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The American Armament Enquiry A Warning Signal of Approaching War

By R. Palme Dutt (London)

"A rain of gold is pouring into the pockets of bourgeois politicians who represent an exclusive international gang which is instigating rivalry in armaments among the people and fleecing these confiding, stupid, dull and submissive peoples like sheep.

"Armaments are regarded as a national matter, as a patriotic matter; it is presumed that every one strictly keeps the secret. But the shipbuilding yards, the ordnance works, the dynamite works and small arms factories represent international enterprises, in which the capitalists of various countries working in complete accord, fool and fleece 'the public' of the various countries."

(Lenin: "Armaments and Capitalism," June, 1913, Collected Works, Vol. XVI.)

On the eve of the world war of 1914, during the critical months of 1913 and of the first half of 1914, the exposure of the international "Armaments Ring" aroused widespread anger and indignation. It was shown that the great armaments firms of all the leading countries, closely interlocked and directly representing in their shareholding lists the main body of the ruling classes, the millionaires, royalties, Cabinet Ministers, General, Admirals and Bishops, were engaged in coining gold out of the approaching war, were in combination with all the Governments and General Staffs forcing up armaments and war preparations by every device of trickery and corruption, and were supplying arms alike to friend and future "enemy," which were destined to be used against the workers who made them—as was demonstrated during the war when British soldiers were killed by British Vickers shells from Vickers guns, and British ships were mined by British-made sub-

marines. This exposure before the outbreak of war aroused widespread anger. But it could not avail to prevent or hinder the outbreak of war, because the exposure, as conducted by a group of progressive liberal and labour publicists, was not accompanied by any political line to show how to fight and defeat the war plots of the bourgeoisie.

To-day, after twenty years of pacifist speeches, "disarmament" conferences, and Kellogg Pacts of "renunciation of war," the bourgeoisie is revealing the same picture of itself, as coining gold out of the approaching war, and out of every international antagonism, still more greedily, shamelessly, corruptly, cynically, in disregard even of their own pretences of "patriotism," preached to the subject class, seeking only the maximum profit, fomenting discord, carving up the world by "gentlemen's agreements," as a single arena for their spoils, and extracting as much even as one million per cent. from war industries already before the outbreak of war.

Once again a great "exposure" of this scandal, which can no longer be concealed, is forcing itself on public attention—and this time the "exposure" is directly led by the foremost imperialist Government. The very fact that this "exposure" is staged at the present moment, that these issues of the universal trafficking in the instruments of mass-murder have become so dominant as to force themselves into the centre of attention, is a sign of the ever closer approach of war, of how closely the atmosphere in many respects resembles that of 1913. But this time there is in existence a powerful revolutionary working-class movement throughout the world, trained in the principles of Marxism-Lenin-

ism, which can make correct use of the revelations and lead the fight against the war-makers.

The **American Armaments Inquiry** has laid bare one corner— one tiny corner, for direct governmental intervention has been invoked to hold back the most important documents and revelations—of the present orgy of profiteering war preparation on the part of the world bourgeoisie.

The resulting poison-stench from this hell's brew of corruption and open war-fomenting has aroused disgust and anger throughout the world. The popular reaction has gone so far that the chairman of the Inquiry, Senator Nye, has had to draw back in alarm at the possible outcome and put a brake upon the inquiry:

"For a week we have had to proceed carefully in order to prevent this hearing from having exactly the opposite effect to that intended."

Yet never was it more necessary to utter a warning to draw the correct conclusions from these revelations, and not be led astray by the **sensation-hunting** of the capitalist press, which seeks to drown the universal significance of what has been revealed in detail—controversies about the role of this or that financier, ambassador or crowned head.

What is the object of the American government, the leader of imperialist war preparation, in promoting this inquiry? The main object is clear. The inquiry has been in fact promoted as a **direct part of war preparations**.

First, the organisation of modern war requires that the state shall establish a close unified control over and even to a considerable extent directly take over the most important war industries. The inquiry is calculated to prepare public opinion for this direct step of war preparations by the appearance of launching a broadside against the "private" armaments firms. Thus, as in all the technique of war preparation, the most direct war measures are covered under a "pacifist" cloak.

Second, the revelations serve the purposes of American imperialism as an ideological weapon of war preparation against all the other imperialist Powers. All the other imperialist Powers are revealed as conducting a web of machiavellian intrigue and war fomenting. On the other hand, the American government, even though its subordinates are revealed as involved, appears as the crusader leading the campaign for the exposure of these evils.

The other imperialist Powers seek to make equal use of the results of the inquiry for the purposes of inter-imperialist conflict. In each country the evidence injurious to its own interests is either suppressed, slurred over or angrily refuted, while the evidence involving other countries is greedily seized on and emphasised. Thus the German press, while reporting at length the revelations on other countries, has completely suppressed the evidence on the secret air-war preparations of Germany. Similarly the London "Times" (closely associated with Vickers) has completely suppressed all references to Sir Basil Zaharoff and his drawing of £150,000 commission from America over one deal or his acknowledgment of "cheque for 321,497 pesetas on Madrid, with which I am doing the needful"; and also suppressed the name of the Soley Armaments Company. The British financial press seeks to find profit from the inquiry in the hope that foreign purchasers will draw the conclusion that they can have better confidence of discretion in dealing with British armament firms:—

"Since there is no likelihood of a governmental investigation on this side, the American inquiry is likely to be a bull point for the shares of British firms. Foreign customers placing orders will feel assured that here, at least, their orders will be executed in strict accordance with the law, and that there will be no danger that their confidential correspondence will be broadcast." ("Financial Times," 12-9-34.)

"The American inquiry will thoroughly alarm foreign purchasers of munitions, who not unnaturally object to having their business correspondence broadcast for the benefit of ignorant and fussy Senators. It will make them chary of placing munitions orders in the United States, and the British armaments trade will benefit." ("Evening Standard," 11-9-34.)

But from the very indiscretions of this inter-imperialist conflict, which the American Armaments Inquiry only reflects and intensifies, the peoples of the world can draw an invaluable arsenal of information and agitational material for their fight against all imperialism, not merely against this Power or that Power, but in every imperialist country against their own Government and ruling class.

What are the most important political lessons that can be drawn from the inquiry?

First, the inquiry lays bare the direct interest of the most influential ruling circles of the bourgeoisie in war. Here all the solemn "peace" speeches of the bourgeois statesmen are turned upside down, or, rather, right way up. Peace and disarmament are despised as illusions; any prospect of international co-operation is a calamity; every sign of discord is a joyful source of profit. In the words of the managing director of a British armaments company:—

"In spite of all the dreams of the idealists, who imagine that homo sapiens is filled with honour, justice, love and self-sacrifice, Japan is going to take a still larger slice of China, and comparatively shortly, while the getting is good."

In the words of the representative of an American company:—

"The unsettled conditions in America have been a great thing for me."

And, again, with reference to the Bolivia-Paraguay war:—

"Unfortunately for us it looks as though the trouble they were having is going to be settled amicably."

Every advance of the war danger sends armaments shares soaring, in which all the leaders of the bourgeoisie hold investments; every deal greases the palms of a host of greedy politicians, go-betweens, diplomats and military and naval representatives.

Second, the inquiry lays bare the complete inter-connection of the Governments, General Staffs and armaments firms in the promotion of war and war preparations. The liberal myth of the sole guilt of the "private" armaments firms as the "villains of the piece" in the midst of a blameless capitalist world is blown sky-high. All work together; all draw their profits and pickings together. A navy cruiser is dispatched to assist in touting orders for a firm. The direct control by the British Government of the operations of the British armament firms is thus stated by Captain John Ball, managing director of the Soley Armaments Company:—

"We are to a very great extent controlled by the varying policy of the Government. Stocks we control are of such magnitude that the sale of a big block of them could alter the political balance of power of the smaller States, involving corresponding complications from the point of view of finance and industry. . . . Under these conditions we have to submit to fairly strict control by the authorities concerned."

"If all the money in the world is on the table, business cannot be done if it is against the policy of the British Government."

Thus, the operations of the armaments concerns are a common concern of the government, of "finance and industry," and of the managers of the armament concerns—i.e., of finance capital as a whole.

Third, the inquiry lays bare the international character of the war promoting and war profiteering of the bourgeoisie—"international enterprises," in the words of Lenin, "in which the capitalists of various countries, working in complete accord, fool and fleece 'the public' of the various countries." The same picture of the "exclusive international gang" of twenty years ago appears again to-day in still more developed form. Thus, Vickers and the American Electric Boat Company, in normal competition, divide the world between them into spheres; and, whichever gets the order, a share of profits is paid to the other. A similar division of world spheres is revealed between Imperial Chemical Industries and Dupont de Nemours; "salesmen are to give equal prominence to the products of both countries." This co-operation between the two giant war trusts of Britain and the United States goes on alongside the sharpest British-American imperialist antagonism. Thus, whatever form of war develops, whichever side wins or loses, whatever the particular form of discord, the ruling strata of the bourgeoisie in all countries always win, so long as capitalism is able to maintain its rule.

Finally, what are the practical conclusions that must be drawn from the results of this inquiry? The bourgeoisie liberal, labour and social democratic politicians and press endeavour to draw the conclusion that the corruption and villainy of the "private" armaments firms is hereby established, and that the solution must lie along the lines of the "nationalisation" (!) of the armaments industry, or even of its supposed "international control" (!)

On the contrary. This conclusion runs clean counter to the evidence. For the evidence has precisely established the complete

unity of the state apparatus and the armament firms in all the operations of the armaments industries. The proposed "solution" is to carry this process still further, and to ask the very governments which are responsible for the evils to "control" themselves. This propaganda directly assists the next steps of war preparation of the bourgeoisie.

The inevitable conclusion to which the evidence points is that, since the Governments, General Staffs, State apparatus and armaments manufacturers are revealed as an effective unity in the organisation of war, the only effective opposition can lie along the lines of **mass struggle** against the government and the bour-

geoisie in their organisation of war, i.e., the **disorganisation from below of war preparations**, the impeding of the transport of munitions to the theatres of war and of potential war, the political struggle against the imperialist governments, the struggle to convert imperialist war into civil war.

For the purposes of this fight our agitation should make the fullest use of the rich stores of material made available by the American Armaments Inquiry; for the exposures made possible by this material, if brought home to the widest general understanding, destroy beforehand every "moral" plea under which the next war is being prepared and will be waged.

Speech of Comrade Litvinov in Geneva*

I would like my first words to be the expression of my sincere thanks to you, Mr. President, for the very kind way in which you have greeted the first appearance here of the Soviet Delegation. I would extend my gratitude to all those delegations on whose invitation, and as a result of whose votes, we have come here to-day. It is also my pleasant duty to record with gratitude the initiative taken by the French Government (actively supported by the Governments of Great Britain and Italy), and the sincere efforts made by the French delegation, and personally by the esteemed Foreign Minister of the French Republic, **M. Barthou**, and the President of the Council, **Dr. Benes**, in the furtherance of this initiative.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, the telegram of invitation to my Government, and the vote taken by the Council and the Assembly, convince me that all delegations, with very few exceptions, realise the importance of the arrival in this hall of a delegation from the Soviet State, as well as the favourable results to be expected from this event. It derives its significance, not merely from the formal act of our joining the League, but also from the circumstances in which this takes place, and the evolution of the relations between the Soviet Government and the League of Nations which led up to it. I should like to dwell briefly upon this evolution, even if this should involve my making—for the last time, I hope—a swift excursion to a past that has been by no means altogether pleasant. This seems to me the more necessary in that the past has been touched upon in another place, and that the entry into the League in the fifteenth year of its existence by one of the greatest States in the world does undoubtedly call for some explanation.

I will speak with that frankness and moderation which many of you, ladies and gentlemen, knowing me of old, will, I am sure, grant me, and which can only be helpful to our mutual understanding and our future co-operation. We represent here a new State—new, not geographically, but new in its external aspects, its internal, political and social structure, and its aspirations and ideals. The appearance in the historical arena of a new form of State has always been met with hostility on the part of old State formations. It is not surprising that the phenomenon of a new State with a social political system radically different from any heretofore known should come up against intense hostility from without and manifested by literally all other countries in the world. This hostility has been not merely theoretical, but has found expression even in military action, assuming the form of prolonged externally organised attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of the new State for the purpose of getting it back to the old lines. At the time when the League of Nations was being formed to proclaim the organisation of peace, the people of our country had as yet not been enabled to enjoy the blessings of peace. They still had to defend their internal peace with arms, and to contend for long their right to internal self-determination and their external independence. Even after the most extreme forms of intervention in the affairs of our State were over, the hostility of the outer world continued to be manifested in the most varying degrees and forms.

All this makes it quite obvious that the relations between the Soviet State and the League of Nations could not be other than those existing between itself and the States belonging to the

League. Not only this, but the people in the Soviet Union naturally feared that these nations united in the League might give collective expression to their hostility towards the Soviet Union and combine their anti-Soviet activities. It can hardly be denied that at that time, and even very much later, there were still statesmen who thought, or at least dreamed, of such collective action. On the one hand, they were inclined to underrate the internal powers of resistance of the new State, and on the other hand to overrate that harmony of political and economic interests in the other States which, it seemed to them, the League should have embodied. They continued to believe that the last world war would be the last war in the world, and that the order established by it was immutable and secure against any attempts at alteration by force. They dreamed of establishing at least temporary peace, which would, however, by no means have been extended to the new Soviet State. The history of the last ten years, the history of the League of Nations itself, the increasing conflicts of international interests, the prolonged economic crisis, and, finally, the development of the Soviet State, have shown the world how Utopian were these dreams and aspirations.

And to-day we are happy to be able to state that the exponents of those Utopias and the advocates of the policy of ignoring and isolating the Soviet Union are no longer to be met among broad-minded statesmen among the representatives of the more important States moulding international spirit who think on realistic lines and understand the needs of the present day, but must be searched for among narrow-minded politicians unable to rise above their petty political passions and strong prejudices and deriving their knowledge of countries and peoples from muddled sources. It is only necessary to wish such people a speedy enlightenment and a return to more reliable sources of information.

I take this opportunity of expressing my conviction that in the meantime the League will see to it that such people have nothing to do with the settlement of affairs affecting the interests of the Soviet State, in which impartial judgment and at least an elementary understanding of world events are necessary. Ladies, and gentlemen, I have already described the attitude of the Soviet Union to the League of Nations, both at its formation and during the first stages of its development, and have given the reasons for that attitude. To this I must frankly add that the Soviet Government could not have agreed with all the decisions of the League at that time, and that had we taken part in drawing up the Covenant of the League we would have contested certain of its articles. In particular we would have objected to the provision in Articles 12 and 15, for the legalisation in certain instances of war, and that is why I stated in my letter of the 15th, to the President of the Assembly, our satisfaction at the proposals to alter these Articles. Further, we would have objected to Article 22, on the system of mandates. We also deprecate the absence in Article 23 of undertakings to ensure race equality.

All this, however, has not been important enough to prevent the Soviet Union from entering the League, especially since any new member of an organisation can be morally responsible only for decisions made with its participation and agreement.

In order to make our position quite clear I should like further to state that the idea in itself of an association of nations contains nothing theoretically unacceptable for the Soviet State and its ideology. The Soviet Union is itself a league of nations in the best sense of the word, uniting over 200 nationalities, 13 of which have a population of not less than 1 million each, and others,

* Delivered at the meeting of the League of Nations on September 18, after the decision had been adopted to admit the Soviet Union into the League.

such as Russia and Ukraine, a population running into scores of millions. I will make so bold as to claim that never before have so many nations co-existed so peacefully within a single State, never before have so many nations in one State had such free cultural development and enjoyed their own national culture as a whole, and the use of their own language in particular. In no other country are all manifestations of race and national prejudice so resolutely put down and eradicated as in the Soviet Union.

Here as regards equality of rights are neither national majorities, nor minorities, since no nation, either in theory or practice, has less rights and fewer opportunities for cultural and economic development, than another. Many nationalities which seemed to have been doomed to die out altogether have received a fresh lease of life and begun to develop anew, and this on territories where, before the Soviet regime, all nationalities except the dominating Russian were being stamped out by violence and oppression.

At the present time the periodical press in the Soviet Union comes out in fifty languages. The national policy of the Soviet Union and the results of this policy have received their due, both from friends and foes visiting the Soviet Union and studying the national question on the spot.

All the nationalities in our Union are of course united by a common political and economic regime and by common aspirations towards a single ideal, for the attainment of which they vie among themselves. The Soviet State, has, however, never excluded the possibility of some form or other of association with States having a different political and social system, so long as there is no mutual hostility and if it is for the attainment of common aims. For such an association it considers that the essential conditions would be, firstly, the extension to every State belonging to such an association of the liberty to preserve what I might call its State personality and the social economic system chosen by it—in other words, reciprocal non-interference in the domestic affairs of the States therein associated; and, secondly, the existence of common aims.

As to the first condition, which we have named the peaceful co-existence of different social political systems at a given historical stage, we have advocated it again and again at international conferences. We have managed to get it recognised by inclusion in some of the resolutions of these conferences. But further developments were necessary before this principle was able to gain for itself wider recognition. The invitation to the Soviet Union to join the League of Nations may be said to represent the final victory of this principle. The Soviet Union is entering into the League to-day as representative of a new social economic system, not renouncing any of its special features, and—like the other States here represented—preserving intact its personality.

With regard to common aims, these have long ago been established in many spheres. Workers in the field of science, art and social activities in the Soviet Union have long been co-operating fruitfully with representatives of other States, both individually and on organised lines, in all spheres of science and culture and on problems of a humanitarian nature.

The co-operation of the Soviet Union with other States within the framework of the League of Nations has also long ago shown itself to be both desirable and possible in the sphere of economics. Soviet Delegations have taken part in the Committee of Enquiry for European Union, which occupied itself chiefly with economic questions; in both Economic Conferences, and in other Conferences of a lesser range. It will not be out of place here to remark that at all these Conferences proposals were put forward by the Soviet Delegations with a view to the utmost reduction of the existing chaos in international economic relations and in the interests common to all concerned.

The Soviet Government has also not abstained from co-operation of a political nature whenever some alleviation of international conflicts and increase of guarantees of security and consolidation of peace might reasonably be expected from such co-operation. I will only mention the active part taken by the Soviet Delegation in the Preparatory Commission of the Disarmament Conference and in the Conference itself, when on behalf of the Soviet government it declared its readiness for any degree of disarmament, taking its stand on far-reaching proposals for the ensuring of peace, some of which have received world-wide recognition and even application. In this respect I remember not without pride the Soviet definition of aggression which has been made the basis of innumerable international acts.

It needed, however, one great dominating common aim to prove incontestably to all nations, including those of the Soviet Union, the desirability—nay, the necessity—for closer co-operation between the Soviet Union and the League of Nations, and even for the entry of the Soviet Union into the League. The discovery of such a common aim has been greatly facilitated by the events of the last two or three years.

Thirty delegations to the Assembly, comprising most of the members of the League, and representing all the big States and those of importance in international life, declared in their address to the Soviet Union that the mission of the League was the organisation of peace, and that the success of the mission demanded the co-operation of the Soviet Union. They knew that the State which they were addressing had not spared throughout the seventeen years of its existence its efforts for the establishment of the best possible relations with its own neighbours, on the most solid foundations, for rapprochements with all States desiring this, thus making itself a powerful factor for international peace.

For its part, the Soviet government, following attentively all developments of international life, could not but observe the increasing activity in the League of Nations of States interested in the preservation of peace and their struggle against aggressive militarist elements. More, it noted that these aggressive elements themselves were finding the restrictions of the League embarrassing and trying to shake them off. All this could not be without its influence on the attitude towards the League of Nations of the Soviet government, ever searching for further means for the organisation of peace, for co-operation in which we have been invited to come here.

The organisation of peace! Could there be a loftier and at the same time more practical and urgent task for the co-operation of all nations? The words used in political slogans have their youth and their age. If they are used too often without being applied they wear themselves out and end by losing potency. Then they have to be revived and instilled with new meaning. The sound and the meaning of the words "organisation of peace" ought now to be different from their sound and meaning twelve or fifteen years ago. Then, to many members of the League of Nations, war seemed to be a remote theoretical danger, and there seemed to be no hurry as to its prevention. Now, war must appear to all as the threatening danger of to-morrow.

Now, the organisation of peace, for which so far very little has been done, must be set against the extremely active organisation of war. Then many believed that the spirit of war might be exorcised by adjurations, resolutions and declarations. Now everybody knows that the exponents of the idea of war, the open promulgators of the refashioning of the map of Europe and Asia by the sword, are not to be intimidated by paper obstacles. Members of the League of Nations know this by experience. We are now confronted with the task of averting war by more effective means. The failure of the Disarmament Conference, on which formerly such high hopes were placed, in its turn compels us to seek more effective means. We must accept the incontestable fact that in the present complicated state of political and economic interests, no war of any serious dimensions can be localised, and any war, whatever its issue, will turn out to have been but the first of a series. We must also tell ourselves that sooner or later any war will bring misfortune to all countries, whether belligerents or neutrals. The lesson of the World War, the results of which both belligerents and neutrals are suffering from to this day, must not be forgotten. The impoverishment of the whole world, the lowering of living standards for both manual and brain workers, unemployment, robbing all and sundry of their confidence in the morrow, not to speak of the fall in cultural values, the return of some countries to mediæval ideology—such are the consequences of the World War, even now, sixteen years after its cessation, making themselves acutely felt. Finally, we must realise once and for all that no war with political or economic aims is capable of restoring so-called historical justice, and that all it could do would be to substitute new and perhaps still more glaring injustices for old ones, and that every new peace treaty bears within it the seeds of fresh warfare. Further, we must not lose sight of the new increase in armaments going on under our very eyes, the chief danger of which consists in its qualitative still more than in its quantitative increase, in the vast increase of potential destruction. The fact that aerial warfare has with such lightning speed won itself an equal place with land and naval warfare is sufficient corroboration of this argument.

Ladies and gentlemen, I do not consider it the moment to speak in detail about effective means for the prevention of impending and openly promulgated war. One thing is quite clear for me, and that is that peace and security cannot be organised on the shifting sands of verbal promises and declarations. The nations are not to be calmed into a feeling of security by assurances of peaceful intentions, however often they are repeated, especially in those places where there are grounds for expecting aggression or where, only the day before, there have been talk and publications about wars of conquest in all directions, for which both ideological and material preparations are being made. We should establish that any State is entitled to demand from its neighbours, near and remote, guarantees for its security, and that such a demand is not to be considered as an expression of mistrust. Governments with a clear conscience and really free from all aggressive intentions, cannot refuse to give, in place of declarations, more effective guarantees which would be extended to themselves and give them also a feeling of complete security.

Ladies and gentlemen, far be it from me to over-rate the opportunities and means of the League of Nations for the organisation of peace. I realise, better perhaps than any of you, how limited these means are. I am aware that the League does not possess the means for the complete abolition of war. I am, however, convinced that with the firm will and close co-operation of all its members a great deal could be done at any given moment for the utmost diminution of the danger of war, and this is a sufficiently honourable and lofty task whose fulfilment would be of incalculable advantage to humanity. The Soviet government has never ceased working at this task throughout the whole period of its existence. It has come here to combine its efforts with the efforts of other States represented in the League. I am convinced that in this, our common work, from now on the will to peace of the Soviet Union with its 170 million inhabitants—peace for itself and for other States—will make itself felt as a powerful factor. I am convinced that as we observe the fruitful consequences of this stream of fresh forces in the common cause of peace, we will always remember with the utmost satisfaction this day, as one occupying an honourable place in the annals of the League.

Politics

Foreign Political Review of the Week

"The nations are not to be calmed into a feeling of security by assurances of peaceful intentions, however often they are repeated, especially in those places, where there are grounds for expecting aggression or where, on the day before, there have been talk and publications about wars of conquest in all directions, for which both ideological and material preparations are being made."

At the same time as Litvinov uttered these words in Geneva two fresh assurances regarding peaceful intentions were given. Hitler himself gave an interview to the French "**Intransigent**," in which he declared that he wished to live in peace and friendship with France, for whose chivalry he had the highest respect. His Foreign Minister, **Dr. Neurath**, expressed himself to the same effect. Whilst Hitler spoke more about friendship and only referred briefly to the Saar question, which is the only bone of contention between the two countries, Neurath spoke less about friendship and more about the Saar question. The French press paid hardly any attention to Hitler's utterances, but, on the other hand, commented at length on Neurath's speech. The "**Temps**" devoted a leading article to it. This organ of the French Foreign Office is endeavouring to discover the meaning behind Neurath's speech, and expresses the opinion that, if it has any meaning at all, it is that Neurath is opposed to the intervention of the League of Nations in the settlement of the Saar question. Neurath, the "**Temps**" declares, insisted that if the Saar plebiscite should result in a majority for union with Germany, on the following day Germany would take over undisputed possession of the Saar. No one would any longer have any right to interfere in Saar affairs. The "**Temps**" describes this speech as a new manoeuvre, and declares that it must be frustrated under all circumstances.

We believe, however, that the real significance of Neurath's speech lies not in that it fixes the time when the Saar will come under the sole rule of Germany, but in the recognition of this sole rule of Germany and under all circumstances, even if it should not come to a plebiscite! For once this sole rule of Germany in

the Saar is recognised and regarded as a matter of course, it will be impossible for France to enter into a war with Germany on account of the Saar, in the event, for instance, of the Saar being annexed to Germany by a putch of the German Front before January 13.

German diplomacy has recently been displaying very great activity in England with the object of getting Germany's supremacy in the Saar recognised under all circumstances. German diplomacy assumes that England will be still less inclined to engage in a war over the Saar, and in fact will do its utmost to hold back France. The question of the Saar mines, on which Neurath laid so much stress in his speech, was deliberately dragged in as an object of bargaining only in order to divert attention from the chief subject raised in the debate. Germany can make material concessions here, or at least promise to make them. For Hitler the question of domination of the Saar is a question of prestige, a case of neck or nothing.

When the "leader" of the Reich proudly declared in Ehrenbreitstein that 98 per cent. of the population of the Saar would vote for him—and this despite the fact that on August 19 in Germany, in spite of all the means of pressure employed, only 90 per cent. of the electors voted "yes"—he was already aware of the letter sent by Schaub to Pirro, which has now been made public by Mr. Knox, the League of Nations Commissioner in the Saar, a letter which, among other things, clearly shows what gloomy forebodings are troubling the leaders of the German Front in the Saar. Hitler knew that his prophecy would be completely refuted by hard facts if it should really come to a plebiscite. But everything that is taking place in Germany in connection with the Saar propaganda, everything the German Front is doing in the Saar, indicates that preparations are being made for a fight over the Saar, and not for a Saar plebiscite. In these circumstances the Reich Leader is not threatened with the danger that his prophecies will be proved untrue, but with the danger of being involved in a war with France or even with England. The unconditional recognition of Germany's sole rule in the Saar by France and England, for which Hitler, Neurath and the whole of German diplomacy are striving, is intended to avert the danger of war which a Nazi putch in the Saar would call forth. Thus Hitler's and Neurath's peaceful declarations in connection with the Saar seizure are nothing else but diplomatic preparations for criminal seizure of the Saar.

How rapidly the situation is changing! At the last meeting of the League of Nations the Hungarian representatives made a fierce attack on Yugoslavia, made complaints with regard to frontier incidents. All the world knew in which direction the wind was blowing. Mussolini was making use of his vassal. This time, however, Hungary proceeded to attack Rumania! Yugoslavia is now regarded as a third party in alliance with Germany and Poland. Hungary is to be the connecting link in this block extending across Central Europe from the North Sea to the Ægean Sea. M. Eckardt, therefore, could not attack Yugoslavia. Out of regard to Mussolini he did not venture to attack Czechoslovakia. Therefore he proceeded to attack Rumania. As a matter of fact the Magyar minorities are oppressed in Czechoslovakia and also in Yugoslavia. But Eckardt is a diplomat and in making complaints exercises circumspection. But the statesmen of the Little Entente are no less trained diplomats. M. Benes referred not so much to the past and to the oppression of the Slovaks by the Magyars, who have not allowed them to set up a single secondary school, but to the oppression of the Germans by the Magyars. Thus, M. Benes sought to sow discord between Hungary and its new ally.

It is clear to everybody that the question of national oppression will not be solved by these moves and counter moves. And the question would certainly not be solved by a restoration of the old Hungary, as the Magyars would like to restore their domination over other nations which they lost as a result of the war. The only solution to the national question is that which has been realised in the Soviet Union. If the proletariat in the old Habsburg monarchy had put the solution of the national question in a revolutionary sense, then this would have led to the destruction of the rule of the imperialists; it would have been an instrument of the proletarian revolution. To-day the national question, as the State policy of the succession States, is only an instrument making for imperialist war.

The words spoken by Mussolini, after the Italian army manoeuvres, in which he stressed the necessity of militarising the whole of the Italian people, have now been followed by deeds.

The schools already serve as a preparation for military training. From now on regular military training will commence at the age of 18 instead of 21 as hitherto. This measure amounts to a preliminary mobilisation. It directly serves the purpose of military conquest. The foreign newspaper correspondents living in Italy are now beginning to write openly about and in favour of Mussolini's Abyssinian adventure. Significant in this connection is an article in the "Neue Zuercher Zeitung" (September 19, midday edition), entitled **Italy in Abyssinia**, the conclusion of which reads as follows:—

"If it should really transpire that the Abyssinian government intend to receive a stream of Japanese immigrants into their country, where the yellow immigration would be bound to lead to an immediate danger to European property and European labour in Africa, this would call forth measures of self-protection on the part of the Western countries. Viewed against this background the problem of Italy's desire for expansion appears a burning question of the day."

This is sufficiently plain language. When one remembers that the newspaper correspondents in Rome do not write anything which would appear undesirable to the Italian government, one is forced to conclude from this article that preparations for the Abyssinian adventure are already very far advanced.

Comrade Litvinov, in his speech in Geneva, issued the warning that war is the threatening danger of to-morrow. Every fresh fact confirms this statement. This danger can be averted only by the working masses demonstrating their desire for peace. It is necessary to act quickly. Things have already gone so far that one can almost say that war is a danger which threatens, not to-morrow but already to-day.

The Soviet Union in the League of Nations

By S. Gopner (Moscow)

The entry of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations is the centre point of public interest throughout the world as an event of the greatest international importance. In particular, the interest of those has been aroused who will have to pay for the next imperialist war with their heart's blood, the millions of proletarians, semi-proletarians, and the millions of the lower middle classes throughout the world. The advanced workers of all countries rightly regard the entry of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations as an eloquent proof of the tremendous strengthening of the Soviet Union brought about by the heroic struggle of the Soviet proletariat in a close fighting alliance with the revolutionary workers of all other countries.

How did it come about that 34 capitalist countries, led by France and Great Britain, extended an invitation to the Soviet Union to enter the League of Nations after these very same countries had been making preparations for years for an armed intervention against the Soviet Union?

Every class-conscious worker knows that although the League of Nations inscribed the struggle for the maintenance of world peace on its banners, it was formed in reality to consolidate the gains of the victorious imperialist Powers and to harness all the forces of imperialism in a struggle against the young Soviet Republic, which from the very first moment of its existence was a powerful support to the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat in all other countries and which has developed into an acute danger to the whole capitalist system. In the history of the first fifteen years of its existence the League of Nations was an open enemy of the Soviet Union and the centre point of all war and blockade plans against the Soviet Union.

However, despite the fact that the struggle of the imperialists against the Soviet Union struck many serious blows against the country of the workers and peasants, the final balance of the struggle showed a big deficit. The heroic struggle of the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union against intervention, against blockade, against economic isolation and against the internal counter-revolution, the successful work of socialist construction in town and country, the unswerving policy of peace pursued by the Soviet government, the active support given to the Soviet Union by the revolutionary proletariat in all capitalist countries, and finally the irreconcilable contradictions in the camp of the imperialists themselves defeated all the attempts to form a united imperialist front of intervention against the Soviet Union and made it impossible to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat by the organisation of insurrections within the Soviet Union.

The Soviet government has successfully warded off the menace of imperialist intervention, crushed the class enemy at home, steadfastly avoided all provocations and traps, and utilised every possible opportunity in word and deed to defend the cause of peace. In this way the Soviet government has exposed and foiled numerous anti-Soviet war plans and has developed into one of the most important obstacles in the way of any imperialist war.

The imperialists have failed in their attempts to impose their will on the 170 millions of working people in the Soviet Union. They have also not succeeded in reconciling the contradictions in their own ranks. On the contrary, the world economic crisis, the Japanese war of aggression in the Far East, and the accession of Hitler to power in Germany have intensified these contradictions to such an extent that a new imperialist world war seems inevitable unless an organised revolutionary intervention makes war impossible.

The latest success of the policy of peace pursued by the Soviet government, which represents one of the forms of revolutionary intervention, is of tremendous importance in the present situation. The entry of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations offers the international proletariat another lever with which to postpone the outbreak of war, if not to prevent it. The entry of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations is grist to the mill of those who are fighting for the maintenance of world peace, and every year the outbreak of war is postponed opens up new and bigger prospects of a solution of the war problem with revolutionary proletarian means. However, one must not fall victim for one moment to the illusion that the danger of war is now a thing of the past and that thanks to its altered composition the League of Nations will now be able to guarantee the maintenance of peace.

The uneven development of the economic crisis and the intensification of the contradictions in the ranks of the imperialists have split up the imperialist Powers into two main groups. One of these groups, led by Japan and Germany, is deliberately making for war. In the Far East Japanese imperialism has already opened the ball; it has occupied Manchuria and transformed it into a basis of operations against the Soviet Union under the flag of the "independent State" Manchukuo; it is continuing its military penetration into North China and it is seeking allies amongst all those countries which are inclined to try their luck in a new war, and above all fascist Germany. Fascist Germany, hit earlier and harder by the economic crisis than any other capitalist country, brought to the verge of economic catastrophe by the Hitler movement and jockeyed into complete foreign political isolation in Europe, is arming openly and as rapidly as possible for a war of revenge and openly demonstrate its friendship with Japanese imperialism. Both Japan and Germany have resigned from the League of Nations in order to free themselves from even formal hindrances in the way of their work for the organisation of a new war. Both Germany and Japan are recruiting the war-mongers both in their own countries and abroad and both governments are conducting a pro-war campaign with every possible propaganda means. Both Germany and Japan are far advanced in their preparations for war and they are unwilling to wait much longer, because they are well aware that the longer they wait the more difficult their task will become. Both for Japan and Germany, the most rabid of the war-mongering imperialist Powers, the entry of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations undoubtedly means increased foreign political isolation and a diminution of their chances in the organisation of an immediate and successful war.

The other group of imperialist Powers is led by France, and, although it has not abandoned its imperialist proclivities, it is horrified by the victory of the revenge party in Germany and would gladly avoid a new imperialist war at the moment. This group has therefore taken the initiative in the invitation of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations. This group wishes to avoid a war at the moment. Attached to it are a number of smaller Powers who fear with justification that in another imperialist war they might very easily lose their independence or perhaps even their existence as separate States altogether. Despite their natural hatred of the proletarian State they have been compelled, by the experience of the past years, to recognise that the Soviet Union is playing a tremendous role in the struggle for the maintenance of world peace. Compelled to realise the real power of the Soviet Union and their own impotence in the face of Japanese and German aggression, a number of member States of the League of Nations have sought the support of the Soviet

Union as the only tangible force which can offer resistance both in words and deeds to the blind forces making for the outbreak of a new imperialist war.

The Soviet Union enters the League of Nations with its old policy unchanged. It will continue to fight steadfastly for the maintenance of world peace in the interests of the construction of socialism at home and in the interests of the international proletariat as a whole.

Up to the present the composition of the League of Nations has been exclusively bourgeois and in consequence the League has been exclusively an instrument of imperialist policy. One of the most powerful countries in the world, the Soviet Union, has now joined the League of Nations and, as distinct from all other members of the League, it is a **proletarian State**.

The Soviet government is not bound in any way by the previous activities of the League of Nations, and inside the League its policy will continue to be one of peace, no matter what difficulties it may have to face and overcome. The success of the continued peace policy of the Soviet Union will depend on the further development of the work of socialist construction at home and on the effective support rendered to it by the international proletariat. This proletarian policy of the Soviet Union is based on real and tangible world forces and not on any pacifist illusions. It is a real and effective policy of peace.

The policy of peace pursued by the Soviet Union is the policy of the **international proletariat**. One of the most important steps in the development of this policy was the entry of the Soviet Union into the bourgeois League of Nations. The entry of the Soviet Union into the League does not mean that the international proletariat is now inclined to recognise the conditions existing in the post-war capitalist world as normal and reasonable and that it thinks that there is no necessity to change them. This policy means nothing more than that the international proletariat is a steadfast defender of the peace of the world and that it sets its face rigorously against all proposals to solve the evils of capitalism by war. The international proletariat is well aware that any imperialist war and any war of intervention against the Soviet Union would bring untold miseries and sufferings in its train for the workers of the world, and that the only just war is the revolutionary war of the proletariat for the final overthrow of capitalism.

The dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union has given the whole world an example of the revolutionary solution of the problems of war and economic crisis. The Soviet power was the first to deliver a blow against the continuation of the last world war. It protected the Soviet Union from the blows of the economic crisis and abolished the scourge of unemployment once and for all. The Soviet power not only healed the wounds of the world war, but opened up the path to the victorious construction of a classless socialist society. The Communists of all countries appeal to the workers under capitalism to take this same path.

The entry of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations takes place at a moment when the class struggle in all capitalist countries is experiencing a tremendous intensification. The broad masses of the workers are rallying to the united front against fascism and war which is being organised by the Communists. In face of the victory of fascism in Germany and Austria and the consequent encouragement of fascism in all other capitalist countries, the advanced workers everywhere are striving to overcome the disruption in the ranks of the working class and to obtain unity of action. One of the most popular slogans which unite the workers, the unemployed, and the masses of the toilers in town and country irrespective of their other political affiliations, as well as great sections of the bourgeois intelligentsia, is the slogan of **the defence of the Soviet Union**, and the reason for this is that the Soviet Union is one of the most powerful bulwarks of world peace. The united front against fascism merges with the united front against war, because fascism means war. The tremendous changes which have taken place in the relationship of many capitalist countries to the Soviet Union is a result of the recognition of the strength of the Soviet Union, and at the same time the result of the tremendous pressure of the working classes in all capitalist countries on the bourgeois governments.

The revolutionary workers who are fighting under the leadership of the Communist Parties for the establishment of a united working-class front against fascism and war will warmly welcome this new great preventive step of the proletarian State in the struggle against war. In fulfilment of their duty to the proletariat

of the Soviet Union and to their fellow-workers all over the world, the workers of each capitalist country will increase their watchfulness, observe their "own" bourgeoisie still more closely, and expose and counter all anti-Soviet plans, no matter from what quarter they may come and irrespective of whether they are openly anti-Soviet or camouflaged by cunning manoeuvres. They will close the ranks of the working-class front against the enemy at home and march forward in the conviction that not a new imperialist war, but only the victorious proletarian revolution, can save the world from the economic crisis and from unemployment, from fascist barbarism and war, and that only the Soviets can lead the workers to victory and the triumph of socialism throughout the world.

The Little Entente and the Rapprochement Between France and Italy

By Victor Zitna (Bukarest)

The Versailles system was recently subjected to a new attack at Geneva. Poland declared, through the mouth of Colonel Beck, that it no longer recognises the obligations it undertook to protect minorities, and thus officially denounced the treaties of 1919, under which Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia undertook to allow certain rights to the national minorities. The French press has declared that not only the question of friendship between France and Poland, but also the fate of the League of Nations itself and the Treaty of Versailles is at stake. As regards the Italian press, while in no way agreeing with Colonel Beck's standpoint, it points out that the question of revising the treaties is becoming more and more acute.

One of the weakest points of the Treaty of Versailles was undoubtedly the new situation created after 1918 in the Danube basin. Italy, Hungary and Bulgaria have never been able to bring themselves to accept the frontiers drawn by the treaties of Trianon and Neuilly. And it was necessary for the governments in Belgrade, Bucharest and Prague to repeat every three months that revision of the treaties means war. All systems, treaties and alliances which aimed at settling the situation in the Danube Basin and in the Balkans were doomed to failure. The great imperialist states sought to gather round them the states in this part of the Continent of Europe, not only in order to secure markets for their goods and capital, but also in order to have strategic points for the next war. France had drawn the Little Entente, and lately also the Balkan Entente, into its orbit; Italy had found points of support in Bulgaria and in Albania. Thus the Danubian and Balkan countries were grouped above all according to the line of antagonisms between France and Italy. It is obvious that at the same time, Great Britain, Germany and the Vatican, safeguarded their interests through the mediation of various fractions of the bourgeoisie of the countries of the Danube Basin.

The events of July 25, however, have somewhat changed the situation. France and Italy, in spite of all the differences of opinion existing between them, are in complete agreement as regards resisting the union of Austria with Germany. Since then there can be discerned a rapprochement between France and Italy. Barthou is to pay a visit to Rome next month, and there is even talk of Benes going to Rome. This rapprochement between France and Italy cannot remain a matter of indifference to the Little Entente.

Czechoslovakia shows satisfaction with this rapprochement, as it sees in it a support against the **Anschluss**, and at the same time against the revisionist aims of Hungary. (It is generally known that plans exist to divide Czechoslovakia between Hungary and Poland.) Therefore the Prague newspapers make no secret of their satisfaction. Derer, the Minister for Education, declared in a speech delivered on September 18:—

"It is more important to-day for Italy to defend the independence of Austria than to promote the greedy ambition of Hungary. Italy is drawing near to France and the Little Entente, and as a result Hungarian fascism is weakened.

The Bucharest newspapers also comment favourably on the rapprochement between France and Italy. For Rumania, the central problem is not so much the **Anschluss** as to prevent a restoration of the Habsburgs, as this restoration would immediately raise the question of a revision of the frontiers with Hungary. It is hoped in Bucharest that the rapprochement between France and Italy will weaken the revisionist tendencies of Hungary. The newspapers comment on the declarations of the Genoa

"Lavoro," which writes in regard to the Danube Pact, of which there is fresh talk in Geneva:—

"This Pact would remove the danger of a restoration of the Habsburgs and at the same time check the revisionist tendencies of Hungary."

The Bucharest newspapers point out that this is the first time that an Italian paper has declared that the revisionist tendencies of Hungary are inadvisable and dangerous to peace.

On the other hand, in spite of the official declarations, the rapprochement between France and Italy has called forth a considerable coolness in Belgrade. Yugoslavia sees itself pushed into the background by the policy of France, which is forced to seek an understanding with Italy. The tone of the Yugoslavian press towards Italy is becoming increasingly aggressive, and has gone so far that the Italian delegation which was to attend the International Parliamentary Conference in Belgrade has cancelled its journey. At the same time articles increasingly favourable to Germany are appearing in the Yugoslavian press. It should also be remarked that in Geneva the representative of Yugoslavia supported the standpoint adopted by Colonel Beck in regard to the question of minorities. Difficulties are therefore arising between Belgrade and Paris, and these will undoubtedly have effects within the Little Entente.

The rapprochement between France and Italy is received with dissatisfaction in Budapest. Count Bethlen, supported by certain Conservative circles in Great Britain, and even by Lord Snowden, has launched a new revisionist campaign. At the same time Budapest is inclining more and more to Berlin, and the British press has even announced the conclusion of an economic and military alliance between Budapest and Berlin. At the same time Hungary is drawing nearer to Poland, and Goemboes has announced his intention to visit Warsaw.

As a reply to the rapprochement between France and Italy there is to be seen a new grouping, consisting of Germany, Hungary, Poland and, up to a certain point, also Yugoslavia. This grouping will be directed at the same time against the Soviet Union, and it is not due to chance that Yugoslavia has not yet officially recognised the Soviet Union. The new grouping will probably share the same fate as the other systems of pacts and alliances which have been concluded in this very disturbed part of the European Continent. The extreme instability of all these groupings dominates the situation, and at the same time expresses the profound confusion prevailing in governing circles.

Communist Municipal Gains in Sweden

By S. L. T. (Sweden)

According to the results at present known, the Communist Party of Sweden polled 41,736 votes in the Swedish municipal elections as compared with 17,410 votes in 1930. That is a fine success for the Communist Party when one considers that the big towns did not take part in the elections. The voting age begins with 27 years, so that in effect many voters are over 30 years old before they get a chance to vote at all. Another factor which heightens the importance of the result for the Communist Party is that hundreds of thousands of workers on the poverty line, including masses of the unemployed workers, were unable to use their franchise on account of not having paid their taxes. Further, something like 40,000 task workers were deprived of their votes by the fact that they are working in far-off districts and votes can be polled only in the area of domicile. The fact that with such disadvantages the Communist Party succeeded in increasing its poll by 140 per cent. says much for the greatly increased influence of the Party amongst the working masses. The following are the first figures published:—

	1934	1930	Seats	1934	1930
				Per cent.	Per cent.
Social Democrats ...	682,034	574,377	503	41.3	39.4
Right-wingers ...	368,856	388,450	275	22.4	26.7
Peasant League ...	278,856	227,409	217	17.0	15.6
People's Party ...	206,505	212,330	117	12.5	14.5
Kilbom Party ...	58,233	35,011	15	3.5	2.4
Communists ...	41,736	17,410	9	2.5	1.1

The gains of the social democracy are considerably greater in the agricultural districts than in the industrial areas. The Kilbom (Socialist) Party gained almost everywhere in comparison with 1930, but it is interesting to note that in comparison with the Parliamentary election of 1932 it lost ground in the industrial areas

although in numerous peasant areas it increased its vote, in some cases even beyond the figures of the Parliamentary election. Undoubtedly the Kilbom Party has made up by its gains in the rural areas for its losses in the industrial areas. The Communist Party was unable to make its influence felt sufficiently in the rural areas. The socialists, on the other hand, were able to win new peasant votes, but unable to hold their positions in the industrial areas. Their successes in the rural areas were due partly to the fact that they are permitted to use the wireless for propaganda purposes whilst the Communist Party is excluded from the use of the wireless, and partly to the fact that an intensive campaign was conducted amongst the peasants.

The election results in *West Sweden* were particularly interesting because here the left-wingers expelled from the Social-Democratic Party joined the Kilbom Party led by two members of Parliament. The leaders of the Kilbom Party were never tired of talking about the tremendous increase in strength that this gain brought to their party. We shall therefore quote a number of results from the strongholds of the Kilbom group.

In *Moelndal* in 1930 the socialists polled 310 votes, 356 votes in the Parliamentary elections in 1932 and 298 in the present municipal elections. The respective voting for the Communist Party was 141, 867 and 617. The greater figure of the Parliamentary election voting is explained by the fact that at such elections all persons over 23 years of age have a vote irrespective of whether they have paid their taxes or not.

In *Boros*, one of the centres of the textile industry, the socialists polled 421 votes in 1930, 1,073 in 1932 and 689 in the present elections. The figures for the Communist Party were: 5, 179 and 321 respectively. In *Askim*, near Goeteberg, the socialists polled 244, 300 and 272, whilst the figures for the Communist Party were: 181, 186 and 689. In *Frykshaerd* the socialists polled 418, 933 and 563. The Communist Party figures were: 0, 300 and 500. In *South Ongermanland* the socialists polled 873 in 1930 and 667 in the present elections. The Communist Party figures were 878 and 1,188 respectively.

In *Norrboten* the Communist Party was in a strong position as the second largest Party even in 1930, but in the present elections it succeeded nevertheless in increasing its poll by 3,000 votes. In *Kiruna* it received 40 per cent. of the total poll, and over 50 per cent. of the total poll in *Malmberget*. Kiruna and Malmberget are two centres of the coal mining industry. In Luleo the Communist Party doubled its poll.

These successes were won by systematic work and not by accident as the following example will show:—

In *Eskestuna*, a metal centre where our organisations had worked very badly, the Communist Party received exactly 10 votes as compared with 9,166 polled by the social democrats and 785 polled by the Kilbom socialists. On the other hand, in *Linköping*, which is far less an industrial centre, but where our Party organisations worked well, the Communist Party received 296 votes although it had never before put forward any candidates. The Kilbom socialists polled 8 votes in 1930 here, 448 in 1932 and 30 votes at the present election.

The apportionment of the seats in the councils is carried out according to a very arbitrary system which favours the larger parties at the expense of the smaller ones. With an increase of 23,000 votes the Kilbom socialists gained 12 new seats because they co-operated with the social democrats in the elections, whilst the Communist Party, which increased its poll by 24,000 votes, gained only 3 new seats. A just division of the seats would have given the Communist Party 33.

When we compare our poll with that of the social democracy the picture is not so favourable. The social democracy increased its poll by 106,000 votes, or more than the total poll of the Kilbom socialists and the Communist Party. It is true that this gain does not represent any new advance in influence amongst the workers, because it is no more than a reflection of the social-democratic gains at the last Parliamentary elections in 1932, but it is a fact that despite the crisis and its policy of placing the burdens of the crisis on to the shoulders of the workers, despite wage cuts and armaments, and despite the intensification of the class contradictions, the social democracy has been able to maintain its position amongst the workers. The conclusion is that the Communist Party has not sufficiently exposed the policy of the social democrats to the workers. The social democrats profited from the improvement in the economic situation. They were able to persuade hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants that the crisis policy of the

government has created increased possibilities of work and assisted agriculture to overcome the crisis. Once again they were able to dissipate the bitterness of the workers at the broken election promises by making still more promises. Once again they were able to cloak their services to capitalism with the policy of the "lesser evil."

Referring to the general tendency of the present elections, the social-democratic press speaks of a crushing defeat for fascism in Sweden. That is a gross exaggeration. It is true that the open fascists in brown shirts and top boots suffered a severe defeat, as also did the right-wingers, but at the same time the elections were a success for those parties which head the march towards fascism of Swedish democracy, for the social-democratic government and its auxiliaries which have already carried through the Bill legalising the fascist auxiliary police. They will use their increased poll to fetter the trade unions by the "Law for the Protection of Third Parties" and to present the draft exceptional law drawn up by the government against the Communist Party.

The next few weeks after the elections will reveal in how far the present government will develop the march towards fascism, or whether the present coalition will be extended by the inclusion of the leaders of the Peasant League with the fascist reactionary, General Director Wohlin, who has been made a Senator by the social democracy, at their head.

The results of the present election prove that the workers are beginning increasingly to regard the Communist Party as the leader of the struggle against class domination and hunger. Owing to the property basis of the elections, the fact that the right to exercise the franchise is connected with the payment of taxes, the full extent of the increased influence of the Communist Party upon the masses of the workers was not reflected even by the 140 per cent. increase in the Communist poll. The fierce and lying propaganda of the social democrats and the Kilbom socialists to the effect that a vote for the Communist Party would result in supporting the fascists owing to the fact that the Communist Party was the only Party which appeared in the field absolutely independently and with no arrangements with any other party for the polling of surplus votes succeeded in persuading many workers to vote for the social democrats or the Kilbom socialists who would otherwise have voted for the Communist Party.

The big gains of the Communist Party in many districts show what great possibilities are open to the Party if it can succeed in building up efficient organisations everywhere and if it pursues a correct and systematic proletarian policy. By a correct united front policy in all questions of wages, the fight against the anti-trade union bill, etc., we shall give the bourgeois press still further cause to bemoan "the increasing influence of the C.P."

The German Front in Czechoslovakia

By Karl Braun (Prague)

A year ago, two days before the voluntary dissolution of the national socialist party of Czechoslovakia, Konrad Henlein, the secretary of the German Athletic League, called for the formation of a "Sudetic German Heimat Front." This front was to put an end to the existing "division of the people into various groups and parties" and unite all existing bourgeois parties into a uniform movement. This attempt at incorporation did not succeed. The other German bourgeois parties preferred to remain independent, and there was nothing left for Henlein but to organise his Heimat Front as a political party, like all the others.

Not only the fact that the founding of this party coincided with the dissolution of the Nazi party, but its whole policy has furnished clear proof that the Heimat Front represents nothing else but an attempt to continue the policy of the dissolved swastika party in a disguised form. Up to now the "leader" of the Heimat Front, Henlein, has refused to announce his programme. It is not, he declares, a question of a programme, but of "purity of will," the welding together of all "estates" into a "community of the people," of loyal relations to the Czech State and "perpetual connection with the whole of German culture."

By means of this mixture of national socialist phrases and declarations of loyalty to the Czech State, Henlein has actually succeeded in achieving two aims: First, he has drawn the former supporters of the Nazi party into his Heimat Front, and, secondly, he has secured a legal existence for his organisation. The Heimat Front is to-day undoubtedly the biggest party of the Sudetic bourgeoisie, and the "days of the community of the people," which are now being celebrated in all the big German towns, are supported by masses of the national petty bourgeoisie.

The double role of the Heimat Front is perfectly obvious. It arouses among the masses of the petty bourgeoisie, who are suffering from economic impoverishment and national oppression, faith in the Third Reich, in Hitler, who will also emancipate the "Sudetic German people." In addition, direct organisational connection with Hitler Germany are being maintained, and only a short time ago leading functionaries of the Heimat Front were arrested in a small town in Western Bohemia on suspicion of espionage on behalf of the Third Reich.

Henlein, however, is frantically endeavouring to conceal, as far as possible, this role of the Heimat Front as agent of German imperialism behind constant declarations of loyalty to Czechoslovakia. Since Henlein's congratulatory telegram to Masaryk, on October 28, 1933, there have been innumerable downright grovelling declarations of loyalty to the Czech State. Not content with that, Henlein has caused his followers to take part, together with supporters of the government parties, in outspokenly Czech patriotic demonstrations, for instance in the so-called national defence days.

Of course, nobody believes in the sincerity of these declarations of loyalty. Nevertheless, the Heimat Front enjoys the greatest freedom of movement at a time when the Communist Movement is fiercely persecuted and being gradually driven into illegality. Whereas the Communist press is repeated confiscated and prohibited, no action is taken against the "Rundschau," the organ of the Heimat Front. The censors of the social democratic Minister for Justice even confiscate articles in the Communist press, calling upon the Communist and social democratic workers to hold joint counter demonstrations to Henlein's provocative "Days of the community of the people." Thus the Heimat Front is not only tolerated but promoted by the government.

But what is the reason for this official toleration of a movement which is undoubtedly politically and partly also organisationally connected with Hitler? The Czech bourgeoisie is quite aware that the situation in the German-speaking district is very unfavourable for it. The class antagonisms and also the national antagonisms are very strained. The national oppression has made not only the workers but also broad masses of the petty bourgeoisie hostile to Prague. And the greater the danger of a war with Hitler Germany becomes the more anxiously and mistrustfully they follow the development in the German districts.

It is this anxiety which caused the Czech bourgeoisie to dissolve the Nazi party, and this anxiety—contradictory as it may sound—is also the reason for the official toleration of the Heimat Front. The government are quite aware that the Czechoslovakian patriotism of Henlein and of the German petty bourgeoisie led by him is only a mask. But they say, better a sham patriotism than open mass irridenta. So long as Henlein in this way keeps in check the former Nazi supporters and the petty bourgeois who have come over to him from the camp of the other bourgeois parties, so long will the government tolerate his Heimat Front. At the same time the Czech bourgeoisie in no way overlooks the fact that all its measures aiming at fascisation are enthusiastically welcomed and supported by the Heimat Front, and that at the same time it has in this fascist movement an organisation which renders it valuable service as a counter-weight to Communism and an instrument for crushing the German working people who, under the leadership of the Communist Party, are fighting for social and national emancipation.

The provocative actions of the Heimat Front have aroused the greatest bitterness of late among the working class. The appeal, issued by the Communists, to oppose the fascist parades of the Heimat Front met with a great response, whilst the rejection by the social democratic leaders of the Communist united front offer has called forth great dissatisfaction and indignation among the social democratic workers. There are already two cases in which, in spite of the sabotage of the social democratic leaders, unity of action has been realised against Henlein fascism: in Haida and Stein-Schoenau, two glass manufacturing towns, the Communist and social democratic workers jointly opposed the Henlein fascists and turned their meetings into a fiasco.

The Henlein fascists are now preparing for great parades in Karlsbad on October 7, and in Gablonz on October 14. They are exerting every effort to make the Karlsbad demonstration "a demonstration of the whole of the Sudetic Germans." Although the social democratic leaders have rejected the Communist offer to carry out a joint counter action, in view of the splendid militant spirit of the workers there is every prospect that the joint counter march will be a success.

Germany

The German Church Conflict Intensifies

The conference of the so-called "National Synode" of the German Evangelical Church which was jerrymandered by the Hitler parson, *Reich Bishop Mueller*, took place on August 9 and adopted a number of decisions aiming at strengthening the position and the dictatorship of the "Reibi," as his opponents jeeringly call Hitler's Reich Bishop. Just as "the Leader" obtained a Cabinet decision subsequently legalising the massacre of June 30 and the subsequent days, so the "Reibi" in his more modest sphere of operations caused the various measures taken dictatorially by him, including depositions and appointments whose legality is already being tested in the German courts, to be justified subsequently by the "National Synode." "The Principle of Leadership" was solemnly proclaimed as valid for the church also and the oppositional churches, particularly those in South Germany, were declared willy-nilly members of the new formation. A "Service Oath" was also drawn up for all parsons binding them to "Loyalty and Obedience to the Leader of the German People and of the German State, Adolf Hitler."

The decisions of the "National Synode" are rejected by the opposition in the church as invalid and they have not by any means lessened the strength of the opposition. The church opposition in Germany was much encouraged by the decisions of the Ecumenical Council of the Protestant Churches of all countries which took place towards the end of August and openly expressed its anxiety for "the liberty of action and teaching" of the Protestant Church in Germany. It also condemned the church dictatorship of the "National Socialist Christians" and the proposal to swear in all parsons to Hitler, and expressed its support of the "Confessional Synode," the organisation of the Evangelical opposition in Germany.

Even in Germany the church opposition is finding a certain amount of open support from the juridical authorities who have otherwise shown themselves willing to support all the crimes of the national socialist party. For instance, the High Court of Justice in Berlin has declared the deposition of the Vicar of Tempelhof to be invalid. The decision of the court declares expressly that the decree issued by Reich Bishop Mueller arbitrarily extending his powers is "undoubtedly illegal" and continues:—

"Therefore everything which the Reich Bishop has done or will do in the future by virtue of the powers which he has conferred upon himself is *null and void*. The decree of the Reich Bishop represents such a *crass violation* of the law that in the interests of the maintenance of respect amongst the population for the law an energetic protest must be made against it."

The degree of disintegration carried into the Protestant Churches by the so-called "German Christians" can be seen from information published by the "Confessional Synode" according to which already about a thousand clergymen have been victimised. Despite all the forceful measures adopted by the Reich Bishop he has not succeeded in "co-ordinating" all the churches on the basis of the decisions of the "National Synode." A protest action which was organised by Marahrens, Bishop of Hanover, against the decisions of the "National Synode" was supported by the Bishops of Bavaria, Wurtemberg and Breslau, by the General Superintendent in Duesseldorf and by many other high church dignitaries.

The national socialist "German Christians" are now using the same foul methods against their opponents as the national socialists are accustomed to using on the political field proper. A revision of the finances of the bishopric of Wurtemberg has now been ordered, obviously with the view to bringing *Bishop Wurm* under suspicion of financial corruption. Immediately afterwards Bishop Wurm was given "leave of absence" on the charge that he had "diverted monies of the church from their normal application." The truth is that Bishop Wurm has refused to hand over the monies of his church to the creatures of the Reich Bishop and that instead he has devoted them to purposes for which the great majority of the members of his church contributed them. How lightly the "German Christians" regard corruption when it really faces them in their own ranks can be seen from the fact that they have just appointed a young pastor named Beye to the vicarship of Bernau, although this man was removed from office only a few months ago by the Bishop of Brunswick for embezzlement.

After eighteen months of struggle to secure the "incorporation" of the Protestant Church, the national socialists have succeeded only in splitting German Protestantism and seriously discrediting the leadership of the national socialist party in the eyes of the majority of practising Protestants. The unification of the German churches into a Reich Church was intended to be the counterpart to the unification of the Reich by Hitler through the abolition of the rights of the German States. The failure of the forceful methods adopted by the national socialists to unify the church shows that on the political field also particularism cannot be overcome by national socialist methods. Further, the resistance of the church opposition shows that the national socialists have succeeded in bringing broad circles of the conservative petty-bourgeoisie which marched trustfully into the "Third Reich" as the supporters of Hindenburg and Hugenberg, into sharp contradiction with the incompetent and unscrupulous terrorist dictatorship of the national socialists.

The leaders of the church opposition are doing their best to keep their movement within purely church and religious limitations. The ideological leader of the church opposition, the theologian *Karl Barth*, declares in his pamphlet "For the Liberty of Evangelism," which is widely read in Protestant circles, that this liberty is not threatened by the national socialist State, but from within, that is to say, solely from the "German Christians." However, this ostrich policy is proving more and more ineffective the more the church dictatorship intervenes in the life of the churches with the means of State coercion, and the more clearly the Reich Bishop reveals himself as nothing more than the agent of the "Reich Leader" Hitler. After the "National Synode" had adopted "the principle of leadership" for the church, the same principle was adopted by the Association of German Clergymen at its recent session in Frankfort. But who are the leaders? Apart from the Reich Bishop, whose only qualification for leadership is that he enjoys the confidence of Hitler, there is the legal adviser *Jaeger*, a Prussian ministerial official who controls the appointment and deposition of the curates as the direct representative of the Prussian government.

In reality the national socialist idea of a Protestant Reich Church aims at something further than merging the churches in the various German States and putting an end to particularism on this field. What the national socialists want is a *State Church* in the most literal meaning of the word, a church which consists of State officials carrying out the commands of Hitler and his associates in the guise of "Servants of God," and the oath of allegiance to Hitler shows this clearly. Similar systems of the unification of the State and Church power existed in Tsarist Russia and in the old Byzantine Empire. The new factor in the attempt of the national socialists is that it is being tried in a modern State where only a minority of the people supports the "State religion" and not even the leader himself who appeals to his "God-given Mission."

In the pamphlet mentioned above, Karl Barth declares:—

"The church, the righteous church of God on earth, cannot stand or fall with this or that possibility of nature or with this or that cultural form, or with this or that phase in the history of a people or its State."

These words reveal the well-founded fear that if the Protestant Church permits itself to be made into a dependent of the national socialist State it will soon go under with that State.

The increasing resistance offered to the dictatorship in the church is therefore also an expression of the growing disbelief of the petty-bourgeois masses in the stability and permanence of Hitler's "Thousand Year Reich." These masses are realising how they were deceived when the national socialists pretended to come forward as the saviours of the Christian belief. Our propaganda must convince them further that the national socialists are also lying when they talk about "the persecution of Christians in Bolshevik Russia." The proletarian State does not interfere in the internal affairs of any religious community any more than it permits any such religious community to interfere in the affairs of the State. The faithful Christian who abhors the national socialist State which has made the leader of the national socialists the supreme head of the church with all the means of State coercion, although the man is not even a member of the church, must support the struggle for the overthrow of the national socialist State, a struggle which can be fought to a successful conclusion only by the working class.

Schacht's Control of German Exports

The control of foreign trade, exercised by the Ministry of Economics, now in the hands of Hitler's worthy associate Schacht, has been extended step by step. The latest step was the issue of a decree on September 4 creating 25 control committees to regulate the whole of Germany's imports. The new provisions come into force at the end of October, and after that no one may import goods who is not in possession of the necessary import permit from these committees.

The alleged aim of this new system, announced by Schacht in his speech at the opening of the Leipzig Fair, is to adapt Germany's imports to her supplies of foreign means of exchange and thus guarantee that all foreign firms supplying goods to Germany shall receive payment. However, Schacht's reputation would indicate that this attitude of the "honest merchant" has little or no significance for him. It is all too obvious that the developments of the past few months, the increasing shortage of the means of foreign exchange, the rapid increase of Germany's imports of raw materials and the subsequent failure to pay innumerable foreign creditors the monies due to them, have not happened entirely against Schacht's will. The new volume of short-term debt which has accumulated in this fashion is estimated at 300 million marks. In the month of August Germany's balance of foreign trade was again passive to the tune of nine million marks, and, despite all the import restrictions, the imports of raw materials into Germany declined by 2 per cent only.

The new system for the regulation of foreign trade is in all probability a new plan to swindle those foreign firms who have supplied Germany with goods of their just claims along the lines of Schacht's usual methods of "breaking interest usury" by fraudulent bankruptcy. The methods of extortion and unfair pressure practised by Schacht were adopted once again during the negotiations with the British yarn suppliers. Schacht made the British yarn merchants the following none too modest proposal: They should agree to accept the monies now due to them in twelve monthly instalments, but only on condition that they should immediately begin supplying new requirements and grant six months' credit for payment. That is the method applied by the unscrupulous "gentleman" who informs his dunning tailor that payments on the suits already supplied will begin only after a new suit has been supplied.

It is not surprising that the Lancashire yarn firms were unwilling to agree to such a proposal. On the contrary, the suggestion has made them so indignant that they are now considering appealing to those British coal and linen merchants who are still supplying Germany to stop all supplies immediately. The special British account with the Reich Bank has risen to five million marks, the maximum agreed to in the Anglo-German payments agreement, so that the Reich Bank now refuses to undertake the transfer of any further payments to Great Britain. In consequence, the number of British exporters swindled out of their money by Germany will undoubtedly increase.

A section of the foreign press refers to the new control system as the introduction of a monopoly of foreign trade by the State and speaks of "plan-economy tendencies" which are now supposed to be gaining ground in Germany. In Germany also there are a number of bright theorists who find that such measures are a step towards "German socialism," although Schacht himself does not bother to cloak his capitalist-bureaucratic methods with any such deceptive phraseology.

In reality, of course, the Schacht methods have nothing whatever to do with a State monopoly of foreign trade, with planned economy or socialism. On the contrary, Schacht's measures are a typical example of how the combination of economy for private profit and monopolist control intensifies the contradictions of capitalism and causes further economic anarchy, one of the characteristics which Lenin has pointed out as typical for the epoch of imperialism, the epoch of dying capitalism.

After the German proletariat has seized power it will introduce a state monopoly of foreign trade along the lines of the State monopoly of foreign trade which exists in the Soviet Union. The German workers' and peasants' government will see to it that both export and import are guided solely by the interests of the whole of the working people of Germany. This will be possible by virtue of the fact that the proletarian State power will have expropriated all the decisive means of production and distribution, the factories, mines, machinery, raw materials, etc., and deprived the capitalist

class of any say in economic matters. When the whole of production is no longer guided by the profit interests of a group of speculators, but by the requirements of the masses of the people, then it is clear that foreign trade can be guided by the same principle and no other. The corollary is equally true, i.e., as long as production is under the control of capitalists and guided by the interests of capitalist profits, then foreign trade can be guided by no other interests.

When Schacht controls foreign trade at the instructions of German finance-capital, whose interests will determine what is imported and what exported? The various large-scale capitalist monopolies will snarl and wrangle with each other over the available profits and they will use every possible means of corruption and otherwise to turn the bureaucratic State committees, etc., into agents of their profit interests. For instance, the German chemical trust will use all its influence to prevent the import of raw materials for which it can provide substitutes at a profit, even should these substitutes be of inferior quality and more expensive to their users. The heavy industrialists interested in supplying armaments to the government will see to it with all their influence that liberal supplies of the raw materials they need are imported, control or no control, and even if such imports are at the cost of the most necessary requirements of the German people in food and clothing. The powerful agrarian interests will continue with all their might to shut out the import of cheap and good foreign foodstuffs in their own interests, irrespective of the fact that the masses of the German people are undernourished because they cannot pay the high food prices which result.

The export question will be decided by exactly the same considerations. The foreign exchange permits will be given in the first place to those industrialists who need foreign raw materials for the manufacture of goods for export, but the State control will not be able to prevent groups of big capitalist speculators from obtaining means of foreign exchange ostensibly for the furtherance of the export trade in order then to sell the respective goods on the inland market if the latter offers higher profits. The State control of foreign means of exchange has not been able to prevent the German exporters from leaving large amounts of foreign payments abroad instead of bringing them back into the country for the use of the German State. The German capitalists are continuing to send their capital abroad, despite all prohibitions, and they are using the export trade for this purpose. The more catastrophic the economic system in Germany becomes, the more extensive this "flight of capital" becomes, too. The control of foreign trade introduced by Schacht will mean merely that the smaller men will be excluded from such operations and that only Schacht's friends, the big German finance capitalists, will still be able to avail themselves of such manoeuvres.

Bankrupt Schacht will also be unable to restore Germany's foreign credit for commodity supplies after he deliberately ruined it himself. The influx of the necessary means of foreign exchange into Germany to finance Germany's imports of raw materials is by no means secure, for the other countries are being more and more compelled to adopt the weapon of compulsory clearing transactions in order to defend their nationals against Schacht's rogueries, and as a result there is absolutely no guarantee that the new foreign exchange provisions in Germany will really provide the German importers with the means of foreign exchange, necessary to satisfy the demands of their foreign creditors.

Immediately after the seizure of power by the revolutionary proletariat in November, 1917, the Bolshevik government declared all the debts which the tsarist government had incurred to strengthen its coercive apparatus against the Russian peoples to be null and void. However, the Soviet government pays on the nail and down to the last farthing for all goods ordered abroad by the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade. The credit of the proletarian government of the Soviet Union is therefore unshakable, whilst capitalist States like Germany which borrow frivolously like irresponsible speculators without any prospects of being able to pay back are ruining their foreign credit.

When the proletariat of Germany seizes power it will solve the problems of foreign trade and of the import of raw materials without difficulty by an economic alliance with the Soviet Union. Schacht's bankrupt manipulations will drive the German economic system, already in a desperate situation, into complete collapse. Schacht's "plan-economy" is nothing but a planned and systematic exploitation of the German people, a planned and systematic enrichment of the German capitalists, and a planned and system-

atic preparation for a new imperialist slaughter. A real plan-economy, a socialist economy, can be built up only after the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship, the expropriation of the capitalist class and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in a Soviet Germany.

The Failure of the Leipzig Fair

The German press has frantically endeavoured to make out that the Leipzig Fair has been a magnificent success. The press reports, however, have only created indignation among the exhibitors. One exhibitor at the Fair, who has considerable business connections, informs us that it is quite true to say that the Fair has exceeded all expectations—nobody expected such a complete failure! Any hopes that existed were completely destroyed by Dr. Schacht's speech to the exporters. This speech had a disastrous effect on the Leipzig Fair. Let us give a few facts which speak an eloquent language.

Fear of inflation. "Only idiots believe that the currency will remain stable," said a manufacturer of automatic machines to me at the Fair. "For, you see, with us things are as follows: There are practically no sales. The purchaser demands that a clause be inserted in the purchase agreement according to which the manufacturer undertakes, should there be any change in the value of the currency, immediately to readjust the machines accordingly at his own cost. The manufacturer declares, however, 'I cannot do that, for who knows how long the currency will remain stable and how often it will change? We shall find ourselves doing nothing else but adapting the machines to the changed currency conditions.'" This definite opinion regarding the collapse of the mark and inflation of the currency prevailed among sellers and purchasers in spite of Schacht's assurance that the currency will remain firm. The alteration in the silver currency is already a sort of inflation. The new one, two and five-mark pieces are smaller, lighter and inferior in their metallic composition. It is a matter of course that all factory owners and those in possession of money are already taking appropriate measures in view of the threatening inflation.

Standardised stockings and standardised shoes. In pursuance of the aims of the Hitler government to save raw material and avoid waste of material in the manufacturing process, it is intended to introduce standardised stockings and standardised shoes. Schacht has demanded of the textile manufacturers that they standardise the manufacture of stockings. The manufacturers have refused to comply with this demand, as it would only mean reduced sales and would not result in any considerable saving of material. The Hitler government is pursuing the same policy in regard to the manufacture of footwear. The threatened introduction of the standardised shoe has led to big business transactions in the shoe industry. "Buy shoes!" was the motto. The standardised shoe and the standardised stocking reveal the seriousness of the economic situation better than all treatises."

The models actually exhibited were bought. It is significant that the few foreign purchasers who visited the exhibition were interested above all in models and inventions. The models were bought at a higher price with permission to copy the same. The German manufacturers gave their permission, because, like good patriots, they prefer to effect sales, even if they thereby help foreign competitors, than to have goods left on their hands unsold.

Foreigners travelling through Germany. There were many foreigners at Leipzig, but most of them were passing through Germany en route to other countries. The 60 per cent. reduction in fares granted by the railways to all visitors to the Fair enabled them to make the journey from Leipzig to Prague, where a Fair took place immediately after the Leipzig Fair. Thus the foreigners went to Leipzig to see the exhibits, but made their purchases in Prague, and this in spite of the fact that in the case of all purchases made by foreigners, the purchaser paid only 80 per cent. of the price and the remaining 20 per cent. was paid by the Hitler government to the manufacturer. The biggest foreign order booked at the Fair was one for 23 million fly-catchers. This was certainly a very handsome order, but was something in the nature of a joke on the situation. The Leipzig Fair confirmed the truth of an old business saying: To win a new customer is hard, to keep a customer is harder still, but to win back a lost customer is impossible.

Foreign visitors noticed the calm prevailing in Germany with a certain amount of misgiving. A Dutchman expressed it very aptly when he said: "Germany is so calm, there must be something

wrong!" In the utterances of many foreigners there was reflected the profound mistrust felt throughout the world towards Hitler Germany.

Jest as a weapon. The exhibitors and also the visitors at the Fair belong almost exclusively to those circles which voted enthusiastically for Hitler and hoped and believed that under his leadership Germany would enter on a period of magnificent prosperity and progress. That was once upon a time! To-day they give expression to their disappointment in innumerable jokes about the government, the various Ministers and their work. One can say that no other government has been the target of so much ridicule and scorn as the Hitler government is at the present time. Here in these circles the joke has become a weapon, and the old proverb "Nothing kills like ridicule" is again proved true. These people are, in their way, propagandists of the fight against the fascist government and its policy. One hears it told quite openly that on the return journey to Berlin the compartments of the express trains resounded with roars of laughter over the jokes about the government. Jokes are only the outer form of a hostile attitude to the fascist system. This becomes evident as soon as one enters into serious conversation with people, as one easily can. I have visited many fairs and exhibitions, but none of them so palpably demonstrated the bankruptcy of the government and the economic system as did the recent Leipzig Fair.

For the Status Quo in the Saar District!

DECLARATION OF THE WORLD COMMITTEE AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR AND FASCISM

Paris, September 15, 1934.

On behalf of millions of supporters of the world movement against imperialist war and fascism, we appeal to all opponents of Hitler fascism throughout the world to assist us in order to bar the way of brutal fascist dictatorship into the German Saar district.

The hands of the Hitler government are stained with the blood of thousands of honest working men and women. Thousands of the best workers have been and are still being bestially murdered or hounded down. It must not be permitted that a further 800,000 men and women, young workers and children of the Saar district, are delivered over to this rule of bloody terror and the shame of the concentration camps and the fascist "people's courts." If the Saar district should fall into the clutches of the Hitler fascists, then all the rights of the toilers, all workers' organisations, all democratic, pacifist, cultural and social associations would be immediately exterminated.

This must not happen! The whole world will help us to avert this terrible danger.

The population of Germany, numbering 65 millions, is being ruined as a result of the insane fascist policy, which has increased the prices of all articles of daily necessity for the benefit of the junkers and the big capitalists, and, on the other hand, has reduced all wages and salaries below the minimum of existence. Retail trade is declining and the small peasants are faced with ruin. The young workers are thrown into the streets or converted into cannon fodder for the imperialist war. The women are being degraded socially, economically and politically, and subjected to a system of slavery.

To deliver the population of the Saar district to this system of "civilisation" would mean fresh wholesale unemployment, plunging tens of thousands of metal and mine workers into still deeper misery and worse slavery, barring the future to women and the youth and robbing the toiling middle classes of their last possibility of existence.

This must be prevented!

The rulers of the Third Reich are feverishly arming for war. They view with satisfaction the Japanese provocations in the Far East as the first puffs of wind of the storm which they wish to let loose against the Soviet Union, the guardian of peace. The press campaign against Thaelmann and other anti-fascists serves to enhance the incitement to war. They laid the train in Austria. They are attempting to kindle the flames of war directly in the Saar district. They wish to plunge humanity into the horrors of a fresh war, compared with which the world war twenty years ago was merely child's play.

In order to prevent this we declare that it is necessary to vote for the status quo! Our victory in the plebiscite must be achieved with the help of all the anti-fascist forces of the world.

Status quo means defeat for Hitler! We solemnly repeat the appeal of the militant German anti-fascists to the whole world: "Whoever assists us in this Saar struggle assists us in our struggle for emancipation in the Third Reich. It is necessary to vote for the status quo in the sacred interests of the German people.

In this winter of misery Hitler urgently needs a success in the Saar district in order to divert the German people and the world public from all his previous failures in home and foreign policy. Therefore, he announced in his speech in Ehrenbreitstein that 99 per cent. of the population of the Saar district would vote for union with Germany. He frantically begs for these votes, but he is afraid of the battle.

The toiling Saar people however declare: Just because we are Germans we shall not vote for union with this Hitler regime; we shall fight with all the forces at our disposal, so that the Saar district is not subjected to the Hitler yoke, so that a check is put to the destruction of all movements for freedom and the organised robbery of workers' property.

Status quo does not mean voting against the German people, but means: We Germans are voting against Hitler, the strangler of the German people.

Status quo means to express the will of the people of the Saar district to resist any imperialist oppression or tutelage. Therefore, we shall not vote for union with imperialist France.

In this struggle for freedom in the Saar district all the Communists, socialists, pacifists, democrats, Christians, men and women, young people are standing shoulder to shoulder in unity of action in order to defend freedom in the Saar district.

The World Committee Against Imperialist War and Fascism summons all freedom-loving people of the world to act according to their conviction and the historic importance of the Saar plebiscite. Do not hesitate! Do not waste your vote! Forward to the defeat of Hitler, the defeat of the regime of slavery in the Saar district. Forward to the victory of the toiling people in the Saar district for social justice and freedom!

**World Committee Against Imperialist War and Fascism
World Youth Committee.**

Organised Mass Fight Against Spies and Provocateurs

By Albert Mueller

In the period immediately following Hitler's coming into power, the Nazis succeeded by means of furious incitement and threats and by means of a well-organised spy apparatus in getting their supporters and the petty bourgeois strata to engage in wholesale denunciation of persons holding Communist opinions. The petty bourgeois masses supported the fascist police apparatus because they believed that it was necessary to help the police to suppress the Communists in order that Hitler might carry out his programme undisturbed. The bold work of propaganda and agitation of the Communists, which was carried on in spite of the terror, the ever-increasing discontent of the broad masses with the fascist system, restricted the wholesale denunciation. But the denunciation of revolutionary workers was restricted not only as a result of these two factors, but also through improved methods of illegal work, as well as by the fight of the C.P.G. against spies and provocateurs.

Lenin set the Bolshevik Party in tsarist Russia a task which applies also to-day to the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries. Comrade Lenin wrote:—

"We must endeavour to create an organisation capable of rendering spies harmless by exposing them and tracking them down. Spies cannot be exterminated, but we can and must create an organisation which detects spies and educates the workers to take an active part in combating them."

It follows therefore that the fight against provocateurs and spies is a task which must be participated in by the whole of the Communist Parties and the whole of the working class.

Goering took over from the social-democratic police presidents a powerful police apparatus which was well organised for the fight against the Communists. Goering reorganised this apparatus, introduced a large number of Nazis into the police apparatus, and together with a part of the former social-democratic police officials built up his State Secret Police (Gestapo), which together with the special troops (S.S.) and storm troops (S.A.) proceeded ruthlessly against all persons suspected of holding Communist opinions.

Other spy and provocateur organisations were created, which

work in close co-operation with the Gestapo and have the task of keeping a watch on the slightest communist activity. These organisations are:—

(a) Reichssicherheitsdienst (Reich Security Service).

This organisation includes the officials of the S.S., the intelligence department of the S.S. and the officials of the Air Defence. They have to report every two weeks on their activity and give answers to the following questions: how many inhabitants are there in the blocks of houses under their control, any changes, how many sub-tenants are there and who are they, how many are in work and what is their trade, whether they receive many visits, who the visitors are, etc. They must also ascertain whether the inhabitants hang out Nazi flags, whether they take part in collections, whether they are members of the national socialist organisations, of the Reich Air Defence, etc.

(b) The S.A. courier service.

This service is employed above all in effecting wholesale arrests. It is known that these people know all the former Communists in their districts. They have to give a monthly report on the former Communists.

(c) Factory spies.

The factory police have their sections in all the big works and factories, above all in the munition factories. In the firm of Siemens in Berlin, for example, there is a department of the factory police comprising 200 men. The I.G. Farben works have over 3,000 men. Some of these police wear the uniform of factory police, the greater part of them are employed as workers and clerks in the process of production. These agents are given not only a military but also a political training, so that it is possible for them to develop into good "workers' functionaries" in the factories. The intelligence department of the Reichswehr also has its agents in the munition works. The hotel and café employees, particularly those working in big hotels and cafés, from time to time receive written and verbal instructions to keep a watch on their guests and customers. The N.S.B.O. (national socialist factory organisation) has a special department which organises and conducts espionage work.

One of the most important preconditions for the successful building up of Party work is that the Party takes care that its ranks remain free of Hitler's agents. It is impossible absolutely to prevent spies and provocateurs from finding their way into the party. So long as the class war exists between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the bourgeoisie will always endeavour to smuggle spies and provocateurs into the Communist Party. It is for us, however, to make it so difficult for these elements to creep into the Party that only in rare cases will they have the possibility of doing so. We must also take measures to ensure their rapid exposure.

Of importance in the fight against the penetration of police agents into the Party was the checking up of all new members and keeping a constant check on the work and activity of every member of the organisation. Each member must carry out his work strictly in accordance with the instructions and under the control of the Party organisation. The observance of this Bolshevik principle must play a special role in conditions of illegality. Experience has shown that the Party organisations have not been vigilant enough when admitting new members into the Party. Experience has shown that traitors and deserters are to be found above all among the declassed and petty bourgeois elements. If a larger number of factory workers had been drawn into the Party, the number of spies, traitors and deserters would have been greatly reduced. It is easy for the Party and the whole of the working class to keep an eye on the activity of the factory workers, but it is more difficult in the case of other strata of the population to ascertain their antecedents and their activity. Practice has shown that a constant examination of every person before and after admission into the Party is necessary. By examining and testing the work and by observation, collection of material in cases of suspicion, spies, provocateurs, swindlers, etc., are discovered and exposed. The Party membership must be regularly instructed in this matter by the press and by special literature. Not only the functionaries of the Party and mass organisations, but all members of the Party, all workers must be informed who has been exposed as a spy or provocateur.

The Communist Party of Germany, both in the period of legality and illegality, is able to record successes in this sphere. From the year 1919 up to the present time the Party has regularly

issued lists of spies and black lists. The black lists, which appeared once or twice a month, have a fairly large circulation. These lists were issued both by the Central and the District Party Committees. The black lists from the years 1929 to 1931 show how far the Party succeeded in rendering harmless elements which otherwise would have been injurious to the Party. In addition to numerous defrauders, swindlers and petty spies, about 150 important cases of exposed spies and provocateurs were published.

Many members of the C.P.G. were and are of the opinion that whilst spies must be removed from the organisations, it is not expedient to make a set-out about them, as otherwise honest workers will be afraid to join an organisation in which there are spies. The C.P.G. has waged and is waging a struggle against this incorrect view within the Party. It is of the opinion that not only must there be no secrecy maintained regarding these provocateurs and spies in the organisation, but that the revolutionary workers must be brought into the fight against these police elements; that the Party must organise a mass fight against them which will intimidate them. The honest workers, the former social-democratic workers who are afraid to join the C.P.G. on account of the danger of spies and provocateurs, must be told that the C.P.G. is the only Party which is conducting an inexorable fight against these elements, that the social-democratic party of Germany could not conduct this fight, because its leaders, the police presidents and others, hired spies and provocateurs, who were ruthlessly fought by the C.P. of Germany.

The C.P. of Germany is able to record successes in mobilising the broad masses of workers in the fight against spies and provocateurs. The following examples from the period of illegality show the methods of mobilising the workers. A strong spy apparatus was set up in the . . . munition factory. All workers who were known to hold Communist opinions were closely watched and dismissed. The spies did not remain constantly in this factory, but were sent when necessary to a sister undertaking in order to continue their activity there. By careful investigation a large part of the spy apparatus was exposed. The factory newspaper of our Party organisation took care that not only the staff of the main undertaking, but also the staff of all sister undertakings, learnt whom they had to be on their guard against and whom they had to fight.

In . . . photographs of three spies were obtained, reprinted on postcards and distributed in large numbers among the population, together with the inscription: "Take a look at these rascals and treat them as they deserve."

What results can be achieved by well-organised participation of the masses in the fight against spies and provocateurs is shown by the following two examples: In . . . an arrested Communist, as a result of mishandling, went over to the class enemy. He betrayed a number of workers, including a functionary of a mass organisation, who was then murdered by storm troopers. When the Party organisation got to hear of this treachery they took the following measures: (1) published a street newspaper containing a picture of the traitor and an article dealing with him, (2) issued a circular to the tenants of the house in which he lived, (3) had slogans against the traitor painted in the surrounding streets, (4) sticky-backs describing the traitor were issued and stuck up everywhere.

The result was: (1) owing to the protest of the neighbours the traitor got notice from the landlord to vacate his flat, (2) in face of the attitude of the workers of the district he found it advisable to move to another neighbourhood, (3) the traitor has not ventured to betray any further comrades.

In . . . there was a spy who went about for a long time and caused comrades to be arrested. When he again came to . . . the Party comrades organised troops of children who called after him in the street: "police spy! scoundrel!" and other unflattering epithets. The spy left the neighbourhood as he was boycotted everywhere and could not appear on the street without encountering hostility.

As a result of mass boycott, which is employed very frequently, spies are not only hampered in their work in the factory, but they themselves feel unsafe and therefore "voluntarily" withdraw from their field of activity.

The intensified fight of the working class against the fascist dictatorship, the approaching fight for power, demands increased vigilance on the part of the Party organisations and greater participation of the masses in the fight against spies and provocateurs.

Unity of Action Against the Dismissal of Young Workers

By Wilhelm Pieck (Berlin)

The Hitler government, through the decree of its Minister of Economy Schacht for the "distribution of labour forces," is making an unheard-of attack on the working youth. All young workers up to the age of 25 years are to be dismissed from the factories in order to make room for older, married unemployed workers. At least one and a half million young workers are involved in this expulsion from the factories. They are to be transferred into Labour Service, into domestic work, and used as land helpers. The carrying out of this order, however, means that all possibility of life and training are taken away from the working youth. This order belongs to those measures with which the Hitler government is carrying through the capitalist offensive for the worsening of wage and working conditions. It is therefore to the greatest interest of the whole working class to ward off this attack of the Hitler government together with the youth and to prevent any dismissals of the young workers from the factories.

The Hitler government is attempting, by means of this order, to cover up the swindle of its "provision of work," and to awaken new illusions in the unemployed. The army of unemployed is already beginning to increase. The increasing lack of raw materials has already, in a number of industries, brought about considerable restriction in production and dismissal of workers. The funds for Emergency Works are exhausted. The harvest is practically finished and large masses of the town workers, who had been forced into agricultural work, have been returning to the towns in the last few weeks and are without work. It is true that through the dismissal of the young workers from the factories jobs will be open which can only be taken by adult, unemployed workers. But what does this "exchange of labour forces" mean for the proletariat?

At all costs the capitalists want to lessen the costs of production by the reduction of wages, in order to increase their profits and to overcome the difficulties of the market. The low wages of the young workers, who are to be dismissed, are to be the standard for the wages of the adult workers who are taken on in their place. By this means the capitalists hope that the latter will put up with low wages if only to get back to work.

The Hitler government, in obedience to finance capital, is making the direct attempt to play off the unemployed workers against the employed working class and these against the youth. It wants to prevent the united fight of the working class against the wage-reduction offensive. With the lying phrase—the youth to give place to the fathers of families in the factories—the Hitler government thinks to be able to entrap the adult workers against the youth. The bourgeoisie will have won the game if this attempt were to succeed. They see the danger threatening that the working class will come together for the common struggle against the capitalist offensive, and they are trying by such manoeuvres to prevent this common struggle and to split the working class.

The present expulsion of the youth from the factories shows the whole process of degeneration of capitalism, which is no longer in the position to feed its wage slaves. It is true the youth will be trained as apprentices, but this is for the purpose of creating, in the apprentice, the cheapest labour for the employer. When the apprentice has finished his apprenticeship, according to this order of the Hitler government he will be dismissed from the factory. Sending them off as land helpers first of all means nothing else than turning them into scabs on the agricultural workers. If now, in autumn, when the harvest and the work of cultivation is practically finished, the young workers are sent off as land helpers, they will be looked upon by the peasants only as superfluous mouths, and taken on under the worst possible wage and working conditions. Things are not very different in regard to the transfer of the youth for domestic work. Any further education or the making of a career for the young workers is completely removed. The fascist dictatorship has only one interest in the youth, to use them as cannon fodder in the coming war. This is the reason for sending the young workers into Labour Service. Since the young workers on dismissal from the factories get no insurance of any kind, they are to be driven by hunger into Labour Service, where they are drilled in a military fashion and, through fascist "educational work," alienated from their class. The "Third Reich" of the Hitler dictatorship is thus only a military prison for the young workers, with forced labour and military drill.

The Hitler decree against working-class youth is closely connected with the carrying through of the fascist labour law, just announced by the government, and the fascist factory regulations for the carrying through of the wage-reduction offensive, of the smashing of the wage agreements and the establishment of the most open rule of the employer in the factory. There is therefore the most urgent necessity for common action by the adult workers with the youth against these measures of the Hitler dictatorship. The adult workers must under no circumstances allow this wage-reduction offensive to be begun and carried through with the dismissal of the young workers from the factories. In every factory where the employer attempts to dismiss the youth all the workers employed must at once make a stand against it. Through the election of factory delegates, and sending them as a deputation to the employer, the workers of the factory must demand the retention of the youth and declare that the entire factory will protect the youth from dismissal. The question of strike action must be put in all seriousness to the workers, in order to prevent the carrying through of this Hitler decree so hostile to the youth.

The building up of unity of action in the factories, the overcoming of the split in the working class are now the most urgent questions facing the whole working class. Only if this unity of action is created, will it be possible for the working class not only to ward off the attacks of the Hitler dictatorship on wage and working conditions, but beyond that also successfully to lead the fight for the improvement of these conditions for all adult and young workers and for increased benefit for all the unemployed.

Enforce the Release of Thaelmann!

Enforce the release of Ernst Thaelmann! The Communist and social democratic workers, honest intellectuals and poor peasants, are united in this battle cry. It is taken up by the workers of Moscow and Paris, by the youth of the great Chinese Soviet Republic, and by demonstrations in New York.

Enforce the release of Thaelmann! This has become a great rallying cry for all those who are fighting against fascism.

The fascists are preparing a new international provocation. They have concluded the "preliminary examination." We must realise the full danger of the situation. Five times high government functionaries have declared that Thaelmann will not be condemned to death. This declaration was made to an English, a French and Youth delegation, as well as in an interview given by the Reich Public Prosecutor, and was also published in an article in the Berlin "Boersen-Zeitung." Why must we sound the alarm and continue the fight with increased energy?

They want to murder Thaelmann! Whoever forgets this fact for a moment will be taken in by the manoeuvres of Goebbels. Anti-fascists, remember that in spring of this year, when the crisis in Germany became more acute, the first attempt was brutally and cynically made to murder Ernst Thaelmann. The International Release Committee, and all organisations affiliated to it, sounded the alarm. A large-scale mass protest developed throughout the whole world. In rapid succession the first ten delegations from abroad went to Berlin. The fascists had to postpone their plan to murder Thaelmann. **But they have not abandoned this plan.**

They want to behead Thaelmann. They set up the notorious "People's Court" in order to be able to carry out a judicial murder. When the inner political ferment increased again in the summer, when the Storm Troopers (S.A.) began to murmur and mutiny, Goering's paper the "Essener National-Zeitung" and Goebbel's paper "Die Deutsche Wochenschau" and the Ministry for Propaganda, by means of special pamphlets and books, commenced a monstrous incitement against Thaelmann. But again there arose an even greater storm of indignation against this murderous incitement.

Again the plan to murder Thaelmann had to be postponed. But the fascists could not ally the storm. Henri Barbusse, Marcel Cachin, Dupont and Moro Gafferri in Paris hurled their indictment against Hitler and Goering. A counter trial was held in New York, which awakened a powerful echo throughout the whole of America. Under the leadership of fifteen of the greatest lawyers in the whole of the bourgeois world, hundreds of lawyers of all countries joined in the sharpest protest and action to defend Thaelmann.

The fascists were compelled once again to retreat and to issue "reassuring declarations," because, and only because, since the first attempt to murder Thaelmann thousands of meetings and

demonstrations were held, 20,000 protests were sent to Germany, and 36 delegations went to Germany. The German Consulates and Embassies were so constantly rung up on the telephone, besieged by mass delegations, and inundated with protests, that their work was rendered impossible. The seamen on all ships putting in at Rotterdam sent over 100 delegations to the German Consulate.

In the ports of Barcelona and Cadiz huge slogans were painted up demanding the release of Thaelmann. In Denmark the crew of the German ships were given leaflets demanding the release of Thaelmann. In Sweden the officers of the German warship "Schleswig Holstein" left the banquet given in their honour in Goeteburg, foaming with rage because each of them found under his soup plate a printed slip bearing the slogan: Freedom for Ernst Thaelmann!

A pleasure steamer ran by the fascist "Strength through Joy" demagogues put in at Bergen, in Norway. Here all the passengers, numbering 1,500 were given a Thaelmann leaflet. Thaelmann slogans were painted on the rocks in huge letters. As a result of this form of propaganda Goebbels and Ley found themselves compelled to issue a secret decree ordering the abandonment of any further trips to Scandinavia.

In England, lawyers, writers, members of the House of Commons, leading trade union functionaries and conferences raised their protest. German travellers and representatives of commercial firms in Spain sent in petitions to the fascist government requesting that the Thaelmann case be settled, because they ran the danger of being beaten up by the infuriated masses. In Argentina the government, as a result of the pressure of the masses, prohibited the display of the swastika flag.

In North France, Czechoslovakia and North America ten-minute protests strikes for the release of Thaelmann have taken place.

Thousands of Russian writers, under the leadership of Maxim Gorki, thousands of French intellectuals under the leadership of Professor Langevin, millions of workers in united front meetings, hundreds of thousands of American farmers and Spanish peasants are loudly protesting against the scandal of the planned fascist murder.

Thus the fascists retreated, and are even issuing declarations hinting that Thaelmann will not be tried before the "People's Court," and that "at most he will receive six to ten years' imprisonment." These declarations indicate the strength of our mass pressure. But murderers remain murderers. The moment the mass pressure is relaxed they will impose on Thaelmann the utmost penalty.

To-day, for practical reasons, they will sentence Thaelmann to six or ten years' imprisonment, and **to-morrow have him done to death in prison**, just as they murdered Franziska Kessel, who had already nearly served her sentence, **if there is any relaxation in the international protest movement.**

They want to hold Thaelmann as a hostage for the winter. The burning of the Reichstag, June 30 and July 25, 1934, have demonstrated to the world that the fascist government are simply a band of adventurers. **There is only one thing which makes any impression on these cowardly, vile murderers: international anti-fascist mass action, boycott of their institutions abroad, ostracism of their representatives, of their political and economic bagmen, ruthless exposure of their lying foreign propaganda.**

We call for mass actions, mass protests, mass delegations, for the employment of all effective measures, which must rain down like hammer blows on the hangmen of Germany.

We appeal to the seamen who travel to German, to the dock workers who unload German ships, we appeal to the transport workers and railwaymen.

We appeal to members of the trade unions, no matter what tendency, in this question of the fight against the fascist murderers, against the lynch courts, against the monstrous executions and fresh bloody sentences, for the release of hostages and other anti-fascists, for the release of Ernst Thaelmann—in all these questions, on which there are no differences of opinion, **to set up the united front to save the threatened anti-fascists from the claws of Goering and to employ the forces of their organisations in the release action, to decide on strike action in the harbour towns, in the**

frontier towns, in the most important industrial centres, and to let loose a wave of strikes against every attempt to bring Thaelmann before the swastika court and sentence him.

Thaelmann is to-day an international symbol of our fight, Thaelmann's life is in danger so long as he is in the hands of the fascists.

Torgler is still pining in prison although he has been acquitted. Stelling, Scheer, Muehsam and thousands of others have been murdered without even the formality of a trial. Hundreds of others who were given prison sentences were afterwards murdered. Ossietzki, Neubauer, Litten, Else Steinfurth and Senta Beimler are being slowly and systematically tortured to death. We call for the fight for all who are being tortured, martyred and threatened with death in the fascist prisons and concentration camps. We call for a fight for Ernst Thaelmann, who, in spite of the fact that he is behind prison walls, is still at the head of our movement.

They want to murder him! Therefore, we will not bargain with them over the length of sentence. Therefore, our slogan must be: Down with the murderers and their courts, down with the trials and executions of our anti-fascist heroes.

Enforce the release of Ernst Thaelmann!

Thaelmann in Danger!

The so-called "preliminary examination" has been concluded. The leader of the German anti-fascists is now to be dragged before the "People's Court." This can happen over night. The International Release Committee has received this alarming news from Berlin. It exposes the hypocrisy of the rulers of Germany, who have lyingly asserted to the various delegations of the Committees against War and Fascism that Thaelmann will be brought before an ordinary court and will receive "at most" ten years' imprisonment. This assertion clearly proves that the rulers of the Third Reich are forced to take cognizance of the storm of indignation throughout the world.

In the meantime, we must not allow ourselves to be misled! Thaelmann is immediately threatened by Hitler's revengeful court proceedings. In spite of 18 months' "examination" by the Public Prosecutor, not a single practical action of Thaelmann has been produced with which he could be charged under the old code. The sole object of the Nazis is to get rid of the working people's presidential candidate, who polled six million votes, the Communist leader who was at the head of the anti-fascist action in Germany.

The struggle for the release of Ernst Thaelmann and all anti-fascist prisoners must now become a people's movement in all countries. It is necessary to make it clear to our own governments that Thaelmann's cause is the cause of the toilers in all countries. All forms of protests at Embassies and Consulates, to Hitler's representatives in the whole world, and the responsible authorities in Berlin must be applied with increased energy.

Fresh steps are necessary to make ready for protest strikes in all possible factories and to adopt decisions for launching a strike. All the factory staffs and trade unions which, by their protests, resolutions and delegations, joined the international solidarity front with the German anti-fascists, should now meet again and decide that they are ready and determined to carry out short protest strikes on the occasion of the Thaelmann trial.

The dockworkers and seamen who had carried out short protest strikes in hundreds of ports against the swastika flag during the Dimitrov trial, will again be in the forefront of the struggle.

This will mean the strengthening of the campaign for the release of all anti-fascist prisoners who are still being tortured and slowly done to death in Nazi Germany. This will strengthen the campaign against the people's court and against the monstrous execution of anti-fascist champions. Together with Ernst Thaelmann we also want to release Ernst Torgler, whose fate is quite unknown, Karl von Ossietzky, Theodor Neubauer, Else Steinfurth, Senta Beimler and all the others.

The World Committee Against War and Fascism is calling for a big people's action, for the action of all liberty-loving people.

We demand: Dropping of the proceedings against Ernst Thaelmann and unconditional release! An end must be put to the disgraceful execution of anti-fascist champions! Release all anti-fascist prisoners in Germany!

**World Committee Against Imperialist War and Fascism
World Youth Committee.**

Great Britain

Pit Disaster Reveals How the Miners Live

By R. Bishop (London)

The shocking mining disaster last Saturday, at the Gresford Colliery, Wrexham, has once again revealed the dire tragedy of the miners' lives under capitalism. Two hundred and sixty-three is now the official death roll, and the capitalist press are vying with one another and with capitalist politicians in expressing their sympathy with the victims and their dependants.

In normal times the mass of the population of Great Britain, living remote from the coalfields, do not realise quite how close to the starvation line the mass of mine workers live, whilst facing the most fearful risks in their everyday vocation.

Such disasters as that at Gresford are by no means uncommon. The cold figures of official records tell us that five miners meet their deaths every second day of an average year, the majority of them from explosions or from falls of ground. More than one in every thousand employed is killed each year. Every million tons of coal raised to the surface means the loss of four and more lives.

Two hundred and sixty-three deaths at Gresford—and this does not even double the total of casualties for 1934. In 1933 the tally of deaths was 820, the year before it was 881, the year before that 859. In 1929 and 1930 the number was over a thousand each year. The lowest figure ever recorded was in 1926—when through the great coal strike following the General Strike, the pits were more or less closed down for six months—when it was 649.

Some of the "sympathy" which is being poured out for the miners is sickening in its character. For instance, the "Daily Telegraph," the supreme organ of the British coalowners, which has opposed every wages movement of the miners, writes in its issue of September 24:—

"With sympathy for those stricken by the disaster goes admiration for the men who so long braved every danger in confronting it. No words of praise can do justice to their unflinching and matter of fact heroism.

"This is the temper which makes Britons proud of their country. The men in the pit are the rescuers' mates; therefore, whatever endurance, pluck and indomitable will could do to save them was done. The miner takes such work as a part of his trade, an incident of the normal occupational risk."

And what is the remuneration that the miner was getting for this "occupational risk," so blithely accepted by the journalists of the mineowners' organ? What are the conditions under which he performs his daily task?

The "Daily Herald," of September 25, shows that the average earnings of a Gresford miner for a full week's work—and part-time working is prevalent in the British coalfields—was 33s. 6d. a week, less than the coalowner will pay for a dinner in one of London's luxury West End restaurants.

Actually the average earnings in this pit were not, because of short-time working, more than 27s. 6d. per week. A highly skilled collier could not possibly take home more than 44s.

As for the conditions of work, these have been strikingly revealed in statements made by Wrexham miners to pressmen since the disaster.

"Ventilation was so bad in that mine," said a miner who used to work there, "that for months at a time a lot of the men worked naked except for their clogs. Ever so often they had to take their clogs off to empty the sweat out of them."

The pit had been reputed to be dangerous for some time before the disaster occurred. Only two days before the tragedy the workers in a section of the Gresford Mine, near the section where the explosion occurred, had to be pulled out of the mine in a hurry on account of the dangerous quantity of gas in the mine.

Men working in the pit are unanimous in their description of the terrible working conditions—inadequate ventilation and terrific heat.

And now what is the fate of the dependents of the victims and of the survivors? The dependents will eventually get a small sum by way of compensation—the size depending on whether they can prove negligence against the company by means of individual actions at law. Directly and indirectly 2,000 miners are thrown

unemployed as a result of the explosion and the closing down of the pit for an indefinite period.

The apologists for capitalism argue that such accidents are unavoidable. That is a lie. But the case is put so frequently and with such cunning that many are prepared to believe it. Here is the way the "Sunday Times" approached the question the day after the disaster occurred:—

"Coalmining is a trade in which danger is ever present.

In a sense the men at the coal face are on constant active service as soldiers are in time of war. Moreover, like soldiers they are directly serving their country. The wealth and pre-eminence of the British nation—it is a truism to record it—have been largely built upon coal. To the miners who daily risk their lives to provide us with this precious 'black gold' the whole nation owes a debt of gratitude."

Yet the coalowners who occupy so prominent a place upon the board of this newspaper and in its list of shareholders are strenuously opposing the demands of the **South Wales miners** for an improvement in their present standard of living, which is lower, even for the employed worker, than it was prior to the war. Such is their manner of paying the "debt of gratitude," of which they so fulsomely prate.

Yet such accidents are by no means necessary or unavoidable. Witness the words of **Mr. Ernest Brown**, the Minister of Mines, in an article on another recent pit disaster, in which 14 lives were lost. The Minister was contrasting this with the loss of 438 lives in an explosion at Senghenydd in 1913 and 344 lives at a Lancashire pit in 1910. He said:—

"Explosions of such magnitude are a thing of the past now that the practice of stone-dusting the underground roadways of mines to prevent the coal dust propagating an explosion is universal and enforced by law."

On the top of this pronouncement comes the Gresford explosion, which shows that such tragedies are not a thing of the past, and will not be so whilst capitalism remains.

Aneurin Bevan, an ex-miner who is a Labour M.P., for a South Wales constituency, writes in to-day's "News-Chronicle":—

"There is no need for an explosion in a modern mine. Mining science has long since acquired the knowledge of preventing pit explosions, or at least, how they may be rendered comparatively harmless.

"Why is this knowledge not applied? It is not applied because safety is sacrificed to coal-getting; because profits come before lives."

Mr. Bevan goes on to give chapter and verse for his statements. He points out that the law requires that if 2½ per cent. of gas is present in the air current the men must be withdrawn, but that, in actual practice, much more than 2½ per cent. of gas is needed to cause an explosion and that the men are not withdrawn . . . as a consequence explosions such as that at Gresford take place.

In heavy type Mr. Bevan emphasises:—

"An explosion could not occur if the intentions of the law were actually implemented."

Of course, the companies on such occasions as this defend themselves by declaring that the presence of gas in dangerous quantities was not detected in time. This is true, but it is only true because in the name of economy the fireman, whose job it is to detect such systems has another job to do—to ensure that the maximum of coal is obtained, and woe betide the fireman who fails in this, the most important—to the company—of his two jobs.

For years the miners have agitated for the appointment by the workers themselves of men whose sole duty shall be watching the safety of the pit. But their demands have been ignored.

Of course, there is a second safeguard. The Mines Act permits the miner to carry out his own monthly examination at his own expense. The poverty of the miners has led to this clause falling into disuse in many places, and where it is carried out, intimidation is such that fear of unemployment often causes miners to be silent about possible dangers that they have noticed. Many miners are victimised to-day because of their protests in the past against neglect of elementary safety precautions in the pits in which they work.

Two hundred and sixty men have died a fearful death in the pit—three more have died in attempts at rescue. From press and pulpit solemn words of condolence are offered. The mineowners in public speeches and through their powerful press express their

sympathies with the victims, but the shameless exploitation of the miner goes on as if nothing had happened.

At the present moment there is every likelihood of the entire South Wales coalfield going on strike on Monday for an extra 6d. a day, a demand which is being fought by the owners.

The sympathy of the workers throughout Great Britain goes out to the victims of the Gresford disaster, but alongside of sympathy a deep hatred of capitalism which makes such things possible is engendered among the toilers. In a statement issued by the Secretariat of the C.P.G.B., the day after the tragedy, it says:—

"Let us all swear over the dead and bruised bodies of our comrades at Gresford, with the thought of the fathers, brothers and sons who have gone, with the memory of the unforgettable heroism of the rescue parties burned indelibly in our minds, that now, this hour, this minute, we take up the battle cry. . . .

"Tears, yes; sympathy, yes; implacable hatred against the capitalist system that compels the miners to live and toil under present conditions, yes.

"But action, too. Action now. Avenge Gresford, and avenge Gresford now. The united action of every section of the working-class movement of Britain can and will avenge the horrors of the Gresford Colliery disaster."

In a letter to the Prime Minister the Central Committee of the C.P.G.B. makes clear the responsibility for such disasters, not only of individual colliery companies, but of the **National Government**. It says:—

"For this unspeakable calamity your Government is responsible. Starvation wages and the fear of dismissal with the encouragement of overtime, these with the robbery of the seven-hour day and the utter and complete failure to make regular and effective pit inspection, are the causes of the disaster. . . .

"This disaster could have been avoided. Already a week before it men had to leave the pit because of the accumulation of gas. Regular pit inspection should be a feature of every pit. Already in many Scottish pits workmen's inspectors are carrying out work that provides very great assurance against such happenings. But these inspectors have only been appointed after the greatest obstacles have been overcome, and the miners themselves have to take responsibility for meeting the cost of these inspections.

"We accuse your government of the responsibility for the terrible fate that befell these, our working-class brothers, and we demand as a measure of compensation for the evil done and as a precaution for the future:—

"An immediate government grant to provide relief and pensions for the bereaved families.

"Immediate granting of the present demands of the South Wales Miners' Federation.

"A national miners' agreement embodying the following demands: (a) Immediate restoration of the 7-hour day; (b) guaranteed national minimum wage; (c) abolition of overtime; (d) workmen's inspectors at all pits; (e) an inquiry into the cause of the Gresford Colliery disaster under the direction and control of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain."

The letter concludes:—

"In the name of the whole working class, we make these demands. With the organised might of the workers we will see that they are carried out."

All hope of further rescues have now been abandoned. The Gresford pit has been sealed, with the bodies of 260 miners entombed inside.

The owners are trying to exploit the situation to avert a struggle in the adjoining coalfield of South Wales. The following quotation from the leading article of last Sunday's "Observer" is typical of the way in which this attitude has been expressed:—

"In the distressing circumstances of the disaster in the North Wales coalfield there will be no disposition on either side to create an atmosphere of bitterness and strife."

Could hypocrisy go further? Anger and bitterness are the very feelings that have been engendered among the miners—aye, among the entire working class of Britain—by the revelations that have come from Gresford. The realisation of the large part played in the disaster by economic circumstances has made the miners of South Wales more determined than ever to wage a fight for their demands. And in such a fight they will have the solid and united backing of every worker in Great Britain.

Irish Republican Congress

By James Shields (London)

"The unheard-of poverty and torment of the Irish peasants is one of the most instructive examples of the lengths to which the landlords and liberal bourgeoisie of a 'ruling nation' will go." (*Lenin*.)

Many years have passed since Lenin wrote the above words concerning the oppression of Ireland by the British ruling class. To-day we are now witnessing further examples of the terrific lengths to which British imperialism is prepared to go in order to try and keep its stranglehold on the masses of Ireland.

For the past two years it has been waging the most savage economic warfare upon the Irish Free State. Along with this it is openly instigating and supporting those menacing forces which are striving within Ireland to establish a fascist regime—the *Blueshirt fascist movement*. The latter is the agent and tool of the British imperialists, with whose help it hopes to be able to enforce submission of the Irish masses to capitalist Britain's dictates.

Through ruthless economic blockade, supplemented by the efforts of its Blueshirt allies, British imperialism seeks to carry out the aim of starving and terrorising the Irish workers and toilers, and so crush the revolutionary struggle which is directed towards securing the unity and complete national independence of Ireland.

A reflection of the lengths to which it is going in its attempt to strangle the trade of the Irish Free State is illustrated by the following figures.

Trade returns of the Irish Free State for the first six months of the present year as compared with the corresponding period of 1931 (the year before the economic war was begun) show that exports and re-exports have fallen from £17,161,856 to £8,821,021, that is, a drop of nearly 50 per cent.

Imports have fallen from £25,083,055 to £19,627,372—a drop of nearly 22 per cent. In the sphere of livestock exports, the fall has become particularly marked. These have dropped from £8,018,547 in the first six months of 1931 to £2,761,865 this year, or a decline of over 66 per cent.

As a consequence of this trade war new and added burdens are being placed on to the shoulders of the Irish workers and toilers. Mass poverty and unemployment are being accentuated.

The "*Daily Telegraph*," press organ of the British imperialists, records its evil glee about this. It gives voice to its satisfaction at the possibility of the stoppage of poor relief payments by the County Councils owing to growing financial difficulties, stating:—

"The County Councils are now faced with a crisis. . . .

It is the lost export trade with Britain which has precipitated the present crisis." ("*Daily Telegraph*," August 13.)

But the offensive of British imperialism is encountering a growing resistance on the part of the masses of Ireland. In the ranks of the Irish workers and poor farmers a wave of mass struggle is rising, and this struggle is growing in intensity and volume as the whole trend of events dissipates the illusions which were largely entertained regarding the role of the De Valera government.

The *De Valera government*, as the Irish Communists have long pointed out, is a capitalist government whose main concern is to protect and advance the interests of the Irish manufacturing capitalists. It is thoroughly demonstrating this to-day by its attitude in relation to the struggles of the Irish worker and poor farmer masses.

Far from leading a vigorous struggle to bring about Ireland's national liberation, the De Valera government is holding back the mass fight against British imperialism. Aiming at strengthening the interests of the Irish national capitalists whom it represents, it is endeavouring to utilise the anti-imperialist hostility of the Irish people in order to win certain economic and fiscal advantages for Irish capitalism whilst at the same time it directly proceeds to an intensification of the attack upon the Irish masses themselves.

Throughout the ranks of the workers and poor farmers in Ireland the recognition of this is growing and dissatisfaction and active discontent is becoming widespread. More and more is the realisation growing that if the struggle of the Irish masses for national independence is to be successful, then it can only become so to the extent to which it breaks through the shackles being imposed upon it by De Valera.

In recent months the fight of the masses of Ireland in this respect has been undergoing big development. In sharp opposi-

tion to the tolerant and encouraging attitude of the De Valera government in relation to the Blueshirt fascists, the Irish workers have been increasingly demonstrating their hatred and hostility towards these tools of British imperialism. In town after town the Blueshirts have been driven off the streets.

In *Cork*, where Blueshirt influence is reckoned to be relatively strong, during the recent conflict which arose between Blueshirts and police over a cattle sale, the workers of Cork seized the occasion to give battle to the hated Blueshirts and quickly forced them to retreat.

Similarly in *Dublin*. On the occasion of the recent Blueshirt national congress, crowds of workers assembled in the street outside the hotel where Blueshirt delegates were staying and then proceeded to storm the building. Lorry-loads of police were hurriedly rushed to the spot to protect these fascists from the workers' anger.

The terrific mass hostility which the Blueshirts are encountering has greatly alarmed the main promoters of this movement, and has resulted in growing internal dissensions within its ranks on matters of tactics and policy. Its inability to make the headway that was anticipated has now ultimately led to a split in its leadership and *General O'Duffy* has been forced to resign. His place has now been taken by *Commandant Cronin*, who was previously O'Duffy's chief lieutenant, and who, his masters anticipate, will more capably exercise that skill which O'Duffy lacked in advocating a type of specious demagoguery which is calculated to disarm the masses with regard to fascism's real intentions, make its programme appear more attractive, and avoid the errors of what Blueshirt elements of the type of Professor Hogan described as the "hysterical leadership" of O'Duffy.

It is not only in the sphere of struggle against the Blueshirt menace that the growing fight of the Irish masses has been energetically expressing itself. A rising growth of the economic struggle has also become manifest. This is evidenced by the long and stubborn *strike of the Dublin printers* for wage increases, the strikes which have taken place amongst seamen, dockers, transport workers and other sections, the growing activity of the unemployed, the resistance to tenant evictions, etc.

All this is sharply indicative of the rising ferment now going on in the ranks of the Irish masses, and demonstrates how the revolutionary mass struggle is beginning to sweep more powerfully to the forefront. As it continues to grow and develop, the stronger becomes the urge for uniting the whole of the mass forces of the workers and poor farmers in a mighty campaign which will drive decisively forward towards the establishment of the unity and complete national independence of Ireland.

In this connection great importance is attached to the *Republican Congress* which is to be held in Dublin on September 29 and 30.

This Congress is receiving wide support from working-class and republican organisations throughout Ireland, in the North as well as the South, and delegates from all parts, from the Irish Communist Party, trade unions, and numerous other bodies, will participate in its proceedings. Amongst the sponsors of the Congress are a number of well-known republican fighters who formerly belonged to the Irish Republican Army, but have since broken away from the latter on account of its policy of tailing behind De Valera, and its failure to assist in mobilising the Irish masses in their struggle. These include Michael Price, George Gilmore, Peadar O'Donnell, Frank Ryan, and a number of others.

When the manifesto calling for the Congress was first issued in April last, the *Irish Communist Party* welcomed the proposal and declared:—

"The Congress must be the starting point of a nationwide struggle based on the immediate issues confronting the working masses for the winning of national freedom and the establishment of the united Republic of the workers and farmers."

Since that time the campaign in support of the Congress has gained increasing support, testifying to the mass feeling in favour of making this Congress a real effective beginning for launching the widest united front campaign which will bring in the employed and unemployed workers and the masses of poor farmers into the fight as never before.

The alarm at this development which is felt by British imperialism has been voiced in its organ, the "*Daily Telegraph*," which has made a very sharp attack on the Republican Congress, declaring "its principles . . . are the crudest Communism, the

dictatorship of the 'have nots'" and urging "whatever influence the Church can exercise must certainly be used against this new Communist army."

It is clear that what the "Telegraph" has in mind is the powerful challenge to British imperialism which this Congress can be the means of raising if it takes up the task of uniting the Irish masses for determined struggle in support of the unity and independence of Ireland, on the basis of the issues immediately facing the workers and poor farmers.

The attention of the Congress delegates, as has been pointed out by the Irish Communist Party, should be concentrated upon this and the steps which require to be taken in order to develop such a campaign. This requires to be emphasised, as some circles in the Congress Organising Bureau are proposing that the Congress should become a platform for the organising of a new political party. Such a proposal, if treated seriously could only put further obstacles in the way of obtaining that wide unity of action of all anti-imperialist forces in Ireland, which is now so necessary, and would hinder instead of help forward the fight. Any attempt to bring forward this line should be strongly combated.

The role of the Congress should be to discuss the political issues facing the Irish masses and how to secure the widest and most effective forms of united front activity on these for developing mass action everywhere.

With this clear, it is obvious that the Congress should throw up a powerful *Campaign Committee* charged with the task of carrying out the drive for the united front demands which it will formulate, in every part of Ireland.

In this way the whole struggle against imperialism and its fascist agents in Ireland can become enormously strengthened, the fight against capitalist reaction successfully extended, and the way flung open for a mighty forward drive which will lead to the abolition of the imperialist border, to a united independent Ireland.

The Lessons of September 9 and the Next Steps

Resolution of the London District Committee of the C.P.G.B.

The successful counter-demonstration on September 9 marked the biggest and most important political defeat yet delivered to Mosley in this country, and the most open exposure of the National government as the protector of Mosley in his efforts to enrol a storm-troop army.

Mosley's greatly boosted historic **National Rally**, which was intended to restore his influence and prestige, so severely shaken as a result of the occurrences at Olympia, was rendered an utter fiasco and transformed into an anti-fascist triumph.

This splendid victory represents the most successful and advanced example of the united front in action so far attained. It serves strikingly to illustrate the correctness of the Communist Party's claim that the mass unity of the workers can succeed in arresting the growth of fascism and defeating it.

The widespread action of the trade union, labour and co-operative bodies who rejected the advice of the National Council of Labour to take no part in the counter-demonstration shows not only the keen readiness of the workers to struggle against the fascist menace, but also a growing recognition and acceptance of the need for the united front.

September 9 serves even more emphatically to make clear that Mosley is unable to conduct his fascist propaganda and march his drilled private army without the support of enormous police forces of the National government, and the assistance rendered by the reformist leaders, who plead on his behalf for free speech and full facilities for the military parade of his Blackshirt storm troops.

The mighty demonstration of the workers' hostility to fascism, which was conducted throughout in good order and splendid discipline, is a testimony to the **growing influence of the Communist Party** and to the increased confidence in its leadership. September 9 was the culmination of the most tremendous and far-reaching political campaign against fascism ever conducted among the London workers, in which the Communist Party gave continuous leadership throughout. The success of September 9 would have been impossible but for the action led by the Party at Olympia and the subsequent energetic struggles it led against fascism in the localities.

September 9 shows that the Party has made big strides forward in its mass work and in developing connections with the workers in the factories, trade unions and L.P. organisations.

These successes were achieved because the whole Party was mobilised under the leadership of the District Party Committee, in accordance with the decision of the District Congress, to set its course against sectarianism, and as a result of the untiring work of all cells the Party more than achieved its objective of bringing 100,000 workers on to the streets against fascism.

This political campaign must now become the model for the Party in all its work, particularly in connection with the work of establishing everywhere in the factories, unions and localities **anti-fascist groups**, and in the fight to secure the election of **Communist councillors** at the coming **municipal elections**.

The example of September 9 shows that the key to the further development of the united front lies in the direction of continuing and strengthening the mass fight against fascism. This is seen by the examples of France, Austria and Italy, where, under the impulse of the mass demand for unity, the reformist leaders have been compelled to establish the united front of action.

Important weaknesses have been revealed in the course of the campaign, the most important being a tendency in certain ranks of the Party to underestimate the readiness of the workers to respond to the call for the counter-demonstration, which reflected itself in a weak and hesitant agitation in some parts of London. In general the anti-fascist agitation was too exclusively directed against Mosley, and insufficient work was done to expose the fascist policy of the National government.

The Party failed to do all that was necessary in an endeavour to win the local Labour Parties for participation in the action; only in a small number of instances were concrete approaches made to the Labour Party organisations. The large number of individual members of the Labour Party who rejected the advice of their leaders and took an active part in the counter-demonstration shows that there is a more favourable basis than formerly for winning the local Labour Parties for united action against fascism. The need for overcoming the disparity between the progress made in the **Labour Leagues of Youth** in this respect and the situation in the adult Labour Parties now becomes more than ever urgent.

There was a failure clearly to make known to the workers in good time the tactics to be pursued on the scene of the counter-demonstration in **Hyde Park**, which also was responsible for insufficiently clear and decisive Party leadership of the mass opposition which the workers displayed at the fascist demonstration. A further weakness was the failure to take advantage of the tremendous anti-fascist feeling of the workers which was aroused during the campaign to organise anti-fascist groups in the factories and unions.

Whilst big advances were made in drawing in the youth (particularly the Labour Party League of Youth branches, 23 of which took part in the counter-demonstration), a weak feature was the relatively poor campaign carried out amongst the **women** and their organisations.

The fact that the bureaucracy is so strongly entrenched in the London Trades Council that it dared to come out even more sharply than the General Council against the counter-demonstration is only possible because of the inadequate work and weak campaign for the united front conducted in the affiliated trade union branches and district committees. The improvement already shown in our work in connection with the London Trades Council must be quickly carried further.

A most serious defect was that the need for recruiting to the Party was not taken up sufficiently energetically as the political interest of the workers was aroused in the campaign prior to September 9.

The action of September 9 has inspired the workers with a strengthened confidence that their united forces can retard and defeat fascism. It is necessary to warn against any over-confidence which may express itself in the thought that Mosley has been dealt an irrecoverable blow and that he has no possibilities of making further advances. The fight against Mosley must be maintained and extended to any effort to penetrate working-class areas. Increased agitation and mass action must be conducted against the National government's policy, as representing the main line of advance of fascism in Britain, particularly against the Sedition Bill, the operation of the Unemployment Act and the Trenchard policy of increased repressive measures against the working class.

As a result of its leadership and work in mobilising the masses for the counter-demonstration, the Party is being increasingly

recognised as the only political force capable of organising and leading the fight against fascism. The situation following September 9 is one that presents the Party with greatly favourable conditions for building up the mass anti-fascist front, for breaking down the paralysing influence of the reformist leaders by achieving the united front on a wider scale than ever and, above all, of building itself as the mass fighting Party of the workers.

It is of the greatest importance that every unit gives its whole energy to the work of supporting the future work of the **Co-ordinating Committee for Anti-Fascist Activities**, particularly in the work of preparing for the proposed **National Anti-Fascist Congress**, by forming anti-fascist groups to continue the mass fight against fascism more efficiently, overcoming the tendency to neglect the importance of drawing in the working women, by endeavouring to win the local Trades Councils to convene all-in conferences against fascism, drawing closer in all future work to the mass of the Co-operative and Labour Party membership, untiringly endeavouring to win them for united action, recognising that on our success in this task the whole future of the working-class movement depends.

Finally, the London District Committee, in congratulating all units and members of the Party and Young Communist League on the magnificent way in which they carried out the mass work and so achieved a great working-class victory, calls now for every effort to be made to **recruit new members to the Party**, and summons every cell to plan concretely and carry through such a Party building plan as will enormously strengthen the Party and place it in the position of being able to lead greater and even more successful mass actions against the workers' enemies.

Above all, every unit of the Party and League must now instantly get down to the work of carrying through the campaign for the **municipal elections** with the same initiative and untiring persistence as they displayed in the weeks prior to September 9, so that on November 1 we shall have in London a Party of double our present strength, standing yet higher in the esteem of London's workers, and with its representatives on London's Borough Councils fighting on their behalf.

Fight Against Imperialist War

Three Years of Japanese Occupation of Manchuria

By Iota

The three years which have passed since the beginning of the Japanese occupation of Manchuria have sufficed to expose completely the actual character of this adventure. The seizure of this vast territory, with its 30 million inhabitants, is an act of purely imperialist robbery and cannot be masked by any manoeuvre on the part of Japanese diplomacy, though Japan has exerted every effort to represent the occupation as a "pacification of the East," and as a result of the "Manchurian national movement."

Nobody believed the occupation authorities when they declared, at the time when their troops marched into Mukden (September 18, 1931), that the Japanese troops would "evacuate Manchuria after fulfilling their task." Nobody believed them when they hastily attempted to legalise their robbery by finding about five corrupt Chinese politicians and generals, and getting them to declare an "independent Manchuria" under the protection of Japanese guns. Nor was any great impression made by the coronation of Pu Yi as staged by the Japanese, or by the attempt to present this emperor, ascending a throne imported from Tokio, and surrounded by Japanese advisers and gendarmes, as an "independent authority" of supreme state power in Manchuria.

The real meaning of Manchurian "independence" came to light when the Japanese took over one important state position after another, from the central government down to the district administrations; when the Manchurian railways passed into the hands of the Japanese; when the banks, the foreign trade, the mineral wealth, and even the Chinese territory were confiscated, and Chinese land was given to the Japanese reservists; when Chinese works and factories were occupied; and finally, when 100,000 Japanese soldiers were on Manchurian soil.

The colonisation of Manchuria now became so obvious that the question arose in Japan of whether it was worth while concealing the fact any longer. Would it not be simpler to replace the great apparatus of the "Manchurian government" by an "administrator for joint affairs" in the Japanese Embassy in Changchun,

who would have the whole Manchurian constitution in his waistcoat pocket? Only recently a member of the Upper House of the Japanese Parliament, Baron *Ookura*, declared openly:—

"I thoroughly approve of the project of the military authorities, envisaging an institution in connection with the Embassy for the regulation of joint affairs. I am of the opinion that now there is no need for us to be perturbed at the attacks made on Japan, based on arguments that we regard Manchuria as a Japanese colony. (Kokutzu, August 15, 1934.)

The estimate formed of the regime of the Japanese occupation by the masses of the people of Manchuria may be seen in the unabated struggles of the Manchurian insurgents against the occupation.

According to the reports in the Manchurian papers, there were 759 conflicts in the Province of Mukden alone, taken part in by 34,500 insurgents. The newspapers prefer to publish no reports at all on the number of peasants taking part in the uprisings in the North-East of the province of Kirin and other places. For these figures would bear witness to the fact that the whole of the peasantry of vast districts have joined the anti-Japanese movement and that whole divisions of Japano-Manchurian troops are engaged in fighting these uprisings. It is an indubitable fact that the Japanese militarists, during these three years of their rule, have not succeeded in gaining any social foothold whatever in Manchuria. Their power is based solely on the bayonet, and they cannot even rely on the army which they have created or on the state apparatus in Manchukuo. This is evidenced by the daily desertions of troops to the insurgents.

The ruling classes of Japan believed that their legend about rescuing Japan from the crisis with the aid of Manchuria, fabricated with the help of the fascists, had great prospects of success. The revival of the war industry, the increased Japanese exports to Manchuria, the development of export industries by means of inflation and dumping, the possibility of "settling" a section of the unemployed intelligentsia in Manchuria, the hope of even finding land there for some of the landless Japanese peasants—all this was intended to justify in the eyes of the Japanese people the sacrifices which the Manchurian adventure has cost them.

But alas! Disappointment followed all too quickly. The wave of strikes in the Japanese works and factories, the tenant farmers' protests, bear witness to the fact that the masses of the people are already feeling the disadvantageous aspects of the war inflation boom. The decline of real wages, the higher prices of the necessities of life, the growing burden of debt weighing on the peasantry, all this has greatly aggravated the class antagonisms. The increase of the national debt by two milliard yen (the cost of the Manchurian adventure) weighs heavily on the taxpayers. All plans for the settling of Japanese peasants in Manchuria have collapsed miserably—as admitted by the press. The few hundred soldiers who have settled in the country are in constant conflict with the Manchurian insurgents.

The Japanese press publishes very characteristic utterances by those representatives of fascist youth who hoped, three years ago, that the conquest of Manchuria would at least secure for them a certain means of livelihood, and therefore advocated this conquest as a great benefit for the Japanese people. To-day they write:—

"After these events, large numbers of Japanese prostitutes were the national goods imported from the Island of Kiusiu to Manchuria. Then there was the dumping of another kind of goods—the old bureaucrats.

"It is stated that it is intended to export large quantities of these goods, old bureaucrats who have served their purpose in Japan. If we are going to dump them, let us dump properly! They may just as well sell them off at a penny each." (Mansju Chiron.)

These circles refer with contempt to what has been achieved in Manchuria:—

"The authorities are incapable of coping with the bandits. The output of gold and silver has not been organised. No inflation has been carried out. The representatives of the authorities live in the hotels between Tokio and Changchun, and quarrel over the reorganisation of the railways and the system of the triumvirate. For two years there has been talk about the Chinese Eastern Railway, but it has not been bought yet. It would surely be better to sell Manchukuo to the League of Nations, or to cede Manchukuo to Chang-so-lin with the label: "Gratis." (Harbin Simbun.)

During the three years of the occupation, the actual attitude

of the Japanese in all these questions has been amply demonstrated. These three years have shown that the occupation of Manchuria has created a hotbed of unrestrained adventurism in the Far East; that Japanese imperialism has created a frightful danger to peace, has aroused unbridled predatory instincts, and has unchained the dogs of war and violence.

Persecution of Fighters Against War in Japan

By Kayamoto

The basis of the fight against anti-war propaganda in Japan is the brutal law for the protection of public security. Paragraph 1 of this Act threatens with capital punishment or imprisonment for life any one belonging to an organisation having as its aim to change the "national" policy or "abolish private property." Any participation in propaganda for the above-mentioned aims is punishable with imprisonment. This law for the protection of public security is known far beyond the borders of Japan as the law against "dangerous thoughts." Among working people who have been arrested and sentenced under this law there are not a few who are persecuted on account of their anti-militarist fight against Japanese imperialism.

The revolutionary ferment and anti-war propaganda are even penetrating into the Japanese army, the arsenals and armament works. In addition to the law against "dangerous thoughts," paragraph 36 of the Japanese military penal code threatens with the death penalty, life-long imprisonment or imprisonment from three to twenty years for "incitement to mutiny" anyone carrying on anti-war work in the army.

But even the threat of capital punishment fails to deter the advanced Japanese workers and soldiers from carrying on anti-war propaganda in the army. In spite of the strictest military censorship, reports appear from which it can be seen that anti-war work is being carried on uninterruptedly in the Japanese army. This fact is also confirmed by the reports of the Japanese soldier correspondents published in the "Sekki" (Red Flag), the illegal press organ of the Communist Party of Japan.

A splendid example of anti-war work in the Japanese war was provided by a military airman during the Japanese attack on Shanghai in 1932. Instead of dropping bombs on the unprotected workers' quarter of Shanghai, the Japanese airman scattered leaflets among the Japanese troops, calling upon them to convert the imperialist war into civil war. For the first time in the history of Japan an illegal anti-war paper, "The Outpost," was issued on the Shanghai front. According to the reports of the Shanghai newspapers, two to three numbers appeared in the course of a few days.

The anti-war struggle which commenced in the Japanese army in 1931 in connection with the intervention in China was continued with unabated energy in the following years. We mention a few of the press reports on the revolutionary work in the Japanese army:—

The Japanese telegraph agency, "Simbun Rengo," reported the arrests of students of the Shanghai High School for carrying on Communist propaganda among the soldiers and sailors. In September the "Japan Advertiser" reported that arrests had been carried out among airmen of the Yokohama aviation school for carrying on "red propaganda." According to the "Asachi," five soldiers of the 31st regiment were arrested in October and charged with revolutionary propaganda among the troops in their regiment. According to the report of the "Nishi-Nishi," 120 persons were arrested in October in Osaka in connection with the approaching military manoeuvres. In November the same newspaper reported that soldiers of the Tokyo garrison had been arrested for distributing illegal literature. According to the report of "Nichon" of February 25, 1934, 63 persons were arrested in the period from June to November, 1933, for Communist propaganda in the army. According to the reports of the "Japanese Chronicle," 11 persons were arrested in February last in Chimetsi for distributing revolutionary anti-war leaflets in the soldiers' barracks.

On April 1 last, capital punishment for revolutionary propaganda in the army was introduced. In spite of this there was no slackening in anti-war propaganda. This is clearly evident from the reports appearing in the Japanese newspapers of persons arrested for anti-war propaganda. The "Japan Chronicle" reports that on April 9 about 50 seamen (members of the Kiogikai—revolutionary trade union) were arrested by the police in Kobe on the charge of having carried on Communist propaganda on the ships. The same paper reported on April 12 the arrest of 10 workers in

Osaka for distributing a leaflet calling for a fight against militarism and strongly criticising the plan for carrying out air manoeuvres in West Japan.

According to the report of the "Teikoko Shimpo" of July 2 last, five Communists were arrested on account of Communist propaganda in aircraft factories. The "Chozi" of June 11 reported that two persons had been arrested in Tokyo for Communist propaganda among the workers of the "Itabasi" armament works.

Anti-war work in the Japanese army, however, is not confined to anti-militarist and anti-imperialist propaganda. Even the bourgeois press publish reports of considerable unrest and numerous mutinies which have taken place in the last few years in the Japanese army. The invasion of China by the Japanese imperialists evoked a number of big mutinies in the Japanese army. The heroic rebellion of the 14th company of the 13th regiment in Takasabi before they were sent to the Shanghai front is widely known. A whole division was sent in order to crush the rebellion. Nevertheless, the rebels held out for a whole week.

The "Shunbao" of May 13 last reported that 20 Japanese soldiers and officers in Mukden attempted "to stir up a rebellion" in a company of the Japanese army sent to North Manchuria. They were charged with Communist agitation and sent back to Japan in order to be tried before a court.

The Japanese military code threatens with the death sentence soldiers who take part in rebellions or mutinies. The Japanese military clique have made full use of these powers in order to suppress rebellions and mutinies of the soldiers or civil population as well as "to maintain discipline" in the army. The meaning of paragraphs 22 and 23 of the Japanese penal code can be briefly expressed in the slogan: do not be sparing in the use of cartridges. The shooting of 200 soldiers at the time of the revolt of the 10th infantry division in Manchuria furnishes proof of the brutality of the Japanese military clique.

The Japanese army is not only an instrument for realising the plans of Japanese imperialism to seize foreign territory. It is the weapon of the Japanese imperialists for suppressing the working masses of Japan and the whole revolutionary movement in China. The Japanese imperialists, with the help of their army, are seeking to play the role of the gendarme in the Far East. But neither the furious white terror of Japanese imperialism nor the poisonous chauvinistic propaganda can stop the anti-militarist fight. The gendarme of the Far East will meet with the same fate as that which befell the former gendarme of Europe, tsarist despotism.

In spite of the cruel terror the Japanese Red Aid is indefatigably continuing the fight against the imperialist robber war in China and against the preparations for war against the Soviet Union. It demands the release of all fighters against war, all political revolutionary prisoners and the repeal of the law against "dangerous thoughts." In this heroic fight against war and fascism the Japanese Red Aid relies upon the international solidarity of the working people of all countries. It is the duty of all sections of the Red Aid to support to the utmost the heroic fight of their brothers in Japan against war.

The Seventh Congress of the Communist International Postponed to 1935

Paris, September 20.

The "Humanité" publishes the following: "The Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, after examining the proposals of several Sections, has decided to postpone the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International till 1935.

1. The date of the convention of the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International is postponed from the second half of 1934 to the first half of 1935.

2. The periodical, the "Communist International," and the Communist press of the various Sections must at once commence to examine the questions forming the agenda of the Seventh World Congress.

3. The Sections of the Communist International must take up in their Party organisations the discussion of the questions on the agenda of the Seventh Congress, taking into account the lessons and experiences of their struggle and work since the Sixth World Congress.

Against Trotzkyism

The Ignominious End of the French Trotzkyists

The French Trotzkyists who only recently launched a furious campaign of incitement against the Communists of France and against the whole of the Communist International, because, allegedly, they are preparing for organisational unity with the French social democracy, i.e., with the Second International, have liquidated their organisation and joined the socialist party of France. It is worth while to read the mendacious, shameful document in which they announce their own death. It reads as follows:

"The Bolshevik-Leninists of France, after examining at the third National Conference of the Communist League the political situation in France and the international political situation as well as the condition of the Labour movement, were strengthened in their belief that the programme and the methods of Leninism, which have been the basis of their activity, are to-day more than ever necessary for the proletariat in order to offer resistance to fascism, to overthrow the capitalist regime and to proceed to the building up of socialist society.

The Bolshevik-Leninists record that since the February events the two big organisations which claim to represent the working class have adopted the slogan of the united front for which we have been fighting for years, without, however, imparting to it the concrete content necessitated by the threats of reaction. Nevertheless, a radical and thorough regrouping of the working class in France has set in, the separate political formations are in a process of unification. The Bolshevik-Leninists wish to take their share in this regrouping in the direction of forming a single revolutionary proletarian party, which can proceed only during action, and in the working out and criticism of action.

"In the existing conditions, we as a small independent group would not have been able to play our role as efficiently as the seriousness of the situation demands. Therefore we have decided to join the socialist party of France, just as we are, with our programme and our ideas. Within the ranks of the socialist party organisation, shoulder to shoulder with the revolutionary workers in this party, in a joint struggle against the bourgeoisie, we wish to work out the best means and methods for freeing ourselves from the chains of capitalism.

"By joining the ranks of the socialist party, the Bolshevik-Leninists do not raise any other demand than to have the right to take part in its actions and to be permitted to defend on an equal footing with other tendencies their ideas which they have elaborated during the years of struggle; they pledge themselves to observe discipline in revolutionary action.

"The Bolshevik-Leninists demand of all those in sympathy with them that they demonstrate their sympathy by endorsing this decisive step and joining the socialist party.

"Comrades! Enter together with us the socialist party for the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat!

"Without abandoning our past and our ideas, but without any concealed designs to continue our existence as a group, by acknowledging the state of affairs existing at present, we must join the socialist party: not for the sake of a show, not to make an experiment, but for the sake of serious revolutionary work under the banner of Marxism.

"The National Conference of the Communist League.
August 24, 1934."

These are the same people who accused the Communist Parties and the Communist International of not being radical enough, and who propagated for a whole year the setting up of a new really "revolutionary" Fourth International! As we already mentioned, the last number but one of their organ contained whole columns of furious attacks on the Comintern, accusing it of the crime of intending to liquidate their organisations, because Comrade *Knorin* wrote in the "Communist International" that the C.P. of Austria would be prepared to carry out organisational unity with the revolutionary socialists of Austria on the basis of the programme of the Communist International. Not content with this, the same paper attacked the C.P. of France for having set

up the united front with the socialist party of France, as the latter is only doing the business of the French government, of which Leon Blum is the agent. And now they themselves join the party of Leon Blum! And these scoundrels have the brazenness to call themselves Bolshevik-Leninists.

It is unnecessary to add a single word in order to characterise this contemptible conduct. The old truth has been once again confirmed that Trotzkyism is, at bottom, nothing else but the most dirty Right opportunism cloaked with radical phrases.

The Children's Movement

Slogans for the Fourteenth International Children's Week

1. Long live XIVth International Children's Week, strengthening the league and fraternity of the children of the toilers of the entire world.

2. Against poverty of children, hunger and need—work for parents, bread for the children.

3. We will not allow our schools to be turned into barracks. Don't allow yourselves to be abused by fascist clubs and priests' gowns.

4. Instead of military training give us free food, clothing, shoes and school supplies.

5. Do not allow the schools of the oppressed nationalities to be closed. Demand the right to each child to study in his native language.

6. Mothers and fathers, toilers, if you do not want your children to be killed and crippled, fight against the danger of a new imperialist war.

7. Parents—workers and farmers, fascism is bringing hunger and need to your children, strengthen the united front, fight against fascism, for Soviet power.

8. Sons and daughters of workers and farmers, do not allow lying in the schools about the Soviet Union! Long live the Soviet Union and the best friend and teacher of the children of the toilers' of the entire world—**Stalin**.

9. Long live the pioneers of the Soviet Union, their study and work on Socialist construction.

10. Demand the freedom of the best friend of the German workers' children—**Thaelmann**, and the rest of the fighters who are imprisoned.

11. Parents and workers' children of the entire world! To the aid of heroic fighters of China and their children. Long live the Chinese workers' and farmers' republic!

12. Help the children of the proletarian fighters, who fell on the barricades, who died by the hands of the fascist murderers and those rotting in prisons

13. Teacher! Join in the revolutionary struggle of the toilers against fascism, oppression and exploitation, tirelessly explain to the children that they have only one enemy—capitalism. Strengthen international solidarity!

14. Children of workers, unemployed and farmers of the entire world! Join the pioneers! Be prepared for the struggles of the working class.

15. Toilers! The fascists want to turn your children into your enemies! Struggle against the fascisation and militarisation of your children in the schools. Do not allow them to go to fascist bourgeois children's organisations. Strengthen the proletarian children organisations.

16. Y.C.L.ers! You must aid the pioneer organisation. It is your duty to work in the schools, in the mass organisations, on the streets, everywhere where there are children. Check-up and strengthen your work.

17. Long live the united front of the workers, all the toilers in the struggle against fascism and imperialist wars, for Soviet power, for the socialist future of the growing generation!

Executive Committee of the Young Communist International.

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

How Do the Ukrainian Workers and Employees Live?

By Our Special Moscow Correspondent, L. F. Boross

I. AN ABORTIVE ATTEMPT TO CALCULATE THEIR STANDARDS OF LIVING

I made up my mind to calculate the standards of living of the workers employed in the largest industrial undertaking in Kiev. What are the criteria of the standards of living of the workers of the capitalist countries? The wages, prices, social obligations, and taxes. If we were content to calculate standards of living simply on paper, without taking the actual lives lived into account, the calculation would be even simpler in the Soviet Union. For there are no social taxation burdens at all; the workers pay no part of the social insurance, but benefit the more from it. It is true that there are taxes, but the income tax paid by the Soviet worker, as compared with that paid by workers in the capitalist countries, is so small that it is not worth mentioning at all. Hence all that is necessary is to calculate the wages and prices, and the standard of living becomes apparent.

But this method proved a failure at once, at the first practical test.

It appeared obvious that calculations should be commenced with the workers' food. For it is clear that even in the Soviet Ukraine the workers have to eat something, though there is a section of the bourgeois press which ascribes to the Ukrainian workers in particular the god-like, miraculous ability of achieving wonders on an empty stomach—the Dnieper power station, the magnificent industrial enterprises of the Donetz basin, the masterpieces of technique, the enormous progress in culture and sport.

Most of the workers eat at least their midday meal in the factory where they are working. Therefore my first visit was to the "Mechanised Factory Kitchen" of the factory (this was the "Factory of the Red Banner Order," manufacturing equipment for textile mills, etc.), in the hope that here I would be able to jot down the first statistical tables showing the standard of living of the workers.

The factory kitchen has two great halls connected with it, where many hundreds of workers and employees can take their meals at the same time, and a smaller hall where persons on diet can obtain the special meals prescribed for them by their physicians.

Two women were sitting at a table in the special diet dining room. I explained to them briefly the object of my inquiry, and asked them to answer a few questions.

Names and addresses, please:

Korinina, 45, Revolution Street, door 27; **Rasymuyanskaya**, 1, Tolstoy Street, door 9.

Profession?

Both: Employees.

This was satisfactory, for I was anxious to study not only the standards of living of the workers, but of the employees as well. Still, I wanted to begin with the workers.

"Then you must wait, for the workers from some of the workshops have had their dinner already, and the others won't be coming till later. But until recently we two were workers, and have only just been made employees."

"Good. Then you might tell me how much you are earning monthly."

Korinina: 250 roubles

Rasumyanskaya: 275 roubles.

"And what do you pay for your food here?"

Korinina: I pay 2.80 roubles for four meals: breakfast, early lunch, dinner, and supper.

Rasumyanskaya: I pay 1.05 roubles.

"You are more modest in your demands as regards food?"

Rasumyanskaya: No, exactly the same. We are both on diet for gastric trouble.

"Then why do you pay less, especially if you are earning more?"

Rasumyanskaya: The prices for the diet kitchen are fixed by the factory council according to the individual circumstances of the persons needing diet treatment. **Korinina** is better off materially than I, although her salary is smaller, because I am keeping my aged parents out of my salary.

"And what responsibilities have you?"

Korinina: My husband is working in the same factory, as a milling cutter. Our child is cared for in the factory nursing school. We are paying 35 roubles monthly for the child, but beyond that we have nobody to maintain out of our salaries.

Hence the first difficulty of the calculation lies in the fact that the same meal, eaten in the same dining room, has a different price, according to who orders it. But we must not draw too hasty a conclusion from this. For it is obvious that different wages are not paid in the Soviet Union only to have them levelled up again by prices. Higher wages signify in general a higher standard of living, and show that the more highly paid worker possesses a higher degree of skill and achieves a better performance. Therefore the question of wages must be the subject of a special investigation. But it is at least evident from this fragment of a conversation that in the Soviet Union prices do not follow the blind laws of the commodity economics of the capitalist countries. Here the prices are not "blind" at all, but can gaze very sharply at the person paying them. They see very well if he earns much or little, and they observe very closely whether he belongs to the toiling classes, or would like to live as a parasite. In a word, the prices have "eyes," and these are proletarian "class eyes." They do not blindly obey certain market laws; they obey a very different power. In the case here described this power found expression in the factory council, the representatives of the trade unions, the representatives of the organised working class.

(II.) ANOTHER DISCUSSION ON DINNERS AND PRICES IN THE FACTORY DINING ROOMS

In the last letter we described a conversation with two employees of a Kiev engineering works, Comrades **Korinina** and **Rasumyanskaya**, and ascertained that these two employees had to pay entirely different prices for the same dinner, served at the same table, the prices being graded according to their material circumstances.

Let us imagine these two comrades in a restaurant in a capitalist country. Both order the same dinner, and eat it with the same good appetite. They then ask for their bills. **Rasumyanskaya** suddenly declares: "Waiter, I shall pay only half, as I have to keep my father and mother out of my salary." The proprietor of the restaurant would 'phone either for the police or to a lunatic asylum, according to his temperament.

He would, however, be even more horrified if he were to get into a conversation on prices with his "colleague" here, the chief of the mechanised factory kitchen in this Kiev engineering works.

The great dining room is divided into two by a wooden partition. One half is the dining room of the shock-brigaders, those workers who fulfil their plans of production systematically and work like real socialist masters of their socialist factory. The second half is the dining room of the rest of the workers who have not yet earned the title of shock-brigaders. The first half is certainly more crowded, a sign that to-day the overwhelming majority of the workers are shock-brigaders.

To-day the menu of the non-shock brigaders consists of Ukrainian beetroot soup (a soup containing all kinds of nourishing vegetables), potatoes, and tomatoes; yesterday they got soup, meat rissoles, and cabbage. The menu costs 70 copecks.

I asked the manager of the kitchen how much the meal cost to supply.

"Seventy copecks. We sell at cost price."

The capitalist innkeeper would shake his head and not con-

sider this very good business. He would, however, assume that the profits were being made on the dearer meals.

Now to the **shock-brigaders' menu**.

To-day there is lettuce as entree, then beetroot soup, beef stew and cheese cake. Yesterday there was entree (fish with tomato sauce), maccaroni soup, meat rissoles with potatoes and cabbage, baked apples.

Price?

One rouble.

Cost price?

Two roubles.

And how do you cover the deficit?

The works management contributes one rouble per shock-brigader.

This naturally makes it more difficult than ever to calculate the standards of living on the basis of wages and prices. But I made another attempt. I turned to a worker who was just sitting down at an adjoining table. His name is **Darmostupov** and he is living at 16 Malospanovskaya Street door 4.

"How much are you earning comrade?"

"Two hundred and sixty roubles a month."

"If we add to that the 30 roubles which the factory is paying towards your dinner that makes 290 roubles."

"Oh if you are going to add everything contributed by the factory or the other organisations you will have a lot to reckon. For instance: As one who fought in the civil war I am paying only 7.50 roubles a month for my two-roomed flat (in an old building) instead of the 15 roubles it would otherwise cost. Then again: I have been working in this factory for 20 years. Anyone who works longer than 10 years at one place of work is sent to a health resort for a month every year at the expense of the factory. I have had a free holiday in the Caucasus for three years in succession. (I had the opportunity of learning subsequently that a stay in a sanatorium in Sotschi for instance is estimated to be worth 480 roubles a month.—L. F. B.) I have a number of privileges as well. Many of us were allotted small vegetable gardens last year without its costing us anything. My garden is about 1,500 square metres. And I am fattening a pig. Thus I shall be provided with pork and vegetables for the whole winter, without any additional expense. My earnings can be used for books and pleasures. As a rule I have breakfast and supper at home, though sometimes I have breakfast at the factory buffet. It costs from 50 to 75 copecks.

A calculation had still to be made for the **diet kitchen**. On the day of my visit the bill of fare was as follows:—

Breakfast: Rice pudding, butter, tea.

Lunch: Curd cheese with sugar, butter, milk.

Dinner: Vegetable soup, rice pudding and rice pasties with creamed potatoes and millet porridge compote.

Supper: Various milk products.

Here the cost prices are very high; they include the costs for the doctor and nurses who prescribe and arrange the diets. Only the best materials are used for the diet cooking. The diet food costs seven roubles per day per person.

"Comrade Korinina pays only 2.80 roubles," I remarked, "and Comrade Rasyumyanskaya even less, 1.05 roubles. Does the factory management pay the rest?"

"No. This is a case of caring for ailing persons, and the extra grant is paid by the social insurance fund on the instructions of the factory council. You, of course, know that this year alone the Soviet power has paid 5½ milliard roubles for social service, without deducting a copeck from the wages of the workers?"

"That means that the wages of the workers are actually increased by this amount?"

"It does."

Again I was unable to record in actual statistics the standards of living of the Ukrainian workers. But I was able to ascertain a few facts showing where the mechanism of the standards of living in the Soviet Union differs from this mechanism in the capitalist countries. In the capitalist countries, for instance, there are no factory kitchens as a rule. If it does happen that here and there a factory owner opens a dining room for his workers—and this is being done in a number of large enterprises, in the U.S.A. for instance—then the sole object of this catering is to gain an additional profit at the expense of the workers, and the food is, of course, sold at no small profit. In this case the

factory kitchen actually lessens the amount of real wages, whilst in the Soviet Union it **increases** real wages by the amount of the factory and insurance grants, and at the same time enhances the comfort of the workers. And, above all, it helps to free the working women from the burden of household drudgery. In the capitalist countries social insurance means a reduction of wages, here it means a rise. It is clear that the **proletarian State** is guided by this same principle not only in this, but in all other questions relating to the standards of living of the working class.

III. HIGH AND LOW WAGES

The preceding letters, in which we described the social and class character of price policy, might at first glance give rise to the idea that the differences in prices served the purpose of equalising the differences in wages: those who earn less pay less, hence low wages are worth just as much as high.

This idea would be fundamentally wrong. The examples which we have adduced here show only the following: The Soviet power, and especially the trade unions, are endeavouring with the aid of the possibilities offered them by the rule of the working class to ensure, even to the lowest-paid sections of the workers, that standard of living to which they are entitled as co-builders of socialism. A general example of this is given by the history of the increased price of bread a few months ago. The Soviet government found itself obliged to raise bread prices, in order to aid the collective peasants to prosperity even under the unfavourable climatic conditions of this year. But the measure was accompanied simultaneously with a wage rise for all the low-paid categories of workers and employees, to an extent amply levelling up the difference between the old and the new bread prices.

But, nevertheless, the inspector Korinina lives better on a salary of 250 roubles, or the fitter Duschko with a wage of 275 to 400 roubles (according to work performed), than a dish washer in the factory kitchen, with a wage of 70 to 80 roubles.

The difference in earnings is levelled up to a great extent in the housing question for instance. The dish washer pays much less rent than Korinina or Duschko for the same accommodation. Korinina pays 35 roubles monthly for her child in the kindergarten, the dish washer is not required to pay anything for her child, in the same kindergarten. Nor does she pay any income tax, whilst Korinina pays about nine roubles monthly, and Duschko 12 to 14 roubles, according to his earnings. The material position of the dish washer is given every consideration in all questions coming under the **social and trade union** institutions of the factory, but in questions of her individual requirements she must adapt herself to her wages. If she is ill, she will be sent free of charge to a health resort, just as Korinina or Duschko will be sent. If she needs a special diet, she will be given the same food as they, but pay less than one rouble for a meal which will cost Korinina 2.80 roubles. But under normal conditions she pays as much for the same food as Duschko. If she wants to dine as sumptuously, she must be prepared to expend a greater proportion of her wages on food. Korinina may spend 50 to 60 roubles for clothes, but the dish washer must be more modest in regard to clothes and other **outgoings**.

Some foreign reader may observe here that the fate of a dish washer does not appear to be a very enviable one even in the workers' State.

But wait a moment, reader, before passing judgment.

Perhaps there is a picture theatre not far from your home, where you see a film depicting how some poor dish washer or servant maid, after long adventures, is married by some rich factory owner for the sake of her beautiful eyes. The bourgeoisie can offer the lowly maid this means of escape from drudgery only on the screen; in reality it drives her along a very different path, that of unemployment and prostitution, starvation and degradation. Why do these lying films find an appreciative public among the petty bourgeois masses, and even among the proletariat? Because lies are the sole consolation, the only optimism, which the bourgeois state of society can offer them.

Our dish washer in the "Red Banner Order" factory is not in need of any such consolation. And it is as likely as not that she will marry a bank director or a factory manager, for here in the Soviet Union he is as much a proletarian as she is, and has probably commenced his "career" on just as low a rung of the ladder. But this is **not the way** in which she wants to catch up with her fellow-workers who have attained a better position than she has. She needs no marriage, no lying illusions, to help her

upwards; all she needs is to follow the examples set her daily here in the dining hall.

All she needs is to remember the "fate" of her predecessors at the sink. This is easily done. One of her fellow-workers, who was washing dishes here three years ago, is now dining in the diet hall. She has not found it necessary to "marry her chief"; she has become a chief herself. This is Comrade Korinina, one time dish washer, now inspector of the supplies of her factory, Comrade Rasyumyanskaya, sitting at the same table with her, was not always the business manager of one of the auxiliary factories; in 1930 she was still an assistant worker earning 50 roubles. Then she rose to a position at the lathe of a metal working shop, earning 150 roubles, and now she earns 275 as business manager.

Another instance: In the neighbouring dining room a worker was sitting. His fellow-workers who happened to pass his table greeted him with obvious comradely respect.

"May I ask who you are, comrade?"

"My name is Nepomnishchi Stefan Feodorovitch."

"Your work?"

"Foreman."

"Have you had that position long?"

"No. In 1927 I was working here in this factory as an unskilled labourer, at very low wages. I cannot remember exactly how much I was earning, but it was a long way below 100 roubles. Then I learnt the foundry trade and earned 180 roubles. I rose to master founder, earning 250 to 300 roubles, and now I am a foreman with a salary of 600 roubles."

"Is your rise an exceptional case, or is it possible for many workers to advance so successfully?"

"Every worker who has the ability and the necessary energy can rise to a leading position. This sounds somewhat 'official' and not very convincing, but if you will accompany me home I can show you some actual examples."

Arrived at his house, he took a number of photographs from a drawer.

"These are pictures of my work mates at the time when I was an unskilled labourer. This one here is Mischa Satienco. Now he is the leader of the political department of a Machine and Tractor Station, and is taking a leading part in the struggle for the socialisation of the village. This one here—his name is Vengrovski—could not read or write at that time. Now he is a responsible functionary in our factory. And this photo is of Popoff, who has gone further than any of us: he is business manager in the Ukrainian Soviet government. You can see for yourself that my advance is not an isolated case." I asked Comrade Nepomnishchi how a dish washer could rise to a better paid situation.

"That is no problem. A situation as an assistant worker of that kind is only the first step on the ladder for every decent worker who is not hopelessly stupid or mentally deficient. It is the means by which he enters the proletarian community of the workers of a socialist undertaking. The dish washer must only keep in mind that our socialist economy needs more and more skilled workers. We only work seven hours a day, and we have ample time to attend evening courses of instruction in order to improve our qualifications. Of course it requires an effort to follow up a day's work with an evening spent in learning. But a certain amount of energy may surely be demanded of people anxious to be worthy sons and daughters of our victorious working class. The lower standards of living of the unskilled workers as compared with the skilled is not the only source of this energy, though it plays a considerable part. It would be a slander to assert that the millions of workers who are learning, learning, do this solely for the purpose of attaining a better standard of living. They learn because they feel the urge towards knowledge, towards the achievement of better work. A young man or woman, filled with the desire for knowledge, would continue to learn, even after all material desires were fulfilled. But as soon as something intervenes—some possibility of entertainment, let us say—then the learner is liable to say: Good, let us sacrifice to-day, we can go on learning to-morrow. The learning is postponed for a week or a month. Then people fall in love, children arrive; one thing after another occurs to hamper the strength and energy devoted to learning. It is the dissatisfaction with the standard of living attained, and the possibility of improving this standard rapidly, which form

the stimulus helping the masses to overcome systematically and organisationally all such difficulties and inhibitions. Our dish washer may learn to work one of the punching machines in the course of a few months, or, if she wants to remain in the kitchen, she can learn to cook. This would mean a 50 to 200 per cent. wage rise. Meanwhile she will begin to like learning for its own sake. She will either improve her skill in her chosen profession, or she can take a course of training for office or other work. She can become a technician or an engineer. In our country the path lies open to every working man and women, and millions are treading the path. . . ."

I left Comrade Nepomnishchi's home—a comfortably equipped three-roomed flat with kitchen and bathroom, 9 Revolution Street, door 58—with the consciousness that in the Soviet Union the fate open to every working man and woman, and millions are ant worker, is an enviable one.

In the Trans-Volga Steppes of To-day

By A. Grey

I

The right bank of the Volga forms an undulating chain of hillock and down, covered with a green carpet of grass and clusters of oak and spruce.

The left bank becomes lost in the distance, a flat expanse of desolate steppe. From the Kama down to the blue Caspian Sea, the Volga lies embedded in the dim remoteness of the East. There it empties itself into the desert, into the vast ocean of sand which the Asiatic sun fills with a hot, simmering vapour.

Nearly every summer a scorching torrent of this desert-heat pours out over the steppes right down to the Volga; the poisonous breath of the haze spreads across the parched earth. The steppe broods in a stifling heat. In one day the dew and the freshness have gone. And in one day the rank green of spring is burnt up.

With the haze a brooding quiet hangs over the villages. Dull misfortune lines the grey faces.

So it was for many years. In these days of heat the peasants made pilgrimages into the dust-laden steppe, carrying holy pictures and religious banners. Weeping, they prayed until they were hoarse. The wind from the South devoured their tears. The corn was lost. A poisonous fire consumed the left bank.

The village of *Perevoloka* lies in a bare valley, called *Suchaya Balka* (dry ravine). It was here that the peasant Fiodor *Tibyatin* lived for 107 years.

Tall, vigorous in body, he had kept his memory unclouded to the end. In years when the burning haze was blowing, the young people used to question the old man:—

"Fiodor Ivanovitch, surely there were good years too in the old days?"

The parchment furrows on *Tibyatin's* forehead drew together in a cluster.

"Of course there were good years." And he called it a "good year" when they reaped 30 to 40 poods to the hectare. Then he reckoned up one after the other the haze-years, when they plucked the ears of corn with their hands on the field and threshed three poods to the hectare. As he held the tale sorrow gleamed in his dim eyes.

In collectivised *Perevoloka* the century-old *Tibyatin* was the last peasant to remain on his own. Sons and grandsons departed long ago to the four points of the compass. In his cottage only himself, his wife, and a grandchild, the boy *Dimitri*, remained.

The land next to that of the collective was allotted to the last individual peasant. Spring had hardly made its appearance before the cheerful sound of collective work was coming noisily from the kolkhos area. Grandfather Fiodor took himself and his basket off to his strip of land later. The lean old man strewed the seed along the even, grey furrows and looked up at the sky. With a sweeping gesture he made the sign of the cross. Then his grandchild, the Pioneer *Dimitri*, came running over from the kolkhos. He sat down at the edge of the field, with his chin propped on his fists, and gazed at the aged man, at his hundred-year-old grand-dad.

Over there, in the fields of the kolkhos, there was the gay sound of loud laughter and singing. Here, solitary, faltering, the old man walked up and down with his basket of seed. The wind tore at his beard. *Dimitri* jumped up, ran over to his grandfather and caught him by the arm.

"Let the sowing be, Grand-dad, come along home, we can get bread from the kolkhos. . . ."

But the old man was obstinate and chased the boy away. Then the neighbours from the collective farm came. They caught the old man resolutely by the arm, took him home, and tilled his strip of ground themselves. And, too, they brought in the "harvest" for him: that is to say, they brought bare straw to the one desolate threshing ground in Perevoloka.

Fiodor Tibyatin remained true to his century to the very last. He died two years ago. He took with him into the steppe the joys that the haze had parched up, the ashes of his hopes. . . .

II

Perevoloka lies within the sphere of activity of the *Besentshuk* Machine and Tractor Station. On the left bank of the Middle Volga the polit-department of the Besentshuk M.T.S. was one of the first to join in the campaign against the desert, and it carried the ranks of the kolkhos peasants with it.

In the autumn of last year the polit-departments of the *Besentshuk*, *Obsharov* and *Borsk* M.T. Stations appealed to all the collective peasants on the left bank in a flaming summons:—

"Every collective farm, every M.T.S. on the left bank, must become a war staff in the fight for victory over the drought, over the haze. What has to be done is so to re-arrange our work that we anticipate the haze, that the corn ripens before the haze. We can achieve this by ploughing in the autumn, by sowing in the early spring, by heaping the snow, by afforestation, by irrigation. . . ."

And the first of the twenty-four Besentshuk collective farms to march out to the campaign against the desert was collectivist Perevoloka.

They began with the autumn ploughing. Last year the last rain fell in May. In June came the haze. Already at that time the tractors were driving out to the fields with the ploughs.

Ploughing went on strenuously. The inspectors of quality, appointed from among the middle-aged collective peasants, measured each furrow, to see whether it had the regulation depth of 18 cm.

In this way, of the 32,000 hectares to be ploughed by the Besentshuk collective farms for the 1934 spring seeding, 28,000 hectares were thoroughly ploughed over in the previous summer and autumn.

In the winter, too, strenuous work was done. Before the snow had begun to drift, 300,000 snow-shields had been set up on the Besentshuk fields. Thus in the spring the valleys of the steppe were free of snow. The immense piles of snow in the fields melted slowly and saturated the loosened earth.

The period of the spring sowing was brought down to 30 days—17 days less than last year.

By the early spring nine thousand hectares had already been sown. Six thousand hectares were sown with winter seed that had been brought by a special process to a state of pre-germination. Eight thousand hectares were cultivated with wide-row seed. Harrowing was done in three diagonal directions.

Instead of ordinary seed, first-grade, selected, drought-proof seed was used.

This was how the collective farms of the Trans-Volga District took up the fight against the habits of centuries, the fight with the elements of the desert.

And the very first year the fruitful soil of the left bank, saturated with the moisture of spring, worked up as never before, showed that it was grateful.

"What's your harvest like this year, Afanassyi Leontyevitch?"

"I'm not showing myself in the fields at all!"

"Why ever not, Grandfather?"

"Afraid of the wolves. Why, the corn this year's standing just like a forest. . . ."

Cornfields like forests!

The Besentshuk M.T.S. machine park contains a hundred tractors as well as reaper-threshers. Available to the collective farms are hundreds of new binders and reaping machines. But as the corn ripened on the thickly stocked fields, a new worry set in: will we have enough machines? The corn must be got in quickly!

The first binder came to the village of *Nikolskoye* twenty years ago. Its owner, Sheryobkin, the rich man of the village, got out of it all that he could get out of it. For the last five years the

machine has been lying about, a piece of rusty old iron, on the square behind the gardens.

Then Michael Michyev discovered the rusty monster hidden among rank weed. He made up his mind to make the binder usable again, after the collective committee had pronounced it "totally unserviceable." How can a skeleton like that be left lying in the graveyard when out there in the fields an enormous harvest is ripening!—wheat 17, oats 18 and millet 21 double-centners to the hectare!

Michyev took the machine to pieces, scratched the dirt off, and scraped the rust from each little part. He cast the brass parts himself in the forge belonging to the collective farm. Then he assembled the machine again. And on the day that reaping began he went out to the fields on this machine, together with the tractors, reaper-threshers and other reaping machines and binders.

The haze came too late. The burning heat poured over the steppe with its grey mist only when the clatter of the last reaping machine had become silent on the collective fields, when the heavy sheaves were already on their way to the threshing machines.

III

Svenigorodka—what bitter irony is contained in this sonorous name! (*svenitj*: ringing, *gorod*: town). This wretched spot lost in the steppe "rang out" actually again and again with want and misery, with the sound of weeping. The neighbouring village of *Perevoloka* was always considerably bigger and better off. As late as last year, which recalled in part the disastrous year 1921, the people of *Svenigorodka* had to borrow corn from the State.

This year things have happened in *Svenigorodka*, things that in the history of the steppe are quite extraordinary.

The collective farm in *Svenigorodka* comprises 82 homesteads. The number of able-bodied members amounts to one hundred. The collective had to harvest 1,860 hectares, of which one-half was sown with first-grade wheat. The average harvest amounted to 13 double-centners to the hectare. The gross harvest came to 20,000 double-centners.

How was it disposed of?

Six thousand double-centners were sold to the State, the proceeds being used to repay advances and to lay in stocks of fodder and seed.

A further 6,000 double-centners was sold. The proceeds are being used for the erection of new stock farms and cultural buildings, and for the purchase of pure-bred stock. . . .

Eight thousand double-centners were distributed among the members of the collective farm according to daily work performed.

Altogether 50,000 labour units were performed in the collective farm. Thus 16 kg. of grain, of which 60 per cent. is wheat, falls to each labour unit.

Old Jakob Chomenko, therefore, whose family includes one son and two daughters, receives for the 1,300 work-days done by his family 208 double-centners of grain.

With their 1,000 work-days each, the collectivists Vinnik, Pavlov, Gotylo, Koval and Kotshan each received 160 double-centners of grain.

Their granaries will therefore be filled to the breaking point with first-grade, heavy grain. Where will it go to? It will certainly not remain lying in the granaries as immovable property. That can be felt already in the co-operative shops here. Demand has increased already, and what is more, not only for the usual things like shoes and clothes, but also for bicycles, gramophones, clocks, etc.

Now there is great rejoicing in *Svenigorodka*. On the threshing grounds the machines are humming from the first flush of dawn until right into the evening. With the darkness comes singing. Youth goes dancing. The old people sit on one side, discussing further plans with the president of the collective farm, the untiring enthusiast Artyom Logatchov.

"First of all the House of Culture. We've bought new timber already. And in this house there must be a library, a reading room, and in any case a dance floor. . . ."

"Yes, we're going to dance, all right. Have you seen how our girls dance the quadrille with eight pairs? Have you seen how after threshing all day old Ivan is still ready for a dance? We're going to dance! The drought holds no more fears for us!"

Samara, August, 1934.

The Reorganisation of the Trade Unions in the Soviet Union

By N. Jevreinov

In the year 1917 there were 119 trade unions in Moscow and 110 in Petrograd. In addition to big unions covering whole branches of industry there were unions which embraced only the workers in one factory or locality. A comparison of the list of trade unions in the year 1917 with the list of 154 trade union federations which were formed in accordance with the decision of the Fourth Plenum of the Central Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union, reveals the fundamental differences between the organisational structure of the trade unions at that time and to-day. In the year 1917 there existed a mixture of elements of the guild system and narrow parochialism, which was combated by the Communists, who advocated the construction of trade unions according to industry. Now there can be no return to the old conditions. The principle of industrial unionism remains in force. The workers of the same factory, no matter what their profession, belong to a single trade union.

In the 17 years which have passed since the October revolution the political situation, the relation of the class forces and the tasks of the Party and of the proletariat have greatly changed. During the years 1917 to 1920 we were occupied with the task of concentrating the forces of the trade unions, rendering them more powerful in order to secure and to consolidate the political rule and the influence of the Party upon the working class, in order to drive the Mensheviks and social revolutionaries and the anarchists out of all their holes and crannies, in order to defend the common class interests of the proletariat, to organise and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and to repel the attacks of the armed enemy. After the conclusion of the civil war, in the period of the New Economic Policy, we had to base ourselves upon big, well-organised trade union federations and to secure the alliance with the peasants in order to lead them on to the path of Socialism.

The Party now demands from the trade unions not a general agitation for the Soviet Power, but careful carrying out of day-to-day work. The trade unions must be guided by the decision of the Seventeenth Party Congress, which called upon them to "proceed from 'general' and abstract leadership to a concrete leadership, from 'general' resolutions to effective decisions, based on a knowledge of the details and technique of a thing; to establish a close, vital connection with the lower links of production and administration (workshop, factory department, factory, collective farm, village, machine and tractor station, Soviet estate, etc.)."

The trade unions are instructed to make a thorough examination of the working conditions of the workers and employees, to wage a struggle for the systematic standardisation of work and for increased productivity, for the improvement of social insurance, improvement of the material conditions of the workers. The trade unions must be thoroughly acquainted with the requirements and demands of the members of the various professions and carefully and attentively examine the complaints, requests and suggestions of the workers.

The organising of sections of the leading professions is an essential complement to the carrying out of the division of the trade unions federations. These sections supplement the principle of the construction of the trade unions according to branches of industry to a certain degree with the principle of their construction according to professions. The sections which were set up in the year 1931 were sections according to branches of industry, they embraced the workers of a definite branch of industry. Thus, for instance, in the union of the auto, tractor and aircraft industry there existed a section for auto, tractors and aircraft workers. It is not difficult to realise that these sections were the initial stages of new trade unions.

The sections will now be set up according to another principle. They have other tasks confronting them. They have to unite the workers of the leading industries and to sort them out from the general mass of the other members of the unions, defend their interests and utilise their experience in the organisation of production for the improvement of the work of the factories.

The role of the sections will be especially great in regard to setting up a correct wage system. The lists of tariff wages, the standardisation of work will be easily improved if the sections draw the leading branches of industry into the immediate work of the trade unions.

The most important task of the reorganisation of the trade union federation: bringing the central committees of the federations into closer contact with the factories and the masses of workers, could not have been achieved without the liquidation of the intermediate links in the various federation committees. Forty-four federations will have no district or regional committees. In the other federations the district committees will continue to exist, but will have other functions than hitherto; they will mainly function as instructors. In this way the trade union chain will be made shorter, but more firm and elastic. There will exist only the central committee of the federation and the factory committee this simple structure will predominate in the centralised big industry.

Of the 44 federations embracing the workers in the heavy industry, 28 will have no intermediate links. In the federations embracing scattered factories and in non-industrial federations, the intermediate links will, as a rule, continue to exist.

Of the 154 unions the central committees of 65 will be located outside of Moscow, that is at the very centre of their respective industries. This will give the central committees of these unions an opportunity to connect themselves more closely with the workers, to direct the work of the lower union organs more concretely, and thus help the factory committees to improve the material conditions of their union members.

The central committee, of course, continues to be the central organ of the trade union federation, no matter where its seat is: Moscow, Leningrad, Ivanovo, or Vladivostok. The mutual relations between the central committee of the union and the local committees are based on the unalterable principle that the central committee of the federation is subordinate to the central council of the trade unions of the Soviet Union, the Party fraction of the Plenum and of the Presidium of the central committee of the federation is subordinated to the C.C. of the C.P.S.U., no matter whether the C.C. of the federation has its headquarters in Moscow or outside Moscow.

The Party and Soviet organisation of those localities to which the newly established C.C. of the federations will move, have to adopt every measure in order to facilitate their work.

The reduction of the trade union apparatus by 35 per cent. is a very important fact, because this will set free enormous means of the trade unions, enabling the trade unions to improve the social welfare of their members. This reduction will save a sum of 40 to 45 million roubles, which will be spent on the establishment of clubs, on cultural work among the workers and employees, on mutual aid funds of a special type, and on similar outgoings.

But the reduction of the apparatus will enable the central committee to draw volunteers into this work from the enterprises. This will help them to establish closer relations with the enterprise and to impart to the work of the central committees a more active, interesting and fruitful character.

The main figure in the leading trade union apparatus will now be the instructor, who will link up the C.C. or the district committee of the trade union with the enterprise. Without specialising in a definite sphere, the instructor must become the soul of the apparatus of the C.C. or the district committee by combining and investigating the whole of the trade union work.

The division of the trade union federations and the liquidation of the intermediate links in many of them, of course, also change the role of the inter-union organs. The inter-union organs must become real councils of the trade unions, organisations which help the Party to guide the many sided and complicated trade union movement. They must safeguard the general State interests and see that the decisions of the Party and of the trade unions are properly carried out.

The Plenum of the All-Union Council of Trade Unions has energetically repulsed those bureaucratic and opportunistic elements, which consider the present reorganisation of the trade unions as "lowering the authority." There is no doubt, however, that we shall encounter the open and concealed resistance of these elements in the practical work of reorganisation. It is quite clear that the trade union movement must get rid of such functionaries, no matter what position they may occupy at present.

The reorganisation of the trade unions will animate the trade union work. The strengthening of the connections with the factories, with the masses, will enable the trade unions to utilise much better the experiences of the million of trade union members, of the whole of the working men and women engaged in the

construction of Socialism. The connections between the Party and the trade union organs will be strengthened. The trade unions will be able better to fulfil their role as transmission belts between the Party and the masses.

The trade union functionaries must realise that the reorganisation and division of the trade union federations is carried out solely for the purpose of strengthening the role of the trade unions in the whole socialist construction. This means that no trade union functionary may for a moment weaken his struggle for the fulfilment of the economic plan for the current year in order to ensure the accomplishment of this task before the Seventh Soviet Congress.

The Week in the Soviet Union

The Meeting of Shock Brigaders of the Don Basin

The Don Basin to-day can no longer be compared with what it was formerly. Mechanisation and electrification, the erection of workers' dwellings and cultural institutions have created a new world here. Down in the mine, thousands of feet below the earth, one finds oneself in brilliantly lighted works. The mine has become a factory; the machine has nearly everywhere taken the place of the primitive tool. The supply of electricity in the Don Basin has increased twenty-two fold compared with the year 1913. Production is 75 per cent. mechanised. Thus the Don Basin has caught up to the level of the pits in the United States.

Representatives from 110 pits were present at the gathering of shock brigaders of the Don Basin. They came from those pits which have fulfilled the production plan. Two-thirds of the pits in the Don Basin did not fulfil the plan in the first eight months of the year and were therefore not entitled to send delegates to the gathering of leading representatives.

The Conference had to deal in the first place with the question of further mechanisation, utilisation of the existing machines, doing away with idle shifts. The Don Basin is the leading section of the mining industry of the Soviet Union. The Communist Party addresses itself in the first place to the best shock brigaders and masters of the new technique in the Don Basin, in order that they shall draw along with them the whole mass of the miners and bring about further progress in the mining industry.

The gathering of shock brigaders adopted an appeal to the mine workers, engineers and technicians. The delegates will now go back to their pits in order to rouse all laggards and ensure the fulfilment of their task, which consists in producing 60 million tons of coal.

Harvest and Grain Delivery

On September 15, 76 million hectares had been harvested. The flow of grain to the State and co-operative purchasing institutions is increasing daily. On September 15 the State grain-procuring plan had already been fulfilled 74.7 per cent. A number of Republics and districts, as for instance the Kiev district, the Crimea, Georgia, White Russia, the Moscow district, have fulfilled the annual plan long before the specified time.

The co-operatives are beginning to purchase grain from the collective farms and individual peasants, apart from the quantities delivered to the State in accordance with the annual plan. In view of the recently greatly increased demand by the collective peasants for industrial products, the Central Co-operative Administration, Centrosoyus, is sending large quantities of boots and shoes, farming implements, domestic articles, etc., to the rural districts. Considerable supplies of building material are also being delivered, as the collective peasants are everywhere building new barns, stables and other farm buildings.

New Cattle Farms, New Ways of Breeding Poultry

Of late there has been an intensive development of collective cattle farms. In the first seven months of the current year the collective farms of the Soviet Union organised 2,980 cattle-breeding farms, so that by August 1 their number amounted to over 135,000. These farms have altogether about 20 million head of cattle. The stock of horned cattle increased by 16 per cent. in the first half of

1934, that of swine by 18.3 per cent. and of sheep by 27.7 per cent.

Fedosseyev, the scientific research worker, who has been experimenting for three years in Ashabad with ultra-short radio waves, has ascertained that, under the influence of these waves the weight of cattle can be increased in a short time by 30 to 40 per cent., and sheep's wool increased 15 to 20 per cent. Attempts are being made with ultra-short radio waves to sterilise and preserve milk.

The Soviet scientist **Mechtcheryakov** has made discoveries of great importance for poultry-breeding. By his new method of producing a "stability temperature" 100 per cent. of the eggs in the incubators can be successfully hatched.

International Recognition of Soviet Films

The Society for Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union has been informed that the film industry of the Soviet Union has been awarded the highest order of merit at the International Film Exhibition in Venice.

The Tenth Anniversary of the Soviet Turbo-Generator

It is ten years since the "Elektrosilo" works built the first turbo-generator. It was a generator of small capacity. Since then the works have continued and developed production, and have not only increased the number of machines from year to year, but also their capacity.

In 1928 turbo-generators with a 10,000 kilowatt capacity were built. In the last few years the works have produced turbo-generators with a 50,000 kilowatt capacity. The works are now, however, in a position to build turbo-generators with a 100,000 kilowatt capacity and making 3,000 revolutions a minute. This machine has many advantages. Up to January, 1934, the "Elektrosilo" works in Leningrad produced 350 turbo-generators, representing a total capacity of 2½ million kilowatts. Two to three such machines supply sufficient power for a whole district or for a big industrial undertaking. The "Elektrosilo" works have grown to such an extent in the course of ten years that they can meet the requirements of the whole country. The Soviet Union has no need to import turbo-generators from abroad. This year the "Elektrosilo" works will build machines for export. The works are supplying 1,500 kilowatt turbo-generators to Turkey.

Successes of the Optical Industry

The Optical works O.G.P.U. in Leningrad have produced 52,665 cameras in the last few months. Large quantities of folding cameras are being produced.

BRITISH LABOUR PARTY ULTIMATUM

London, September 21.

The executive of the National Labour Party has issued an ultimatum to prominent members threatening them with expulsion and exclusion from the Annual Conference unless they resign from and cease to have any connection with organisations in which Communists are permitted to work. Singled out for specially venomous attention is the *Committee for the Relief of the Victims of German Fascism*, which has raised more than £12,000 for this purpose since its inception.

Among those threatened are: Lord Marley, the Earl of Kinoull, Miss Ellen Wilkinson, ex-M.P., Mr. Aneurin Bevan, M.P., Professor Harold Laski, and John Jagger (President of the National Union of Distributive Workers).

A list of eleven organisations is appended, which are described as being "ancillary to the Communist Party." They include the Unemployed Workers' Movement, Friends of the Soviet Union, Workers' International Relief, International Labour Defence, National Committee against Fascism and War, etc. The report states that not only are members of such organisations ineligible for membership of the Labour Party, but that persons assisting the activities of such organisations will also be expelled.

The matter will be discussed at the forthcoming conference at Southport.