for a Soviet library. It does not consist "solely of the works of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin, and agitation pamphlets." It need not be said that works on the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism are widely read. But, besides these, this factory library possesses thousands of translations of classics and modern writers of all countries. The factory also possesses a great technical library, under special management.

Incidentally, I heard some quite astonishing figures on the libraries of the Soviet Union: Only one comparison suffices: In the whole State of New York there are seven large libraries each with about two million books. In the city of Moscow alone there are eleven gigantic libraries with over two million books each; some of these libraries, however, for instance the Lenin Library, possesses over six million books.

With my head in a whirl and a full notebook I looked for an exit—but through the wrong door. Here I found myself in another meeting, known here by the abbreviated title of a "Litcircle" (literary circle). During the few minutes which I spent here I noticed the following: A workman named Kiselov, employed in the storehouse, read one of his poems aloud, and this was (very rightly) severely criticised by his fellow workers. First the poet was reproached with lack of originality in the choice of form; he leaned too much on Pusckin. A toolmaker, named Osichin, criticised the contents: "You sing in praise of a rest, home, and call it a magic house, as if workers' sanatoria and rest homes were not a matter of course amongst us. And then there is too much dreaming in your poem. We have no time for dreaming, we must act, build up—even in poems!" Kolokolnik, another toolmaker, interrupted: "We are not against dreaming, Lenin was a dreamer, too. But we must realise our dreams!" He then read one of his own poems aloud, an effort differing from the preceding one by a high degree of poetic talent and mature control of form. This poem dealt in an artistic form with that freedom which renders it possible for the working youth of the Soviet Union to make all the intellectual treasures of the past its own, and to create a new socialist culture of a grandeur and profundity unprecedented in history.

All this I experienced quite accidentally in a Soviet factory in the course of a single ordinary afternoon. Was the Schutzbuendler Comrade Barak not right when he said that: "If a Russian worker from such a factory were to find himself in a foreign factory, he would take the very first train back to the Soviet Union!"

International Youth Day in Spain

Madrid, September 2.

Yesterday the Anti-Fascist Youth celebrated International Youth Day, the predominant note of the demonstrations being the struggle against war and fascism. The police had brought up enormous forces to encounter the demonstration. Conflicts ensued between demonstrators and storm guards, and six persons were injured, three seriously.

In Oviedo, in the village of Sama de Langreo, the civil guard endeavoured to disperse a demonstration of the Communist Youth. The guards made use of their weapons, killing one and wounding three.

The Week in the Soviet Union

Splendid Results of the Collective Farm Year in the Crimea

The collective farms in the Crimea, which, in accordance with the climatic conditions in Southern Russia, are among the first which have already concluded the harvesting and threshing of the grain, are now drawing up the balance of the first economic year.

The Crimean Republic has fulfilled the grain delivery to the State long before the time laid down in the annual plan. Nearly all the collective farms have already set aside the fund for the seed corn and insurance and are now proceeding to distribute the income from the new harvest among their members.

This year again, in spite of the unfavourable dry weather in the spring, there has been demonstrated the enormous advantages of the system of collective farming. Everywhere in the Crimean Republic the harvest is not below the average, and in some districts is even above it. The meetings of the collective farm peasants, held on the occasion of ascertaining the results of the past economic year, have become festivals celebrating the triumph over the drought. The collective farms have achieved this victory thanks to the organised collective work, which together with the employment of tractors and other up-to-date agricultural machines from the Machine and Tractor Stations ensured such a cultivation of the soil as the individual peasant could formerly never dream of.

The income of a number of collective farms is twice and three times as much as last year (for example, on the Tartar collective farm "Kuntugush," the German collective farm "Spärtakus" and several others). The following figures give an idea of the income of the peasants on the collective farms: The collective peasant, Abdysheyev, member of the Tartar collective farm "Inklabm," received in the first half of the present year 280 poods of grain, besides other agricultural products and cash, representing his share of the cash income of the collective farm (not less than 150 roubles a month). The collective farmer Gramashev, member of the collective farm "Shevtchenko," received about 300 poods of wheat and, in addition, other articles of food, as well as cash, etc. It should also be remembered that everything the collective farmer receives at the distribution of income is his to use entirely for his own requirements, just as he can dispose of any income derived from the non-socialised part of the farm, for example, from his vegetable garden, small livestock breeding, etc. The collective farm as such sees to the fulfilment of the obligations to the State, payment for the work of the tractors and other machines, the securing of seed for the coming year and, in fact, for a reserve fund for unforeseen eventualities, and also for the distribution of the income among the individual members of the collective farm. In a good harvest year the individual member of the collective farm is free from all care; he can face the future with confidence, and many collective peasants can spend their savings as well as a part of this year's income in purchasing household articles, cattle, etc. Thus, for example, the collective peasant Gramashev, already mentioned, has acquired a good pedigree cow, furniture, and also a sowing machine. Gramashev, who was formerly a poor peasant sinking ever deeper into debt and oppressed by the big peasants, is to-day quite prosperous.

For Improving the Quality of Cotton

On August 30, the Council of People's Commissars of the Soviet Union published a decision on improving the quality of cotton production. The production has made tremendous progress as regards quantity. In 1929 the cotton crop surpassed the pre-war level by 1.2 million cwts., last year by 13.2 million cwts. But the quality of the Soviet cotton is still lagging behind. Although the length of the fibres increased on an average from 26 millimetres in 1929 to 27.5 last year, the percentage of the higher qualities of cotton declined. This is due to the neglect with regard to cotton seed.

By exercising greater care in the selection of cotton seed the yield of the cotton fields can be increased considerably and the quality of the cotton greatly improved. At the end of the second

Five-Year Plan the yield is to be increased to 12 cwt. per hectare as compared with 8 cwt. at the present time. This is quite possible, for some collective cotton farms have increased the cotton yield to 33 cwt. per hectare. The collective farm "Karl Marx" in the Engels region has already beaten the American cotton crop record.

North Caucasian Collective Farms Commencing the Distribution of Income

It is reported from Novorossisk that the collective farms on the North Caucasian coast of the Black Sea have completed the bringing in of the harvest and the threshing of the new grain. The great majority of the collective farms have already settled accounts with the Machine and Tractor Stations which worked their land and have put by the seed for next year's sowing. They are now beginning to distribute the income among their members. In spite of the drought which prevailed in May, the yield of the harvest, thanks to organised collective work, has been excellent. All the collective farms have considerably bigger harvests than last year. The collective peasants who have worked honestly are now receiving large quantities of grain and other products.

The collective farm "way to socialism" was able to give to the widow Konzurova, a former woman landworker who never had sufficient bread to feed her family, 400 poods of grain at this year's distribution. The collective peasants are anxious to purchase clothing, boots and shoes, furniture and household articles. They are repairing their houses and acquiring domestic animals, poultry, etc.

There is a big influx of grain from this year's harvest into the State grain purchasing institutions. The North Caucasian Railway is carrying daily 800 to 1,000 wagon loads of grain. The distribution of income of the collective farms in the whole district is assuming the form of a festival of collective work.

"The Pravda" on the Reorganisation of the Soviet Trade Unions Moscow, September 10, 1934.

In an article on the reorganisation of the Soviet trade unions, which was decided at the last Plenum of the Central Council of the Soviet trade unions, the "Pravda" writes as follows:—

The gigantic development of all branches of industry of the Soviet Union confronts the trade unions with extraordinarily responsible tasks. New industrial giants have been built, old factories and works re-equipped. The Soviet Union has become a country of advanced technique, a country of developed socialist agriculture. Millions of young working men and women are being drawn into the powerful stream of industry and socialist agriculture. During the three years from 1930 to 1933, the number of workers and employees increased by 7½ million. The number of young workers between 18 and 23 years of age amounts to 32.4 per cent. in the iron industry, to 30.6 per cent. in the transport engineering works, to 35.4 per cent. in the electro-technical industry, etc. The number of women engaged in all spheres of national economy has increased by 5 million since 1928.

It suffices to ponder these figures in order to realise what enormous tasks are set the Soviet trade unions. They have to organise and train millions of working men and women who have only just taken up productive work and who know nothing of the former capitalist slavery. By means of the trade unions millions of working men and women have become conscious participators in socialist construction and have mastered the high culture and advanced technique. Millions of shock-brigade workers are models in their enthusiasm for their work and devotion to the cause of the working class.

The "Pravda" then refers to the circumstances which called for the reorganisation of the trade unions, and states that the attempt made in 1931 to divide the trade unions into smaller units has yielded favourable results. Since that time the trade unions have grown, although they do not yet comprise all the workers and employees engaged in productive work. (22 per cent. of all workers and employees have not yet joined the trade unions.) In addition, the factories are scattered over a vast territory of the

Soviet Union and the living and cultural conditions vary greatly in the different districts.

The article states that the thorough reorganisation of the trade unions will enable them to devote greater attention to the improvement of the living and cultural conditions of all workers' groups (the work of the organs of social insurance, workers' inspection, etc.). The "Pravda" continues: The Soviet trade unions have enormous prospects. In the conditions of the victorious dictatorship of the proletariat, and under the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, they are organising the activity, the initiative and the fighting forces of millions of toilers in order to solve the tasks of socialist construction.

As against the successes of the trade union movement in the Soviet Union we see the shattering and decline of the trade unions in the capitalist countries. The "Labour lieutenants of capitalism," as Lenin called the leaders of the reformist trade union movement, are doing their utmost in order to weaken the fighting strength of the workers and to facilitate the offensive of the bourgeoisie against the toilers. They promote in every way the seizure of power by the fascists and the shattering of the organisations of the working class, which the latter have created in the course of many decades of strenuous work by many generations. Citrine, the reformist leader of the English trade unions, had nothing better to say on the occasion of Hitler's seizure of power in Germany and the destruction of the labour organisations than: My hope lies in God. The leaders of the reformist trade unions stooped to anything in order to curry favour with the fascists, the worst enemies of the working class. How injurious to the working class is this endless series of repulsive betrayals and desertion on the part of the lackeys of the bourgeoisie.

The trade union movement of the Soviet Union has been placed at a great historical post. The Soviet trade unions have become the model for millions of proletarians who have shaken off the fetters of reformism. The achievements of the Soviet trade unions inspire all honest and revolutionary elements of the world proletariat and summon them to the struggle for the proletarian revolution. The Bolshevik reorganisation of the Soviet trade unions will tremendously multiply the forces of this most powerful and most advanced revolutionary troop of the world proletariat.

Proletarian Youth Movement

The International Youth Day

THE SOVIET UNION

Moscow, September 2.

The Moscow youth, convinced of its victory, marched under the slogans of the 20th International Youth Day with firm steps through the streets of the red capital.

Already long before the demonstrations the suburbs presented a lively aspect. Thousands of young workers were gathered outside the factories, schools, bus garages and tramway depots, outside the new flats, and the shafts where work is proceeding on the underground railway, with music, song and dance. In the evening hundreds of thousands marched to the Red Square, where the festival of the International Youth Day was opened by a speech by Comrade Kossarev, the secretary of the Central Committee of the Young Communist League of the Soviet Union.

The role of the toiling Youth in the Soviet country in the work of socialist construction is tremendous, declared Comrade Kossarev. We young workers and collective peasants, we, the Leninist Y.C.L., have accomplished a lot and can be proud of our work. But we must not be satisfied with what we have achieved. The greatest test is still in front of us; we must be ready and prepared for it. We have to perform still much work. We must everywhere and at all times be mindful of the duty of the young generation. We must not forget the war threat hanging over our country. We must think of the tremendous historical role which is allotted to the young people of our revolution in the future war. The young workers of our country must

become the best, the most courageous and boldest champions of the international proletarian revolution. Be prepared for that!

Ever since its existence our Soviet Union has conducted an unswerving peace policy. Therein consists our greatest strength and power. The toiling generation of the great Soviet country and the workers of all countries and nations welcome this peace policy and support it. We know that if the Party of Lenin and Stalin calls upon them they will rise up in defence of this policy and for the protection of the frontiers of our powerful Soviet Union. We declare to all capitalists: every hand's breadth of our country is dear to us, and not a single enemy soldier will cross our borders.

Millions of young men, filled with will and determination, are protecting the interests of our Party and the interests of the international working class. May the enemies realise that the millions of young people in the Soviet Union prefer death to the defeat of their class. We shall fight as no soldier of any capitalist country is able to fight.

The words of Kossarev were confirmed by the first columns of the demonstration, by the imposing parade of the armed Moscow Youth. Thousands of excellent riflemen, proud of the name of "Masters of Socialist Defence," opened the parade.

To the inspiring strains of the Red Airman's Song, the columns of young working men and women, the flyers, parachutists, etc., march across the square.

Searchlights stab the darkness. It looks as if an invisible door has been opened: ten huge columns march into the square, headed by a sea of flags. Over their heads sways a forest of placards and models—examples of the production of the factories. The whole place is decorated with flowers. Light stream from Chinese lanterns, from fantastic candles. Among the songs is heard one which is different from all the rest: A group of young foreign workers sing the song of the Spartacus League and carry the picture of Thaelmann. From the tribune there comes a burst of applause. The cyclists who have made the journey of 700 kilometres from Leningrad to Moscow have arrived. The searchlights are now turned on a gigantic air balloon with a picture of Stalin, now on a gigantic rifle, carried by 30 people and directed against the head of a swine which wishes to thrust its snout into the Soviet garden.

Right up till dawn the streets are filled with enthusiastic and happy youth who know that the future belongs to them. It is a glorious, wonderful spectacle this unending stream of young joyful faces and of innumerable richly coloured emblems.

Over half a million of young working men and women and pupils demonstrated in the Red Square on International Youth Day.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Prague, September 2.

On August 31 a mighty demonstration was held in Prague-Zizkov, a proletarian suburb, for International Youth Day, and was attended by over 5,000 young and adult workers. Although the demonstration was prohibited, two demonstration processions were formed. When the police endeavoured to disperse the first of these, the demonstrators defended themselves. The police were obliged to retire after a brief conflict, and the demonstrators marched unhindered into the inner part of the town. The police sent for reinforcements, and when the second demonstration procession passed, the police endeavoured to arrest some of the workers, but were again unsuccessful. This demonstration procession again forced the police to retreat.

The demonstrations lasted 1½ hours, and were strikingly energetic in character. Slogans were shouted in chorus: "Long live the united front!" "Protect the Soviet Union!" "Death to Japanese Imperialism!" etc. In spite of the sabotage of the leaders of the Socialist Youth, who refused to take part in the demonstrations, a number of groups of social-democratic youth took part.

SWITZERLAND

Zürich, September 2.

A crowded demonstration was organised by the Y.C.L. in the Zürich People's House. Representatives of the Socialist Working Youth were present and expressed readiness to entertain united front proposals. In Berne, Biel, Basle, and Schaffhausen, Y.C.L. demonstrations were also held, participated in by Young Socialists.

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