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Intensified Situation in France

By J. Berlioz (Paris)

Interested parties in France declared so often and with such stress that the intensification of the economic crisis in France was due to the struggles between the French political parties that many people, and particularly middle-class people, believed that the advent of the government of National Union would at least stop any further deterioration of the situation. However, eight months of the *Doumergue-Tardieu-Herriot* government have seen the situation get considerably worse. The index of industrial production is sinking month after month and at the moment there are 100,000 more workers registered as unemployed at the labour exchanges than there were a year ago. The problem of the wheat and wine surplus has proved insoluble, and complete ruin threatens the wheat and vine peasants whose products continue to fall in price. Owing to the reduced purchasing power of the masses the small traders and artisans, etc., are suffering from a wave of bankruptcies. The fate of the franc is still doubtful and the State Treasury is unable to exist from the State revenues, but must keep itself above water by loans. The Budget for 1935 has been balanced thanks to ruthless "economy" cuts which have been made at the expense of the officials and ex-soldiers, but even this balance is only on paper.

By this time all sections of French public life are in agreement about one thing at least, namely, that France is faced with one of the worst winters in modern history. Minister *Marquet* has been compelled to admit that even if his plans for public works are carried out in full this winter, a doubtful point, the number of unemployed workers will increase and mass impoverishment extend. A primary factor in the situation is that the masses are

not prepared to suffer patiently the fate which the bourgeoisie is preparing for them. The pact between the Communist and Socialist Parties for unity of action and the successes obtained on the field of trade union unity, despite the fierce resistance of many of the leaders of the reformist trade union federation (C.G.T.), including the formation of over 200 unity unions and the approval of a number of reformist unions of the proposals of the revolutionary trade union federation (C.G.T.U.) for amalgamation from the bottom up, have strengthened the fighting spirit of the proletariat. The peasantry are in a ferment. They are resisting the forced sales of their goods and many fights with the *Garde Mobile* have taken place. The peasants are refusing to pay rents and taxes. The camps and barracks of the French army have seldom been such hotbeds of discontent as they are at present: From January 1 to August 31 no less than 165 demonstrations were carried out by soldiers, sailors and reservists, and 127 of these demonstrations took place during the past four months. The anti-imperialist movement is growing in the French colonies and a brutal regime of martial law has been declared in *Tunisia*, where a revolt of the starving Fellaheen is threatening.

The government of National Union has done its best to play the role of a pre-fascist government of the Bruening type. It has depressed the standards of living of all sections of the toiling masses very considerably. It has hit hard at the officials, the clerical workers, the railwaymen, the ex-soldiers, the unemployed and those living on social pensions. It has murdered something like a score of workers. It has opened up the attack upon the rights of the trade unions, and throughout it all it has deliberately

encouraged the recruiting and the arming of fascist forces. However, the government has not succeeded in winning the workers for the swindle of class harmony for the salvation of democracy. On the contrary, thanks to the untiring activities of the Communist Party for the establishment of a working-class united front and for an alliance between the proletariat and the lower middle class, it has met with growing resistance from the masses of the workers.

The government of National Unity has therefore not completely satisfied finance capital which put it into office after the fascist rioting of February 6. Finance capital is in a tighter corner than ever and it demands still more energetic action from the government. The recent broadcast speech of *Doumergue* indicated the lines on which the new attack is to be pushed. *Doumergue* singled out the working-class united front, the terror of the bourgeoisie, for particularly energetic attack and threatened the "professional trouble-makers." The bourgeoisie is about to carry through a decisive stage on the road to fascism under the title of *State reform*. This reform is to be carried out in an "authoritative" sense, an expression so popular in bourgeois circles at the moment. The rights of the executive are to be increased and the rights of the legislature correspondingly reduced. The State officials are to be deprived of the right to organise themselves in trade unions and of the right to express their political opinions publicly. The latter part of this offensive has already been opened energetically against the teachers who had the temerity to criticise the policy of the government at their national congress last August.

The announcement that the Communist and Socialist Parties intend to organise a great campaign of demonstrations up and down the country in October for the withdrawal of the emergency decrees has filled the bourgeois press with anger. The Minister of the Interior, *Sarraut*, has uttered public threats. The Police Prefect of Paris, egged on by bourgeois anger at the fact that despite all the measures taken against it the circulation of "l'Humanité," the central organ of the Communist Party of France, continues to rise, now proposes to prohibit the sale of "l'Humanité" on the streets. All the bourgeois parties are now making strenuous efforts to win the masses over to their side in the coming *municipal elections* in which the pact for unity of action between the Communist and Socialist Parties is to come into operation for the first time. The bourgeois parties are horrified at the success with which the manifesto of the Communist Party has given voice to the elementary and often spontaneous demands of the masses, and at the avidity with which the propaganda literature issued by the Communist Party is snapped up by the masses.

The "Echo de Paris," the organ of the French General Staff and of the church militant, sums up what is at stake in the coming elections as follows:—

"Let no mistake be made about the matter. The united front aims at overthrowing the National Union. The united front must be smashed. All local or personal questions must be dropped and all shades of political opinion must unite at the elections to this end."

The elections of October 7 will thus see the concentration of two opposing armies. Above all the elections will be decisive for the fate of the *Radical Party*, whose electors are chiefly poor and middle peasants and members of the lower middle class who have been disappointed at the bankruptcy of their party and indignant at the way they have been deceived. The manifesto of the Communist Party offers to withdraw Communist candidates at the elections in favour of any radical candidates who are prepared to fight honestly against the National Union and against the treachery of the leaders of the Radical Party. On the other hand, the bourgeoisie is working with increased energy to bind the Radical Party more firmly to the bourgeois cause by raising the bogey of the revolutionary united front and painting in lurid colours the horrors likely to ensue in the event of a victory for the united front, including the depreciation of the franc.

The Radical Party is in a state of internal uproar. Its election programme contains no more than generalisations and empty phrases, and contains no word about the tactics the party proposes to follow in the second and eliminating round of the elections. The mouthpiece of the Comité des Forges, "le Temps," writes with satisfaction:—

"When one examines this programme then it is difficult to find anything in it which would prevent any upright Republican from signing it."

The leaders of the Radical Party are striving to secure the adoption of resolutions in the party in favour of the continuation of support for the National Union, whilst in those districts where the resistance of the masses is too strong for this they are sedulously spreading the illusion of the possibility of a *third front* between the National Union and the working-class united front. This latter tactic is deliberately favourable to the fascists, as proved in the recent by-election for the Chamber of Deputies in *Laon*, where the fact that the Radical Party insisted on putting forward its candidate in the second and eliminating contest secured the election of a fascist deputy against the candidate of the united front.

The rank and file of the Radical Party are in a state of ferment and with a good and systematic policy of representing their immediate interests on the part of the Communist Party it should be possible to win masses of them for the proletarian united front. The success of the united front movement is causing French finance capital to consider the use of still more violent measures. Should the measures of the government prove ineffective, and they certainly will, and when the Communist Party succeeds in establishing the united front everywhere and in using it in *mass action* instead of merely in a general campaign of agitation and propaganda, then it is clear that the fascist bands will be sent into action to organise another February 6 riot in order to "force the hand" of a government which is only too willing to be forced to do something it is already anxious to do.

Already acts of violence against newspaper sellers distributing "l'Humanité" and against workers wearing anti-fascist badges have taken place on the streets. Workers have been attacked with revolver shots and cudgels under the eyes of the police who have afterwards protected the fascists from the anger of the masses. Protected by the Garde Mobile, the fascist bands are resuming their provocative demonstrations. "l'Humanité" has pointed out again and again that these fascist bands have been armed with the knowledge and approval of the authorities, and that they are conducting civil war manoeuvres in full public. The fascist newspapers are conducting an open campaign of incitement to murder against Communist leaders and officials and they are not interfered with in any way by the authorities. For the moment these fascist bands are not very numerous and their propaganda has little effect on the masses of the people, but a great drive is now being made to increase their mass basis. This is being done along German lines by demagogic propaganda amongst the ex-servicemen who have been robbed by the government, amongst the oppressed and exploited peasants and amongst even the unemployed workers (the opening up of soup kitchens by the Croix de Feu organisation in Lille), and by a reckless and irresponsible exploitation of the various public scandals like the Stavisky affair.

The support granted to these fascist bands by the government of National Union has again been stressed by the recent speeches of *Tardieu* and *Herriot*, both of whom praised the rioters of February 6 in almost identical words. The magnificent day in support of "l'Humanité" which took place on September 2 in Garches and at which 120,000 enthusiastic workers were present, opened the eyes of the bourgeoisie to the progress being made by the Communist Party and by the united front campaign which the Communist Party is prosecuting. On the following day the "Figaro" wrote:—

"It is now urgently necessary to put a stop to the advance of the Bolsheviks in this country."

As a result of this realisation in the ranks of the bourgeoisie we can now observe that the progress of the government towards fascism along official lines and the activities of the mercenary fascist bands are now being more and more closely co-ordinated in the service of the finance-capitalist oligarchy. We shall be faced with great class battles in France in the near future. We must prepare to enter these battles by developing the united front between the Communist and Socialist Parties from a campaign for the organisation of joint agitation and propaganda meetings into a real campaign for the organisation of unity of action for the abolition of the emergency decrees. The last obstacles in the way of the formation of a united trade union movement must be cleared away with all energy. The best lever to achieve this is the mobilisation of all workers, irrespective of their particular shades of political opinions, in joint action for their immediate demands and the successful prosecution of this struggle.

Politics

Foreign Political Review of the Week

At the opening of the last session of the League of Nations the world was informed that the chief task of the session would be the drawing up of a complete guarantee of the independence of the Austrian State. But in fact the session ended without the parties to it even having formulated their attitude to the Austrian question, much less having drawn up any such guarantee. The whole result of all the pother was a "Declaration" by Great Britain, France and Italy. The difficulties which prevented any real guarantee being given lie in the imperialist antagonisms which are particularly intense at the moment and whose chief junction lies in Austria. As "*le Temps*" pointed out, Italy wishes to be granted a privileged position amongst the neighbours of Austria; it wishes to be granted a sort of protectorate over this Central European Morocco which would permit it to send its troops into Austria at the least pretext in order to "guarantee the independence of the Austrian State." However, Yugoslavia would never consent to the granting of such a privilege to Italy. It must be a principle of the foreign policy of Yugoslavia to answer the first attempt to send Italian troops into Carinthia, with the sending of Yugoslavian troops over the Austrian frontier from the South in order to prevent its position in Slovenia being encircled. In this question the Little Entente maintained a solid united front. The attitude of Great Britain has been summed up by the "*Daily Telegraph*" as follows:—

"Great Britain is interested in the maintenance of Austrian independence, but it is not so much interested that it would be prepared to risk European entanglements in consequence."

Imperialist France is opposed to both Italian and German domination in Austria and it would prefer to dominate Austria itself, a domination supported by the power of French finance capital and if necessary by the bayonets of the vassal States of France in Eastern Europe.

The Little Entente had a special wish of its own. It demanded that any guarantee of Austrian independence should contain a clause prohibiting the restoration of the Habsburgs. As the States of the Little Entente were unable to secure the adoption of their proposal they refused to take any part in a guarantee. The Austrian Foreign Minister referred to the demand of the Little Entente as "a private wish" which, he declared, he was very glad to see rejected. This is the first weakness of the "declaration" made by the great powers which was signed by only one neighbour of Austria, to wit, Italy. Apart from this point, the document reflects the antagonisms in operation when it was drawn up. It provides no security whatever. It satisfies the wishes of no one and in consequence it has not been received with any enthusiasm anywhere, either in the French or Italian camp. This disappointment was immediately exploited by fascist Germany for a new drive. It was no accident that whilst von Papen was hunting in Hungary and utilised the opportunity to meet Goemboes, the Prime Minister of Hungary, the presence of German representatives was reported from Rome. The first success of these negotiators would seem to be the stopping of the highly amusing battle of abuse between the German and Italian fascist press.

The "independence of Austria," approved of in the declaration, is characterised best of all by the passivity of the Austrian government itself in the matter, which confined its role in the negotiations to preventing any clause being adopted referring to the restoration of the Habsburgs. This, in the words of Austria's Ministers, is "a live foreign policy." In an incredibly shameless interview given to "*le Temps*," the Austrian Foreign Minister, Baron Berger-Waldenegg, informed the world which sections of the Austrian population had forced through their own wishes in the shadow of the gallows and to the thunder of the guns in a bloody struggle against the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the Austrian people. Baron Berger-Waldenegg declared that the population of Austria had never been unitedly in favour of the Anschluss with Germany. In particular, "the leaders of the Austrian economic system" had opposed the Anschluss from the beginning. He recalled a meeting in the Vienna Town Hall when representatives of the Western European powers had been given an opportunity of hearing quite different proposals for a solution of the Austrian question from the mouths of big industrialists in Austria.

In other words, the "independence" which the great powers

propose is the solution of the Austrian problem in the interests of the "leaders of the Austrian economic system" and of "the big industrialists" who have been working for such a solution for years, a solution which would permit them to perform well-paid lackey service to the various imperialist powers competing in Austria, and to do good business at the cost of the sweat and blood of the Austrian working masses.

This "solution of the Austrian question" throws a glaring light on the international situation. Almost all the members of the League of Nations are in agreement up to a point: they do not want to see the extension of Hitler's power up to the Hungarian frontier, and nevertheless it was impossible for the League of Nations, as was originally suggested, to guarantee the "independence" of Austria as an international organisation. The antagonisms within the camp of the imperialists are too strong and violent to permit any such joint action. Up to the present this situation has had at least one good side: it has to a certain extent prevented any united front on the part of the imperialist powers for a war of intervention against the Soviet Union. However, the situation has another and less favourable side, namely, these increasingly intense contradictions are forcing the world along the path to war as a solution and they encourage adventurism in foreign politics. This was shown with particular clarity by the attitude of Poland through the whole session of the League of Nations. First of all Poland flung a bombshell in the shape of its declaration on the question of minority guarantees. This was intended to strike a deadly blow at the League just at the moment when the League was about to make a serious effort to maintain the peace of Europe. The second blow was struck by Poland with its Note to France on the question of the proposed Eastern Pact. The text of this Note has not yet been published, but it is already known that it is not only a direct refusal to take any part in such a pact, but also an indication of far-reaching secret agreement not only with Germany, but also with Hungary and Yugoslavia.

In the "*Echo de Paris*" of September 28, *Pertinax*, the foreign political expert of the French General Staff, gives a summary of the Polish Note: No Eastern Pact without Germany. Poland refuses to give any guarantee of any sort to Lithuania or to Czechoslovakia, i.e., Poland is not prepared to guarantee the Czechoslovakian frontier against Hungary. *Pertinax* then continues:—

"Poland is in the tow of Germany. Poland is prepared to take part in the German war of revenge against Russia and in the war of revenge against the Danube (the Magyar war of revenge) in the hope that in return its own territorial integrity will be maintained as a reward."

German national socialism, which is the political organisation of German imperialism in the throes of a deadly crisis, aims at the enslavement of the German people and of foreign peoples. Its foreign policy is absolutely and completely adventurous. There is no longer any doubt that fascist Germany has succeeded in winning Poland for its plans. Hungarian finance capital and the Hungarian aristocracy, which long to get Slovakia, Carpatho-Russia and Transylvania once again into their hands, can hope for success, if at all, only by means of a successful war. Naturally, they are enthusiastically in favour of the German-Polish plan which provides for a joint frontier between Poland and Hungary after the slicing up of Czechoslovakia. And what about Yugoslavia? Yugoslavia fears a desperate struggle with Italy in the Adria and on the northern frontier. It regards Germany, which has a frontier adjoining Italy and is compelled to stand up more or less for the German minority in the South Tyrol, as no mean ally. In this way a great Central European block is developing from the Baltic to the Mediterranean, a block whose foreign policy can be directed only towards war.

Apparently the *Saar district* has been chosen as the point at which the new conflagration is to be started. A little while ago perhaps the national socialist leaders cherished the illusion that they could organise a putsch in the Saar district without risking war, but the latest declaration of *Barthou* in Geneva must have robbed them of this illusion. *Barthou* declared in a raised voice:

"As a result of and on the basis of the decisions of the League of Nations Council in the years 1925-26 France may be called upon to take over special responsibilities. When France is called upon she will not turn a deaf ear, but will accept these responsibilities."

The decisions to which *Barthou* refers declare expressly that the High Commissioner in the Saar district has the right to call in foreign troops to his assistance when the lives and property of

Saar citizens are endangered. Barthou's threat is therefore perfectly clear. The official organ of the French government, "le Temps," considers Barthou's threat so important and so necessary that it repeats it to the German authorities in a leading article published on October 1.

A putsch on the part of the "German Front" in the Saar. The invasion of the Saar by Germany's "Labour Contingents." A counter-blow by the invasion of the Saar by French troops. And what then? Obviously the bombardment of Paris by German aeroplanes.

The struggle in the Saar district is being continued with threats and terror. Germany's whole economic policy, its agricultural policy, and in particular its foreign policy is based completely on adventurism.

At the harvest thanksgiving festival in Hameln *Hitler* declared that although he had many troubles and difficulties he did not dream of capitulation.

He will not capitulate, but he will suddenly strike an unexpected blow.

The War Preparations of the Swiss Government

By A.

The Autumn Session of the Swiss Parliament had to discuss two important measures of the Military Department: the prolongation of the period of military training and the introduction of so-called passive air defence for the civil population. This question is engaging the attention not only of the working class, but also of the bourgeois press. For here it is a question of the open war policy of the Swiss bourgeoisie, which is closely connected with a change in the foreign policy of Switzerland and its stronger leanings towards Hitler Germany, as demonstrated by Motta's speech against the admission of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations.

Several days before the new Bill was discussed in Parliament the Communist press published comprehensive and detailed material regarding the output of the Swiss armament industry, from which it was evident that German armament firms and their branches in Switzerland are playing the biggest role in this production.

The chief interest was centred on the attitude of the social-democratic party to this new Bill, because the vote of the social-democratic fraction on the Bills was considered as determining beforehand the issue of the inner-party discussion regarding the policy of national defence which was to be settled at the forthcoming congress of the social-democratic party in November.

At the Federal Council Commission which met a few weeks ago in Zermatt, it came to an open split within the social-democratic fraction on the vote on the draft Bill proposed by the Commission. Half of the fraction voted for and the other half against the draft. The open breach of discipline by the supporters of the Federal laws (the social-democratic party decision to reject all military Bills still remains in force) aroused great excitement in the social-democratic organisations. A meeting of members in Biel unanimously passed a resolution condemning *Mueller*, the socialist member of the National Council for Biel, who had voted for the military Bills. It also came to fierce disputes in other places and also in the press.

In face of this feeling prevailing among the rank and file of their own party the social-democratic fraction in the National Council did not venture to vote openly for the Bills. On the other hand, a plain and definite vote against would have immediately endangered the collaboration, which has been brought about as a result of so much pains, between the Trade Union Federation and various bourgeois economic groups for the purpose of carrying through the emergency measures of the Trade Union Federation to meet the crisis. In the bourgeois press there were also not lacking open threats against the social democracy should they directly oppose the proposed military measures.

In these circumstances, and in view of the systematic preparation of the Right wing of the party for a revision of the party programme in regard to the question of national defence at the coming party congress, the social-democratic fraction in Parliament resorted to other means in order to escape from the dilemma.

At the discussion on the proposed Bill on passive air defence the speaker for the social democrats declared that here it was a question of measures for the protection of the health and lives of the civil population, regarding which the party would not make

any difficulties, even though they were not convinced of the effectiveness of such protective measures.

On the vote on the lengthening of the period of military training, which forms part of the plans for reorganising the whole military apparatus, involving an increase of the military budget by 1½ million francs, the social-democratic fraction made the following characteristic declaration:—

"The social-democratic fraction considers the Bill for the prolongation of the period of military training as not directly affecting their fundamental attitude to the question of national defence. The measure in question is a law of a military technical character, regarding the expediency of which there may be differences of opinion even among supporters of national defence.

"In accordance with the decisions of the party the social-democratic fraction votes against discussion of the Bill (i.e., against Parliamentary discussion of the Bill, but not against the Bill itself—A.) In view of the party discussion which is taking place at the present time and the approaching decision of the party congress, it will, on its part, refrain from discussing the military Bill in this connection."

When it came to the final vote on the Bill the greater part of the social-democratic fraction (numbering 50) withdrew from the Chamber. The remaining 12 kept their seats when the vote was taken. The President of the Chamber did not have a count taken, but merely announced that the measure had been passed by a majority.

All the greater importance, therefore, attaches to the attitude adopted in Parliament by the chairman of the Communist Party, Comrade *Robert Mueller*. He began his speech by sharply protesting against the attack by *Motta*, the Swiss representative at the League of Nations, on the peace policy of the Soviet Union, and also pointed to the close relations existing between not only the armament industry, but also the officers corps of the Swiss army and Hitler Germany. In that part of the speech in which he set forth the reasons why the Communist representatives rejected the military Bills and at the same time called for the extra-Parliamentary support of the working population for the fight of the Communists against the war policy of the Federal government, Comrade *Mueller* declared:—

"We declare that we refuse on principle to grant to this Federal Council or to any capitalist government in Switzerland a single farthing for military purposes. To defend this government of millionaires, bankers, gentlemen farmers . . . in the event of war, and for this to sacrifice the blood and property of the toiling population, means to defend the coffers of the capitalists, the property of the exploiters, that is to say, the class enemies of the working class."

After calling for an international revolutionary fight against the war policy of the bourgeoisie and scathingly attacking the social-democratic party, Comrade *Mueller* continued:—

"At the same time it is only the other side of our attitude on principle towards the Bill when we declare that the moment the workers and peasants of Switzerland have captured power in a revolutionary struggle and abolished the rule of capitalism, we shall defend our country, which will in truth be our fatherland, with our last drop of blood against every attack by a capitalist State with the same tenacity and enthusiasm as that with which to-day 170 million emancipated workers and peasants of the Soviet Union stand behind the peace policy of their government, but at the same time are ready to protect their socialist fatherland with life and limb."

The effect of this challenge was seen at once. The head of the military department, *Minger*, replied to this speech in an exceedingly indignant tone and declared that "Switzerland would sweat blood if such people should get power into their hands." A reactionary member of the Federal Council from the Wallis Canton immediately handed in an interpellation with 30 signatures attached, in which it was asked:—

"Is the Federal Council not of the opinion that it is time to take measures against the press of the extreme 'Left,' which day after day, with impunity, abuses our authorities and our army, and incites our soldiers to disobedience?"

The consistent anti-militarist attitude of the Communist Party has made a great impression on the working youth who are immediately affected by the law prolonging the period of military training. On September 27 a joint demonstration of the Youth organisations affiliated to the "Committee of Action against the

prolongation of military training" was held against the military Bills. There took part in this demonstration, in addition to the Youth Committee Against War and Fascism, the Socialist Labour Youth, the Young Socialist Movement, the Young Communist League and some Youth sport organisations.

At this demonstration a leading social democratic functionary appeared on the same platform with Communist speakers. Among the speakers were the chairman of the Socialist Youth, *Durenberger*; the representative of the West Swiss Socialist Youth, *Piquet*; for the Communist Party, Comrade *Humbert Droz*, and the chairman of the Young Communist League.

The importance of this joint action was confirmed by the exceedingly sharp criticism by the chairman of the Socialist Youth of the attitude of the social-democratic representatives in the National Council, and their attempt to represent the military Bills as purely a military-technical affair. *Durenberger* concluded his speech to the accompaniment of loud applause by the youth present, with the summons to set up everywhere the united front of the Youth. *Piquet* concluded with the following words: "We must create the Socialist Soviet Switzerland according to the example of Russia." *Anderfueren*, who spoke on behalf of the Young Socialist Movement of Zuerich, advocated the setting up of Youth anti-war committees in the armament factories.

The Communist Party, following the great success of the joint demonstration on the "Day of labour" in Zuerich and Basle, will launch a fresh broad united front campaign for the struggle against the new military laws.

Masaryk's Illness and the Fight Over His Successor

By G. Friedrich (Prague)

In connection with the illness of the President of Czechoslovakia Masaryk, events are to be expected which will be of tremendous importance and exercise a great influence on the further development of the inner political and also foreign political situation. In the first place it must be stated that the bulletins issued regarding Masaryk's state of health, which contain reassuring statements, are in no way in accordance with the facts. Masaryk is seriously ill beyond any hope of recovery. Among the doctors who are attending Masaryk there is little hope that Masaryk will live longer than two months.

The state of Masaryk's health has caused the question of his successor to be eagerly discussed in political circles. Even the official reports regarding Masaryk's health reveal to those who know how to read such reports that Masaryk's days are numbered, and that his death may occur at any moment. In such circumstances the fight behind the scenes over his successor is assuming a very sharp character. As in Czechoslovakia the President is elected not by the vote of the whole of the people but by the members of Parliament, everything is being done to make the actual decision before the "election." Thus the fight on this question has already broken out in the executive committees of the various parties and has led to the formation of blocs.

The two chief candidates in the bourgeois camp are *Benes*, whom Masaryk himself desires to be his successor and whose election would mean simply the continuation of the present policy of fascisation, and the agrarian *Malpetr*, the present Prime Minister, whose election would mean a great acceleration and intensification of fascisation.

The fight which is now going on behind the scenes has been started by the agrarians, who wish to secure complete rule over the State and want to oust the group led by the Czech socialists, which is opposed to their outspoken autarchist policy. In order to carry out these plans the agrarians are endeavouring to secure the aid of the social democrats and to agree on common action with them. The Presidential candidate of this bloc is to be the present Prime Minister and leader of the agrarian bloc *Malpetr*. It was also planned to appoint *Malpetr* deputy President on the ground that Masaryk, owing to his illness, was unable to perform his duties as President. As, however, no agreement was reached in the Ministerial Council on this point, and also in order to avoid further unrest among the population which such a measure would call forth, the matter was dropped for the time being. The small traders' party is acting together with the agrarians and the social democrats and is also trying to win the Stribny fascists for this bloc. The actual aim of the agrarians is, with the aid of the social democrats and under the designation of a "Workers' and Peasants' Bloc," to set up a definite dictatorship regime with an outspokenly

fascist character. The social democratic press is already advocating the formation of a bloc with the agrarians as an "ideal co-operation of the workers and peasants."

In connection with all these plans it is intended to intensify the persecution of the revolutionary labour movement and completely suppress the Communist Party. There already exists an agreement between the agrarians and the social democrats that, immediately after the death of President Masaryk, the Communist Party shall be dissolved. Drastic means are to be employed in order to render it impossible for the Communists to carry on any further agitation among the workers. Therefore, prompt action is to be taken. The leaders of the Communist Party are to be immediately arrested and placed in concentration camps. The prospects for realising all these agrarian aims are not exactly unfavourable, for the agrarians have the Ministry of the Interior and the police in their hands, and of course would not shrink from a putsch.

Opposed to this bloc is the circle connected with *Benes*, the Czech Socialist Party, which is a faithful follower of Masaryk. During his illness Masaryk has expressed the desire that *Benes* shall be elected President. It is also reported that Masaryk has expressed this wish in writing. The Czech socialists are also working to create a bloc in order to frustrate the plans of the agrarians. Negotiations have been commenced with *Hodac*, the secretary of the Industrial Federation, and the Clerical People's Party are also to be won over for the aims of the Czech Socialist Party. Should however, *Benes* not be made President then the Czech socialists are prepared, if the worst comes to the worst, to yield to the demand of the Agrarian Bloc and to sacrifice *Benes*. In this case the Realistic Wing, led by *Stransky*, would be expelled from the Czech Socialist Party, and Dr. *Benes*, the Foreign Minister, would be sent to Geneva as permanent representative of Czechoslovakia.

All these facts prove that the present tempo of fascisation does not satisfy the bourgeoisie of Czechoslovakia. With the present sharpening of antagonisms in the capitalist camp there is every likelihood of fierce struggles following on the death of President Masaryk.

The Programme of the Dutch Government and the Fight for the United Front

On September 18, on the occasion of the opening of the Dutch Parliament, the Colijn government announced its new starvation programme. The Queen's Speech revealed the plans for further robbing the working masses.

It was announced in the Queen's Speech that the workers and officials in the employ of the State must reckon on a fresh reduction of wages and salaries, and that drastic economy, by which it is intended to save millions of gulden, is to be exercised in all spheres of social policy. The expenditure on education is to be further reduced, and it is also announced that a total saving of 92 million gulden is to be effected in the State budget.

The programme of the Colijn government also contains further measures for the protection of industry, which will mean intensification of commercial war, and fresh subventions to the big capitalists from the State finances. In regard to Indonesia, the policy of plundering the native population is to be continued. The Colijn government further declares that in view of the increased armaments of other countries the proposed savings in the military budget cannot be carried out.

An important point in the Queen's Speech was that which announced more drastic measures against all who venture to attack the State authority. This is an open threat of fascist dictatorship.

The bourgeoisie made use of the opening of Parliament as an occasion for a national demonstration. During the opening of Parliament the social-democratic party exposed its social-fascist character by joining in singing the national anthem in honour of the Queen.

The Communist fraction, consisting of Comrades *De Visser*, *Schalkers* and the Indonesian *Roestam Effendi*, sharply protested against the starvation programme of the Colijn government. They shouted out the slogans of the working masses: "Down with the Colijn government! Down with its starvation programme! Down with the oppression of Indonesia!" The Communist deputies were forcibly ejected by detectives, which was a violation of their constitutional rights. Although our comrades were mishandled by

the police the social-democratic fraction did not raise a word of protest.

The Communist Party of Holland had called upon the masses of unemployed to organise a "Red Tuesday" on the day of the opening of Parliament at The Hague. The whole town was swarming with police. All approaches to the centre of the town were barred and numerous auto-buses occupied by workers were turned back. Nevertheless, at mid-day the unemployed demonstrated in front of the Public Welfare Ministry and a delegation handed in the demands of the unemployed committee. The delegation was granted admission, but the workers were dispersed by the police.

A meeting of the unemployed was held outside of the town and was attended by 1,500 to 2,000.

The arrest of the Communist members of Parliament aroused great indignation among the workers. Mass meetings were held in the evening in *Amsterdam*, *Rotterdam* and many other towns. These meetings were addressed by the Communist members of Parliament who in the meantime had been released. They were given a great reception by the masses, especially Comrade Roëstam Effendi as the representative of the oppressed Indonesian toilers. During the preparations for Red Tuesday the Communist Party, the red trade union opposition and the unemployed movement proposed to the reformist trade unions that they organise with them joint demonstrations and meetings against the reduction of unemployment benefit, against the Colijn government and against war preparations and fascism. The proposal was rejected. As a result of the pressure of their own rank and file the social-democratic and reformist leaders organised demonstrations in *Rotterdam*, *Arnhem* and *Groningen*, at which altogether 100,000 workers were present. The social-democratic leaders, however, did not venture to issue a single slogan against wage reductions, against the cutting down of unemployment benefit and against the government. Their slogans were: For democracy and socialism!

The Communist Party proposed to the social-democratic workers and their organisations to hold joint demonstrations on September 16 with concrete fighting slogans against the Colijn government. When the social-democratic leaders rejected the proposal, the Communists called upon all workers to participate in the demonstrations, to support unity of action and to enter into discussions with the social-democratic workers. Following this appeal several thousand revolutionary workers took part in the demonstrations of the reformists. But the social-democratic leaders forbade any discussion with the Communist workers and the wearing of the badge for unity of action. They caused the revolutionary workers to be driven out of the demonstrations by the police. But the feeling of the social-democratic workers was not against the revolutionary workers. On the contrary, numerous discussions took place which will have undoubtedly helped to convince the social-democratic workers of the necessity of a united struggle against the Colijn government.

The pressure of the social-democratic and reformist workers upon their leaders is rapidly increasing. These leaders are attacking the Communists in order to mask their own policy of supporting the Colijn government. At the same time they are preparing a "plan for providing work" on the lines of the "De Man Plan" in Belgium with the object of creating fresh illusions among the workers who are becoming more militant.

The Communist Party, during the preparations for "Red Tuesday," by participating in the social-democratic demonstrations, has taken the first steps towards unity of action in accordance with the instructions of the Comintern. It calls upon the workers to raise the question of unity of action in the trade unions, in the factories, at the Labour Exchanges and to win the social-democratic workers.

The Balkans

The Regrouping of Powers in the Balkans

By Victor Zitna (Bucharest)

Alexander Karageorgevitch, King of Yugoslavia, has returned the visit which Boris van Sachsen-Coburg, King of Bulgaria, paid him in Belgrade in December, 1933. Since that time the political situation in the Balkans, and especially the relations between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, have undergone considerable changes. This time there is no disharmony to be recorded between the speeches of the two kings. In December Alexander spoke of the necessity of "consolidating the existing order," while now, in Sofia, reference was made to "mutual confidence, the sincerity and cordiality of

friendly and mutual co-operation for common interests."

Whence come these changes? Along what line is the rapprochement between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia taking place?

Bulgaria, dismembered by the Treaty of Neuilly, made the revision of the treaties of 1919 the cardinal point of its foreign policy. The Macedonian question compelled it to take up an attitude of opposition to Yugoslavia and Greece; the question of Dobrudsha revived the antagonisms between it and Rumania. Bulgaria therefore went over into the camp of the revisionists, and for a long time inclined towards Italy, the advocate of a revision of the Versailles system.

The various governments of Bulgaria have tolerated the formation of armed Macedonian bands, which as a result became a weapon in the hands of the rulers in Sofia. Among the Macedonian fascists there are two bands which play an important role: on the one hand the followers of **Michailov**, who are immediately supported by Italy and are implacable enemies of Yugoslavia; and on the other hand the followers of **Protogerov**, headed at the present time by **Shandanov**, who are in favour of a rapprochement to Yugoslavia. Ivan Michailov's bands supported the **Muchanov** government and its predecessors. They not only organised raids into Yugoslavian territory, thereby provoking frontier incidents, but also served as a regular fascist militia which was used against the workers' movement of Bulgaria and against the Macedonian revolutionary movement (United **Imro**).

As a result of the coup d'état of May 19, which placed Colonel **Kimar Georgiev** in power and enabled him to set up a fascist-military dictatorship in Sofia, the roles were reversed. The coup d'état of May 19 was the work of the anti-Italian fraction of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie, and the French Foreign Ministry was certainly not unaware of its preparation. In his first declaration **Georgiev** announced that his government would endeavour to establish friendly relations with Yugoslavia. Relations between Sofia and Rome became worse. **Volkov**, the Bulgarian representative in Rome, was recalled and **Batalov**, the representative of Bulgaria in Paris, was appointed Foreign Minister. Meantime the Macedonian question still remained a thorny point between Sofia and Belgrade. Ivan Michailov fled the country and is at present in Turkey, while **Shandanov's** bands now have the upper hand in Bulgarian Macedonia and support the pro-Yugoslavian policy of the government in Sofia.

The French Foreign Ministry did not conceal its satisfaction after the coup d'état of May 19, which gave it reason to hope that Bulgaria would join the Balkan Entente which was being organised under its influence. At the same time it had to take into account the fact that if May 19 meant a defeat for Italian imperialism in the Balkans, the Bulgarian bourgeoisie was just as little prepared to come completely under the influence of French imperialism, which is opposed to any alteration of the Versailles system. The Bulgarian bourgeoisie cannot renounce its claims to Macedonia, Dobrudsha and an outlet to the Ægean Sea. Hence it is by no means certain that King Alexander's visit to Sofia means a rapprochement of Bulgaria to the Balkan Entente, as the French press is attempting to interpret this, but it perhaps represents the beginning of an understanding between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia within another grouping.

After Poland, Yugoslavia shows an increasing desire to free itself from French tutelage. The rapprochement between France and Italy following the events of July 25 has still further strengthened relations between Belgrade and Berlin. Yugoslavia is still a member of the Little Entente and of the Balkan Entente, and is not yet prepared to break with the French Foreign Ministry as Poland has done, but is nevertheless compelled, in view of Italy's desire for hegemony over Austria, to seek a point of support somewhere else than in Paris. This rapprochement with Berlin is characterised by improved relations with Hungary. At the same time Yugoslavia is bound to Germany by economic treaties, a fact which explains Belgrade's refusal to join in the recent declaration of France, Great Britain and Italy which repeated that of February 17 regarding guaranteeing the "independence of Austria," and is directed against Germany. Belgrade has succeeded in inducing the whole of the Little Entente to adopt the same attitude, and the Bukharest newspaper "**Curentul**" declares that it is sufficient for one single State not to agree to sign the declaration of February 17 in order to cause the matter to fall through, and that Yugoslavia could not take part in the declaration of February 17 without its economic relations with Germany being prejudiced as a result.

It should be remarked that at the same time as Alexander's visit to Sofia, Papen was in Budapest in order, allegedly, to take part in a . . . hunting party. As a matter of fact, however, he had conversations with Goemboes, who is going to Warsaw on October 9, and it is clear that the subject of these conversations was the creation of a German-Polish-Hungarian bloc in which it is hoped to include Yugoslavia.

Alexander's visit to Sofia therefore acquires further importance. The results achieved are not sensational in themselves. They mean, however, a rapprochement between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia as part of Germany's policy of penetrating the Balkans. The formation of a German-Polish-Hungarian bloc with points of support in the Balkans would increase still more the danger of war, threatening in the first place the Soviet Union.

Germany

The Sharpening of the Church Struggle

In our last number we pointed out the aggravation of the church conflict in Germany. Hitler's pet parson Reich Bishop Mueller displays an unusual talent for pouring oil into the flames and intensifying the conflict on all possible fields. Wurm, the Bishop of Wurtemberg, who has been given compulsory leave of absence on a charge of having misused church funds, has by no means left the field. At least ninety per cent. of the members of the Evangelical Church in Wurtemberg support their Bishop, whilst the national socialist "German Christians" number at the utmost five per cent. of the congregation. Bishop Wurm has caused a statement of protest to be read in all the churches of his diocese and his flock have signed protest lists which are exposed in all churches. The Ministry of the Interior in Wurtemberg has come to the aid of the national socialist group by forbidding all demonstrations and all publications in connection with the church conflict, except, of course, the demonstrations organised by the Reich Bishop and his followers. The refractory Bishop of Wurtemberg was even under arrest from September 8 to 11.

Bishop Wurm has published a protest declaration against the actions of the "Reibi" in which in twelve points the latter is accused of lying, breaking his plighted word and breaking the law of the land. The protest declaration announces that the "Reibi" does not enjoy the confidence of the faithful. It is characteristic of the sharpness of the conflict and of the reactionary views of the oppositional churchmen that the deposed Bishop appeals to the evidence of "an old comrade of the national socialist party and a leader of a free corps" who protested to the "Reibi" against the "Bolshevist methods" of the "German Christians."

The conflict in Wurtemberg is also affecting Bavaria, where Bishop Meiser is about to be deposed for having declared his support of Bishop Wurm. In Bavarian towns the protests against the threatened deposition of Bishop Meiser have even taken the form of street demonstrations.

"Reibi" Mueller is apparently not satisfied with his feat of driving the Protestant religious communities into open revolt and he now announces a general attack against the Catholic Church. In a speech in Hanover he declared:—

"What we want is a German Church free of Rome. The aim for which we are fighting is: one State, one people and one Church."

If these words have any literal meaning they imply a declaration of war against the Catholic Church and the prosecution of that war until the Catholic Church in Germany has been totally extirpated. Mueller then sought out still further enemies and called for a crusade of all Christians against the Jews, "and if we have to suffer privations for six months." The opposition within the Evangelical Church he threatened once again with the big stick of the State:—

"If the Church does not come to reason on its own and if disturbances are caused in the State as a result, then the State can and must see to it that the disturbances are ended."

This speech à la Streicher has caused great indignation in Germany, particularly amongst the Catholics, so much so, in fact, that the "Reibi" thought it better to withdraw the offending remarks. Although the above quotations were taken from the text of Bishop Mueller's speech published by the official German News Bureau, Mueller now declares that he said no more than that Luther had worked for a German Church free of Rome.

Naturally, such flat denials are not sufficient to convince the

Catholics that no declaration of war has been made against them, particularly when there are sufficient facts indicating that many prominent national socialists are spoiling for a new cultural struggle. For instance, the Association of Catholic Germans founded by von Papen has been dissolved. The accommodating von Papen himself declared that the dissolution was necessary because he had no longer sufficient time to guide the organisation and that it was better that the national socialist party should take over the work. In reality the dissolution of this organisation is a confession by the national socialists of their inability to win the Catholics into their organisations. The execution of the Catholic official Meissner, who killed a national socialist in a fight, is calculated to increase more than ever the hatred of the Catholic masses against the fascist dictatorship in Germany. The religious persecutions within the Protestant Church itself will also strengthen this hatred in Catholic circles. The bombastic proclamation of "a German Church free of Rome," as the only Church with the right to exist in Germany, and the fact that it was made by a special confidant of Hitler will cost the national socialists many thousands of Catholic votes in the coming plebiscite in the Saar district. Other circles are also beginning to fear the results of the policy being pursued by the truculent national socialist parsons. For instance, the "Catholic Church Bulletin" reports that the Reichswehr Ministry has felt compelled to lodge a protest against an article abusing Catholicism published in the official organ of the national socialist "German Labour Front."

The indignation which is steadily rising against the brutal methods with which "Reibi" Mueller is striving to force his particular brand of national socialist Christianity on to the religious communities of Germany extends even into the ranks of the national socialists themselves. For instance, the treatment meted out to a curate named Rahmel in the Grenzmark has called forth protests even in the storm troops (S.A.) and in the national socialist party of which Rahmel has been a member for many years. On account of his oppositional attitude Rahmel was deposed from his office, expelled from his district and placed under an interdict. An official of the Church was even prohibited to offer him shelter.

The solemn installation of Reich Bishop Mueller into his new office on September 23 did not take place therefore under the most auspicious circumstances for the "German Christians." The greater part of the faithful in Germany are in violent opposition to Mueller and his regime. In accordance with tradition the head of a foreign Protestant Church should have performed the ceremony of installation, but not one could be found ready to agree, so that in the end one of Mueller's own creatures, a Bishop of one of the German State Churches, had to perform the job. The religious weekly, the "Reichsbote," publishes an article on the installation of the "Reibi" in which it declares that never in history was the Protestant Church in Germany in such peril as at present.

We have never attached any exaggerated importance to the German Church conflict, but on the other hand it would be an error to overlook the fact that in a period of developing crisis such an internal struggle might be of some significance. In 1908, when a reactionary regime was in a fundamentally different situation, Lenin wrote:—

"However, if anyone should draw the conclusion from the counter-revolutionary character of the Liberals that their opposition and discontent, their conflict with the Black Hundred landowners, and in general the competition and struggle between the various bourgeois fractions, could have no significance in the development of a new advance, then this would be a tremendous mistake, downright inverted Menshevism. The experience of the Russian Revolution and of other countries shows irrefutably that when the objective conditions for a deep political crisis are given, even the smallest conflict, no matter how far removed it may appear from the real source of the revolution, can have a serious significance as an occasion, as the drop which causes the cup to overflow, as the beginning of a change in the general feelings, etc."

Left alone the opposition in the German Protestant Church will certainly never represent any danger to Hitler, but taken in relation with the discontent of the masses which is increasing for a thousand other reasons, it might become, even against the will of its reactionary leaders, one of the spurs to mass action which will bring the avalanche of the mass struggle against the Hitler regime into movement.

Mass Misery in Fascist Germany

Despite all the fascist lying and falsification it is nevertheless possible to demonstrate the impoverishment of the German masses even on the basis of the official statistics.

The official Institute for Economic Research publishes detailed figures concerning the state of *retail trading*. It is an acknowledged fact that retail trading in 1933 was 6 per cent. lower than the level of 1932. The institute now announces that 1934 is showing an improvement. This is natural enough as a result of the fact that during the past few months there has been increased purchasing for the purpose of hoarding. Whoever has still a little superfluous cash at his disposal is hastily turning it into goods because there is a general fear of inflation, the prices are steadily rising and goods manufactured from good raw materials are becoming scarcer and scarcer. The figures showing the average state of retail trading are therefore deceptive and a better picture of the real situation is offered by the figures for the retail sale of particular commodities. The most elementary daily consumption goods, chiefly *foodstuffs*, continue to show a decline. This can be seen from the following table:—

Retail Trade Turnover in Foodstuffs and Allied Goods. 1928=100	1st Qtr. 1932	2nd Qtr. 1932	1st Qtr. 1933	2nd Qtr. 1933	1st Qtr. 1934	April-May 1934
Turnover Value	71.6	69.1	62.5	65.5	68.4	65.7
% compared with previous year	-18.1	-19.7	-12.8	-5.4	+9.4	-1.3
Turnover in Volume	95.0	93.0	89.1	91.7	91.5	88.1
% compared with previous year	-6.3	-7.7	-6.1	-1.5	+2.6	-6.3

As the prices for these consumption goods were sinking on the whole up to the beginning of 1933, the drop up to then was greater in value than in quantity. With the beginning of the Hitler regime however, the depreciation of the income of the masses was accelerated by the gradual rise in the prices of articles of daily necessity. As a result the drop is greater measured in quantity than it is measured in value. This steady drop was interrupted only once, in the beginning of 1934, and even then only considerably. In April-May of 1934, at a time when there were, according to national socialist statistics, 2.5 million more workers in jobs, the toiling population of Germany consumed 6.3 per cent. less food than they did in 1933, and 12 per cent. less food than they did in 1928, the year before the crisis and not exactly a year of great prosperity for the German masses. In other words, one year of the Hitler dictatorship has had the same terrible effect on the standards of living of the German working class as four years of the most intense economic crisis in history.

In 1933 the consumption of eggs was 11.6 less than it was the year before. The consumption of cigars and cigarettes was about 7 per cent. less. In April-May, 1934, the revenue of the German State railways was 6.2 per cent. less than in the corresponding period of the previous year. The attendance at cinemas was 4.6 per cent. less than the previous year, obviously one of the successes of the organisation "Strength through Joy" and the fruitful activities of Goebbels.

The increased impoverishment of the masses can also be seen from the official *taxation statistics*. The fiscal year 1933-34 ended in March and showed a wage taxation revenue of 730 million marks, or 2.5 per cent. less than the previous year. According to official statistics there were 600,000 more workers employed and 900,000 less workers unemployed on a yearly average. The tax revenue from capital yield increased in the same period by 4.6 per cent., a confirmation of the statement of the Institute for Economic Research according to which capitalist undertakings have become more profitable owing to a better utilisation of capacity and to rising prices. The decline in the consumption of articles of daily use is shown by the decline in tax revenue. The revenue on tobacco taxation dropped 2.5 per cent., on sugar 2.3 per cent., and on beer 7.2 per cent. Taking the consumption tax which burdens the masses, the customs duties, the turnover tax and the wage tax all together, we find that out of a taxation revenue of 6.8 milliards, 5.2 milliards came from downright mass taxation. In Hitler's Third Reich it is the poor and not the rich on whom falls the main burden of the taxes, and even then further tax rebates and facilities are being constantly introduced for the benefit of the rich.

In February, 1934, the national socialist "German Labour Front" collected statistics concerning *wage income*. Its official organ, the "Arbeitertum," admits that the figures finally published

are rather too high than too low. The result was that the figures showed an average weekly gross wage of 25.92 marks, or, taking the present average daily working hours of 7.3, an hourly average of 59 pfennig!

The statistics of the "Labour Front" give particulars of the starvation wages paid in certain trades. A third of all woodworkers earn less than 19.20 marks a week. Fifty per cent. of all textile workers earn less than this sum weekly, and even 90 per cent. of all tobacco workers. The average wage of the textile workers is 21.47 marks a week. The average weekly wage of a tobacco worker, most of whom are on short time, is only 13.53 marks! Two-thirds of the workers in the food trade earn less than 19.20 marks a week, and over 50 per cent. of all general workers earn less than this sum. The average weekly wage paid to general workers is 20.05 marks. When we take into consideration that these wages are gross wages and that anything from 20 to 25 per cent. is deducted for income tax, health insurance, unemployment insurance, etc., then it is not too much to say that the majority of the German workers take home no more than 20 marks a week, and that very many of them take home even less. A factor making this miserable wage even more miserable is the rise in prices of which we have previously given instances in these columns. In the case of many articles of daily necessity there have been price increases of late which range from 20 to 50 per cent. Another factor which depresses weekly wages is the great prevalence of short-time work in Hitler Germany. The average daily working hours in Germany in May were 7.68, but in July they had decreased to 7.49.

The dexterous juggling of the national socialist statisticians with the unemployment figures can no longer conceal the fact that the situation on the labour market has worsened. The Reich Institution for Unemployment Insurance, greatly daring, announced a further reduction of 28,000 in the unemployment figures for August, although the number of workers engaged on task work declined by 23,000. In the third week of September the usual statistics showing the employment of insured persons were not published by the Health Insurance Authorities. It is obvious that the statisticians are having the greatest difficulty in incorporating in their figures the 50,000 more workers who are supposed to have been taken on.

The "Deutsche Volkswirt" ("German Economist") makes an interesting comparison of "those genuinely seeking work and available" and those workers merely "unemployed." The results are interesting. A certain difference always existed and in 1931 it was about 100,000, but since then it has shown a decided tendency to rise. In 1932 it was 126,000, in 1933 it was 292,000, and in March, 1934, it had risen to no less than 800,000! In July, 1934, it had fallen to the still enormous figure of 529,000. Apparently the difference is accounted for by the workers who are "invisible" to the statisticians, that is to say, unemployed workers whose existence is not recognised, women and young workers who have been driven out of the process of production, or young workers who have never been in work, or men and women who have no right to work according to the ideas of the national socialists. The sudden increase in March-April, 1934, showed the boys and girls leaving school flooding into the labour market, unable to obtain jobs, but still not recognised as unemployed. Even the fascist "Deutsche Volkswirt" cannot let this pass without the following comment:—

"This difference of about 600,000 indicates that a section of those unemployed workers who have recently obtained work have done so not because new places of work have been created, but because old ones have been made free for them."

The real number of "invisible" unemployed workers is known to be much larger than the figures admitted by the national socialists. According to the figures of the official Institute for Economic Research, no more than 6.2 million workers are at present employed in industry. Germany has over ten million industrial workers, so that, at least four million industrial workers must be unemployed although the official statistics admit no more than 2.4 million unemployed altogether. In addition to the unemployed workers in industry there are masses of unemployed workers in the clerical branches, in trading, in transport, in domestic service, in the professions, etc., not to mention the masses of unemployed officials of the State and the municipalities. Even if the workers sent into the country for land work and into the labour camps are not counted as unemployed, there must still be something like six million unemployed workers in Germany, that is to say, 3.33 mil-

lions of unemployed workers not registered, not supported and ignored by the public labour exchange authorities.

The brutality with which work places are made free can be seen from the report that from April 30 to August 31 the number of unemployed workers in Berlin decreased by 100,000 although the total decrease reported for the whole Reich was only 211,000. This alleged reduction is nothing but the result of the campaign for the driving of the unemployed workers out of the industrial towns, for in the period from April to August the official Institute for Economic Research reports that industrial production did not rise, but fell by 6 per cent.

Starvation wages, rising prices, short-time work, new dismissals and compulsory deportation of unemployed workers, they are the "social fruits of German socialism." The German workers must feel it as bitter mockery when Goebbels once again dares to utter his slogan of last year: "In this winter no one shall go cold and hungry." Millions of people went hungry even in the summer. "The Economist," a cautious and reserved organ in its estimates, writes concerning the future of fascist Germany:—

"Depreciation of the currency or mass starvation may soon be Germany's alternatives."

To this must be added the remark that an inflation will not prevent mass starvation, but only increase it.

In this situation the national socialists fear the increasing unrest in the factories which has already led to a number of mass movements. Even the social-democratic press, which staunchly upholds the theory that any mass movement is impossible under a regime of fascist terrorism, reports that a strike of 5,500 workers has taken place in the coloured weaving works Riedlinger in Augsburg, and that the workers took up such a threatening attitude against the slave-driving director of the factory who had carried through brutal rationalisation measures and threatened the workers with wage cuts on top of that, that the man had to be taken into protective custody.

The bureaucrats of the national socialist "Labour Front" are trying to ward off the coming storm with fine words on the one hand and brutal threats on the other. An example of the first method is given in the "Arbeitertum," the organ of the "Labour Front," in an article on "New Ways of Co-operation":—

"It is more than ever necessary now that factory leaders should inspect their workshops, etc., and talk with their co-laborators, listen to their troubles and help them wherever possible. It is not always money that is necessary; a good word or a warm handshake often work wonders."

Fine words and handshakes are to console the workers for their dwindling wages and for their utter lack of all social rights under the fascist dictatorship in Germany, for the national socialist press again reminds the workers that with the proclamation of the slave "Labour Law" the workers lost all their rights.

On October 1 this slave "Labour Law" is to come into force and its provisions for the regulation of working conditions as from factory to factory are to be applied. Should the employers dare to make an attack on the already terribly low wages in a situation when prices are rising all round, then it should be possible for us to organise a united front of mass proletarian defence.

The Saar Must Not Fall Into the Hands of Hitler!

It is little more than three months to January 13, the day of the Saar plebiscite. The fight between the fascist counter-revolution and the anti-fascist workers in the Saar district is becoming continually fiercer. The Hitler dictatorship is using every means, including the most savage terror, to check the wholesale turning away of the masses from the fascist "German Front." The fascist terrorist groups, who made a series of attacks on leading anti-fascists, are now encountering the increasing energetic resistance of the masses, who have already succeeded in several places in the Saar district in driving the fascist bands off the streets, although the police and the authorities openly support the terrorist measures of the "German Front" against the anti-fascist workers.

The *coup de main* organised from Berlin against the Christian metal workers' union was an important trial of strength between the fascists, who are out to destroy the trade unions, and the anti-fascist front. On September 10 the fascists occupied the premises of the Christian metal workers' union and deposed the Central Committee which, acting in accordance with the will of the members, had opposed the fascist incorporation. After the national

socialist judges, in accordance with the methods of the "Third Reich," had declared this act of violence to be perfectly legal, the League of Nations Governing Commission facilitated the work of the fascists by announcing a "14 days' truce," during which time the anti-fascist front was forbidden to mobilise the masses at meetings and demonstrations in defence of the trade unions. Nevertheless, the Communist Party immediately succeeded in making plain to the masses the great importance of this *coup de main* and organising the united front of the Christian, social-democratic and Communist trade unionists against the fascist destroyers of the trade unions. The anti-fascist defence forces protected the meetings of the Christian metal workers, and several times repelled the fascist brownshirts. As a result of this fight the German fascist Labour Front and its agents in the Saar suffered a serious setback in the fight for the Christian metal workers' union. At five big meetings of members of the union at which delegates were elected to the general meeting the overwhelming majority of the Christian metal workers decided against the Nazis and elected delegates pledged to support the Central Committee which had been removed by the fascists. But even after this success achieved by the anti-fascists it would be a mistake to under-estimate the danger of the fascist bands attempting to repeat their *coup de main* at the general meeting of the union, which is to take place on September 30.

In addition to the weapon of terror, the fascists are resorting to falsification and election fraud. And in this they are facilitated by the attitude of the Plebiscite Commission of the League of Nations. After the fascist mayors, with the aid of this strange "Non-party" Commission, were able to fill 76 out of 84 local plebiscite committees with agents of the "German Front," it transpired on the publication of the voting lists that the lists contained at least 50,000 to 80,000 too many electors. The "German Front" has registered thousands and thousands of people, who have perhaps never seen the Saar District in their whole life, as being entitled to vote.

In spite of all the difficulties placed in the way of the anti-fascist fight in the Saar, and in spite of all the terror, all the falsifications and all the corruption, the anti-fascist united front is advancing and has already won masses of Christian workers for the fight against the handing over of the Saar district to the Third Reich and for the *status quo*. The fascist leaders, who see that their mass basis is crumbling, are resorting to unbounded demagogy. Their last hope is to be able to distort the question of the fight in the Saar and to represent the fight between fascism and anti-fascism as a fight "between Germany and France." They describe the anti-fascists, who wish by the victory of the *status quo* to defeat the fascist dictatorship and thus make it possible for the Saar district to be united later with a free Germany, as "pro-French" and maintain that the *status quo* is equivalent to union with France. The fascist demagogues are endeavouring, on the other hand, to catch the Christian workers by declaring to them that it is not a question of voting for Hitler, but for "eternal Germany." The Communists are exposing this deception and showing the masses that only an annihilating defeat of Hitler in the Saar is in the interests of the working people of Germany, in the interests of the emancipation of Germany from the clique of fascist adventurers and robbers.

There is no doubt that the more the anti-fascist front advances the more the Hitler dictatorship will resort to provocation and putsches in order to forestall a defeat, which would be a decisive blow against the fascist dictatorship. The acts of terror, the falsifications and provocations committed hitherto are only the prelude to these putschist actions. At the same time the sending of foreign police into the Saar district demanded by the Governing Commission greatly aids the German Front in their demagogy. They are hoping to make use of the sending of foreign police into the Saar district in order to whip up chauvinistic passions, to arouse national hatred. The anti-fascists in the Saar district declare that not the police, but only the anti-fascist mass self-defence is able to protect the lives and property of the workers from the fascist terror and to secure freedom of voting. They therefore oppose the drafting in of foreign police.

The anti-fascists in the Saar district occupy an important outpost position in the fight against fascism. It is necessary to organise international solidarity on their behalf on a greater scale than hitherto. The Saar district must not be handed over to the fascist adventurers. A defeat for Hitler in the Saar will be a great victory for the anti-fascists in the whole world.

Strike the Axe Out of the Headman's Hand!

On September 25 the Communist *Johann Wilhelm Jasper* was sentenced to death because, two years previously, Hamburg workers defended themselves against a murderous attack by fascists.

On September 29 our Comrade Jasper was executed. The execution took place in the prison yard which is overlooked by the windows of the cells in which women anti-fascist prisoners are confined. Jasper died like Luetgens.

This is the seventh execution which has taken place within a short space of time.

The blood of the murdered anti-fascists again cries up from the ground: Protect, rescue, free the heroes who are confined in Hitler's prisons!

The International Release Committee, together with the International Red Aid, the World Committee against Imperialist War and Fascism, the World Relief Committee, the Red International of Labour Unions and the World Youth Committee, has issued an urgent appeal in which it is stated:—

We appeal to all! Just as in France, Spain, Italy and in the Saar, anti-fascists of all tendencies have united for the common fight against the common enemy, so the whole world must rise: workers, peasants, intellectuals, men, women and young people, Communists, socialists, pacifists or Liberals, whether they are Dissenters, Protestants, Catholics, whether they are organised in a party, trade union, red front fighters' organisation or are not organised—all must rise like one man against the shame of Hitler barbarism, against the foul work of the executioners in Germany, against that fascist blood-justice which has only scorn and contempt for and wishes to destroy the thousand-year old ideals of humanity.

Strike the axe out of the hands of the headman! Put an end to the frightful executions ordered by the Reichstag incendiaries. Through your struggle snatch the keys from the jailers and open the prison doors of all imprisoned anti-fascists!

Prevent fresh bloody sentences! Down with the bloody People's Court and all other fascist courts! Mobilise all your forces against the lynch judges and the brown Fehme justice!

Intensify the international action for liberty!

Wherever the swastika, propagandists show themselves, wherever their commercial travellers seek to do business, wherever misguided sportsmen venture to enter sports ground for the "honour" of the bloody swastika, where German ships are loaded or unloaded, where trains arrive from or depart for Germany, where German consuls and ambassadors wish to publish the lying pacifying declarations of Goering and Goebbels, everywhere the anti-fascists of all tendencies, of all creeds, of all countries, must unite under the flag of our fight for freedom.

Develop organised mass strength!

Do everything that lies in your power in order, in all countries, to lead the masses into the fight against the fascist provocateurs, to send delegations, letters and telegrams to Germany and, by means of powerful mass actions in the capital towns, in the ports, the centres of international traffic and frontier towns, to boycott and ostracise the foreign propaganda, the foreign institutions and organisations, the representatives of fascism, to make impossible the work of the German Consulates and Embassies by bombarding them with telephone calls, besieging them with mass delegations and other means of protest, to increase the mass action to protest strikes against the bloody swastika orgies.

Hold People's Courts against the brown murderers!

Support the new International Conference at which prominent lawyers from England, America, France, Sweden, Spain, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland, Holland and many other countries will meet together in Paris in the middle of October in order to hold a world trial of fascism and to expose the farcical bloody trial of Ernst Thaelmann and the many other victims of fascism.

Hold mass courts in the capitals and harbour towns, collect evidence, pronounce your judgment!

Form the great united front to save the threatened anti-fascists!

We call upon the anti-fascist parties, trade unions, mass organisations, to place their best speakers, their best organisers, their whole press at the service of the international release action.

We call upon the masses to send delegations to the courts, the concentration camps, to the cells of the imprisoned anti-fascists.

We proclaim October 10 to 20 as international fighting days for the release of Ernst Thaelmann and all imprisoned anti-fascists!

Do not be misled by any lies, denials or reassuring statements.

Powerful mass action will defeat the executioners. We must win the release of Ernst Thaelmann and all others as a battle. For every battle against fascism is a battle for truth, right, liberty and peace.

Rescue the anti-fascists condemned to death! Fetch Thaelmann out of prison; Release Torgler, Ossietzky, Mierendorf, Neubauer, Seitz, Dr. Litten, Ziegler, Renn, Klaus Neukrantz, Frau Beimler, Paula Wallisch, Else Steinfurth and all other fighters for freedom!

Decide immediately on fighting measures!

Each one must do his best in order that our appeal shall be heard everywhere. A new wave of terror, with executions, bloody sentences, wholesale imprisonment has commenced in Germany. The fascist dictatorship wishes to choke in blood the fight of the German anti-fascists for their bare lives, against the terrible misery, the approaching icy-cold winter, against the monstrous war armaments of the German fascists.

We call upon all people in the world in whose hearts and minds there still live the ideals of peace, justice and freedom to help to open a way for freedom, to snatch the victims from their executioners.

Rescue the best from destruction, for they are the symbol of liberty and peace!

Metal Workers! Enforce the Release of Your Comrade—Thaelmann

The International Propaganda Committee of the Metal Workers has issued the following appeal:—

The German fascist authorities intend shortly to conclude the "examination" of Ernst Thaelmann and rush through the trial of the leader of the German working class. This news must rouse the metal workers of all countries to mass protest.

Ernst Thaelmann is particularly closely connected with the metal workers' movement through his former activity in the Hamburg dockyards. In the struggles of the Hamburg dock and harbour workers Ernst Thaelmann developed into the leader of the revolutionary Hamburg proletariat. This formed the basis for his development into the leader of the German working class and one of the best and boldest leaders of the international working class.

The fascists intend to condemn Ernst Thaelmann because he has become the symbol of the fighting German working class. His condemnation is intended to free the path for the unleashing of a still fiercer terror and still more monstrous sentences against the bold anti-fascists of Germany.

Metal workers! You are fighting in all countries in defence of and for improvements in your wage and working conditions and your trade union rights! It is the voice of the trade unionist and former dockworker Ernst Thaelmann which is calling on you from his prison cell to strengthen the fight, to put up bold resistance, to set up unity of action. Respond to this call! Gather in the factories and in the trade unions, protest by means of resolutions and decisions, by collecting signatures and by sending delegations to the German Consulates against the holding of the Thaelmann trial. Demand the release of the leader of the German working class! Increase the number of protest actions in the metal and engineering works, particularly in those having business connections with firms of the Third Reich, if the fascists should venture to carry out the trial! Demand incessantly, by ever fresh protest actions, the release of Ernst Thaelmann!

Metal workers! send delegations from the large engineering works, from all centres of metal industry, from the docks and harbours, from the metal workers' trade unions of all tendencies, to Berlin in order to enforce your demand to see and talk to Ernst Thaelmann. No Thaelmann delegation without a representative from the metal workers.

Ernst Thaelmann declared to the delegation of the Saar workers: "Give my greetings to the Saar workers!" This was a call to fight, to the anti-fascist fight in Ernst Thaelmann's spirit. How necessary this struggle of the Saar workers is can be seen from the attack of the fascists on the Christian metal workers' union in the Saar district. But the Saar workers have given a fitting reply, for now also the Christian workers, with the metal workers at the head, are advancing to the united front with the social democrats, Communists, free trade unionists and revolutionary trade unionists.

"Defeat Hitler in the Saar district!" is now the slogan not

only of the German workers and those of the Saar district, but of the workers of all countries. Therefore the whole power of the metal workers of all countries must be mobilised in order to support the courageous struggle of the Saar metal workers against the fascisation tendencies and the terror of the employers' front. Establish connections with the Saar factories! Call upon the metal workers in the Saar district to vote for the *status quo*, against the terror, against the destroyers of the trade unions who are in the pay of the big capitalists, Roehling, Wolff, Krupp and Ley, and to set up the united front in every factory for the realisation of their own demands. Support the struggle of the Saar workers both politically and materially!

Every blow against Hitler in the Saar district brings nearer the release of Ernst Thaelmann! Every protest against the imprisonment of Thaelmann is a blow against fascism and a means of helping all imprisoned anti-fascists.

Great Britain

Anti-Soviet Propaganda in Great Britain

By R. Bishop (London)

The months of August and September saw a tremendous revival of anti-Soviet propaganda in the British press, after several months of comparative quiescence. This outburst coincided with an intensification of Japanese acts of aggression in Manchuria, and largely took as its theme that the Soviet government was an immoral force which should not be admitted to the League of Nations.

During the last week or so there has been a dying down again of the campaign, but one may be certain that this will be but short-lived and the anti-Soviet warriors will soon be on the war-path again.

As usual, the clergy of all denominations have been well to the fore in the slanderous attacks that have been made, but it must be noted that a number of rank and file clerics who have personally visited the Soviet Union have come back with the most glowing reports.

In fact, one of the most striking features of the anti-Soviet campaign this year is the way in which the anonymous traducers of the Soviet land have been constantly rebutted by individuals with actual experience of Soviet conditions.

The campaign was initiated by no less a person than the **Archbishop of Canterbury**. The venue chosen for the launching of the attack was the House of Lords, and the occasion a motion that:—"the systematic policy of the Soviet Government has recently caused widespread starvation among the population of the grain-producing areas in Russia and is likely to do so again this year . . ."

Lord Ponsonby described the motion as an outrageous interference with the affairs of another Power. The Archbishop's speech was a farrago of lies from beginning to end.

"The workers and peasants," he declared, "are exploited by a powerful capitalist bureaucracy." The Archbishop claimed that he had "an immense mass of documents and evidence from all quarters," which he had carefully studied. He claimed also to possess photographs, "the authenticity of which it is impossible to doubt, of corpses lying in the streets and other bodies simply waiting on the pavements for death, while the people of the town were passing by as if there was nothing in particular to notice."

His "evidence" tells him that "the number who died last year of hunger was nearer 6,000,000 than 4,000,000; that in some places cats, dogs, horses and mice were the only diet for months before death supervened."

This speech set the tone and provided the signal for similar outbursts throughout the reactionary press of Britain. Hosts of anonymous witnesses were invoked; hosts of mysterious photographs appeared in various journals, but all the enquiries of those interested failed to produce the names of the witnesses or an examination of the photographs—only statements, each one more rabid and fantastic than the one before. The enmity of the Archbishop is only matched by his enthusiasm for the Nazi regime.

It was at a meeting of the Convocation of Canterbury, held in June this year, that he said:—

"I have the greatest sympathy with the immense, undoubted and, on the whole, beneficial awakening which has come to German life in every aspect of the remarkable revolution associated with the name of Herr Hitler."

Holding such views of Nazism, it is not to be wondered at that the Archbishop is no friend of the Soviet Union.

Immediately following this outburst in the House of Lords, the correspondence columns of the "**Times**" began to be filled with letters from prominent churchmen, quoting their Spiritual leader and condemning the action of the British government in giving their support to the entry of the U.S.S.R. into the League of Nations.

The Church of Scotland, not to be outdone, launched a parallel campaign in its journal "**Life and Work**," which has a circulation of 150,000 copies. This journal, with typical unscrupulousness, attempted to buttress its arguments by the astounding statement that "the official Russian journal, '**Isvestia**,' itself has made reference to five million dead from famine."

Challenged by the Friends of the Soviet Union as to the date of this extraordinary statement, the journal took refuge in evasions—"everybody knows that the facts stated are true"—but naturally refused to give chapter and verse for its statement, because it was completely baseless.

The Rabbis issued statements to the Jewish faithful, drawing a lurid picture of the fate of their co-religionists in the U.S.S.R. Numerous church and chapel magazines up and down the country took these stories from their leaders, added their own embellishments—varying according to the degree of imagination possessed by their respective editors—and issued them afresh to the world.

The holy ones of Britain were well to the fore, but the lay press was determined not to lag behind.

The "**Daily Express**," a few days after the Archbishop's speech, commenced a series of articles on Famine in the Ukraine. These purported to have been written by a recently returned tourist—again anonymous—who had separated from his party and made independent investigations. They were garnished with photos, alleged to represent corpses, starving peasants, etc.

The most urgent representations failed to secure an examination of the original photographs—only the blurred prints in the "**Daily Express**" could be inspected. These photographs, as they stood, meant less than nothing. The camera cannot lie, but the people who write newspaper captions can, as has been proved time and time again. Any of the pictures might quite well have been taken at the time of the 1921 famine, or one of the innumerable tsarist famines, or famine in any of the Baltic or Balkan countries, or even not be pictures of famine at all.

Someone lying on a haystack is not necessarily a corpse—even Russian peasants take a nap occasionally. But this is mere speculation, as the papers that possess the photographs take good care that they shall not be subjected to an independent scrutiny.

The "**Daily Express**" articles were re-hashed in hundreds of provincial papers up and down the country.

Much material for the local press has been provided by the speeches of reactionary politicians. The "**Rugby Advertiser**" provides a good example of this kind of thing in the reproduction of the obiter dicta of the Earl of Denbigh. Among the pearls of wisdom that fell from the Ducal lips was the following:—

"Local authorities have been preventing immediate interment (in the Ukraine) after death, owing to cases where newly-buried bodies have been exhumed and eaten."

Of course, the Duke has not been to the U.S.S.R., but has, nevertheless, a true, aristocratic omniscience.

The British Broadcasting Corporation, the semi-governmental radio monopoly, run a newspaper called the "**Listener**." This has a circulation of well over a million. Its September issue carried a series of photographs (4 pages in all) purporting to represent life in the Soviet Union. This was certainly a clever and well thought-out piece of propaganda. Its line was: Here is a great factory, here is another—and here is the starving population queuing up for a crust of bread. Here is fine grain, here are starving peasants searching in the fields "for grains of wheat for their own consumption after the harvest has been brought in on a collective farm. The harvest itself is of course the property of the State," and so forth, with the inevitable "corpse" as a grand finale.

This contrasted strongly with the previous issue which had contained four pages of German pictures, uniformly depicting a Nazi paradise. It is significant to note the way in which the anti-Soviet propaganda is closely linked with pro-Nazi propaganda.

Even the children have not been omitted. The latest issue of the widely-circulated "**Children's Newspaper**" has a feature article,

entitled: "Russia's New Serfs; Appalling Condition of Peasants." Here the famine stories are dished up in a form suitable for juvenile consumption.

And so one could continue the chronicle of lies. Right throughout the press—lay and clerical, technical and popular, juvenile and adult.

An interesting variation of anti-Soviet propaganda methods is afforded by a couple of so-called academic institutions attached to the Universities of Birmingham and London—the former calls itself the Bureau of Economic Research, the latter the School of Slavonic Studies. The case of the London institution is particularly striking in view of the activities of its Director—Sir Bernard Pares—an active supporter of Denikin during the Civil War. Another member of its staff is an ex-officer of the White Armies, another is a Menshevik who has published a number of anti-Soviet dissertations. These two institutions issue periodical stories of "famine and collapse" in the guise of impartial studies of the situation. Early in September the London organisation issued a brochure of this sort, purporting to show that the collective farmers of the U.S.S.R. were (a) starving; and (b) enslaved.

The Labour Party has adopted a line of its own on Soviet affairs. It has been compelled to admit that economically the Soviet Union is making giant strides forward, but it couples these admissions with denunciation of dictatorships in general and the proletarian dictatorship in particular.

Mr. Citrine, General Secretary of the Trades Union Congress, has been the mouthpiece of this official policy which is now being parroted by countless scribes in the Labour press and on Labour platforms. A particularly impudent variant of this theme is provided in the "Daily Herald" of October 2 by Mrs. Ayrton Gould, a member of the National Executive of the Labour Party. This lady calmly appropriates the great achievements of Socialist construction as Labour Party policy, and to denounce the dictatorship of the proletariat simultaneously.

The tone of her article can be gathered from the headline: "Where Fear Destroys Real Liberty." She says: "Russia succeeds just as far as she is Socialist, and fails just as far as she is Communist." Her explanation of this extraordinary remark is:—

"Russian economics are Socialist. Russian politics are Communist. Their economic policy is magnificent; their political policy is deplorable."

The achievements are presented as being very simple of accomplishment. She says:—

"It must be abundantly clear to any impartial observer that these really wonderful results consist simply of putting into operation the Socialist measures we all desire . . . What the Russians have done is fundamentally what the British Labour Movement will do as soon as it is returned to power."

She is particularly upset about the G.P.U., which she calls "the dreaded Russian Political Police," and says that their work "is a closed book to the foreigner . . . No one in authority will talk, no one else dare talk." She does not go into the question of who it was that dreaded the G.P.U. and why. She does not mention that it was the class enemy who dreaded it and that the toilers regarded it as their eyes and their strong right arm.

Neither does she mention that had it not been for the eternal vigilance of the G.P.U. as an instrument of the proletarian dictatorship it would never have been possible to make the great economic conquests of which she speaks.

She draws the conclusion:—

"The Russians have substituted one great fear for another, and who shall say which is worse—dire poverty and insecurity, or loss of political freedom?"

This same Labour Party line was pursued in another recent article in the "Herald" by Gordon Helsby. Labour speakers up and down the country are propagating the same vicious distortion of facts.

But despite the tremendous spate of anti-Soviet propaganda, which has taken many forms—the Soviet case has had wider publicity this year than has been usual.

The "Manchester Guardian" correspondent in Moscow wrote in the issue of that paper of August 20 that there was no likelihood of famine and that "the abnormal circumstances created by this year's drought have shown the superiority of collectivised agriculture over individualist."

The "Daily Telegraph" recently published an article on Lenin-grad full of the crudest anti-Soviet absurdities. The correspond-

ence columns have been packed with letters on this subject, fully four-fifths of which refute the article. The "Telegraph" is a paper which conscientiously excludes, in the ordinary way, working-class opinions from its columns. The fact that they have been given such space lately is an indication that the Editor has been deluged with protests at the fantastic Leningrad story.

The Rev. Cresswell Webb, a Church of England parson, went to the Soviet Union this year. He has written his impressions for a Birmingham evening paper. He declares:—

"My wife and I could not help being struck by the appearance of the children. They looked so well and happy. We could not detect the signs of gross under-feeding that are constantly reported. In arriving at this conclusion, we have been careful to pay even more attention to the people and children we have seen in the streets than to the inmates of the creches and institutions we have been shown."

In every other sphere of Soviet life he is equally favourable.

To-day no paper, however reactionary, can print an anti-Soviet article without being deluged with spirited protests.

In this mobilisation of opinion on the side of the U.S.S.R., in the countering of anti-Soviet lies and the propagation of the true facts of Socialist construction, the Friends of the Soviet Union are playing a leading role. Up and down the country their organisation is carefully following up the local press and seeing that no lie goes unanswered. It is keeping on the alert those who believe that because the British government had assented to the entry of the U.S.S.R. into the League of Nations the war danger had lessened. It has spread the realisation that only by an intensification of their activity will the British government be made to realise that it will pay them not to attack the Soviet Union, or subsidise and assist other Powers who may do so.

The words of Comrade Stalin are being kept to the fore:—

"The bourgeoisie need have no doubt that the numerous friends of the working class of the U.S.S.R. in Europe and in Asia will be sure to strike a blow in the rear at their oppressors who commenced a criminal war against the fatherland of the working class of all countries. And let not Messieurs of the bourgeoisie blame us if on the morrow of the outbreak of such a war they will miss certain of the governments that are near and dear to them and who to-day are happily ruling 'by the Grace of God.'"

The frenzied press campaign of the past few months indicates that the hatred of the capitalist class for the rising might of Socialism waxes not wanes. The growing resentment of the working class at such campaigns shows that the fraternal feeling towards the Soviet Union cherished by the toilers and oppressed of all lands, also grows and will express itself suitably when the moment for doing so arises.

Fight for the Unity of the Labour Movement

The United Front in the U.S.A.

By Bosse (New York)

The Communist Party of the U.S. is in the midst of a campaign for a united front with the Socialist Party which its leadership continues to sabotage for the time being. In various localities united actions are being carried out, and in the youth movement a successful united front is being conducted. At the September meeting of the Socialist Party National Executive Committee a majority voted to "postpone" action until the end of the year, giving a number of specious excuses.

In March of this year the C.P. proposed unity of action to the S.P., and again just before the latter's national convention in May. While the two groups that controlled the convention were committed in favour of the united front, the C.P.'s proposal was not even brought up before the delegates, the "Left" Revolutionary Policy Committee and the Militants (led by Norman Thomas), who won control, lining up with the reactionaries in sabotaging it. After the convention the C.P. continued to bombard the new N.E.C. on unity, but in vain. The campaign for unity on specific issues had been a considerable factor in bringing about a ferment in the S.P. that caused the shift in control at the convention. Work with the rank and file continued, and a number of local leaders and members came over to the

C.P. Among the young workers and students it resulted in a united front against war and fascism and on other specific issues, with the approval of Thomas.

The answer of the N.E.C. of the S.P., at its September session, stated that it "realised the immense value to the labour movement of a united action of all elements against the danger of war, fascism, and continued exploitation." Nevertheless, it stated, united action required evidence of good faith, and not just manoeuvring for power; it could be reached only if the "fratricidal strife in the trade union movement" were ended. They said they were impressed by the fact that the Comintern would soon have its Congress and that it exercised "rigid control" over its sections. (They used this as an excuse for delaying action so they could write to the Second International and have it take up the question of unity with the Comintern.) They quoted from Zinoviev and Stalin, the "Rote Fahne" and "Daily Worker," to show that the Communist purpose was only to manoeuvre in a tricky way to get the membership away from the Socialist leaders and discredit the latter. Therefore they considered that the ultimate success of a united action movement would best be served if they postponed consideration till the end of the year. Meanwhile, they could observe the success of the French agreement and of the negotiations between the Second and Communist Internationals. They were writing for advice to their International, asking it "to renew its attempt to find an honourable basis for a reasonable agreement."

Meanwhile, they continued, they realised that questions arose at times, mainly in the field of civil liberties, in which the S.P. and the C.P. could locally act jointly, and they were drawing up a plan for possible co-operation in this field. The success of this co-operation would determine for them what action to take at the next N.E.C. session in December.

In answer the C.P. replied that it deeply regretted this negative answer, especially in view of the tremendous need for united action, as shown by the textile and other strikes. It approved the fact that the S.P. expressed its realisation of the great value of united action to the labour movement, but asked that good words be translated into deeds. Though disappointed, the C.P. is "by no means prepared to slacken our efforts." Such action in various localities and among the youth showed a greater trend toward unity and provided a good foundation for united action in the future on a national scale.

Regarding the decision of the N.E.C. to send a delegation of observers to the Second U.S. Congress Against War and Fascism in Chicago, on September 28-30, the C.P. stated it had expected more active participation, especially on the eve of a new world war, but now only hoped that the results of the observation would lead to more decisive action after the Congress, especially to local participation in anti-war activities. The trade union question was regarded as the central point of the S.P. statement. Its formulation could be interpreted in two ways: (1) If ending the "fratricidal strife" in the unions meant a united front on concrete issues it was wholeheartedly endorsed, since it would lead to a unifying influence far beyond the membership of the two parties. Were it not for the rotten, pro-capitalist leadership of the A.F.L., a unified trade union movement of 10 to 15 million workers could have been built up in the last eighteen months. (2) But an opposite interpretation is possible: That ending strife means ceasing to struggle against the treacherous policies of the A.F.L. misleaders. This would mean acceptance of the expulsion and deportation edicts recently issued by Green and liquidating the Left wing T.U.U.L. and independent unions; it would mean accepting Green's sell-out of the San Francisco strike and the betrayal of the steel, auto, etc., unions, as well as the impending betrayal of the textile strike; it would mean stopping the fight against the N.R.A. and against the menace of war and fascism, to wait for the A.F.L. bureaucrats to lead this fight (though Green, Woll and company were part of the war machine). The N.E.C. must clarify which unity they had in mind, and the C.P. sincerely hoped the first interpretation was the correct one.

Regarding waiting for the two Internationals to act, the C.P. remarked that the C.I. is unalterably in favour of united front action by its various sections, but the Socialist International has not taken such action. Though the French agreement was not technically "duplicated" elsewhere, as the S.P. claimed, even more basic agreements have been reached in Austria, Italy and the Saar. The C.P. agrees that organic unity of the two parties is not the immediate objective, and this means that it must not

demand of the S.P. that it abandon its false and dangerous opinion that the Communist programme of proletarian dictatorship and Soviet power is the chief cause for the rise of fascism. On the other hand the S.P. shall not demand that the C.P. abandon its basic opinion that the policies of the Second International actually paved the way for fascism, as in Germany and Austria, and were social fascist policies. The membership and followers of the S.P. were never regarded as social fascists, but as class brothers. These basic programmatic differences make organic unity impossible and unnecessary for united action on specific issues.

Socialist workers can agree with Communist workers, the statement continued, on broad solidarity movements in support of the textile strikers, of the Anti-War Congress, of the Left-wing Unemployment Insurance Bill (which Thomas individually endorsed), and of a unified unemployed organisation. The entire aim of the C.P. is to achieve proletarian unity against the capitalist attacks, against rising fascist and war preparations. As the workers of both parties unite in struggle for immediate demands they will unite on larger questions. Propaganda for such unity might be called a manoeuvre, but it is not such in the sense of trickery.

The final paragraph in the S.P. statement re local actions opens up possibilities. (In New Orleans 5,000 S.P. and C.P. workers demonstrated jointly for unemployed relief.) If the declaration about the need to fight against war and fascism is not to remain an empty phrase, the S.P. must act to bring about closer unity of the working class. This would arouse millions of hitherto passive workers and farmers. This is no time to observe and ponder. Fascism can be defeated and war prevented, and the conditions of the toiling masses protected—but only by a fighting united front of the most advanced parties of the working class. Concluding, the answer appeals to the N.E.C. and the S.P. membership and followers: **"End all hesitation and evasion. Come together with us upon an agreed programme of the most immediate demands. Fight unitedly and thus march forward toward victory."**

At the August 16 American Youth Congress, called by a fascist-minded group, backed up by Roosevelt and financed by Morgan's relative, a united front of the Y.C.L. and Y.P.S.L. (Socialist Youth) rallied a majority of the delegates for a programme of militant struggle against capitalism and war. The seventy-nine organisations represented 1,700,000 youth, and included church, student, trade union, fraternal, pacifist, Y.M.C.A., Boy Scout, etc., bodies. It endorsed the workers' Unemployment Insurance Bill, called for immediate relief for all youth, for a fight against war and fascism, and against the forest military camps, supported the Soviet peace policy, and demanded freedom for the Scottsboro boys, Herndon and Mooney. This united front marked the climax of a 1½ year campaign of the Y.C.L. for the united front, of repeated appeals to the Y.P.S.L. for unity of action; it was the fruition of the correct policy of the Communists in the student bodies (National Student League). It is being followed up by a campaign for local actions, which will culminate in a national youth congress in Washington in January, to put before Congress and Roosevelt its demands. The success of the Y.C.L. is the more striking in view of sectarian tendencies in certain districts (narrowness in New York, Chicago and Boston in united front actions).

At the Congress Thomas spoke, favouring united action on specific issues. He endorsed the Unemployment Insurance Bill, approved anti-fascist unity of all forces at the Congress, and expressed hope for the French agreement. Browder spoke, greeting Thomas' statements as greatly increasing the prospects for unity. A week after this speech Thomas replied to a letter of Browder that while he personally favoured united action on certain issues, he was not sure the C.P. would not use such action to destroy the S.P. or its leadership. Later the **New Leader**, organ of the S.P., virtually endorsed Green's Red expulsion and deportation statement, merely objecting to his patriotic tone.

In Detroit the C.P. wrote the S.P. for united action against war and fascism on August 1. The S.P. pretended the proposal had been sent too late, but proposed a "non-aggression pact" instead of united action. In New York the Y.P.S.L. refused to participate with the Y.C.L. in the September 1 Youth Day demonstration, again with the excuse of lack of time. It denounced the appeals to its local branches as attempting "insincere united-front-from-below manoeuvres" and because it was dual to the Y.P.S.L. international youth demonstration in October. The Y.C.L. replied that it had given them five weeks' notice before September 1; also that it would join the Y.P.S.L. demonstration in October or agree on a common date, as suggested.

On the other hand numerous Socialist branches are co-operating with the C.P. in joint actions. In Illinois an S.P.-sponsored state conference on constitutional rights voted 57 to 43 to endorse the Anti-War Congress and elected a delegate. It unanimously endorsed the Unemployment Insurance Bill and adopted a resolution of solidarity with the textile strikers, demanding the withdrawal of troops. The sponsors had originally decided to exclude all Left-wing organisations, but the delegates included representatives of the C.P., I.L.D. (M.O.P.R.), Unemployed Councils, International Workers' Order, and of the Arrangements Committee of the Anti-War Congress. It elected a committee to organise local actions for the repeal of the criminal syndicalism law, to defend the Hillsboro boys (Socialist and Communist prisoners in Illinois), and for defence of workers' civil liberties. All the Left-wing bodies are represented on this committee.

The New Orleans demonstration of 5,000 has been referred to. There the S.P. and S.P.-controlled League for Industrial Democracy issued a call for support for the Anti-War Congress; at the conference were the S.P. and C.P., together with many unions and other groups. In Philadelphia the Y.P.S.L. passed a resolution favouring a united front with the Y.C.L. and calling on the National Committee of the Y.C.L. for nation-wide united action. In Maryland the leading Socialist, Prof. Mitchell, endorsed the Anti-War Congress, just as other prominent individuals and S.P. organisations are doing in many places. In New York the Communist and Socialist student groups, N.S.L. and Student L.I.D., together with other youth groups, organised a demonstration against the arrival of 300 Italian fascist students, and called for the release of Gramsci, Terracini and other class-war prisoners. Jurkanin, Y.P.S.L. organiser in Hillsboro, and one of those imprisoned there for united front actions with the Communists, has called for unity. In Boston the S.P. offered its platform to Communist speakers in an outdoor meeting on the textile strike, when the C.P. was denied a permit.

In Hazleton, Pennsylvania, 25,000 paraded in a 24-hour general sympathetic strike with the textile strikers, all A.F.L. and other unions and workers' bodies joining in the action. In Youngstown the A.F.L. central labour body endorsed the Anti-War Congress, as did many A.F.L. bodies throughout the country. In New York thousands of Socialist and Communist furriers demonstrated jointly against the A.F.L. fakers. In Ohio, C.P. and Musteite unemployed organisations signed an agreement for joint hunger marches, conferences, etc. Workers everywhere are sweeping aside their reactionary leaders and uniting in actions for their immediate needs. The C.P. and Left-wing organisations still show weaknesses and Right and sectarian tendencies, but are overcoming these in the day-to-day struggles.

An Exceedingly Important Decision by the C.P. of Spain

By Vicente Arroyo (Madrid)

The Communist Party of Spain has long been conducting a campaign of agitation and propaganda in favour of the united front, of unity of action of the proletariat.

In numerous strikes, in protest demonstrations against provocations of the fascists, against the brutal measures of the Samper-Gil Robles government to destroy the democratic achievements of the revolution and stifle the demands of the proletariat, the socialist and anarchist workers have fought shoulder to shoulder with the Communist workers for their common demands. This unity of action reached one of its high points in the magnificent anti-fascist demonstration and splendid strike of the proletariat of Madrid—and also other places in Spain—on the occasion of the fascist gathering in El Escorial in a common action which delivered a serious blow to fascism, caused it to retreat from its positions, and filled the proletariat of Spain with a feeling of confidence in its unvanquishable strength, as soon as it is united, and promoted its striving after unity of action.

The revolutionary situation in Spain is becoming more acute every day. The battles between revolution and counter-revolution are every time more fierce and decisive. It is already no longer possible for the bourgeoisie and the big landowners to maintain their hated rule by covering it with the cloak of "Democracy." The leaders of the blackest reaction are rapidly concentrating their forces in order to seize power and set up an openly fascist regime. The fascist hordes are proceeding to murder revolution-

ary fighters. The Samper-Gil Robles government is increasing the terror against the revolutionary workers, their premises and their press.

The forces of the revolution, the workers and peasants, as well as the masses of people belonging to the oppressed nationalities, aroused by the Communist Party, are replying to every attack of reaction and fascism with counter-blows of such vigour that they are causing this regime of exploitation, hunger and misery to shake.

The recent victorious fights against the counter-revolution have proved to the proletariat the effectiveness of common action.

On August 31 more than 70,000 workers of Madrid—socialists, Communists and anarchists—defiled in an imposing demonstration, with arms upraised and fists clenched, past the coffin of a young Communist who had been murdered by the fascists, without this crime being punished. This was the first time that leaders of the socialist party spoke at such an important demonstration together with representatives of the Communist Party and of the Young Communist League; and in the speeches of the one as of the other there was expressed the same thought and purpose: Fight against fascism, unity of action.

On September 8 the working people of Madrid fought against provocations and the gathering in Madrid of the big landowners of Catalonia, who are protected by the central government, by proclaiming a general strike, which was without parallel in the history of the revolutionary movement of the Spanish capital.

On the same day and the days following, the workers of Asturia carried out a magnificent general strike; they barred the streets and tore up the railway lines in order to prevent another fascist gathering arranged by Gil Robles in Covadonga and which, like that in Madrid, formed part of the preparations for a fascist coup d'état. And the working masses did in fact prevent this fascist gathering.

The united-front action of the proletariat of Madrid and Asturia, supported on the same day by the workers of Barcelona, Tarragona, Jaen, etc., was, however, so vigorous that it frustrated the plans for a fascist coup d'état and put fear into the hearts of those who were inclined to dabble in a fascist adventure. The proletariat is replying to every provocation on the part of reaction with fiercer attacks. And at the head of these fights there is seen ever more clearly the Communist Party, and the workers see in it the true champion of unity of action.

"The forces of revolution and of counter-revolution stand facing each other front to front, and decisive battles will take place shortly. This is the situation in Spain.

"In this situation the fundamental problem for securing the victory of the revolution is the organisation and bringing together of the forces of revolution under a firm leadership which is conscious of its aims." (Resolution of the C.C. of the C.P. of Spain.)

The efforts of the C.P. of Spain are continually directed towards bringing together the forces of the revolution.

On various occasions it approached the leaders of the socialist party and of the anarcho-syndicalist trade union federation (C.N.T.) with proposals for united action, but without its proposals being listened to.

The working masses, however, showed an increasing desire for this fighting united front. Right into the ranks of the socialists the drive for the united front became irresistible. The organ of the socialist party, "El Socialista," spoke of the unity of action with the Communists for the first time on July 12 and said:—

"What we urgently demand is the cessation of hostilities" (between the two parties.—V. A.)

On the very same day the Communist Party sent a letter to the socialist party central committee proposing unity of action on a concrete fighting platform, especially against the reaction and fascism, for the immediate demands of the workers, etc., and added:—

"Although we recognise the correctness of our criticism of the Socialist Party, we declare that if this criticism is regarded as an obstacle to the achievement of unity of action, we are prepared to come to an agreement that each side shall refrain from attacks upon and criticism of the other so long as unity of action of the Socialist and Communist organisations lasts, it being understood at the same time that each Party shall retain complete freedom to carry on its propaganda and recruiting activity."

The leaders of the socialist party made an ambiguous reply to this clear and concrete proposal of the Communist Party. But this answer in itself was already a success for the C.P. in its united front policy.

The seriousness of the situation in Spain, the strong desire among their own members for the united front caused the socialist leaders to think and induced them to correct their policy in regard to united action with the C.P.

The leaders of the C.P. declared in the one as in the other letter that they are in favour of unity of action, stated that they were working for the united front, that they had already created this in the "Workers' Alliance," and that the C.P., if it so desired could join this Alliance. (The "Workers' Alliance" arose in Barcelona in 1933, formed of socialists, Treintists, smallholders, the Workers' and Peasants' Block, and the Trotskyists. Later it was formed in the rest of Spain—mainly of the S.P. and the U.G.T.).

It is perfectly obvious that the "Workers' Alliance" neither were, nor are now the united front; that they cannot be the expression of the unity of action of the working class and of the toiling peasants, as they do not include such important sections of the workers as the C.N.T., the C.G.T.U. (the revolutionary unitary trade union federation), the C.P., the peasants' organisations and the unorganised workers. That was the reason why the Communist Party at that time rejected the proposal made by the S.P. to join the "Workers' Alliance."

On September 11 and 12 an extraordinary meeting of the C.C. of the C.P. of Spain was held, with only one item on the agenda: United front and "Workers' Alliance." The C.C. unanimously approved of the proposal of the political bureau "to join the Workers' Alliance on the sole condition that it retain the right to discuss in a brotherly fashion all the questions of the revolution."

This decision means an important step towards the setting up of the united front of action.

The fact that the C.P. has joined the Workers' Alliance does not yet mean complete unity of action, as such important labour forces as the C.N.T., the peasant masses and the unorganised workers are not represented in the Workers' Alliance. But the C.P. will work in this organisation in order to convert it into living organs of the united front, as is stated in the instructions of the Party Secretariat:—

"The delegates to the Alliance must be elected at democratic meetings of trade unions, proletarian mass organisations, factory, peasants', and unemployed committees."

On September 14, the day after the above decision was adopted, a meeting organised by the Socialist Youth and the Young Communist League was held in the Madrid Stadium against the fascist decree of the government, according to which persons under 16 years of age are not allowed to belong to political organisations, and those between 16 and 23 can do so only with the greatest difficulty. This decree means that the Young Communist League and the Socialist Youth are rendered illegal. At this meeting, at which Communist and socialist speakers appeared for the first time on the same platform, 90,000 toilers enthusiastically applauded the slogans of the united front. This was the most brilliant and striking approval of the decision of the C.C. of the C.P. of Spain, and confirmed the correctness of its political line in regard to the question of unity of action.

There is no doubt that in spite of all hindrances unity of action of the Spanish toilers is rapidly approaching realisation.

London Clerical Workers for Release of Thaelmann

A trade union delegate meeting, representing 3,300 clerical workers employed by London newspapers, has passed a resolution, with only four dissentients, protesting against the imprisonment of workers for their political activities in Germany. The resolution referred particularly to Klaus Zweitung, Max Kohler, Karl Baiere, and Edith Baumann, at present before the Berlin People's Court, and Ernst Thaelmann and Torgler. The resolution declares: "We realise that this court is constituted by members of the Nazi Party, who are not only enemies of the prisoners but are under instructions to make certain of their victims."

The union committee wanted to delete all references to individuals and to the constitution of the court, making the resolution just a condemnation of political imprisonment, with the addendum: "and urges the T.U.C. through the International Federation of T.U.s to continue its strong opposition to any policy of dictatorship."

The White Terror

The Rising Wave of Terror in Bulgaria

By D. Vlachov

The fascist military dictatorship of Bulgaria is facing innumerable difficulties. The economic and financial crisis is from day to day becoming more acute. The finances of the State are heading for bankruptcy; the fascist government itself admits that the deficit of last year's budget exceeds 1½ milliard leva. How much, then, must the deficit really come to? Misery and unemployment rage among wide sections of the people. Dismissals of officials, clerks and workers in the State enterprises are becoming more and more frequent. Workers are also being dismissed daily from the private factories. Unemployment relief and wages are being cut further. Terrible conditions of famine exist above all among the peasants of the conquered territories (Macedonia and Thrace). Whole districts, like Burgas, Schumen and Pleven, have fallen victim to the drought, destroying 60 to 70 per cent. of the crops, and have been condemned to famine.

The country is in the grip of the most terrible political terror. The working population lives in actual fact in a state of siege. Military and police patrol the towns and villages.

Two kinds of police force have been established: a civil police and a military. Employees and workers in the factories and workshops are in a state of mobilisation, and the whole population is compelled to perform spy duties for the State police.

For the emigrants and Macedonian refugees, as well as for the population of the district of Petritch, the fascist military dictatorship has a special language ready. By persecuting more apparently than actually the gang of the hangman Michailov, whom the government helped to flee the country, it endeavours to pose to the Macedonian masses as a government that is pursuing the offenders, the hangmen of the Macedonian people, the Michailov gang, which for eleven years has been murdering, torturing and robbing the Macedonian masses on behalf of Bulgarian imperialism. By taking steps against this gang, the Bulgarian fascist military dictatorship hope to smooth the way for their Macedonian tools, the fascist group Schandalov-Mirtchov. All the sympathies of the Macedonian masses belong to their national-revolutionary organisation, the I.M.R.O.

Nevertheless, it was all of no avail; neither the fascist murderers' "reform" activities and demagogic speeches nor the glorification of the army, neither the stimulation of nationalist and chauvinist passions and of hatred against the Communists nor the repeated and diverse promises made to the workers, peasants, artisans and intellectuals that their needs would be satisfied (work, relief, land, credit). The discontent and anger of the toiling masses are increasing and are assuming a decidedly revolutionary expression.

In view of this situation, Bulgaria's fascist military dictatorship has, parallel with an abundance of social demagogy, increased the bloody terror that is raging here without interruption. They are combing out almost the entire country. Scandalous mass trials are being instituted. The hellish machinery of the fascist military dictatorship has begun to move. Mass arrests are taking place almost everywhere and are going on day after day.

The facts are as follows:—

In Sofia 83 revolutionary workers and editors of workers' newspapers were arrested, as well as 40 soldiers. Very recently the workers functionaries Todorov and Marinski were arrested. A little time ago five revolutionary workers and functionaries were killed, among them Andreas Jurukov, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria. A few days ago about ten workers were arrested at the foot of Mount Vitoscha, near Sofia.

At Plovdiv 150 workers and soldiers were arrested, of whom 123 were placed before a military court on account of anti-military and anti-fascist activity. Only a little time ago 15 people, including 12 schoolboys, were arrested at the foot of the Sredna-Gora range in the district of Plovdiv.

In Pleven 95 workers and peasants from the town and district were arrested and placed before the fascist courts.

At Ferdinand 20 secondary schoolboys were arrested and placed before the courts.

At Stara Zagora seven workers, six of whom were juveniles, were caught while holding a meeting and simply beaten up.

In the district of **Petritch** (that part of Macedonia under Bulgarian rule) 300 workers, peasants and working intellectuals were arrested. They will be placed before the courts on account of activities hostile to the State.

During the last two weeks the activity of the police has developed still further:—

At **Russe** 45 workers were arrested. According to the government press, typewriters, duplicators and a primitive printing plant were found in their possession.

In the district of **Varna**, particularly in the village of **Botevo** and the neighbouring villages, close to the Rumanian frontier, about ten peasants were arrested. The authorities are trying to discover a printing shop.

In the district of **Berkovitz** ten peasants were arrested on a charge of "conspiracy."

At **Burgas** 60 workers, among them a large number of functionaries, were arrested.

Quite recently, at **Stara Zagora**, the government had 16 workers and workers' functionaries hunted out, so that they could be arrested.

At **Jambol** 30 workers were arrested.

At **Haskovo** 400 workers, including 70 children, were arrested. Two N.C.O.s of the garrison of this town were arrested, charged with having taken part in anti-fascist and anti-militarist "plots." The deputy of the workers' and peasants' bloc, the tobacco worker **Traiko Christov**, a Macedonian refugee, has been murdered in prison. The government asserts that he had dysentery, and died of it two days after being taken to hospital. The whole town knows that this is a lie. The entire population of this town, which is an important centre of the tobacco industry, is extremely indignant over these facts. An immense demonstration took place before the public buildings and in the streets. The graves of these victims were guarded by the police, in order to prevent their relatives, friends and comrades from approaching and exhuming the bodies. The government press announces that one of the men arrested, the worker **Andonov**, has opened an artery and thrown himself from the second storey of the prison.

Arrests have also taken place elsewhere, at **Lovetch**, **Ichtiman**, **Dolna-Bania**, etc.

— It is a fact that **all the arrested people have been ill-treated and tortured with indescribable cruelty**. We will mention here only a few of the facts concerning working men and women who have been set free as a result of the energetic resistance put up at home and of the mighty protests abroad, and also with the object of throwing dust in the eyes of the masses and persuading them that the government does not keep people whose guilt has not been proved in their prisons. They were bestially tortured in the following way:—

The printing worker **Alexandra Hadshidimova** was cruelly beaten, naked, with pieces of wood and iron bars. At present she is confined to bed, and has lost the sight of one eye. It is feared that she will go blind.

The worker **Boris Taskov** was tortured throughout the period of his interrogation, which lasted a fortnight. His head was squeezed together with special instruments. During the interrogation of the worker **Netzo Garvanski**, lasting ten days, he was denied bread and water, added to which the executioners poured a large dose of castor oil down his throat and rubbed the lower part of his body with turpentine. The worker **Kisselintchev** was terribly tortured; his head was compressed in a special instrument.

Tortures just as horrible took place before the military court at **Plovdiv**. All the defendants were cruelly ill-treated. Their evidence before the military court brought tears to the eyes of the many families present. In order to extract admissions from them, to compel them to sign statements previously prepared by the hangmen, they were subjected to the worst possible tortures. A nineteen-year-old soldier was propped against a wall for eight days and eight nights, in order to extract an admission that he had taken part in a plot for the overthrow of the fascist regime, and that he, an illiterate, had been nominated by the revolutionaries leader of the Red Artillery. . . .

The sum-total of this bloody oppression is, then, as follows:—

One thousand political prisoners, who have for years been languishing in the fascist dungeons, before the military fascist coup of May 19; among them 80 condemned to death.

During the fascist military dictatorship: 1,400 arrests, 500 arrested persons being placed before the courts.

Sixteen political murders.

Five hundred workers, peasants, secondary schoolboys, students, members and functionaries of the workers' movement and Macedonian revolutionaries are being hunted and persecuted by the police and military authorities.

But the working class of Bulgaria and all toilers in Bulgaria are putting up a powerful resistance to this shameful treatment, although they are being violently attacked. They are fighting bitterly against the most bloodthirsty oppressors. This struggle finds expression in the most various forms. The revolutionary papers and the leaflets issued by the Communist Party continue to appear and to be regularly distributed. Flying meetings are being organised in different parts of the big towns and above all in the capital.

The toiling masses of Bulgaria are compelled to carry on their struggle in extremely difficult conditions. The working-class movement has been forced into total illegality.

In their stubborn fight they need absolutely the **support of the international proletariat and of all anti-fascists**. The example provided by the liberation of **Dimitrov** and his comrades **Popov** and **Tanev** has shown very clearly which way is to be followed: the courageous struggle of the workers and peasants must, if it is to triumph, have the support of all anti-fascists throughout the whole world. The toiling masses of Bulgaria await, therefore, with certainty the effective help of their brothers in adversity and their brothers-in-arms.

For the Release of Hofmaier!

(From the Committee for the Release of Hofmaier!)

The protest movement against the further imprisonment of anti-fascists in Italy is growing. The proletarian press of many countries, especially of France, as well as the anti-fascist organisations are intervening with the greatest energy. The "patrons of the victims of fascism in Italy" are organising the sending of a delegation to investigate conditions in the Italian prisons and on the penal islands. The Socialist and the Communist Parties, which have just concluded a pact of unity of action, are supporting this action. Leading European writers, headed by **André Malraux**, have issued an urgent appeal for the release of **Gramsci** and **Hofmaier**, who have become symbols of the anti-fascist struggle.

Anti-fascist meetings were recently held in **Basle** and **Zurich**, at which representatives of various organisations expressed their support of the imprisoned anti-fascist fighters in Italy and spoke in favour of sending a delegation. Resolutions are being adopted in numerous workers' meetings demanding the release of **Hofmaier**. The movement is growing, but it must become still more powerful. Our Comrade **Hofmaier** and all the other anti-fascists are still in great and increasing danger. Only the protest and the struggle of the anti-fascists can wrest them from prison.

Comrade **Hofmaier** has been transferred to the prison in **Civitavecchia**, where he is kept in strict solitary confinement. His family in Switzerland have not received any news from him for a whole month. Letters sent to **Hofmaier** by his relatives are likewise not handed over to him. **Hofmaier's** wife was able to visit him at the middle of August. Her request to be allowed to talk with him in German was, however, refused. She energetically protested at the headquarters of the police in Rome, as well as at the Ministry of the Interior. It was only after several weeks that she received a reply informing her that she would be allowed to talk with her husband in German, but only in the presence of an official who knows German. As, however, there was no official in **Civitavecchia** having this qualification the visit could not take place. This is a downright lie on the part of the fascist bureaucracy.

The situation of the prisoners in general is very bad, but **Hofmaier** was treated even worse than the other prisoners in regard to food, books, correspondence, prison clothes and exercise. **Hofmaier**, who is the only foreigner who has been condemned by the Special Tribunal, is being given worse treatment because he is a staunch, unyielding anti-fascist. The fascists intend not to let him out of their clutches alive.

Six weeks ago **Hofmaier's** sister was summoned to the Italian Consulate in **Basle**, where she was shown a letter signed by **Mussolini** himself, stating that **Hofmaier** will be definitely conveyed to the Swiss-Italian frontier on October 25, i.e., four days before the day of release mentioned in a diplomatic Note. **Hofmaier** received the same communication in his prison cell. This information is intended to have a "calming" effect, for **Mussolini** is afraid of the anti-fascist mass movement. This news, however, only proves that the

fascist jailers, following the usual custom in Italy, intend to convey Hofmaier in a closed railway wagon in stages from one prison to another. Such a method of transport, carried out in the cold weather of late autumn, would have very serious effects on Hofmaier, who is already ill, apart from the danger of his being "shot while attempting to escape."

Hofmaier's situation has been worsened, although this may seem hardly possible. New tricks and manoeuvres are being made to fool and deceive his family by means of promises and the swindle of an amnesty. The anti-fascist movement of the masses must be increased under the slogan: Immediate release of Hofmaier and all other imprisoned anti-fascists!

My Visit to Tom Mooney

By Kurt Rosenfeld

It was on a beautiful Summer day when Tom Mooney's indefatigable defender, Leo Gallagher, took me with him to visit Mooney in the St. Quentin prison.

The sun shone on San Francisco Bay, the people whom we met were dressed in their Sunday clothes; everywhere peace and joy prevailed, even in the prison yard, where a band, consisting of prisoners, was playing a lively air.

However, the atmosphere was quite different when we entered the interior of the prison. We were conducted to a room in which the prisoners who have been condemned to long terms of imprisonment received visits. They were separated by a railing from the rest of the hall. The visitors were engaged in eager conversation with relatives or friends who were serving sentences.

The gloom of this hall seemed to disperse as Tom Mooney, with the prison number 31,921 on his shirt, was led in. He came towards us with head erect and his face beaming. It was hard to believe that here was a man who had already served 18 years, the best years of his life, in prison.

We were introduced to him. When he heard that years ago I had on many occasions defended Rosa Luxemburg, tears came into his eyes, I knew not why. It was only when we came to say good-bye that he himself told me the reason. He said that there suddenly came back to his memory the International Socialist Congress in Copenhagen in the year 1910, at which he got to know Rosa Luxemburg. He was not a delegate to this Congress, but was able to go to Copenhagen because at that time he had won a competition in which the prize—a free trip to Copenhagen to attend the Congress—was awarded to the one who could obtain the largest number of subscribers for the American workers' paper.

I asked Mooney what time during these 18 years in which he had been deprived of freedom was the worst for him: the time immediately after his arrest, or after he was sentenced to death, or while serving his life sentence. He replied that for him there has never been a particularly bad time, because he had been innocently arrested and condemned, and because this feeling of innocence had enabled him to endure everything.

Leo Gallagher informed his client of the steps which he now intended to take to secure his release, and I asked Mooney what result he expected from the new appeal which would be prepared. He replied that he did not expect anything from all the efforts of his defender unless the workers of the whole world took up his case more energetically and exerted greater pressure than hitherto on the government. I promised him, as did also Aneurin Bevan, the English Labour member of parliament, who was with me, to arouse the interest of the European workers on his behalf. He thanked us, but he was more concerned about the fate of other comrades than his own, and he urgently requested us to do something for comrade Tamara and other comrades who were likewise in prison. This unselfish attitude of Tom Mooney reminded me of Rosa Luxemburg, whom I often visited in prison, and who, like Tom Mooney, never thought of herself, but only of others.

The ten minutes' visiting time were soon over. Tom Mooney went back with beaming eyes to his cell. We realised, however, that only a man who is innocent and has such a strong character as Tom Mooney could bear up so bravely.

In my 27 years' practice as a lawyer I have visited very many prisoners, but very rarely have I met a man on whose spirit the crushing prison regime had so little effect.

It is the duty of all of us to do everything possible in order that such a man as Tom Mooney shall be restored to freedom and to the workers' movement.

Protest Demonstration to Save Rakosi

Prague, September 28.

At Krc (near Prague) a workers' demonstration was held and sent a protest telegram to the Hungarian Embassy demanding the immediate release of Rakosi.

A Unique Factory in the Soviet Union

Under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union the masses of the workers in the Soviet Union are rapidly mastering modern industrial technique and developing a socialist culture. Every new factory, etc., which is opened in the Soviet Union represents a new and brilliant page in the history of socialist industrialisation, in the struggle to develop the Soviet Union into the most highly-progressed industrial country in the world. The opening up of new giants of industry has become almost a daily phenomenon in the Soviet Union, but the recently opened engineering works in Kramatorsk nevertheless represented a tremendous event. The Kramatorsk are something more than an industrial giant. Kramatorsk is unique and the capitalist countries of Europe have nothing which can compare with it. Kramatorsk is a tremendous fortress of socialism, one of the pillars of the economic independence of the Soviet Union from the capitalist world. Kramatorsk is in a position to provide almost half of the total supplies of equipment required by the foundry industry of the Soviet Union.

Four years ago, in August, 1930, when the plans for the Kramatorsk works were being discussed, the chairman of the Association of German Engineers, Matschos, declared in a talk with Soviet economists: "The plans are magnificent, overwhelming, but tell me, do you really think that you will ever carry them into execution? Why, even Germany could not afford to build such a works."

But Matchos and his bourgeois friends do not yet understand the bitter irony of that little word "even." The fact is that only the Soviet Union and not one of the capitalist countries can afford to build works like Kramatorsk. The capitalist countries dare not even dream of such a thing. The leaders of capitalist industry have other troubles. They are anxious to limit production and wonder what on earth they are to do with the works which have already been closed down. They have no time to think of building giants like Kramatorsk.

Only a socialist country like the Soviet Union can dare to undertake such constructive works because it is a country in which the productive forces are developing as never before anywhere in the history of the world. Only a country like the Soviet Union, which is striding forward to the building up of a classless society, dare undertake such gigantic tasks which reflect the power of the proletariat which is steadily carrying out a technical revolution of the whole economic system.

The history of the building of Kramatorsk is a living illustration of the words of Comrade Stalin: "There are no obstacles which the Bolsheviks cannot scale." Nowhere in the whole world, not even in the United States, is there any work which could compare with Kramatorsk for the size and capacity of its workshops and the complication of its modern machinery.

The Kramatorsk works have been built from beginning to end exclusively according to the plans of Soviet engineers and architects. Three years ago the ground on which Kramatorsk now stands was waste land. One thing still stands as a sign of what was, an old windmill. Otherwise the land is covered with great modern buildings connected by asphalt roads and the spaces between them are lawns and flower-beds, carefully tended. It is a factory garden city with light, air and cleanliness in the highest degree. A beautiful avenue of poplar trees goes through the factory territory over a mile long.

The style, a combination of metal and green, has placed its stamp on the whole countryside. It is the style of the new socialist industry. The day on which Kramatorsk was opened was a great day not only for the heroic band of workers, engineers and architects who created it, but for the whole of the Soviet Union which has taken an active part in furthering the construction work.

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

How the Ukrainian Workers and Employees Live

By Our Special Moscow Correspondent, L. F. Boross

(IV.) IN THE NEW DWELLING HOUSES FOR WORKERS

About 40 per cent. of the workers employed in the great Kiev machine-building works, where we are making an inquiry into the standards of living of the workers, are already living in the numerous new houses and comfortable flats erected by the undertaking for its workers and employees. Others are living scattered about in the town, in the former dwelling houses of the bourgeoisie. For the purposes of our inquiry the newly-built blocks of houses are more suitable. Here the workers of one undertaking are living concentrated on one spot; in every flat there are workers or employees of the works. This renders it possible to make a systematic investigation, without giving previous notice, without preparation, and without being exposed to the accidental obstacles incurred by picking out separate test dwellings at random.

I chose the following method. I visited all the flats of one section of the house block occupied by the workers employed in the works in question (Revolution Street). The staircase of the block of flats on the left of the quadrangle led to the flats Nos. 29 to 40. Let us first note, impartially and without comment, what we find here.

Flats Nos. 39 and 40 are on the top floor.

No. 39. Occupant **Hawailen**, a middle-aged unskilled worker employed in working a crane. Wages 160 roubles monthly. He was not at home, but his wife was just returning from the small allotment garden, which is one of the privileges of the factory worker here. She had two great baskets of tomatoes. The impression she made, however, was not favourable—her expression a compound of mistrust, bigotry, craftiness. Obviously relations were very cool between her and the daughter and son-in-law sharing the flat. The cause was not far to seek. In her room the picture of a saint hung in the corner, whilst the room of the young couple contained pictures of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin, and possessed a bookshelf on which the Marxist classics predominated. I made some reference to this difference, and the elder woman at once gave vent to what was evidently her grievance: "My husband is always wanting to take the holy picture down! But I have told him that if he takes it down I shall go away. I don't want to have anything to do with the new life."

"Why not?"

"I just don't want to," was the scarcely illuminating reply.

"It is difficult to help her," explained the daughter. "The poison injected by the priests has penetrated too deeply. She sees nothing of our life and does not want to see anything. She lives isolated from it all like a sick person."

The son-in-law, **Dereglasov**, is a student at the **Political College**. He receives a grant of 250 roubles. After graduating he will become a leading functionary on a Soviet farm, in a district administrative body, or something similar. Not only does his course of study at the college cost nothing, but he is able to maintain his wife on his grant, so that she is not working at the present time, but keeps house, whilst her mother works in the allotment garden.

The young couple spend their leisure hours in sport, reading, and learning; sometimes they go to the theatre or cinema.

No. 40 is a similar flat, but arranged more comfortably. Here the occupant is **Kurschunov**, head bookkeeper of the supplies department of the works. Responsible and trying work, but he has a salary of 600 roubles. He is one of the old type of office worker, and his wife has a decidedly petty bourgeois air. But the children have already grown into the creative Soviet atmosphere. The elder son (14 years old) intends to be an architect and to build a second Dnieprostroy. The parents, too, are enthusiastic about the magnificent work of socialist construction. They are quite satisfied with their lives: "I am earning as much as a highly skilled worker," said **Kurschunov**. An involuntary turn of speech

which betrays much: In the Soviet Union the highly skilled worker is the standard for judging the prosperity of a person.

After visiting these two flats, where old and new are living together in various combinations—one family in bitter antagonism, the other in peaceful and satisfied capitulation of the old to the new—I tried No. 37 (nobody at home at 38), where a turner **Monayenko** lives. That is to say, he worked at the lathe till February of this year, and then took up study at the Technological Institute. I found that he was away on holiday. His old mother received me, and told me about her son. They are both living on his grant as a student of the Technological Institute. He had earned much more as a turner, but studying appears to be an infectious disease.

"I, too," said the old woman, "have been reading a great deal since **Nikolai** has brought so many books to the house. Whilst he is studying we must of course live more economically, but I find it astonishing enough, as an old woman who has gone through times when such a thing would have been impossible, that anyone can study and still keep himself and his mother. In my day people could only be students if their parents could pay for it. If that had been the case now **Nikolai** would never have had the chance to study at all. Now he will soon be an engineer, and then we shall be able to live better."

The flat is simply furnished, but homely and comfortable. Plenty of flowers, plenty of books and pictures.

Further down the stairs, at No. 36, lives the technical manager of the works and their most highly paid employees. Opposite, in No. 35, there lives a worker's widow with eight children. This contrast is so sharp—when we see it with eyes accustomed to the conditions in capitalist countries—that we must devote a special letter to it. We now pass on to No. 34.

A young married couple live here with their baby and "**Babuschka**" (grandmother). The occupant of the flat, the "householder," to employ the official bourgeois term, is the young wife, **Maria Boyarskaya**. She is a fitter by trade; a few weeks ago she was advanced to inspector. A fresh-looking, cheerful proletarian. Every movement and every word mirror the physical and mental soundness of the young Soviet generation. Nothing betrays that for twelve years, since she was fourteen, she has been performing the hard work of a machine-fitter.

Her husband, two years older, is a worker in a sugar factory. That is to say, this is how he began. Meanwhile he has attended evening courses of instruction, and has become a technician. The inclined plane on which no one can stop appears to be reversed in the Soviet Union. Here it appears to be impossible to avoid taking part in the upward movement. After working as a technician for a few years, **Leonon Boyarski** gave up his well-paid situation for the time being. "I can always get another place," he declared. "There is never any difficulty about that here." He is now continuing his studies in the Mechanical Department of the Foodstuffs Institute, and is learning the work of an engineer of the foodstuffs industry. He is in receipt of a grant of 130 roubles and 50 roubles as a shock brigadier. **Maria** is taking a correspondence course in political economy. She would like to become a physician. As soon as **Leonin** has finished his studies, she will give up her situation in the factory and take up study in the medical college.

"Whether I then decide to be a physician or a fitter depends on a number of things. I am very fond of my work as a fitter, and I am especially fond of my factory. On the other hand, I am tremendously interested in medicine. It does no harm to have two professions, one manual and the other intellectual."

This is **Maria Boyarskaya's** view of life. The day before

yesterday she returned, full of the joy of life, from the wonderful Caucasian health resort of Essentuki, where she had been sent by her factory.

The working day of this couple is as follows: Ten to fifteen minutes' physical exercises immediately on getting up. Then to work: He goes to the Institute from 9 to 3; she goes to the factory from 7 to 3 (with one hour for dinner). He takes dinner in the Institute, she in the factory, the child in the kindergarten. Even the grandmother has taken to the idea of communal feeding, and takes her meals in the common dining room of the house block rather than cook a solitary meal for herself. Here the food costs more than in a factory, as the dining room is run without a subsidy, but old people can permit themselves this additional luxury if they have such a daughter as this, and such a Soviet power making the life of the daughter so much easier!

Leisure hours? He has very little leisure. He has one or two hours of social work to do after his work in the Institute. He is a trade union functionary. Arrived home, he studies till midnight. She, too, has a number of social activities; she is a candidate for membership of the Communist Party, and this imposes many duties. Nevertheless she has more free time than he. She has time for the theatre; she reads, draws, paints, and pursues many interests. On days when both are free, they go boating or hiking together.

No. 33. **Krisantov**. After 27 years of work as a carpenter and many hours of instruction in evening classes, he rose first to foreman and then recently to head of the stock department. A typical "workers' fate" in the Soviet Union.

No. 32. Nobody came in answer to the ring.

No. 31. Away.

No. 30. **Baldovski**, founder. He has been unwell of late, and has therefore been given lighter work in the factory. He is proud of his three-roomed flat with bath-room, kitchen, telephone, flowers everywhere. "We live well in the full sense of the term. When I come back here from work I feel as if I were in a health resort." Four sons: Leonti, railway technician; Arkadi, higher grade railway clerk; Konstantin, leather technician; Anatoli, still attending secondary school, is to become technician. All the sons, except the youngest, are in good positions.

No. 29. **Alexander Boyko**, 53 years of age, gray hair, thick black beard, was just coming home with his books under his arm. He is a polisher, and has been working for 40 years at his trade, 32 years in the same factory. He is now taking courses of evening instruction in the technical school, after his seven-hour working day.

"It is some decades since I finished my first course of technical training," he said. "But now the young people are advancing more and more, and I do not want to be left behind. I have taken part in the labour movement since I was a child, and now that every worker is acquiring education I am not going to remain ignorant."

This block of houses is like many others. It contains, like many others, a medley of different human types and temperaments. It shows the relations between the last remnants of the old life and the rapid advance of the new. There are still people like Mrs. Hawailen, in whom religious stupefaction has utterly destroyed their capacity for living. But in this block of houses she is only a small island in a great sea. And again there are such people as the head bookkeeper, who have perhaps taken up the new life somewhat uncertainly, but like it and feel happy in it. The remainder are all people with definite aims in life, and unlimited perspectives, boundless spheres of activity.

There is not a single workers' dwelling, not one single workers' family, without an engineer, a technician, or a student; not one without the consciousness of performing great and useful work; not one without the determination to increase his powers and abilities for carrying out this work, and either to continue to take part in it, with approaching age, by means of the children, or to keep up jealously with youth, like old Boyko, and enter into competition with the happy young people. This is no longer mere confidence in the future, but a race through the great present to the even greater future.

(V.) A WORKER'S WIDOW WITH EIGHT CHILDREN

In flat No. 35 of the house at No. 7 Revolution Street there lives a widow named **Ulyanova**, the mother of eight children. Her husband worked as a fitter in Kiev Arsenal, and died in 1919,

shortly before Kiev was finally freed from the White bands. The widow Ulyanova thus commenced her life as a widow almost at the same time as Soviet life commenced in Kiev. How did she bear her fate, and what has become of her eight children?

The widow of a working man—even if she has not eight children, but only two or three—is the poorest and most wretched human being imaginable in a capitalist country. Mrs. Ulyanova went through this experience before she was actually a widow. Her husband was incapacitated for work during the last three years of his life, and she maintained the whole family by sewing army underwear: one shirt for 5 copecks, pants 3 copecks; hundred shirts 5 roubles; 100 pants 3 roubles. What food it was possible to buy the eight children with this can only be told by the fellow-workers of the sick husband, who often divided their last crust of black bread with them.

At the time of her husband's death Kiev was passing through a brief intermediate period of Bolshevik rule, between two White episodes. She told me how the Communists had at once cared for her children, provided for their education, and helped her, too, as far as possible under the difficult conditions of that time. But shortly afterwards Denikin occupied the town, and her troubles commenced again. The White rulers demanded that she pay school fees, 800 roubles for all the children. These were not full-value roubles, but still the sum was higher than she could ever hope to earn. So she had to take her children from school. Day and night she sat at the sewing machine, cold and starving, cursing a thousand times every day her own life, and the rulers responsible for her leading such a life.

At last the Bolsheviks put an end to White rule. The widow's hopes rose again. The children could go to school once more. The widow got work in a factory. She had not learnt any trade, and had to be content to take work as a charwoman. But now her work was held in respect; she was no longer a slave, forced to accept everybody's orders in silence, but a co-manager of the factory in which she worked, a collaborator whose opinion was listened to on all questions. Hence she took up this work with the utmost pleasure, although she still had to work very hard. She worked on night shift, and looked after her children during the day. Creches, kindergarten, hot dinner in the schools—all the institutions now a matter of course to the proletarian women of the Soviet Union, were at that time things of the future, items of a programme still on paper. On Bolshevik paper, however, on which the victorious working class wrote its orders. The years that followed were still years of hard struggle; but they were no longer a struggle for bare existence, but an upward movement towards a really happy socialist life for the workers.

Soon the eldest son, Andre, was able to go to a factory as a fitter. Now there were two pairs of hands working, but still there were nine mouths to be fed. But presently the other children started work, and the family was able to buy its first real furniture. Andre was sent from the factory to the Technical College.

"My first dream was fulfilled," said the widow. "When I was 13 years old I commenced work as a servant girl in a bourgeois household. I hated these bourgeois ladies from the first moment. I often asked myself: Is it only the children of the bourgeoisie who are clever? Are all proletarian children so stupid that they are fit for nothing else, all their lives, beyond drudging for their exploiters? And this was the first question which I put to the Soviet power."

And what was the reply?

Andre, now 34 years old, has become an engineer; he is married and has two children, happy Soviet children who have never known poverty and deprivation. **Yefrosina**, now 31 years old, was a factory worker. She married a worker, who is now deputy manager of the fish-curing establishment in Kasan. She does not, however, want to live as a "housewife," and is continuing to study; next year she will graduate from the Chemical Technical Institute and will become a chemical engineer.

Elisabeth, 29 years of age, is a physician. She is the only one of the eight children who took up one of the learned professions from the beginning. All the others commenced at the work bench, and took up further study whilst working. She is now working as children's doctor at the Kiev Polyclinic.

Anna, 27 years old, engineer on the South-West Railway; married; her husband is also an engineer.

Antonina, 26 years old, at first a polisher, now student at the machine-building institute. Intends to be an engineer.

Pavel, 24 years old, metal turner, intends taking up further study.

Alexander, 22 years old, metal turner, which he intends to remain. At a health resort at the time of my visit.

Eugenia, 21 years of age, works as secretary in a factory.

What would have become of the widow Ulyanova and her eight children under capitalist conditions may be left to the judgment of those proletarian women who have met with such fates themselves.

Mrs. Ulyanova is living in comfortable prosperity. Some of her children have made homes of their own, others are still living with her and are earning well. How has she accomplished this?

She warns against any illusions on the subject. The Soviet power did not make her a present of this prosperity, but it gave her the possibility of fighting for and working for this prosperity. This is not a country in which the roasted pigeons fly into the mouths of the population. She has had to work hard; she gave her socialist factory the best of her powers; first as a charwoman, then as housekeeper for the crèche; in her free time as women's organiser, as fighter against backward traditions, for the new way of living, for the social education of the children. Therefore socialism has given her the best it can give a worker at its present stage of development. For yesterday it could not give as much as to-day, and to-morrow it will be able to give very much more. "The most important thing is that we all work properly."

The standard of living of the Ulyanova family may be expressed in figures: The widow and the four youngest children living with her are earning about 1,000 roubles monthly. But if the question arises about the price of this or that object in the house, often the reply is: "Mother was given this comfortable bed as a prize for her excellent work in the crèche. Alexander's motor-boat is a prize for shock brigade work." Food? "We don't need to go without anything we want." Accommodation? Three rooms, bath-room, kitchen—the average flat owned by all shock brigaders of the "Red Banner Order" factory after they have worked a certain number of years in the factory. Similar flats are provided for the permanent workers of the "Bolshevik" metal works, with the difference only that the "Red Banner," being in the centre of the town, builds high blocks of flats, whilst the "Bolsheviks," on the outskirts, builds for its workers houses for one, two, or three families.

The furnishing and equipment of the Ulyanova flat are ample—pictures, palms, piano, clothes. In clothes the men appear to be more easily satisfied: each has two suits (besides working clothes), and an autumn and winter coat. The women are well provided, probably beyond the average. The youngest daughter, Eugenia, for instance, has two woollen dresses, three silk dresses, and five cotton dresses. The mother, too, is beginning—if somewhat too late—to enjoy the pleasure of a well-filled wardrobe.

The Ulyanova family is living prosperously. Does every family in the Soviet Union live like this? Not by any means. But it is a degree of prosperity which has already been attained by millions of workers and employees who have worked for years in socialist undertakings. In many cases the level of prosperity is even higher. Many attain this standard of living rapidly, many more slowly, according to the energy and abilities which they apply to the whole development of their workers' State.

The Voyage of the Soviet Ice-Breaker "Lidtké"

By A. Garri (Moscow)

Moscow, September 21.

The Soviet ice-breaker "Fedor Lidtké" has arrived in Murmansk from Far-Eastern waters. "Fedor Lidtké," for the first time in the history of Arctic navigation, has made the journey through the Great North Passage in one navigation season, but not from the West to the East like the "Sibir-jakov" and "Chelyuskin," but in the reverse direction. "Lidtké" sailed from Vladivostok on June 28, and after a hard fight with the masses of ice in the Sea of Okhotsk arrived on August 12 at the Samuel Islands in order to free the merchant ships which had stayed there over the winter. After the successful carrying out of this work the "Lidtké," together with the ice-breaker "Yermak," convoyed through the ice an expedition of freight steamers which were on the way to the mouth of the Lena with cargoes from European waters. In addition it helped to refloat the English steamer "Marklin," which had run aground.

The scientific collective on board the "Lidtké" was able to gather exceedingly valuable scientific material during the voyage, which constitutes a fresh contribution to the exploration of the sea routes of the Arctic region. The expedition occupied itself mainly with the study of the hydrologic conditions of all the seas traversed by the "Lidtké," as well as with the character and the distribution of the ice. With this wonderful voyage the "Lidtké" has once again furnished proof that uninterrupted traffic in the Great North Passage is possible not only for ice-breakers but also for freight steamers, and therewith also becomes possible the economic opening up of the most remote Arctic regions.

The "Lidtké" has dropped anchor in Murmansk harbour after having made the voyage through the great Northern sea route from East to West in one navigation season.

All previous attempts to sail through the Far Northern passage were made from West to East, mainly because the North-Eastern extremity of Russia was at that time an uninhabited waste which could in no way serve as a base for serious expeditions, having to reckon with the possibility of lying ice-bound the whole winter. The splendid success of the "Lidtké" expedition was due to a considerable extent to that preparatory work which had been carried out in the last few years by the Soviet economic and scientific organisations in the Arctic.

Kamchatka, Chukotia and Taimyr district have completely changed their appearance in the last few years. In the spring of this year the whole world was astonished that Chukotia could serve as a base for one of the boldest operations in the history of Arctic explorations: the rescue of over 100 people from an ice floe by means of aeroplanes. The voyage of the "Lidtké," the release of an expedition wintering on *Wrangel Island* by the ice-breaker "Krassin," as well as a number of other voyages in the Eastern part of the Soviet Arctic which were successfully carried out this year, are living witnesses of the successes achieved by us in the last few years in the sphere of technique, science and culture.

A glance at the map suffices to show that the ice-breaker "Lidtké," which forced its way through masses of Polar ice which only yesterday were considered impenetrable, sailed past dozens of large and small centres of culture which have arisen on the wild coast of North Siberia. On islands, in bays, on frowning rocks and bleak promontories rising up out of the eternal ice, they met whole flotillas of Soviet ships, the bold pioneers of the conquest of the Arctic. During its successful voyage the "Lidtké" was in constant contact through the wireless with the outer world. Feverish activity was carried on during the whole year in the Soviet sector of the Arctic: new dwelling houses, storage depots, wireless stations, schools, libraries and clinics have been erected.

The dream which filled the minds of Polar explorers of all countries for several centuries has been fulfilled: the voyage from the Pacific to the Atlantic Ocean via the great Northern sea route has been realised in one navigation season. And this heroic deed has been accomplished without any of that noisy advertisement which is an inevitable feature of similar undertakings in the bourgeois world, without unnecessary sensation, without unnecessary words, as the result of joint efforts of a modest collective of conquerors of the future.

* * * * *

It is interesting to note that the history of Arctic exploration knows no expedition of world importance about which so little was spoken or written as the voyage of the "Lidtké." When we accompanied *Duplitzky*, *Wise* and others to *Vladivostok*, we had literally to squeeze every word out of them in order to be able to inform the millions of our readers of the details of the approaching voyage. This quietness and reticence of the leaders of the expedition, which was destined to add a new chapter to the history of the conquest of the Arctic, can be explained as due mainly to their firm assurance of victory. Every year we penetrate the Arctic with more confidence. Every new expedition, beginning with the voyage of the two Soviet ice-breakers to Spitzbergen in 1928, to the heroic deed of the "Chelyuskin" people, adds to the experience of our Polar voyagers and makes it easier to overcome the approaching difficulties.

The ease with which the voyage of the "Lidtké" was made was only apparent. On the journey from the Pacific to the Atlantic Ocean the heroic collective of the ice-breaker, of course, encountered many difficulties. There were hard fights against the masses of ice, and there were several episodes in the course of which the

leaders of the expedition had to face the prospect of spending the winter in the Arctic.

But the people in our country know how to pick up and store the smallest grain of experience. Equipped with all the lessons which we have learnt in the last few years, the "Lidtko" set out to make the voyage through the Northern passage in a westerly direction. The joint leadership and running a ship under such difficult conditions were assured by the leader of the expedition *Duplitzky* and Captain *Nikolayev*.

The scientific work during the voyage was entrusted to Professor *Vladimir Juljevitch Wise* and his immediate collaborators. The name of Professor Wise is well known to the workers of the Soviet Union. This eminent scientist and man of action is one of the oldest Polar explorers in the Soviet Union, and combines many years' experience of Polar voyages with a thorough and all-round scientific preparation and the indomitable temperament of the conqueror of the future which is characteristic of the men of our epoch. Since the *Sjedov* expedition right up to the present time there has been no serious Arctic expedition in which Professor W. J. Wise has not taken an active part. It is the happy lot of this brilliant scientist to make a journey every year into the region of the eternal ice, to deliver reports and speeches at international conferences, to write scientific works and popular pamphlets, and to conduct systematic research work in the Arctic Institute of the Soviet Union.

The voyage from the Pacific Ocean to the Atlantic Ocean in one navigation season is, like the voyages of the "Sibiryakov" and "Chelyuskin," an event of world-wide importance. The Soviet Polar voyagers, equipped with the latest technique of the Soviet Union and on the basis of real revolution which has taken place in the last few years on the whole coast of the Soviet Arctic, have succeeded in accomplishing that which was beyond the power of their forerunners.

When the Tsarist Government, in the year 1909, launched two ice-breakers, the "Taimyr" and the "Vajgatch," intended for journeys on the North-Eastern Sea route from East to West, this represented an attempt with unsuitable means. The ice-breakers, built on the line of Nansen's "Fram," proved unsuitable for journeys under the conditions obtaining in the Eastern part of the Russian sector of the Arctic. In the first years (1910-1911) it was intended that these two ships, after arriving in Vladivostok, should undertake hydrographic work from the Bering Straits to Kolym. In the year 1912 this work was to be continued to the mouth of the Lena. At the same time the two ice-breakers, if circumstances permitted, were to make their way further West round the North Coast of the Taimyr Peninsula, taking in coal in Alexandrovsk on the coast of Murmansk. This latter task was not accomplished until the year 1915. The ships were badly equipped and the preparations for the expedition absolutely inadequate.

L. L. Breitfuss, who took part in this expedition, discouraged by the four years of futile fight against the pack-ice, maintained in the report which he drew up after his return to St. Petersburg, that the North-Eastern voyage was an unrealisable dream.

Even if the expedition of the "Taimyr" and "Vajgatch" considerably broadened our knowledge of the seas which wash the coast of Siberia, the fundamental scientific results of this expedition, with the exception of some maps were never published. The Tsarist Government, which pursued narrow strategic aims in exploring the Arctic, lightly passed over the scientific material collected by the pioneers of navigation in the Arctic. A considerable part of this material has been lost and cannot be utilised by us. The Arctic voyages of the Soviet Union had to commence all over again.

In our Arctic expeditions, on the other hand, we attach chief importance to collecting all-round scientific material, to practical application of the secrets wrested from nature for the scientific and cultural development of our Northern Coastal regions.

The heroic voyage of the "Lidtko" and the high qualifications of its leaders, of the scientific staff and of the commander, have provided us with the possibility of enriching our knowledge in the sphere of Arctic exploration with highly valuable material, which will promote the further victorious advance of the Soviet Power in socialist science and socialist culture in what until recently was the desolate North and North-Eastern border regions of the Asiatic Continent.

The Preparations for the Soviet Elections

Moscow, October 1, 1934.

The whole of the Soviet Union is making preparations for the Soviet elections. At the Seventh Congress the Soviet government will give an account of its activity during the last 3½ years not only to the delegates but to the toilers of the whole country. This year more than 90 million electors will take part in the Soviet elections. All toilers over the age of 18 will take part in the elections. The Soviet elections are a political mass campaign and a great checking up of the victories of socialist construction. They are a powerful instrument for organising the millions of workers, collective peasants and Soviet intellectuals for the further struggle for the construction of Socialism and the consolidation of the Soviets—the organs of the proletarian dictatorship.

The newspapers publish an appeal of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union to the toilers regarding this year's Soviet elections. In this appeal it is stated inter alia: The country is covered with a network of new factories, workshops, Soviet estates, collective farms and machine and tractor stations. New towns, large industrial centres like Magnitogorsk, Stalinsk, Karaganda, Beresniki, etc., have arisen. The industrial centres of the Soviet country are growing at an unheard-of tempo on the basis of successful socialist industrialisation and are becoming model, socialist towns, in which care for the cultural life of the toilers occupies first place. Tremendous economic and cultural successes were achieved in the national Republics by means of a brotherly collaboration of all nations of the Soviet Union and by the application of the correct policy of the Party and the Soviet power. The collective farms, whose triumph in the Soviet Union is final and unshakable, have secured the tremendous economic, political and cultural development of the village. This year millions of collective peasants, the builders of socialist agriculture, are taking part in the Soviet elections. During the last three years the number of electors has increased by more than ten millions. These new millions are the youth who have grown up in the Soviet country and who are taking part in the Soviet elections for the first time. The Soviet intellectuals have for the greater part come from the ranks of the workers and peasants. They now form a very considerable group of electors in the Soviet country. Our country is entering the election campaign after having achieved great victories in industry, agriculture, in the cultural sphere and in foreign policy. The electors of the Soviet Union realise that they will achieve further socialist victories in the daily, often very fierce, struggles with the enemy classes. The last representatives still existing of the capitalist classes are attempting to penetrate into the Soviet institutions in order to use them in their own interests. It is the task of the Soviets to expose in time the undermining work and the sinister designs of the enemies of the toilers. The big Soviet fatherland, whose power has enormously increased during the last few years, has become a bulwark of peace in the whole world. The peace policy of the government, which gives expression to the deep longing of all peoples of the Soviet Union, is being recognised and supported by all friends of peace even beyond the frontiers of the Soviet Union. The anti-Soviet imperialist forces which are striving to kindle new wars, to annex foreign territory and enslave foreign peoples, are still threatening our great socialist country. Therefore it is the task of the Soviets to increase the defensive forces of the Soviet country, before all to strengthen the Red workers' and peasants' army, this reliable protector of the Soviet frontiers.

The Soviet elections must demonstrate the iron will of the workers and collective peasants of all nations of the Soviet country and their readiness not only to perform peaceful work, but also heroically to defend their Soviet country against the attacks of its enemies. The nations of the Soviet Union are fighting for a common aim, they are proceeding on the same path to Communism, and all who oppose them on this path will be swept away. The Soviets, as the guardians of the interests of the toiling masses, are in duty bound to safeguard the rights of the workers, the collective peasants and Soviet intellectuals, to prevent unlawful measures of the administrative organs and to instil into the masses the socialist sense of justice.

At the same time the Soviet press is publishing several decrees of the Central Executive Committee regarding alterations in the election law. According to this decree, that portion of the population which, although formerly hostile to the Soviet Power and the

collective farms, is now atoning for its guilt by honest, conscientious and socially useful work, is also granted the franchise. This clause refers in the first place to the children of banished kulaks, in so far as they engage in socially useful work and are doing their work conscientiously. The right to vote is also granted to those kulaks who over a period of five years have proved by conscientious work and support of the measures of the Soviet government that they deserve to be regarded as Soviet citizens. Those who come under this category, in particular young workers who have distinguished themselves as shock-brigaders and are actively taking part in social work, may receive the franchise even before the end of the fixed term.

In an article devoted to the Soviet elections, the "Pravda" writes:—

"The three and a half years which have elapsed since the Sixth Soviet Congress have been for the whole capitalist world a period of constant economic decline in town and country. Only the Soviet country strode rapidly forwards. Only the Soviet government is able to declare to the whole country: The Soviet Union has achieved fresh great victories and made further progress. The country has become stronger, more powerful, richer. The material and cultural well-being of the toilers in town and country is growing from year to year. Unemployment has long since ceased to exist. The Soviet country is continuing its development of Soviet proletarian democracy by drawing the broad masses of toilers, the women and the youth and the national minorities into active participation in the elections and in socialist work. In the capitalist countries, on the other hand, the masses of toilers are barred from participation in the government of the State. In many countries the bourgeoisie does not grant the franchise to women and is raising the age qualification of the youth.

The Soviet government summons the workers to wage at the Soviet elections the struggle for socialist justice and consciousness of justice. The bourgeoisie, which is entrusting the fascists with the reigns of government, is resorting to brute force and openly exposing its bestial countenance of arbitrariness and cruelty. The Soviet government is the most stable, unshakable government in the world. The Soviet government is the most stable government that exists, for it is indissolubly connected with the masses of millions of workers and peasants, whose will it embodies and realises.

The Week in the Soviet Union

The General Staff of Socialist Industry

One of the most important events of the past week in Moscow was the conference of the managers, engineers and technical experts employed in the heavy industrial undertakings of the Soviet Union. The conference analysed in detail the work already performed during the past eight months to carry out this year's programme of production. The conference also laid down the measures necessary to terminate the whole year's plan successfully as the necessary basis for a new great advance in 1935, the third year of the second Five-Year Plan.

What were the most important results of the past eight months? In this period heavy industry fulfilled 64.5 per cent. of the total year's plan. In the corresponding period of 1932 the percentage fulfilled was only 47, whilst last year it was only 56.8. According to the plan Soviet heavy industry must produce to a value of 19,770 million roubles, representing an increase of 23.3 per cent. as compared with 1933. During the past eight months the total value produced was 12,816 million roubles, or an increase of 28.4 per cent. as compared with the value of production in the corresponding period of 1933.

In the first seven months of this year Soviet heavy industry succeeded for the first time in securing a reduction in production costs by at least 5 per cent., whilst the productivity of labour-power increased by 11.8 per cent.

These figures show that under the leadership of the Communist Party the workers of the Soviet Union are still advancing victoriously along the whole front of socialist construction and in particular on the heavy industrial front, and that the enthusiasm of the workers is allying itself with the mastery of modern industrial technique.

The economic leaders of Soviet heavy industry came together not to celebrate their victories, but to prepare the ground for new victories. The chief attention of the conference was directed

towards the situation in the backward areas and towards the tasks which have not been completely fulfilled. The fulfilment of the plan tasks is the best measure of the success of Soviet heavy industry, but the balance of its work and success must not be judged by this alone, but by the degree of utilisation of all those material forces and supplies which are placed so lavishly by the economic system of the Soviet Union at the disposal of heavy industry.

The People's Commissar for Heavy Industry, **Comrade Orjonnikidze**, therefore raised the question of "how far we still have unused reserves and how we can mobilise them and harness them in our work," in order to obtain still greater successes and to provide the country with a still greater volume of heavy industrial production.

The figures provided by Comrade Orjonnikidze were a tribute to the persistent and self-sacrificing efforts of the workers of the Soviet Union in their ceaseless struggle to build up socialism. Since the beginning of the first Five-Year Plan up to June, 1934, the Soviet Union invested 32 milliard roubles in its heavy industry. Basic funds to a total of 21,700 million roubles were handed over to the undertakings. At the beginning of this year Soviet heavy industry held material values to a total of 40 milliard roubles and employed six million workers, clerical employees, engineers and technical experts.

The workers of the Soviet Union have the right to demand that this enormous accumulation of values shall be carefully administered and that the reserves of heavy industry shall be used to the full to increase production and swell the resources of the country in the struggle for the construction of socialism.

In a speech rich in facts and figures, Comrade Orjonnikidze called upon the conference to secure the maximum utilisation of all possible reserves. Such reserves, he pointed out, were still enormous. In one factory they would consist chiefly perhaps in the failure to secure the most effective labour organisation, in another they would be dormant in the failure to utilise equipment to the full, or in the fact that machinery was often kept running without being used, in a third factory they would lie in the loss of working time or in the lack of labour discipline. In some cases there was a lack of economy in the use of working materials and insufficient mechanisation. In other cases there would be insufficient labour productivity owing to the fact that the daily cultural and material interests of the workers were neglected. Two factories in similar conditions show different levels of efficiency. Insufficient care was taken to see that the assistance and advice of the better factory was given to the other one. One mine would fulfil 70 per cent. of the annual plan of production in eight months, whilst another mine would fulfil only 55 per cent., etc.

The conference laid bare the causes which led to an insufficient utilisation of the reserves of heavy industry with the merciless self-criticism typical of the Bolsheviks in all their activities. The Soviet Union demands more metals, more coal, more oil, more machinery and more goods every day in order to keep pace with its rising prosperity and culture. During the past eight months Soviet heavy industry produced 28.4 per cent. more than in the corresponding period of 1933, declared Comrade Orjonnikidze, but let us see whether it could not have produced even more. The backward factories must redouble their efforts to catch up. They must organise their work better. Next year heavy industry will have to produce still more. The Soviet Union is striding forward rapidly and its demands are continually increasing. Socialist industry knows nothing of market crises and will never make acquaintance with them. The rate of production must increase and the quality of production must increase also. That was the problem which faced the conference, and there is no doubt that it will be successfully solved.

Some capitalist newspapers are striving to exploit the frank Bolshevik criticism which was heard at the conference as it is heard everywhere all over the Soviet Union, to deceive their readers once again as to the real situation in the Soviet Union. Even a "steady and reliable" capitalist newspaper like the Danish "*Politiken*" prints a report of its Moscow correspondent on the conference under the title, "People's Commissar paints black picture of Soviet Union," and adds that Orjonnikidze's speech was dominated "by a deeply pessimistic description of the state of Russian industry."

Such a shameless misrepresentation of the truth bespeaks long practice at the game of deceiving newspaper readers in "news from Moscow." However, one must put oneself in the place of the editor of the "*Politiken*" and of the editors of similar newspapers. Their

breadgivers would not like their readers to learn the truth about the situation in the first workers' and peasants' State, to learn what Orjonnikidze really said and what results the conference really showed. To the great regret of these gentry, the delegates to the conference of the General Staff of socialist industry returned to their posts with strengthened conviction that the tremendous second Five-Year Plan of socialist construction will be carried out to the full, and that in the third year of the plan the Soviet will advance at a still greater speed towards the building up of a socialist classless order of society.

Harvest Celebrations in the Collective Villages

The workers of the Soviet Union will soon celebrate the seventeenth anniversary of the establishment of the Soviet power and draw up a balance of the work performed. The collectivist peasants are already doing so in connection with the celebrations which mark the end of the harvest and of the agricultural year. The collectivist peasants are doubly entitled to celebrate their successes for the past year has tried them sorely on occasions owing to the fickleness of the weather. This year more than ever before they have proved the tremendous superiority of the collectivist agricultural system over the old individualist peasant farm. Those peasants who are still outside the collective farms have had another opportunity of observing that honest co-operation within the collective farms leads to increased well-being and a higher culture for all their members.

An example of the superiority of the collective farm system is offered by the former Ryasan district. This district was always a district which could never provide itself with sufficient grain to meet its own requirements and always had to purchase grain from other districts. The dry statistics of the pre-revolutionary period register the paucity of the Ryasan land. The best fields were in the hands of the rich landowners. Two desyatines of stony land, one-third of a cow and 30, in the best case 35, poods of rye per desyatine, were the statistics per farm. A harvest of 40 poods of rye per desyatine was a phenomenon. In the winter months only the women and children and the men too old to work remained in the villages. All the men and youths capable of work were compelled to look for it on the railway, in the towns, or on the estates of the rich landowners. Unless they obtained work their families would starve in the spring, for their own grain was insufficient to carry them through to the next harvest.

In the spring the men would return to their villages and the money they had earned was hardly sufficient for the purchase of seed grain. The flour for their immediate necessities they borrowed from the Kulaks to be paid back in labour or from the next harvest. After the sowings they would then leave the villages again in search of further work. They would then return for the harvest and afterwards the villages would pay their debts and after a short time the men would prepare to leave again to find work. That was the life of the peasants of the Ryasan district year in and year out.

But what a different picture to-day! The peasants of this district have just celebrated the completion of the harvest. Over ten thousand collectivist peasants from 78 collective farms gathered on the ground of the collective farm "Komsomol," which is the best farm in the district. Many workers' delegates from Moscow arrived to take part in the celebrations.

Column after column of peasants and workers marched into the Culture and Recreation Park of the "Komsomol" farm. The great garden and the surrounding land once belonged to the rich landowner Archipov, but he would hardly recognise it if by some miracle he could be transported to see it now.

The 30-pood average harvest of the past is forgotten. Despite the poor quality of the land the collective peasants obtain 14 and 16 double cwts. of rye, oats and wheat per hectare. The collective farms of the district harvested over a million poods of grain this year. Prior to the collectivisation of the district it was compelled to purchase thousands of poods of grain to supplement its own supplies, but to-day it can provide the whole district with sufficient supplies, lay up a big reserve of seed and other grain, and deliver up 13,000 tons of grain to the State and the co-operatives. Four thousand tons of grain have been allotted this year for the further mechanisation of the farms alone. The collective farms have placed orders for 20 motor-lorries, 10 motors and for numerous combination pieces of agricultural machinery. And still the farms have a surplus of grain for sale. And who thinks of wearing the

old bast shoes of the pre-revolutionary peasants in the districts to-day? Nothing but good leather is good enough for the collectivist peasant.

In connection with the celebrations an exhibition of the products of the farms was organised. The farm "Opora" exhibited fat grains of wheat that glistened like amber, wheat such as was never before seen in the district. Formerly only rye was cultivated and white bread was unknown. The farms "Marat" and "The Peasant's Way" exhibited specially prepared seed grain and other agricultural innovations. The farm "New Life" is a new recruit to the collectives. The leader of its market gardening side is a peasant named Ivan Novoselov who was illiterate not so long ago. Now he is an agricultural expert and gave the report on behalf of his farm. On land which was formerly waste his farm has produced this year products to the value of 150,000 roubles.

The farm "Sarechya" specialises in horse-breeding and has a whole stud of Brabant horses. The prize of the stud is "Kolchosnitsa" with her four foals.

Throughout the day the orchestra of the Moscow "Elektrosavod" works played to the peasants. Its instruments were presented to the "Elektrosavod" workers by the Red Front Fighters' League of Berlin.

The dramatic and musical circles of the farms showed their talent on the stage and the farm "Kaganovitch" received the prize for its all-round achievements, its dramatic circle, its children's choir and its string orchestra. The second prize went to the farm "Karl Marx" for its choir.

As it grew dark lights were switched on everywhere. Electricity, the gift of the town to the country, a gift of the "Elektrosavod" workers, who assist the peasants of the district in every possible way, in the organisation of socialist competition, etc.

The spokesman of the peasants thanked the electrical workers for their assistance and he thanked the Party which had made it possible to change the face of the district within the space of three short years. His report gave facts and figures:—

"In 1930 we began with 420 hectares of land and 40 horses. Our collectives now have 2,830 hectares of land and 223 horses. We have a dairy farm, a pig-breeding farm, a sheep-breeding farm, etc. All our buildings have electric light. We have new buildings for storage, new granaries and new stables for our horses, and in addition we have two schools and a first-aid station. We have bread enough to last us liberally to the next harvest, and in addition we have 2,370 double cwts. for sale."

Statement by the Rakosi Committee

Contradictory Declarations by the Hungarian Government

Paris, September 28.

"The members of the Rakosi Committee express their astonishment at the contradictory statements made by the Hungarian government in the Rakosi case. Up to the present the Hungarian government has replied to all juridical arguments by stating that Rakosi's case is not a juridical one at all, but a political one, to be settled by diplomatic negotiations. This was stated plainly by a member of the Hungarian Embassy in Paris, in an interview with a delegation of lawyers sent by our Committee. But to-day the Hungarian government suddenly declares that the Rakosi case is purely juridical. The government is preparing for a fresh trial on charges contained in the indictment of 1923 and forming part of accusations on which he has already served eight years' penal servitude.

"The members of the Rakosi Committee learn with indignation that Rakosi is being subjected to treatment, whilst now in prison on remand, which is much worse than that accorded a criminal under sentence. These facts justify the most serious fears for Rakosi, who is a hostage in the hands of the Hungarian government.

"The members of the Rakosi Committee protest against the open violation of justice and humanity represented by the further incarceration of Rakosi. They are determined to leave no stone unturned to save the life and liberty of Rakosi."

Campinchi, Délépine, Dugeons, Kiefé, Milhaud, Stodel, Vienny, avocates à la cour de Paris; Professor Baby, Professor Lahy, Professor Prenant, Professor Rivet, Michel Corday, José de Bérys, authors.

Proletarian Commemoration Days

The Seventieth Anniversary of the Founding of the First International

By Professor Z. Friedland

When the middle-aged bourgeois citizen in Europe dreams of the Golden Age of capitalism he is thinking of the halcyon days which preceded the Franco-Prussian War, the days in which industrial capitalism in Europe flourished as never before nor since.

Great Britain was in the full tide of its prosperity. It was the lever of industrial development in the world, the only country in which the capitalist mode of production had already triumphed on all fields of economic activity. Great Britain dominated the world market.

The General Council of the International was situated in London and not fortuitously. It was at the lever of the proletarian revolution although it was clear, as pointed out in a circular of the General Council, that Englishmen lacked the courage to generalise and lacked revolutionary spirit. The General Council aimed at spreading the courage to generalise and the revolutionary spirit amongst the workers of Great Britain and the Continent in order to guide the proletariat into "the era of revolutionary socialism," as the bourgeois press put it.

Six months before his death Cobden told the British bourgeoisie in a speech to his electors on November 23, 1864, that the concessions made to the working class had been made in the interests of the bourgeoisie. He warned his class associates that although the masses of the people were generous and would forgive anything, they would not forgive treachery. In the years in which the International grew up Cobden saw clearly that the working class was developing from a period of passivity into a period of activity, a period of revolutionary struggle, and he warned his associates that it was "impossible to leave the demands of the people unsatisfied." Cobden called on the British bourgeoisie to exercise "wisdom" and to grant at least a part of the demands of the working people, to give them the franchise and thus to ward off the threatening rising of the masses before it was too late. That was class wisdom won by the British bourgeoisie during the course of many decades of struggle with the working class.

However, the optimism of Cobden was ill-founded, for the last decade before the Paris Commune was only a breathing space which European bourgeois society had won after the overthrow of the Revolution of 1848 in order to develop all the possibilities of capitalist society. From the time the First International was founded, and even in the years which led up to its foundation, capitalism in Europe had already revealed all its basic tendencies. Marx provided an exact formulation of these tendencies for the period of the First International: An evasion of conflicts on the field of politics; general venality and a hypocritical return to long-abandoned superstitions on the field of morality; and the sorcery of riches without the troubles of production upon the field of economics.

The epoch of the First International began with the overthrow of the workers' rising in June, 1848, and ended with the suppression of the Paris Commune. In the years in which Marx published his "Capital" and in which the biological theories of Darwin were published, the Pope of Rome issued his famous Encyclical proclaiming his own infallibility, and his notorious syllabus condemning "Science and Liberalism." European economics were conquered by the machine and industrial capitalism became the dominant system not only in the most important European countries, but also in the United States of America. Industrial capitalism caused a revolution in the social relations existing in the backward agricultural countries of Southern and Eastern Europe. The rule of industrial capitalism became a general European phenomenon. In these years the bourgeois parliamentary State received its final form. However, capitalism in industrial relations and in political relations did not mean the ideal rule aimed at by Cobden, but the "sorcery of riches without

the troubles of production" of which Marx had written. The State of industrial capitalism based its power on the oppression of the working class and peasant masses. The stream of gold into Europe accelerated the development of trade and industry to an extent never previously experienced.

From the moment when the possibility of trans-oceanic shipping arose the world was transformed into a uniform system. In this period international economic relations became the decisive factor in public life. However, the factory remained a State within a State, it remained "the Bastille of despotism." In the political life of Europe the pseudo-parliamentary system was victorious, but in economic life the arbitrary power of the employer was consolidated. The working class groaned under a moral and physical yoke of oppression. In his novel "Money" Zola describes this ideal dominance of the halcyon days of industrial capitalism. Speculation was rampant not only in Great Britain, but throughout the whole of the capitalist world.

"Realise," Saquart says to his friend in Zola's novel, "speculation is a game, the supreme wheel of fortune. It is the heart of a great cause like ours. . . . The most spirited and daring dream of humanity is to try the Goddess of Fortune, to win all the gifts which her whim may offer, to be an emperor, a God. . . . To the devil with it, I am not responsible for the fate of her victims. One can't raise the world out of its sockets without treading on the toes of a few passers-by."

The victims were millions and millions of toilers who were being driven deeper and deeper into impoverishment and misery in the halcyon days of industrial capitalism even in the centre point of the capitalist world, in London itself.

The industrial capitalist States of Europe bombarded the Orient with cheap goods. India was completely subjugated by Great Britain. The first partitioning of China took place. Shipping on the Atlantic Ocean extended by leaps and bounds and the Pacific Ocean was opened up. Australia, New Zealand and China were linked up with America and Europe. The length of time necessary to sail round the world was shortened to four months. The gold of California opened up the United States. And under these circumstances even Japan began to adapt itself to the new tasks of bourgeois development. Referring to this process of opening up the East being conducted by industrial capitalism, Marx declared in the 'fifties of last century:—

"It is a good thing that the oldest and strongest capitalist country in the world has brought itself to the verge of social revolution within the course of eight years by means of bales of cotton, and this fact will have results of extreme importance for human civilisation."

In 1862, two years before the founding of the First International, Marx returns to this theme again. In an article on China he points out how paradoxical it is that, apart from its deadening effect, opium also has an enlivening effect on the East. The Taiping insurrection took on a more and more violent character. A ferment was also taking place in Europe. The legend of a peaceful development of history in this period is absurd. The civil war in the United States affected not only Great Britain, but the whole of the European Continent. The British bourgeoisie transformed cotton into a God and was quite prepared to sacrifice the American negroes to it. On the European mainland the bourgeoisie did its best with its own means to solve the problem of national bourgeois development, but these attempts failed with the crushing of the Revolution of 1848 and the treachery of the bourgeoisie. The idea of proletarian internationalism which grew up with the development of the world-wide capitalist economic system was opposed by the bourgeoisie with its own ideas on the fundamental principles determining international relations. The development of capitalism in Europe and the United States and the

intensification of the class antagonisms between capitalism and the working class put forward the question of the final formulation of the national bourgeois State as a question requiring urgent solution. That meant that the national bourgeoisie was given the control of the internal market in order that it might consolidate its "State" and take up the struggle against the internal and external enemy.

The industrial proletariat, in whose ranks the peasant and artisan element began to play an ever-decreasing role, developed within the framework of the "national" economic system. The ideas of socialism gradually took a hold on the minds of the workers.

The liberalism and pacifism of the bourgeoisie were now faced by the socialist ideology of the working class. When the congress of the League for Peace and Pacifism took place in Geneva in 1867 and brought the élite of bourgeois liberal intellectualism together it was revealed with all clarity that bourgeois liberalism was incapable of solving the questions of peace. One of the organisers of the congress was the great democrat and revolutionary **Giuseppe Garibaldi**. The organiser of the war for the unification of Italy appeared at the congress as the defender of peace between the peoples and recommended the following resolution to the Congress:—

"All peoples are brothers. War between the peoples is something unnatural. Quarrels and disputes which should arise between the nations must be settled by a special congress. The members of this congress should be appointed by the democratic organisations. Every people and every nation must have a vote at this congress. The Papacy must be extirpated as a deleterious religious sect. All the participants in the congress recognise the religion of one God.

This programme of Garibaldi demonstrated clearly all the weak points of petty-bourgeois democracy. Garibaldi himself involved himself in contradictions with his own statements and was compelled to close his speech with the following interesting words:—

"I say and declare that the slave has the right to fight against the tyrant. That is the only circumstance in which war is justifiable."

The waves of the revolutionary movement swept high. Strikes took place in London and Paris, bloody struggles between the workers and the State forces took place in Belgium, revolutionary struggles took place in Italy and Spain, violent peasant movements sprang up in Austria, in tsarist Russia and in Eastern Europe, civil war raged in the United States. These were the characteristic features of the "peaceful period of development" which marked the halcyon days of industrial capitalism. Even in those years the working-class movement had developed beyond the liberal organisations and beyond the League for Peace and Freedom. The industrial proletariat was forming its own independent working-class movement under the leadership of the founders of scientific socialism, **Marx and Engels**. In these years Marx was working for the possibility of systematic and independent working-class education in order to free the ideology of the proletariat from the opportunist theories of British trade unionism, from French Proudhonism, from the "radical" phrases of Blanquist conspirators, and from the anarchist experiments of Bakunin, on the basis of the experience of the workers in the day to day fight against capitalism. The document issued at the formation of the First International, the so-called **Inaugural Address** which was drawn up by Marx himself, was the manifesto of the international working-class movement in the epoch of the First International, and it is a historic document of great significance because it draws up a balance of the development during the heroic age of industrial capitalism. The Inaugural Address proved once and for all that bourgeois political economy was defeated at the hands of the political economy of the working class. At the same time the Inaugural Address assisted the workers to understand their economic struggle in the language of politics, in the language of their revolutionary tasks, and this was the historical significance of the activity of the First International in this period.

The activity of the First International is of great interest to the historian of the epoch of national bourgeois development on account of the fact that it represented a laboratory in which the revolutionary socialist consciousness of the working class was formed. The activity of the First International decided the fate of the struggle between the two political tendencies within the working-class movement. Whilst Marx was demonstrating in the

ranks of the First International that the struggle of the working class against capitalism could develop into a historically decisive combat providing it rose to the level of a political movement and adopted the general forms of a class movement, and whilst he regarded the epoch of the First International as an epoch of the concentration of the class forces of the proletariat, and the freeing of the ideology of the working class from the slack of petty-bourgeois ideology, Bakunin was striving not to further the class movement, but to hold back the process of class development.

In a letter to his friend **Kugelmann** in 1862 Marx declared that it was now obvious that a revolution was approaching, a thing of which he dared not have dreamt in the 'fifties. And the first act of this revolution would include a disagreeable repetition of the stupidities of 1848-49.

In accordance with this prophecy of Marx the First International set itself the task of organising the army of the proletariat for the approaching revolution. In this sense the **Paris Commune** was the child of the First International and the fruit of its activity.

The defeat of the Paris Commune was also the defeat of the First International, and not accidentally. At its last congress, which took place in the **Hague** in 1872, the discussion of the events of the Paris Commune ended with the expulsion of the Bakunists from the International. Regarding the activity of the working class a resolution was adopted declaring that the proletariat must conduct its struggle against the ruling classes as an independent class, and that to this end it needed a political party of its own to oppose all the bourgeois political parties. The resolution went even further and declared that the formation of such an independent working-class party was an absolutely indispensable condition for the victory of the social revolution, and that in consequence the conquest of political power by the proletariat represented its **greatest task**.

The period of reaction which followed on the overthrow of the Paris Commune made it impossible for the working class to proceed immediately to carry out the decisions of the Hague congress of the International, and a few years later, in 1876, the First International formally dissolved itself, although the cause of internationalism was by no means lost. In the articles which he wrote in 1877 on the European working-class movement, **Engels** declared with justification that whatever errors the individual leaders of the First International may have made, and such errors were many and varied, the masses had made decisive progress in the period of the First International, unswerving progress and in the right direction. The steadfastness of the workers and their organisation and discipline had been in marked contrast to the weakness, indetermination and servility typical of the bourgeois movement in Germany. And whilst the German bourgeoisie completed its career by bowing down in Byzantine submission to the Hohenzollerns and abandoning itself bound hand and foot to the mercies of Bismarck, the working class marched from victory to victory, strengthened and consolidated even by the measures which the government and the bourgeoisie took to suppress it.

Thus in 1871 "the epoch of the bourgeois democratic movement in general and the national movement in particular" (Lenin) ended. Thus the firm foundations of the first revolutionary proletarian party, the party of the workers' International, were laid in the heroic age of industrial capitalism.

The "Pravda" on the Seventieth Anniversary of the First International

"Let us not forget the importance of the First International in the history of the workers' struggles for their emancipation. It laid the foundation of that structure of the **Socialist World Republic** which we now have the good fortune to be building up." (Lenin.)

That is the heading of the leading article of the "Pravda" on the 70th anniversary of the First International. The article states:—

The First International arose and fought in an epoch in which capitalism was undergoing an exceedingly rapid development and subjugating ever fresh territories and countries. The bourgeoisie held orgies of accumulation. The blows of the crisis of 1857 and 1858 gave the labour movement a fresh powerful impetus after the temporary quiet following the defeat of the revolution of 1848. The efforts of the workers to unite in the fight led to their representatives holding the foundation meeting of the First Interna-

tional in London on September 28, 1864. The First International laid the foundation stone of the international proletarian fight for Socialism. The tasks set the First International by its leader Marx were: The fight for the creation of a party which would stand opposed to all the parties of bourgeois society; the fight to overcome sectarianism in the labour movement and to overcome the various forms of petty bourgeois and bourgeois socialism (Proudhonism, Lassalle's theories); the fight to educate the masses in the spirit of proletarian internationalism; and the fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat as the main aim to which everything else must be subordinated. In the fight against Proudhonism, which he described as "bourgeois socialism," and in the fight against Bakunism, this hotch potch of Proudhonism, of the theories of Saint Simon and anarchism, Marx insisted on the necessity of the proletariat taking part in the political fight. The dictatorship of the proletariat, the expropriation of the capitalists and the abolition of classes is the result and crowning of the grandiose edifice of scientific socialism erected by Marx.

In the time of the First International the slogan of the dictatorship of the proletariat was realised only in the 72 days of the Paris Commune. The Commune was the spiritual child of the First International and went down into history as an act of the highest heroism of the proletariat in the fight for the setting up of the power of a new class. After the defeat of the Paris Commune the period of the First International came to a conclusion with the transfer of the General Council to America.

After a certain pause there commenced a new epoch—the extension of the labour movement. Socialist mass parties which affiliated to the Second International were formed in the capitalist countries. There followed the epoch of imperialism, which was accompanied by the formation of the labour aristocracy and the development of opportunism, which led to the shameful collapse of the Second International on the outbreak of the world war. The **Bolsheviks** were the only party in the Second International which, under Lenin's leadership, persistently pursued the revolutionary line of Marx and Engels. The direct inheritor and continuer of the work of the Second International is the **Third International**. But what a great distance lies between the First and the Third Internationals! In the First International Marx, at the cost of the greatest efforts, had to defend the theoretical and organisational basis of the proletarian movement against the small sectarian groups. **Lenin and Stalin**, in the course of many years, developed the united party, firmly welded together by iron discipline, which resolutely expelled from its ranks the opportunists of every shade. Lenin and Stalin created a party of a **new character**—the party of ruthless fight against capitalism, the party of victorious proletarian revolution, the party which was able to overthrow the power of the capitalists and the landowners and successfully erect the imposing structure of the classless socialist society. Lenin and Stalin created the party of the Third International—the party of world Communism, which organises the fight against the main social buttress of the bourgeoisie—world reformism, world social democracy—and organises the masses against fascism, for the overthrow of capitalism in the whole world. In the epoch of the First International the dictatorship of the proletariat was, as Lenin said, simply Greek to the masses. This Greek has now been translated into all languages of the world. The Soviets, created through the experiences of the two revolutions in Russia, theoretically explained by Lenin, have now become the slogan of the class struggle of the proletariat throughout the world.

The Soviet union—the unshakable fortress of proletarian internationalism, realised the political and economic emancipation of the working class, the fundamental programmatic demand of the First International. The work of Marx and Engels was continued by Lenin and Stalin. The Third International is the administrator and worthy successor of the First International. The proletarians of the Soviet Union and the working people of the whole world celebrate the 70th anniversary of the First International as an important day in their own history. On this day the eyes of all toilers are turned in the first place to the Soviet Union. Seventy years ago, at the cradle of the First International, there were uttered the flaming words of the geniuses of the revolution, Marx and Engels: "A spectre is haunting Europe, the spectre of Communism." Communism is now no longer a spectre. It is now a great unshakable material force which has finally triumphed over a sixth of the globe. This force, in face of which the bourgeois world trembles, is led by Stalin. He has preserved the great

unvanquishable flag of Marx and Engels. He is holding it aloft and carrying it forwards. All proletarians and working people of the world who are conscious of their aims have rallied round him. They know that the flag which the gifted leader of the Third International has raised high over the whole world is the flag of the approaching victory of the proletarian world revolution. Under this flag Communism will be victorious throughout the whole world.

The Most Important Events in the History of the First International

1864

September 28. International Working Men's Association (First International) founded in London at a meeting of English, French, German and Italian workers.

Beginning of November. Provisional Central Committee adopts the Inaugural Address drawn up by Marx and the statutes of the International, likewise drawn up by him. First sections of the International formed in France.

1865

Beginning of the year. German and Italian sections in London, the first English trade unions and the Swiss labour unions join the International.

September 25 to 29. Sections in seven countries represented at the Conference of the International in London.

1866

June. Conference of the British trade unions in Sheffield recommends trade unions to affiliate to the International.

September 3 to 8. First Congress of the International in Geneva. At this Congress twenty-five sections are represented by forty-five delegates. Ultimate founding of the International on the basis of the statutes drawn up by Marx. Marx' theses on the trade union questions adopted as a resolution.

1867

January 9. The London Trade Union Council adopts a resolution in favour of support of the International.

August. The American National Labour League adopts a decision to establish connections with the International.

Beginning of September. The first volume of Marx' "Capital" published.

September 2. Opening of the Congress of the International in Lausanne; Congress attended by sixty-four delegates, most of them in favour of Proudhon's theory. The Congress was concluded on September 9.

1868

March—April. The Geneva section leads a strike of the building workers in Geneva.

September 6 to 13. Congress of the International held in Brussels; Congress attended by ninety-six delegates, representing seven countries.

September 7. The Association of German workers, under the leadership of August Bebel, endorses the programme of the International.

December 22. The General Council adopts a resolution, drawn up by Marx, against the "Alliance" founded by Michael Bakunin.

1869

January 24. Founding of the first Spanish section in Madrid.

January 31. Founding of the first Italian section in Naples.

March 9. The General Council adopts another resolution, drawn up by Marx, against the "Alliance" of Bakunin.

August 9. Founding of the social-democratic Labour Party of Germany in Eisenach (Bebel-Liebkecht); the new party affiliates to the International.

August 30. Founding of the first Dutch section in Amsterdam.

September 6 to 13. Congress of the International in Basle, attended by seventy-eight delegates, representing nine countries. The Proudhonists are in the minority.

1870

January. Message of the General Council against Bakunin to all sections in the Latin countries, drawn up by Marx. Founding of the anti-Bakunin "Russian section," represented by Marx to the General Council.

May-July. Fresh persecution of the French section by the government of Napoleon III. (The first persecution took place in March-May, 1868.) Support of a strike of the Geneva building workers.

July 26 to September 9. The General Council publishes two addresses, drawn up by Marx, on the war between Germany and France, and conducts an agitation for the recognition of the French Republic by the governments.

1871

March 18 to May 26. Paris Commune. "It was undoubtedly a spiritual child of the International." (Engels.)

May 30. The General Council confirms the address of Marx on the Commune.

September 17 to 23. Second London Conference of the International.

1872

February. Founding of the first section in Ireland.

April-May. Strike of the bricklayers in Denmark leads to collisions with the military and the prohibition of the International (in the year 1873).

September 2 to 7. Congress of the International at the Hague, attended by sixty-five delegates. The Congress excludes Bakunin from the International and adopts a decision regarding the removal of its headquarters to New York.

1873

Middle of September. Congress of the International in Geneva of a purely local character.

1876

Middle of July. Conference of the International in Philadelphia (United States) decides to dissolve the International Working Men's Association.

Book Reviews

Supply and Trade in the U.S.S.R.*

By R. Bishop (London).

Thirteen volumes are announced in this new series, which constitutes the most authentic factual record available in English of things as they are in Soviet life to-day, thus filling a long-felt want, supplying facts as distinct from impressions. No department of Soviet life is omitted and each volume is the work of an expert specially commissioned by Messrs. Gollancz for the purpose.

The volume under review, for instance, is written by the editor of the Government journal: "Supply, Co-operation and Trade." When one has read it one is conversant with the whole supply and trading system of the 160 odd million people who make up the population of the U.S.S.R., and one is equipped to deal with those people who, whether from malice or ignorance is immaterial, declare that the standard of life of the Soviet toilers is miserable in the extreme. Let us just look at the figures pertaining to the distribution of the National Income and see where we stand.

Out of each rouble (100 kopecks) of national income, workers and office employees received 35.6 kopecks at the beginning of the first Five-Year Plan; at the end of the plan they received 55.7 kopecks. The small remnants of capitalist elements that still survive receive less than 1 per cent. of the national income. Nine-tenths of all the income is that of socialist factories, mills, State and collective farms, and of those working there. In America 42 per cent. of the national income—according to the Hoover Commission—goes in rent, interest and profit. I have not the figures for Great Britain by me, but they do not differ appreciably from the American ones.

The increasing income of the workers and of the collective farmers has led to a great increase in the demand for goods of all kinds—a demand which so far has greatly exceeded even the tremendous growth of supply. Although the first Five-Year Plan concentrated on the development of heavy industry, it nevertheless increased the production of food and consumers' goods 2.7 times compared with 1913, and 87.3 per cent. compared with 1928, the first year of the plan.

In the whole history of the world no country has ever increased its industrial capacity and the production of primary necessities to the extent that the Soviet Union did during the first Five-Year Plan. Yet the second Five-Year Plan will see a still increased tempo in the production of consumers' goods.

In every country but the U.S.S.R. trade and supply is predominantly in private hands. In the Soviet Union practically all

goods, whether produced within the country or imported, are owned by the State or co-operative organisations. In addition, practically all trade, even if conducted by other than State and co-operative organisations is under State direction and control. There are no private merchants in the U.S.S.R. Trade is carried on not for profit but to supply the demands of the population. The whole apparatus of supply and trade in the U.S.S.R. is closely linked with the organisation of production, the work of the factories, mills and State and collective farms.

It will be seen that Soviet trade differs fundamentally from trade in the capitalist countries. The Soviet trading and supply organisations have developed to their present position through the seventeen years that have passed since the Bolshevik Revolution. This volume traces their development and shows how the various bodies are organised to-day.

The first place in Soviet trade is held by the consumers' co-operatives, which distribute more than 50 per cent. of the available goods—much more than 50 per cent. in the towns, rather less in the villages. The second place belongs to State trade, and the third is occupied by the workers' supply organisations in the factories and other industrial places. A small percentage of the trade is handled by the handicraft co-operatives, the collective farms and other organisations, all of which work under the directions of, and receive assistance from, the proletarian State.

The advantages of planning, as well as the advantages of eliminating private profit and superfluous middlemen can be seen from a study of the Soviet trading organisations. In 1922 24 kopecks out of every rouble spent in purchases went for the maintenance of the trading organisations. Last year this was reduced to 9 kopecks. Figures produced recently by the Berlin Chamber of Commerce show that in Germany 30 per cent. of the cost of any article is eaten up by organisational expenses (profits, overheads, etc). Surely these figures speak eloquently for themselves.

The book gives some very interesting figures as to the growth of retail trade and the elimination of the private trader. As recently as 1928—the beginning of the first plan—private traders still dominated the situation, owning 322,824 retail shops out of a total of 481,435 in existence, and their share of the turnover was 24 per cent. At the beginning of 1929 the number of private shops was reduced to 163,900, a year later to 47,100. Another year brought them down to 17,700. January, 1932, found the Soviet Union entirely devoid of privately-owned shops. Private enterprise in trade is now solely represented by a few straggling sellers of shoelaces and such-like things with street stands. For all practical purposes private trade is a thing of the past.

With the elimination of private ownership trade as a whole has vastly increased, and the general tendency now is to add ever more and more facilities for the working-class shoppers. For instance, home delivery of goods has been developed on a really large scale in recent years.

This book is a veritable encyclopædia of its subject. Having dealt very fully with the organisation of trade the author goes on to explain how supplies are obtained. The vexed question of the purchase of grain and dairy produce from the collective farms is very fully treated, as is the free trading of their surplus produce by the collective farms.

The last section of the book deals with communal feeding and communal bakeries. These two things are of terrific importance, not only by reason of the elimination of needless labour that ensues and the improved feeding of the population, but also because they make possible the proper fulfilment of the Soviet attitude to women—their true equality in every sphere with men. To-day it can be said that the vast majority of the industrial workers get their main meals communally, thus eliminating a vast amount of drudgery and setting the women free to earn their livings and to develop themselves culturally and politically.

The first Five-Year Plan registered great advances in the field covered by this book. The second proposes:—

To treble the production of consumers' goods as compared with 1932.

To increase trade turnover between 2½ times and 3 times.

To reduce prices between 35 and 40 per cent.

To serve by communal feeding 2½ times as many persons as in 1932. (This increase will largely be among the collective farmers.)

To increase real wages by 2.1 times.

To increase the network of State and co-operative shops by 37 per cent.

In the famous Congress of Shock Brigade Collective Farmers,

* The New Soviet Library No. 1: "Supply and Trade in the U.S.S.R., by W. Nodel. (Gollancz; 3s. 6d. per volume.)

held in Moscow, in February, 1933, Stalin said that the goal must be to make every peasant a collective farmer. The goal of the second Five-Year Plan is to eliminate poverty from the Soviet land, and it is a goal which is being pursued without deviation to right or left.

The volume under review opens with a quotation from the New York "Nation," of November 23, 1932, a quotation which so well illustrates the enormous growth of the national economy of the U.S.S.R. that it may well serve to conclude this brief notice:—

"The four years of the Five-Year Plan have witnessed truly remarkable developments. . . . The face of the country is being changed literally beyond recognition. This is true of Moscow, with hundreds of streets and squares paved . . . with new suburbs, new buildings, and a cordon of new factories on its outskirts, and it is true of smaller and less important cities. New towns have sprung out of the steppe, the wilderness of the desert—not just a few towns, but at least fifty of them with populations of from 50,000 to 250,000.

"The guiding landmark on the Soviet countryside is no longer the dome of a rich church . . . but the grain elevator and the silo. Collectives are building piggeries, barns and houses. Electricity is penetrating the illiterate village, and radio and newspaper have conquered it. Workers are learning to operate the world's most modern machines, peasant youths make and use agricultural machinery bigger and more complicated than even America has ever seen."

And it is with a background such as this that the trade and supply organisations have developed along their own Socialist lines, lines entirely contrary to those of any other country, with their goal the creation of such conditions of prosperity as befit the classless society which the second Five-Year Plan is destined to usher in.

Proletarian Mass Organisations

Against Race Incitement and Chauvinism

By R. B.

Although France and Algeria are a thousand miles apart, they were both recently the scene of race fights. In France these fights broke out between French workers and Arabs, in Algeria between oppressed Arabs and Jews. In Lyons the employers in the building trade organised and armed misguided Arabs as strike-breakers. As was to be expected, this led to fighting, and blood flowed on both sides. In Constantine (Algeria) a Jewish soldier in the mosque provoked the Arab population, whereupon the Arabs plundered the Jewish quarter of the town. There is no doubt that the police are responsible for both incidents, even if they did not directly instigate them: in Lyons by the arming of the strike breakers, in Constantine by their inactivity.

The events in Constantine show how the imperialists make use of race hatred for the purpose of maintaining their rule. What were the aims pursued in Constantine? In the first place it was intended to divert the attention of the masses of North Africa from their unbearable misery; 150,000 families in Algeria live on nothing but roots or what they can get by begging, whilst thousands of hectares of land which has been stolen from them are concentrated in the hands of a few big land companies. The situation of the peasant population is indescribably wretched. Distraints on the peasants are increasing and the bailiffs even seize the food in their houses. No less unbearable is the situation of the workers, who have to toil from 14 to 16 hours a day in return for six to eight francs; and in the event of their leaving their work they do not receive any relief.

The French bourgeoisie, whose fascist organisations (Fiery Cross, Patriotic Youth, French Solidarity) are numerous and powerful in Algeria, have made use of the fact that the Jewish population of Algeria enjoy civil rights and all the advantages connected therewith, in order to convert the growing anti-imperialist resistance of the Arabs exploited by them into an anti-Semitic movement. That is the real meaning of the events in Constantine. Subsequently, French colonial justice pronounced monstrous sentences, amounting in all to 212 years' imprisonment and 153

years' deportation, on 145 Arabs who had been indiscriminately arrested. It is significant that a press campaign is now being conducted, the purpose of which is to increase the police force in the colonies.

But there is also a second and equally important reason why the imperialists are carrying on their provocations, namely, fear of the development of the Labour movement in Paris itself. The signing of the Pact between the Socialist and the Communist Parties against fascism and the obvious ebbing of the first fascist wave which rose in February have filled the French bourgeoisie with fear. Every time the fascist leaders make bombastic speeches in France they are jeered at and their troops beaten up. Every time the government has caused a worker to be killed, processions numbering thousands of workers have marched behind the funeral hearse of the murdered victim through the workers' quarters of the great towns, and often through the centre of the towns. It was therefore necessary, in addition to the increased police brutalities—18 killed and 1,500 wounded—to impose terrorist sentences in order by this means to intimidate and break up the anti-fascist united front of the social democratic and Communist workers.

The heroic strike of the Polish miners in Escarpelle against the systematic expulsion of Polish workers from the country by the authorities was also made use of in order to incite public opinion against the Polish workers. The most fantastic lies were printed in the press while the Polish miners were still in the pit, where they declared their determination to remain until the expulsions from the country were withdrawn. The bourgeois papers maintained that the French miners had been shut in and beaten by their Polish comrades, whilst as a matter of fact the French miners remained in the pit out of solidarity with their Polish comrades.

In the meantime the bourgeoisie have this time succeeded, owing to the inadequate preparations of the solidarity movement among the French miners, in expelling the Polish workers en bloc. In face of all these provocations, and in face of the racial fights, the French Section of the Red Aid could not remain indifferent and inactive. A meeting of Arab and Jewish workers belonging to the Red Aid was convened in Paris in order to discuss the events in Constantine. At this meeting a resolution was adopted, which has been published in the Arab and Jewish languages and disseminated in North Africa and also in all towns of France where there are Arabs and Jews.

The French Section of the Red Aid has further decided to send a lawyer and a functionary of the Red Aid to Constantine in order to take over the defence of the Arab workers and at the same time to make the State liable for the damage caused to Jewish families. In order to meet the expenses of this delegation the French Section of the Red Aid has issued collection sheets in the Arab and Jewish language. The Paris district has already undertaken to raise 2,000 francs, the department Alpes Maritimes 500 francs, the North district 200.

At the same time the release of Comrade Planque after five years' imprisonment, on account of anti-imperialist propaganda in Madagascar, was made use of as an occasion for organising meetings to which all organisations and groups, regardless of political tendency, were invited. As regards the events in North France, the district organisation of the Red Aid has carried out a solidarity action for the expelled workers and their families, and at the same time organised a great campaign for the release of the seven workers arrested in Escarpelle. In the Paris district ten protest meetings against chauvinism and against these expulsions were held.

Our Polish comrades in France have translated the appeal of the C.C. of the French Section and sent it to all their groups. A circular from the French Section has been sent to all towns in France in which there are numerous Polish emigrants in order that these local sections shall act in the same way as the French district.

By continuing this solidarity work the French Section of the International Red Aid can and must paralyse the effects of the race incitement and chauvinism, which only serve to split the anti-fascist front, and, in connection with the great action for the release of Thaelmann, seek to strengthen the feeling of international solidarity and promote practical measures of relief.

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