

# INTERNATIONAL PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 14 No. 55

26th October, 1934

## CONTENTS

<b>Politics</b>	
Foreign-Political Review of the Week .. .. .	1446
J. Berlioz: Fascism as a Solution of the Economic Crisis ..	1448
Victor Zitna: After the Fascist Assassination in Marseilles	1447
<b>Germany</b>	
J. L.: The Third Reich Facing New Difficulties .. ..	1450
Margarita Nelken: International United Front to Save Thaelmann .. .. .	1452
Isabel Brown: Release Ernst Thaelmann! .. .. .	1453
<b>Great Britain</b>	
Palme Dutt: The British Labour Party and the Second International .. .. .	1454
<b>Fight for the Unity of the Labour Movement</b>	
Bela Kun: The Labour and Socialist International and the Spanish Proletariat .. .. .	1456
J. Lenski: The Struggle for the United Front in Poland ..	1457
<b>Fight Against Imperialist War</b>	
P. F.: The Revelations at the American Armaments Enquiry .. .. .	1459
<b>The White Terror</b>	
Romain Rolland: Those who are Dying in Mussolini's Prisons—Antonio Gramsci .. .. .	1461
<b>Seventeenth Anniversary of the October Revolution</b>	
Seventeen Years of Proletarian Dictatorship .. ..	1462
<b>Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union</b>	
A. Komjat: Letters from the Soviet Union .. ..	1465
L. F. Boross: Letters from the Soviet Ukraine .. ..	1467
L. F. Boross: Kramatorsk. IV .. .. .	1469
<b>Proletarian Commemoration Days</b>	
Geoffrey Trease: Newport's Red November .. .. .	1471
<b>Book Reviews</b>	
Ralph Fox: Joseph Stalin: The October Revolution ..	1472

## Thaelmann!

*"On October 3—according to information received by your correspondent—there was a conference in Berlin attended by the Attorney-General (Oberreichsanwalt) Werner, several officials of the secret State police, and representatives of the Ministries of Justice and Propaganda, as well as by a representative of General Goering.*

*"A representative of the Ministry of Propaganda—that is to say, of Dr. Goebbels—protested against a trial that would be conducted in the old manner, which, as shown by the Reichstag fire trial, was detrimental to the interests of the German State. The Third Realm, he said, must, when trying Thaelmann, draw the logical inference from its rejection of all liberal ideas.*

*"The conference decided that the trial should take place after only the shortest notice had been given and should be terminated with all possible speed. The indictment was to be based exclusively on the evidence of plans for a Communist insurrection in 1933, and the Court would be able to pass sentence of death." ("Manchester Guardian," October 16.)*

*"According to information from official sources, the trial of Ernst Thaelmann will be held in public before the new Court under paragraphs 83 and 86 of the penal code, according to which the sentence will be imprisonment with or without hard labour." (Reuter, October 19.)*

The two reports quoted above contradict each other only apparently. The German authorities have this time refrained from the usual categorical denial. They consider it more advisable to admit that the trial will actually take place, but endeavour at the same time to take the wind out of the swelling sails of the propaganda for Thaelmann's release: **they wish to lull world public opinion by declaring that Thaelmann's life is not in danger.**

Reuter's report, which, by the way, is published by all the big telegraph agencies, is in fact only a confirmation of the alarming news published by the big English Liberal paper. The trial will take place. It is to be suddenly rushed through, and a terrorist sentence

will be pronounced if the rulers of the Third Reich succeed in lulling world public opinion. If, however, we do not allow ourselves to be taken in by this trickery and, by exerting all our forces, strengthen and increase the Thaelmann release action beyond all measure, then it will be impossible for the fascist rulers to carry out their bloody plans.

We must not for a moment underestimate the danger threatening the life of our Comrade Thaelmann. He is the leader of the heroic Communist Party of Germany, which cannot be crushed by the most insane terror, before which the all-powerful leaders of Nazi Germany tremble. Thaelmann is the worthy leader of this Party: bold and shrewd, steel-hard and noble. The whole of the savage hatred of the Nazi leaders is concentrated on him. One of the most powerful men in Germany is generally known to be a drug addict for whose actions there is no accounting. And this man is a particularly bitter enemy of Comrade Thaelmann. A hard winter is approaching. Hitler cannot give the working masses bread and coal; he has only the weapon of terror at his disposal. Tremendous efforts are being exerted in order to make an example of the rebellious leader of the revolutionary Party.

But in spite of this enormous danger we must not underestimate the great possibilities which exist for rescuing Comrade Thaelmann. The very fact that the German authorities are compelled to attempt to mislead world public opinion regarding their plans, to lull the conscience of the world, shows the great importance they themselves attach to the Thaelmann campaign. The hard winter may cause them to resort to terrorist measures, but it can also render such measures ineffective and convert them into dangerous weapons against the regime. And, finally, as regards the insanity of the Nazi rulers, the trial of Comrade Dimitroff proved that even a drug addict like Goering cannot defy world opinion.

It is our task, however, to mobilise this world opinion for the rescue of Comrade Thaelmann. This name, which two years ago

was known and revered only in Germany and in the Communist International, is now known all over the world. There is no country, there is no place in which a fight is not being waged for Thaelmann. There is no ship on the sea or on the rivers and canals of the whole world on which his name is not heard. His name is in the mouths of people speaking hundreds of different languages. His name is linked up with all movements which the workers are conducting in order to improve their conditions, where a fight is being waged for economic and political freedom. His name resounds in all struggles, whether they are general strikes or revolts.

The time still left to us between now and the trial must be used in order tremendously to strengthen the campaign!

If then, at the commencement of the trial of Comrade Thaelmann, all workshops, all urban and rural dwellings of the toilers, all villages, all towns, all streets, all vehicles on the land, all ships on the water are filled with the rousing cry: "Rescue Thaelmann!"—then all German consulates and embassies, all who have business and political connections with Germany, will induce the Nazi rulers to give way. Hitler cannot defy such a movement, the more so as such a cry would rouse a thunderous echo beyond the working people, among all those sections of the public who are disgusted with the machinations of the Hitler Christians, who are filled with rage on account of the non-payment by Germany of its debts. They, too, realise that it is precisely with this unpaid money that Germany is being armed at a furious pace for the purpose of setting up an old-new Germanic world empire and exterminating with bombs, poison gas and microbes all who resist it.

Thaelmann's life is in great danger. This fact should cause every one of us to do his utmost to increase the rescue campaign.

Comrade Thaelmann can be saved—he must be saved.

## Politics

### Foreign Political Review of the Week

The London "*Economist*," the celebrated weekly journal of the British bourgeoisie, declares that the world will not plunge into a disaster on account of the *breaking up* of Yugoslavia as it did twenty years ago for the purpose of *setting up* Yugoslavia. This antithesis sounds very fine, but it reflects only the false appearance of the facts and, what is more important, this self-confident assurance is not by any means a security against the outbreak of a new imperialist war. In 1914 the imperialist Powers never dreamt of embarking on a world war for the sake of establishing a Yugoslavian State longed and striven for by national revolutionaries. If they nevertheless did so, their action was determined by their own predatory aims.

The starting point of the war, it is true, was the festering wound of the unsolved national question of South-East Europe. The change in the relations of power after the war was accompanied by the conversion of oppressed into oppressing nations. For they not only pursued a policy of national oppression, but allied themselves with other imperialist Powers. To-day, therefore, the situation is rendered still worse not only by reason of the fact that national oppression has been extended to far wider districts and that in place of one Balkans nearly half of Europe has been Balkanised, but also by reason of the fact that new imperialist Powers with possibilities of new imperialist conflicts have arisen.

According to imperialist geography, the shortest way from Prague to Belgrade is via Paris. Before Benes went to the funeral of King Alexander and to the Balkan Conference which followed, he first went to Paris, where he had long conversations with leading statesmen. Before his departure for Belgrade an official communiqué was issued in which it was announced that complete agreement existed between Benes and Laval. When, therefore, the Belgrade Conference of the Little Entente, at which Benes acted as a spokesman of French imperialism, denounced the Marseilles assassination as being the outcome of revisionist propaganda and represented the recent acts of terror as being deliberate actions "having as their object to endanger the positions won by certain Powers" and threatened serious conflicts in the event of the injured parties not being given prompt satisfaction, this indicates a very serious situation which cannot be got rid of by fine phrases.

It is stated that the results of the investigation will be first

awaited and then demands will be submitted to Hungary. In the meantime, however, Hungary is not remaining inactive. After the Marseilles assassination it was stated that the visit of the Hungarian Prime Minister Goemboes to Warsaw would be postponed indefinitely. But the Hungarian government in the meantime rapidly changed its mind. Hungary sought and found a hearing with Poland, which has never ratified the Treaty of Trianon, and whose Foreign Minister, Colonel Beck, recently rejected the Eastern Pact, giving as one reason the fact that Poland expressly refuses to guarantee the Southern frontiers of Czechoslovakia against Hungary. At the same time the Hungarian Foreign Minister Kanya paid a visit to Mussolini. As is known, the Duce supported the Croat terrorists no less than did Goemboes. If Hungary had its *Janko Pusta*, Italy had its *Borgotara*. But when two do the same thing, it is not the same thing. The arrest of *Pavelic* and *Kvaternik* in Turin was interpreted in France as a change in the policy of Italy towards Yugoslavia. In actual fact the two terrorists were only *detained and not arrested* (*fermati, non arrestati*), in order that they should not tell tales out of school. The French authorities have no access to them. Difficulties will therefore be placed in the way of the enquiry. This time Mussolini is not leaving Goemboes in the lurch. The support of Hungary by Italy and Poland means, however, that the situation is rendered more instead of less dangerous.

These events, in which a great part of the European Powers are already involved, are taking place in the *general sphere* of imperialist intrigues. The appearance of the Japanese Admiral Yamamoto in London, especially, however, the declarations he made to press representatives, serve to remind one of the *strained situation* in the Pacific Ocean. As a naval Power, Japan up to now had to rest content with a relatively modest role. According to the Washington Agreement of 1922 the ratio of the naval strength of the United States, England and Japan respectively is 5:5:3. The Agreement expires in 1935, and if notice is not given terminating it the old ratio will remain in force. Japan, however, will not hear of this. It, therefore, proposes that so-called weapons of attack, such as aircraft-carriers, shall be done away and the tonnage fixed at the Naval Conference shall be utilised by the various naval Powers according to their own judgment.

With the aid of a powerful submarine fleet and making use of the absence of other Powers, in whose possession aircraft-carriers would represent a powerful weapon against its imperialist plans, Japan intends to secure sole domination of the whole of the Asiatic coast of the Pacific Ocean, and from thence proceed to conquer the Asiatic mainland. Japan is the leading power pursuing a policy of imperialist adventure. It is supported in this adventurous policy by Germany. Poland is following in the wake of Germany. With the entanglement of conflicting imperialist aspirations it is by no means impossible that even the Marseilles events will lead to the formation of imperialist fronts and the decision of conflicts. This sounds somewhat strange, but it must be remembered that on June 20, 1914, no one thought that England, Japan and even America would before long be at war with Germany.

The international situation is at present more strained than it has ever been since 1914. If anyone should still doubt this, the death of Poincaré, the chief creator of the Versailles system, should convince him. The work perished even before its author died. It was intended to set up a State system which would guarantee the security of France for all time. An armed France, a disarmed Germany, which in addition is surrounded by allies of France, among which Poland should be France's main buttress. To-day, Germany is re-armed. Of the most dangerous weapons, aeroplanes, poison gases and microbes, it possesses much more than France. Poland has gone over to the enemy. And France's big brother on the other side of the Channel? It is *continually* encouraging France's enemies. It was in this situation that the shots were fired in Marseilles. In face of this international situation, and particularly in view of the inner situation in all capitalist countries, who doubts that the outlines of the new cycle of imperialist wars and proletarian revolutions can be clearly seen?

Proletarian revolution—yes! Imperialist war—no! It must not necessarily come to imperialist war, provided we succeed in gathering together the forces of all toilers in the united front against war and fascism, throwing them into the scale to prevent a threatening war, and with these released forces overthrowing all the Powers which maintain their existence by means of imperialism and the oppression of the peoples. This is a possibility, but it is a *possibility which nevertheless exists*.

## After the Fascist Assassinations in Marseilles

By Victor Zitna (Bucharest)

The assassinations in Marseilles, which were the work of international fascism with its centres in Berlin, Rome and Budapest, aimed not only at killing the crowned head of Yugoslavia, but also at striking French foreign policy a heavy blow in the person of *Louis Barthou*, who, as French Foreign Minister, was working for a rapprochement between France, Italy and the Little Entente.

The rapprochement between France and Italy, which has become more marked since the last session of the League of Nations, did not come about without creating difficulties between France and the members of the Little Entente, and in particular between France and Yugoslavia which was afraid of being abandoned. For this reason, therefore, the diplomacy of fascist Germany strengthened its efforts to draw Yugoslavia into the orbit of its influence, and one of the baits it set was the offer of a market for Yugoslavia's agricultural produce. The French Foreign Ministry, which had already suffered a signal defeat on the Polish front, now wheeled round to face the new danger. The King of Yugoslavia, Alexander Karageorgivitch, was invited to pay an official visit to Paris, and his visit was to be followed by an official visit of King Carol of Rumania. At the same time Barthou was also planning a visit to Rome, together with Benes, the Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia, in order to compose the differences between Italy and the Little Entente.

This whole complicated diplomatic game was brutally interrupted by the assassinations in Marseilles which thus rendered assistance to the formation of an imperialist block under German hegemony with a programme of imperialist war and above all war against the Soviet Union.

October 9 produced utter confusion in the French Foreign Ministry. *Laval*, who took over Barthou's post, immediately called *Benes*, who is the President of the League of Nations, and at the same time opened up diplomatic negotiations with the representatives of Yugoslavia and Rumania. At the instructions of the French Foreign Ministry the French press opened up a campaign against Hungary, which had established a training centre for the terrorists of the "Ustaschi" at Janka-Puszta, only a few miles away from the Yugoslavian frontier. The well-known French foreign political expert, *Pertinax*, even went so far as to remind the world of the Hungarian francs forgeries and of the munitions transports across the frontiers at St. Gotthard and Hirtenberg, etc. On the other hand, the French press displayed an extraordinary consideration for Italy, which had also sheltered and encouraged the terrorists and which had openly supported the organisation of the terrorist, Dr. Pavelitch, since arrested in Turin.

The aim of this French press campaign against Hungary was to incite Yugoslavia against Hungary and in this way to score a full hit against the painfully erected edifice of German diplomatic intrigue which was to ally Germany with Yugoslavia by way of Budapest. Whilst the French press clamoured for an appeal to the League of Nations in order to lay bare the causes of the assassinations in Marseilles, the British government showed itself to be far from pleased at this proposal and even tendered the advice to the French government that it should not go too far with this sort of investigation for fear that it might lead to serious international complications. Up to the moment the Belgrade government has contented itself with demanding from the Budapest government information about the terrorist camps on Hungarian territory and requesting an answer by October 23. This demand is nothing short of an ultimatum and in the present strained situation of international relations it can have the most serious consequences.

After the burial of King Alexander in Belgrade two important conferences took place there; one between the members of the Little Entente and the other between the members of the Balkan Entente. King *Carol* of Rumania and Prince *Paul*, first Regent of Yugoslavia, took an active part in these negotiations. The conferences represent a certain success for French diplomacy and an official rapprochement between the Little Entente and the Balkan Entente. The two conferences issued a joint communiqué declaring that both had come to the conclusion that

"the Marseilles assassinations had been carried out under the influence of forces working on the other side of the frontier and reaching into the field of foreign politics, and that the conferences consider it absolutely necessary that all nations should work together peaceably and in all objectivity in order to reveal the forces really responsible for the assassinations." The communiqué mentions neither Italy nor Hungary directly,

but the most important passage in it is the following:—

"The governments represented solemnly declare their solidarity with Yugoslavia and undertake to respect the contractual obligations which bind them with increased punctiliousness and to continue the policy which they have pursued up to the present with tireless energy."

French imperialism is thus mobilising all its forces to aid Yugoslavia, and at the same time it seeks to parry Germany's diplomatic manoeuvres by strengthening *Titulescu's* position in Bucharest which was weakened by the last Cabinet reshuffle, and by causing the formation of a civil truce government in Belgrade with *Yevitch* at its head. Following on the conferences in Belgrade, the Paris press began to show signs of satisfaction and triumph. The "Temps" declared that:

"The decisions taken in Belgrade open up reassuring avenues for the immediate future. The published communiqué contains everything necessary: the solidarity of Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Turkey and Greece in face of the situation created by the Marseilles crime. . . . The continuation of the policy of co-operation . . . in the spirit of King Alexander and Louis Barthou."

The same tone is to be found in the press of Prague and Bucharest, but in Belgrade the press shows itself little pleased with the moderate tone adopted in the communiqué of the conferences of the Little Entente and of the Balkan Entente.

The game is not yet in the pocket of the French Foreign Ministry. In the Marseilles assassinations German imperialism has found a pretext to intensify its efforts to penetrate into the Balkans and to find new allies for the coming imperialist war. It dispatched *Goering* in person to Belgrade and *Goering* lost no time. He gave interviews in abundance, delivered numerous speeches, one of them to 80 deputies in the Skupschtina, on the relations between Yugoslavia and Germany. He had long conversations with Prince *Paul* and found ways and means of being the last of the foreign representatives to leave Belgrade. *Goering* undertook to harry all the Croat terrorists out of German territory, including even those who received direct support and encouragement from Rosenberg's office until quite recently.

The German press shows itself to be very satisfied with the results of *Goering's* visit to Belgrade. Referring to the conferences in Belgrade, the "Berliner Boersen Zeitung" declares that the attempts of France to come to an agreement or even to found an alliance, and to compose its differences with Italy, were silently buried at the conference, and that it is no secret that the policy of the Little Entente is directed more towards defending itself against Italy in Central and Eastern Europe than towards forming a block against Germany.

At the same time Berlin has not given up its activities in other directions. *Goemboes* has gone to Warsaw in order to arrange "a cultural rapprochement" between Poland and Hungary. In reality, of course, his aim is to strengthen the political relations between Warsaw and Budapest, relations which are directed above all against Czechoslovakia. The newspapers of both countries and also of Germany are beginning to speak more and more openly of the desirability of a common frontier between Poland and Hungary, or, in other words, the carving up of Slovakia and its distribution between the two countries. However, Hungary hesitates to fling itself completely into the arms of Germany and to abandon Italy completely. For this reason Hungary's Foreign Minister *Koloman Kanya* hurried to Rome in order to discover the situation there before *Laval* and *Benes* got a chance of forestalling him.

Two weeks after the Marseilles assassinations it is possible to say that their results are: an intensification of the imperialist antagonisms in the basin of the Danube and an immediate intensification of the danger of new imperialist war. The positions in this particularly troubled area of the European continent seem to have been held on the whole. French imperialist diplomacy won a certain success as a result of the conferences in Belgrade, but German imperialism is continuing its adventurist foreign policy and after having secured a rapprochement with Poland and Hungary it is now striving to secure successes in the Balkans and above all in Yugoslavia. The attitude of Italy in the whole affair is not yet clear. *Mussolini* has, it is true, repeated his Milan proposals for the benefit of Paris and Belgrade, but it would appear that he has not yet finally decided to seek a rapprochement with the Little Entente and to abandon Hungary to its fate. The forthcoming journey of *Laval* and *Benes* to Rome and the forthcoming session of the League of Nations on November 15 will presumably shed a little light on Italy's attitude.

## Fascism as a "Solution" of the Economic Crisis

By J. Berlioz (Paris)

It has been announced that the automobile factory Citröen, one of the biggest industrial undertakings in France, which employed 30,000 workers at its zenith may shortly close its doors, owing to the catastrophic nature of its financial position. Recently Citröen has been working to no more than 40 per cent. of its productive capacity.

The uncertainty of the political situation, the danger of a new fascist putsch, the weakening of the government of National Union which is torn with rivalries owing to the antagonisms within the capitalist camp, the assassinations in Marseilles, and their probable international consequences, etc., all these things have led to a catastrophic dearth of buyers. The Citröen share quotations fell from about 600 francs in 1931 to a little less than 100 francs a few days ago.

The difficulties of this powerful capitalist undertaking, with its capital of 400 million francs and its enormous obligations, have had a paralysing effect on French public opinion. For years Citröen has seemed one of the most solid industrial undertakings in France, for years it has seemed to make excellent progress towards controlling, not only the French market, but also a considerable section of the world automobile market. The difficulties of Citröen are typical of the ever-increasing intensification of the economic crisis in France, and of the ever-increasing contradictions in which French capitalism is being involved, both of which offer fruitful ground for the acceleration of the advance of French fascism.

The general index of industrial production fell from 112 in July, 1933, to 97 in August, 1934, without any trace of recovery. Thus, almost the whole span of recovery which took place between July, 1932 (lowest level of the index 92) and July, 1933, has again been lost. The building industry has suffered in particular. Its index figure is now 80, as compared with 91 a year ago and 92 two years ago. The textile industry is also one of the chief sufferers. Its index figure is now 55, as compared with 78 in August, 1933, and 59 in August, 1932. During the first eight months of 1934 the production of the French steel industry was 4,115,000 tons, as compared with 4,493,000 tons in the first eight months of 1933. At the moment only 84 blast furnaces are at work, as compared with 92 at the beginning of the year.

The French press reports that the steel industry has experienced no improvement at all as a result of the Marquet plan for large-scale public works, and that at the moment the production of the furnaces is so low that it cannot continue without serious danger.

Unemployment in France is also steadily on the increase. This time last year there were 231,000 registered and supported unemployed workers, but now, despite the fact that many thousands have exhausted their benefit and disappeared from the official lists, and despite the fact that 450,000 foreign-born workers have been deported back to their own countries, the official figure is 334,000. Further, a letter of the Minister for Labour to the Prime Minister during the past few days points out that "a considerable increase in unemployment" must be expected during the coming winter. It is common knowledge by this time that the great plans of the Minister of Labour for public works are nothing but a bluff, for the funds which he has at his disposal for these works are smaller than the normal budgetary subventions which the State advances to the Départements and the municipalities for housing purposes and which were abolished this year. For a year now short-time work has been introduced increasingly all over France. According to official statistics, which embrace 5.5 million wage earners, 46 per cent. of them are now on short-time work, as compared with 37 per cent. a year ago.

One of the main reasons for the decline in industrial production in France is the considerable drop in the income of the small and middle peasants, and the French press admits that purchases of manufactured goods are becoming fewer and fewer in the rural areas on this account. The harvest yield this year has not yet been disposed of, and where the peasants have been able to sell, then only to the "grain gangsters," as they are popularly called, at prices which hardly cover the costs of production. The wine yield for 1934, together with the supplies of previous years which are now in storage, make up a supply which is far in excess

of any possible demand. This fact has produced a drop in prices amounting in some cases to 50 per cent., whilst the price of alcohol has dropped from 600 francs a hectolitre last year to 250 francs this year.

The fruit and vegetable market gardeners in Southern France are in a desperate position because the price at which they can sell much of their produce no more than covers the costs of production. The apples of Normandy are now being sold for about one-fifth of their pre-war prices. The situation of the cattle breeders is no better, and a prominent French newspaper wrote a few days ago:—

"A flood of bitterness is let loose when the large or small cattle-breeders discuss the fact that they are compelled to sell their products at three-fifths or four-fifths of their pre-war gold prices."

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that hundreds of thousands of small and middle peasants are up to their eyes in debt, that they have sold everything possible and completely exhausted their savings, so that distraints are becoming more and more frequent.

The agricultural crisis in France is complicated by the existence of the French colonial empire, where capitalist agriculture is developing rapidly and represents a serious danger to agricultural production in France itself. The antagonism is particularly marked with regard to wine. The rich colonists of Algeria are protesting energetically against the application of the quota system to their wine imports into France. The imports of French colonial wine have been limited in the hope that a catastrophic fall in the price of the wine produced in France itself can thereby be prevented. However, the colonial wine producers have record quantities of wine in hand, over 20 million hectolitres, as compared with 16 million hectolitres last year.

The situation is growing steadily more acute. The rich colonists in Algeria have succeeded in inciting large portions of the population, both French and native, to hold big demonstrations. There are threats of a boycott of French industrial goods, of a boycott of the French colonial authorities, and even of separatism.

This agitation has, of course, nothing to do with the anti-imperialist movement of the native masses, but it furthers it to a certain extent. The trouble which is brewing in North Africa is one of the chief sources of anxiety for French imperialism. In September the great majority of the population of Tunis rose against the French oppressors. Mass strikes took place in which tradesmen and others also took part. Big demonstrations took place. French manufactured goods were boycotted, as were all products taxed by French imperialism. Bloody collisions took place between the native population and the forces of French occupation. The movement was a real national-revolutionary struggle for freedom, but unfortunately it was badly led. The fact that the economic situation in North Africa has ruined the small and middle colonists, as well as the native population, deprives French imperialism of one of its strongest supports in its regime of oppression. So long as the situation remains as it is at present no amount of brutal repression will succeed in crushing the movement against French imperialism.

The antagonisms are also expressing themselves more and more openly in French trade politics. In August the total volume of French foreign trade touched a new low record with 3,062 million francs, as compared with 3,591 million francs last year. The unfavourable balance of French foreign trade sank a little owing to increased exports of raw materials and to strict reductions of imports, but even this minor success does no more than indicate the paralysis which is creeping over French foreign trade. The question is being raised whether a continuation of the quota system is desirable. The "Journée Industrielle" writes that this policy:—

"Goes from one disappointment to another, from one failure to the next. It maintains high prices, keeps the level of French prices well above the general level of world prices, damages both import and export, and threatens to drive the curve of commodity exchange down to nil."

A month ago, the Budget reporter, Jacquier, declared in the Chamber of Deputies:—

"In France we have as many economic policies as we have industries and interests to protect and further." This lack of centralisation in French trade policy has been



clearly revealed by the problem of the trade clearing plan between France and Germany. The change from passive to active in favour of France in the trading balance between the two countries has pleased the exporters, but it has interfered seriously with the clearing process which guarantees the liquidation of the French Dawes and Young claims. For this reason the French Cabinet has decided to limit French exports to Germany, a decision which has drawn an energetic protest from manufacturing circles against a policy which favours the holders of obligations to the detriment of French industrial production.

Finance capitalism is exploiting this situation in order to accelerate the advance of fascism and the advance to a purely fascist dictatorship. Finance capitalism has even drawn advantage from the wave of bankruptcies which has ruined hundreds of small and middle producers. It has bought up their works and supplies for a song and obtained a still greater concentration of the means of production in its own hands. The State has deliberately supported this process, particularly in those industries which are of particular importance in time of war—airplane production and the transport industry.

At the moment the textile industry is energetically demanding government intervention in order to regulate production in accordance with demand and to close down the less profitable undertakings. A committee of investigation is at present at work under the chairmanship of the Minister of Trade. Eugène Mathou, the chairman of the Wool Manufacturers' Association of France, is in favour of exploiting this "co-operation" with the government in order to obtain the formation of a downright corporation embracing the whole of the French textile industry, an obligatory corporation controlled by the State. This influential French capitalist points out that this plan is the only feasible one to avoid the dangers of "Sovietisation."

He points out that the formation of such a corporation would place limits on competition and unite employers and workers in a "consciousness of their common interests." His proposal is thus an important attempt to go a step farther along the road to fascism in France. In the meantime the various fascist groups are doing their utmost to win by demagogic means the masses of the discontented small and middle peasants for their aims, whilst the finance capitalists are using the support and toleration of the pre-fascist government of national union in order to organise and arm the fascist terrorist bands which are intended to intimidate the proletariat and to crush it by armed force if necessary. The fighting spirit of the French working class, however, has been greatly strengthened by the establishment of the political united front between the Communists and socialists, and by the immediate prospects of the establishment of trade union unity.

## The Balkans

### The Economic Causes of the Peasants' Revolt in Peloponnesus

By K. Grypos

Several weeks ago the peasants in Peloponnesus enforced the granting of part of their demands by means of bloody fights. In this fight the main attack was directed against the price policy carried out by the "Autonomous Raisin Department." What is this price policy and what is this institution?

The chief agricultural products of Greece are: Tobacco, raisins, wine and olive oil. Of these products raisins occupy the second place (before the war the first place). Before the war the production of raisins in Greece represented 75 per cent. of the world production and had, so to say, a natural monopoly. After the war, however, the competition of Californian and Australian raisins forced the production of Greek raisins back to such an extent that it now represents only 30 per cent. of the world production and is in a state of chronic crisis.

Needless to say the present world economic crisis has very severely hit this branch of Greek agriculture. Thus, for instance, in 1928 exports fell by 20 per cent., whilst the output increased by 10 per cent. In 1931 output sank by 35 per cent., exports by 20 per cent., and the price by 17 per cent., compared with 1930. Foreign competition, mainly that of Australia, which can produce raisins more cheaply and enjoys a preference on the British market, has had disastrous results for the Greek trade. Certain

bourgeois circles in Greece have proposed that the production of raisins be completely abandoned and replaced by the cultivation of grain. In the autumn of 1931 Parliament devoted several sessions to this question without, however, arriving at a solution of the problem.

In the whole district of Peloponnesus and Zakynthos there still exist semi-feudal conditions of production connected at the same time with a highly developed form of exploitation by finance capital. Thus, one after another various institutions (Raisin Bank, Unity Bank, etc.) were founded which possessed a monopoly of the production of raisins. The latest of these institutions is the "Autonomous Raisin Institution," founded with capital of the National Bank and the Agrarian Bank, i.e., the most influential groups of Greek finance capital. This institution represents in reality the combination of all sorts of exploiters of the raisin growers: State, raisin dealers, spirit distillers, etc.

The forms of exploitation are manifold: Taxation (it is well-known that the Greek peasant is the most heavily taxed in the Balkans and, in fact, the whole of Europe), arbitrary regulation of the price of surplus raisins, price policy differentiating between good and bad raisins.

Since 1923 a system has been in force under which 20 per cent. of the raisin harvest is kept back in the country and delivered over to the big spirit distillers. This is nothing else but robbery, sanctioned by the State, of thousands of raisin growers for the benefit of a few industrialists. With an average annual production of 170 million litres the 20 per cent. retention amounts to 34 million litres, which at the price of 3,500 drachmas per 1,000 litres works out at 119 million drachmas. Of the other 80 per cent. of the production which is exported, i.e., 136 million litres, 1,200 drachmas per 1,000 litres, i.e., 163 million drachmas must be paid over to the Autonomous Raisin Institution.

The system of retention on the one hand, and the dealers and agents who come between the growers and the foreign market on the other hand, cost the planters 119 million drachmas, plus 163 million drachmas, i.e., a total of 282 million drachmas. Of this the growers receive only 168 million drachmas, whilst the enormous sum of 114 million drachmas is taken from them by the State (taxation), the National Bank (interest) and the distilling industry. It should also be remarked that whilst the 168 million are divided among the growers, the Agrarian Bank is empowered by law to deduct the whole of the credits granted by it, so that in actual practice only the rich growers and plantation companies receive anything.

The other important form of exploitation is the fixing of prices. Only good quality raisins are placed on the foreign market. The inferior quality are kept mostly in the country; 50 per cent. of them are taken by the spirit distilling industry, and the other 50 per cent. are bought by the Raisin Institution.

In reality, for the growers there is no essential difference between good and bad quality, because on 10 hectares of land it is possible to grow 1,000 litres of inferior quality, but only 500 litres of good quality raisins. Thus, for instance, the growers in the districts where good quality raisins are grown (Corinth, Patras, Aegialia) do not earn any more than the growers in the districts where raisins of inferior quality are grown (Messina, Iliia).

The recent fights of the peasants compelled the Autonomous Institution to settle the price question, but in a manner which is to some extent tolerable for the growers of good quality raisins, but is unbearable for the growers of inferior quality raisins. The latter have declared at fresh meetings and demonstrations and in resolutions that they absolutely will not pay any taxes or interest on loans.

The Communist Party of Greece, which has much less influence among the peasant population of Peloponnesus than among the peasants of Thessaly and Macedonia, was able to play only an indirect role at the commencement of the recent struggles. Its local organisations, however, have carried on enlightenment work among the growers, and in some cases taken over the leadership of their movement. Under the influence of the Communists the peasants are demanding: (1) Interest-free land-cultivation loans. (2) Assistance from the State Treasury for raisin growers who have been ruined by natural disasters. (3) Immediate annulment of taxation, abolition of the system of "retention" by the Autonomous Raisin Institution, the raisin growers to be allowed to dispose of their crops as they wish. (4) Fight, not against their class brothers in the other districts, but against the exploiters. (5) Alliance with the town proletariat

## Germany

### The Third Reich Facing New Difficulties

By J. L.

A superficial examination of the situation in Hitler Germany might make it appear that the fascist regime had succeeded in consolidating itself somewhat after the serious crises of June 30 and July 25, and after its electoral reverse on August 19. Although the signs of disintegration are no longer so visible on the surface, new conflicts and difficulties are developing on all fields, and they can and must be utilised by the proletarian anti-fascist united front for revolutionary actions.

The fascist press in Germany is howling in moral indignation at the suggestion made, not only in the working-class newspapers in the Saar district, but also in various foreign newspapers, and based on definite and well-founded suspicions that the trained specialists in political murder who assassinated the Austrian Reich's Chancellor Dollfuss, and thousands of other political opponents had their dirty fingers in the intrigues which led up to the assassination of King Alexander and Louis Barthou in Marseilles.

The known facts are that an organ of the Croat terrorist group, which carried out the assassinations, appeared openly in Berlin, that the assassins or their accomplices spent a day in Munich before going on to Marseilles to do their work, that the prominent National Socialist leader **Manfred von Killinger** maintains close relations with the fascist Croat emigrants, and that **von Papen** made his notorious hunting visit to the Hungarian fascists shortly before the carrying out of the assassinations, and that these Hungarian fascists are known to have supported the Croat and Macedonian terrorist gangs. Naturally, all these factors offer no definite evidence of the direct complicity of the brown assassins in the Marseilles crime, but they do offer definite grounds for suspicion. However, a national socialist newspaper in Germany offers the following extraordinary and grotesque "reason" to prove the impossibility of any national socialist complicity:—

"It is immanent in the thought of national socialism which is conservative and filled with a deep respect of human life that a revolver as a political weapon should be eschewed completely, not to speak of the ethical considerations which condemn it." ("Frankfurter Volksblatt," on October 13, 1934.)

In other words, it is just national socialism which condemns political murder. The obvious inference is that the national socialists do not consider the slaughter of June 30 and the subsequent days to have been political murder, but common crime. Or, perhaps, the national socialists find a difference of principle in the use of the revolver as a method of settling political accounts and the use of the rifle for the same purpose?

Unfortunately for them, however, the rulers of the "Third Reich" were stupid enough to express their satisfaction at the success of the Marseilles murder plot quite openly. **Goering**, who is about as handy in diplomacy as a bull in a china shop, expressed his satisfaction most clearly. As the representative of the "Leader" in Belgrade he utilised the occasion to express tactfully the hope that the assassination of **Barthou** would see the end of his policy also.

There is not the faintest doubt that the fascists of Germany, Poland and Hungary are united in their glee at the removal of **Barthou** from the international arena as a protagonist of a rapprochement between France and the Soviet Union and between France and Italy. Undoubtedly the assassinations in Marseilles have brought the danger of imperialist war nearer to Europe, but at the same time they have intensified the antagonisms between the various imperialist powers and thus hampered the foreign policy of Germany, which aims at uniting all the imperialist powers against the Soviet Union. Even if the assassination of King Alexander of Yugoslavia intensifies the antagonism between Yugoslavia and Hungary, and prevents for the time being the developing rapprochement between France and Italy, this does not mean the restoration of the old German-Italian entente. In order to make this possible fascist Germany would have to abandon completely all its designs on Austria, and after the abandonment of Danzig and the Polish Corridor as the price of the problematic friendship of Poland, this would be a heavy blow to German national prestige.

However, such an abandonment of Germany's Austrian plans is not impossible, because at the moment fascist Germany is completely taken up with anxiety for the Saar district. The possibility that an investigation into the national socialist election list swindles may lead to a postponement of the plebiscite fills the national socialist leaders with well-founded anxiety, for the effect of the national socialist campaign of intimidation and terror is waning steadily, whilst the united anti-fascist front in favour of the maintenance of the status quo is gaining in strength as steadily. The poorer the chances of the national socialists at the plebiscite becomes the greater will be their tendency to forestall the plebiscite itself by a coup d'Etat, or to "correct" its result by violence. Even after the assassinations in Marseilles Germany remains the most dangerous spot in Europe, and the danger that Germany may plunge into some foreign political adventure is increasing. The national leader of the so-called "German Front," **Pirro**, has had the audacity to slander the anti-fascist united front in the Saar district as the front of the warmongers, because the anti-fascist newspapers in the Saar district dared to lay bare the traces which connect the Marseilles assassins with the German national socialists.

It is above all the class-conscious workers who are conducting the strongest campaign against the suggestion that a war provoked by the national socialists would be welcomed by us as it would lead to the collapse of the national socialist terrorist regime in Germany. We do not want such a war and we shall fight against it with all possible means. It is not certain that an imperialist war would accelerate the collapse of the fascist dictatorship in Germany, but one thing is certain and that is that only the proletarian revolution can smash the fascist dictatorship and prevent war. The anti-fascist workers in the Saar and in all other countries set their hopes on the proletarian revolution and not on the bayonets of foreign imperialist powers.

Hitler has once again found it necessary to stress formally his godlike omnipotence. A law has now been issued ordering all the Ministers in the Reich and in the German States to take their oath direct to Hitler and to swear loyalty and obedience to him as "the Leader of the Reich and of the German people." Explaining this new law, Secretary of State **Lammers** declares that as a result of the referendum on August 19 Hitler was made Reich Chancellor and Reich President for life, that there was no longer any responsibility on the part of Ministers towards the Reichstag, etc., but purely to Hitler, that the Weimar Constitution was no longer in force, that no new constitution was necessary in its place, and that with Hitler's election as Leader of the Reich all constitutional development had come to an end for the time being in Germany. The new oath which all Ministers will have to take stresses the fact that Germany is ruled by a lawless despotism, and that the only law is the will of the Leader which is laid down for him by his capitalist masters.

In point of fact, the election on August 19 contained no mention of any life-long installation of Hitler as "Reich's Leader," but it may very well turn out to be so should Hitler not succeed in making his escape over the frontier in accordance with a hallowed tradition when his regime finally collapses.

The peculiar fashion in which this new oath of loyalty has been introduced lends colour to the rumours which have been making the rounds for months now concerning differences amongst the national socialist leaders and Ministers. It is reported that **Frick**, the Minister of the Interior, who is normally so docile and obedient, demanded from Hitler that the latter should finally publish some documents or the other in connection with the events of June 30 and the subsequent days, and that as a result he incurred the intense anger of the All-Highest. **Goering** is reported to have declared in a personal conversation that he would sooner serve as a simple member of the rank and file than put up with further humiliations at Hitler's hands. Hitler's official representative has still not been appointed, and even in the leadership of the notorious Gestapo (State Secret Police) clique struggles are raging as indicated by the dismissal of the powerful S.S. (Special Detachments—Hitler's own praetorian guard) leader **Heydrich**. **Friend Schacht** has also handed in his resignation again. He is obviously discontented with the fact that Hitler is again granting his demagogues **Goebbels**, **Ley** and **Rosenberg**, a little more elbow room. On the other hand, **Schacht** is being hard pressed by the German industrialists, who fear that his reckless policy of fraudulent bankruptcy will ruin German foreign trade and credit irreparably. **Hitler** has once again sternly rejected **Schacht's** resignation. The

rats are forbidden to leave the sinking ship under pain of death.

Schacht spoke his mind at a meeting of the staff of the Reich bank on the resuscitation of the old anti-capitalist demagoguery with a view to keeping the masses quiet. He condemned the demagoguery which declared that capitalism was "liberal hypocrisy" whilst at the same time howling for more credits, in other words, new capital. He also attacked the inflationist theories of the Secretary of State, Gottfried Feder, which are apparently coming into favour again with influential sections of German industry, and declared: "Capital does not consist of scraps of paper which can be manufactured ad lib. . . . It is therefore not a question of setting the note presses running, but of working and saving." He declared himself quite openly in favour of capitalism as the traditional economic form and defended himself against those who pretend to see in his "new plan" for the bureaucratic control of imports and raw materials an adoption of planned economics.

As far as the national socialist leaders and their masters the capitalists are concerned, Herr Schacht is certainly right. However, from the point of view of those masses of national socialist supporters who expected that national socialism in power would overcome the capitalist economics of anarchy it is very useful that they should hear from the lips of Hitler's economic dictator that the national socialist government is not even prepared to permit talk against capitalism, much less action, and that it indignantly rejects the suggestion that it is aiming at the introduction of planned economics along the lines of the Soviet Union. The German Communists will not fail to see to it that these golden words of Herr Schacht are made known amongst the masses as widely as they deserve.

The capitalists and their confidant Herr Schacht are disturbed at the "socialist" demagoguery practised by many of the national socialist leaders, not because they fear the national socialists, but because they fear the underground murmurings of discontent on the part of the masses. The degenerate sot Ley, the leader of the fascist "Labour Front," is compelled to indulge in particularly wild demagogic gymnastics because it is his job to win the masses of the workers for his fascist organisation. It is a peculiar "workers' organisation" which Ley leads. According to his boastings it has twenty million members, but statistics show that only 7,139,000 "employees" are actually enrolled members. However, it has had tremendous successes in other directions according to Ley, who announces with triumph:—

"Throughout Germany at least sixty per cent., and in some cases seventy per cent., and in other cases even eighty per cent. of the employers have welcomed the co-operative work of the German Labour Front with enthusiasm."

That is a splendid success, for Ley goes on to say:—

"We can all remember how a couple of years ago we spoke contemptuously and deprecatingly of the profit-hungry dividend hunters and stock exchange speculators. In fact, the term 'employer' was synonymous with 'exploiter' in the mind of the worker."

And now the profit-hungry dividend hunters and the stock exchange speculators have become "socialists and real economic leaders," as Ley says expressly, merely by joining his organisation. Apparently there are other "leaders" in Germany besides Hitler. However, even Ley is compelled to admit that class contradictions have not been abolished merely by compelling the workers to join the "Labour Front." In the same appeal Ley thunders against those employers who treat the representatives of the national socialist "Labour Front" as outsiders and try to prevent any interference on their part in the affairs of the factories.

Ley contends that the provisions against the interference of "outsiders" in factory matters do not apply to the representatives of the national socialist party or of the "Labour Front," but the authoritative mouthpiece of German capitalism, the "Deutsche Volkswirt," answers him by pointing out that the new fascist labour law makes working and other conditions in the factories the exclusive business of the "factory leader," his "followers" and the labour trustees, and that therefore the representatives of the "Labour Front" are also excluded.

The dispute reveals the miserable bankruptcy of all the national socialist efforts to abolish class antagonisms by decree. Naturally, no fascist official can solve the insoluble task of winning the confidence of both the employers and the workers at the same time. In a speech delivered in Leipzig, Ley himself was compelled to make the following remarkable admission:—

"The great thing about the German Labour Front is that

it embraces all those who work and not merely a section of them. There was a great danger that the organisation would become more Marxist than anything which had preceded it, but there was the still greater danger that it would become a complaisant tool in the hands of the employers, a 'yellow' organisation. However, both these possibilities were impossible for us national socialists. We were compelled to exclude economic interests (!) from the orbit of the Labour Front, for otherwise it could not have become a labour commonwealth."

Would it be possible to find a more conclusive testimony to the Marxist thesis of the irreconcilability of the class contradictions than this admission of the leader of the "Labour Front"? The empty braggart who sought to abolish class contradictions by forming a joint organisation of workers and capitalists is now compelled to admit that economic interests had to be left outside his plan because otherwise the organisation would have become more Marxist than the Marxians, or a yellow tool in the hands of the employers. However, it is naturally quite impossible to leave economic interests outside such an organisation, and therefore the one alternative has come to pass, namely, it has become a yellow tool in the hands of the employers.

The reality of the class struggle cannot be abolished by all the organisational manoeuvres and demagogic tricks of Ley and his friends. The class struggle is undermining the "Labour Front," which can please neither the workers nor the employers. Immediately the waves of class conflict begin to rise again it will be seen that the fascist mass organisation, the "Labour Front," is a rudderless hulk driven here and there by the wind and waves. The boastful shouting of Ley and his friends is evidence of how much they fear the gathering storm. The mass arrests which have taken place recently—in Leipzig alone 380 workers have been flung into prison—indicate the anxiety of the rulers of Germany in face of the growing revolutionary movement.

The antagonisms which are cracking the surface of the fascist terrorist regime are being expressed most clearly at the moment in the church conflict. The reason for this is not that the antagonisms are most violent on this field, but because the opposition in the church has still the greater freedom of movement owing to the fact that the national socialists have left a safety valve open there.

The "Reibi" Müller, who is about as capable in church matters as Goering is in diplomatic matters, has caused a formal split in the Evangelical Church and driven numerous supporters of national socialism into bitter opposition. The dismissal and arrest of Bishop Wurm of Wurtemberg has since been followed by the dismissal and arrest of Bishop Meiser of Bavaria. This act of violence led to counter-demonstrations in Munich, which were broken up by the police and by storm troops. The Council of the Confessional Synode, which is the leading body of the church opposition, has answered this use of violence with an appeal, which declares:—

"The Reich government has abandoned the Ten Commandments. It is fighting consciously against truth and using violence against justice. . . . The persons chiefly responsible for this are the 'Reich Bishop,' Ludwig Müller and his 'legal adviser,' Dr. Jaeger. Satan is doing his work through them."

For a public church document that is almost incredible language, particularly when it is remembered that the persons who are condemned as the tools of Satan are in reality the direct tools of Hitler; 1,380 out of the 1,400 Protestant pastors in Bavaria have associated themselves with this protest. The opposition in all other parts of the country, that is to say, the overwhelming majority of the faithful, has declared itself in solidarity with Bishop Meiser. In Duesseldorf the opposition arranged a great demonstration, to which 40,000 Protestants from all parts of the Rhineland streamed. At the last moment the police authorities prohibited the meeting, whereupon the organisers sent a telegram of protest direct to Hitler demanding "the restoration of the freedom to preach the Christian gospel."

On October 20 the Confessional Synode, the leadership of the church opposition, proclaimed a complete separation from the Reich Church and declared itself to be the only legal and authoritative Evangelical Church in Germany. An appeal has been issued to all Evangelical Christians throughout Germany to refuse to pay the taxes which the State levies on behalf of the church

and to follow none of the instructions of the leaders of the Reich Church.

The oppositional church leaders are doing their best to tone down their strong language by stressing the loyalty of their attitude to the German State. The conditions in the Bavarian Church are compared to "the revolt of 1918," and to "the Soviet dictatorship of evil memory," whilst at the same time the services of the deposed Bishop against the Soviet Republic in Bavaria are recalled. Appealing to their arch-reactionary attitude, the Protestant pastors have now appealed to Hitler to free the church from "the terrible situation" in which it has been placed, but at the same time they reject the principle of temporal leadership for the church.

On more than one occasion Hitler has declared himself in agreement with the "Reibi" and his associates, and in all probability the church opposition will get no other answer from him but threats and blows. The national socialist Christians, led by Mueller and Jaeger, who went forth at Hitler's orders to settle the church conflict and build up a united national church, have succeeded only in bringing about a new church split. The Protestant pastors, who are for the most part arch-reactionary and who have supported national socialism with all energy, now see that they have prepared a rod for their own backs.

For the working class these disputes are a sign of how far the national socialist regime has provoked resistance amongst the broadest masses of the people, and an indication of the mass support the proletarian anti-fascist united front will meet with when it once takes up the offensive against the Hitler regime openly.

## International United Front to Save Thaelmann

By Margarita Nelken (Socialist Member of the Spanish Cortes)

The International Release Committee received the following article from Margarita Nelken with the last post from Spain before the terrorist bands of the Lerroux Government imposed the censorship and prevented any further communication. The article acquires increased importance in view of the events which took place shortly after it was penned.

One need not, in contradiction to the laws of historical materialism, believe in the leading role of individual persons in history in order to recognise that, in the Baudelarian sense of the word, some names are guiding stars by means of which humanity directs its course.

Unfortunately, Thaelmann is not the only name which rouses the conscience of the world against a reaction which appears impossible. Perhaps it is not the name of the most brutally tortured victim, but it is certain that Thaelmann is the name that throws the most glaring light on the barbarism of the last stage of capitalism. In general one dies as one lives: the death-rattle of capitalism is the exact reflection of the behaviour of the armament kings, trust magnates, junkers and other typical representatives of a society which is based on the exploitation and destruction of the majority in the interests of the minority.

Thaelmann—Fascism. Of this there can be no doubt: capitalism in its last and desperate stage produces fascism.

We here understand Thaelmann so profoundly that we hear him groaning in our midst; for he, his name—symbol and signpost—is pining in all the prisons of Spain. He is confined in the prisons which are too narrow to hold the thousands of peasants who, contrary to the law, contrary to all human rights, have been imprisoned for engaging in a peaceful strike which was organised and carried out in a perfectly legal manner as a protest against starvation wages and mediæval conditions of work. Starvation wages and mediæval conditions which were dictated by the so-called democratic (what an irony there is in that word!) republic, a lackey government which is in the service of the Vatican and the big landowners. In that peasant of Estremadura who was whipped to death, and the cause of whose death was officially given out as quinsy, Thaelmann died. Thaelmann died in that secretary of a group of the Socialist Youth who was dragged to prison when he was seriously ill and died without receiving any medical attention. (A young soldier died in exactly the same manner in the military hospital ten miles from Madrid.)

Thaelmann was stifled in that prison cell in Toledo, in which seventeen women and five children were herded without any ventilation whatever. Their "crime" was having "incited to

strike." Thaelmann clenches his fists with rage in all those workers' and peasants' homes which at any hour and under any pretext or another, are desecrated by the "house-searches" of the civil guard who appear with fixed bayonets. Thaelmann endures without weakening in those workers the tortures, the breaking of the joints and the conversion of their backs and shoulders into masses of bleeding pulp, in order by this "method of inquiry" to force them to denounce other workers. Thaelmann is imprisoned, Thaelmann is sullied, Thaelmann is tortured daily, hourly in those villages of Castile, Estremadura, Andalusia, which are again under the yoke of feudalism.

Thaelmann is condemned like a criminal because he exposed in the proletarian press of Madrid, Oviedo, Santander, and the capitals of all the provinces, some absolutely true details of these cruelties or of the financial scandals of our statesmen a la Stavisky. It is Thaelmann who in repeated cases commits "suicide" in the Duesco Prison, who dies of starvation while the fields remain uncultivated and factories are closed as a "reprisal." Thaelmann quietly smiles at Geneva behind the back of our incomparable Minister of Labour, who mouthed beautiful phrases about social legislation at the very moment when the official paper of the Province of Granada, in violation of the Geneva Convention regarding the employment of children (the Convention was signed by Spain), announces a wage of 90 centimos for ten-year-old children working on the land.

Thaelmann was laid low by a revolver shot fired by a Guardia d' Assalto on September 8, during the peaceful anti-fascist general strike in the centre of Madrid as he was being dragged, with handcuffs on, to the police station. It was Thaelmann who was shot by another Guardia d' Assalto, who fired at him point blank in a doorway into which he had fled in order to escape those attacks with which the guardians of this Republic wish to offer their masters the same spectacle as that which the Tsarist Cossacks offered their masters. In the first case Thaelmann had assumed the form of a young worker who was peacefully crossing the street. In the second case he assumed the form of a good father of a family, who on the outbreak of the tumult hastened out into the street in order to look for his boys. On the same day, also in Madrid, Thaelmann assumed the form of four further dead, including a woman, and that of more than forty wounded persons, all of them peaceful unarmed people who happened to be passing by.

Shall we complain? Protest? By no means! In fact, we say, if it were not for the pain, the physical and moral sufferings of so many comrades, we would rejoice at these monstrous acts of injustice, this baseness, impotence, cowardice and lack of feeling, which furnishes an obstinate bourgeoisie, lacking understanding and clinging to its worn-out liberal-democratic trappings, with proof of the impossibility of maintaining an edifice which is thoroughly rotten and eaten away. Nevertheless, Thaelmann not only weeps in the complaints of the victim and the hunger of the children of the unemployed. **The voice of Thaelmann is raised in powerful tones, audible even to the deaf, sure of itself and its future, embodied in the spirit which, before the open graves of the martyrs, has but one wish, one aim, one task: The raised fist of all workers! This is the new star, the five-pointed guiding star for the march which no power on earth can either hinder or check.**

The International Release Committee can declare with pride that all the members of the Madrid Release Committee are standing in the foremost ranks of the anti-fascist fight in Spain. The socialist lawyer, Jimenez de Asua, member of the Juridical Commission for the Thaelmann trial, is in prison on account of his anti-fascist activity against the Lerroux Government. Margarita Nelken, member of the Presidium of the Madrid Release Committee, who at the beginning of August, at a big meeting of Spanish intellectuals in Ateneo, in Madrid, in a speech lasting two hours, scathingly denounced the international scandal of the imprisonment of Thaelmann and called the Spanish intellectuals to action, is to-day taking an active part at the head of the release movement in Estremadura. In Catalonia the President of the Catalonian Release Committee, Casanovas, was arrested by government troops together with nearly all other members of the committee. They are all threatened by the Summary Court, and their lives are in danger.

The events of the last few weeks have greatly increased the vigilance of the anti-fascists of all countries. The secret hopes



of the German fascists of wreaking vengeance on Ernst Thaelmann and the other imprisoned German anti-fascists will be wrecked in face of the vigilance and preparedness of the anti-fascists. Louder than ever the cry is raised in every country of the world:

Down with the fascist provokers of war and civil war!

Release the Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Hungarian, Bulgarian, Rumanian, Polish, Chinese and Japanese anti-fascists!

Immediate release of Ernst Thaelmann and all imprisoned German anti-fascists!

## Release Ernst Thaelmann!

By Isabel Brown (London)

Throughout Britain the campaign for the release of Ernst Thaelmann and other political prisoners in the concentration camps of Nazi Germany is gaining strength as each succeeding week goes by. The fear that Thaelmann will be brought before a secret court and sentenced has been responsible for a *mass protest movement* which has grown to great proportions throughout Britain.

Much of this has been due to the work of the united movement, which has spread the campaign out in all directions. On October 12 a big meeting was held in Central London. Leading speakers of various political parties outlined the case for the release of the prisoners of Fascism. These included Prof. J. B. S. Haldane, D. N. Pritt, K.C., Ivor Montague, J. Shields, Katherine Carswell, Prof. Schlauch, Campbell Stephens, Mrs. Williams Ellis and a speaker from the Saar United Front. There were delegates at the meeting from more than 300 trade union branches. In addition there were delegates from 40 Labour Parties, 120 Co-op. Guilds and Councils, and over 200 more delegates from other organisations. These, in addition to nearly 2,000 interested individuals from all walks of life, made one of the most important demonstrations that London has ever seen.

"We want our heroes to live." This statement, made by D. N. Pritt, K.C., called forth tremendous enthusiasm. The following resolution was carried amid great applause:—

"This meeting of London people, representing all sections of progressive thought and workers' organisations, demand the release of Ernst Thaelmann and all other political prisoners in the hands of Nazi gaolers. We call for a great national movement of all forces against fascism at home and abroad."

The result of this meeting and others of a similar character in many parts of the country has caused a flood of such resolutions and protests to be sent to the German government and its representative in Britain.

The widespread character of the protest movement is indicated by the number of signatures appended to telegrams demanding the release of our comrades. They represent all shades of scientific, literary, medical, cultural and political thought. *H. G. Wells* heads the list of many well-known writers which also includes *Aldous Huxley*, *Storm Jameson*, *Louis Golding*, *Evelyn Sharp*, *Montagu Slater*; publicists include *H. W. Nevinson*, *Victor Gollancz*, *J. F. Horrabin* and others; among a host of doctors are *Cecile Boysen*, *Drs. Sagger*, *Glover*, *Baker*, *Jardine*, *Cullen*, *Wilson* and *Wilkinson*; professors *Abercrombie*, *Julian Huxley*, *J. B. S. Haldane*, *Blackett*, *Brierley*, *R. H. Tawney*, *Levy*, *Mott*, and lecturers from the Universities of *Oxford*, *Cambridge*, *Birmingham*, *Bristol* and *London*. *Aneurin Bevan*, M.P., *Earl of Listowel*, *Leah Manning*, *D. N. Pritt*, *K.C.*, *P. M. Oliver*, *J. Reeves*, *Alex Gossip*, *Bishops of Bradford* and *Birmingham*, *Rev. Etienne Watts*, *Mrs. M. Moulin*, *Spike Hughes*, *Augustus John*, and others, making a total of four hundred in all. These national signatures are supported by hundreds of leading citizens in the provinces.

The workers are also being mobilised. Trade union branches, Trades Councils from all over the country are passing resolutions demanding the release of Thaelmann. Notable among these was the official Conference of the *South Wales miners* representing over one hundred thousand men. In several towns deputations have been elected to take protests to the Consulates.

Particularly important is the campaign being carried out in the *Docks towns*. Slogans such as "Heraus mit Thaelmann" have appeared in the areas frequented by German seamen. Across the bows of the ship *Louise* . . . this same slogan was printed in giant letters. Leaflets with Thaelmann's photograph and slogans have found a way into the cargoes destined for Germany. British dockers are being mobilised by meetings and by house-to-house col-

lection of signatures to secure Thaelmann's release. *Bristol* comrades have done exceptionally well in a campaign which has been carried on for several weeks, the whole town being made aware, by the use of all kinds of methods, that death is threatening Thaelmann.

In *London* new and spectacular means of agitation are constantly being devised. A huge banner with the words: "Release Thaelmann!" was hoisted on the flagstaff of the German Embassy in London. It was seen by thousands of people before it could be taken down, and created a big sensation for the press. Two days later a huge streamer bearing the same words was hung right across the Strand at the busiest time of the day. Again thousands had their attention drawn to the campaign.

Big slogans have also been painted near the German Seamen's Home and the German Church in London. Outside Poplar Town Hall great crowds were amazed to see a big-sized banner across the front of the building. A banner also was strung across the front of one of the biggest cinema shows in Hammersmith.

In one of the biggest *West End cinemas*, the Pavilion Theatre in Piccadilly, during the showing of a Walt Disney cartoon, there appeared a break and flashed on the screen, in place of the cartoon, were the words "Release Thaelmann! Down with the National government! Fight against Mosley!" This strip of film had been inserted and so the demand to release Thaelmann was raised in a most sensational manner. Hundreds of thousands read about it in the evening papers. This item of news received a friendly treatment, not only in the London press, but was given special mention in the provincial press.

The whole campaign in Britain goes to show that the whole movement is determined that Thaelmann and other prisoners shall be rescued from the hands of fascist violence. We cannot accept as a signal to damp down the protest campaign propaganda statements of the Nazis that Thaelmann will be tried in open court and will be provided with means of defence. The people of England are aware of the past terrible deeds of the Hitler Terror and nothing short of the immediate release of our comrade will end the campaign.

## Forward in the International United Front!

The International Release Committee, together with all its affiliated organisations, announced ten international fighting days for Thaelmann. In face of the mass movement, the flood of protests and delegations, which increased tremendously already at the beginning of October, the Hitler government, for the sixth time, postponed the Thaelmann trial which had been fixed for the middle of October. But the anti-fascist avalanche of protests has already begun to move. The appeal of the International Release Committee has roused tremendous response. This was very necessary. The fight in Spain, the shots fired in Marseilles, the public discussion of these questions, all this aroused among the Nazis the appetite to make use of all this general turmoil in order to wreak vengeance on the imprisoned anti-fascists in Germany. They have not succeeded in this. International solidarity flared up again in view of the events in Spain and, connecting itself with the mass excitement on account of the threatening danger of war, became a powerful protecting wall for our imprisoned heroes. This is seen from the reports which have been received up to the present:—

In *France* 5,000 people were present at the first Thaelmann demonstration in Salle Bullier on May 9. At the second demonstration in Salle Wagram on July 20, 12,000 were present. On October 20, 30,000 Paris anti-fascists assembled in the Buffalo Sports Stadium in response to the appeal of the Release Committee.

In *England* flags bearing inscriptions calling for the release of Thaelmann were hoisted over the German Embassy building in London and in the Strand, one of the main streets of London. A meeting attended by 2,000 people was held in Kingsway Hall, at which delegates from hundreds of anti-fascist mass organisations, committees, trade unions and a number of intellectuals were gathered. Protest declarations from all parts of England were read out.

In *America* there have been fresh mass protests outside the German Consulates. Large numbers of meetings have been held in the workers' quarters and in the streets. Thirty thousand protest cards have been sent to Germany. The recall of the German

Ambassador Luther on account of his open Nazi propaganda has become a mass demand.

Many meetings and demonstrations in the frontier districts are reported from **Czechoslovakia** and **Switzerland**. A mass agitation is being carried on, which includes the writing of slogans and inscriptions in prominent places in the mountains, wholesale sending up of toy balloons bearing slogans, and systematic distribution of leaflets and protests among the excursionists from Germany.

From fascist **Poland** our friends report an increasing number of meetings in support of the German and Spanish anti-fascists. In Warsaw the collection of signatures on behalf of Thaelmann has been a magnificent success. The number of lawyers, editors and writers who are joining the Thaelmann movement is growing.

Various sections of the Red International of Labour Unions are displaying tremendous fresh elan in the international release action. In some countries the Thaelmann campaign has been inseparably connected with the anti-fascist fight in the country in question.

The International of Seamen and Harbour Workers (I.S.H.) reports successful action from Norway, Holland, and France: delegations of dock workers to the fascist ship captains, discussions with the German crews, successful recruiting action among German seamen for the illegal German trade unions, sending of German agitation material to the German ports, commencement of strike preparations against the Thaelmann trial. The railwaymen have carried out magnificent actions on the frontiers of Germany. (Stickers bearing slogans and leaflets were placed in the trains going to Germany.) The German railway authorities have made complaints in France, and the Metz railway management has issued orders that all "offensive" inscriptions against the Hitler government must be removed from the trains before entering Germany. The transport workers and dock workers have pasted thousands of stickers on cases, trunks, etc., with protests against the imprisonment of Thaelmann and demanding his release. The miners in the Saar and in Alsace Lorraine have commenced to collect protest signatures in the pits. Reports are continually arriving from Poland, Czechoslovakia, France, England and Norway on the support of the workers in the factories and of the reformist trade union meetings for the international release action.

The Paris demonstration held on October 20, with 30,000 present, was a powerful demonstration not only for Thaelmann, but also for the Spanish proletariat, for Gramsci and the Italian anti-fascists, for Rakosi and the Scottsboro' Negro boys. All the speakers emphasised that the strengthening of the united front is the main task of the working masses. The idea of the united front at this demonstration became so powerful that a speaker, a member of the Central Committee of the French League of Human Rights, President of the Seine Federation, exclaimed:—

"We reply to Doumergue's speech: Yes, we must choose between fascism and anti-fascism. We have made our choice. We are with you anti-fascists, that is why I am speaking here to-day. I deeply regret the absence of the representatives of the C.G.T. If blood should flow to-morrow in France, as in Germany and Spain, then those who are not with us here will bear the greatest responsibility for it."

Longuet, who spoke as representative of the socialist party, was greeted with the thunderous cry: "United front! Trade union unity!"

Thus in France the name of Thaelmann is being more and more closely connected with the fight against French fascism, with the call for trade union unity, with the extension of the united front to a general anti-fascist people's front.

The action is still going on. The I.S.H. organisations have decided to distribute leaflets in all the big ports of Europe. The railwaymen, postal employees and transport workers are being mobilised for anti-fascist work. The I.S.H. has worked out a plan for mobilising new delegations to Germany. The German Red Aid has issued an illegal pamphlet against judicial murders, against the so-called people's court. This pamphlet, which had an edition of 30,000, was distributed in Germany.

The programme of further work is: into the factories and all workers' organisations, united front and fight of the trade unions of all tendencies, preparedness for strike against any attempt to bring Thaelmann before the bloody people's court. Mass actions for the immediate and unconditional release of Thaelmann.

We must not relax our efforts, but rather strengthen them,

draw socialist, christian and reformist trade unionists into our committees. Our release movement must form a living example of the united front, which with peasants and intellectuals and the middle classes grows into a broad anti-fascist people's front.

We must deal a smashing blow against the inciters of civil war and fascist provokers of war and make a great step forward to the release of our imprisoned brothers.

## Great Britain

### British Labour Party and Second International

By R. Palme Dutt (London)

A critical situation in the relations of the British Labour Party and the Second International follows upon the negotiations now opened between the representatives of the Second International and of the Communist International for a united front.

The British Labour Party, the strongest section of the Second International, has so far consistently maintained a line of absolute opposition, not only to the united front, but to any form of negotiations or relations with Communism. That there could be nothing in common between representatives of "Democracy" and of "Dictatorship," that Communism and fascism must be equally regarded as enemies—this has been the central line of the Labour Party since the advent of fascism. This was the line of the Executive Manifesto "Democracy versus Dictatorship" in March, 1933, rejecting the united front. This line has been reaffirmed and intensified by the **Southport Labour Party Conference** decisions at the beginning of October, ruling out, not only the united front, but even any form of "loose association" between Labour Party members and Communists, and taking "full disciplinary powers" to deal with such.

Within ten days of the Southport Conference decisions the representatives of the Second International and of the Communist International were meeting in Brussels to discuss the conditions for a united front. The invitation of the Communist International could not be refused by the leadership of the Second International, even though delaying tactics have been employed. The success of the united front in France, Austria, Spain, the Saar, and Italy, and the strong movement to the united front in Belgium and the United States, and the majority of the youth organisations of the leading countries, make any other line impossible. The majority of the parties of the Second International, under the overwhelming pressure of the masses for unity, find themselves being irresistibly drawn towards the united front. Only in those countries where the power of the machine, reinforced by a bureaucratic trade union basis, is still very strong to prevent the free expression of the masses, the British, Dutch and Scandinavian parties are still able to lead the fight against any form of united front. But these become increasingly isolated in their reactionary stand. It was out of the question for Blum, Vandervelde, Adler, etc., in view of the position in their own countries, to refuse, in deference to the wishes of the British Labour Party and their Dutch and Scandinavian satellites, to meet the representatives of the Communist International. The growing divergences within the parties of the Second International are thus brought sharply to light by the international negotiations. This had to be admitted by the joint statement of Vandervelde and Adler after the meeting on October 15:—

"The position of the parties affiliated to the L.S.I. varies greatly from country to country. Whereas in France the basis and guarantees for joint action were found, in some countries, such as Great Britain, the Netherlands and the Scandinavian countries, the doubts and objections have lately rather tended to grow."

We see here an important further stage in the process developing within the Second International since the heavy exposure of German social democracy and the advance of working-class unity and militancy to fight the fascist menace.

What will be the reaction of the British Labour Party to the new situation? Will the leadership make a show of accepting the negotiations, in flagrant contradiction to their own professions, and thus maintain one face internationally and another in Britain, while hoping to delay and block the negotiations? This position will inevitably weaken the success of their fight against the united front in Britain. Or will they openly come out in opposition to the line of the majority of the Second International, and even consider the possibility, in the event of an international united

front being reached, of secession from the Second International? But this will inevitably expose to the British working class their isolation from the line of the international working-class movement, and again strengthen the fight for the united front. These alternatives are beginning to be discussed in leading circles in the Labour Party. The Labour Party leadership will have to begin to show its hand at the meeting of the Executive of the Second International in November.

The "Times," the governmental organ of the British bourgeoisie, has already sounded a warning note and is issuing orders to the Labour Party to come out into the open and oppose the international negotiations. In an editorial entitled "The Communist Front" on October 19 it complains that the international meeting is completely contrary to the Labour Party principle that there can be nothing in common between representatives of "democracy" and of "dictatorship":—

"The socialists have not replied by pointing out the absurdity of allying themselves with dictators of one school of thought in order to overthrow suspected dictators of another school. Not at all. They have said, in so many words, that they were the first to make the suggestion of united action when the Nazi regime was established in Germany, and they want the credit of having made the initial move. The socialists raise no objection whatever to an alliance between declared believers in democracy and adherents of the strongest and most intolerant of dictatorships."

The bourgeois orders to the British Labour Party to save the situation and smash the menace of an international united front follow in the sharpest and most unmistakable language:—

"One certain thing is that those who join with Communists extend the Communist front. The term 'united front' is only a disguise, transparently thin, as our (sic) socialists in this country, and more particularly our (sic) trade union socialists, have repeatedly declared. Marxian theory has, however, spread so far that it is coming to appear that if you scratch a Continental socialist who thought he was a democrat you will discover a Communist who is scarcely surprised to find himself in the company of dictators. The British Labour Party is the strongest section of the Socialist International, and consistency with its declarations at home will require an unqualified stand for alliances only with friends of democracy."

Thus the orders of the bourgeoisie. Far gone are the days of 1925, when, in face of the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee established and maintained against the opposition of the Amsterdam International and Second International, the "Times" held up the model of the "superior wisdom" and experience of "Continental socialists" as a pattern to British Labour leaders. To-day "Continental socialists" have become a bugbear in the eyes of the "Times," infested with "Marxism" and even with "Communism," and British Labour ("our socialists") is warned to keep clear of them.

The orders of the bourgeoisie are the clearest evidence of where lie the true interests of the working class.

The fight for the united front within the British Labour Party will be enormously strengthened by the new international developments. Already Southport revealed, on the issue of the general strike against war, an opposition of 673,000, or one-third of the membership of the Labour Party, including two of the largest unions, the Miners and the Distributive Workers, against the policy of the Executive, despite all the heavy bans on militant representation. The united front is advancing in Britain. The Communist Party and the Independent Labour Party have put forward new proposals to the Labour Party for united action in support of the Spanish workers. The Communist Party has put forward an important new statement of policy with reference to the municipal elections, for the extension of the united working-class front in the electoral fight, which will undoubtedly have considerable repercussions in the working class throughout the country, and help the way forward to the growing unity of the revolutionary and reformist workers in the localities. The international negotiations will have a big influence in this situation to help to isolate the reactionary line of the Labour Party Executive and carry forward the fight for the united front. There could be no better demonstration of the correctness of the united front tactics, both nationally and internationally, from the standpoint of the interests of the working class.

## The United Front in Britain

In their fight for the unity of the British working-class movement, the Central Committee of the C.P.G.B. has issued a statement on the eve of nominations for the municipal elections withdrawing many of its candidates in order not to give the appearance of splitting the working-class front.

The statement opens by drawing attention to the events in Spain and Austria, and goes on:—

"It is clear that these events necessitate the building up of the workers' united front, and this is now the paramount urgent consideration over-riding every other question facing the working class."

The statement points out that "the municipal elections are not something apart from class struggle, having only a passing significance, they occur at the very moment when the British working class can show it has learned from Germany, Austria and Spain, when they can give a mighty demonstration to the workers of the world that they are also building unity in action and taking steps to organise their forces for an advance against the capitalist enemy."

The statement continues by pointing out that the return of Communist councillors will greatly strengthen the general fight of the workers, but that, nevertheless, the C.P. is prepared to wholeheartedly support and work for the return of Labour candidates in places where there are no Communist candidates, providing that such candidates will pledge themselves to fight on such questions as work schemes at trade union rates, lower rents, refusal to operate the Means Test, extra winter relief, withdrawal of the Sedition Bill, the fight against the Unemployment Act and for the united front against fascism and war.

It is proposed that a close understanding be come to everywhere with the I.L.P. for the withdrawal, in those places where the I.L.P. and the C.P. are both running candidates, of one or other candidate by mutual agreement.

In all places where there are Labour Party, I.L.P. and C.P. candidates, it is proposed that a workers' selection conference shall be called to select one candidate on the basis of a united front programme.

The statement makes it clear that the C.P. still holds to its criticism of the Labour Party programme, and that no change of political line is involved—class against class still remains the order of the day. The new move is dictated solely by a desire to help forward workers' unity.

## The Fight Against Fascism in England

The determination of the British workers to fight against fascism was demonstrated in no uncertain manner over the week-end at Liverpool and Manchester.

In Liverpool, despite a police ban on demonstrations against the Mosley rally which was being held in the town, thousands of workers turned out and surged through the streets to the Stadium, where Mosley and his Blackshirts were holding forth.

The demonstration had no sooner formed up than it was charged into by foot and mounted police. Banner poles were broken, banners torn to shreds, and several injuries were sustained on both sides. Undeterred, the workers fought their way through the police cordon and re-formed. This time they managed to march off. Many skirmishes took place in side-streets, but each time the workers re-formed their ranks and continued their march.

The demonstration showed the determination of the workers to fight against all attempts to stifle working-class activities.

In Manchester a huge anti-fascist meeting, at least 5,000 strong, was held under the auspices of the Trades Council. Practically every trade union branch in Manchester had its banner out and the occasion was marked by a united front extending from the Labour Party to the Communist Party. Labour M.P.s, leaders of the main trade unions and Wm. Gallacher (of the Communist Party) all spoke.

As the demonstrators were marching home they also had to meet repeated baton charges from the police and five arrests were made.

This united front demonstration in Manchester is a direct outcome of the great counter-demonstration to Mosley held three weeks earlier and then banned by the reformists. The dissatisfaction of the masses was such that the leadership was compelled, to avoid a wholesale drift from their ranks, to organise the broad demonstration of last week-end which was so successful.

## Fight for the Unity of the Labour Movement

# The Labour and Socialist International and the Spanish Proletariat

By Bela Kun

The monarchist-fascist counter-revolution is attempting to cool the hot revolutionary soil of Spain with the warm blood of workers and peasants. The more promptly and unitedly the international working class, by its united actions, stays the arm of the executioners, the less blood of the heroic Spanish proletariat will the Spanish government be able to shed.

He gives twice who gives quickly—this old saying is particularly true in the present case. This is why the **Executive Committee of the Communist International**, without hesitation, submitted a proposal to the **Executive Committee of the Second International**, that the Labour and Socialist International, together with the Communist International, should undertake

“immediate common action for the support of the fighting Spanish proletariat and also for struggle against support of the Lerroux government by the governments of the other capitalist countries.”

The immediate necessity of carrying out joint actions of the whole of the international proletariat in support of the fighting Spanish working class was the reason why the leadership of the Communist International submitted this proposal, regardless of the fact that most of the sections of the Second International are directly or indirectly carrying out a policy of class collaboration with their own governments. In taking this step towards the setting up of unity of action, the leadership of the Communist International did not allow itself to be deterred by the fact that in a number of capitalist countries (such as Sweden and Denmark) the leaders of sections of the Second International, as government parties, are directly conducting the business of their own bourgeoisie or, like the leaders of the British Labour Party, are preparing to take over such government business. The Communist International, in its efforts to realise unity, could not allow itself to be hindered by the fact that the chairman of the Second International, **Emile Vandervelde**, a few weeks ago, in a French bourgeois provincial paper (“Petit Provençal,” 23rd September, 1934) boasted:—

“In spite of the influence which all the events in France are exercising on all sections of the population of Belgium, the Belgian Labour Party adopts the same standpoint as the British Labour Party, the Dutch, Swiss, Czechoslovakian, Danish and Swedish Socialists in rejecting unity of action with the Communists.”

The concrete platform for common actions of the Communist and of the Socialists Internationals in support of the Spanish proletariat, which was submitted by the representatives of the Communist International, Comrades **Cachin** and **Thorez**, to the representatives of the Labour and Socialist International, **Vandervelde** and **Friederich Adler**, is exceedingly modest: immediate organisation of joint public meetings and demonstrations; joint approach to the International Trade Union organisations for common action to prevent the transport of weapons and munitions for the Lerroux government; joint actions by the Communist and Socialist Parties for the convocation of Parliament in order to protest against the barbarous extermination of the fighting proletariat of Spain: immediate organisation of material aid for the fighting Spanish proletariat and the victims of monarchist-fascist persecution—all these modest proposals emanate from the most elementary sense of duty to exercise international proletarian solidarity.

The representatives of the Communist International made proposals which every proletarian who has even the most elementary feeling of class consciousness could not but accept. All these proposals are perfectly compatible with that belief in bourgeois-democracy acknowledged by the socialist parties. The Communist International has not even proposed that the Second International as a whole and its sections should express their approval of those methods of fight for the defence of democratic rights and liberties

which considerable sections of the Spanish social democracy have employed together with the Communists in the general strike and in the armed struggle.

The Communist International proposed such simple elementary means of struggle, as an expression of international solidarity of the working class, as every party of progressive bourgeois democracy in its heyday employed without hesitation when it was a question of protecting persecuted revolutionaries, staying the arm of the executioner and defending the lives of the fighters for liberty.

One would have assumed that certain circles in the social democratic parties would warmly welcome this step taken by the Communist International immediately to organise solidarity actions in support of the Spanish proletariat. There is no doubt that there will be found many sincere Left social democrats who are dissatisfied with the fact that the annual congress of such an influential section of the Second International as the British Labour Party, at Southport, at a time of bloody attacks by the counter-revolution in Spain, confined itself to a resolution in which, after a general platonic declaration of solidarity with the Spanish workers, the newly elected Executive Committee of this party was entrusted with the modest task of

“watching the course of events and taking steps to protect our comrades.”

There can be no doubt that the discontent of these Left socialist circles is no less great on account of the fact that these modest words were not followed even by less modest deeds, and the activity of the Executive Committee of the Labour Party is confined to “watching the course of events.”

The reply received from the chairman and the secretary of the Second International, which still desires to be regarded as an international association of workers' parties, was by no means a reply such as should be sent by one workers' party to another workers' party when it is a question of realising unity of action on behalf of a united, fighting, heroic working class.

Already before the meeting between the representatives of the Communist International and of the Labour and Socialist International, the business committee of the Second International published a statement in which stress is laid not on that which should bind the international working class together in joint actions on behalf of the Spanish proletariat, but on that which can render more difficult such joint action for the working class of Spain.

In this statement we read:—

“The organisation of joint international action on the part of the working class is, after the tragic history of the last decade, a difficult problem, a problem which is on the agenda for the meeting of the Executive of the L.S.I. in November. The experience in France has shown that prolonged negotiations are necessary in order to create all the guarantees for the success of the joint action. In the international sphere the difficulties are even greater on account of the great diversity of conditions in the various countries.”

We will not contradict the assertion made in this statement that the organisation of joint international action on the part of the working class is, after the tragic history, not only of the last ten years, a really difficult problem. But the Communists did not put obstacles in the way of the solution of this problem when, for instance, in Germany they submitted proposals for joint actions to that party of which Noske and Zoergiebel were prominent members. Nor do we contradict the other assertion that in France prolonged negotiations were necessary in order to create all the guarantees for the success of joint action. The question why these difficulties stood in the way of joint action of the proletariat can best be answered by **Leon Blum**, the gener-



ally recognised leader of the French social democracy, who, in a mood of self-criticism, declared:—

“For years when there has been talk of united action we always thought and declared: No, no united action, organisational unity (unité organique), and we endeavoured to postpone and evade any proposal for a partial or occasional unity up to the day when complete and absolute unity would be recognised as possible. I myself was of this opinion, and have expressed myself to this effect. I have the feeling that this view is no longer justified to-day, and one cannot escape from the difficulty by means of this simple excuse.”

We will also not contradict the assertion contained in the statement that

“in the international sphere the difficulties are even greater on account of the great diversity of conditions in the various countries.”

It was precisely for this reason that the Communist International, in March last year, after Hitler came into power, issued an appeal calling upon the social democratic parties in the various countries to organise joint actions with the Communist Parties against Hitler-fascism and against the fascists in their own country. In connection with this admission by the Second International it is highly regrettable that it did not at the same time disavow the prohibition of the organisation of unity of action in every country it issued last year.

The declaration which **Vandervelde** and **Adler** have given to our comrades **Cachin** and **Thorez** is the sort of reply that diplomats make when they do not want to say “Yes” and cannot say “No.” In the language of diplomacy, such treatment of a burning question is called dilatory treatment. The expressions of regret at the impossibility of joint actions in regard to questions concerning Spain and the comforting assurance that “our meeting can have important results,” are, to say the least, unintelligible to the rank and file of the socialist parties, and the workers of Spain, who are facing the fire of the class enemy, will regard them as an indication that the Second International do not wish to fulfil the two most important pre-conditions for effective aid for the Spanish workers: promptitude and unity of all the actions of the international proletariat.

What was there to prevent the Executive of the Labour and Socialist International from convening its meeting immediately, instead of on November 13? The parties of the Labour and Socialist International are, with very few exceptions, legal parties to whose representatives the frontiers of all bourgeois States are open. In the ranks of the Second International there are influential politicians who would have had the possibility of securing even for the persecuted representatives of the illegal Communist Parties facilities for attending an immediate joint consultation with the Executive of the Labour and Socialist International.

The Communist International has not submitted any special conditions for joint actions. The only condition for unity of action is action itself, fight for the Spanish proletariat, against the bloody Spanish government. If the leaders of the Second International wish to avoid Communist criticism or Communist attacks, they could see from the appeal of the Communist International of March 5, 1933, the contents of which are certainly well-known to them, that the Communists are prepared

“during the time of the common fight against capitalism and fascism, to refrain from making attacks on social democratic organisations.”

They also have before them the experience of the unity of action in France. At the worst they could inquire of the French socialist leaders and ascertain from them whether or not the Communists have loyally carried out this agreement. The Communists—the Communist International as well as its Sections—are only opposed to the common actions, the common deeds of the proletariat being stifled by diplomatic negotiations.

The international proletariat will find the way to joint international actions for saving the lives of the Spanish fighters for freedom who are threatened by the brutal Lerroux government. The Communist Parties, who are just as little to be diverted from the fight for unity of action by brusque rejection of their united front proposals as by pettifogging diplomacy, will do everything in each country in order that, before November 13, joint action of the working class shall put a stop to the bloodshed in Spain by the hirelings of counter-revolution. They will also approach the various social democratic parties, the various social democratic organisations, and call on them to follow the example of the

French socialists and, in spite of every prohibition by the Second International, create the pre-condition for the successful fight for the Spanish proletariat against the bloody rule of the monarchist-fascist counter-revolution: immediate and joint action. They call upon all social democrats who consider themselves as Left to keep in mind the highest law: the interests of the proletarian class itself, the international solidarity of the whole of the international working class.

Who has the right, on account of mere formalities, because of their refusal to wait for a decision which has been postponed without any reason by the Second International, again to charge the Communists with not acting in good faith, and to declare you are not loyal, you are only engaging in a manoeuvre, you want to penetrate our organisations, you want to induce our organisations, our members, to common actions by breaking party discipline?

To whom, to what class is it necessary to be loyal? To the heroic class of the Spanish proletariat, whose vital interests, whose very lives, demand immediate joint action by the international working class? Or is this loyalty necessary to those who, let us say, are afraid that, by taking part in an action against the hangmen's government of Lerroux, will cause difficulties, Parliamentary or otherwise, for their own bourgeoisie?

The Communists, and also the social democratic workers, without waiting for the decision of the Second International, will immediately proceed to joint action for the protection of the Spanish proletariat.

## The Struggle for the United Front in Poland

By J. Lenski

A change has become apparent in the fight for the united front in Poland. In spite of the malicious sabotage of the social democratic leaders, the united front is beginning to burst the fetters of Polish socialist party discipline.

The broad united front action of the Polish Communists furnishes an example of how an illegal Communist Party, by displaying sufficient initiative, persistency and elasticity in its methods of work, can draw whole social democratic organisations into the united front. The fight against the united front has become the main activity of the P.P.S. leaders and is the chief topic of inner-party discussions in the Polish socialist party.

Dozens of Polish socialist party organisations and sub-district committees, of trade union branches and committees, or socialist Youth organisations have come out in favour of the united front with the Communists. In the last few weeks the **Warsaw District Conference** of the Polish socialist party, the sub-districts of **Lodz**, the **Lublin** district committee and a number of **Warsaw** sub-districts have adopted decisions in support of the united front. A large number of delegates at the **Warsaw** district conference of the P.P.S. opposed the central committee and the **Warsaw** district committee, and expressed themselves in favour of the united front. Numerous trade unions, including the **Byalystok** trades council and three trades councils in **Upper Silesia**, have adopted resolutions in favour of the united front. A large number of delegates at the congress of the textile workers came out in favour of the united front.

Despite the prohibition of their leaders, the social democratic Youth have formed united front committees together with the “Left” workers' Youth.

There is a ferment in the organisations of the social democratic party and the Jewish “Bund” such as has not been seen in these parties for years. At the social democratic sub-district meetings, in spite of the prohibition of the leaders, revolutionary workers who wish to bring forward united front proposals are permitted to speak. The meetings of these sub-districts and of the reformist trade union branches elect representatives to the united front committees and send delegations to the city and sub-district committees of the Polish socialist party and the central committees of the trade unions, demanding the setting up of the united front, including the revolutionary workers. The social democratic sub-districts are beginning to kick against the party discipline.

The sub-districts in **Warsaw**, **Lodz** and the **Dombrova Basin** have replied to the fraudulent manoeuvre of the central committee of the Polish socialist party, which, in order to gain time, has proposed that a “period of trial” be fixed in order to test the good faith of the Communists, with the demand for the immediate commencement of negotiations with the Communist Party, and have

themselves begun to conclude the united front with the Communist organisations. The rank and file of the Polish socialist party are not to be diverted by the manoeuvre of their leaders.

This explains the fury of the Polish socialist party leaders, who are vainly endeavouring to re-erect the Chinese wall between the social democratic and Communist organisations. This fury was expressed in the attacks by the "Robotnik" against the Soviet Union, the Comintern and the Communist Party of Poland.

The "Robotnik" is making slanderous attacks on the Soviet Union in connection with the latter's admission into the League of Nations. The invitation to the Soviet Union to join the League of Nations, which is an expression of the growing strength of the proletarian State, is represented by the Robotnik as an "act of penance" by the Soviet Union to the bourgeoisie. In spite of Litvinov's declaration that the U.S.S.R. does not accept responsibility for the decisions adopted by the League previous to its joining it, the Robotnik maintains that the Soviet government has recognised the Versailles system.

The Polish socialist party leaders advise the workers who want the united front with the Communists to wait until the Comintern liquidates itself or unites with the Second International. Until then they should form the "united front" within the ranks of the Polish socialist party. **Zuvalski**, the secretary of the central committee of the trade union federation, recently declared at the congress of the textile workers' union, that "the united front means drawing the indifferent masses into our ranks." However, it is not easy to catch the workers by means of such tricks.

The Communists are exposing the sabotage of unity of action which is being carried on under the cloak of phrases about organisational unity. There exists a great chasm between the Communist and the social democratic party in Poland.

"We emphatically reject the Soviets in regard to interpreting the dictatorship of the proletariat as an example worth following," declares the "Bund" through the mouth of **Victor Alter**, in a pamphlet: "when the socialists come into power." Alter puts the Soviet Union on the same level as "Hitler's totalitarian State." On this decisive point the "Left" Bund does not deviate from the Polish socialist party.

The leaders of the social democratic parties are trying to fool the masses with the hope of an automatic collapse of the fascist dictatorship and of capitalism, with the possibility of achieving socialism without violent upheavals, without shattering the military-bourgeois State apparatus. They still regard it as a sacred duty of the proletariat to defend this State apparatus in the event of war (article by **Kvapinski** in the "Robotnik" of August 3).

The Polish socialist party leaders have been endeavouring of late to play a new card against the united front by slandering our Party on the occasion of the exposure of the agents of the P.O.W. ("Polish military organisation") and of the "Defensive" (State Police) in the persons of **Sochacki** and **Zarski**. **Puzak**, the general secretary of the Polish socialist party, follows the example of the Defensive in asserting that "the Comintern accuses the Communist Party functionaries of provocation."

The leaders of the Polish socialist party are trying to persuade their followers that "the Communist Party of Poland is an agency of the Polish Political Police." These leaders know perfectly well that the exposed ex-comrades (**Sochacki** and **Zarski**, as is known, came from the leading circles of the Polish socialist party) were not at the head of the C.P.P. Long before their exposure they were excluded from all active Party work. We are convinced that the rank and file of the Polish socialist party, who have to deal themselves with provocations, will be only too glad that our Party is so successfully and relentlessly exterminating provocateurs. That is so much the better for the united front.

We declare that the editors of the "Robotnik" lack the courage to publish in full our communique warning the Polish socialist party workers from the protectors and companions of **Zarski**.

Whoever opposes the united front of the working class helps the Pilsudski government, which announces "the extension of the front (of the bourgeoisie) to the masses of workers and peasants."

The amnesty for the former Brest prisoners (the Polish socialist party deputies **Barlicki**, **Ciolkosc**, and **Dubois** and some peasant party deputies) which has just been announced, is a modest reward for the sabotage by the P.P.S. leaders of the united front of struggle against fascism, for the release of **Thaelmann** and all anti-fascist prisoners.

The Communist Party of Poland has again approached the leaders and organisations of the social democratic parties with

the proposal of a joint solidarity action on behalf of the heroic Spanish proletariat and for the rescue of **Comrade Thaelmann**, who is threatened with the headsman's axe. The C.P.P. thereby expresses the will of the proletarian masses and fulfils its international duty. There is no doubt that in doing so it will meet with the support of the organisations of the Polish socialist party and the "Bund."

## The Struggle for Unity of Action in Holland

By S. (Amsterdam)

Immediately after the July fights, when the Colijn government became more reactionary and sent military police and armoured cars against the Amsterdam working class, when terrorist sentences were pronounced one after another against revolutionary workers, the Communist Party approached the social-democratic labour party, the independent social-democratic party, the reformist and the syndicalist trade unions with the proposal to undertake common action against war and fascism. The Communist Party proposed to hold joint meetings and demonstrations against war and fascism on August 1st, the international fighting day of the proletariat against war.

The social democrats rejected this offer, pleading the cowardly excuse of "international discipline." The "Left" independent social democracy, through its secretary, **De Kadt**, also rejected this proposal. In the meantime **De Kadt** has been expelled from the ranks of the independent social-democratic party on account of his cowardly behaviour during the July fights, but no change has been made in the policy of the independent socialist party in regard to unity of action. The chairman of the syndicalist trade union federation, **Sneepriet**, was prepared to set up the united front, but only for enforcing the right of asylum for the counter-revolutionary **Trotsky**.

The July events made a deep impression upon the social-democratic workers. The social-democratic and reformist leaders were compelled to manoeuvre. They arranged to hold great demonstrations for "democracy and socialism" in four large towns. The Communist Party again approached the social-democratic organisations with the proposal to organise these demonstrations jointly. The social-democratic leaders haughtily rejected this proposal, but at the same time issued a leaflet calling upon the revolutionary workers to overcome their "sectarianism" and demonstrate jointly with the social democrats on September 16.

In Amsterdam, for instance, the revolutionary workers came to the demonstration in large numbers. Many social-democratic and reformist workers on this day wore the badge for unity of action issued by the C.P. and the Red Trade Union Opposition. The social-democratic leaders, however, disregarding their own appeal, caused the workers suspected of Communism to be thrown out of the meeting by the police, thus showing how much sincerity there was in their appeal to the revolutionary workers. In spite of this, unity of action made a great step forward on this day. Closer contact was established between the social-democratic and Communist workers.

The progress made by the united front in France, Austria, Italy and Spain made a great impression upon the Dutch workers. The stronger this influence becomes, the more furiously the social-democratic central organ "Het Volk" fulminates against unity of action. The paper publishes reports from its correspondents in Paris, Madrid, etc., in which the "disastrous" consequences of unity of action are described. At the moment when the Spanish working class was unitedly and heroically conducting the fight against fascism, the social-democratic central organ wrote that unity of action in Spain was a mistake and that the socialist party had been deceived by the Communist Party.

The fact is that the leaders of the Dutch social democracy are aiming at another united front: the united front with the bourgeoisie, and in particular a coalition with the Catholic wing of the Dutch bourgeoisie. This was clearly shown on September 18, on the day of the opening of Parliament. Whilst the Communist members of Parliament during the reading of the Queen's speech courageously voiced the protest of the workers and were beaten up by the police and taken into preventive custody, the social-democratic members of Parliament enthusiastically joined in the bourgeois-monarchist demonstration.

But the workers are proceeding to set up the united front by jointly repelling the fascist provocations. This united front was set up in the great strike of the tin workers in *Krommenie*, who

fought for weeks under the leadership of the Red Trade Union Opposition, in spite of all the attempts at sabotage on the part of the reformist and syndicalist leaders, and achieved a big victory. In view of the inflationist propaganda which is being conducted by the social-democratic and Catholic trade union leaders, the Communist Party declares that the emancipation of the working class and the defeat of the attacks of the bourgeoisie can never be realised by a collaboration with certain sections of the bourgeoisie, but only by the independent united front action of the working class in the form of demonstrations, strikes, etc., against any reduction of wages, against the cutting down of unemployment benefit, against war and fascism.

The Communist Party of Holland is patiently and persistently continuing its work to mobilise all workers for its proposals. It has again approached the workers' organisations with the proposal to set up the united front for the support of the Spanish workers, against the threatening danger of war, for the support of the peace policy of the Soviet Union. It has called upon the workers to support the collection of signatures which is now being organised by the reformist trade union federation for an increase in the rates of benefit, and to develop this action into a real struggle for the demands of all toilers and for unity of action.

## Fight Against Imperialist War

### The Revelations at the American Armament Enquiry

By P. F. (Paris)

#### The Latin-American Witches Cauldron

"The Bloody Armaments International" is the title of a book written by Lehmann-Russbueldt, which appeared some years ago in Germany and aroused the fierce hatred of the Nazis against the author. The facts given by the pacifist Lehmann-Russbueldt in this book have a really rousing effect. They clearly show that the armament firms were working together in order to stir up war, that even the munition industries of one country supplied the enemy with weapons of war. This happened even during the war. Krupp, who poses as a great patriot, supplied the allied countries with war material via the neutral States. The I.G. dye factories were also active in the same direction. Such cases were not considered as "high treason."

The revelations made at the Washington Commission of Enquiry go beyond the facts established by Lehmann-Russbueldt. They prove clearly that the big armament concerns divide up the world market among themselves. This has been the case in regard to submarines, anti-aircraft guns, and especially military aircraft, powder and explosives.

It was further proved beyond question that the firms of various countries, in particular of the United States, Great Britain and Germany, buy patents from each other, have common sales centres and mutually share out fat commissions.

It was clearly proved that the governments, the war offices, admirals and generals place orders with the large armament firms and work with divided roles.

It was proved beyond doubt that wars such as that between Peru and Chile (Tacna-Arica conflict), between Bolivia and Paraguay (Gran Chaco conflict) were prepared, instigated and encouraged by the armament firms. The statesmen are only the puppets of the armament firms. For instance, it was the "mystery man" of the bloody armament international, Sir Basil Zaharoff, who induced Lloyd George to drive Greece into war against Turkey.

The depositions of witnesses and the documents which were submitted to the Commission of Enquiry, in particular during the first week it was sitting, revealed such amazing facts that excited protests from various governments hailed down upon the American government. The Presidents of the U.S.A., Coolidge and Hoover, as well as Hull, Roosevelt's Secretary of State, were "dragged" into the proceedings. The U.S.A. government therefore instructed the Commission of Enquiry not to make public any facts which are "dangerous to the State." Consequently, telegrams and documents the contents of which, in the opinion of the Commission of Enquiry, would lead to *unrest and government crises in Latin America*, were no longer made public in the second week of the proceedings.

Already during the first days of the sittings of the Commission of Enquiry it came to light that in South America, just as in the

East, armament firms have expended huge sums in bribes. The firms in question did not conceal these facts, because they hoped that owing to the sensational evidence of the Commission of Enquiry it would be possible to reduce the often fantastic "overhead charges" of their transactions.

It has become clear from documents that the world market for the construction of submarines is divided between the Electric Boat Company of Groton (U.S.A.) and Vickers, Ltd. (England). In Latin America, for instance, Peru is the domain of the Electric Boat Company, and Chile that of Vickers, Ltd. However, the two firms have mutual agreements whereby each has a stipulated share in the armament business in the two countries. Seven years ago, when the Tacna-Arica conflict became acute, the firms were doing all they could to intensify the conflict in order to increase the sale of armaments. As a result, we had the following remarkable state of affairs. Chile wished to place an order for a submarine with an American firm. This, however, was incompatible with the division of the market agreed upon by the two firms. One of the presidents of the American concern passed the order on to Vickers. Not only that, he instructed his English colleagues in a detailed letter that they must pay out considerable sums in bribes according to the usual practice in Latin America. The price must also be forced up, and should include the share of 10 per cent. in dues and commissions to the American firm and their agents. Thus we have not only shameless war-mongering, but also shameless forcing up of prices, the cost of which, naturally, has to be borne by the taxpayers.

From another letter we learn that, in order that Peru might be rendered solvent, i.e., in order to offer the Electric Boat Company of the U.S.A. securities for their deliveries and bribes, Carse, the president of the Electric Boat Co., exerted his influence with the government in order that Peruvian bonds to the value of 75 million dollars should be taken up by banks in the U.S.A. And this was done. In the same way Admiral Woodward, who conducted a naval mission to Peru the task of which was to reorganise the Peruvian fleet and to set up a naval academy, used his influence in order to obtain a 12 million dollar loan to the Peruvian State. The 75 million dollar bonds from Peru are to-day almost worthless, and their American purchasers find they have been duped. In the meantime the Electric Boat Co. did enormous business, and a number of high State officials and officers pocketed huge bribes. Admiral Woodward, for example, the friend of President Coolidge, has nothing to grumble about. Against his "will," a submarine was built by Vickers for Peru, and this outraged his patriotic feelings so that they had to be "consoled."

Commander Aubry, formerly an American naval officer, became transformed into representative of the Electric Boat Co. in South America. This did not prevent him from becoming a Peruvian naval officer and getting sent by the Peruvian Government as delegate to the Geneva Disarmament Conference. As is to be seen from his letters, his object in going to Geneva was to oppose the fixing of quotas for submarines, as this was a "weapon of defence."

Leguia, who was President of Peru at that time, agreed to all this business. It was all in the interest of the State! It was not for nothing that his son Juan Leguia received a nice little sum of 50,000 gold dollars.

What is permissible in Chile and Peru is also permissible in Brazil and Argentina. Thus a high official in Argentina pocketed the sum of 50,000 dollars as commission for securing an order for submarines. This was from the Electric Boat Co. alone. As an Italian armament firm also had a share in the same order, there is no doubt that he received a not insignificant sum in Italian lire. It is not stated that the official in question was a President, Minister or Admiral.

In Brazil the persons responsible for placing an order for six submarines openly demanded the modest sum of 180,000 dollars as their commission.

A Mexican President and leading statesmen of various Republics of Central America are involved in these scandals, not to mention the notorious President of Cuba, Machados, who has been driven out by the people of Cuba.

This may partly explain how it is that Latin America is the scene of constant wars and revolutions.

#### The Huge Profits Made by Du Pont

The chiefs of E. I. Du Pont de Nemour and Co., who control the production of powder and explosives, did very well in the last world war, as is to be seen from the following figures:—

In 1915 the Du Ponts, who had a capital of 47 million dollars invested in their undertaking, first seriously tackled the business by supplying the belligerent countries with the instruments of destruction. During the years of the world war their business transactions increased as follows:—

1914	...	...	...	\$19,000,000
1915	...	...	...	318,885,000
1916	...	...	...	182,000,000
1917	...	...	...	315,700,000
1918	...	...	...	410,000,000
Total	...	...	...	1,245,585,000

These profits amount to over ten times the profits in the pre-war years. During the years of the world slaughter and destruction the profits considerably exceeded the sum of the invested capital. The dividends paid out during the war amounted to 458 per cent. of the nominal value of the shares. In the year of 1916 a dividend of 100 per cent. was paid out.

Since the end of the world war the Du Ponts have not been idle. They have brought the world market for powder and explosives under their control. Together with the *Imperial Chemical Industries, Ltd.*, of London, they have divided the world market in three zones: (1) Europe, Turkey and Persia; (2) the Southern hemisphere; (3) Asia. For the United States and the British Empire each of the firms maintained a sort of Monroe doctrine. For the rest, the Commission of Enquiry established that, in spite of the provisions of the Versailles Treaty, secret agreements existed between Du Pont and Co. and the German *I. G. Farben*.

Thanks to their war profits, the Du Pont brothers were able to obtain possession of blocks of shares in General Motors and other big undertakings which they now control.

It is worth mentioning that the firm of Du Pont enjoyed the support of *President Hoover*, who promoted all the efforts of the dominating trusts to establish world monopolies.

It is not surprising that the trust magnates Du Pont did everything in order, by means of the intervention of admirals, generals and other high officials, to sabotage the work of the *Commission of Enquiry* when, on the motion of Senator Nyes (who is now its chairman), it was decided to set up this body. This fact was proved by interesting documents in which there was talk of secret recipes for poison gas and explosives which must not be made known at any price.

It has also come to light that the Du Ponts have a big share in the illegal importation of munitions and explosives to Europe, chiefly to Germany. The ships' cargoes are unloaded before arrival in Antwerp and taken over by Dutch cutters and are afterwards conveyed via Holland to Limburg and Cologne.

The Du Ponts are also big suppliers of munitions to *Japan* and *Latin America*. With regard to Latin America there was a special sensation. Argentina does not possess any munition works. A German undertaking wished to set up a munition factory. As, however, the Du Pont concern supplies Argentina with munitions and explosives, the firm, acting together with their British friends, prevented the erection of a munition factory with the aid of huge bribes to Argentinian State officials. The telegrams and documents relating to this affair were kept secret by the Senatorial Commission on the ground that their publication might cost a number of persons in Argentina their lives. One can guess from this what huge scandals were involved.

The Du Pont brothers gave the Senatorial Commission plainly to understand that they do not care a fig for their criticism (which after all was only shadow boxing). In reply to questions, they declared that they were opposed to the nationalisation of the armament industry, that they rejected any State control of economy, and that the whole American Constitution could go to the devil.

In the course of the proceedings there was revealed how closely connected State loans are with the armament business. When Ambassadors of the United States or Great Britain intervene with foreign governments in the interests of big armament firms—this was the case not only in Latin America but also in Spain, Turkey and in the Far East—in view of competition they must put forward very convincing arguments. The most convincing arguments are loans. They, of course, cannot be granted as "armament" loans, as this would be incompatible with all the talk about disarmament. Therefore they are described as loans for "the building up of industry" or even as "food loans," which are granted for purely humanitarian reasons after a great natural disaster, for instance.

Senator *Nye* announced that the Commission of Enquiry had proofs in its possession showing that the *Commission of Enquiry* had ten million dollars, granted to the Chiang Kai-shek government ostensibly in order to provide the starving Chinese people with wheat, was used in order to purchase arms and munitions. It is true the Chinese Foreign Minister sent a telegram of protest to the Commission. But that does not alter the fact that the Chinese government used the food loans in order to give the Chinese people not grain, but bullets and to wage a campaign against Soviet China.

Senator *Nye* further announced that the Commission was in possession of documents from which it was clearly seen that *the foreign loans which the German State has obtained are being used to subsidise munition factories and finance imperialist operations*.

The chairman of the Commission added that everybody knows what a gigantic air-fleet Germany is building.

It is equally well known, however, that the accomplices of the German, as well as of the Japanese, government are to be found in the government buildings of all the great Powers, because the financial and armament concerns so determine.

## Appeal of the C.C. of the C.P. of Italy TO THE TOILERS OF ITALY!

### Comrades!

The assassination of King Alexander of Yugoslavia may become the pretext for letting loose the dogs of war. Those who placed the weapons in the hands of the terrorist of Marseilles are driving to war as their sole means of salvation. Behind the assassins of Marseilles there is to be seen the countenance of fascism, in the first place of Hungarian, Italian and German fascism.

### Remember 1914! Remember Serajevo!

In the capitalist world, which is rent by irreconcilable antagonisms, revolver shots as have been fired recently in Vienna and Marseilles may become the commencement of a tremendous conflagration.

Set up the united front against the serious danger of war! Be on your guard against diversive manoeuvres against the Soviet Union! Set up the united front in all fascist organisations against the militarisation of the nation, for the repeal of the emergency decrees, which aim at making every citizen into a soldier on permanent service.

Set up the united front of struggle for the right of self-determination of the national minorities and of the people in the colonies up to separation from the Italian State!

Set up the united front in defence of wages, for work for all without any reduction of weekly wages, for freedom, against fascism, the agent provocateur of war!

Long live the brotherly solidarity of the Italian proletariat and the toilers with the proletarians, toilers and nationalities of Yugoslavia in the struggle against Mussolini's fascism and against the fascist military dictatorship in Belgrade!

Central Committee of the Communist Party of Italy.

October, 1934.

## The International Solidarity Action for the Spanish Workers

Prague, October 18.

The C.C. of the Czech C.P. has addressed an appeal to the Czech Socialist Party for a joint action of solidarity for the Spanish proletariat. The Central Committee of the Red Trade Unions has addressed the same appeal to the other trade union federations. The Young Communist League joins in these appeals.

Amsterdam, October 18.

A delegation elected by the unemployed of all political parties submitted to the Spanish Consul in Amsterdam a protest against the terrorism of the fascist-monarchist reactionaries in Spain. The Consul found himself obliged to receive the delegation personally, and to promise to convey the message to the Spanish government.

Paris, October 18.

The Red Trade Union Federation of France, in a resolution just adopted, has declared its solidarity with the Spanish fighters, and undertakes to exert its utmost efforts to secure united solidarity action of the trade unions of all tendencies. The C.G.T.U. appeals to all trade unions to carry out the solidarity action for the Spanish proletariat in spite of the negative attitude of their leaders.



# The White Terror

## Those Who are Dying in Mussolini's Prisons : Antonio Gramsci

By Romain Rolland

One of the most evil deeds of Hitler was to serve as a screen for Mussolini. The monstrosity of the firing of the Reichstag, the burning of books, the tortures and the slaughter have placed the hero of the bludgeon and castor oil in the shade. Compared with Adolf, Benito seemed almost a benefactor, as his name implies. A propaganda which at present is favoured by the necessity of a rapprochement between France and Italy, constantly represents, with Hitler as the contrast, the edifying spectacle of the order prevailing in Rome and the august ruler who has established peace between the one-time warring factions.

Let us disturb the feast! We have another tale to tell. We are not among those whom the murders committed in Germany have caused to forget Matteotti. We are not among those whom the imprisonment of Ernst Thaelmann for nearly twenty months causes to forget the struggle with death which Gramsci has been waging for eight years. Put the Duce in his rightful place, which is alongside the "Leader," above him! He was the first, the other was only his pupil.

Let us confront him with his victims! Let us call him to account for their sufferings, for these acts of revenge for which an intelligent tyrant has no excuse! For he leaves nothing to accident, which weak people call fate, and that which he has done he has willed!

Thousands of women have been arrested for political reasons since November, 1926, when the fascist Exceptional Law for the protection of the State was enacted. There are women who have been sentenced to seventeen and eighteen years' imprisonment. Most of them are concentrated in the terrible prison in Trani (Apulia) or on the Island of Ponza. The sanitary conditions are frightful. Several are dying of tuberculosis of the bones and of the lungs, including **Camilla Ravera**, a teacher from Turin, **Lea Giaccaglia**, teacher from Bologna, or are kept in solitary confinement and are in danger of becoming insane. Among these last is **Georgina Rossetti**, a young textile worker from Mongrando, whose chief crime consisted in the fact that she was engaged to a political prisoner.

One could write a whole book of martyrs dealing with the prisoners and deportees who are doomed to die in Pianosa or in the Civita Vecchia Prison.

Among the political prisoners in Civita Vecchia are the lawyer **Umberto Terraccini**, who has been sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment and is suffering from tuberculosis, and Professor **Girolamo Li Causi**, sentenced to twenty years' nine months' imprisonment, who is also in very serious condition. Among the political prisoners in Pianosa are the lawyer **Sandro Pertini**, a friend of Turati, sentenced to ten years' imprisonment and is dying of tuberculosis; the lawyer **Rosolino Ferragni**, from Cremona, sentenced to twenty-three years, tuberculous; the stone mason, **Gino Lucetti**, from Carrara, sentenced to thirty years, is going blind; **Dr. Mauro Scocciamarro**, sentenced to twenty years, suffering from disease of the eyes; the station master **Isidore Azzario**, ten-year sentence, has become insane and is at present in a lunatic asylum; the metal worker **Battista Santhia**, seventeen-year sentence; the former Communist deputy **Domenico Marchiero**, seventeen-year sentence, serious gastric trouble, etc.

We come now, however, to the greatest of these victims, whom the false Caesar is dragging behind his triumphal car: **Antonio Gramsci**.

He is the leader. The harsh treatment accorded him by his jailers is a recognition of this fact. His name will go down to history along with that of Matteotti. Like him, he was great in feeling, and perhaps even greater in thought. He was the protagonist of a new social order in Italy.

A small hunch back with large penetrating eyes, with a high forehead, surmounted by a growth of thick hair. An iron soul in a weak body. Right from childhood he was filled with a feverish desire to learn and to reason. He is free from all bitterness. He loves learning and passing on his knowledge to others. He has a passion for culture, which he wishes to impart to others. After gaining his spurs in the "**Cri di Popolo**" and in the "**Avanti**,"

in May, 1919, together with the leading group of the Italian Communists, he founded the "**Ordine Nuovo**," and his editorial office immediately became the guiding centre of the revolutionary proletariat of Italy. In 1925 he wrote:—

"One must not simply rely on the spontaneous élan for the revolutionary fight; it is not sufficient; it will never bring the working class beyond the limits of the existing bourgeois democracy. There is needed the conscious element, the ideological recognition, that is to say, the understanding of the conditions under which one is fighting, of the social relations in which the worker lives, the fundamental tendencies which are at work in the system of relations, the process of development which society is undergoing through the existence of its insurmountable inner antagonisms."

He became the teacher of the proletarian revolution; but his lessons became actions, bold deeds. In Turin, in 1918-1920, there arose round him the movement of the factory councils, out of which he wished to make the cadres of the revolutionary army, the cadres of the workers' State after the victory. He did not experience this victory, for the vacillations of the social democracy destroyed the élan of the working class, and the occupation of the factories, especially of the Fiat Works, in Turin, with its 25,000 workers, in September, 1920, did not last long. But a new example was given from which the workers will learn, and this great example coincided with the great victorious experience in Bolshevik Russia.

Gramsci, who in no way separated philosophy from politics, did not in any way escape the hatred of the Duce, but he fought right up to the last. At the beginning of November, 1926, although he was a Member of Parliament, he was arrested and deported to Ustica. Then, some months later, he was again arrested on this island and, together with the Central Committee of his Party, contrary to the law, brought before the Special Court before the proclamation of the exceptional law. He was honoured as leader with a sentence of twenty years' imprisonment.

This was a death sentence against a man who suffers from tuberculosis lesions and arterial sclerosis, who in his prison tomb in Turi di Bari, in which he has no proper medical attention, has several times had effusions of blood, and lain unconscious for several days with constant fever. The fascist professor in the Roman hospital Umberto Arcangeli, who examined him in May, 1933, admitted in his report that "he cannot stand such conditions for long, and it is urgently necessary to have him conveyed to a hospital or a clinic, should it not be possible to grant him conditional freedom." This freedom was offered him at the price of a request for pardon, an act of renegation which he rejected with scorn as being "a form of suicide." And we also will not crave pardon for him. He who has loyally fought the whole of his life for his conviction has no cause to ask for pardon.

He will therefore die. And Italian Communism will thus have its great martyr, whose shadow and heroic flame will guide it in its coming fight. . . . Has Mussolini willed this? We are told that some time ago he attended a performance of one of Corneille's plays in the Forum in Rome; obviously in imitation of Napoleon. But the drama which Napoleon caused to be performed in Tilsit was "**Cinna**." It would be well for Mussolini to read this play. He would perhaps learn from it that which he has always lacked—magnanimity.

### INTERNATIONAL WORKING-CLASS SOLIDARITY

We are glad to announce that through the activities of **Ikaka la Basebenzi** (South African Labour Defence) a sum of £11 11s. was collected for and sent to the victims of Austrian and German fascism.

This sum was collected from **Johannesburg**, **Capetown** and **Durban**. Certain mass organisations and trade unions in Johannesburg and Capetown assisted greatly in this connection.

The Capetown Tram and Bus Workers' Union collected £3 7s. 6d. Our Capetown district committee also collected clothing for the child victims.

The fight against fascism, class and national oppression is continuing with greater persistency, and the role of "**Ikaka la Basebenzi**" as the workers' shield is coming more and more to the front.

It is essential that every worker be a member of this organisation, for it is the only organisation that defends victims of class and race struggle.

## Seventeenth Anniversary of the October Revolution

# Seventeen Years of Proletarian Dictatorship

As the great day of the Socialist October Revolution recedes further into the past, its greatness and loftiness, its enormous international significance as a socialist revolution and as the beginning of the world proletarian revolution, stand out before the world with ever greater clearness. Every day the perspectives opened up by it and the extent of its direct results can be seen more plainly. **Its mighty lessons stand out with greater clearness.**

The seventeen years which have passed since the day of the historic victory of the proletariat, when the armed revolt of the workers under the leadership of the Bolsheviks, with Lenin at the head, supported by the peasants, destroyed the power of the bourgeoisie and gave it into the hands of the Soviets of workers', peasants', and soldiers' deputies, **these are seventeen years of the latest history of the class struggle of the international proletariat.** They are seventeen years of struggle by the proletariat in the Soviet Union and the advanced workers of the entire world for the very existence of the young Soviet State, for the reconstruction of the country on socialist lines, and for the triumph of the proletarian revolution and socialism throughout the world. They are seventeen years of life and death struggle by the world bourgeoisie for the destruction of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the restoration of the power of the bourgeoisie, for the restoration of capitalism on the territory of former Russia, for strengthening and maintaining the capitalist system throughout the world.

They are seventeen years of struggle between Communism and opportunism in the international workers' movement, seventeen years of struggle by the leaders of social democracy to bar the path to Bolshevism, to the proletarian revolution, to save the capitalist system under a pretence of saving democracy and achieving Socialism by peaceful means. They are seventeen years of the struggle of Communism for the fighting unity of the working class for the sake of the victory of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the triumph of the Soviet power throughout the world.

Although in the stormy period of the beginning of the world proletarian revolution the imperialists were able to crush it at its first attempts in Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Italy, the fact that they were unable to destroy the proletarian dictatorship in the country of the Soviets has become one of the most decisive factors in the further development of the general crisis of the capitalist system and the world proletarian revolution.

The struggle, the failures and victories of the Soviet Union must needs become the fate of the whole world proletariat.

The international proletariat celebrate the Seventeenth Anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution with a series of brilliant successes in the country of socialist construction, and with a series of great successes on the front of the world revolutionary movement. The bourgeoisie is only able to record serious defeats.

The Soviet Union, which has carried out the first Five-Year Plan, is marching forward at a rapid rate along the path set out in the second Five-Year Plan. It is nearing the end of the second year of this Five-Year Plan, with the prospects not only of fulfilling but of surpassing the tasks planned for this year. The Seventeenth Congress of the Leninist Party of the Soviet Union, which took place in January last, recorded the achievements of world historic importance and decided on a programme of further grandiose works. These achievements and this programme have made a tremendous impression throughout the world.

The changes in the relationships of class forces in the world arena are most vividly shown in the **greatly increased importance and authority of the Soviet Union** among the capitalist countries surrounding it. This found expression in the recognition of the U.S.S.R. by the U.S.A., the conclusion of a series of non-aggression pacts between the U.S.S.R. and other States, and the invitation to the U.S.S.R. to join the League of Nations. These changes further found expression in the enormously increased popularity of the Soviet Union among the broad masses of the toilers throughout the world and in the growing revolutionary influence which it has on these masses. These changes are expressed in the fact that the great banner of the Soviets is triumphing not only on the

boundless territory of the Soviet Union. It has conquered on extensive regions in **China**, illuminating the path towards the liberation of hundreds of millions of toilers and oppressed in the colonies and semi-colonies of imperialism. These changes find expression in the steadily rising curve of development of the united front of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat against fascism and war, and the ever-increasing popularity of the slogan of the Soviet Power among the masses. The growth of the united front has already caused great anxiety to the world bourgeoisie.

The capitalist world which surrounds the Soviet Union is sinking into the abyss more rapidly than ever before. The capitalist countries have been greatly weakened as the result of the profound world economic crisis. Even in those spheres where a partial improvement of the situation took place in 1933, and where the crisis turned into a depression of a special type, the toiling masses gained nothing from this. There is no prospect of an improvement. Unemployment still rages among millions of workers, the bourgeoisie are increasing their drive against the standard of living of the employed, the ruin and pauperisation of the peasants is still increasing, and there is a particular growth in the unparalleled calamitous situation of the toiling masses in the colonies. The rapid growth of fascism and the war danger is the best proof that the bourgeoisie themselves recognise their inability to solve by the so-called normal methods the burning problems which are put on the order of the day by the collapse of capitalist stabilisation.

The last year has shown a further intensification of all the contradictions of the epoch of imperialism, the epoch of wars and revolutions, through which we are passing. Japanese imperialism is continuing the war in China and energetically preparing for an attack on the Soviet Union. German fascism is openly demonstrating its alliance with Japanese imperialism, preparing and provoking this war without concealment. In all the capitalist countries the feverish war preparations and the mobilisation of the forces of fascism are taking place against the growing revolutionary upsurge. The armed battles of the proletariat in Austria in February, the stormy mass anti-fascist actions in France, the revolutionary battles of tremendous force in Spain, the further successes of the Chinese Red Army, the growth of the guerilla movement in the Chinese territory occupied by Japan, the enormous extent of strikes in the U.S.A.—all speak of the steady growth of the world revolutionary upsurge.

The world is approaching as never before a new round of revolutions and wars. **In these circumstances the role of the Soviet Union as a tremendous factor for peace and a tremendous citadel of the world proletarian revolution is of exceptional and decisive importance.** The admission of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations is a clear proof of the helplessness of the imperialists in the struggle against Bolshevism, their forced recognition of the fact that at the given stage their anti-Soviet war plans have broken down, their recognition of the tremendous power of the Soviet State. The capitalist States, which at the present time are afraid of the military attacks of their neighbours, are seeking support by drawing nearer to the Soviet Union as the only force really struggling for peace. The tremendous growth of the relative importance of the U.S.S.R. on the world arena is one of the clearest illustrations of the **international character of the October Revolution**, its invincible force as a **socialist revolution** and the tremendous international significance of the **victory of the first socialist Five-Year Plan.**

After the victory of the Soviet power over the interventionists in open battle, the successes of the restoration period means a second historic victory over the bourgeoisie—a victory in the economic sphere. The successful struggle for overcoming the post-war devastation in the recovery period showed to the whole world that when the proletariat has the power it can not only destroy but build without the help of the bourgeoisie and in the most difficult conditions can create enormous material and cultural values. However, at the end of this period there were as yet no decisive victories of socialism over capitalism. The struggle to decide who

would be the victor was still a very keen one. The first Five-Year Plan, by its historic victories in the period of the unparalleled prolonged and profound world economic crisis in the capitalist world, showed to all who wanted to see that the U.S.S.R. was building **socialism** and that **only socialism was able to solve the historic problems put before all countries by the world imperialist war**, the beginning of which marked the beginning of the general crisis of the capitalist system.

The rapid rise of economic construction in the period of the first Five-Year Plan was not merely a simple numerical accumulation of forces. This upsurge introduced **changes in principle in the structure of the U.S.S.R.** It changed the social-economic and the cultural face of the country.

It was precisely in the period of the first Five-Year Plan that the economic and cultural **backwardness** of the country was overcome. As is known, the world bourgeoisie speculated on this very backwardness, never losing their hopes that the dictatorship of the proletariat would collapse either as a result of being destroyed through war or owing to an internal explosion. While preparing for each of these eventualities, the bourgeoisie relied for aid on the ideologists of social democracy who made the backwardness of Russia the basis of their denial of the socialist character of the October Revolution and of all their anti-Soviet agitation among the masses.

It must not be forgotten that the social democratic characterisation of Russia as the most backward country in Europe was incorrect. It was refuted by Lenin, who showed that Russia was a "medium backward" country, that in addition to the vestiges of medievalism in its economic structure and its political system, it had entered the path of rapid capitalist development about the middle of the nineteenth century, and on the eve of the revolution of 1905 had already acquired an industry of considerable size and comparatively well advanced.

But even this "medium" backwardness of Russia was a very bad heritage for the proletariat which took power in October, all the more in view of the fact that the country was reduced to a heap of ruins and had been brought to the verge of economic collapse by the imperialist and civil war and by intervention. It is sufficient to point out that the industrial output at the beginning of the restoration period fell to 15 per cent. of pre-war! **The successes achieved are all the more striking!**

The recovery period meant for the U.S.S.R. the restoration of industry to the level of 1913. By the end of the first Five-Year Plan this level was trebled, and by the end of the first year of the second Five-Year Plan almost quadrupled (by January, 1934—291.9 per cent.). If this growth is compared with the situation in the capitalist world, where industrial output on the average in all countries at the present time is still 10 per cent. below pre-war level, then the tremendous victory of the young socialist system over the old capitalist system becomes particularly plain.

The clearest expression of the **changes in principle in the structure of the Soviet Union** as the result of the first Five-Year Plan is its conversion from an agrarian country into a country of advanced industry, from a country with small individual agriculture into a country of the biggest mechanised and collectivised agriculture in the world and the conversion of an uncultured country into a country with the most progressive culture.

Over 224,000 collective farms uniting over 15 million homesteads, comprising 65 per cent. of the total number of peasant homesteads, together with the liquidation of the kulaks as a class—this was a great and difficult revolution in the life and consciousness of tens of millions of yesterday's small owners, this was the overcoming of the most stubborn and dangerous force—"the force of habit." This revolution, which was no less an important historic landmark than the October Revolution which gave the power into the hands of the proletariat, is at the same time its direct continuation.

This revolution became possible in the conditions of the Soviet power only on the basis of the radical reconstruction of national economy, including agriculture, on the basis of **socialist industrialisation**. In the U.S.S.R. not only have the existing industries been expanded, but new industries have been created, of which capitalist Russia could hardly even dream. Among these are machine tool construction, motor production, aeroplane building, the automobile and tractor industry, the manufacture of combines, powerful turbines, the chemical industry, etc. This new industry required the creation of industrial giants on steppes and plains which had previously been deserted, on the Ural mountains and

in Siberia, and the plains of the north and the south. These decisive changes also include the industrialisation of the large and small **National Republics** on the outskirts of the Soviet Union, which under tsarism had been doomed by their industrial backwardness to the role of agrarian appendages to Russian and world imperialism and whose economic, national and social enslavement had been permanent.

In industry in 1933 the socialist sector comprised 99 per cent., in agriculture it comprised 84.5 per cent. of the basic main crops. Is a clearer proof needed that capitalist industry has been completely abolished, while in the agricultural sphere the individual sector (i.e., the one which is the source of capitalism) has been pushed into the background. This means that **"the socialist type is the one which dominates without competition and the only commanding force in all national economy."** (Stalin: Report to the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.)

The increase in the leading role of socialist industry in all the economy of the country finds expression in the fact that whereas the relation between industry and agriculture in 1913 was 42.1 per cent. to 57.9 per cent., in 1929 it was 54.5 per cent. to 45.5 per cent., while in 1933 it was 70.4 per cent. to 29.6 per cent.

This change in the percentage relationship between industry and agriculture in favour of industry does not, of course, signify the backwardness or regression of agriculture. This change is taking place on the background of a general rise of both of them, the rate of development of industry being greater than that of agriculture. It is greater because without advanced industry it would be impossible to reorganise agriculture, and also because the reconstruction of agriculture is a much more complicated task than the reconstruction of industry. The growth of agriculture is shown by such figures as the growth of the sown area from 105 million hectares in 1913 to 129.7 million hectares in 1933, and the increase of output of grain alone from 801 million centners in 1913 to 898 million centners in 1933. Though the rate of advance of agriculture is high, however, it has not yet developed in a real manner, because the collective farms are still not mature, because many of them have not yet passed through their organisational period which inevitably requires certain "losses of revolution" in the form of temporary failures, of which the most easy to be felt is the lagging behind in the sphere of stock breeding.

However, even on the eve of the Seventeenth Congress a change for the better began on the front of animal raising, which is by no means simple and easy. **The eight or ten months which have passed since the Seventeenth Congress have shown a clearly marked turn for the better in this sphere.**

The brilliant successes and the growing upsurge of all national economy (expressed in particular in the growth of the national income from twenty-nine milliard roubles in 1929 to fifty milliard in 1933), the profound changes in the structure of the country have once and for all done away with **backwardness**, raising the U.S.S.R. to one of the foremost places of the world. They have once and for all destroyed the hopes of all the enemies of the proletariat and have utterly shattered the entire conception of the social democrats. The argument about the poverty of the masses, the low standard of living of the proletariat and the peasants, is also hopeless. Every rank and file worker and peasant in the U.S.S.R. or any proletarian coming to the U.S.S.R. from capitalist countries can only laugh at the crocodile tears of the unmasked-for friends of the Soviet proletariat.

Who can now strike out of history the tremendously significant fact of the **complete abolition of unemployment in the U.S.S.R.**, at a time when the proletariat and all toilers in every capitalist country are doomed to inhuman sufferings from the hard effects of the scourge of unemployment, every blow of which is dooming to starvation and moral distortion not only the unemployed themselves but also the members of their families and their brothers who are still employed.

Here are some figures showing the growth of the standard of living of the toiling masses in the U.S.S.R.

The wage fund rose from 13,597 million roubles in 1930 to 34,280 millions in 1933.

The average annual wages of industrial workers increased from 991 million roubles in 1930 to 1,500 million roubles in 1933.

The fund of social insurance of industrial workers and clerks increased from 1,870 million roubles in 1930 to 4,610 million roubles in 1933.

During the same period the State helped the **peasants** as follows:—

(a) By organising 2,860 new machine and tractor stations at a cost of two milliard roubles.

(b) By giving credit to collective farms to the sum of 1,601 million roubles.

(c) By giving grain loans to the extent of 262 million poods of grain.

(d) By giving rebates on taxes and insurance to the sum of 370 million roubles.

The period of the **second Five-Year Plan** is the period in which the results of the great victories begin to be realised on a much larger scale than formerly. The successes achieved in industry and agriculture have provided firm possibilities, with the working out of the second Five-Year Plan, to put on the order of the day a large-scale programme for the rapid raising of the material and cultural level of the broad masses (raising their standard to three times its former level during the second socialist Five-Year Plan).

The second year of the second Five-Year Plan is coming to an end, and the country is already engaged in the carrying out of this enormous programme. Even outwardly the observer is struck with the rapid increase in those industries whose aim is further to improve the material conditions of the broad masses and also in the sphere of Soviet trade and the entire organisation of supplies. The supply of the masses with food and all necessities is improving every day. **House building** is continuing at still higher speed, as well as the improvement of public facilities in the old cities, and the building of new towns.

The scope of the cultural revolution is shown by the almost complete abolition of illiteracy (90 per cent of literacy by the end of 1933), over 26 million children in various schools (including about half a million in universities), over five million children in kindergartens, a tremendous increase in professional schools, scientific research institutes, clubs and theatres, and a daily press with a circulation of over thirty-six millions.

The **Congress of Writers** which took place in September attracted the attention of the representatives of the intellectuals in all countries and became a demonstration of the enormous cultural achievements of the Soviet Union.

The face of the Soviet countryside has changed particularly astoundingly. As the result of collectivisation it is now emerging from the old poverty-stricken semi-savage condition, and is proceeding along the broad path to prosperity and culture. Tractors, combines, automobiles, radio, motion pictures, a large school system (not only elementary schools but also high schools and technical schools) require hundreds of thousands of activists for the new village, possessing not only technical qualification but a high cultural level. The village has already numerous trained intellectuals at its disposal. The village is catching up with the socialist town. Gradually the gulf between the town and village is being lessened and their contradictions are being eliminated.

Both town and village, both socialist industry and socialist agriculture have become the great smithies for forging out the **new man**. The complete abolition of exploitation and oppression, creative enthusiasm in the struggle for the great aims of the socialist organisation of production and labour, are putting their imprint on the mentality of millions of builders of classless socialist society.

Is it surprising that the banner of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the banner of the Soviets, of socialist construction, has long since become a banner not only for the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. but for the proletariat of the world? Is it surprising that the soundest part of the bourgeois intellectuals, through their best representatives, choked by the pestilential atmosphere of the decaying capitalist system, poisoned by fascism and war, look with envy on the rapid rise of the prosperity of the new young life in the Soviet Union and see in it the dawn of a new humanity?

The capitalist world cannot offer anything against this new world of emancipated labour, bubbling over with creative energy, great exploits, this world filled with the spirit of unlimited loyalty to the cause of the liberation of the toilers and the oppressed of the whole world, to the cause of proletarian internationalism, to the great banner of the Communist International.

The Seventeenth Anniversary of the October Revolution coincides with the moment of greatest intensity of the class struggle. The victory of fascism in Germany and Austria, the high price which the German and Austrian proletariat paid for the policy of German and Austrian social democracy, has made an exceptionally great impression on the workers of all countries. Democratic illusions are breaking down. A profound crisis and

an ideological and organisational decline has set in in the social democratic parties. The social democratic workers are beginning in masses to come over to the side of Communism.

The proletariat of **France, Great Britain, Czechoslovakia** and other countries are already offering strong resistance to the attack of fascism. Decisive battles are taking place in **Spain** between the forces of revolution and counter-revolution. The direct menace of the further spread of fascism and the imminent danger of war have brought enormous masses into motion.

The will to struggle and to conquer have put on the order of the day the **unity of action of the working masses**. **A powerful movement for the united front is gaining one victory after another. These victories are the victories of the Communist International** which from the first days of its existence has carried on a tireless struggle for the united proletarian front.

During all these first stormy years, when the whole world was under the threat of revolution, the lessons of October were never so palpating for the international proletariat as at the present time.

The October Revolution showed to the proletariat of all countries the path of the revolutionary conquest of power, the path of achieving the dictatorship of the proletariat, the heroic struggle for its maintenance and consolidation, the path of the revolutionary way out of imperialist war and the economic crisis. It showed the path of the consistent proletarian policy of peace and the victorious construction of socialism in spite of all the tremendous difficulties arising from the capitalist encirclement of the Soviet Union. Having developed the creative forces of the broad masses, emancipated from economic, national, family and political slavery, the Soviet power unites the unparalleled forces of genuine democracy—the **democracy of millions**, who took into their mighty hands the great work of socialist construction and moved it ahead at a gigantic speed.

These seventeen years showed that, in spite of the anti-Marxist theories of Kautsky and his friends, Bolshevism is not a "native" Russian phenomenon, that the Soviet power is a "**model for all**."

These years showed that there is no path for the toilers except the path of the proletarian revolution if they wish to get rid of capitalism, exploitation, crises, unemployment, class and national enslavement and imperialist wars.

These years showed that the path of social democracy was not a peaceful path to socialism, but a bloody path to fascism, to the darkest counter-revolution.

On the basis of the rich experience of the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. and the entire world proletariat, these seventeen years showed that no matter how profound the crisis of capitalism, and how favourable the objective conditions for the victory of the proletarian revolution, victory does not come by itself. It has to be won in a heroic and common struggle. **Only the Communist Party**, guided by the invincible teachings of Marxism-Leninism, can organise this struggle and lead the proletariat to the victory of the proletarian revolution, only the Communist Party is able to rally together the vast majority of the toilers in the united front under the banner of the Soviets.

This is why fascism—this clearest expression of the profound crisis and decline of capitalism, its senility and the near approach of its death—comes out under the banner of the destruction of Marxism and the defeat of world Bolshevism. However, "in order to destroy Marxism it is necessary to destroy the working class. But it is impossible to destroy the working class." (Stalin.)

The growth of fascism shows not only the weakness of the bourgeoisie and its fear of the proletarian revolution. It also shows the weakness of the working class. The chief source of this weakness still consists of social democratic and anarchist prejudices which have not yet been overcome by a large part of the working class, and the split which was caused by the policy of compromises conducted by the leaders of the Second International. This policy weakened the working class, dissipated its forces and prevented it carrying the proletarian revolution to the end in Germany, Austria, Hungary, Italy, when it broke out in 1918-1920 under the direct influence of the October Revolution. The proletariat as a whole, and the social democratic workers first of all, are faced with the historic task of finally putting an end to this policy of compromises. And then this split of the working class will be finally overcome and the united front of the proletariat will finally triumph and will be invincible. This means that only the Communists can be the leaders of the united front.

The realisation of the great lessons of the past seventeen years



is already bringing broad masses of social democratic and anarchist workers into the ranks of Communism. This is a tremendous step forward along the path of the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat throughout the world. The working class has already begun to put an end to the split. The consolidation and widening of the united front has already made it possible for the proletariat to bring about the unity of the fighting activity in France, Austria, Great Britain, Czechoslovakia and other countries. This unity of action has begun to be realised in the heroic revolutionary fights of the Spanish proletariat which, in October, 1934, took on a clearly marked character of the struggle for power.

The successes of the united front are growing in proportion as the Communist Parties, which have already accumulated a tremendous amount of experience in a genuine Bolshevik struggle, are capable of following the example of the great Party of Lenin

and Stalin and organising the overwhelming majority of the proletariat, of ensuring their revolutionary support by the peasants and leading the broad masses of the toilers to the last decisive battle under the banner of the Soviets.

The Seventeenth Anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution will become a new landmark along the path of the consolidation of the brotherly alliance of the proletariat of all countries under the great banner of the Soviet power, of socialist construction, for the mobilisation of all forces for the defence of the Soviet Union, for the revolutionary support of the Chinese Soviets and the proletarian revolution in Spain by the workers of all countries! This anniversary will become a new landmark on the path of consolidating the revolutionary united front of struggle against fascism and war, for the victory of the Soviet power in the whole world!

## Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

# Letters From The Soviet Union

By A. Komjat

### (1) The "De-Politisation" of the Soviet Schools A Conversation with Comrade Krupskaya

Moscow (beginning of July).

The May decisions of the Council of People's Commissars and of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the organisational structure of the elementary and secondary schools, and on instruction in general history and in geography, have awakened a loud echo in the bourgeois press of the capitalist countries. Here we find it stated that the Soviet government has failed in its school policy, hence this "change." The "politisation" of the schools, we hear, has been liquidated, and the Soviet Union is forced to return to the methods of the bourgeois schools.

It is scarcely necessary to point out here that the bourgeois schools are anything but "non-political," that they are a class instrument of the ruling bourgeoisie, imparting not only "objective" knowledge, but aiming chiefly at poisoning the minds of children and the youth with the class ideology of the bourgeoisie and at "providing capitalism with servile lackeys and efficient workers" (Lenin). This part played by the schools may be more or less camouflaged in the "democratic" countries, but it is the more obvious in the countries of open fascism. To represent the reorganisation of the Soviet schools as a "return to the methods of bourgeois schools" is one of the customary manoeuvres for lowering the Soviet State in the eyes of the proletariat of the capitalist countries—it is anti-Soviet propaganda.

The Bolsheviks are not hypocrites. They have never concealed the fact that the schools exercise political influence for their aims, for the interests of the victorious working class of the Soviet State. Immediately after the seizure of power by the proletariat they took up this task, and in all these years it has been their unceasing aim to tear down the schools of Tzarism and of the February revolution, and to build up new schools imbued with the ideology and spirit of the ruling proletariat, closely bound up with the life of Soviet reality, and equipping the new generation with those weapons of knowledge enabling them to work in the interests of the toiling masses of the Soviet country and of the world proletariat in general, especially according to the demands of socialist construction. This has been, and continues to be, the fundamental content of the school policy of Bolshevism.

What, then, is the real object of the May decisions, which prescribe the exact historical and geographical knowledge to be imparted to the scholars, and a higher grade of education for the teachers?

Comrade Krupskaya expressed herself as follows on the subject to the writer of these lines:—

"The Party of the Bolsheviks has had enormous difficulties to overcome in its school policy as elsewhere. Counter-revolution naturally made no halt at the Soviet schools. Cadres of new Bolshevik teachers could not be conjured up out of the ground, trained overnight. The Soviet government was forced to make use in part of the old teaching staff, loaded with bourgeois, religious, and kulak ideology. It is clear that such elements became,

unconsciously or consciously, tools of counter-revolution in the schools. The backward strata of the peasantry regarded the new Soviet schools with great mistrust. One example of this: When I went to the Ural in 1919 to take up work there, I heard that many of the Volga peasants had refused to send their children to the Soviet schools. These peasants feared that the children would be taken from them for ever, to be trained as soldiers, as was done in tzarist days with the children of the settlers. It need not be said that the counter-revolutionists encouraged such ideas and exploited them for their own purposes.

"It was a long and tedious process, the result of systematic agitation and educational work and of a hard struggle, before the teachers took their place side by side with the Bolsheviks at the teachers' congress in 1925. This does not mean, however, that these teachers were now fully able to cope with the tasks set them in the schools. Bourgeois ideas, bourgeois prejudices, are not so easily overcome. Even to-day old teachers are to be found who are still under the spell of kulak and religious ideas.

"In consequence of socialist construction and the introduction of general compulsory education, the question of the teaching cadres, of the syllabus, of the school books, of discipline, etc., became increasingly acute. Think of the many new problems arising, the tremendous demands placed on both teachers and scholars. Remember: Before the revolution Russia did not have more than 7,800,000 school children. Now there are approximately thirty millions in the elementary and secondary schools of the Soviet Union alone. And in the national republics? Before the revolution only one and a half million children attended schools in the Ukraine. By 1933 there were 23,259 elementary and secondary schools in the Soviet Ukraine, teaching 4,474,000 Ukrainian children. Another example: In 1914 only 3 per cent. of the children in Usbekistan were attending school. By 1933 the figure had risen to 90 per cent., and this year not a single child of school age in Usbekistan is without schooling.

"In 1915 there were 200,000 teachers employed in the schools of Tzarist Russia. At the end of the first Five-Year Plan the number of teachers in the Soviet schools had reached 700,000.

"It is no wonder that there are still many teachers to-day who have not been able to keep pace with developments, who fail, for instance, to teach general history on concrete lines by means of a living and interesting presentation of the most important events and facts, and teach their pupils general sociological conceptions outside of time and space, abstractions. But such methods exclude a Marxist conception of history, for events, and political developments as a whole, can be properly judged only on the basis of exact knowledge of facts. Similar deficiencies exist with regard to instruction in geography.

"In October, 1921, Lenin observed, at the second All-Russian Congress of the workers for political enlightenment:

"It is little, it does not suffice, to abolish illiteracy. Soviet economics have to be built up, and we cannot get far here only with reading and writing. We need a tremendous raising of the cultural level."

"And in actual fact: The important task has been, and continues to be, the raising of school instruction to a higher level, the education of the sons of the workers and peasants, of the new generation of the builders up of socialism, for the demands of the high culture of socialism. This is the line which we have followed hitherto, and will continue to follow.

"The de-politisation of the Soviet schools?" No, merely the abolition of defects, a proper comprehension of past and present with the aid of definite facts, the raising of the Soviet schools to the level of **Soviet reality of to-day**—this is the meaning of the May decisions, which will come fully into force in the new school year. This is no change, not a step backward, but a step forward!"

This was the opinion of Comrade Krupskaya, Lenin's life companion and fellow worker, one of the first leaders of the cultural revolution in the Soviet country.

And what do the scholars say to the new decisions? Do they approve of them? I drove out to the pioneer camp of the unity work school No. 7 of the Moscow Frunse district. It is in the middle of the forest. The clean, white-painted, roomy wooden barracks breathe health. Everywhere groups of children, playing, singing, discussing; all with happy and self-reliant faces.

I turned to a group of the younger scholars, and commenced:—

"Have you, comrades, read the new decisions on the reorganisation of school instruction? Are you agreed with them?"

A small but sturdy boy at once stepped forward (his name is Oleg Mokiyeviski, 13 years' old), and replied:—

"Of course. They have been printed in the 'Komsomolskaya Pravda' and the 'Pionerskaya Pravda.' When the decisions were published, we called a general meeting of the scholars in our school and discussed the matter. We welcome the new decisions. We ourselves, perhaps, know best how deficient our knowledge is, that we have often been working only with revolutionary phrases or 'broad categories' instead of which concrete facts, and that we often replace living reality by dead abstractions" (a literal repetition of the boy's words!)

"But we ourselves are not the only ones to blame; many of the teachers are at fault. For instance, I had a teacher for literature who tried to give us a 'Marxist' explanation of Turgenyev's 'Fathers and Sons.' He talked and talked: about feudalism, about the abolition of serfdom, about the rise of capitalism, about the class struggle. All very well. But at the end (at these words a knowing smile lit the eyes of the children) the fathers and sons, and Turgenyev, all vanished into the 'great historical background.'

"We do not want that kind of 'Marxist commentary,' either in literature or history, or in geography. We do not want to be so immersed in 'economic and physical connections' that we find it superfluous to take note of the name of the capital of some important country."

"Have you seen what the bourgeois papers say about a 'depolitisation' of the Soviet schools?" I asked further.

"Nonsense. In my form 38 out of 39 scholars are members of the Pioneer organisation. How can those bourgeois scribblers hope to make anybody believe that we cease to be political thinkers as soon as we cross the threshold of the school? That we cease at this point to care about the fate of the millions, that we drop our political armour on the school doorstep as if it were scrap iron? I may say, for instance, that the subject 'social science' remains on our syllabus. Under this heading we have studied such themes as 'Two worlds—two systems,' 'The nationalities question in the Soviet Union, etc.' Besides our actual syllabus, we have studied the speeches and resolutions of the Seventeenth Party Congress—on popular lines, but none the less thoroughly. We study the immediate questions of international politics in the 'newspaper study hours' (these are, however, not obligatory). We have our school meetings, our school committees, our form councils, which deal not only with questions of discipline, hygiene, the improvement of the quality of the instruction, etc., but with definitely political questions.

"To 'de-politise' the Soviet schools would mean educating us in such a manner that we would cease to understand life. The new decisions aim at precisely the contrary: that we learn to understand life even better, that we may be better able to help in building up the socialist state of society."

The Soviet scholar Oleg Mokiyeviski, 13 years' of age, has replied on behalf of 30 million fellow scholars to the anti-Soviet slanderers who destroy the souls of children in their torture chambers, called "schools."

## (2) HARVEST ON THE "THAELMANN" COLLECTIVE FARM Stalingrad (middle of July).

The crops have been harvested in the Central Volga district. Harvest work is going on on the collective farm "Thaelmann," near Stalingrad. At one time this farm was called the "Iskra," but after it had been visited by a German workers' delegation headed by Comrade Wilhelm Pieck, it adopted the name of the leader of the Communist Party of Germany.

Founded in 1930, the collective comprised 540 individual peasant farms. The collectivisation was in part too hasty, too much on paper, and not in accordance with the directives of the Party. Kulak elements "joined" for the purpose of disrupting the collective from within. They sabotaged the enterprise, killed off their livestock, made away with socialist property. They were expelled from the collective and brought before the proletarian court. Besides this, among the members of the collective there were poor and middle peasants who were not yet convinced of the advantages of the collective cultivation of the soil, and had joined the collective reluctantly. They were permitted to leave. The collective farm was reduced to 225 peasant farms. But what remained formed a sound nucleus.

The practical work of the collective farm speedily convinced a number of individual peasants. They saw how the collective was furnished with tractors, sowing and threshing machines, agronomists and organisers. They saw the results of organised, technically improved joint work; they saw the larger and better crops of the collective fields. Communist propaganda and organisational work did the rest. The collective farm grew: by 1931 it comprised 350 peasant farms, by 1932 458, increasing to 500 by the end of 1933. To-day only 108 individual peasant farms exist outside of it in this district.

Socialism has advanced and gained the victory in this village as in others. \* \* \* \* \*

The crops are being harvested on the "Thaelmann" collective farm. Harvest brigades are working everywhere on the great undivided fields (over 600 hectares), bringing in the ripe grain. These peasants no longer wear bast shoes or peasant clothes. They scarcely differ from their fellow workers in the towns. Almost all of them can read and write (before the revolution over 50 per cent. of the villagers were illiterate). They read the "Pravda," the "Izvestiya," and the peasant newspaper. They read proletarian novels. They are informed on the directives of the Party, especially with respect to agriculture, and on the most important questions of international politics. They have their club, their library, the wireless. Their children attend the seven-form school, where they are given a thorough knowledge of agriculture, in addition to the other subjects.

This year the collective field of the "Thaelmann" farm will yield good crops. Not for the reason that nature has been "bountiful," for nature has been much less generous than in 1933. **The good crops will be the result of the campaign for more efficient sowing and harvesting, for better organisation.**

The collective farm "Thaelmann" has also been confronted by the task of mastering technique, of improving the quality of work. What has it accomplished?

First of all: The Communists, the Young Communists, and the Shock Brigaders, raised and discussed this question again and again in the village meetings, in the village and collective farm cells, in the youth organisation. Then they proceeded to the practical preliminary work. This time the impetus of socialist competition carried along with it almost the whole of the collectivists, and the sowing campaign was carried out with unprecedented energy. The different field brigades made agreements with one another for the improvement of the quantity and quality of the work. So-called "links of the chain" were formed within the field brigades themselves, and these again agreed on socialist competitions among themselves. Even in the "links" individual competitions were arranged among the members. The ground was ploughed more deeply, the seed corn was better cleaned, hoeing was carried out with greater care. The time taken for sowing was greatly reduced this year. In 1933 sowing was completed by May 15, but this year by April 8. And in spite of this the collective peasants exceeded the sowing plan by 3 per cent.

The peasants of the "Thaelmann" collective farm have understood the directives of the Party of the Bolsheviks: That it is not sufficient to pass good resolutions, but the resolutions must be carried out, and their execution checked up. This year a strict system of checking up has been organised. The meetings

of the field brigades elected a "Quality Inspector" for each brigade from among the old shock brigade cadres. These have given advice, shown how work is to be done, urged on the slackers, taken relentless measures against the shirkers.

During the harvest campaign itself, which commenced in part on June 30, the same methods of work have been employed: Brigades, chain links, socialist competitions, checking up of results. Here, however, still another new method was employed, used for the first time on this farm: conveyor-belt work, similar to that employed in the manufacturing industries. Formerly the grain was first mowed, then bound in sheaves and stood up in stooks, afterwards threshed. These successive processes, with their many disadvantages, have been done away with. The corn is now mown and threshed almost simultaneously. Whilst mowing is still in full swing, the threshed grain streams out of the threshing machine, and the proletarian State has already received its quota.

The collective fields of the "Thaelmann" farm will yield good crops this year. The collective peasants are hoping for a total yield of 19,000 cwt. of grain (1 cwt.=96 kilograms). Of this 4,600 cwt. will be set aside for seed, 8,000 cwt. delivered up to the State (for payment, of course). The remainder, about 6,400 cwt., will be divided among the collectivists, according to the number of "labour units" worked.\*

According to the Plan, 200,000 labour units are to be performed, so that 5 to 6 kilograms of grain would fall to each unit—almost 30 per cent. more than last year.

These are statistics, it may be objected, and statistics feed nobody. What does a collective farmer, with his family, earn in a year? Can he live on it? I turned at random to one of the collective peasants working at the threshing machine. His name is Andre Stepanovich Zikunov. There are eight members in his family, four of them working.

"What did you earn last year, comrade?"

"We received 3,204 kgs. of grain, 20 cartloads of melons, and 1,578 roubles in cash."

"Was that enough for the whole family?"

"Quite. Besides this we all have our own cows, pigs, poultry, and a small garden. We can sell our milk, vegetables, etc., freely at the collective farm markets. We have never lived so well as now. Or to speak more exactly, we never lived well at all till now, we used to live dogs' lives. These fields here used to belong to the priest. He alone possessed 1,000 hectares of the best land, and 60 yoke of oxen. He worked us till we sweated blood."

"Do all the collectivists earn as much as you?"

"Not all. There are some who earn considerably less. There is, for instance, Comrade Grigori Grigorovich Sitnyikov, who has a family of six persons. Last year he earned only 1,861 kgs. of grain and 948 roubles in cash. Or the peasant Boris Yermolayevich Ovotkov, who only brought home 1,443 kgs. of grain and 811 roubles. And why? Because Sitnyikov is not so industrious as I am. And because Ovotkov is a lazy fellow. Those who work properly need have no cares. Many of us have already become prosperous. Look at the leader of Brigade No. 1, Comrade Jakub Nikolayevich Hitschenko. Before the revolution he was an agricultural labourer. He never had a house of his own, or a cow. Last year he was able to buy a house and has now two cows. It rests entirely with us whether we become prosperous or not."

"And the individual peasant farmers?"

"However hard they work, they can scarcely earn half what we do. They will soon have to join us."

Suddenly the old peasant asked:—

"How is our Comrade Thaelmann? Are they still beating him? When will the trial take place? What are the workers and poor peasants doing in your country to release Thaelmann?"

The whole harvest brigade gathered round us. A hail of questions and comments, excited, impassioned.

The secretary of the Communist cell exclaimed:—

"We have protested, we have written to the German embassy that we are indignant at the maltreatment of Thaelmann. And that was one of the reasons why we cultivated our fields better this year, for we know that the strengthening of our collective farm, the strengthening of our socialist fatherland, is our best weapon for Thaelmann's release."

\* A "labour unit" does not represent a working day, but is measured by a certain norm which can be achieved daily on an average. It is ascertained, for instance, that a worker binds an average of 100 sheaves a day. Should a shock brigadier bind 200 sheaves, he is credited with two labour units.

Leaving the fields, we reflected on the many lies circulated in the capitalist countries about the "want and misery" of the peasants on the collective farms of the Soviet Union. Can these lies exist much longer? They must and will collapse beneath the blows of Soviet reality.

A young peasant shouted after us:

"Write in your newspaper, so that Comrade Thaelmann may hear that the collective farm bearing his name is proud of him."

We drive past the strips of land of individual peasant farmers. Here there are no happy harvest brigades, no threshing machines. The ears of corn are weak and broken. Miserable fields and miserable figures working in them—a dying world.

## Letters From the Soviet Ukraine

### (2) HOW THE WORKERS SPEND THEIR EVENINGS

By L. F. Boross

(Continued)

I turned to the next dancer, and at once put the question of whether he had brothers or sisters.

"Yes, there are five of us: Father, mother, a sister, a brother and me."

"And do you live well?"

"Not merely well; excellently."

"In spite of such a large family?"

"Partly just for that reason. Father has good wages as a worker in the arsenal. He earns 450 roubles a month. Mother does not work. Since I graduated from the technical college I have earned 350 roubles in the arsenal. My brother is a division leader in the Red Army (about equivalent to a sergeant-major), and is earning 150 roubles, which is more than the earnings of a civilian, as the supplies to the Red Army are organised differently. My sister is an assistant in a chemical laboratory, with a monthly salary of 175 roubles."

"Those are pretty high figures," I interpolated, "but tell me, what can you buy for these sums?"

"Well, for instance, dinner at the arsenal restaurant does not cost my father and me more than 40 to 60 roubles each a month, even if we take the dearest menus. For this we can get soup, meat, a roast, or fish, with some accompanying dish, and pudding. But we can get very good meals at a cost of 20 to 22 roubles a month if we want; it simply means going without pudding or some trifle."

"And what did that excellent suit of clothes which you have on cost?"

"I could not tell you, for I got the cloth as a prize in the arsenal. But I know that a suit like this, made to measure in our arsenal tailoring shop, costs 110 roubles. If you are not a member of a factory tailoring shop, your clothes come much dearer. Ready-made suits cost from 30 to 60 roubles in the factory shops, but they are not as good as this. They have, of course, the advantage that you can get them at once, whilst you sometimes have to wait six weeks for a suit to measure. Still I prefer suits made to measure."

"How do you pass your time?"

"I work seven hours a day."

"And the rest of the time?"

"That depends on the time of the year. In winter I read and learn for the most part; in summer I am generally boating or swimming."

"Let us take this last six-day week for instance. In the afternoons you were at work, in the second shift. What did you do in the mornings?"

"On the first day of the week—August 7—I went boating and swimming. On the 8th I had a meeting in the "Cult-Polit-Soviet."

"What kind of a body is that?"

"It is a council elected by the workers of each undertaking, and one of its tasks is to decide on the use of the Culture Fund."

"And what is the Culture Fund?"

"Every undertaking is pledged to pay into the Culture Fund a certain proportion of the total amount paid in wages; the Fund serves to improve the standard of living of the workers employed."

"Is the percentage deducted from the wages?"

"No, not a penny. The works or factory pay it as extra allowance in addition to the wages. At our last meeting we decided to buy a motor boat for our workers out of the Culture Fund."

"How long does such a meeting last?"

"That one was one and a half hours, so that I still had time left for a swim. On the 9th I went through the tests for the

G.T.O. badge. This badge is awarded to workers whose work in their factory is satisfactory, and they are also able to reach certain standards of performance in about a dozen and a half different kinds of sport: running, jumping, swimming, grenade throwing, etc. On 10th I spent my leisure time in the water again. To-day, the 11th, I had the whole day off, as I worked on my last free day, the 6th, so that I have a right to two free days in succession. This morning I read the newspapers; then I went rowing, and now I am dancing. To-morrow I am going on an excursion."

"Is that the way you pass every week?"

"No, not quite. As a rule I read and learn much more than that. But it is only a few weeks since I left the Technical College, and I want to recuperate from mental work for a while. And I am helping my father to improve his technical knowledge from my books. The old man is finding more and more pleasure in it."

"Would you give me your name and address, please?"

"My name is Scheliga, and I am living in the 'Arsenal Workers' House.'"

I spoke with a number of other workers, men and women. None of them knew anything about dead bodies or famine, but they had the more to say about their many-sided and free lives as workers.

Why does the bourgeois press always insist just upon Kiev and the Ukraine as the scene of its stories of famine? Why not Moscow or Leningrad, Irkutsk or Vladivostok, or anywhere else? Before giving myself the trouble of finding a reason for this, I made a last attempt. I resolved to select the most dilapidated houses I could find the next morning, and question the occupiers. If this were to lead to no result, then I would resort to a last means—not a very pleasant means, to be sure, reminding one rather too much of the methods of the police spies of Western civilisation, but still I had made up my mind to conduct the investigation from the point of view of a reader of the fascist press. I determined, therefore, that I would question the children living in the poorest houses, in the absence of their parents, and felt certain that I would be told the truth by this means.

After an excellent supper in the Stadium restaurant I prepared myself for the tasks of the following day by reading, before going to bed, a number of newspaper cuttings sent me by friends, dealing with the "Famine in the Ukraine."

### (3) IN THE FORMER SLUM QUARTER—THE CHILDREN ANSWER AND QUESTION

After walking about for a long time I selected two very wretched-looking houses in the "Podol," the former slum quarter of pre-revolutionary Kiev. If the corpse reporter of the "Kreuzzeitung" had been in Kiev he would certainly not have permitted these two houses to escape his notice. One is 24, Frunse Street, the other 7, Yuryevskaya. The first is an old dirty-gray tenement house, such as could only have emanated from a capitalist brain a few decades ago: his conception of proper homes for his wage slaves. The second is a tumble-down tenement house in a back courtyard. There is no excuse for house-managers responsible for such a state of neglect, and it was satisfactory to hear that the tenants of the house in Yuryevskaya just recently dismissed their house-manager in disgrace.

Here these dilapidated buildings signify only neglect, and that a sense of beauty has not yet been awakened among certain strata of the older generation. In many cases it signifies contempt of this miserable inheritance of the past: "It is not worth while to try and patch up these old places, we shall soon be moving to the fine new workers' dwelling houses, like our neighbours."

Here the courtyard really belongs to the children, however. Children's playgrounds have been organised in the courtyards of nearly all the large tenements. Here we found the 50 children from 24 Frunse Street, but not grubbing around in the ash-heaps as in other countries, but playing in the courtyard with a handball net in the centre, and a children's wall newspaper in one corner. In another corner there was a table with a library, chess, and draughts. These children have an "Aero Circle," and have already designed two models of aeroplanes, as I was proudly informed by a small boy named Ivona, apparently the chairman of the children's community here. They have a course of instruction in photography and in geography. They get their dinner at school during school hours.

"Do you get plenty to eat?"

"Yes. Every other day we have meat. We can have as much

soup, vegetables, or porridge as we like. Only we should like more pudding, but we can have only one helping."

That the children have plenty to eat at home as well was to be seen not only from their answers but from their healthy appearance, their good spirits, and their inexhaustible energy in the games and sports.

No. 7, Yuryevskaya has an even larger courtyard, combined with the yard of the neighbouring house No. 5. Here there is not only a handball ground, but a football ground, and even a children's theatre. This is of course not a great building, but merely a platform hung round with sheets; the decorations and scenery consist of things the children are allowed by their parents to borrow from their homes as required; the auditorium is organised on the system that each spectator brings his own chair with him. Nevertheless the theatre pays its way: The entrance fee for today's performance was 35 copecks. The net proceeds—and all the proceeds are net—are devoted to enlarging the children's library.

Whilst the games were going on below I thought I would take a look at some of the flats in the tenement building itself. I chose those with lighted windows, in order to be sure of finding someone at home, in spite of the theatre performance.

From inside the house is scarcely recognisable: Clean flats, many of them quite comfortably arranged; some with still too many odds and ends for collecting dust, others furnished in a more up-to-date style. But in every house, however humble, the inevitable palm.

One of the small flats consisted of two very large rooms and a kitchen. One of the rooms has plain wooden furniture, the other is more comfortable, with carpets and rugs. The furniture is old, with the exception of the writing table and the well-filled bookcase. Here lives a wood turner named Agendar, with an income of 250 roubles. His wife does not work. His daughter, who earns 150 roubles as a clerk, lives here too with her husband, a bookkeeper with a salary of 300 roubles. The son-in-law is dissatisfied with his profession, and is studying to become a physician. The rent is 32 roubles a month. Food: Meat every day, plenty of vegetables, fruit, and bread. Fats are somewhat scanty, but there is sufficient. Other expenses: clothing, and then chiefly books. The bookshelves belong to the father, and not, as I had assumed, to the son-in-law, who is changing his profession from a bookkeeper to a physician.

In another flat I found only a little girl of six at home. She was the eldest out of the four children of a boilermaker named Kolomenski. This is one of the few families in the Soviet Union in which there is only one earner; but his earnings are good, 350 to 400 roubles a month. I asked the little girl what she had had for dinner. She replied: "Borsch" (beetroot soup), roast beef with kasha (buckwheat porridge), and tomato salad. There had also been a kissel pudding—prepared with bilberries and potato flour. "Do you always have such a good dinner?" "That depends. When father has good piecework earnings, then we have dinners like that every day. If he hasn't, then we have less meat, and no salad. Father says we shouldn't eat up all the money. He would rather save up to buy something for the house."

I looked round. In the back room there were beds, wardrobe, writing table, large mirror, up-to-date, light-coloured furniture; in the large room there was a sideboard, a table, and a large number of chairs; four palms, busts of Marx and Lenin, a grandfather's clock, mirrors, a gigantic samovar, many pictures on the walls, much china on the sideboard, and a piano (two of the children are learning). In the children's rooms beds, wardrobe, a broad divan, and some smaller pieces of furniture. There was a large, clean kitchen, with scullery and pantry, etc. This was not merely a "decent" home, but one might say a luxurious proletarian home. This is the kind of home which a worker can afford in the Soviet Union, where he knows that he will never be forced by unemployment to sell the furniture selected and bought with so much love and care.

The rent of these three rooms and kitchen is 27 roubles, less than Comrade Agendar pays for his two rooms nearby. Perhaps because the rooms are smaller, or because the total earnings of the Agendar family are greater. I had no opportunity of discovering the reason of this difference in rent, and had no more time, as I had promised the children to return to their festival.

Now I wanted to question them about the "starvation." But I had no chance. Instead, they commenced to question me: "Is it true that there are so many unemployed in the capitalist coun-



tries? Is it true that their children are starving? Is it true that in the schools the children get their heads stuffed with religious teaching? Is it true that the German fascists want to seize the Ukraine, and to bring hunger and unemployment, to murder and torture the workers? Is it true that they are maltreating Comrade Thaelmann?"

Beneath this hail of questions I forgot the foolish stories of the "Kreuzzeitung" and the other absurd tales about famine. The children of starving people are not like this, such children as these are the children of the ruling class, making for themselves a new and better world.

I heard that a fresh party of collective peasants' children from the neighbouring villages was expected at the children's camp of the Machine and Tractor Station of the suburb of Swyatoshina. I travelled to Swyatoshina. The newly arrived children were just enjoying a shower bath. Then the freshly washed new arrivals gathered in the garden, and around the "Chelyuskin camp" erected by their predecessors, with the aid of wooden dolls and simple accessories. Leaving on one side the plump and rosy-cheeked children, I turned to those whom I could ask such a question without making myself utterly ridiculous. The first five to whom I put my questions, only two questions: What did they get to eat at home, and if they knew of anybody who had been starved in their village, replied as follows:—

(1) Katerina Yakovenko, 12 years of age, village of **Yurovka**. There is plenty of bread at home, and potatoes, cabbage, milk, tomatoes, cucumbers. Is there anybody starving in the village? Nobody need starve on the collective farm.

(2) Lyussa Rybanskaya, 10 years old, village of **Shpitki**. Plenty to eat. Just killed a pig. Never heard of people starving in the village.

(3) Volodya Bibovnik, village of **Husitsch**. Plenty of food. Meat only seldom, but plenty of milk, eggs, potatoes, bread.

(4) Nadya Sveredovskaya, 14 years old, village of **Belogorodka**. There is plenty to eat. Everyone who works has enough to eat.

(5) Narka Klimenko, incomprehensible village name. Father died some time ago, mother looks after cows on collective farm. All the collective peasants have plenty of bread, milk, and potatoes.

It would take too much space to recount all the similar answers. And there would be no sense in burdening the reader by recounting things which are a matter of course. My only reason for making all these statements in such detail is that I may be able to make a counter-proposal to the correspondent of the "Kreuzzeitung": Please state the names of the persons whom you saw starving, so that I may investigate your statements, as you are now able to investigate mine.

Or, in order to strike your slanderous weapon out of your hand, I ask you to give me the names of the workers alleged to have died of starvation, whose corpses were "cleared away from the streets of Kiev." These need have no fear of the "tortures of the G.P.U."

To be sure, all is fair in war. How otherwise would it be possible to prepare for a war against the land of the ruling proletariat, where the welfare of the toiling masses is the one aim and object, if the weapon of lies and slander were not employed? But do it a little more skilfully. Write rather about priests who have been tortured to death, quartered, then burned at the stake, and finally hanged. These are still alive, but it is not certain that they would refute your lies.

But when you write of famine and of the standards of living of the toiling masses, then you should remember that in the Soviet Union there are not only "prejudiced" Communists, but, for instance, bourgeois reporters who have really seen something, and are forced to describe the conditions actually existing, as was recently the case with the reporter of the "New York Times." This newspaper is certainly no more friendly towards the Communists than you are, and yet we read in its columns of the "spirit of optimism" reigning among the masses in the Soviet Union. The reason why this spirit reigns is that the peoples of the Soviet Union have commenced to reap the fruits of their labour. This affords them not only material satisfaction, but moral. Moral, for the reason that the Soviet power is consolidated; material, because the Soviet power has already commenced to supply the masses with articles of mass consumption and com-

forts in ample quantities. (Quoted from a telegram in the "Bolshhevik," Kiev.)

But we have already devoted too much attention to the fantastic lies told about the corpses strewn about the streets. Life, new socialist life, streams from every pore of the flourishing Soviet Ukraine, from the works and factories, from the collective farms, from the innumerable new building undertakings, from the sports grounds, from the newly erected dwelling houses and the (only externally) old tenement blocks—everywhere where the new masters of the country, the toiling masses, are living and working. Let us refuse to be side-tracked any longer from the actual reality of this new life.

## Kramatorsk

### IV.

#### The "Famous Personalities" of New Kramatorsk

By L. F. Boross

The new Kramatorsk machine-construction plant, with its individual and extremely precise production, with its sensitive machinery, requires an enormous staff of workers which must possess a high degree of skill. That was the main reason why the bourgeois foreign specialists were so doubtful that the Soviet Union, which up to recently was still so backward technically, would be able to build up and to master such a marvellous plant.

In actual fact, the first complete and fully working group of factories, with its thirteen immense shops, is not only "a wonder of steel and reinforced concrete," as appears from a superficial view, but it is, above all, a wonder of human development. It is really a marvel how the Revolution literally conjures up new immense factories and towns. But what it still more wonderful is how it brings out and fully develops the millions of gifted people that are to be found among the toiling masses.

"Efficiency will always rise to the top," was always one of the most deceptive slogans of the bourgeoisie. What is really the position in the capitalist countries? Millions of workers who could do a great deal are going to ruin because they have been unemployed for a number of years or are permanently unemployed. Renowned professors and scientists go about the streets demoralised and can find no use for the results of decades of research work than to sell postcards. In fascist Germany all workers under 25 years of age are being driven out of the factories, if they have at all succeeded in getting into them. If one thinks of these horrors of capitalist hopelessness, while in Kramatorsk—where half of the creators of the new marvellous plant and half of its workers consist of young people—then one feels that it must be a senseless nightmare.

Twenty thousand building workers who are now working on the second group of factories and 12,000 workers, among whom there are about 1,400 engineers and technicians, working in the completed shops, constitute the famous army of the new Kramatorsk. They all grew with the new plant to a higher level of work and culture. Among them are hundreds whose names and portraits are known far beyond the limits of their factory. These are the best among the many thousands of shock-brigaders. These are the people who in the drive of the millions for the construction of Socialism and in the drive of the 30,000 for the building and mastering of the Kramatorsk giant plants, pushed themselves into the front ranks and who work still better, accomplish still more, and love their plant even more enthusiastically than do the great mass of the creators of Socialism. These are the shock-brigaders among the shock-brigaders. These are the "famous ones" who not only became famous because they themselves have done great things in their work, but also because, by their example, they inspired hundreds and thousands of other workers to emulate them and even to surpass their achievements.

There is old **Kretov**, one of the best steel moulders of the new factory. In a capitalist country this worker, who is now 62 years old, would long ago have been thrown on the scrap heap. Here he has the right to receive an old-age pension. He could live in peace without working; he has the right to rest after forty years of uninterrupted work in the factory. He will not hear of it. For a capitalist he would not raise a finger, but "for our factory," for "my factory," for Socialism, for the happiness of a free Socialist life, for the dream which has now become a reality and which exactly seventy years before the opening of the Kramatorsk plant united the best forces of the working class in the First International, he wants to continue fighting, to continue working as long

as he still has a spark of energy left. He is happy that the present-day Soviet youth can live so entirely different from the way in which he lived; he is happy that they work only seven hours, which he considers pure recreation, as at one time he had to work eleven hours a day. And when old Kretov sees that the work is lagging behind, he gathers his fellow-workers together and at their head he goes, in his free time, into other departments or to help along with the building of the new shops.

Sergey Dobryak is not one of the old people. When the Revolution broke out he was not quite seven years old. He belongs to that generation which in Germany to-day has not got the right to work in the factory, and which in many other countries, at least, has not got the opportunity to do so. But here the factory belongs to him and his class, and no one can stop him from working for himself and for his class. He is a metal lathe worker and has been working for nine years, including his studies in the trade's school. In this period he has not had a single case of a defect in his machine or of turning out spoilt work. In the evenings he continues his studies at the workers' faculty and also works as trade union organiser of his group. Despite all that, he never leaves his factory without having cleaned his lathe in an exemplary way. The portrait of Dobryak as the best metal lathe worker also hangs among the portraits of the best workers in the main avenue of the factory, as a symbol that in the land of the proletarian dictatorship work is not considered as the duty of a slave but as a matter of honour and glory.

Movlov is the son of a poor peasant. In their day his parents led such a miserable existence that they had to flee from their village and leave their son, whom they could not look after, to his own fate. As a child he lived by begging or by carrying bundles. He took any job that was offered. When he grasped what Socialism is, what working for oneself means, then he could no longer bear to see that there are workers who work better for their class than he does. In 1929, in the Kharkov tractor plant, he challenged Marussin, the best concrete worker of Kharkov, to Socialist competition and won the contest. He was therefore placed at the head of a concrete workers' brigade, composed only of young workers, and sent to Kramatorsk, where he succeeded in getting the whole concrete department to establish a world record as far as speed in work is concerned. Movlov, the former waif, has recently been made the manager of the concrete department in the building of the Kramatorsk plant; he has completed the course of technical training at evening classes and is now impatiently waiting to be temporarily relieved from work so as to be able to continue his studies in the technical high school.

One also sees the portrait of 46-year-old Goluboj, one of the old fighters for the Revolution and for Socialism. As a 17-year-old youth he distributed leaflets in 1905. Up till the time of the Revolution he worked as a coppersmith. Then he fought in the ranks of the troops of partisans and the Red Army and was wounded on six different occasions. According to medical testimony, he is a complete invalid. One of his arms he is unable to move at all. But, according to his standpoint, a revolutionary is only an invalid when he ceases to breathe. And as foreman the paralysed Goluboj directs the work of assembling and installing machinery and plant in an exemplary manner. Under his excellent guidance 28,000 tons of machinery have been assembled up to the present.

Krasnoschekov is only nineteen years old. Two years ago he came with a few other peasant youths from a Volhynian village. He worked as an unskilled worker. He learned how to work so efficiently that when he was eighteen he was promoted to the position of brigade leader. He did not want to accept this job, as he did not yet feel equal to it. Movlov persuaded the diffident youth, awakened self-confidence in him, and confidence in the cause of the working class. And there has not been a single day on which his brigade has not fulfilled the plan. Now his portrait has also been placed in the main avenue of the plant.

Who is at the head of this cohort of thousands of such worker-heroes? Who is the leader of this marvellous work? A former driver in the mines—Comrade Kirilkin. Here is the story of his life: His father, a miner, died as the result of a mine disaster. His mother died of cholera. The orphan child lived by begging from acquaintances. Then, when he was twelve years old, he became a driver in the mines. He fought his way through with unexampled energy. After eleven hours of exhausting toil underground he still found energy to continue to educate himself. And he succeeded in achieving the greatest career which capitalism,

at best, permits its wage slaves; from a day labourer he became a skilled worker; from a driver in the mines he became an electrician. The form of his exploitation became a little less barbarous, but he remained a wage slave. In 1912 he joined the Bolshevik Party and showed his fellow-workers the path to liberation from all slavery. His unusual talent and the confidence of his class now placed him in a very responsible position. Respected and beloved by the workers, he marched at the head of that army which has built up the most beautiful and the largest industrial stronghold of the proletarian Fatherland, and he now leads the factory which itself produces entire factories.

\* \* \* \* \*

I take leave of Kramatorsk. It is early evening. Many hundreds of men and women workers from the first shift still sit on the benches in the park-like "factory courtyard." "Strange," says the German worker Pautz. "I worked for twenty years in capitalist factories. As soon as the evening whistle blew, we would run away from the factory. And here it is so entirely different. Here we feel so secure in our factory; here we are at home."

## The Week in the Soviet Union

### The Preparation for the Soviet Elections

The preparations for the Soviet elections are in full swing in the industrial undertakings, on the collective farms, on the estate farms and in all cultural institutions. The campaign for the elections is in the forefront of the whole public and political life of the country.

The Young Communist League is extremely active in this campaign. The Komsomol has acquired great experience in organisational mass work, which experience is now being used in the election campaign in order to reach the young electors, numbering over ten million, who will now go to the poll for the first time. The Youth is seeking ever fresh methods in order to rouse the masses into activity, and the Komsomol sets itself the task of mobilising the ten million young electors for active participation in meetings at which the Soviet delegates will give their reports and these reports will be discussed by the audience.

The Komsomol is helping the election commissions in the performance of technical work, the compilation of the lists of electors, investigating complaints submitted to the election commissions. The Komsomol further aims at increasing the proportion of the young Communists in the Soviets. At the last Soviet election 6.4 per cent. of the members of the village Soviets and 7 per cent. of the members of the town Soviets were young Communists. These figures, however, no longer correspond to the role which the working and peasant youth are playing in production and in public life. The Komsomol organisations, therefore, intend everywhere to put forward more young Communists than ever.

As all foreign workers and specialists performing productive work in the Soviet Union have the franchise, the foreign workers are also taking part in the election campaign. In Moscow alone there are 17 foreign delegates; about 100 members of sections of the town Soviets and as many deputies in the regional Soviets are also foreigners. During the campaign in which members of the Soviets give an account of their past activity, the foreign workers and specialists are specially interested in checking up the work done by them, as they have been elected as representatives of the foreign workers.

### The Soviet Union Produces the Most Iron in Europe

The Soviet Union has won first place in Europe in the production of iron. Whilst in the first eight months of this year the average monthly output of iron amounted to 850,000 tons, in September it increased to 950,000 tons. The Soviet Union has advanced to second place among the European countries as regards the production of steel. Steel production, which in the first eight months of this year amounted on an average to 769,000 tons, increased in September to 834,000 tons.

### On the Cultural Front

The first State University of Azerbaijan was formally opened in Baku on October 17 in the presence of representatives of the Soviets, the Party and trade union organisations. Scientists from Moscow, Leningrad, Kharkov, Tiflis and Erivan came to attend the opening ceremony. The instruction at the University will be given mainly in the Turkish language; the lectures delivered in Russian

will be translated. In November the Biological-Geographical faculty will be opened, and in January a faculty for literature and languages. The University has attached to it several scientific research institutes and also has a comprehensive library. It is intended to found a great University settlement.

The Presidium of the District Executive Committee has passed the plans for a big opera house to be built in Sverdlovsk. The new opera house will be one of the best theatres in the whole of the Soviet Union. It will have a seating capacity of 3,000.

#### Electrification

The Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of Usbekistan has decided to build 20 waterpower works of 35 to 100 horsepower each in 1935. They will supply power to collective farms.

#### Moscow Underground Railway

On October 17 Comrade Rotter, who is in charge of the building of the underground railway, delivered a long report to the Moscow Soviet on the work accomplished up to the present. According to this report, the first section of the underground railway can commence working on January 15, 1935. Nine thousand three hundred and twenty-eight metres of double-lined track have already been laid. The Sokolniki and Komsomolskaya Ploshchad stations will be finished by the 17th anniversary of the October revolution. These stations will be among the best in the world in regard to design and decorations.

Comrade Rotter pointed out in his report that the opening of the first underground railway line will not completely solve the difficulties in regard to Moscow's traffic. An enormous amount of work still remains to be done. Another underground railway, over 20 kilometres long, is to connect the centre of the town with the railway stations.

#### Death of Professor Rosenov

On October 17 there occurred in Moscow the death of the celebrated surgeon Professor Rosenov, at whose initiative the production of surgical instruments was organised in the Soviet Union. Under his leadership the Moscow Institute of Surgical Appliances was built and also the new surgical department of the famous Botkin hospital. Professor Rosenov was also president of the organisation for cancer research. He was one of the doctors who attended Lenin during his last severe illness. In 1933 he was awarded the Lenin Order in recognition of his services.

Professor Rosenov was also a member of the Moscow Soviet, of the Executive Committee of the Moscow District and of the Council of the People's Commissariat for Health.

The district hospital which wins first place in the current competition will be given the name of Rosenov and will receive a premium of 25,000 roubles for its further extension. The Institute for Medical Training has granted five Rosenov scholarships of 300 roubles a month each for medical students.

#### Foreign Spies Before the Supreme Court

The Supreme Court of Justice is dealing with an espionage organisation which had set itself the task of spying in the naval forces, the military aircraft service, and the works and factories of the ports of Leningrad and Murmansk. The leading personage in this espionage organisation has been a German citizen named Fuchs, his closest collaborator, an Austrian named Kottgasser, who worked as fitter in Murmansk. These two carried on a secret correspondence, and gained several citizens in Leningrad and Murmansk for their purposes. One of their main agents in Leningrad was a certain Botzikovski, who was commissioned by Fuchs and Kottgasser to discover the localities where troops were stationed, and all details about the aerodromes, aeroplane parks, fuel depots, etc., in Leningrad. A similar commission was given by Fuchs to the Czechoslovakian citizen, Kadletz, whose task was to find out all about the Leningrad power stations, gas works, and waterworks, from the viewpoint of an air attack in case of war; Kadletz had to lay this all down in maps. Kadletz, instead of carrying out his commission, informed the Soviet government. Kottgasser had engaged three of his fellow workers, Grünfeld, Petrovski, and Goluptshikov, to carry out espionage for him. These three men had to bring him reports on the naval and mercantile marine in the harbour of Murmansk. Espionage material was found in the possession of Fuchs, Kottgasser, and Botzikovski when they were arrested.

The court sentenced Fuchs to eight years' imprisonment, Kottgasser to six years, Grünfeld and Goluptshikov to ten years. Botzikovski, as a traitor to the socialist fatherland, was sentenced to death by shooting.

## Proletarian Commemoration Days

### Newport's Red November

Monmouthshire Martyrs of 1839

By Geoffrey Trease\*

This summer we celebrated the centenary of the Tolpuddle trade unionists. This month we might well remember those Chartists, martyrs in the cause of the working class, who were shot down by concealed soldiery ninety-five years ago.

They have a message for us to-day. Although the main points of their Charter—universal suffrage, salaries for M.P.s, and so on—have been won, the main struggle against capitalism goes on. In the repression they suffered we can find an illuminating parallel to the present drive against political freedom, as exemplified in the Sedition Bill and other measures.

It is a stirring tale, that November tragedy enacted in the square at Newport, but to understand its meaning we must know a few of the events to which it came as a climax. The People's Charter represented a method of righting such wrongs as Tolpuddle by political, rather than industrial, action. Accordingly, it was resisted tooth and nail by the upper classes.

They disdained the petition of 1,200,000 workmen, presented to Parliament. They banned meetings, rode down the crowds with cavalry, and clapped every leader they could lay hands on into jail. Familiar policies, which have found many parallels during the regime of the National government!

What were the people to do? An attempt at a general strike, in August, 1839, was sabotaged by the timid section of the leaders. An armed rising seemed the only hope, and all over the country men began to prepare for it. Meanwhile, Sir Charles Napier was made Commander-in-Chief of the North of England, cavalry and guns rumbled along the roads, and Britain took on the appearance of a conquered country, held down only by force.

South Wales was one of the stern-centres. The miners and iron-workers had been whipped into a frenzy by the imprisonment of their leader, Henry Vincent. In every village up and down those grimy valleys people talked of marching to release their leader. They believed him to be at Newport, whereas actually he was hidden away in Monmouth Jail.

The word went round: "No slaves in Britain by November 5!" And on November 3 the long grey columns of men began to flow, like streams of lava, down the hills.

It is pointless to exaggerate the "martyrdom" of the Monmouthshire men. Many of them were armed, however inadequately, and meant business. Many others were equally confident that no one would resist them, that they had only to shout and the walls of Jericho would fall down. But they were martyrs in the true sense of being willing witnesses to their faith, and exponents of the brutality to which a frightened capitalist system will resort.

The different bands gathered in the grey morning of November 4 and advanced in two parties on the town, reuniting in the square in front of the Westgate Hotel, where they believed the prisoners to be. On the balcony stood the magistrates. Drawn up in front were a number of special constables, who melted away at the sight of the burly miners and other workmen.

What happened then is not completely clear. But there was the inevitable exchange of high words and a scuffle round the doorway. Then, suddenly, the upper windows flew open and the hidden soldiers of the 45th Regiment poured volley after volley into the crowd. Such was their ferocity that, when the Chartists retreated, they ran down into the street and rifled the dead bodies for more cartridges to shoot after them. No one was allowed to approach the dying, and for hours afterwards the bodies were left heaped in the inn-yard for all to see.

That day was one of the most critical in the history of the

\* The writer of this article is the author of "Comrades for the Charter," which is to be published within the next few days by Martin Lawrence on the occasion of the anniversary of the events herein described.

British working class. Great areas were ripe for revolt—but that initial failure at Newport was fatal. The Midlands had arranged to rise when the Newport Mail failed to reach Birmingham—but it turned up to time, with news of the government's sanguinary triumph. South Wales was in a ferment, but could do nothing. The Merthyr Chartists who marched to Brecon were met by 400 soldiers. At Cardiff, every entrance to the town was guarded by six-pounders, manned by bluejackets. Everywhere it was the same story.

The leaders of the Newport demonstration were sentenced to death, which was commuted to transportation for life. The Mayor of Newport, who gave the tragic order, received a knighthood. So capitalist justice dispenses its rewards and penalties!

Has the leopard changed its spots? No. In the research which I found necessary for the writing of *Comrades for the Charter*, I was struck by nothing so much as the essential similarity of the situations in 1839 and 1934. Every Socialist will find not only inspiration, but valuable tactical suggestions, in the study of that dramatic period.

It is for us to ensure that the Monmouthshire martyrs did not die in vain, and that 1939 shall see the "Britain without slaves" of which they dreamed.

## Book Reviews

### Joseph Stalin: The October Revolution

By Ralph Fox (London)

The question of power is to-day an intensely practical one for the working class. In Austria, in Germany, in Spain, the stages of the road to October, to the proletarian, socialist revolution, are urgent problems for the workers and their advance guard, the Communist Party. In other countries the growth of unity, the halting of the offensive of counter-revolutionary fascism, also make the study of October one of immediate importance.

This collection of Comrade Stalin's articles and speeches on the October revolution is therefore both timely and invaluable. Stalin is a Bolshevik of Bolsheviks. Not only has he grown up with the Party; after Lenin, he has helped more than any other man to make the Party, to lead it through its experience of revolt, imperialist war, revolution and counter-revolution, socialist construction. Every word of this book is rich with this experience.

English readers who are familiar with the latest attacks on revolutionary Marxism delivered by G. D. H. Cole, the pundit of British reformism, will find the article on *The October Revolution and the Question of the Middle Strata* particularly important. Cole's argument, repeated after him by the Socialist League, the whole chorus of Labour Party "theoreticians" in that Party and Lenin "overlooked" the importance of the middle strata between proletariat and bourgeoisie. What in English we call the middle classes, the small farmers, employees, professional men, technicians, shopkeepers, intelligentsia of all kinds, according to Cole, have assumed a role more important than that of the working class in modern imperialist society. It is they, says Cole, who form the basis of fascism, of the "third empire" and the "corporate state," and consequently it is to them and not to the working class the Labour Party must direct its propaganda.

The argument is an old one, much older than Cole. The German social democrats made great play with it before the war when the party began to lose votes at the elections. Wells tries to drag it up in his recent interview with Comrade Stalin.

It is hardly necessary to refute the ridiculous charge that Marx and Lenin "overlooked" these sections of the population. But it is of the utmost importance to understand that Marx, Engels and Lenin alone saw how these middle sections could

become factors for revolution and not for counter-revolution if only they could be brought under the leadership of the revolutionary working class, even though, in some countries, the working class were a minority of the population.

The difference between the revolutionary Marxian view of the problem of these middle sections, so broad and flexible, and the narrow reformist view of the Coles and their fellows who limit them to the technical intelligentsia, is splendidly brought out in Stalin's article:—

"The question of the middle strata undoubtedly presents one of the fundamental questions of the workers' revolution. The middle strata are the peasantry and the petty labouring populace of the cities. In this category must also be classified the oppressed nationalities, which consist nine-tenths of middle strata. As you see, these are precisely the strata which, by their economic position, are situated between the proletariat and the capitalist class. The relative importance of these strata is determined by two circumstances: in the first place, these strata represent the majority, or, at any rate, a considerable minority of the population of the existing states; second, they represent the important reserves from among which the capitalist class recruits its army against the proletariat. The proletariat cannot maintain power without the sympathy and support of the middle strata, primarily of the peasantry. . . . The proletariat cannot even seriously think of seizing power unless these strata have at least been neutralised, unless these strata have already had time to divorce themselves from the capitalist class, if they still constitute, in their mass, an army of the capitalists."

It is precisely in the attitude towards these middle strata that the whole difference between Bolshevism and counter-revolutionary Menshevism, including Trotskyism, lies. Menshevism sees them not as a great army to be fought for by the working class, but as a counter-revolutionary force, as the enemies of the workers' revolution. Hence we must wait until economic forces have destroyed them and the world is neatly divided into workers and capitalists, or else we must compromise with these petty-property instincts, postpone indefinitely the struggle for socialism. Not only Cole's view of the "transition" to socialism, but also, at the other pole, Trotsky's conception of "permanent revolution" arise from this anti-Marxian attitude to the middle strata.

The battle against counter-revolutionary Trotskyism, against the conception of October which would have denied its Socialist character, which would have destroyed its world revolutionary force and eventually destroyed the revolution also, runs like a red thread through this book. Of particular interest is the chapter entitled "*The October Revolution and the Tactics of the Russian Communists.*"

Here, in fact, we have "the road to October." Stalin enables us to see, not only the genius of Lenin, but also how the tactics of the Party were rooted in revolutionary Marxism, drawing all their inspiration from it. It is a common taunt of reformism to-day that October was an "accident," due partly to luck and partly to Lenin's genius in seizing the exact moment to strike. That Lenin was a revolutionary genius is beyond doubt. Stalin, however, makes clear how the whole work of the Party in the period before October made the victory of the working class certain. Trotsky also has the vulgar bourgeois view of October, save that he modestly substitutes himself for Lenin as the "human factor" responsible for victory.

Stalin's essay is in itself a handbook of proletarian revolution, a classic of Marxism-Leninism. The whole relation between Party, class and masses is here dealt with in masterly fashion. No Communist can afford to be ignorant of this little masterpiece. It is safe to say that neither the problems of the workers' revolution nor the slogan of Soviet power can be properly understood without it.

It is the freshness and actualities of the contents of this book, most of it written many years ago, which above all prove Stalin a master Leninist, of the combination of theory and practice. All the more unfortunate that the translation, though literally accurate, should read in places almost like a caricature of the English language.

Joseph Stalin: "The October Revolution." (London: Martin Lawrence. 3s 6d.)

Published weekly. Single copies, 2d. Subscription rates: Great Britain and Dominions, 12s. per year; U.S.A. and Canada, five dollars per year. Remittance in STERLING per International Money Order, Postal Order or Sight Draft on London.

Published by UNTHANKS BOOKSHOP, 370, High Road, Willesden, London, N.W.10, and Printed by THE MARSTON PRINTING CO. (T.U.), 44, Worship Street, London, E.C.2, England.