

# INTERNATIONAL PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 14 No. 57

10th November, 1934

## CONTENTS

<b>Politics</b>	
Foreign-Political Review of the Week .. . . .	1507
Karl Radek: Tenth Anniversary of the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations Between France and the Soviet Union .. . . .	1508
L. Sharkey: The Australian Elections .. . . .	1509
Karl Braun: A New Stage in the Toleration of Henlein Fascism .. . . .	1510
Jean Kiltz: Communist Successes at the Municipal Elections in Luxemburg .. . . .	1511
<b>Spain</b>	
Ercoli: The Civil War in Spain and the International Proletariat .. . . .	1512
The Capture and Defence of Oviedo .. . . .	1515
W. T.: Set Up the United Front of Solidarity in Support of the Heroic Fighting Spanish Workers .. . . .	1516
The Socialist Workers', Peasants' and Soldiers' Republic .. . . .	1517
Appeal to the Women of the Whole World .. . . .	1517
<b>Germany</b>	
The Decree on the German Labour Front .. . . .	1518
The Bankruptcy of German Economy Under National Socialist Rule .. . . .	1520
Alfred Kurella: Goering Before the Court .. . . .	1521
<b>Great Britain</b>	
R. Bishop: The Municipal Elections in England and Wales .. . . .	1522
<b>Fight For the Unity of the Labour Movement</b>	
Werner Hirsch: Working-Class Unity a Condition for the Overthrow of Hitler .. . . .	1523
Victor Zitna: The Progress of the Anti-Fascist Movement in Rumania .. . . .	1525
Why the C.C. of the Polish "Bund" Has Broken Off United Front Negotiations .. . . .	1525
The C.C. of the C.P. of Poland on the Recent Decisions of the C.C. of the P.P.S. .. . . .	1526
<b>Seventeenth Anniversary of the October Revolution</b>	
Three Lessons of the October Victory for the International Proletariat .. . . .	1527
L. F. Boross: Freedom .. . . .	1530
<b>The White Terror</b>	
Rakosi—A Champion of International Communism .. . . .	1535
Herbert: The Position of Political Prisoners in Austria .. . . .	1536
<b>In The International</b>	
The C.P. of Yugoslavia on the Assassinations in Marseilles .. . . .	1537
<b>Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union</b>	
Ninety Millions at the Polls .. . . .	1538
Kalinin: We Are Realising Lenin's Ideals .. . . .	1539

## Seventeenth Anniversary of the October Revolution

### Appeal of the E.C. of the Communist International

**TO THE WORKING MEN AND WOMEN OF THE WORLD!  
TO ALL THE TOILERS, TO ALL THE OPPRESSED PEOPLES!**  
Comrades, Class Brothers!

Seventeen years have passed since the proletariat of Russia, under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Bolsheviks, under the leadership of Lenin, threw off the power of capital, overturned the government of the bourgeoisie and the landlords, and took the power into its own hands.

The October Socialist Revolution, which opened a new era in the development of humanity, conquered by means of the armed uprising of the workers of Russia, supported by millions of peasants. It was prepared by long years of the heroic struggle, under the leadership of the Bolsheviks against the ruling classes. It was prepared for by the fact that the Communist Party of the Bolsheviks, in the course of an unrelenting fight against the reformist compromising parties, the Mensheviks and socialist revolutionaries, won to its side the majority of the working class and led them into the decisive fight against oppression, starvation and imperialist war, for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for socialism.

The power of the working class in alliance with the peasants, the power of the Soviets of workers, peasants, and Red Army Deputies, was a stern dictatorship against the exploiting classes. The power of the working class is at the same time

widest democracy for the toilers. This power organised the masses for the struggle against the exploiting classes, who offered furious resistance against the armed intervention of the imperialists. It ensured the victory of the proletariat in the civil war. It led the country of the Soviets along the path of industrialisation. It achieved the victory of the collective farming system in the village. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the dictatorship of the proletariat ensured the victory of the First Five Year Plan, and will lead to the victory of the Second Five Year Plan, to the construction of classless socialist society.

The Soviet Union, the country of the victorious proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, is now plainly showing to the world what the working class is capable of accomplishing even in a technically and culturally backward country when it has the power in its hands.

In the capitalist countries, where the bourgeoisie are in power, the fierce economic crisis has brought with it greater ruin and devastation than the four years of the last imperialist war. Even the foremost capitalist countries have been thrown backwards many years. The partial increase of production which has begun to take place during the last year has not improved the position of the toilers. Millions of workers are doomed to hopeless unemployment, millions of farmers and peasants are being ruined, millions of young people just entering life, are being thrown into

the streets without work, without food, without hope for the future. The poverty and want of the toilers are continually increasing.

In the Soviet Union, the dictatorship of the proletariat, carried out under the leadership of the Communist Party, has created the conditions for an unceasing growth in the welfare and culture of the toiling masses. It has converted the U.S.S.R. into a country of socialism where there is no unemployment, where the wages of the workers and office employees are constantly increasing, where there is a comprehensive system of social insurance, where every worker is firmly assured as regards the morrow, where labour has become a matter of honour and fame for the toilers. The socialist reconstruction of agriculture has abolished pauperisation in the villages and is ensuring the raising of all the collective farm peasants to a prosperous and cultured life. The Soviet Power has liberated all the formerly oppressed nationalities and has united them in a fraternal alliance.

The workers and collective farmers of the U.S.S.R. give a brilliant example of absolute devotion to the cause of socialism, an example of genuine international solidarity with the oppressed and exploited of the whole world. The workers and the peasant masses of China have already followed the fighting example of the toilers of the Soviet Union, forming the Soviet Power on part of the territory of their country. The Chinese Soviets point out to the entire Chinese people and the toilers of all colonial countries the only path of salvation from enslavement by imperialism and from the yoke of the exploiting classes of their own country.

The exploited and oppressed of the whole world protect the Soviet Union, the fortress of victorious socialism, the bulwark of peace, the great smithy which forges out the new socialist culture, the fatherland of emancipated women, the basis of the world proletarian revolution, the socialist fatherland of the workers of all countries and the oppressed peoples of the whole world, a brilliant beacon pointing out the path to a tortured humanity which is fighting against capitalist slavery.

The danger of a new imperialist war menaces the toilers of all countries. The capitalist world is feverishly arming itself, preparing more and more new hitherto unknown weapons for mass extermination. But war can be postponed only by uniting all the forces of the proletariat into the united front for a decisive struggle against capitalism, for the power of the working class. It is possible to prevent war, a new blood bath of the toilers, only by the workers making a clean break with the compromise policy of the social democracy, only by a victorious fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In order to find a way out of the crisis in which the capitalist world is writhing, the bourgeoisie are still further increasing the robbery of the workers, farmers and peasants of the colonies and the economically weak countries. They are trying first and foremost to crush the working class, to deprive it of the last vestiges of democratic rights, to cut down the beggarly wages still more, to worsen its situation still further, to destroy its revolutionary vanguard. Fascism has come to power in Germany and Austria, it is in power in Italy and Poland, it menaces the toilers of all countries. As the storm detachment of the bourgeoisie against the working class, fascism is trying in the first place to organise an attack on the shock brigade of the world proletariat, the Soviet Union.

But the proletariat and the toiling masses can beat back the attack of fascism only if the proletariat establishes the fighting unity of its ranks, and, together with all the toilers, carries on a decisive struggle against capitalism.

The policy of compromise which is pursued by the leaders of the social-democratic parties prevented the victory of the proletarian revolution in Germany, Austria, Hungary and Italy in 1918-20. The social democratic policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie tied the hands of the working class, split its ranks and undermined its forces in face of the advancing class enemy. The policy of compromise with the bourgeoisie led to fascism in Germany and also in Austria.

For the proletariat there is no peaceful path to power. There is no peaceful path to socialism.

True to its historic mission—the preparation of the masses for the winning of the state power by the proletariat—the Communist International calls on the workers more insistently than ever to join in the united front for the organisation of joint actions by all the workers against fascism and the war danger. It calls on the workers of all countries to unite under the tested Red

**Banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, under the Banner of the Communist International for the overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie.**

The idea of the storming of capitalism is ever more maturing in the consciousness of the masses. The social-democratic workers are breaking away from reformism and from compromise with the bourgeoisie, and are taking the path of the class struggle. In February this year the heroic workers of Austria, rejecting in practice the social-democratic policy of class collaboration, took up arms to bar the path for fascism. But they were defeated, because the social-democratic party, which led them, had not prepared them for the decisive struggle and did not lead them to the attack on capitalism. In France, in the days of February, the working class gave the first rebuff to fascism by the general strike. But their fight against fascism, which is attacking, will be the more successful the more quickly the proletariat rids itself of democratic illusions and the more quickly it unites under the banner of Communism.

In October the toilers of Spain, led by the working class, took up arms in defence of their bread and freedom, and to beat back the attack of fascist reaction. The workers of Asturias entered on the fight for the power of the workers and peasants, under the leadership of the Communist Party.

The workers in the social-democratic parties are more and more beginning to break with the policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie; together with the Communists, the social-democratic workers are beginning more and more to take up the struggle against fascism, capitalism and war.

#### **Brothers, Workers!**

The Communist International proposed to the Labour and Socialist International the organisation of immediate joint actions of the Communist and Socialist Parties in all countries, for the defence of the fighting Spanish people. But at the moment, when the government artillery was bombarding the mines of Asturias, burying alive the mine workers who had taken shelter there, at the moment when the military aeroplanes were bombing the towns and the villages of Spain from the air, when every day, even every hour, cost the lives of thousands of heroic workers and peasants of Spain, together with their wives and children—at this moment the official leaders of the Labour and Socialist International postponed for three weeks the discussion of the question of joint activity on formal grounds!

The Communist International is continuing its policy of the united front. Workers of all countries, show your solidarity with the fighting Spanish workers! Come forward like one man against the Spanish bourgeoisie, who have called up all their forces in order bloodily to crush the working class and the peasants.

The Spanish workers, who have entered into the battle against capitalism, are our class brothers. The workers of Asturias, who have raised the banner of struggle for the power of the workers and peasants, are our brothers.

Their cause is the cause of the whole of the world proletariat.

#### **Class Brothers! Comrades!**

Exert every effort to establish, as soon as possible, the united front of the working class for the struggle against fascism and imperialist war, for the struggle for bread and freedom, for the struggle for power, for socialism!

**Social-Democratic Workers!** Workers of all political views! Unite under the banner of the Communist International! March along the revolutionary path on which the October revolution of the proletariat of Russia was victorious, along which alone the working class may conquer!

**All together in the struggle against fascism and war!**

**All together to help the heroic workers and peasants of Spain!**

**Defend the Soviet Union, the Socialist Fatherland of all the toilers and the oppressed, the bulwark of socialism and peace among the nations!**

**Defend the Chinese Soviets!**

**Long Live the United Front of the Working Class! Long Live the fighting alliance of the workers and peasants of the home countries and the colonies!**

**Long live the victory of the world proletarian revolution!**

**Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat throughout the world!**

**Long live socialism!**

**Executive Committee of the Communist International.**

# Politics

## Foreign Political Review of the Week

Enormous excitement was aroused by a communiqué issued by the press department of the Ministry of Justice in Berlin, that several persons accused of high treason had been sentenced to death by the People's Court, whilst others had been sentenced to severe terms of imprisonment. The names of the condemned persons were not mentioned. The communiqué also contained a warning. The Court, it declared, in imposing prison sentences had only done so because the acts in question were committed before the Court was set up. In future any German who betrays military secrets will do so at the risk of his head. The persons involved in this trial are said to be a lady and a gentleman in high society in Berlin as well as a young woman employed in the Reichswehr Ministry. What is of importance, however, is not the persons, but the fact that the leaders of the Third Reich who, in violation of the provisions of the Versailles Treaty, are arming feverishly, who have converted the whole country into a huge armament works, intend by means of the most bloody terror to prevent any mention being made of this. But it is precisely this terror more than anything else that directs attention to Hitler's armaments. It was precisely the announcement of the secret death sentences pronounced in Berlin that caused **Winston Churchill**, one of the leading members of the British Conservative Party, to raise a cry of alarm on account of Hitler's preparations for war:—

"Germany was arming secretly, illegally, and rapidly. A reign of terror existed in Germany in order to keep secret the feverish and terrible preparations they were making. But enough was known to make it perfectly clear that even in organised military machines alone they would have overtaken us before another year had passed. Besides their organised military machines, they had a gigantic civil aviation with enormous reserves of pilots and aeroplanes, many of them faster than our fastest military machines. A great number of these could be converted into bombing machines within a few days or even hours, against which we could show nothing either ready or in preparation.

"When we considered the character of the present German government, the rapidly darkening European scene, and the obligations which Ministers were repeatedly declaring we had in Europe, it was astounding that patriotic Ministers were prepared to go on month after month bearing this load of frightful responsibility, and that so many members of Parliament set their obedience to the party whips above their duty to the nation.

"Mr. Baldwin has used the most formidable and far-reaching expression, astonishing and startling Europe. He had said: 'Our frontiers are the Rhine.' Could we be sure that the men now in control of Germany would not reply to that, 'Our targets are the Thames'?" ("Times," November 2, 1934.)

The tremendous sensation which these words of Churchill called forth had not yet died down when, from Berlin, the whole of Europe was alarmed by newspaper reports which made it look as if Germany and France were on the eve of war. "Monstrous French provocation"—"France threatens"—"Motorised troops prepared to invade the Saar"—"The cup is full," such were the big headlines in the German newspapers, which fully accorded with the contents. The "**Berliner Boersenzeitung**," the "**Lokal-Anzeiger**," and the "**Nachtausgabe**" almost openly threatened war. They quoted from the speech delivered by **Rudolf Hess** in Koenigsberg on July 7, where Hitler's deputy stated:—

"The way is not open for anyone wanting to take a 'walk' into our country. Just let them dare to attack us! Let them dare to march into the new Germany! The world will then get to know the spirit of the new Germany! It would fight as hardly any other people has fought for its freedom. Every strip of forest, every hill, every farm would have to be captured at the cost of blood. Old and young would cling to the native soil, they would defend themselves with unparalleled fanaticism."

What is the reason for this monstrous war incitement against France, with whom the "Leader" and also the men behind him have

hitherto tried to curry favour in a most indignified manner? One can reproach France with many things, but certainly not with having done even the least thing to protect the population of the Saar from the monstrous terror of the Hitler people. But France has imperialist interests in the Saar; it has the Saar mines, it has thousands of French officials employed there. France could not look idly on at this growing terror without prejudicing its own interests. And it therefore moved troops near to the frontier in order, in case of need, to be able to proceed in the sense of Barthou's last declaration at the League of Nations, as well as in the sense of the League of Nations decisions of 1925-1926; according to which the Saar Commission is empowered to call in troops from the neighbouring districts for the purpose of establishing order. As accompanying music thereto, Marshal Pétain raised the alarm in the French army commission regarding Germany's armaments, using these as a pretext for enormously increasing the army budget. The movement of French troops was a warning hint to the German putschists, who threatened to march into the Saar even if the plebiscite should result in a vote against union with Germany. If Hitler had completed his war preparations he would, perhaps, have let it come to a war. This, however, was not the case, and he therefore contented himself with a sort of trial mobilisation of the press, whereby he wished to make an impression especially on England and Italy and get them to intervene in his favour. England and Italy, however, did not respond; they openly declared that they did not wish to interfere with France. Thereupon Hitler adopted another tone and sent forward Buerkel and Pirro, the leaders of the German Front in the Saar. This means a tactical turn, but nevertheless a turn. In order to show, however, that the danger is not thereby averted, we cite an impartial witness, i.e., the "**Neue Zuercher Zeitung**," a paper which is capable of anything rather than speaking ill of Germany. The "**N.Z.Z.**" writes in its Sunday edition of November 4:—

"In the Saar question the political prestige of the National Socialist regime is so greatly involved, and its economic reserves so determinedly engaged, that the greatness of the game played will automatically lead to tremendous military efforts. When the effect of all the various measures adopted by this regime is taken into account, and the inevitable result of the whole surveyed, the impression cannot be avoided that National Socialism calculates on **impending conflicts and regards them as inevitable**. The possibility is offered by the Saar question, and Germany no longer considers it worth while concealing that it is prepared to stake the utmost on this question and is **preparing to do so**. Obviously the months of October and November play an important part in these preparations. The turn given the Saar question by the demonstrative proclamation of the military readiness of France will give the National Socialist government grounds for redoubled exertions. The National Socialist state may set hopes on attaining its aims merely by this demonstration, just as the French government may cherish similar intentions. Both parties appear to be unable, for psychological reasons, to postpone any longer this test of mutual determination. But how this contest of moral forces will end, especially in view of Germany's tremendous material reserves, upon which it has expended and continues to expend such enormous efforts, is a question which **cannot be faced without misgiving**."

The German national socialists are adopting every measure necessary to cause a war, and they want to provoke war as soon as they have completed their war preparations.

This sharpening of the situation, especially as revealed in the monstrous war incitement of the German newspapers, is a serious warning to the international proletariat to hasten with its preparations, to close its ranks in united action against war and fascism. Time presses. We must act quickly if we wish to prevent the outbreak of imperialist war.

### Solidarity Action for the Spanish Fighters

Amsterdam, November 3.

The unemployed of **Rotterdam** have sent a delegation to the Spanish Consul, with a protest with 225 signatures, against the Terror in Spain. The delegation was received personally by the Spanish Ambassador, who undertook to convey the protest to the Spanish government.

## Tenth Anniversary of the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations Between France and the Soviet Union

By Karl Radek

When ten years ago the government of France led by *Eduard Herriot* recognised the Soviet government and established normal diplomatic relations with it, this meant the formal liquidation of a policy whose culmination had been armed intervention against the Soviet government. However, the recognition of the Soviet government by France did not reflect any fundamental change in the policy of the French bourgeoisie, which had still not yet realised that the old Russia had gone for ever and that it was not possible to pursue a reasonable policy without taking into account the fact of the existence of Soviet Russia, and not only that fact, but the permanence of it. The French bourgeoisie refused to face facts and for a very long time after formal recognition had been given to the Soviet government the former still hoped for the collapse of the latter. It banked on the undoubted difficulties facing the Soviet government and hoped that these difficulties would compel the Soviet government to compensate the French bourgeoisie for previous historical unpleasantness. Although the course of events had forced the franc down to a fifth of its original value, the French bourgeoisie still thought that it was entitled to hope for something better from history in the East of Europe.

Because the French bourgeoisie was unable to reconcile itself with the final victory of the October Revolution in Russia it was unable to show any foresight and to seek that which would assist in making the relations between the two great countries fruitful to both sides, and as a result the relations between the two countries were fruitless for many years, consisting chiefly of barren and baseless accusations against the Soviet government and pointless intrigues which in fact played into the hands of the enemies of France. Unprofitable as this policy was, it was still possible so long as the French bourgeoisie could maintain its position as undisputed victor of 1918 and hold the hegemony of capitalist Europe. It became impossible from the moment when German imperialism began to increase in strength and to strive after the restoration of its former power. The French bourgeoisie was then compelled to examine the situation in Europe a little more carefully and to ask itself in all seriousness whether the position of France was really secure enough. The answer to the latter question had to be a frank negative.

France won the war with the assistance of Tsarist Russia, Great Britain, Italy and the United States. Tsarist Russia no longer existed. Since the end of the war deep differences had arisen between France and Italy. Great Britain aspired to its old position of arbitrator in Europe and not only did it want an appreciable return for such services, but its attitude seriously hampered French policy. The United States had abandoned all direct intervention in European affairs, and as far as it did take any interest in European affairs it supported Germany with loans. France had created a system of military alliances in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe, but even taking the most optimistic view that none of the members of this system would show any signs of disloyalty to the system, many serious French experts harboured doubts about the real strength and about the future of some of the members of the system owing to the fact that they were torn with inner political antagonisms and undermined by economic crises.

This was the situation in Europe which compelled the more realistic and far-seeing representatives of the French bourgeoisie to re-examine their negative attitude towards the policy which *Eduard Herriot* proposed in relation to the Soviet Union. A number of prominent and influential French politicians began to realise that it was not only bad policy to ignore a palpable force like the Soviet Union, but that it would be good policy to seek a rapprochement with the Soviet Union in the interests of European peace. *Herriot's* policy ceased to be exclusively the cause of the democratic petty-bourgeoisie and it began to find supporters in French right-wing political circles. The clearest indication of this change was seen in the attitude of *Barthou*, the friend of *Poincaré* and the representative of the latter's policy at the conference of Genoa. The immediate results of this alteration in the policy of the French bourgeoisie were the conclusion of the *pact of non-aggression between France and the Soviet Union* and the co-operation of the two countries in an effort to stabilise the situation in North-Eastern Europe.

It would be wrong, however, to forget that this new policy is still meeting with opposition amongst certain sections of the French bourgeoisie, and that the amount of support it enjoys in right-wing and left-wing French political circles varies considerably. If one examines the sources of the resistance to the policy of rapprochement with the Soviet Union one finds *three main tendencies* which are hostile to it.

The *first* of these tendencies is to be found amongst those right and left-wing circles which are of the opinion that France is not in a position to offer any serious resistance to imperialist Germany's expansionism and that therefore France must come to some agreement with Germany which will have the effect of directing this expansionism towards the East rather than towards the West. The articles and books written in support of this view do not always express themselves so clearly, it is true, but when a little thought is given, say to the book of *Souarez* or to that of *Debrinon*, it will be seen clearly that the above is a very fair definition of their real attitude.

The official attitude towards this proposal has been given very clearly in a recent statement by the famous French foreign political expert, *Pertinax*, in the "*Echo de Paris*," the mouthpiece of the French General Staff:—

"It is not necessary to repeat that Europe is in a position of great danger. The course of events prove this clearly enough. Our efforts must be directed towards the maintenance of peace. Must we come to an agreement with the Hitler regime for this purpose? To do so would be to indulge in an intrigue without fruitful prospects but with certain dangers. The Hitler regime in Germany is a state of permanent mobilisation. In order to come to any agreement with Germany we should have to declare: Our interests end at the Rhine; you can do what you like in Central and Eastern Europe. Such a policy would lead to the complete isolation of France as against the Hitler regime which has numerous satellites. One can easily imagine the results of such a policy."

The last sentence is perfectly true. Such a policy would immediately strengthen all those tendencies in *Yugoslavia*, *Rumania* and *Poland* which are opposed to alliance with France. One of the main arguments used by *Mackiewicz*, *Radziwill* and *Sapieha* in support of their pro-German tendencies in Poland is that in any case France will not be able to offer any serious resistance to Germany's expansionism and that it would therefore be better for Poland to come to an agreement with Germany on its own rather than wait until it is the victim of German aggression, particularly as in such an eventuality Poland would not be able to reckon on any serious support from France. A favourite description for this policy used by its supporters is that "We must turn the swine round so that its snout points towards the south." The expression is not a literary one and I must reject responsibility for it, but it is forceful enough.

The Soviet Union has no direct interests in the Basin of the Danube or in the Balkans and in consequence it would be much easier for the Soviet Union to accept such a policy, for it would lose no allies thereby. And as far as any threat to the Soviet Union from the South-East on the part of German imperialism is concerned, this is a somewhat remote contingency, for the district in question is a morass which will not lend itself readily to the construction of concrete trenches. However, as far as France is concerned, *Pertinax* is absolutely right when he declares that such a policy would completely undermine the French positions and offer a comfortable opportunity for German expansionism both to the East and to the West.

The *second* tendency is that represented by *Berny* in the "*Journal des Débats*" and by *Bienville* in the "*Action Française*." It opposes the idea of French capitulation and demands a fight against German expansionism. This tendency seriously surveys the relation of forces and calls for a strengthening of the relations of France to Great Britain, Italy and to the allies of France. At the same time it rejects the Soviet Union as a factor in the maintenance of peace on account of its revolutionary character. It declares that any rapprochement with the Soviet Union must inevitably lead to the strengthening of the revolutionary crisis in France itself. Let us take a look at these arguments.

A *rapprochement between France and Great Britain* would undoubtedly represent a very important factor from the standpoint of stabilisation in South-Eastern Europe. However, the fact is that until quite recently Great Britain has insisted on playing its old role of arbitrator in European affairs whilst practically it



has supported Germany. However, a certain change has taken place in Great Britain owing to increasing anxiety concerning Germany's air policy. A section of those in favour of rapprochement with France, whose attitude is best expressed by the well-known foreign political expert *Scrutator* of "*The Sunday Times*," declares that Great Britain must limit its intervention in European affairs to a defence of French territory and ignore every other consideration. This policy means in the last resort that France must abandon its position as a European power and content itself with defending its vineyards.

However, it is clear that Great Britain could not mark time on this basis, for if Great Britain fears the appearance of a German air fleet in the West, it would have to oppose it even if it appeared in the West as the result of a conflict which had broken out in the East or South-East of Europe. What policy of France can lead Great Britain to abandon its isolationist tendencies and to cooperate in the establishment of a system which will consolidate the peace of Europe? Only a policy which avoids any exclusive dependence of France on British assistance. To this end France must strengthen those connections which it already possesses and establish new ones.

*The way to strengthen the connections between France and its allies is to strengthen France and to strengthen its connection with such a powerful factor for peace as the Soviet Union.* Berny and Bienville warn the French government against a policy which might force France to choose between Poland and the Soviet Union. If Poland really wishes to strengthen the stability of Eastern Europe then it must welcome the rapprochement between France and the Soviet Union, for under such circumstances the rapprochement between France and the Soviet Union would strengthen its own position. On the other hand, should those tendencies in Poland get the upper hand which are of the opinion that Poland must throw in its lot with the powers which are working for an alteration of the territorial status quo in Europe, then Poland will be at loggerheads with France in any case. Neither in one case nor the other will France be called upon to choose.

With regard to the influence likely to be exerted on the internal situation in France by a rapprochement between France and the Soviet Union we may confine ourselves to pointing out the following facts. The revolutionary ferment which is at present affecting the whole of the capitalist world is the result of deep and growing contradictions within the capitalist system itself. For years the ideologists of capitalism contended that the Soviet Union must collapse because a proletarian revolution could effect nothing in an agricultural country and that its only chance was in the countries of highly developed capitalism. The same ideologists are now trying to convince themselves and the world that if there had been no proletarian revolution in Russia there could be none in any of the capitalist countries. These people are trying to pretend that the popularity of the Soviet Union amongst the masses of the people in all capitalist countries is due to the policy of rapprochement lately pursued by many capitalist countries towards the Soviet Union. Merely to express this idea clearly is sufficient to expose its absurdity. The Soviet government does not interfere in the internal affairs of other countries. At the same time the Soviet Union is not inhabited by deaf-mutes and blind men; on the contrary, it is inhabited by people who have keen eyes for the tendencies of historical development and they have no reason to conceal the direction of their social sympathies.

We in the Soviet Union do not fear that a rapprochement between us and those capitalist States which wish to maintain the peace of Europe will strengthen the bourgeois tendencies within the Soviet Union, and the representatives of powerful bourgeois States must be in a sad state when they tremble at the idea that a joint policy of peace with the Soviet Union would weaken their bourgeoisie. And if they think that the bourgeoisie whose interests they defend would be strengthened by a disastrous war accelerated as the result of a short-sighted and timid policy, naturally we cannot help them. Whom the Gods wish to destroy they first drive mad, declared the classic dramatists. We believe in neither God nor Gods, but we are well aware that madness is a very usual phenomenon with declining social classes who have been doomed to death by history.

The third tendency which opposes a rapprochement between France and the Soviet Union arises from the fear that it might embroil France in a Far Eastern war. The Soviet government regards the dangers of war as historical tendencies, and not as contingencies inevitably decreed by fate. We have never con-

cealed our opinions about the war dangers invoked by the fascist-military cliques in Japan, but we have never held the opinion that war between Japan and the Soviet Union is inevitable. The policy of the Soviet Union both in the Far East and in Europe is not directed towards securing allies for an inevitable war, but towards strengthening all possible factors which make for the consolidation of peace. The consolidation of stabilisation in Europe does not mean an intensification of the danger of war in the Far East; on the contrary, it means the diminution of that danger. And in the same way the rapprochement between the Soviet Union and France would not mean an alliance for a war against Germany, but an indication to the more reasonable elements in fascist Germany that should the latter risk a war it would be risking its own head and that therefore it would be more reasonable to seek peaceable means to alleviate the situation of Germany rather than to plunge blindly into a doubtful war. For this reason the Soviet Union is not afraid that a rapprochement with France would embroil it in a war over the fate of Austria or Czechoslovakia. The Soviet Union desires a rapprochement with France and with all other powers in order to consolidate the peace of the world. Only on the basis of peace can those peoples who are in a particularly pressing situation seek an outlet, in so far that as such an outlet is at all possible in declining capitalist society.

The Soviet government is not a signatory to the *Versailles Treaty*. However, one must look facts in the face. What is left of the Versailles Treaty to-day? The provisions of the Versailles Treaty which burdened the masses of the people most heavily, namely the *reparations*, have already disappeared. The provisions which prohibit Germany's rearmament and which the German bourgeoisie considers as the most onerous discrimination do not move us unduly. Our aim is to persuade all States to join in the work of consolidating peace and thereby to make possible a *reduction of the burden of armaments* which presses heavily on all peoples. In any case, the complaints of the German bourgeoisie against discrimination in the question of armaments are absurd for the simple reason that Germany long ago rejected in practice all those armament limitations imposed by the Versailles Treaty. All that is left of the provisions of Versailles is the territorial provisions.

We were never at any time in the least enthusiastic about the territorial provisions of the Versailles Treaty, but we do not believe that the re-distribution of Europe which German imperialism would like to carry out would be in any way juster. When the States of Europe have made war more difficult and its consequences more dangerous and problematical then there will be time to think of measures to diminish the existing national antagonisms. At the moment any appeal to the national question in Europe is nothing but a cloak for fascist war-mongering and a pretext for war.

On the tenth anniversary of the establishment of normal diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and France the peoples of the Soviet Union are openly in favour of *the further consolidation of these relations and in favour of close co-operation with France against the danger of war* and for the consolidation of the peace of the world. The closer the relations between the two countries become and the clearer and more definite their joint actions for the impeding of war become, then the more secure will peace be maintained both in Europe and in the Far East. *The rapprochement between France and the Soviet Union can be made into one of the most powerful diplomatic instruments for the consolidation of the peace of the world.*

## The Australian Elections

By L. Sharkey (Sydney, Australia)

The Australian elections have resulted in a victory for the **United Australia Party**, led by the ex-Labour Party Treasurer, **Joseph Lyons**, who severed his connection with the Labour Party in 1932 in order to form a government in conjunction with the Nationalist Party on the model of the National Government in Great Britain.

The U.A.P. fought the elections on the slogan of sane government and a "careful" policy that would restore confidence and gradually pave the way to "climbing out of the depression." Due largely to the increased prices for the Australian wool crop of the previous season which led to an improvement in the position of capitalist economy, the Lyons Party was able to utilise the fact that the lowest point of the depression had been passed and contrast this with the condition under the Labour Government of 1931-32.

The instability of the situation of capitalist economy was well enough shown by Lyons' statement that he felt "we were approaching a new crisis" and his outline of the calamitous position of the small farmers, particularly wheat growers, when he indicated that the incoming government would need to subsidise the "efficient" ("kulaks") farmers whilst 25,000 were so weighted down with mortgages, etc., that they were no longer of use to capitalism on the land. In industry also, the U.A.P. promised to subsidise the capitalists, but made no reference to restoration of the many and severe cuts made in the workers' wages; wages restorations are to depend on the mythical "climb out of the depression." For the unemployed, an extension of the relief works system now in operation, which is to be taken over by the Federal Government, as, according to Lyons, the State administrations are no longer able to finance the relief work schemes and an extension of the "forest camps," that is, of unemployed who have been compulsorily drafted into the country to work at re-afforestation.

It will be noted at once that the newly-elected government offers little prospect of an easing of the position of the workers and small farmers, on the contrary, its policies must lead to an intensification of the class struggle.

The Lyons Government is likewise a government of war preparations. It has undertaken a programme for the reconditioning and development of the armed forces, for which large sums have been ear-marked and the bourgeois press laid it down that Lyons must be elected in order to push on with the "defence" programme.

A renewal of the attacks on the Communist Party and on the militant organisations is also a part of the programme of the U.A.P.; preparations for which are to be seen in the Crimes Amendment Act of the Federal Government and the Disloyal Organisations Bill which the N.S.W. Parliament is about to enact.

The Labour Party fought the election with its main slogan, the "nationalisation of banking," around which it waged a demagogic campaign against the "financial sharks" who "were responsible for artificially creating the crisis," together with a demand that the "Roosevelt Plan" be adopted by Australian capitalism. The combined Labour factions, however, were unable to rally a majority, but were able to recover some of the ground lost in the landslide of 1931, which followed the betrayal of the masses by the Scullin Labour Government when it authorised the Premiers' Plan with its severe wage cuts. The social-fascists, however, were able to regain 10 seats between the two factions. The Lang Labour Party increased its representation from 5 to 9 seats, several of which it captured from the Federal Labour Party. The Lang Party is at present confined to N.S.W., and all its attempts to get control of the A.L.P. machine in other States have so far been frustrated by the Scullinites. The question of unity between the two Labour Parties is on the agenda of the forthcoming All-Australian Trade Union Congress. There was little to distinguish their policies in the elections, both advocating "socialisation of credit," the chief difference being that the Langites used much more extravagant language and were more generous with election promises to all and sundry.

A feature of the elections was the support accorded to the followers of Major Douglas, who received some 150,000 votes. Even the bourgeois press recognises this as an expression of the discontent in the ranks of the petty bourgeoisie and the "white collar" employees. It certainly was not based on an understanding of whatever Douglasism means, as hardly two Douglas speakers agree as to what Douglas Credit means and spend a deal of their time repudiating each other's statements and, when pressed, quite calmly disown the writings of Major Douglas also. The Communists in future must pay more attention to the elements represented by the Douglas vote.

The Communist Party recorded a very considerable advance on its figures and campaign of 1931, when its candidates entered the elections for the first time after a severe internal struggle against the Right-wing, which was opposed to standing candidates in opposition to the Labour Party. On that occasion the recorded vote for the Communist Senate candidates was 30,000; in the present election it is approximately 75,000 recorded votes. On this occasion there was an extremely large informal vote, due to the complicated preferential voting system recently introduced for the Senate. The Party scrutineers reported a very large percentage of spoiled votes for our Senate candidates, which is verified by the much larger votes for our candidates for the House of Representatives as compared with those recorded in the same electorates for the Senate

candidates. The poll for the Party can therefore be placed somewhat higher than what the recorded figures would indicate.

Whilst the Party campaign was still very weak and its agitation suffering from a whole number of shortcomings, we did succeed in reaching larger sections of the masses than previously, despite the fact that wireless had largely replaced meetings on the streets and in halls so far as the bourgeoisie and the Labour Parties were concerned. A further handicap with which the Party had to contend was the extremely bad weather conditions.

Perhaps the most important feature of the election was the changed attitude of the masses toward the Communist Party. In previous elections the Communists had to contend with hostility and prejudice on the part of the rank and file of the Labour Party, who were incited against the C.P.A. by the campaign of the A.L.P. leaders accusing the Communists of being paid by the capitalists to split the workers' vote and similar slanders. On this occasion there was not the slightest hostility from the workers. On the contrary, at the most important factories and meetings, the Communists were greeted by handclapping and applause, even from workers who undoubtedly voted for the Labour Party from motives of tradition, etc. Our second preference vote from these workers is, unquestionably, a big one.

The contributions from the factories toward the expenses of the Party's election campaign is also an index of the feeling of the workers towards the Communist Party. In some factories the donations to the Communist funds were greater than those to the reformists, and were uniformly good. The election expenses were subscribed in the electorates contested. The support from the miners for the Communist Party was a feature of the elections. In electorates including mining areas the Party polled its biggest vote, the next highest being from the canefields, where there was a successful strike recently, led by the militants. The Party is following up the election campaign with a series of rallies in Sydney and Melbourne with a programme of how to develop the struggle against the capitalists now the elections are over. The first of these has been held in Sydney and was a great success, attracting about 8,000 workers to the meeting who gave the speakers an enthusiastic hearing. The bourgeois press has preserved a graveyard silence on the Communist election results, refusing to make an estimation, whilst the reformist press attempts to pooh-poo the Communist gains by writing about the "decisive defeat of the minorities." The struggle between the revolutionary movement and the reformists for the working class is intensifying on all sides. In the Miners' Union the most important positions were captured by the Minority Movement in the last union elections, namely, the General Secretaryship and Presidency, Orr and Nelson, President of the Northern Branch, J. Jack, and President of the Wonthaggi Branch, Idris Williams, as well as a number of minor positions. The Lang Labour Party Executive is nominating and endorsing candidates to "free the miners from Communist domination" and has unloosed a vicious campaign of lying and slandering.

The return of the Lyons Government means a further attack on the Australian working class and an intensification of the class struggle. Great possibilities exist for the C.P. of A. to win new ground in the struggle for the masses, a task which is facilitated by the increased prestige of the Party consequent upon its election advance, which has undoubtedly impressed large numbers of workers.

## A New Stage in the Toleration of Henlein Fascism

By Karl Braun (Prague)

The "Sudetic German Home Front"—the movement formed by Konrad Henlein a year ago as a substitute for the dissolved Nazi Party—sent out a call for October 7 to celebrate the "Day of the People's Community" at Carlsbad. The Communists of West Bohemia had made tremendous efforts to carry through a joint anti-fascist counter-demonstration. They made an offer to the district leadership of the Social Democrats in West Bohemia to organise jointly this anti-fascist demonstration. At the same time the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia approached the German Social Democratic Executive Committee with the offer of a pact for a fight against Henlein fascism. Both these offers were rejected. The social democratic district leadership called a meeting in Carlsbad which was to be held near that of the home front. The C.P. of Czechoslovakia

called on the workers to take part in this meeting and convert it into a real anti-fascist fighting demonstration. Since actually a mighty anti-fascist counter-march was to be expected, the Carlsbad police, on the instruction of the Agrarian Home Minister, prohibited both meetings, and also that called by the social democratic government party.

The Home Front now tried to arrange a great fascist march in North Bohemia (Gablonz a.N.). Once again the "Socialist" Parties refused to organise a joint anti-fascist demonstration and announced a "Demonstration for Democracy." The Communist Party called a great anti-fascist meeting in a public square and developed great agitation for it in North Bohemia. Thereupon the police prohibited all demonstrations.

Now Henlein began direct negotiations with the Home Minister, the result of which was that he was permitted to organise a demonstration in **Bohemian-Leipa**, a small town in North Bohemia. It appeared from the official commentary that Henlein had given a binding declaration about his positive attitude to the Czechoslovakian Republic.

The news of the permission for the fascist parade in Bohemian-Leipa aroused great bitterness among the workers of North Bohemia. On the initiative of the Communists joint negotiations took place between them and the representatives of the German and Czech social democrats, the Czech national socialists and the ex-servicemen, who came to an agreement on the organising of a common anti-fascist counter-demonstration. When the "socialist" central authorities in Prague got wind of this, they intervened and forbade their functionaries in Bohemian-Leipa to announce the demonstration with the Communists. The same thing was to happen as in Carlsbad and Gablonz: by the announcement of a social democratic meeting, they would succeed once again in getting all demonstrations forbidden. Nevertheless, the social democratic functionaries held fast to the idea of a joint demonstration, and during the new negotiations with the Communist organisations an agreement on this was reached. Thereupon the Agrarian Home Minister intervened. He upheld the permission for the fascist march, forbade the holding of a demonstration by the Communists and demanded from the "socialist" party central committees the abandoning of all counter-demonstrations. Naturally the latter immediately complied with the demand of the strongest party in the coalition and forbade altogether any move on the part of their adherents against Henlein and any participation of any kind in a local anti-fascist demonstration called by the Communists.

Thanks to the intervention of the Agrarian Home Minister and the "socialist" central authorities, Henlein was able to hold his fascist demonstration undisturbed. Five hundred gendarmes protected his demonstration from the Communists, among whom many were arrested for distribution of anti-fascist leaflets.

About 20,000 followers of Henlein came to the fascist demonstration, brought to Bohemian-Leipa in eleven special trains, many omnibuses and private motor cars from all parts of the country—the large majority of them being members of the middle classes. The march and the demonstration were outspokenly fascist in character, both suggested a parade in the Third Reich.

In this typical national socialist atmosphere Konrad Henlein read a "constitutional declaration," in which he once again assured the Czech State of the loyalty of the Sudetic Home Front and its readiness for co-operation, forswore the Irredenta, recognised the frontiers of the State as unchangeable, came out against revision, laid down a "recognition of democracy," dissociated himself from Hitler, etc. It was a typical smoke-screen, as indeed the whole declarations of loyalty of the S.H.F. has only the aim of hiding the fact that it is the successor of the Nazi Party, whose policy it continues in a disguised form.

It is clear even to-day that Henlein has ensured for the present toleration and increased freedom of movement for the S.H.F. by his declaration of loyalty at Bohemian-Leipa. The Czech agrarians have warmly welcomed his declaration, and following their instructions, since Bohemian Leipa, the social democratic press also writes so guardedly about the S.H.F. that it is noticed with satisfaction in the "Rundschau," Henlein's weekly paper. Only the press of the Czech national socialist party—which belongs to the group inside the coalition which is in opposition to the agrarian-social-democratic alliance—in all its comments on Bohemian-Leipa brought out the close connection of the S.H.F. and the prohibited Nazi Party, although at the same time it de-

clared that State policy would have to reckon with the S.H.F. as the strongest German Party.

The decision of the Czech bourgeoisie—i.e., above all the agrarians—to tolerate the S.H.F., to recognise it so to speak, *de jure*, whereas up till now it had only been quietly tolerated, has also forced social democracy to make a change in its attitude towards the S.H.F. This was very painful for the social democrats, because they feared Henlein's political competition, but apart from that they know that by doing this they will drive the social democratic workers away, for whom they have up to now carried on a lively paper fight against Henlein. The social democratic press tries to get out of the business by making out that the S.H.F. has no importance whatever and acting as if it is not worth while fighting against it. All the greater and more difficult is the task of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia of organising the common fight against the extraordinarily strengthened Henlein fascism, of building up a strong anti-fascist unity of action.

## Communist Successes at the Municipal Elections in Luxemburg

By Jean Kill (Luxemburg)

The municipal elections which took place in Luxemburg on October 14 and 21 resulted in successes for the Communist Party which even the bourgeois press was compelled to recognise. For the first time the Communist Party was able to make its way into the municipal councils.

In the industrial district of *Esch*, where in the municipal elections of 1928 the Communist Party polled only 1.4 per cent. of the total votes, it succeeded in gaining 10 per cent. this time, and Comrade *Zenon*, the secretary of the Party, was elected to the local council.

In the mining centre of *Ruemelingen* the victimised teacher, Comrade *Urbany*, was elected, whilst in Beles Comrade *Grandgenet*, the leader of the revolutionary trade union opposition, was elected. In the first round of the election Comrade *Grandgenet* polled 506 votes and won fifth place, but in the second round he polled 638 votes and took third place.

The Labour Party managed on the whole to retain its positions, but it is clear that this party has already reached the zenith of its possibilities.

The result of the municipal elections in *Esch* is a social-democratic and Communist majority on the local council, whereby our comrade holds the key position. This fact is the cause of anxiety both to the bourgeoisie and to the social-democratic leaders. The government organ has openly called for action to "make it impossible for the Communist to play this role." The fascist paper appeals to the government to "simplify the situation" by prohibiting the Communist Party.

The situation created as a result of the municipal elections, summed up by the bourgeois press in the words: "Marxism has maintained its positions and even strengthened them here and there," has already caused lively discussions in the bourgeois camp. Clericals and Liberals are quarrelling concerning the best tactics to be pursued in the circumstances. Efforts are being made to draw the social democrats into a coalition with the bourgeois parties in the municipal Councils and thus prepare the way for a larger coalition in parliament and the formation of a coalition government. Two days after the municipal elections the leaders of the Labour party betrayed their secret wishes when they announced that they would gladly be prepared to co-operate with the Clericals or with the Liberals in the councils.

The Communist Party has now opened up a mass campaign with the distribution of thousands of leaflets and the holding of many meetings under the slogan, "United Front with the Bourgeoisie or United Front with the Proletariat?" This campaign is being very well received by the masses of the workers. The open attempt of the leaders of the Labour party to curry favour with the leaders of the bourgeois parties which a day or so before they had termed "the deadly enemies of the working class" has produced indignation amongst the social-democratic and trade union workers.

Although this indignation found no expression at the congress of the Labour party which took place on October 28, the congress was nevertheless under pressure from the masses, whilst a mass demonstration which the Communist Party had organised on the

eve of the congress did not fail to have its effect. The leaders of the Labour party still felt themselves strong enough to reject once again the offer of a united front made by the Communist Party, but they did not dare to carry out their intention of asking the congress for authority to conclude a coalition with the bourgeois parties. However, there is no doubt that an influential section of the leaders of the Labour party are determined to conclude such a coalition even at the risk of disrupting the party. The apparatus of the party is almost completely in the hands of the so-called neo-socialists, but in the party itself there are unmistakable signs of the formation of a left-wing.

The Communist Party of Luxemburg is faced with great tasks. The recent municipal elections can to a certain extent be regarded as the close of one stage of the party development. In 1930 the

## Spain

# The Civil War in Spain and the International Proletariat

By Ercoli

When one considers the agitation and propaganda and the actions which have been carried out up to the present in the Communist press and by the Communist organisations in the various capitalist countries in connection with the events in Spain it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that our comrades do not yet understand what is happening in Spain and that they definitely underestimate the importance of the revolutionary events which took place there during the first weeks of October.

Above all, there are a number of urgent practical tasks which must be performed by the Communists and the revolutionary workers in all capitalist countries. First of all a great attempt must be made to hold back the hand of the executioner which threatens the lives of a group of the best revolutionary fighters in Spain. We must intervene at once with all possible energy in order to call a halt to the ruthless white terror which has been let loose against the revolutionary fighters by the white generals at the instructions of the reactionary government of Lerrox. By means of this terror the reaction hopes to drown the revolutionary movement in blood. It is particularly fierce in the provinces and against the heroic miners of Asturias, and everywhere the working population is still fighting with revolutionary determination against the reactionary forces.

The experience in this connection during the past few years makes our task clear. Our experience has shown us that the international solidarity of the proletariat *can* hold back the hand of the executioner, that this international solidarity of the proletariat is a force which fills even the most reactionary governments, even fascist governments, with fear. It was this force which secured the release of Comrade Dimitrov. We must now use this power for all it is worth to save our Spanish revolutionary comrades from the execution squads which threaten them with death.

There is no doubt that had the Labour and Socialist International accepted the proposal of the Communist International for a joint action on behalf of the Spanish workers it would have been possible to assist them more speedily and more effectively. The establishment of unity of action on an international basis and for an aim enthusiastically supported by the great mass of the toilers in all capitalist countries would have organised the forces and the elan of the broadest masses of the workers. We place the responsibility for preventing such an organised and united action on the shoulders of the leaders of the Second International.

However, we shall not remain passive ourselves on this account, but we shall do our utmost to organise the greatest possible mobilisation of the workers in defence of the revolutionary workers of Spain. We shall lead this action in co-operation with any and every working-class organisation which is prepared to join in it. The workers of Spain rallied their forces under the banner of unity of action and in a united front, they have fought a glorious struggle to hold back the forces of fascism and reaction. The workers of the whole world must now follow their example and organise a united front to assist their fellow workers in Spain.

The aims of our struggle are clear: *Our first task is to prevent the execution of the death sentences which have been passed on a*

Communist Party in Luxemburg was little more than a small group of revolutionary workers, most of them foreign-born, and it had no representation on any public body. In the four years which have passed since then the Party has succeeded in winning for itself a solid minority of the Luxemburg workers and it has further succeeded in winning representation on numerous public bodies, in the factory councils, in the health insurance committees, in the labour chambers, in parliament and on the municipal councils.

The Communist Party will continue its struggle to win the broad masses of the workers in Luxemburg, to develop into a real mass Party and to create a strong and popular Communist press. The united front tactic of the Communist Party, its plain language and its good trade union work have already succeeded in winning the respect and confidence of many social-democratic workers.

*score of heroic workers and peasants who fought with arms in their hands against fascism.* A section of the Spanish bourgeoisie is already hesitating and beginning to demand that the death sentences should be commuted. However, this fact must not cause us to diminish our struggle. This hesitation on the part of a section of the Spanish bourgeoisie is caused in part by the fear that the executions might provoke a new outbreak of mass anger and mass action. In this situation, therefore, a powerful international action of working-class solidarity is more necessary than ever. The Spanish bourgeoisie must be made to feel that the whole of the international working class will hold it responsible for the lives of the revolutionary workers who are now in its power. Every possible means of mass action must be used in the campaign to rescue our comrades.

*We must demand that the terror in Asturias is stopped at once, that the regime of martial law is called off and that the courts-martial are dissolved.* The news coming from Spain, and in particular from Asturias, is frightful. The whole of the working population of Asturias has been placed outside the law. A man hunt is up against the revolutionary workers and they are being hounded down mercilessly with all the weapons of modern warfare. Those revolutionary workers who are still holding out in the mountains are being hard pressed, and everyone who is suspected of having taken part in the revolutionary movement, or even of having sympathised with it, is in danger. The working masses of France, Great Britain, Czechoslovakia, the Scandinavian countries, Switzerland and the United States must and can secure that this reign of terror is stopped.

*We must compel the authorities in all capitalist countries, and in particular in France, to grant the right of asylum to all those Spanish revolutionaries who succeed in crossing the frontier.*

And finally, we must collect funds to assist the thousands of imprisoned workers and their families and to support the dependents of those heroic workers and peasants who have fallen in the struggle.

Never before has the international solidarity of the proletariat had such a broad field of action for its activities. Never before were the tasks of international proletarian solidarity so immediate, so urgent and so tremendous as they are to-day. Every hour lost may mean the lives of heroic Spanish workers.

Are all our tasks summed up in this action of relief? Can the Communist advance guard of the working class rest content with the fulfilment of these tasks? No, our fundamental task is to make clear the *political problem* of the Spanish revolution to the broad masses of the workers in all capitalist countries, to make them understand the tremendous importance of the revolutionary events in Spain for the international proletariat and for the great masses of the toilers in all capitalist countries.

A revolutionary movement has been proceeding in Spain for the past four years and the outbreak of open revolutionary activity on the part of the Spanish masses in the first weeks of October can be understood therefore only in connection with the whole development of the Spanish revolution and on the basis of the revolu-



tionary experience of the working masses of Spain since 1931. The immediate occasion which sent the workers of Spain on to the streets with arms in their hands, which provoked the armed insurrection, which took place immediately after the formation of the Lerroix government, was the threat to establish a completely fascist dictatorship in Spain, and it was to prevent this that the Spanish workers took up arms. The recent struggles of the workers of Spain were therefore closely connected with the struggle of the proletariat and of the great masses of the toilers in all capitalist countries against fascism; they were an integral part of that struggle. The working masses of Spain were fighting on another sector of the same front as the German, French, Austrian, Italian and British workers against fascism. The experience of the Spanish workers in this struggle is of immediate importance for the international proletariat. This is particularly the case because the revolutionary actions in Spain took place along highly developed revolutionary lines.

We have not yet learned the full details of the general strike which took place throughout Spain and of the character of the mass struggles which took place all over the country. However, the news which has come through to us was sufficient to show us that in various districts the general strike developed into an insurrection of the Spanish masses. The aim of this insurrection was the seizure of power on behalf of the workers and peasants, and we know that in one working-class centre, in Asturias, the struggle of the workers led to the seizure of power by the working-class organisations and the formation of a *revolutionary workers' and peasants' government*.

This fact demonstrates clearly that, on the basis of their experience since 1931 and on the basis of the experience of the international struggle of the proletariat against fascism, considerable sections of the Spanish workers and peasant masses have clearly realised that the struggle of the working-class and peasant masses against fascism must develop into a struggle for political power if fascism is to be finally defeated. It was this clear realisation which generated the determination, the enthusiasm and the heroism of the Spanish workers and peasants in their struggle.

Was there any real chance of success for a struggle for power? The discussion on this point is of the greatest possible international importance to-day. Following on the armed struggles of the Austrian workers last February, the social-democratic leaders carried on a campaign with a view to demoralising the workers and they sought to prove on the basis of the February experiences in Austria that it was not possible to hold up the march of fascism by revolutionary mass action. This campaign is still proceeding at full blast, and there is no doubt that the social-democratic leaders will exploit the events in Spain in order to support their contention that when fascism has rallied its forces the revolutionary struggle of the workers and peasants for power has no chance of success. *However, the revolutionary events in Spain prove the exact contrary.*

In Asturias, the most important industrial district in Spain, the struggle of the masses took on the form of a mass insurrection of the workers and peasants for the seizure of power and it did succeed in fact in defeating the forces of reaction which were represented in the field by a modern army with all the latest technical means of warfare at its disposal. The Spanish regular forces were repulsed and then held in check for fourteen days, and during these fourteen days the power was completely in the hands of the mass organisations of the workers and peasants. These organisations formed revolutionary committees and Soviets. They proclaimed the Republic of the Spanish workers, peasants and soldiers. They organised a Red Army, expropriated the rich landowners, and took the first political and economic measures necessary for the organisation of the power of the workers and peasants and its defence. The news at our disposal shows that the organs, established by the revolutionary power, enjoyed not only the support of the organised workers and peasants, but also of the broad masses of the toiling population, including the petty-bourgeoisie in the towns.

The Spanish bourgeoisie, badly shaken by this temporary success of the workers' and peasants' revolution, has now organised a campaign of bloody terror and reprisals against the glorious Commune of Asturias. Not only that, but it is also organising a campaign of slander and lies against the heroic workers and peasants in order to persuade the world that the workers and peasants used the power in their hands to commit acts of vandalism and barbarity. In reality the vandalism and barbarism was committed by

the Spanish bourgeoisie with its bombing aeroplanes and its artillery which have reduced half of Oviedo to ruins.

The workers and peasants of Asturias set up a revolutionary order and they defended it with their lives. The fact that the workers and peasants of Asturias planted the red flag of the Commune, of the proletarian power, of the Soviets and of the October Revolution, and that they rallied round it and defended it to the last is one of paramount importance for the whole of capitalist Europe. It is a demonstration of how widely the "idea of revolutionary offensive" has captured the masses of the workers and peasants, and it demonstrates to the working masses of Europe that it is possible to defeat fascism with the revolutionary mass struggle. It demonstrates once again to the workers of the world that the victory of the proletarian revolution and the organisation of the proletarian power is a practical possibility.

This great lesson, the most important lesson of the recent events in Spain, will not have been taught in vain. There is no doubt that this new demonstration of the power of the proletariat will spur on the bourgeoisie to intensify its reactionary offensive against the workers and peasants, and to seek salvation more and more in the open fascist dictatorship in order to defend and maintain its privileges and power, but at the same time it will spur on the workers and peasants to intensify their struggle for bread, for the defence of their class interests and for the seizure of power.

Why was the success of the proletarian attack confined to Asturias? Why did it last such a short time only? Why was it not possible to win the victory over fascism throughout Spain?

The chief reason was *the treachery of the anarchist leaders* to the revolutionary movement. In Asturias the anarchist workers fought shoulder to shoulder with the Communist and socialist fellow workers, but the anarchist leaders sabotaged the movement wherever they could. Their objective role was that of infamous tools of the counter-revolution, of the clerical-reactionary Lerroix government. The vile treachery of the anarchist leaders has branded them once and for all as traitors to the working class in the eyes of the international proletariat. In *Barcelona*, where the influence of the anarchists is strongest, the anarchist leaders not only sabotaged the revolutionary movement, but they openly opposed it with all possible means. They took up their positions on the other side of the barricade and made common cause with the troops of the reaction.

Had not the anarchist leaders committed this treachery the workers and peasants would have succeeded in seizing power not only in Asturias, but also in Catalonia. Catalonia would have developed, like Asturias, into a powerful bulwark of the revolutionary movement and the armed forces of the reaction would have been caught in the iron pincers of the two great industrial areas of Spain. They would have inevitably suffered defeat and the reactionary Lerroix government would have fallen and in its place would have come the victory of the proletarian power throughout Spain.

The Spanish anarchist leaders were active instruments of the counter-revolution and the judgment of Marxism on anarchism has been once again vindicated. The anarchist leaders who betrayed the revolutionary movement and who are in consequence responsible for the wave of bloody terror which is at present scourging the workers and peasants of Spain have earned the hatred and contempt of the working masses all over the world.

Had not the anarchist leaders betrayed the workers, the revolutionary mass struggle of the Spanish workers and peasants would have overthrown the reaction. When we make this statement we have no intention of glossing over the serious mistakes which were made in the political preparation of the movement by the leaders of the *Spanish Socialist Party* and of the *Spanish reformist trade unions*. The greatest error was that in the political preparation of the movement no attempt was made to draw those elements into the movement which would have guaranteed its success.

According to all reports the general strike was successfully carried out throughout the country, but with the exception of certain districts it was not accompanied by a parallel movement of the landworkers and the peasants. The great masses of the toilers in the rural areas were not drawn into the struggle in the way they should have been in accordance with its decisive importance. This failure permitted the reaction to concentrate its armed forces against the industrial areas, and in particular against Asturias, and a further result of this failure was that the cases of mutiny and refusal to obey orders, which took place in the Spanish army

(which consists chiefly of the sons of peasants) remained isolated incidents. To-day the workers and peasants of Spain are suffering for the refusal of the socialist leaders to bring up the question of the seizure and distribution of the land of the rich landowners, that is to say, the failure to connect up the struggle of the industrial workers with the struggle of the landworkers and the peasant masses for the carrying out of a thorough agrarian revolution.

The leaders of the Spanish socialists have always opposed any revolutionary solution of the agrarian problem. They were always opposed to the seizure of the big estates. In June of last year, when half a million landworkers entered into a great struggle for their demands, the socialist leaders refused a proposal of the Communist Party for a big action of solidarity on the part of the industrial workers on the basis of a united front. Only quite recently, after the Communists had joined the "Workers' and Peasants' Alliance," was the agrarian problem raised in a revolutionary sense in the workers' organisations. From the beginning of the open revolutionary movement in 1931 down to the recent events the Communists were the only ones who demanded and fought for a revolutionary solution of the agrarian problem. To-day the socialist workers are paying dearly for the mistakes of their leaders in this connection.

A second great mistake made by the socialist leaders was that up to the very last moment they consistently refused to agree to the formation of a really all-in fighting front of all the toilers against the reaction. They insisted that their own organisations, the socialist party and the reformist unions, were sufficient for all purposes whilst at the same time these organisations did not embrace great masses of the workers and peasants and great masses of the urban petty-bourgeoisie. These masses could have been won and organised for the struggle together with the industrial proletariat only on the basis of a broad united front movement, a movement which the Communists insistently demanded and worked for. The "Workers' and Peasants' Alliance" should not have confined itself to the socialist party and the trade unions, as the socialist leaders demanded, but should have developed into a broad movement on a democratic basis, organising all anti-fascist elements without exception. Only such a reorganisation of the "Workers' and Peasants' Alliance," as demanded by the Communists after their entry into it, could have secured the participation of the whole of the working people in the October struggles and prepared the whole country for the formation of Soviets, as the organs of the revolutionary struggle, and later as the organs of the power of the victorious workers and peasants. It was not an accident that from the beginning the movement in Asturias took on a broad character and embraced the masses of the toiling people, for it was in Asturias that the Communist Party exercised most influence. In Asturias professional men of all sorts, doctors, professors and other intellectuals and big sections of the petty-bourgeoisie stood shoulder to shoulder with the workers and peasants in the fight for power and the establishment of a Soviet government. In *Madrid*, where the decisive influence was in the hands of the socialists, this was not the case and the movement had not the same broad mass character. The result was that the Lerroux government was not directly threatened by an armed revolt in the capital and had a comparatively free hand to organise its forces and hurl them against revolutionary Asturias. From this point of view also the socialist workers are now suffering for the sectarian and narrow-minded policy of their leaders and for their lack of revolutionary élan.

These were the two fundamental errors for which the leaders of the socialist party were responsible, but a number of other mistakes were also made. For instance, the necessity for energetic and widespread work in the army was not recognised and the socialist leaders denied the necessity of connecting up the struggle of the Spanish workers with the struggle of the colonial population against Spanish imperialism. The majority of the army obeyed the orders of the reaction, which was also able to mobilise the Foreign Legion and colonial troops against the heroic workers and peasants of Asturias and other districts. The reaction succeeded in transporting its troops from North Africa to Spain to crush the revolution. If the socialist leaders had pursued a revolutionary policy it would have been possible to deprive the reaction of the army and the colonial troops.

We must discuss these fundamental errors thoroughly and in a comradely fashion with the socialist workers in order to convince them that only the revolutionary policy, advocated by the

Communist Party, can lead to the victory of the proletarian revolution. It is not sufficient to declare that one is in favour of the dictatorship of the proletariat and in favour of armed insurrection, as a number of the socialist leaders have done during the last year in Spain. It is necessary to guarantee the victory of the armed insurrection by political and organisational measures. That is only possible if the socialist policy of disruption is abandoned completely, the policy which splits the ranks of the working class and refuses to face the tasks placed by the revolution. Socialist leaders who declare on the one hand that they are in favour of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of armed insurrection, but who on the other hand tolerate such traitors in their ranks as Besteiro, who maintained relations with the government throughout the armed struggle and held himself in readiness with his friends to crush the movement, can never lead the masses to victory because they were neither able nor prepared to carry out a really revolutionary Bolshevik policy.

The recent events in Spain have once again provided a *convincing object lesson of the international validity of Leninism and Bolshevism*. The victory of the revolution demands revolutionary strategy and revolutionary tactics. There are no revolutionary tactics and strategy outside the practice and theory of Bolshevism. After the Spanish revolution in 1930 the Spanish socialist leaders pursued the traditional social-democratic policy of co-operation with the bourgeoisie. They took part in the government and as members of the government they gave their approval to a series of measures which aimed at hemming the further development of the revolution and which resulted in preparing the way for fascism. When they were compelled to leave the government they declared under the pressure of the masses, who were growing increasingly discontented, that they were prepared to work for the development of the revolution up to the seizure of power, but they were, as we have seen, naturally unable to pursue a revolutionary policy.

The October struggles of the Spanish masses which revealed this incapacity of the socialist leaders by an acid test, represent a decisive stage in the development of the Spanish revolution. The working masses of Spain will learn from their experience. They will realise that a revolutionary victory can be won only by a *Bolshevik policy*. We can therefore say with confidence that a new and great period has now opened up in the history of the Spanish Communist Party.

The *Communist Party of Spain* was not only the sole working-class organisation which had a correct policy towards all the fundamental problems of the revolution, but it was also at the head of the working masses in their struggles in the October days. The red flag of the Communist Party waved victoriously over the barricades in Asturias and it was carried into the struggle by the most determined of the proletarian fighters of the glorious Commune of Asturias. All the revolutionary workers of Spain must now rally round this flag and the policy of our Party must be directed towards achieving this gathering of the revolutionary forces, towards achieving not only a united front of action, but also a broad and firm united front of all the forces of the revolution under the banner of the Communist International.

The Spanish revolution is still proceeding. The Spanish bourgeoisie is well aware that the workers and peasants have not suffered a final defeat, and the fear of further mass struggles has already made a section of the bourgeoisie hesitant. Despite the terror, the destruction, the death sentences and the executions, the torture of prisoners and the massacre of revolutionaries, the Spanish workers and peasants do not feel that they have been crushed. Their whole energies are directed to a reopening of the struggle. Our heroic Spanish Communist Party, which has now stood its test of fire gloriously, will succeed in placing itself at the head of the workers and peasants and in leading them to final victory.

However, the Communists and the other revolutionary workers of Spain must receive practical assistance from us in their struggle. The international solidarity of the proletariat and the international struggle of the proletariat to support the Spanish revolution must contribute practically to clearing the way for further mass struggles in Spain and to assisting the Spanish workers and peasants in their difficult struggle. The international solidarity of the proletariat must and will contribute to the defeat of fascism in Spain and bring the day of the final victorious struggle of the proletariat nearer both in Spain and in the rest of Europe.

## The Lessons of the Events in Spain

*"It will be only a question of time, however, for Marxism to reorganise. . . ."*

(*"Times,"* November 3. From its Madrid Correspondent.)

Owing to the telephone censorship, the wholesale arrests and imprisonments resulting from the savage campaign of vengeance carried out by the armed bands of the State, which threaten the best revolutionaries with death, we are receiving very little direct news from Spain. The counter-revolutionary news agencies are now having a good time. They are inundating the big bourgeois press with reports of atrocities alleged to have been committed by revolutionaries. This is the well-known, time-honoured method employed in order to rouse feeling against those who are fighting for freedom and in order to justify their wholesale slaughter. However, as the quotation at the commencement of this article shows, the revolution in Spain is by no means vanquished.

It is a fact, however, that for the moment the reaction has obtained the upper hand and is taking bloody vengeance. In the Spanish towns, in the country districts, in the mountains, workers and peasants are still being murdered. Those who have fallen into the hands of the victors after the end of the fighting are suffering inhuman torture in the overcrowded prisons. In the meantime, the courts-martial are working at full pressure and dealing out death sentences as fast as they can. It is intended to make an example of the insurgents in order to frighten the workers from any revolutionary struggles in the future.

In this situation it is the first duty of the international proletariat to come to the aid of the Spanish revolutionaries as speedily as possible. A campaign embracing workers, employees and intellectuals, meeting with a big response in the whole world and sounding like thunder in the ears of the Spanish jailers, must call a halt to the slaughter; stay the arm of the executioners, prevent the carrying out of the death sentences, put an end to the courts-martial, bring release to the imprisoned or at least a great amelioration of their condition. A strenuous collection campaign must provide the means in order that the relatives and dependents of the revolutionary fighters can be provided at least with the necessities of life. In the whole of Spain, everywhere where there has been fighting, the solidarity of the international proletariat must make itself felt.

But beyond this immediate solidarity action, the October fights in Spain confront the international proletariat with other very important tasks: in the first place it has to draw the lessons from these fights.

The Brussels *"Peuple,"* the organ of M. Vanderveide, has already drawn the lessons from the fighting in Spain in a leading article written by its foreign-political correspondent, who recently paid a visit to Spain. In view of the way in which the reaction was armed, the paper states, the insurrection was doomed to failure. The socialist leaders had already previously expressed this view to M. Sachse, the foreign-political correspondent of the *"Peuple."* For them the fight has been an inescapable disaster, a stroke of fate which they could not avert, although they were convinced beforehand that the insurrection was doomed to failure. As a matter of fact, the preconditions for a victory were present to a great extent. The Madrid Correspondent of the *"Times,"* in his report of November 3, confirms what was already known. He writes:—

*"It may even be doubted whether the Lerroux government would have gained the upper hand if the proletariat of Andalusia, Valencia, Estremadura and Aragon had been able to come out in force simultaneously with Catalonia and Asturias, or if the full strength of anarcho-syndicalism in Catalonia had broken loose."*

Yes, the anarchists! The *"Times"* correspondent attributes the defeat mainly to the sabotage of the fight by the anarchists. These gentlemen even make a boast of this. The anarchist trade union headquarters in Barcelona published an appeal which spoke of "fatal preparation and launching of the fight," in "which we have not taken part." It goes on to say: "Our organisation has remained intact. Apart from us there is no political 'Left' party in Spain to-day; the workers' organisations have melted away." One sees that these gentlemen now want to be paid their Judas reward: the privilege of continuing a legal existence! They may meet with success with the government, but not with the workers. The workers do not need the anarchist organisation, the less so

because the assertion that the workers' organisations have "melted away" is, fortunately untrue. They still exist.

The responsibility for the pessimistic assertions of the socialist leaders rests entirely with the "People." The facts show that there was no ground for such pessimism. It was due, *not to the strength* of the State power, but rather to the lack of unity of the working class if this time the reactionaries have won the upper hand.

It should be mentioned, by the way, that also after the February days in Vienna the social democracy maintained that it was impossible to wage an armed struggle against armed reaction. As against this, the Communist International proclaimed that the decisive factor was not the arming of reaction, but the united fighting determination of the working class. The Spanish events completely confirm the correctness of this thesis. If the Spanish workers had acted on it in good time, then the proletariat would have emerged victorious, and thereby not only saved democracy but set up a real workers' and peasants' rule. For the armed fight in Spain not only embraced far larger masses than in Austria, but it set itself higher aims. In those places where the proletariat was victorious *Soviets were immediately set up, a red militia formed, etc.*

The February fights in Austria tremendously promoted the united action of the proletariat on a world scale. If there had been no February in Austria there would have been no October in Spain. The fights of the Spanish proletariat must give a tremendous impetus to unity of action. All the events of the present time—not only the powerful struggles of the proletariat, but even the victories of fascism—point to the fact that capitalism is more and more shaken and cannot stabilise itself. Even the biggest victories of reaction do not bring any stabilisation, but, on the contrary, they prepare the ground for downright disastrous shakings of capitalism. And thus sooner or later tremendous fights are bound to break out everywhere: in the countries of so-called democracy and above all in the countries of fascist reaction. We must prepare for these fights. The example of the Spanish workers must fill us with fresh courage and confidence of victory, provided that we learn from their mistakes and from their fighting determination.

United front of action in every country, real united action, then we shall challenge reaction; we shall not only fight heroically but also be victorious.

## The Capture and Defence of Oviedo

The reactionary newspaper *"Estampa"* has published a particularly interesting report on the events in Oviedo. This report was written by a bourgeois inhabitant of Oviedo who volunteered as a medical assistant at one of the four field hospitals set up by the insurrectionaries in Oviedo. In this way the writer hoped to save his life and at the same time to inform himself accurately concerning the spirit of the insurrectionaries. Extracts from his report were published in the Madrid *"Heraldo"* on the 29th October. These extracts went through the hands of the censorship twice so that they can hardly be regarded as partial to the insurrectionaries.

### The Attack

The writer tells of the arrival of the miners at the gates of the town on the 6th October, and continues:—

*"On Sunday morning, the 7th October, they made their way into the town along the Magdalene Street, at the end of which the Town Hall is situated. They occupied the Town Hall without much difficulty, and they then began their march through the town."*

*"I watched them march through. It was an indescribable spectacle. The first of the men carried baskets with self-manufactured hand-grenades. With the shout: 'Forward, comrades!' they charged into the withering fire of the Civil Guards, who were barricaded in the building of the telephone headquarters. The others opened up rifle fire on the building. The men with the bombs took them one after the other from the baskets, lit the fuse with the ends of their cigarettes and hurled them at the building in which the Civil Guards were ensconced. The uproar was terrific. Everywhere wounded men were writhing on the ground and groaning."*

### "Patch Me Up So That I Can Fight On!"

The eye-witness then describes the attitude of the wounded revolutionaries:—

*"The wounded then began to come into the field hospital in*

which I was working, carried or supported by their less seriously wounded comrades.

"How many of you are there here?" I asked one of them who had a bullet in the arm.

"12,000," he answered, 'but there are 25,000 more in the mining district as a reserve and they will come up at the first word.'

"Do you hope to capture the town?" I asked.

"Naturally, we do, and it is only a question of hours," he replied.

"Have you got sufficient arms?" I asked.

"We have all we need," he answered, 'rifles, machine-guns and even artillery, millions of rounds of ammunition, hand-grenades, and fifty tons of dynamite.'

"What is your immediate aim?"

"We are concentrating on the Vega arsenal. This morning we took the artillery works at Trubia. As soon as we have mastered Oviedo we shall attack the barracks.'

"He answered my questions quite frankly and with that profound confidence which only firm and long-held convictions can give. He had nothing to hide and gave the impression that he was quite confident in the final victory of his side.

"Who is your leader?" I asked.

"Gonzales Pena," he answered. 'He is a brave man.'

Hours passed, and all the time the wounded continued to come in. A downright slaughter.

"Patch me up quickly," one of the wounded men demanded. 'Do me first. I want to get back. We must take the St. Clara Barracks. It's full of Civil Guards.'

"I looked at the man. He had a gaping wound on the side of his neck.

"You must go to bed," ordered the doctor.

"The man refused to go to bed and went off without attention. The next day he was dead in the roadway."

#### "We Are Proletarians and Not Thieves"

"A wounded man arrived, supported by a thin youngster with the face of a woman. He carried a rifle slung over his shoulder and bandoliers of cartridges. Turning to me, probably because I was nearest, he declared:—

"It is terrible."

"What is terrible?" I asked.

"Comrade Belarme has been shot. When he saw that we were not making as much progress as he would have liked with the Prefecture, he dashed forward, without cover, to bomb the place, and they shot him down with a volley.'

"Do you think," I asked, 'that your ideals are worth all that, all this slaughter?'

"We want nothing more than Communism," he answered.

"But don't forget, my friend," I pointed out, 'your attempt to establish Communism has collapsed everywhere else in Spain.'

"That was because the others didn't understand how to go about the business," he declared, unconvinced. 'We are not plunderers, or thieves or murderers. We are proletarians and our ideal is social equality. Only those who work shall be permitted to eat.'

#### The Confident Belief in the Final Victory

"The next morning aeroplanes dropped threatening leaflets over Oviedo: 'Either the rebels surrender immediately or the troops from Africa, which are besieging the town, will crush the revolt mercilessly.'

"But the hungry, wounded and exhausted workers refused to be convinced. They refused to believe that they had been defeated. They still spoke with the same enthusiasm and with the same confidence in their final victory as they had spoken on the first day.

"When we heard in our hospital that Bonifacio Martin had been shot dead, that Gonzales Pena had been compelled to fly and that Teodomiro Menendez had been taken prisoner, the wounded men still had strength enough to laugh at these 'scare stories.'

"And on the ninth day of the fighting, when the troops from Africa entered Oviedo as victors, the wounded men called out with enthusiasm to them under the impression that they were friends, as though they had gone over to the new regime. Only when the Legionaries came into the wards with their fingers on the triggers did the wounded men realise the real situation."

## Set Up the United Front of Solidarity in Support of the Heroic Fighting Spanish Workers

By W. T.

*Our correspondent, who has just returned from Spain, has sent us the following article on his impressions and on the organisation of relief for the victims of the Spanish counter-revolution.*

The bourgeois press of the whole world, which trembled when the news arrived of the powerful general strike and the armed fights in Spain, is now in a most jubilant mood. It speaks of the end of the fight and of a defeat of the working people of Spain. The fighting in Spain is not at an end, and the workers have not suffered a defeat. Having been in Spain during the strike and right up to the last few days, I am able to record with the greatest satisfaction that the fighting spirit of the working class is not broken. In Madrid, in Catalonia and in other districts a fighting spirit still prevails among the workers. In Asturias the fighting is still going on in spite of the most cruel terror. In this fight the Spanish workers have seen—and this is one of the lessons for the workers of all capitalist countries—what enormous strength lies in united action. Although the syndicalist and anarchist leaders betrayed the fight and called upon the workers to return to work, on the other hand we saw in Asturias how the anarchist and syndicalist workers fought with the same courage and the same devotion alongside of the Communist, social-democratic and non-party workers. And these facts will exercise the greatest influence on the development of real unity of action in Spain. In Barcelona and Madrid anarchist workers openly expressed their indignation at the treachery of their leaders.

Whilst there is no feeling of defeat among the workers, the bourgeoisie is in a state of constant fear that the fighting may break out afresh at any moment. The fact that the whole of Spain resembles an armed camp, that all the public buildings are still guarded, is certainly not an indication that the bourgeoisie considers itself the victor. All the armed forces are being held in constant readiness.

One of the most striking indications of the revolutionary spirit of the Spanish workers is the slogans which are to be seen all over the country, even on public buildings. In addition to "Long live Socialism!" "Long live unity of action!" one mostly sees "Long live Communism!" and "Long live the Soviets!" Of course, besides these slogans, to which in most cases the sickle and hammer is added, one reads "Down with the fascist Lerroux government!" and "Fight against the fascist Catholic Gil Robles!"

When the newspapers again appeared in Madrid they commenced a monstrous incitement against the insurgents, especially against the courageous workers of Asturias. The illustrated newspapers "A.B.C." and "Ahora" published pictures of buildings which have been destroyed by artillery fire, all of which was attributed to the revolutionaries, whilst at the same time government reports stated how towns and villages had been bombed by aircraft, which certainly not only destroyed a few "rebels," but caused tremendous damage. These facts were quite openly discussed in the streets of Madrid. The stories circulated about the alleged atrocities committed by the revolutionaries were also discussed. Even the reactionary organ of Gil Robles, "El Debate," which was most clamant in calling for the most brutal terror against the workers and for the severest punitive measures, was afterwards compelled to correct its statements. It is a remarkable fact, which indicates the highly developed class-consciousness of the workers of Asturias, that they formed revolutionary courts which tried and sentenced bloody fascists and particularly bad enemies of the workers, whilst on the other hand the government troops shot without trial hundreds of workers whom they had captured. In fact hundreds of workers were shot down or murdered in the open street merely on the basis of denunciation by fascists. It is estimated that 3,000 workers were murdered in Asturias alone.

A further significant fact is the active participation of the women in the fighting. For Spain this means a tremendous advance, for the women have hitherto taken little part in the workers' movement. For example, in the Red Aid, which has over 30,000 members, only 5 per cent. are women. In Asturias, and everywhere where there was fighting, women played an active part; they not only took part in the strike, but fought with weapons in hand. In Madrid I listened to a group of people discussing the victimisation of workers after the fight. A woman said, "If they



victimise our menfolk then we must immediately commence to fight again." Every day hundreds of women who wished to visit their menfolk stood outside the prisons, which are now filled with political prisoners. Among these women there is no weeping and wailing, but a confident assurance that the workers will liberate the prisoners.

The fact that in Spain to-day there are approximately over 3,500 dead, many thousands of wounded and 40,000 to 50,000 political prisoners, confronts the Red Aid with tremendous tasks. The organisation, like all other workers' organisations, has, of course, been forced into illegality. The Red Aid has addressed an appeal to all organisations affiliated to the Workers' Alliance to form the united front of solidarity, and jointly to organise relief and protection for the victims. Even "Left" bourgeois newspapers have published this appeal. The Madrid social democrats, true to the policy of the Second International, have rejected this united solidarity front and want to organise relief separately for their victims. The workers are unable to understand this, they want to exercise common solidarity together with their class comrades with whom they fought side by side. We are convinced that this united front of solidarity for which the Red Aid of Spain has called will embrace broad strata of the working people and thereby become a great force for the further fight against fascism.

In addition, however, it is necessary to organise common action throughout the world to relieve and protect the Spanish proletariat. The Red Aid of Spain has itself collected means and immediately organised relief. The various sections of the International Red Aid have already donated over 200,000 francs. It will demonstrate tremendous solidarity if, on a national and international scale, the social-democratic and Communist organisations, the reformist and revolutionary trade unions, all workers' sport and cultural organisations, unite in one front of solidarity. The Spanish workers have welcomed with gratitude and enthusiasm the proposal made by the Communist International to the Second International immediately to commence joint action in support of the fighting Spanish proletariat.

Listen to the cry of the Spanish workers: "We need your aid. The socialist, Communist and anarchist workers of Spain fought shoulder to shoulder against their class enemy. Carry through your solidarity actions upon the broadest basis of the united front of all working people and all organisations of the toilers!"

## The Socialist Workers', Peasants' and Soldiers' Republic

We have proclaimed the socialist workers', peasants' and soldiers' Republic.

We have proclaimed the abolition of private property. All alcoholic beverages are forbidden.

We have released the proletarian prisoners and replaced them by capitalists whom we are holding as hostages.

The police who have surrendered have been disarmed and we have set them to work repairing our weapons.

Even if you cannot prevent the concentration of all forces against Asturias, we declare ourselves not to be defeated.—Oviedo, October 12.

(Extract from a letter from the workers of Asturias to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain.)

### The Land of the Peasants

"They have formed revolutionary committees, which administer the towns, they have issued a decree (!), handing over the land to the peasants, and in several important centres they have elected Soviets just as in Russia!"

(From a letter from the Province of Asturias.)

### The Masses Acted Over the Heads of their Leaders

"Do you think that the movement was dominated every moment by the Socialist Party?"

"No. If the socialist youth occasionally joined in the action this was done in close connection with the Communist Party, and I am firmly convinced that the masses went beyond the aims set them by the leaders, and did not wait for instructions from them. It must be admitted that Teodoro Menendez is intelligent enough not to have induced the masses to commit acts such as those which we all deplore."

"Do you think that the Left forces had knowledge of this movement?"

"I am quite convinced that the political Left movement had nothing whatever to do with the revolutionary acts."

"Do you think that these acts were quite unforeseen?"

"This question is difficult to answer. They were not foreseen in the present circumstances. I have the firm conviction that it is necessary to change the administration in the Province of Asturias. For instance, it is quite impermissible that in a province in which two very important armaments factories are situated, only a small garrison exists, and I am at a loss to understand how it was possible to leave such large stores of weapons in the factories. This lesson must be taken to heart for the future."

(From "La Nacion," a monarchist paper.)

### The Workers Are the Masters of the Country

(Letter from Mieres, Asturias)

"One can hardly imagine how tragic the situation was ten days ago. In Asturias the revolutionaries were masters of the country. They formed a regular revolutionary army of almost 20,000 men. They stormed the barracks of the civil guards, the town councils and the provincial capital, Oviedo. Only the soldiers' barracks and one or two points offered resistance. The revolutionaries occupied the munitions factory and the gun-casting works, as well as a dynamite works. They possessed some artillery, armoured cars and two tanks.

"It was the anarchists who saved the situation. If they had joined the movement the government would have been overthrown. But they did not make common cause with the revolutionaries. They even helped a little to restore the situation. In Barcelona, after the capitulation of the generalitat they broadcasted a call over the wireless to break off the strike. On the other hand, the socialists were afraid of what they had done. For instance, in Madrid they did not distribute arms, but gave arms only to their most faithful followers and dispersed in disorder as soon as they saw that the events were taking a bad turn.

"But nobody here believes that everything has now come to an end. The Communists are increasing their influence. The weapons have been hidden away. It seems that the workers are in a more excited mood than ever; they do not consider themselves defeated.

"In the army there are cases of insubordination."

## Appeal to the Women of the Whole World

For three weeks the anti-fascist population of Spain waged a desperate struggle against the reactionary Lerroux-Gil Robles government. Socialists, Communists, Republicans wished to defend the democratic liberties, to bar the way of fascism. They defended their bread, their liberty.

The general strike swept over the country. Catalonia threw off the painful yoke of the Madrid government. But this emancipation movement was shamefully betrayed.

In Asturias the fierce struggle was continued. Men and women vied with each other in heroism. The miners' wives were in the front ranks of the fighters. In this way the revolutionaries were able to hold the police and military of the government in check.

All the modern means of warfare were employed against these fighters, who fought for their vital demands. Cruisers and aeroplanes were sent to Asturias. Whole villages were completely destroyed. Thousands of men, women and children, who fled into the railway station of Oviedo, were killed by the troops.

Blood is flowing in Asturias, where the officers of the Foreign Legion and the special battalions from Africa pronounce death sentences against arrested revolutionaries. In Oviedo, General Lopez Ochoa had 1,400 prisoners shot.

Martial law prevails in the whole of Spain; wholesale arrests and house-searches are taking place. A strict censorship is being exercised. The hangmen of Madrid are abusing and vilifying all those whom they single out for execution. This is the same way in which the Versailles victors proceeded against the heroic Paris Communards in 1871.

By means of these dastardly lies the government of the Jesuits, generals and fascists wishes to frustrate the campaign of solidarity which is being organised by the workers outside of Spain.

Thousands of wives, thousands of mothers have lost their husbands and sons who fell in the fight for the defence of freedom. Thousands of children have been deprived of their fathers. Children have perished in the fight. Privation, misery and hunger pre-

vail everywhere in the districts devastated by the bombs of the civil guard. In the meantime, the military courts are pronouncing one death sentence after another.

On the orders of the fascist officers, who are threatening to set up a directorium, the Catalonian nationalists, **Perez Farras** and **Ricard Rifet**, were sentenced to death.

Martyred Spain is calling for help!

We on our part are calling for help for the courageous anti-fascists of Spain.

Come to the aid of all those who are threatened with execution!

Come to the aid of all those who are incarcerated in the fascist dungeons!

Women of the whole world, come to the aid of your Spanish sisters! To the aid of their children!

Let us organise a powerful solidarity action throughout the whole world!

Let us everywhere demand the release of the anti-fascists of Spain!

Our Spanish sisters are living in dire misery: let us everywhere organise collections of funds for them and their children!

Set up everywhere in all countries, in every town and in the smallest village solidarity committees comprising the women of all social strata and all political beliefs. These committees are to collect funds for the relief of the victims of Spanish fascism, to send resolutions of protest against the terror and for the release of the anti-fascist prisoners to the official representatives of the Spanish government.

Time presses. Every minute lost will be made use of by the torturers of Spain.

Women of the whole world, come to the aid of the women of Spain!

The World Women's Committee Against War and Fascism.

## Germany

### The Decree on the German Labour Front

On the 24th October Hitler issued a new decree on the German Labour Front (D.A.F.). The new decree co-ordinates and extends the existing regulations referring to the German Labour Front and declares that it is "the organisation of German hand and brain workers" and that it embraces in particular the former members of the trade unions and employers' associations. Professional and other similar organisations may be affiliated to the German Labour Front with Hitler's permission. In the new decree the Labour Front is referred to expressly as a part of the National Socialist Party and as subordinate to it. Hitler appoints the Chief of Staff of the party organisation (the present Chief of Staff is Dr. Ley) leader of the Labour Front, whilst the latter appoints the other leaders and officials of the Labour Front, whereby "primarily," members of the National Socialist Party, of the National Socialist Factory Organisation (N.S.B.O.), of the National Socialist Middle-Class Association (N.S. Hago), of the Storm Troops (S.A.) and of the Special Detachments (S.S.) must be chosen. The funds of the Labour Front are under the control of the treasurer of the National Socialist Party. The funds and property of the former organisations mentioned (trade unions, etc.) form "the basis of the self-help administration" of the Labour Front, which also collects regular contributions from its members.

The new decree defines the tasks of the Labour Front as follows:—

"The German Labour Front has the task of maintaining industrial peace by causing the leaders of the factories, etc., to appreciate the just claims of their followers, and by causing the followers to appreciate the situation and the possibilities of the factory. It is the task of the Labour Front to harmonise the just claims of all parties in accordance with the principles of national socialism and to restrict the number of those cases which are passed on to the only competent bodies, the organs of the State, for final decision. The organisation of the representation of all parties necessary for the harmonising of their just claims is exclusively the affair of the Labour Front. The formation of other organisations on this field is forbidden as also is any parallel activity on the part of any such organisations. The Labour Front is the organiser of the national socialist community of interests 'Strength through Joy.' The

Labour Front has also to organise professional training."

After his seizure of power, Hitler prohibited and persecuted the revolutionary trade unions, and on the 2nd May, 1933, he suppressed the reformist trade unions and seized their funds and properties. Hitler did his best to deceive the workers into believing that he was not crushing the trade union movement, but that it would be maintained in "another and different" form. Since then the former members of the trade unions have had ample opportunity to realise that Hitler and his agent, Ley, have one aim, namely, the abolition of the trade union movement which was built up by the German working class in half a century of hard work, struggle and sacrifices, the use of the trade union funds in the interests of the fascist dictatorship of large-scale capital, and the subjugation of the workers to their employers. The new decree on the Labour Front stresses this once again.

The new Hitler decree tries to present the Labour Front as a "commonweal" organisation, and in consequence it refers to the workers and the employers as "members with equal rights." It is hardly necessary to make any comment about the "equal rights" of the simple worker in the factory with the rich and powerful employer who exploits him, the simple worker who is described as the "follower" and the subordinate of his "leader," the employer whose word is unconditional law in the factory. However, in order to consolidate their power in the Labour Front the employers have special organisational guarantees. On the 25th October the "Frankfurter Zeitung" let the cat out of the bag when it wrote:—

"The employers can associate themselves with the workers in the German Labour Front and co-operate in an expert discussion of social problems. Indeed, the influence of the employers in the German Labour Front is just the thing that is necessary in order to create that harmony which is set up as the common aim. On the other hand, however, the employers are also organised in the Reich Association of German Industry to carry out the economic side of their activities. The influence of this organisation must not be underestimated, although its activity is not so obvious as that of the big mass organisations."

The employers are thus organised amongst themselves despite the formal dissolution of the employers' associations which took place on the 1st December, 1933. There are innumerable politico-economic employers' organisations still at work, quite apart from the Reich Association, which was never "dissolved." The employers rule dictatorially in the factories as "leaders," issue their orders through the so-called Labour Trustees and through the officials of the Labour Front, and increase their influence in the Labour Front by corporative affiliation on the part of their organisations. In the Reich Association of German Industry they work out amongst themselves their exploiting plans, whilst the Labour Front gags the workers. In the Labour Front the workers have no right to elect and depose their officials and leaders, and there is not even the appearance of elections. The officials of the Labour Front are appointed at the sole discretion of the leader of the Labour Front, Dr. Ley. All the posts in the organisations are filled at the arbitrary will of Hitler and Dr. Ley, and naturally they are given to "deserving" national socialists hangers-on of all sorts. The masses of the workers whose opposition during the factory elections resulted in such an appreciable reverse for Hitler and his friends have no say in the appointment of the officials and leaders of the Labour Front, and Hitler and his friends fear them too much to permit them any say.

The workers are compelled to contribute to the funds of the Labour Front from their miserable wages, but they have no say in the administration of these funds. Only the treasurer of the National Socialist Party may do that, or in other words, in the last resort Dr. Ley and Hitler himself.

Hitler's new decree makes it the task of the Labour Front to maintain industrial peace, or in other words, to prevent any action, strikes, demonstrations, etc., on the part of the workers against exploitation and on behalf of their demands. In this connection the Labour Front has a special role to play: According to Hitler's Labour Law, wages and working conditions in Germany are to be determined as from factory to factory according to agreement between the leader and his followers, or in other words, between the employer and his workers. In practice wages and working conditions are determined by the employer at his own will and in the form of the issue of factory regulations. Where differences of

opinion occur between the leader and his followers they are settled by the State Labour Trustee, who is appointed by Hitler and is naturally an agent of the employers.

Now, according to Hitler's latest decree, the Labour Front is to co-operate, although the length to which the Labour Front is to go in favouring wage-cuts and throttling resistance, strikes, etc., is deliberately left open in the decree. On the 26th October the "Frankfurter Zeitung" declared that the decree meant that the Labour Front was not to interfere in wage and similar questions, whilst "Der Deutsche" ("The German") declared that "the principal task" of the Labour front was to mediate in all current questions between the leader and the followers. Naturally, the officials and leaders of the Labour Front will intervene in wage questions in their usual fashion. Should the workers put forward wage demands the Labour Front will declare that it is not competent to deal with them and do its best to persuade the workers to abandon them. Should the employer decree wage-cuts in his factory, then "in the interests of industrial peace" the Labour Front will do its utmost to stifle any resistance on the part of the workers. In other words, as a result of Hitler's defeat at the factory council elections in the spring of this year, and because the mass opposition against the increasing exploitation of the working class is growing, the Labour Front is now to be sent into action against the workers. The Labour Front is to be still more zealous in its work to facilitate the exploitation and oppression of the workers by the employers.

The methods which the Labour Front uses and will continue increasingly to use are: continual demagogic pressure on the workers by meetings, demonstrations, etc., by the "Strength through Joy" swindle, by exercising pressure on the youth in the training schools, by threatening obstinate workers to demand their dismissal from the factory, by threatening the older workers with expulsion from the Labour Front (which would rob them of their old-age pensions, which have, by the way, been considerably reduced), by corrupting workers with the promise of jobs in the Labour Front, or by giving them smaller posts, and by paying workers for taking part in sessions, etc. And finally, the leaders and officials of the Labour Front will work hand in hand with the State terror organisations, the Special Detachments (S.S.), and the concentration camps, etc., against the workers.

The time chosen for the issue of the new Hitler decree was not fortuitous. The "Law for the Regulation of National Labour," as the fascist slave labour law is called, was promulgated a long time ago, but up to the present the national socialist authorities have not dared to put it into operation. A little while ago, in a speech in Leipzig, Dr. Ley, the leader of the Labour Front, complained bitterly that no progress was being made with the practical introduction of the fascist labour law, and a few days ago the so-called Labour Trustee for Saxony, Stichler, who appears to have felt Dr. Ley's complaint as an attack on him, quoted a remark of Dr. Ley himself to the effect that the root of the matter was that the labour law had been issued too early. He then added that "certain difficulties which have arisen since have confirmed this view." The decisive difficulty, in fact, was and is the resistance of the workers in the factories.

There is also considerable resistance amongst the workers to the application of the so-called Labour Exchange Law, and the authorities of the Central Labour Exchange in Bremen complain that only half of the factories in question have answered their queries up to the moment, and that of this half only 807 male workers and 431 female workers have agreed to being exchanged out of a total of over 60,000 workers, including 13,350 young workers.

One of the most important questions for the employers in the carrying out of the Labour Law and of the factory regulations is naturally the question of further wage reductions. At the instructions of the employers, the Reich Labour Minister, Seldte, and the Reich Economic Minister, Schacht, issued a supplementary decree on the 23rd October concerning the validity of the tariff agreements still valid on the 30th April last. According to this supplementary decree the Labour Trustees have the right to exempt factories in their provinces from the provisions of the old tariff agreements. However, where their province is a large one they must previously secure the approval of the Reich Labour Ministry. The aim of this supplementary decree, as admitted quite frankly in the national socialist press, for instance, the "Berliner Boersen-Zeitung" of the 24th October, is "to make the factory regulations

increasingly the basis for the regulation of wages and working conditions in the spirit of the labour law." In plain language that means that the factory regulations are to be made decisive and are to lower wages, and otherwise worsen working conditions. The task of the Labour Front will be to do everything possible to see to it that such factory regulations are carried through with a minimum of opposition.

With the issue of Hitler's latest decree, the Labour Front is revealed more clearly than ever before as a fascist organisation of big capital for the carrying out of the slave labour law, for the further reduction of wages, for the carrying out of the arch-reactionary labour exchange scheme, for the increased exploitation of the working class, and for the prevention of strikes and other labour struggles. The Labour Front is to assist to the full extent of its power in the salvation of the rotten and crumbling capitalist system, it is to assist in the consolidation of the bloody fascist dictatorship, and organisationally, ideologically, economically and politically it is to become one of the most important factors in the furtherance of the war-like intentions of German imperialism. The contributions of the workers to the Labour Front are to be used for the fascist armaments, for the brown fascist terrorist apparatus and for the national socialist officials.

The leaders of the Labour Front use many of the old methods of the reformist trade union bureaucracy to deceive and hold down the workers. They are intensifying these methods and using them with brutal ruthlessness. They are deceiving the workers still more shamefully and they are using the fascist terror organisation for this purpose. They talk about "industrial peace," but only in order to persuade the workers to abandon their demands and not to strike against wage-cuts and exploitation. They act as dictators in their organisation with far greater brutality even than their reformist pace-makers. They use the funds of the organisation at their own discretion and without any control on the part of the members and in the interests of the employers and the fascist dictatorship. The reformist trade union leaders, Tarnow and Leipart, disrupted and weakened the trade union movement and pursued a policy of class harmony with the employers, and now Ley and his friends are continuing this work with still greater intensity. They have smashed the trade unions and set up a fascist organisation, the Labour Front.

It is thoroughly in accord with the demagogy of Hitler, Ley and Co., when they now seek, at the instance of the employers, to draw a few of the former reformist leaders of the trade union movement into the leadership of the Labour Front, in order to use their old experience in deceiving the workers and to use, if possible, the remnants of their old authority, which is to be refurbished by further demagogy in the interests of the fascist Labour Front. An announcement which Dr. Ley has just issued is significant in this connection. Dr. Ley declares that it is not the members of the former trade unions who are "nationally outlawed," and calls upon them to join the Labour Front. Dr. Ley then declares that he offered his hand to the former reformist trade union leader, Leutschner, and to the former Christian trade union leader, Otte, but they had preferred to co-operate with Jouhaux, and for this reason "a number of the leaders of the former trade unions" had been "nationally outlawed." The expression "a number of the leaders of the former trade unions" was used deliberately as an invitation to other leaders of the former reformist trade union federation (A.D.G.B.) to join the Labour Front. It is no secret that a number of former reformist trade union leaders have already offered to co-operate with the fascist Labour Front and do what Dr. Ley has failed to do, namely, win the support of the former members of the trade unions for the Labour Front.

However, the game of Dr. Ley and his friends and their capitalist backers will not succeed. The urge of the workers in the factories for unity of action is growing. The opposition in the ranks of the Labour Front itself is growing, and still more important, the will of the workers to form illegal, united class trade unions is also growing. Dr. Ley's announcement and his appeal to the former German trade unionists and the former leaders of the trade unions clearly indicate his fear of revolutionary activity in the ranks of the Labour Front.

The Communists in Germany are continuing their work to mobilise the working class, to disintegrate the Labour Front, to win the workers in it, and to create independent class trade unions for the fight against the fascist slave labour law and against wage-cuts, and for the final overthrow of the fascist dictatorship.

## The Bankruptcy of German Economy Under National Socialist Rule

In the middle of October last the official German Institute for Economic Research issued a report on the finances of the Reich. This report and the way in which it was interpreted in the national socialist press were intended to create the impression that the finances of the Reich are developing favourably. In the quarter year from April to June inclusive a surplus of 6.8 million marks is reported, as against a deficit of 29.5 million marks last year. This favourable result was obtained despite the fact that 266 million marks in tax coupons were accepted and despite the fact that a sum, allegedly unknown with any degree of accuracy, was liquidated in work provision bills, and despite further that 104.5 million marks extra were expended for the labour service scheme, and 157 million marks extra for "increased expenditure in the Reich's administration." This favourable development in the finances of the Reich is said to have been obtained by an increased revenue from taxation, which is said to have been 11.5 per cent more than the revenue of the corresponding period of the year before.

It is already quite well known that the official figures issued by the national socialist authorities deserve no credence whatever, and a closer examination of the figures reveals that the position of the Reich's finances is in fact much less favourable than alleged.

As the tax burdens on the possessing classes have been lightened, the increased taxation revenue means that further heavy burdens have been placed on the working masses. The "professional" organisations, which keep the peasants closely under the thumb of the rich agrarians, and the middle class under the thumb of the capitalists, assist the authorities to institute a much closer control on the taxation payments of the petty-bourgeois and peasant masses, and in consequence to squeeze much more out of them than formerly. Another factor which has led to an increase of taxation revenue was the turn-over tax, which brought in an increased yield during the past few months owing to the panic-stricken hoarding which has been going on in Germany recently. Finally, however, the increase in taxation revenue of 11.5 per cent., is by no means so imposing when it is considered in real values and in view of the increase in price levels, which even according to the official wholesale commodities index are 7 per cent. higher than last year.

The increased expenditure for "labour service" and the increased administrative expenditure of the Reich are the usual euphemisms for the increased expenditure for armaments under the slogan "provision of work." The money for this purpose was obtained partly by limiting the emergency works, but chiefly at the cost of unemployment support. In the first half of the tax year only 480 million marks were expended for both these purposes as compared with 907 million marks in the first half of the previous tax year. The total amount paid out in support which was estimated at 1.4 milliard marks for 1934 as compared with 2.2 milliard marks in 1933 will, in the opinion of the Institute for Economic Research, probably be lower than the estimate. The Reich's Budget is to be completely freed from all such expenditure which is to burden exclusively the Reich's Unemployment Insurance Institute and the local authorities. In addition, the authorities hope to obtain large sums from the Reich's Institute for Unemployment Insurance for "provision of work," or, in other words, for armaments.

The liquidation of the tax coupons does not mean any diminution of the enormous weight of the public debt. In the quarter year in question a reduction of pressing debt was obtained by taking up other loans to the extent of 209 million marks and by the sale of Reich's properties which brought in 171 million marks.

The allegedly favourable condition of the Reich's finances therefore proves in the best case only that the national socialist government has succeeded for the moment in intensifying its exploitation of the working masses by brutally cutting down unemployment support and thus obtaining the necessary sums for its armament expenditure. The Secretary of State, Reinhardt, himself brushed aside the optimistic lies when he declared that any all-round reduction of taxation must lead to the serious dislocation of the State finances owing to the great advance burdens on the finances of the Reich.

The attempt to explain the alleged improvement in the condition of the Reich's finances by an improvement in the economic situation is sheer nonsense. The official announcement that in September unemployment again decreased by 110,000 means at the utmost nothing more than that so many unemployed workers have been deprived of their unemployment support, struck off the registers of the labour exchanges and probably driven out of the towns into the rural areas. There can be no question of any improvement in the state of employment in industry and even official figures are compelled to admit that production has fallen. The index figures for industrial production (1928=100) dropped from 89.9 in June to 88.8 in July and 86.6 in August. The total value of industrial production fell from 4.4 milliard marks in July to 4.3 milliard marks in August. However, the "production of the means of production," which in Germany means the production of war materials, continued to increase in August, whilst the production of goods for immediate consumption fell from 97.9 to 91.9, or a decrease of over 6 per cent. In this connection the decreed limitation of the production of the textile industry owing to the shortage of raw materials played a considerable role and textile production fell from 103.2 to 87.9.

The moderate increase of the export trade by 5 per cent. in September up to a total of 350 million marks is not a sign of any improvement in the catastrophic situation of German foreign trade, but is exclusively due to the usual seasonal improvement. Thanks to Schacht's manoeuvres, which continue to deceive foreign merchants, and despite the official limitations imposed, the import trade increased by 3 per cent. to 352 million marks, thus creating a further passive balance of two million marks. This time the increase of imports is peculiarly enough in finished goods and not in raw materials. Obviously half-finished goods are being imported under this category in order to evade the import restrictions on raw materials.

Together with decreased employment the situation of the working masses is being worsened chiefly by the increase in prices. The official cost of living index dropped from 123.3 in August to 122.5 in September in grotesque and flagrant contradiction to the general movements of prices. This result was obtained thanks to a new method of calculation which distorts the real situation more effectively than previous methods. The new "full-strength bread" which is now being issued is being made with an admixture of skimmed milk, and it is not only inferior to the former bread, but it is also two pfennig dearer. This bread is being issued in the interests of the rich agrarians and in order to eke out the grain supplies. The increase in the price of bread is not being carried out uniformly. For instance, in Frankfurt-on-Main a solemn announcement was made that all rumours to the effect that the price of bread was about to go up were baseless. This statement was probably issued to relieve the prevailing unrest. In other places where no price increase has taken place the quality of the bread is being reduced and the cheaper sorts of bread are disappearing from the market. In view of the rapid rise in the prices of meat, vegetables, potatoes and fats the discontent of the masses is expressing itself in excited discussions not only in the markets and in the shops, but also in the factories. Demonstrations have taken place in the depots of the Berlin Transport Company and in the works of the Berlin Water Works Company against the miserable wage conditions.

The Hitler government which is responsible for the increase in prices and for the shortage of staple commodities owing to its policy of monopolist dictatorship, high protectionist tariffs and creeping inflation, now proclaims a campaign with police methods against the small shopkeepers and against the "undisciplined purchasers." The national socialist leaders are raving against the housewives, who in their well-founded anxiety are standing in long queues in front of the shops in order to obtain soap or thread. The Police President of Potsdam, the notorious Helldorf, personally arrested two butchers who were accused of having put up their prices excessively. The Propaganda Ministry has issued an official warning against hoarding. A "sudden party action" is announced for the second week in November through the whole Reich, but the aim of this "action" is only to collect data and make reports on the feelings of the masses.

As the tool and protector of monopoly capitalism the national socialist government can naturally not carry on any effective struggle against the rise in prices and against profiteering. The "party action" will seize on a few scapegoats, Jewish traders, perhaps, and its real aim is to turn the attention of the masses



away from the real way to salvation, the struggle for higher wages and higher unemployment benefit, and against the profiteering of the monopolies and the wholesalers and against the fascist government. The class conscious workers of Germany will not let themselves be incited against the small traders and the peasants. They are well aware who it is who is responsible for the economic misery which prevails in Germany. The panic of the population which is expressing itself in hoarding cannot be disposed of by police methods. The national socialist leaders of the "Third Reich" will soon have an opportunity of convincing themselves of the truth of the Marxist statement: "The points of bayonets break like matchsticks against the rock of economic realities."

## Goering Before the Court

By Alfred Kurella

*November 4 was the anniversary of the day on which Hermann Goering faced his accuser, Dimitrov, at the Reichstag Fire Trial.*

*The following report of this part of the proceedings at the trial has been reconstructed on the basis of the personal notes made by Dimitrov.*

On November 4, the day on which Goering was to appear as a witness, an atmosphere of expectancy prevailed in the courtroom. The galleries reserved for the public were crowded. In the front rows one saw various Ministers and representatives of government authorities as well as some foreign diplomats. The judges arrived somewhat late. Dr. Buenger dismissed all other witnesses and ordered that the protocols of the proceedings of those sittings from which Dimitrov—for the third time—was excluded from the Court be read. Whilst Dimitrov was making a remark about these protocols Goering entered the hall. He was somewhat plainly dressed and had left all his orders and decorations at home. Only the numerous uniforms and decorations of those who accompanied him showed that he was one of the highest dignitaries of the Reich.

Dr. Buenger immediately interrupted Dimitrov and invited Goering to take his place in the witness-box.

Goering then commenced to correct the introductory remarks of Dr. Buenger. He stated that he had come as a witness whose evidence was of the greatest importance for the whole course of the trial. He declared that it was not worth while to refute the accusations contained in the Brown Book.

In spite of this declaration, however, Goering engaged in a long polemic against the Brown Book, and in so doing attempted to adopt an ironical tone. The Reichstag fire, he maintained, came to him, as it did to all other decent people, as a complete surprise. Already on January 30 Hitler had given him the task of annihilating the Communists. In the course of February he reorganised the police, the storm troops and the special troops for the purpose of fulfilling this task. After January 30 there set in increased terrorist activity on the part of the Communists. The terrorist acts attributed to the national socialists were for the most part carried out by disguised Communist spies. Forged identification papers, vast quantities of which have been seized during arrests, proved this, as did also a number of forged secret orders alleged to have been issued by the national socialist organisations. His large-scale plan against Communism was disturbed by the Reichstag fire.

After these general statements, in which Goering admitted his long-existing plan to annihilate the Communists, that he was waiting to deliver a blow at them and that a large number of terrorist acts by national socialists had been committed in the course of February, he proceeded to describe the night of the fire.

The news reached him at the Ministry of the Interior, where he was still at work at nine o'clock in the evening. On his way to the Reichstag "the scales dropped from his eyes" and he "knew" that the C.P. of Germany was guilty. Outside entrance No. 2 of the Reichstag he met the fire brigade with the chief superintendent Gempp. He then proceeded through various rooms of the Reichstag and found the building well alight. He later met Reichs Chancellor Hitler in his room and Vice-Chancellor Papen. All agreed that the Reichstag fire was the "signal for a Communist uprising." Goering then issued some orders against the Communists which had been approved by Hitler. In particular, he stated, he gave explicit orders to Count Helldorf to proceed with the greatest energy against the Communists. During the same

night four to five thousand Communist leaders were placed under lock and key.

Goering then proceeded to deal with "others who had taken part in the fire," and again expressed the conviction that they had made use of the underground passages. It was only afterwards that he gave as his reason for this conviction that van der Lubbe could not have set fire to the Reichstag alone. Raising his voice, he added:—

"It is my task to discover the wirepullers guilty of the whole of this frightful incitement of the people. However the trial may end, I shall find the guilty and punish them."

After this confession that the national socialist leaders no longer set any great hopes in the trial, Goering replied to two questions put by the Public Prosecutor, in which connection that which he had to say regarding the Oberfohren Document was of special importance. He, of course, described this document as a forgery, but then admitted, to the general astonishment, that Oberfohren had had in his possession material incriminating the national socialist leaders. In a telephone conversation which had been tapped by the authorities, Oberfohren had spoken with his secretary regarding the employment of this material. In addition he endeavoured to evade the question of the existence of any differences within the Cabinet. He spoke of complete harmony with the Cabinet, but added, however, "in the present Cabinet," after he had just previously said that Hugenberg had resigned. There existed no differences with Hugenberg—on the question of the Reichstag fire.

After Dr. Werner, it was Dimitrov's turn to cross-examine Goering.

Anybody who had listened attentively to Goering's speech could not have helped but notice that Goering was speaking according to a plan which did not emanate from himself. In order to conceal this fact he spoke without referring to notes, but it happened that at various points his real thoughts found expression. Dimitrov, who, as always, had followed the proceedings with the greatest attention, recognised his task: he had to expose this discrepancy and, by getting Goering entangled, cause him to expose himself. Precisely at the moment when Hitler attempted, by means of the plebiscite of November 12, to represent national socialism to all the world as an angel of peace it was politically necessary to expose German fascism in the shape of its most typical, brutal and, at the same time, clumsy representative.

Dimitrov commenced by revealing some contradictions between the statements of Goering and other national socialist witnesses. Who actually gave the order to arrest the Communists on the night of the fire, Goering or Helldorf? When did the national socialist witnesses for the Prosecution, Karwahné, Frey and Kroyer, report the results of their alleged observations? On the night of the fire or the next day?

Goering gave evasive answers.

Dimitrov pressed home the attack: Where did Goering get the information that a membership card of the Communist Party had been found in van der Lubbe's pocket?

Goering began to get excited. He again evaded the question, saying that he did not read all the reports of the trial. He only noticed that Dimitrov was a clever man.

However, Dimitrov persisted. He wanted to know how the assertion that Lubbe had a Communist Party card in his possession came to be made in a statement that Goering gave to the press.

Goering had to admit that perhaps this statement was due to a declaration made by an official which could not be verified so quickly.

Goering had now for the first time let the cat out of the bag. Dimitrov stuck to him. Had Goering caused measures to be adopted in order that the police could immediately discover van der Lubbe's accomplices?

Yes, of course.

Is Goering responsible for the acts of his police?

Yes.

Had Goering's police made inquiries in Hennigsdorf, where Lubbe stayed overnight from February 26-27?

Goering noticed that in answering the two previous questions he had fallen into a trap, and tried to wriggle out by declaring that he was not a detective and did not bother about trifles.

Dimitrov, proceeding from Goering's declaration that the Communists were the incendiaries, asked whether, by making this declaration, he had not caused the investigation to be pursued in a

definite direction and thereby prevented the discovery of the real incendiaries.

Goering proceeded to bluster: "I have not come here to be questioned by you," he shouted. "For me the firing of the Reichstag was a political crime, and it was also my conviction that the criminals are to be sought in your Party. If the investigation was instigated in this direction then it was in the right direction."

Here there were a few cries of "Bravo!" from the audience.

"Yes, bravo," Dimitrov promptly replied, "I shall soon tell you what bravo is!"

And turning to Goering he continued:

"Is the Prime Minister aware that this criminal world outlook, this Party rules one-sixth of the earth, namely the Soviet Union? ("Unfortunately," interjected Goering.) Is he also aware that the Soviet Union maintains diplomatic, economic and political relations with Germany and that the orders from this country give work and bread to hundreds of thousands of German workers?"

Goering, who was becoming increasingly furious, made a remark about alleged Soviet bills which had been dishonoured (which remark he was afterwards compelled to correct in the press). He then continued:

"It is a matter of indifference to me what happens in Russia. I have to deal here with the Communist Party of Germany and such scoundrels as you who came here to set the Reichstag on fire."

Dimitrov had now succeeded in getting Goering thoroughly flustered. Raising his voice, Dimitrov shouted to his opponent:

"This so-called criminal world outlook, which rules in the Soviet Union, the greatest and best country in the whole world, here in Germany has the best sons of the people among its supporters. Are you aware of that?"

Goering raged:

"I will tell what is known to the German people. It is known to the German people that you are behaving here in a shameless manner; you came to Germany in order to set the Reichstag on fire. In my opinion you are a scoundrel who should be sent to the gallows."

At this moment, the good patriot Dr. Buenger, the Presiding Judge, felt that the situation had become very embarrassing as a result of this uncontrolled outburst on the part of the Prime Minister. Turning to Dimitrov, he said:

"You must not be surprised if the witness becomes indignant when you put such questions, which are intended for agitational purposes."

Dimitrov replied: "I am very satisfied with the answers given by the Prime Minister."

It was now Dr. Buenger's turn to get excited.

"I have already told you, Dimitrov, that you must not carry on any Communist propaganda here!"

"But he has been carrying on national socialist propaganda," replied Dimitrov.

Dr. Buenger now realised that he must employ other means to silence Dimitrov if the scandal was not to become still greater:

"I refuse to allow you to say another word."

But Dimitrov did not allow himself to be silenced.

"But I have some concrete questions to put!"

Goering, who was now on tenter-hooks, turned his glance first to Dimitrov and then to Buenger, made an impatient move of his hand and called to the President: "How long is this going to last?"

Dr. Buenger understood the hint:

"I refuse to allow you to say another word. Silence!" he shouted, and, turning to the police officials, added: "Take him away!"

The officials seized Dimitrov in order to remove him, but he still had time to call tauntingly to Goering:

"Are you afraid of my questions, Mr. Prime Minister?"

Perfect tumult now reigned. The President was heard shouting: "Away with you!" At the same time there was heard the voice of Goering, full of rage, shouting after Dimitrov:

"You crook, wait till I get you out of the power of this Court."

In the midst of the general uproar, in which a part of the public joined, the police dragged the "accused" out of the Court.

Dimitrov had achieved his aim: in the person of Goering, German fascism had completely exposed its real character.

Goering had come before the court in order to say: There is no need to waste any time on this Communist pack. They should be dealt with summarily and an example made of them. They are the Reichstag incendiaries, because they are Communists.

That is sufficient proof. Bring these proceedings quickly to an end and hang them.

Goering had thus revealed the nature of the Third Reich: this mixture of old Germanic barbarism and modern fascism. He is a soldier of fascism, as Dimitrov is a soldier of the proletarian revolution. When he said in his speech: "I do not imagine that the revolutionary Court of Herr Dimitrov would deal with us as the Highest German Court is dealing with him here. Its proceedings would have been very brief." Dimitrov nodded his head in approval: if a revolutionary tribunal had had to judge Goering and the whole fascist society, there would have been nothing left of them.

Goering is the typical representative of Aryan fascism, with all its narrowness and barbarism. He embodies reactionary civil war and war incitement. The Third Reich, which oppresses the German people and threatens European peace—that is above all Goering. But Goering embodies also the weakness of the fascist regime. When he went into a fit of hysterical rage before the Court and thereby exposed his cards, it was seen that there stood a man who at the decisive moment loses control of his nerves, and at such a moment can cause not only a Reichstag fire but a world conflagration.

## Great Britain

### The Municipal Elections in England and Wales

By R. Bishop (London)

The municipal elections for the British Boroughs have revealed a terrific sweep towards the Labour Party. At the time of writing the polling has not yet taken place in Scotland, but there is no reason to believe that it will follow a very different trend from that in England and Wales. Neither have the Urban Districts polled on this occasion, but it seems certain that they would show the same tendencies as have the boroughs. For in boroughs of all kinds the same tremendous swing has manifested itself.

In these circumstances it is not surprising, even although it is disappointing, that the Communist candidates made a relatively poor showing. In most cases the Communist vote showed an increase, but a small increase on very low previous totals is by no means satisfactory.

Nevertheless, the municipal elections do give cause for satisfaction in that their basic feature is that they show a titanic revolt against the National Government and all that it stands for, in local politics as well as in national. The Tories, Moderates, Municipal Reformers, Ratepayers—under whatever alias they paraded—were well and soundly trounced at the polls. Following upon the two very significant parliamentary by-elections—Swindon and Lambeth—this is an indication that the workers are determined to bring an end to the rule of reaction. Never have elections shown more clearly the degree of hatred felt by workers for the National Government and those who support it.

The representatives of open reaction have been swept off the councils in London, in the large provincial centres and in the smaller boroughs. This is indicative of the growing wave of working-class struggle which has been manifesting itself throughout the year.

London affords a particularly striking instance of the Labour Party's advance. Having captured the County Council in March, they set out to get control of the boroughs, on the plea that they could not fulfil their plans for London as a whole unless they could get support in the 28 metropolitan boroughs for the plans emanating from County Hall. In only four of the boroughs was there a Labour majority prior to the elections. Now there is a Labour majority in fifteen of the boroughs, and on four of them every single councillor returned is Labour. Even in such traditionally Tory boroughs as Paddington, substantial numbers of Labour councillors have been returned. In Paddington the number of Labour councillors was increased from 1 to 21.

Never have the London Tories exerted such efforts to stave off defeat. Their cry was that "only apathy" could get the Labour Party returned. If only the percentage of voters went up, then the Tories must win.

Actually, in almost every borough the percentage of voters who went to the poll showed a decided increase on that of 1931—when the Tory majorities were returned—with what disastrous effects on Tory hopes are already known.

In the London Borough of Fulham, for instance, in 1931, a percentage of 30.1 of the voters went to the poll. This resulted in an entirely Tory council being returned.

This year the percentage of voters increased to 40.5, and the composition of the new council is: Labour, 27; Tory, 13.

British electoral law prevented the provincial gains being quite so sweeping as those in London. In the provinces one-third of the council come up for re-election each year. In London the whole council retires every third year. Thus in the provinces, unless a Party is already in a very strong position, it is impossible for it to gain control at any one election.

Nevertheless **thirteen provincial towns and cities** where the Labour Party were previously in a minority have now got Labour majorities. In twenty-eight other provincial centres where Labour majorities already existed, their position was strengthened, and in a host more the Labour Party came appreciably nearer securing a majority.

These election victories have been hailed by the Labour Party chiefs as a triumph for their policy of "gradualness" and as a vindication of their claim that the reformist political, trade union and co-operative organisations constitute all the united front that is necessary.

In contrast to these striking gains, the **Communist Party** can claim but small direct successes. Only one additional seat was won—this in **Llanelly**, the centre of the Welsh tinplate industry. The increased vote throughout the country was very small; actually in London the average Communist vote showed a decrease of 1 on the last time of asking.

A part of this relatively poor showing can be attributed to organisational defects, but, in London particularly, there was the tremendous feeling that the main thing was to cast out all who were supporters of the National Government, and that any vote given to a Communist would probably be wasted, as the Labour man was the more likely to win of the two.

Communist candidates everywhere report that the volume of sympathy accorded to them by the workers was greater than ever before, but that over-riding all in the minds of every worker with whom they came in contact was the feeling: "We must get this gang of scoundrels out."

When **Mr. Herbert Morrison** and his friends claim the Labour election gains as a triumph for reformism, they are either deluding themselves or seeking to delude their followers.

The results represent the determination of the workers to fight against capitalist reaction and a strong desire to get things done. The workers want **united mass action**. Wherever Labour candidates accepted the united front offer of the Communist Party—and the number, though not large, was larger than Mr. Morrison cares to contemplate, they found that their actions in so doing was warmly applauded by the workers when it was explained to them.

It was a significant thing that in those places where there has been a long spell of Labour control of local government the Communist candidates did best. Here, as in other places, there was a big diminution of support for avowedly capitalist candidates, but at the same time the Communist Party made very good showing. In **Newcastle-under-Lyme**, for instance, the Communist candidate, who has served for 13 years on public bodies, was returned with a 2 to 1 majority over the Labour candidate.

In **South Wales** the Communist Party won a seat at **Llanelly**, bringing the number of its councillors in Wales up to 12. The ten Communist candidates in Wales polled 6,054 votes out of an aggregate vote of 22,273 in the wards they contested. The Labour vote in these wards was 12,580. Thus in Wales the Communist Party polled nearly half of the Labour vote in the selected areas.

This tendency was not confined to Wales. Just outside the London county boundary is the Borough of **West Ham**—half an hour's bus ride from the centre of London. Here Labour has been in control for 25 years. Labour members have held the seats in Parliament for many years. Since the days at the end of last century, when Keir Hardie first entered the electoral lists at West Ham, it has been a Labour stronghold. Even at this election it held 54 seats out of 64 seats on the council. But two Communist candidates polled 606 and 567 votes against respective Labour votes of 1,232 and 1,163. Here, as in Wales, the Communist vote approached 50 per cent. of the Labour vote.

But in nearby London, where Labour rule is something new, Communist votes of 100 or 200 were recorded against Labour votes of 2,000 and 3,000.

In West Ham, in Wales and similar areas where Labour rule has been tried out, disillusion is setting in and the tide moves towards the Communist Party. In London the tide flows to the Labour Party with such irresistible force that all else is swept aside. The inference is clear that everywhere the workers voted, they voted against capitalism and against the National Government.

The same tendency was to be observed with regard to the **I.L.P. candidates**. In the London Borough of Poplar, which borders on West Ham, a retiring councillor, Dr. Cullen, with a good record, elected three years ago as a Labour councillor, is swept away by the tide, polling little more than 100 votes, whilst in Merthyr, in Wales, I.L.P. councillors got returned.

Whilst the municipal elections indicate the revulsion of the workers against capitalism and against the National Government, they also emphasise the necessity for greater efforts being exerted to make the fighting united front of the working class more powerful, more capable of waging the fight which the reformist leadership, despite the great powers placed in their hands, are determined to sidetrack and sabotage.

The Labour Party polled millions of votes, they gained **over six hundred new Councillors** and won control of **twenty-four additional councils**. The workers who voted for them want to see things done immediately. They will not lightly put up with further delay. Already it is foreshadowed that the London Labour men will proclaim: "We have the County Council, we have the majority of the boroughs, but we can do nothing much until we have a parliamentary majority and constitute the government of the country."

But winter is now here and the working class have urgent needs, which they will not cease to demand simply because the Labour Party have now found a new set of excuses.

A strong development of the united front movement can make sure that the fullest pressure is brought to bear to compel the new Labour councils to fulfil the pledges they made to the workers during the contests.

The **united front movement** has also a great opportunity to assert itself in those boroughs where there were Labour gains but no majority was won. Here it is necessary to line up the Labour councillors and compel them to fight inside and outside the councils for the workers' demands.

The elections have shown the militant mood of the workers. Realising this the militant workers of Great Britain can draw fresh encouragement from them to press forward for the all-embracing workers' united front which will be able to meet effectively the challenge of fascism, to fight the war-mongers and struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a free Soviet Britain.

## Fight for the Unity of the Labour Movement

### Working Class Unity a Condition for the Overthrow of Hitler

By Werner Hirsch

The following lines are taken from a united front pamphlet by Comrade Werner Hirsch, former chief editor of the "Rote Fahne," entitled "Social-Democratic and Communist Workers in Hitler's Concentration Camps."

Hitler has ruled in Germany for over eighteen months. The open fascist dictatorship set up by the German bourgeoisie has now been in action for over eighteen months. The fascist rulers of Germany are attempting to conceal the misery and sufferings of the German people with blatant demagogy, with hypocritical phrases about the "Commonweal," about the "Unity of the Nation," and others. The war drums are rolling in Germany without ceasing and all forms of chauvinist and militarist incitement are preparing the masses for war. Foreign imperialist adventures are to make the masses of the people forget their own misery.

Throughout the world the masses of the workers have their eyes on Germany. In France the successful united front policy of the Communist Party has brought about unity of action with the French socialist party in the struggle against fascism. In Spain Communist and social-democratic workers are fighting

shoulder to shoulder against the bloody counter-revolutionary government of Lerroux. All over the world the working masses are rallying to the banner of an international struggle against Hitler fascism. The German workers must give the workers of the world an example in the struggle against fascism.

How much longer will the German workers and peasants tolerate a yoke which is pressing with increasing severity upon them? The answer to this question is indissolubly bound up with the answer to the question of how long it will be before German working class unity of action has been forged in the struggle against Hitler, in the struggle against the fascist dictatorship. Only the proletariat can lead the toiling masses in the struggle against the fascist dictatorship, and only when the proletariat enters the arena of the struggle with its ranks united will the seething bitterness which is growing in the ranks of all sections of the toiling masses ripen into fierce indignation and provide the proletariat with fighting allies. How can the proletariat fight so long as its ranks are divided? How can it win back those workers who have been intimidated, deceived and incited by fascism so long as those workers who oppose Hitler and are more or less class conscious are not fighting shoulder to shoulder in ordered ranks? **The fighting unity of the proletariat is the key to the victory of the proletarian revolution in Germany.**

On one field in Hitler Germany the united front of the proletariat is already practically achieved, namely, in the **concentration camps and prisons** of the "Third Reich." Drawn together by their common sufferings social-democratic and Communist workers, member of the reformist Reichsbanner and members of the Red Front Fighters' League are finding their way to unity.

The attempt of certain incorrigible social-democratic leaders safely abroad to deny this is absurd. Their descriptions of the situation in the concentration camps, for instance, in Oranienburg and Dachau, are either distorted or utterly false when they suggest that the chasm between the social-democratic and Communist workers continues to exist in the concentration camps. A number of small and unimportant incidents compared with the general course of events in the concentration camps have been recklessly exaggerated. Here and there some former social-democratic police president or member of parliament, notorious for his consistent treachery to the working class and now notorious for his cowardly capitulation to the fascist torturers, so that he has even sacrificed the respect of his own former comrades, much less then the respect of the revolutionary workers, has met with contempt and hatred from revolutionary fellow prisoners.

It is true that there have been cases, perhaps half a dozen, or at the outside a dozen, throughout Germany, where Communist prisoners have expressed in practical form their contempt and hatred for such miserable creatures. Naturally, even in such cases it was politically a mistake for Communist workers to express their satisfaction that such men who had zealously assisted the fascists to come to power were now themselves the victims of fascist brutality.

But how much do such isolated incidents weigh against the tremendous and wonderful phenomenon of **proletarian solidarity in the hell holes of fascism**, in the concentration camps and in the prisons? The real character of the situation in the concentration camps and prisons of fascism is given by this wonderful fraternal solidarity and unity among the prisoners. Even numerous oppositional national socialists, hesitant and mistrustful at first, have been seized and convinced by this feeling and have subordinated themselves to it. No amount of fascist terrorism has succeeded in breaking down this solidarity, and the few exceptions mentioned above were isolated incidents and without significance.

And for every Communist who has succeeded in leaving the hell holes of fascism alive it is a matter of pride and joy that in all the concentration camps and prisons it was his comrades, **his fellow Communists**, who created this spirit of solidarity and fraternal unity, this never-ceasing and vigorous class consciousness. It was we Communists who gathered the prisoners together in all the concentration camps and prisons, who gave strength to the hesitant and the hopeless, and who gave all the confidence of final victory and the pride of revolutionary fighters.

Communists and social-democrats who have left Hitler's concentration camps and prisons alive can be and must be the best

propagandists for the proletarian united front. Those who were brought together by their common sufferings and obtained their freedom once again can be the best teachers amongst the masses, amongst their fellow workers and amongst their own party comrades in the difficult task of establishing working-class unity of action and in the struggle for the final unity of the German working class.

The active anti-fascists amongst the social-democratic workers who have won their way back to freedom from the concentration camps and prisons of Hitler must not forget how they stood shoulder to shoulder with their Communist fellow workers there. They must do their utmost to clear the way for their own comrades towards a joint struggle shoulder to shoulder with the Communists, towards unity of action with their Communist fellow workers.

Those Communists who have been in the forefront of the struggle for years against the fascist dictatorship, who found the prophecies of our party realised in the prisons and concentration camps of Hitler, and who have now regained their freedom, must work amongst our social-democratic fellow workers to win them for joint action and they must work in the illegal groups of our party to overcome those objections to unity of action with the social-democrats which still exist and to destroy the last vestiges of sectarianism wherever they may show themselves. They must utilise their own valuable experience in order to show our comrades the right way to deal with the social-democratic workers and the right fraternal comradely tone to adopt towards them. They must do their utmost to break down those barriers which still exist here and there between our party and these social-democratic groups which exist in Germany and which are fighting against fascism.

The ceaseless appeals of our leader **Ernst Thaelmann**, who was one of the pioneers in the struggle for the establishment of the proletarian united front against fascism, must be the guiding principles for all Communists and for all revolutionary workers in their illegal work against fascism.

The question of unity of action cannot be separated from another question which is facing the Communist Party of Germany and actually all other Communist parties, namely, the transition from agitation and propaganda to **action**, to a really effective mass struggle against fascism and capitalism. A united front which brought the various illegal groups in Germany together, secured an exchange of useful material and mutual support in the struggle against the Gestapo (Secret State Police) would represent progress, but in the given situation small and insufficient progress. Our united front must be one for action. We are forging the united front in order to make a drive forward in our struggle against fascism; against capitalist exploitation, against the outlawing of the workers and against the fascist terror. Naturally, we need a really revolutionary policy of action and an independent fighting policy on the part of the Communist Party and all its groups as the preliminary condition for the establishment of unity of action and for its successful application in the struggle.

The will to unity of action is growing amongst the masses of the workers. In the Saar district the Communist Party and the social-democratic party are already working together to mobilise all possible forces for the maintenance of the status quo and to save the Saar from the barbarism of Hitler fascism. This is the line along which we must continue to advance. Throughout Germany the Communist Party organisations must come to arrangements with the illegal social-democratic groups for joint work, joint actions and a joint struggle against fascism. A most important sector of the struggle against fascism is **the reconstruction of the old trade unions** as the illegal organisations of the class struggle.

The prisoners of the "Third Reich" who have been tortured and maltreated by the fascists, who have been half-starved and beaten up, and who have nevertheless maintained their loyalty to their class, have, so to speak, been under heavy fire in the front-line trenches of the proletarian class struggle. They have the right to demand that the workers of the world should listen to them. The workers of the world must therefore take up their appeal, multiply it a thousand times and carry it round the world.

**Establish unity of working-class action against fascism!  
Establish a united fighting front of all social-democratic, Communist and non-party workers against fascism!**



## The Progress of the Anti-Fascist Movement in Rumania

By Victor Zitna (Bucharest)

The Rumania of the capitalists and the Boyars is going full speed ahead on the road to fascism. All the political groupings of the bourgeoisie demand a strong power, and authoritative government, the establishment of order. The open fascist groups: the Iron Guard, the Anti-Semitic Christian-National League (L.A.N.C.), the groups of Goga and Argetoianu, have not yet been able to get any mass basis of their own, although they, especially the Iron Guard, can boast of a certain position among the peasantry. The Iron Guard, moreover, among whose members are to be found the murderers of Duca, enjoys the unblushing support of the Court clique. The programme of the two great parties of the bourgeoisie and the Boyars, the Liberals and the National Zaranists only differ from that of the most extreme right in the path and methods by which they wish to attain the same goal. Under cover of the fight for a peasant State the National Zaranist Party is developing a fascist programme which it will carry through when it comes to power. Its leader, Mr. Mihalacke, recently went to Rome in order to study fascist reality on the spot. As far as the Liberals are concerned, whose leader, since the murder of Duca, is Mr. Tatarescu, a confidant of the King, they are working towards a rapid fascistation of the State apparatus by means of a number of measures which will do away with the paltry remains of freedom which the masses of Rumania still possess.

The toiling masses and the oppressed peoples of Rumania have not been passive towards this fascistation of the regime. Successful strikes against wage reductions, for wage increases have increased. The splendid campaign for the railwaymen of Grevitza has brought the mass movement on to the path of the fight against the dictatorship of the capitalists and Boyars. Peasant revolts and actions of the national minorities are on the increase, the anti-fascist movement, which is uniting all opponents of fascism, without regard to their political party or general convictions, is growing, and is making very noticeable advances.

Since the Amsterdam Anti-War Congress a strong anti-war movement has been developed in Rumania. The brutal repression after February, 1933, martial law and the censorship have seriously limited the possibilities of the movement.

After the European Anti-Fascist Congress, at Pleyel, a national anti-fascist committee was formed in Rumania which shows good progress. This progress was co-ordinated at the anti-fascist congress which was held in the middle of September in Bucharest. At the beginning the anti-fascist movement restricted its agitation to the middle classes and that was its great weakness. This was later corrected and the movement is now being directed towards the masses of workers and peasants. In various big industrial towns anti-fascist factory committees have been formed.

The anti-fascist movement was successful in enforcing its legality. Even if its central newspaper has been forbidden, seven anti-fascist papers are appearing: "Echipa" (Bucharest), "Ecoul" (Jassi), "Curant Nou" (Brasov), "Clopotul" (Botosani), "Svetlina" (Silistra, in Bulgarian), a Russian newspaper (in Kischinev) and finally one in Hungarian. The anti-fascist movement took an active part in the campaign for the railwaymen of Grevitza, and carried on agitation for their release in connection with the new trial which is to take place on November 9.

Side by side with the adult movement there is also an anti-fascist youth movement. In connection with the World Congress of Women Against War and Fascism (August 4-6 in Paris) there arose in Rumania a women's movement against war and fascism.

The anti-fascist movement plays a great role in the realisation of the united front of the toiling masses of Rumania. Both the Socialist Parties, the Social Democrats, and the Unity Socialists have forbidden their members to take part in the anti-fascist movement, and have threatened those who disobey with expulsion. But the increasing rapidity of the fascist drive of the Liberal Government, the advance in unity of action in other countries, has had the result that strong pressure from below has been brought to bear on the leadership of the two socialist parties.

At the end of September the National Anti-Fascist Committee approached the Social Democrats and the Unity Socialists anew, and repeated its previous proposals of unity of action on the basis of the fight against martial law and the censorship, against the fascist and military laws, for the freedom of meeting, organ-

isation and the press, for the release of the imprisoned railwaymen, of Thaelmann and all anti-fascists, for the defence of the Soviet Union.

The Social Democratic Party this time had to answer, but their reply was in the negative. It refused unity of action on the pretext that it will not negotiate with organisations attached to the Communist Party (those were the Anti-Fascist Committee, the Muncii League and the International Red Aid, which had made the proposals, but only direct with the Communist Party. But the Communist Party of Rumania had repeatedly proposed unity of action, and the answer was that they would only deal with legal organisations, that they would be prepared to go into the proposals of the Communists if the Communist Party of Rumania would stand "on the basis of democracy and legality." As if the Communist Party of its own free will had gone into illegality. But whereas the leaders took up such a line, their masses were driving towards unity of action. And the regional congress of the Social Democracy of Old Rumania voted for a proposal which demanded the rapid realisation of unity.

As far as the Unity Socialist Party is concerned, it could no longer reject the proposals of the Anti-Fascist National Committee and the Muncii League without running into the danger of losing its last adherents. It had to adopt these proposals, and after they had been discussed a united front of fight was concluded between the Anti-Fascist Committee and the Unity Socialist Party. It adopted the following programme:—

Against martial law, against the physical and moral destruction of anti-fascist political prisoners, against the reduction of the standard of living of the masses, against the law for the protection of the State and the law for the militarisation and fascistation of the youth, against the law on the protection of the so-called "national labour," against payment in kind and all forced labour, against domination and degradation by the police and gendarmes in the countryside; against the Iron Guard, the railway statute, against Scarlat Callimachi's sentence for his anti-fascist activity, against imperialist and anti-Soviet war.

For the freedom of the press, of organisation and of meeting for the toiling masses, for the release of the railwaymen and anti-fascist fighters, for the release of Thaelmann and all imprisoned anti-fascists, for rights of citizenship of the former political prisoners, Stefanoff, Bujor and others, for the defence of the Soviet Union.

This programme will be fought for by the following means: Mass protests, press campaigns, organisation of the defence of the anti-fascist press and for meeting places for anti-fascist organisations, meetings, support of strikers, demonstration strikes, street demonstrations.

A committee was formed consisting of five members from each organisation. Both organisations renounce any criticism of previous activity, but keep the right of criticism with regard to the carrying through of the adopted minimum programme.

During the first two weeks after the conclusion of unity of action the following arrangements were made: The publication of a joint appeal in 20,000 copies, the organisation of a great protest meeting against martial law and the censorship, the publication of a pamphlet against fascism in 20,000 copies.

In this way the anti-fascist movement is making great progress in Rumania. In the present international situation when, after the Marseilles assassination, Hitler is attempting to find new points of support in the Balkans for war against the Soviets, the anti-fascist movement must exert itself to the uttermost in order to draw new strata of social democratic, reformist, and unorganised workers, new sections of the national minorities and the middle class under the banner of the fight against war and fascism.

## Why the C.C. of the Polish "Bund" Has Broken Off United Front Negotiations

Communiqué of the C.C. of the Communist Party of Poland  
To all organisations of the "Bund" and of the Polish Socialist Party!

The negotiations, which had been going on for two months between the Labour Lefts and the representatives of the "Bund" for the creation of the united front, have been broken off by the C.C. of the "Bund." The leadership of the "Bund" intend by this means to annul the provisional agreement which is based on the platform proposed by the Labour Lefts in the Open Letter of August 7. During the whole of this time the leaders of the

"Bund" have evaded carrying out the joint actions mentioned in the agreement. All our proposals, which had as their object the joint organisation of the struggle, were constantly sabotaged by the leadership of the "Bund." The actual object of the agreement of August 22 was nothing else but the organisation of struggles specified in the Open Letter of the Labour Lefts.

The leaders of the "Bund" have broken off negotiations at a time when the Executive Committee of the Communist International has proposed to the Bureau of the Second International the immediate setting up of a united front for the purpose of aiding the Spanish workers in their revolutionary fight.

The breaking off of negotiations brings grist to the mill of the fascist government, which has issued the Decree on the liquidation of the remnants of the social insurance. This breaking off of negotiations is an attempt to check the drive of the masses who are under the influence of the Polish Socialist Party and the "Bund" for a common fighting front with the Communists. This breaking off of negotiations by the C.C. of the "Bund" is part and parcel of the sabotage of the international united front action on the part of the Bureau of the Second International.

The draft agreement, submitted in the form of an ultimatum by the C.C. of the "Bund," was not in accordance with the most important vital interests of the proletariat. The draft submitted by the delegation of the "Bund" did not even provide for joint meetings. This draft in fact reduced the whole affair to a paper declaration. The draft screened the saboteurs of the united front in the leadership of the Polish Socialist Party. The delegation from the "Bund" rejected the proposal of the Labour Lefts for a common fight against those who destroyed the united front. The draft contained formulations which contradict the programme of the Communists: the delegation of the "Bund" demanded that it should be stated that the parties of the Second International are revolutionary class parties of the proletariat, just as the parties of the Communist International. The delegation of the "Bund" also rejected the principle of inner trade union democracy and proportional elections as a basis of trade union unity.

We, however, see no reason whatever for breaking off of negotiations, and propose that an agreement be drawn up corresponding to the present demands of the fight of the working masses, and which can be accepted without bargaining at the cost of ideology. The question of programmatic differences shall be excluded from the negotiations.

Our new proposal proceeded from these principles, and is based on the following points:—

1. Forms of struggle: mass meetings, demonstrations, strikes. The immediate leadership of action lies in the hands of the parity committees, which shall organise the election of united front committees by the workers in the factories and at the Labour Exchanges.

2. Both parties shall proceed to unite the parallel trade unions but retain freedom of propaganda, agitation, concrete criticism, and shall also be free to recruit members. Those who destroy the united front are to be combated as confederates of the bourgeoisie.

3. Both parties shall proceed to unite the parallel trade unions on the basis of the class struggle and inner trade union democracy, which means in the first place freedom to express opinion and the proportional election of all trade union organs.

Our proposal can be accepted by any member of the Polish Socialist Party, the "Bund" or non-party worker. We do not submit this proposal as an ultimatum, as did the C.C. of the "Bund." We will accept any proposal which facilitates an agreement being arrived at.

We pass over the distorted accounts of the course of negotiations, the contemptuous attitude adopted towards the workers' delegation of an illegal movement, the diplomatic juggling tricks of the editorial board of the "Volkszeitung" (central organ of the "Bund"), the attacks with which the leaders of the "Bund" wish to conceal their deceitful attitude to the united front. We wish to direct the whole attention of the working class to exerting all its forces to realise the united front.

Independent of the outcome of the negotiations, we propose that a joint action be commenced at once against the new robbery of the social insurance, for the protection of Thaelmann, and of the Spanish revolutionaries who are threatened with the headsman's axe by the Spanish counter-revolution. The provisional agreement of August 22 can serve as a basis for this action.

We call upon all organisations of the Polish Socialist Party and of the "Bund" to carry out joint meetings, demonstrations and protest strikes together with us. Every day's delay only benefits the bourgeoisie.

Central Committee of the Communist Party of Poland.  
October, 1934.

## The C.C. of the C.P. of Poland on the Recent Decisions of the C.C. of the P.P.S.

To the Central Committee of the P.P.S.!

To the organisations of the P.P.S.!

To the whole of the working class!

The "Robotnik," of October 23, published the statement of the Central Committee of the P.P.S. (Polish Socialist Party) on the united front. In this decision the central committee emphasised the necessity of uniting all the forces of the proletariat for the struggle against the attacks of fascism on the rights and achievements of the toiling masses. The Central Committee of the P.P.S. declare that

"the P.P.S. bases itself on the actions which unite the class struggle of the proletariat."

If a positive meaning is to be attached to this sentence then it must be followed by readiness to enter into negotiations with the leadership of the C.P. of Poland for the setting up of the united front.

The immediate commencement of negotiations is urgently necessary now, when the Pilsudski government has now issued a decree for a further cutting down of social insurance, when the struggle of the Spanish proletariat is to be choked in blood and its best champions are threatened with the gallows, when the headsman's axe is threatening Comrade Thaelmann.

To combat these dangers we once again propose to you to set up the united front based on the following points:—

1. Forms of struggle: Mass meetings, demonstrations, strikes. The immediate leadership of action to lie in the hands of the parity committees, which shall organise the election of united front committees by the workers in the factories and at the Labour Exchanges.

2. Both parties shall refrain from any attack, insult and abuse, but retain freedom of propaganda, agitation, concrete criticism, and shall also be free to recruit members. Those who destroy the united front are to be combated as confederates of the bourgeoisie.

We do not submit this proposal as an ultimatum. We will accept any proposal facilitating an understanding being arrived at.

At the same time we are prepared to proceed to unite the parallel trade unions on the basis of the class struggle and inner trade union democracy, which means in the first place freedom to express opinion and proportional election of all trade union organs.

We consider your objections to the possibility of a united front with the Communist Party of Poland to be unfounded. Point 2 of our proposal guarantees the cessation of mutual recriminations and attacks. The Communist Party of Poland does not employ methods of "insinuation and calumny" in its struggle against its opponents, as the decision of the Central Committee of the P.P.S. alleges. The Communist Party of Poland cannot, however, pass over in silence the calumnies indulged in by your organs against the Communist movement and against the Soviet Union.

We would call your attention to the fact that the system of preliminary conditions," propagated by the "Robotnik," would lead to an "unending circle," rendering impossible the opening of negotiations. The sole test of mutual "good will" can consist only in the immediate opening of negotiations without "preliminary conditions" and without any quarantine, and further a genuine organisation of the struggle and the loyal fulfilment of the undertakings contained in the agreement. Constantly to designate the proposals of the C.P.P., which aim at strengthening the power of resistance of the working class, as a manoeuvre is a method of sabotaging the united front.

If, however, your declaration in favour of the united front is not a manoeuvre, then nothing stands in the way of the immediate opening of negotiations.

We await your concrete and speedy reply.

Central Committee of the Communist Party of Poland.

## Seventeenth Anniversary of the October Revolution

# Three Lessons of the October Victory for the International Proletariat

(In connection with the Seventeenth Anniversary of the October Revolution)

Seventeen years have passed since the time when there took place the mightiest turning point in world history, when as a result of the victorious October uprising the working class of a whole country for the first time overthrew capitalism once and for all and established the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of Soviets. For seventeen years now the working class is the ruling class in the U.S.S.R. For seventeen years now the working class is not only the master of its fate in its own country, but is also one of the decisive factors determining the fate of the working class throughout the whole world. The October Revolution, as the Commune, did not promise any miracles, but has created one.

From the gigantic heights of socialism which has been won, on the threshold to a well-to-do life for all the toilers, on the eve of classless society, the working class of the Soviet Union, conscious of its unconquerable power and powerfully overcoming all obstacles, casts its glance of proud joy towards the past, towards the time when it was liberated, to the victory won seventeen years ago.

Yes, the Bolsheviks have really been able to maintain power! And not only have they maintained it, but they have firmly constructed the first State in the world wherein emancipated labour lies at the foundation of everything. The weapons of power of this new State serve simultaneously the cause of peace between the peoples who are being threatened by new imperialist wars, and serve the cause of the liberation of the toilers, oppressed and exploited by the bourgeoisie in the democratic countries, and threatened and impoverished by fascism, from all oppression and exploitation whatsoever.

The seventeenth year following the victory of October has been a year of new victories of world historic importance. In this seventeenth year the Soviet Union has achieved great successes in the struggle for peace and has consolidated its international position. The U.S.S.R. was recognised by the most powerful capitalist State, the U.S.A. The entry into the League of Nations of the U.S.S.R. has been estimated even by many of its enemies as a tremendous act on the part of the country of socialism in the struggle for peace.

The year 1934 has been a year of the unheard-of development of heavy industry in the Soviet Union. For the first eight months of the year 1934 heavy industry increased the total of its production in comparison with last year by 28.4 per cent. The branches of industry which previously lagged behind, such as black metallurgy, and the fuel industry, are this year in the forefront of all the remaining branches of national economy. The year 1934 is also to be distinguished by qualitative advances throughout the national economy. It will be sufficient to mention that for the first eight months of this year the productivity of labour increased by 11.8 per cent., while the cost of production was reduced by 5 per cent.

The Seventeenth Anniversary of the October Revolution is at the same time the Fifth Anniversary of mass collectivisation in the village.

The fact that more than 224,000 collective farms unite more than 15 million households, comprising 65 per cent. of the total number of peasant households, and the fact of the liquidation of the kulaks as a class, represent a mighty and difficult revolution in the lives and consciousness of tens of millions of yesterday's petty owners, represent a decisive point in the struggle for finally

overcoming the most persistent relic of capitalism, namely, "the force of habit."

This revolution has become possible only under the conditions of Soviet revolution, and on the basis of the fundamental reconstruction of national economy, including agriculture, on the basis of socialist industrialisation.

The year 1934 has been a year of further victories for the collective farm system.

The advantages of the collective farm system made it possible to overcome the threat of drought which menaced the land of the Soviets in the spring of this year, and for a harvest to be gathered this year over the whole of the U.S.S.R. not worse than the one gathered a year ago, while in many districts the level attained by the record harvest of the year 1933 has been passed. The shock workers, operating in the fields, are consolidating the new collective farm system organisationally, and on business lines. The contrast between town and country is being destroyed by the forces of the working class and of the collective farm peasantry. The successes achieved in the sphere of industry and agriculture have made it definitely possible to develop a wide programme of activity for the raising of the material and cultural standard of living of the broad masses (the well-being of these masses is to be raised by three times in the course of the second Five-Year Plan).

We are now coming to the end of the second year of the second Five-Year Plan, but the country is completely involved in the realisation of this tremendous programme. The mighty development in those branches of industry which are faced with the task of further improving the material well-being of the broad masses, and the successes also in the sphere of Soviet trade and of the whole organisation of supplies are striking. The supplying of the masses with articles of consumption is improving from day to day. Housing construction and the reconstruction of the old towns and the construction of new ones continue to be carried on at an ever more rapid pace.

The following facts give an indication of the scope of the cultural revolution: the almost complete abolition of illiteracy, the more than twenty-six million students in schools of all grades (of whom almost half a million are in the highest grade schools), the more than five million children in pre-school institutions, the huge growth of special high grade colleges, scientific research institutions, clubs and theatres, and the more than thirty-six million million circulation of the daily press.

The All-Union Congress of Writers which took place in September has attracted the attention of the representatives of the intellectuals in all lands, and has become transformed into a demonstration of the huge cultural achievements made in the land of the Soviets.

What strikes one especially sharply is the change that has taken place in the face of the Soviet village, which as a result of collectivisation has passed out of its old poor and half-savage condition on to the high road of well-being and a cultured life. Tractors, combines, automobiles, radio, cinema, and the large network of schools (and not only elementary schools, but also secondary and professional schools), demand tens and hundreds of thousands of not only literate people, but also of technically qualified and fully cultured active workers in the new village. The village has already acquired its innumerable intelligentsia. The village is catching up to the socialist town. The gulf between town and

village is gradually being reduced, and the contrast between them is being abolished.

Both the town and the village, socialist industry and socialist agriculture have become mighty smithies forging the new man. The complete abolition of exploitation and oppression, creative enthusiasm in the struggle for mighty aims, and the socialist organisation of production and labour, are re-educating the millions of builders of classless socialist society.

Not only do the workers of all lands turn their glances full of pride towards the wonderful homeland of the October Revolution. Not only are the proletarians of all capitalist countries attracted by this country where the working class has been victorious, where the dictatorship of the proletariat, the overthrow of capitalism and the construction of socialism have resulted in the abolition of such age-long features inherent in the life of the proletariat, such as the separation of their labour power from the means of production, and uncertainty about the morrow, based on the fear of the toiling people in face of their armed oppressors. Not only do those who see the cherished dreams being realised in the mighty construction taking place in the Soviet Union sympathetically follow each step taken by the Soviet fatherland in its victorious struggle to build up a classless socialist society, but even the most far-sighted people in the enemy camp who understand that under capitalism everything cannot continue in the old way, but who do not want socialism, are also directing their searching glances at the growth of the proletarian State in the attempt to find the answer to the question: "What can we learn from the experience of this country, what has given this surprising country the power and the possibility, in the very midst of the destructive crisis that holds the economy and culture of all capitalist countries, to go impetuously forward and upward with gigantic and firm steps?" And these defenders of the capitalist order are putting the question in their own way as to how to utilise the lessons attained, in the interests of capital.

The world historic successes achieved by the U.S.S.R. supply the rising class, the proletariat in the capitalist countries, with new revolutionary energy to create, after the example given by the Bolsheviks, the preconditions for their own advance, to bring about an October victory in their own country. The dying class, doomed to death by the iron law of history, namely, the bourgeoisie and its ideologists, stretch their miserable phantasy to the extreme, and develop reactionary utopias as to how to save the capitalist system and the bourgeois order from the world October by transplanting the Soviet system of planned economy on to capitalist ground. The construction of socialism in the U.S.S.R. spreads colossal waves of revolutionary energy into the camp of the international proletariat, and shatters to bits the miserably reactionary utopian hopes fostered about achieving under capitalism what only socialism can bring about.

In the fire of the October Socialist Revolution the Bolsheviks, under Lenin's leadership, stood at the head of the majority of the working class which rallied behind it the majority of the whole toiling people, and won the dictatorship of the proletariat, and established Soviet Power. And this new link in the new epoch of world history, the epoch of the transformation of capitalist society into socialist society, has been forged in the fire of new class battles by the Bolsheviks, under the leadership of Stalin, who have stood at the head of all the toilers in the mighty land of the proletariat.

The events throughout the world on the eve of the Seventeenth Anniversary of the mighty October, the clash of two fronts, of the two basic classes of bourgeois society, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, the desperate struggle for and against the preservation of capitalist exploitation and imperialist oppression, the battle between exploiters and exploited, between oppressors and oppressed—all this revolves around the problems which the October Revolution has either solved, or helped to solve, by creating the necessary preconditions for their solution. In this struggle, where fascism and bourgeois democracy, despite all their differences fight for the preservation of the old order of wage-slavery,

while Communism fights for the new classless socialist society, three questions are now especially insistently coming to the forefront in the consciousness of the wide masses of non-party and social-democratic workers, questions which can only be answered in the light of the October Revolution, and on the lines taken by the October Socialist Revolution.

It is around these three questions which are being brought forward by the offensive of fascism on the working class and the establishment of fascist dictatorship, that the struggle is going on in a number of countries between the old and the new society, namely: the first question, about freedom and the dictatorship of the proletariat; the second question, about force and the armed uprising; and the third question, about the unity of action of the working class.

The workers in Germany, Italy, Austria, Japan, Poland and other countries where the rabid bourgeoisie has transformed the State into one huge prison for all the toilers, are thirsting for freedom. And the workers in the countries of so-called bourgeois democracy are also thirsting for freedom—countries where the bourgeoisie, taking the road to fascism, are step by step depriving the workers of the last remnants of democratic rights.

But the question of freedom is linked up with the question of power. In February of this year the workers of Austria rose in arms in defence of the last relics of their rights and freedom, against the onslaught of fascism. But they only set themselves the task of defending their freedom, they did not set themselves the question of power, of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and they were defeated. Supreme heroism has been displayed by the Spanish proletariat, in armed struggles where they have not spared their lives in defence of the rights and freedom won by the overthrow of the military-fascist dictatorship, but cut down by the radical socialist government and destroyed by monarchist-fascist reaction. The Spanish workers have learnt from the experience of the February battles in Austria, and raised the struggle against fascism on to a much higher level than that achieved by their Austrian class brothers. They not only defended their freedom but organised an armed uprising, while the workers of Asturias have fought for Soviet power under the leadership of the Communists. But the Spanish peasants who when the monarchy was overthrown obtained but few liberties and whom the bourgeois-socialist government did not give the land—these peasants, whom the Communists have not yet mobilised in rallying round the proletariat and leading to the seizure of the land, turned away from the Republic and did not support the proletariat. This is why the proletariat of Spain have also not been able to achieve victory at this stage.

The workers of the Soviet Union in times gone by also fought for freedom for tens of years. When they overthrew tsarism they achieved, as a result of the February Revolution, the maximum of freedom attained by the working class within the bounds of the bourgeois system anywhere and at any time. But it soon became clear to the majority of the working class that freedom for the working class is incompatible with freedom for the bourgeoisie. The democratic freedom won by the proletariat in Russia in the February days rendered it exceptionally easy for it to solve (under the leadership of the Bolsheviks) the task of independently organising and winning the leading role in the revolutionary movement of the peasants. But not more. Before the October Revolution, in the freest bourgeois country at that time, in bourgeois-revolutionary Russia, it became manifest that, as Marx says, "the highest social level of bourgeois order" is not freedom for all, but that which guarantees the maintenance of the bourgeois capitalist system. And, led by the Bolshevik Party, the proletariat understood that if it was to save itself from the oncoming catastrophe it must seize power.

This has also been confirmed by the fate of Weimar democracy in Germany, and of the "almost socialist democracy" that existed in Austria. This has also been confirmed by the fate of bourgeois democracy in such lands of old democracy as France,



by the effort of the most reactionary sections of the bourgeoisie to pass over from the inadequate methods of bourgeois democracy to those which from their point of view are more suitable ones, namely, fascist methods, so as to ward off the overthrow of the capitalist system.

Bourgeois democratic liberties are tolerated only within the bounds of what serves to preserve the capitalist order. The civil liberties of the working class inevitably have been and are being wiped away when the question at stake is that of ensuring the interests of the bourgeoisie.

The hymns of praise sung by the leaders of social democracy and its most famous theoreticians and politicians, Otto Bauer, Vandervelde, Leon Blum, in honour of bourgeois liberty as liberty for all; the lying speeches of a certain Karl Kautsky regarding the freedom of the working class, about democracy in general under capitalism, the illusions developed by all these leaders in the ranks of the working class have only led to the working class being unable to utilise the liberties won under the bourgeois-democratic system. All this blethering has only led to the loss of rights and liberties already won by the proletariat which the bourgeoisie abolished as soon as the interests of the bourgeoisie so required. The loss by the proletariat of the liberties attained by it under the bourgeois order is inevitable if, when defending its rights, the proletariat while appreciating the incompatibility of freedom for the working class and freedom for the bourgeoisie, does not set itself such aims as the overthrow of the bourgeois system, the destruction of the bourgeois class and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat which guarantees freedom only to the proletariat and not to the bourgeoisie. Only the dictatorship of the proletariat, achieved as a result of the October victory, has established real proletarian Soviet democracy for the toilers, about the scope of which we can get a picture, true, only a weak one from the following two sets of figures: in the elections to the Constituent Assembly in November, 1917, 36,262,566 voters voted on the basis of the General Electoral Law. In 1934, on the other hand, at the forthcoming elections to the Soviets, the number of voters has reached ninety millions, and this despite the fact that the former exploiting classes have been deprived of the right to vote. This is what is happening in the land where the proletariat, led by the Leninist Bolshevik Party, has established its unlimited power, namely, its dictatorship, and through this revolutionary dictatorship has established the preconditions for the establishment of such a system where not "the unfree thing but the free human being" is dominant.

Fascism is on the offensive in a number of countries. The workers, Communists, social democrats, toilers of all kinds in Austria and in Spain, entered the struggle this year with arms in their hands against the concentrated military forces of the fascist bourgeoisie. Terrified philistines like Hilferding have issued abominably lying pamphlets against the heroic proletariat of Austria, and have sneered at the Austrian workers for being unable to correctly determine "the bounds of force." The English philistine, Wells, put the question to Comrade Stalin, the leader of the world proletariat, about the advisability of the proletariat applying force. Otto Bauer would like to convince the proletarians that "the social-democrat values the word 'freedom' more than the Communist does, while the Communist places the historic role of force higher than does the social democrat."

The efforts which have ended in failure of the Austrian and Spanish proletarians to maintain their liberty by force show not the limited role played by force. On the contrary, they show that only those may achieve victory who are in a position correctly to understand the historic role of the force of armed uprising not as an accidental episode in the struggle, but as a necessary precondition for victory, a precondition which must be carefully and thoroughly prepared beforehand both politically and from a military technical point of view. They show that the only path to lead to victory is the path of October.

The proletariat has never been able hitherto to convince itself

with such clarity about the correctness of the old saying to the effect that "he who has arms, has freedom," as now, when a turning point in world history has been arrived at, when the historic struggle between capitalism and socialism has developed into the duel between fascism and Communism, and when bourgeois democracy is also becoming ever more penetrated by the elements of fascism. The following most important lesson has arisen from the experience of the armed struggles of the proletariat this past year, when contrasted with the October uprising, namely, that of the necessity of applying violence and of the need for all-round preparations for the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie. Let the proletariat not let itself be deceived again. The working class have no need for empty blether about the application of violence. They require to make really correct and appropriate preparations for the armed uprising, if they wish to ensure a successful struggle against fascism. In the same measure as the ideological struggle against fascism is necessary, and as it is important to convince the proletarian and semi-proletarian elements who still continue to help the bourgeoisie to save capitalism, in the same degree is it futile to attempt to convince the reactionary bourgeoisie to fence off its capitalist private property by means which already are not achieving their aim, to give up fascism.

The history of the working class does not know of any greater betrayal of the interests of the working class than the theories that are now, after the Austrian and Spanish events, once again being cooked up by the leaders of social-democracy, especially by the so-called Anglo-Saxon socialists, and also by the scared German philistines from the camp of social democracy in emigration. The essence of these theories may be reduced to the following: "Force was a method of the bourgeois revolution, a means to effect the transfer from feudalism to capitalism. But the transfer from capitalism to socialism can only be brought about in peaceful fashion, only as the result of the numerical preponderance and organised character of the proletariat."

The numerical preponderance of the proletariat has long existed. Its organised character, as such, reached a high level in Austria, Germany, and even in Spain, well before the decisive passage of fascism to the offensive. The old social order was undermined, shattered by the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat. But of itself it did not collapse and could not collapse, and the bourgeoisie would not allow it. They mobilised all means of applying violence to save their power. What did the majority of social democracy counterpose to this, social democracy which until recent times stood at the head of the majority of the working class in capitalist countries? While undertaking a policy of co-operation with the bourgeoisie and thus clearing the way for fascism, social democracy either denied violence in words, while in deeds did not hesitate to indulge in any act of police violence against the proletariat (the shooting down of the First of May demonstration in 1929 in Berlin by Zoergiebel) or else vacillated at the decisive moment when the proletariat had to resort to violence, which was equal to treachery. The October uprising of the Russian proletariat in 1917 was crowned with victory because the Party, which stood at the head of the majority of the working class, considered that the application of violence by the proletariat as against the violence by the bourgeoisie was no accident called forth by the peculiar nature of the historical situation, but was a necessity. It is necessary to prepare the proletariat for the application of violence against the domination of the bourgeoisie in good time, planfully, politically and organisationally, morally and technically.

The offensive of fascism throughout the capitalist world, the establishment of open fascist dictatorship in a number of countries and the danger of war has given rise among the social-democratic and non-party workers to a very powerful urge in favour of the united front of struggle together with the Communists. The united front of the Communists and social democrats in the struggle against fascism and war and against the capitalist offensive is the path to the winning of the majority of the working

class to the banner of the consistent class struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, the banner of Communism.

The October uprising smashed the State machine of the bourgeoisie, broke the backbone of the counter-revolution, because the majority of the proletariat acted in unanimity at the decisive points and not only offered resistance at the decisive moments, but moved forward purposefully, organised by the Bolsheviks and led by them. In spite of the fact that, with the exception of Petrograd, Moscow and a number of other big industrial centres in the country, the majority of the deputies' mandates in the Soviets were in the hands of the petty bourgeois parties, the Mensheviks and social revolutionaries, almost up to the very moment of the October Revolution, the Bolsheviks devoted all their energy to the struggle for the Soviets.

They fought steadily for the majority in the Soviets, because they knew that the Soviets were a mighty conquest for the working class, the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat given by history, but nevertheless only the socialist form of the political organisation of the proletariat.

"Everything depends on the contents which will be put into this mould."

"It is not only a question of the Soviets themselves but mainly of who will direct them." (Stalin.)

The experience of the Soviets in the German revolution in 1918, led by the followers of Scheidemann and the Independents, is the best proof of this Leninist principle.

The Bolsheviks worked in a planned and purposeful manner to bring about, through the Soviets, the unity of action of the working class and its alliance with the peasants, with the proletariat as the leading force.

On the eve of the October Revolution, in the struggle for the revolutionary unity of action of the working class, the Bolsheviks won over the majority in the Petrograd and Moscow Soviets and in the Soviets of a number of industrial districts. This was a necessary prerequisite for the October victory.

At the same time and on this basis, the Bolsheviks won tremendous influence among the masses of peasants by their policy, their consistent struggle for peace and land, and especially by their adoption of the agrarian programme which the peasant congress voted for. At the time of the armed uprising the Bolsheviks made an agreement with the Left social revolutionaries so as to ensure the support of the revolution by the broad masses of the peasants. As a result, the Bolsheviks more and more undermined the influence of the Mensheviks and social revolutionaries in the Soviets of Workers', Peasants' and Soldiers' Deputies. On June 3, 1917, at the First Congress of Soviets, the Bolsheviks constituted only 13 per cent. of the delegates, but the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets, when the representatives of the toiling masses sanctioned the armed seizure of power, the Bolsheviks had 51 per cent. of the places. At the Third Congress of the Soviets, the Bolsheviks had 61 per cent., at the Fourth Congress, in March, 1918, this number had already risen to 64 per cent., while at the Fifth Congress, in July, 1918, when the agreement with the social revolutionaries was ended, the toilers had sent to the Congress 66 per cent. of Bolshevik delegates.

The persistent struggle of the Bolsheviks for the unity of action of the working class and to secure allies for the proletariat, a struggle which could not be stopped by any temporary defeats, was the prerequisite for the victory of October, for the winning of power and the consolidation of this power.

The social democrats and the non-party workers are beginning to realise the basic lesson of the October Revolution, namely, that the establishment of the revolutionary unity of action of the working class, under the leadership of the Communist vanguard, is the path towards the destruction of the influence of the bourgeoisie over the working class, the path towards the winning by the proletariat of the hegemony over the movement of the middle strata in the town and village, the path towards the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, the path towards the dictatorship of the proletariat, the path towards victory. Hence the stubborn resist-

ance to the Communist Parties on the part of the Second International and the majority of its parties, in respect of the struggle of the Communists for the unity of action of the working class, and their attempts to replace the slogan of the united front of struggle by the slogan of "organisational unity" in the sense of the fusion of Communism with reformism, in the sense of the absorption of Communism in reformism. The Communist Parties must and will carry on the struggle for the united front still more stubbornly, thus bringing the social-democratic and non-party workers to the side of Communism, knowing that the proletariat desires to and must create the guarantees which will ensure victory, just as the Bolsheviks established the prerequisites for the victory of the October Revolution.

For more than ten years international social democracy unanimously excommunicated the October Revolution and all its achievements. But gradually large and small groups began to be formed in the Second International which little by little realised that "the things taking place in the Soviet Union may, perhaps, be really recognised as socialist construction." The theoreticians and political leaders, including those who uttered incitements towards intervention and also those who have at length, after fifteen years of the October Revolution, recognised that the defence of the U.S.S.R. is in the interests of the international proletariat itself, have got on well together and still do so within the framework of the Second International. But the social-democratic workers themselves have utterly rejected social interventionism. The construction of socialism in the Soviet Union is guarded not only by the conscious revolutionary vanguard of the working class in the capitalist countries, but by the entire revolutionary proletariat. This shows that the day is near when the international proletariat will forge the will to overthrow the domination of the bourgeoisie in the united front of struggle, and march forward under the leadership of the Comintern to the storm of capitalism under the basic slogan of the conquest of Soviet Power.

## Freedom

By L. F. BOROSS (Moscow)

When I visited the crane factory "January," in Odessa, I asked some of the old workers, who have worked in this factory for thirty or forty years and have gone through many struggles, what the October revolution has given them.

The replies which I received differed according to the personal circumstances and the temperament of the speakers. One was enthusiastic at the rapid improvement of his standard of living, another at the enormous perspectives opened out to his children by the new proletarian state; a third stressed the advantage of being able to face the future without anxiety, freed from the dread of unemployment; a fourth emphasised the fact that he had been able to recuperate every year in a health resort at the expense of the firm; others placed this or that additional advantage in the foreground. But one point was contained in all the answers, and as a rule it came first: "With the revolution we gained freedom." "The power is in our hands." "We are free." "We are our own masters." This idea recurred again and again in all the replies, in varying forms.

What was the reason why these old and experienced workers, the youngest of whom was 54 years of age, placed precisely this question of freedom in the foreground? They have gone through much. They know from their own experience how often this word has been abused by the ruling classes in order to keep the ruled, the subjugated, in a state of docility. In the capitalist state of society the word "freedom" is most greatly abused. The same word is used to designate the situation of the bourgeoisie, whose freedom permits them to build the beautiful palaces of the rich out of the blood and sweat of the wage slaves and working peasantry, and the situation of the worker, who is "free," should economic conditions be favourable, to sell all that he possesses, his labour power. Nobody forces him to work. His position differs from that of a slave in that he can starve freely, when and where he will. The peasant, too, is "free." He may till his little plot of ground "freely," work day and night to gain the utmost yield of his soil, frequently without noticing that the proceeds of his

alleged free work are taken from him in the form of taxes, interest on debts, either directly or through the agency of the bailiff, and only serve to add to the luxuries with which the rich are already sated. All this is called "freedom."

Just as if these comrades had guessed my thoughts, some of them hastened to add: "At the time of the February revolution the bourgeoisie told us that we were free. But now we ourselves say that we are free, and that is a great difference. We are really free, for we have not only rights, but we have the means of being free. The factories, the land, all the natural wealth of the country, belong to us. We are free from all exploitation and oppression. We are free because we have the power, because the dictatorship of the proletariat has cleared out of our path all those classes which have deprived us of freedom.

"We are free"—this was the formulation of another worker—"because we can now define for ourselves what the word freedom means."

The workers, the whole of the toiling masses, possess in the Soviet Union in actual practice, all those liberties which exist only as deceitful illusions in a bourgeois democracy.

**Freedom of the franchise:** We discussed the impending Soviet elections. I asked the comrades if they were of the opinion that they were really able to vote freely.

One of the older workers replied: "Under Tzarism I fought for many years for general suffrage. How ridiculous the goal we set ourselves at that time appears in the face of to-day's realities! Can we vote our representatives freely to the Soviets? I should rather think we can! We elect them from among our fellow workers. Among this group here (the conversation took place with a number of workers who had been employed for a long time in the same factory), more than one-half have been members of the district or town Soviets in the course of the last 17 years. One of us is a member of the Central Executive Committee, the highest legislative organ of the Soviet Ukraine. Our deputies are unceasingly responsible to us for the strict carrying out of the instructions of the electors. Should they fail to do this, they can be recalled immediately. We in our factory here have been able to decide for ourselves, through our deputies, where a new school, a new hospital, a new tramline, is to be built. But it is not these liberties which are our pride, but that the Soviet Power which we elect and constantly influence and support leads and helps us in rapidly building up the new world of socialism, the world of the workers, the world of the toiling masses. Our greatest freedom lies in the fact that we are able to build up in reality all that of which we have dreamed, all that for which the best of the workers of the capitalist countries die on the gallows, perish in the prisons."

What, for instance, is the freedom of labour? To-day it would be inadequate to regard as freedom of labour in the Soviet Union the fact that everyone is able to find work here, that there is no unemployment. This is simply a matter of course. Especially to the young workers, engineers, and collective peasants, who cannot imagine a state of affairs in which work would not be obtainable, though, of course, they know that there is unemployment in the capitalist countries. The freedom of labour does not mean to the Soviet worker merely that he has work, but that he, his class, decides what work is to be done, what is to be built. He is no longer merely a screw in the machine whose levers are in the hands of an enemy class, but he himself is the master of the machine. No capitalist can prevent him from creating what is necessary for the welfare of the toiling masses. If the working people need more electric current, then they build the largest and most efficient of power stations wherever they are needed, whether beyond the Arctic circle or in the Southern Caucasian mountains. If machinery is needed, enormous machine-building works spring up. If the working people need more clothing, they build new textile factories. This is the freedom of socialist labour. This is the meaning of socialist planned economy. Therefore all attempts at planned economy in the capitalist countries are fruitless imaginings. And it means besides that those workers who stood in the front fighting ranks under capitalism, and took the lead in the strikes and wage struggles against capitalist exploitation, now still continue to stand in the foremost ranks in the land of the Soviets and to take the lead in the socialist competitions and shock brigades which raise the standards of work performance in the socialist undertakings and improve the quantity and quality of the products made by the toiling masses for the toiling masses.

**National Liberty:** Here every nation has the right and the possibility of developing its own national culture and of employing its own language as the ruling language on the territory which it inhabits. But this liberty possessed by the peoples living voluntarily together in the Soviet Union is not restricted to a mere formality. Here the freedom of a nation does not merely signify the right to freedom, but the actual possession of the means enabling the nation to rise to the highest level of culture, a culture national in form and socialist in content. It means that the populations of the former Tzarist colonies are being raised by means of modern industrial undertakings to the level of the highly developed peoples. It means the creation of a close network of elementary and secondary schools and colleges, where the sons and daughters of the former shepherds and farm hands are trained, in their own native language, to become engineers, skilled workers, agronomists, collective peasants, or university professors, working and living on a high cultural level.

**Or the liberty of the press?** This does not mean simply that the toiling masses have the right to a free press. It means that the press of the toiling masses has actually been developed to an unprecedented extent; the great central press has been developed, and at the same time there has been a decentralisation so thorough that every single industrial undertaking or small group of collective workers has its paper, so that all local interests of the toiling masses may be effectually dealt with. In the small Moldavian Autonomous Soviet Republic, where there was only one single small newspaper ten years ago, there are now 36 central and district newspapers, newspapers issued by the Machine and Tractor Stations, and besides this many hundreds of wall newspapers in the factories and in the fields. In this small national republic the newspapers appear in five languages.

**Personal Liberty:** The following manoeuvre is much favoured by "Left" social democrats of the Otto Bauer type, unable to deny any longer that these achievements have really been gained in the Soviet Union. "Yes, the working class as such is free, but within this class the individual worker is not free; he is living in a great physical and mental barracks, and has no possibility of developing his own personality." It is scarcely possible to imagine anything more foolish than the mere assumption that a people of 170 millions should have been making the most heroic efforts for the realisation of an abstract idea for 17 years, an idea which serves the working class as some abstraction, but does not serve it as a community of living human beings. That 170 million human beings, after rising up against the capitalist order because their lives were joyless and hopeless under capitalism, and after building up a new state of society at the cost of infinite pains and struggles, sacrificing tens of thousands of their best fighters in the struggle against a compulsorily imposed asceticism, should have done all this for the sake of gaining a voluntary asceticism now . . . the mere idea is nonsense.

Does personal liberty exist in the Soviet Union? Apart from the working class, let us ask, for instance, the inhabitants of the small village of Gulinka, in the Moscow district. The inhabitants of this village—totalling 228 families—can tell many tales about how, before the revolution, it was a rare piece of luck if a peasant's son could attain the high position of a waiter in a restaurant. Only a few days ago the president of the village Soviet, a former shepherdess, afterwards a cook at a farm, Kurkina, visited Moscow to see the 51 people from her native village, now living in the city. Meanwhile, these have become engineers, physicians, commanders of the Red Army, inventors, agronomists, or are studying in the colleges. What is this but personal liberty? Or do Otto Bauer's adherents want to assert that these peasant boys and girls are being forced by the G.P.U. to become professors and inventors? Or that even in the most "free" of the capitalist countries there are any villages whatever which furnish any parallel of the tens of thousands of Soviet villages in which the peasants—like the workers—may choose and learn any profession they like and for which they possess talent? The State of the toiling masses gives them, not only the right, but the means of realising it.

And the many small joys of life! Are there any ascetic restrictions here? When the fight for socialism has made it necessary, the Soviet proletariat has shown that it can give its all and its last. When the foundations of socialism had to be laid, the country covered with a network of heavy industrial undertakings, the proletariat has shown itself able to limit its personal needs for the time being, and to wait till the fruits of its

labour were mature. But now, when these fruits are ripening, it becomes clear that these self-imposed restrictions were those of a good economist, and not an asceticism which is in reality opposed to the nature of the proletariat. Are new shops, which are being opened daily, the constantly crowded theatres and cinemas, the innumerable new sports grounds, the multifarious entertainments of the culture parks, the many clubs, the new cafés, and all the other countless similar enterprises, signs of that ascetic joylessness with which the owning classes of the capitalist countries would like to frighten their workers from the path to Bolshevism? The simple peasants of any of the Soviet border districts, only lately quite backward, could now draw a comparison in favour of their own cultural level. They are able to organise performances of their national theatre, with classic modern plays, even during work intervals in the harvest fields, whilst German workers, for instance, though on a comparatively high cultural level, can enjoy nothing of the sort—there are, for example, the 42,000 workers employed in the Berlin Siemens Schuckert Works, 80 per cent. of whom—according to the official fascist figures—never visit a theatre or concert. If the Soviet worker wants to read, and he does want to read, the largest and most up-to-date libraries are at his disposal. If he wants entertainment of another kind he is given every possibility in the culture parks, the dance halls, etc., etc.

Every victory over the class enemy, every great achievement on the front of socialist construction, brings with it fresh possibilities, fresh freedom. There is still not enough of many things to meet fully the needs of 170 millions. In order to attain this the whole of the first phase of Communism—the socialist phase—is necessary. But when we look back to-day on the first two years of the second Five-Year Plan and see how life has developed in the Soviet Union in spite of the many difficulties, and how the freedom of the toiling masses, their century-old dream of the realisation of socialism, is receiving ever new and concrete content, then we see what real socialist freedom signifies. There is only one liberty denied in the Soviet Union—the liberty to exploit the toiling masses, the liberty to fight against the power of the working class, the liberty to attempt to turn back the wheel of history to the days of wage slavery. Therefore, if any enemy or false friend of the Soviet Union complains of lack of liberty, he can only mean this liberty of counter-revolution, this liberty for the enemies of the working class. The dictatorship of the proletariat, which deprives the enemies of the working class of all liberty, is the fundamental prerequisite for the freedom of the toiling masses. Hence it is but seldom that a worker, when asked what the seventeen years of revolution have brought him, does not quite spontaneously answer in the first place: "They have given me freedom."

## Where the Landlords Formerly Ruled

By A. S.

Far from the main railway lines, in the depths of the Central Black Earth Region, 20 kilometres from the small provincial town of Kirsanov, lie the fields of one of the oldest collective farms of the region—the "Lenin" agricultural Commune.

The collective farm road stretches out like a tightly stretched string in the bright sunshine. On each side lies the fresh amber-coloured stubble. Not long ago a sea of wheat and rye swayed here. On this boundless field, without limit and without end, as far as the eye could see, the haystacks stand like a herd of golden elephants. These are the fodder supplies of the collective farm. The harvested fields give an idea of the size of the collective farm barns. Even before I arrive at the farm I am told that even in the present dry year, the Lenin Commune obtained 25 bushels of rye and 30 bushels of wheat per acre.

On this road various excursions can frequently be met going to the Commune. Five thousand collective farmers visit the Commune every year. It is obvious what interest there is here. They are learning from the example of the more experienced collective farmers how better to organise their own farms. Foreign workers, students, teachers, friends of the collective farmers, come to visit them. With the closest attention they examine every detail of the collective farm, examine with great interest the new Soviet life. They are overjoyed with the successes of collective labour and life.

Sometimes the friends of the landlords also come.

Once an English peeress came, say the Commune members. She asked the old men time after time whether they remembered their old master, Prince Obolenski, her best friend. She asked

whether they were living better or worse in the Commune than they lived formerly at the time of Prince Obolenski. She hoped that she would find among the old men someone yearning for the old times, or at least one who would say that things had gone well at the time of Obolenski.

"Yes, the Prince lived very well at that time, but we . . ." and old man Chernetsov ended his sentence with a furious curse at the name of Prince Obolenski and the other former lords.

The peeress asked no more questions. She set about seeking for something wrong without the help of the collective farmers. But she had little success in this.

At the same time **Bernard Shaw** was in the Commune. He closely questioned the members of the Commune, asked about the various branches of farm work, especially cattle raising. He went into the houses of the members, into the club, into the school.

When he was leaving he said: "I feel very well here. Russia is a wonderful country, I think I am at least 20 years younger" . . .

What had been the state of affairs formerly among these hills? The people of the present day have not forgotten. The watchman of the Commune, Chernetsov, is 70 years old, and he is a living history book.

"All the landlords had the same law for the toilers," says the old man. "We had to work very hard for them. Sometimes we were kept at work for 20 hours. I worked for 43 years as a labourer for the landlords. I also worked for Princess Obolenski. The landlords sucked our blood. They did not reckon with age. They mocked at our poverty.

"At the present time 800 people are well off on the same land, but formerly only one person got fat on it. The princess paid three roubles for harvesting a hectare. We worked like cattle and were always half-starved."

Many others can speak of the landlords' times. The veterinary surgeon of the Commune, Lvov, remembers how under the princess the huts of the labourers could hardly be distinguished from the stables. And only the landlord's house in the whole district was well built and decorated.

The socialist revolution completely swept away the Obolenski family of princes. The former labourers became the masters. Those who had been driven abroad by capitalism to seek their living began to return to the former princely estate. These were Russian peasants who had emigrated to America. How had they lived there?

They had lived in such a way that they thought of nothing else all the time except how to get away from such a life.

In Russia the toilers took the power into their hands. People obtained a fatherland, which they had not before, when they left the place of their birth and childhood and did not find it in the new land beyond the ocean. And they decided to return to their fatherland. This was in 1921-22. They were not frightened by the stories of famine and the prophecies of the bourgeois press about the "rapid fall of the Soviet Power." They sold all their property, bought a few implements and took them to Soviet Russia.

When they arrived, they were offered the land of the former Prince Obolenski in Kirsanov county. At this time the former estates of the prince were in a state of ruin. The fields were neglected and full of weeds. Only the bare walls remained of the farm buildings. Difficult and painstaking work began. At first forces were too few. In a fierce class struggle against the kulaks and white guards, many of the difficulties were overcome by the members of the Commune. A group of local peasants joined those who had arrived from America. With their joint forces they built up a farm of which they may justly be proud.

Among the scores of cattle yards, hog-pens and stables, over which the windmill rattles merrily, one cow barn stands out among the others. A low brick building, it has little windows with prison-like bars. Inside, all is damp, gloomy, and with the odour of a cellar. This is a smell arising from all the old relics. It is the only cow shed which was taken over by the Commune as a "heritage" from the former estate of the owner, Princess Obolenski. The princess took no more care of the cattle than of the farm labourers. The only exceptions were the carriage horses. They alone had a fairly good stable. The other working cattle were huddled into dirty, tumbled-down stalls and sheds.

By the efforts of the members of the Commune the old cow shed was put in order, white-washed, extended, and made as light



as possible. A narrow-gauge line was built joining up all the cattle yards with the fodder base and with each other. Electric light shone out above the stalls. Water pipes stretched to the mangers.

But, nevertheless, the "inherited" cow shed is far behind the cattle yards constructed by the Commune. At every step can be felt their care for the collective property, in the building itself, in the neatness and cleanliness which is maintained here by the efforts of the members of the Commune. Everywhere it is bright, airy and comfortable. When the rays of the setting sun pour through the wide open gates of the stables and piggeries and cover the white walls with brilliant patches, it seems that we are not in a cattle yard, but under the arches of a great railway station.

Before anyone can go into the piggery, he must pass through a disinfection chamber and wipe the soles of his boots with chloride of lime. A drainage canal runs from every sty, through which the liquid manure will flow into an underground reservoir where it is kept closed up. From here it is pumped into barrels and carried to the fields for use as a fertiliser.

The latest novelty in the cattle yard of the Commune consists of drinking basins for the cows. Metal basins are attached to each stall, with a tap from the water pipe. When the cow takes a drink its muzzle presses down the false bottom of the basin, thus opening the faucet and admitting water. Thanks to this device, the cow always receives water that is fresh and clean (and in winter—warm). In addition, work is made easier in the cattle yard. The cows are very well able to "work" these basins.

The pig farm of the Commune is very interesting. The "menu" of the pigs is prepared mechanically. Big vats are set up in a special pigs' kitchen, heated by steam. When the food is cooked, the vats automatically empty into small cars, which carry the food to the "dining room." Here, as in the cow sheds, the hand labour of the attendants is reduced to a minimum.

All this would have been impossible in the farm of the princess. The whole farm of the former landlord seems pitiful compared with the farm of the Commune.

Lvov, the veterinary surgeon of the Commune, says:—

"When organising the Commune we received from the old farm six horses, not pure breed and moreover in a bad condition. With this we began our horse breeding. Year by year the horses increased in number and type, and now the Commune has 104 pedigree horses.

"The herd of cattle at first consisted of 16 cows, giving four or five quarts of milk a day. Now the Commune has 445 cows, including some which give 30 quarts of milk a day. It is interesting to note that the district agricultural authorities did not believe at first in the success of the Commune in regard to milk production. A special commission was even sent to check up on the spot as to the amount of milk.

"The Commune only received four pigs from the former landlords estate, weighing four or five poods each. At present the Commune has 134 breeding sows of the big English stock. In the present season there have been 1,390 piglets. Among the members of the Commune are some real enthusiasts for pig breeding. By their efforts a highly productive and profitable pig farm has been formed in the Commune. The cattle farms of the Commune occupy an enormous territory."

Over 1,000 hectares of the former landlord's estate are occupied by the plough land of the Commune. The old methods of cultivation have been abandoned. The black earth is cultivated by large-scale collective farming, scientific rotation of crops, super-early sowing, tractors and complicated mechanised seed drills. Everything is mechanised.

The agronomists proudly point out the symbolic picture of a Lawson tractor, which was brought by the re-immigrants from America, but it was scrapped in 1930, while here stands a column of machines of Soviet manufacture, including the 60-horse power "Stalinets" caterpillar tractors from Cheliabinsk.

A certain English tourist who could not find anything here to blame the Soviet system with, despite all his efforts, later wrote in the London press: "Yes, the people live well in this Commune, but this is explained by the fact that the Commune works with machines brought from America." We did not get far with American machines, the members of the Commune declared laughingly. Look how many machines are working now.

	Brought from America	Obtained in U.S.S.R.	Total
Tractors, 15-27 h.p. ....	—	5	5
" 60 h.p. ....	—	1	1
" 10-20 h.p. ....	—	1	1
Self binders .....	4	5	9
Seed drills .....	1	4	5
Mowing machines .....	—	12	12
Horse rakes .....	—	7	7
4-share tractor ploughs ....	—	5	5
Combines .....	—	1	1
Compound threshers .....	—	3	3
Potato setters .....	1	3	4
Potato lifters .....	2	1	3

Simple arithmetic shows that this tourist, to speak plainly, was lying. Only 8 less important machines had been brought from America, while the basic mass of them were 48 machines of Soviet construction, obtained by the Commune in the last few years.

The large socialist economy of the Commune gives good income to its owners—the ex-farm labourers. Year by year this income is increasing. Even in 1926 the total income was 28,000 roubles, but in 1933 it had far exceeded a million. The milk farm alone brought 232,444 roubles in 1933, the pig farm gave 167,853 roubles, and the beehives gave 23,232 roubles, etc. The Commune sold 1,300 pigs at the collective farm market.

When the Commune began to develop, its property was valued at 41,000 roubles. It was difficult to carry on work on a large scale with such capital. But the proletarian State helped, giving credit. This credit has now been paid off in full. "We are out of debt," say the members of the Commune.

The property of the Commune is now valued at more than two million roubles. The Commune has 500,000 roubles in its account at the bank.

Nothing remains from the former village life and conditions. Good airy houses, some of them of the cottage type. The rooms contain durable oak furniture, mirrors, clean bed clothing.

A peasant working for the landlord could not dream of anything beautiful. The peasants have now begun to understand artistic and æsthetic matters since they have become the masters. This can be felt in any room of the collective farmers.

When you go into the kitchen of the Commune, you understand why the members look so healthy. There is abundance of white bread, milk, butter, honey. The common dining-room is well organised, including even special dietetic menus for those needing it. Commune members in white overalls look after everything.

The members spend their free time and rest days in sport. There are bicycles, boats. Finally, the Commune has a park with an excellent avenue of birch trees.

There is not a single illiterate person in the Commune. Not a single child died during the last year. The Commune has its own dispensary and maternity hospital. The dispensary also caters for collective farmers from the surrounding villages.

The Commune library has over 2,000 volumes, but the members are not satisfied with this number. They have voted a further 2,000 roubles for the purchase of good fiction. Literary evenings are frequently held in the library, and chess tournaments in the club. Two hundred and thirty newspapers and 98 magazines are subscribed for in the Commune.

In one of the white rooms of the children's nursery hangs a card with the words: "Children are the flowers of life." This is fully justified. The children in the Commune are really looked after like flowers. There is a special kitchen for the little ones, and a skilled nurse sees to the preparation of healthy food. When the games are over in the evening and the tasty supper has been eaten, the children are taken home.

Children between three and eight years of age go to the kindergarten. Here again are snow-white beds, perfect order and excellent care. At the time of our visit the children were preparing to go to the club.

The supper was over, the children marched out in a regular column in the hall. At the piano was a former waif but now their teacher, Elizabeth Romanova. She is lovingly attentive to

her young friends. The children take note of the slightest hint from her as they march.

We hear the voices of the children singing a song, "We are not slaves, nor are we lords, all our people are Communards."

It is impossible to look on these healthy and joyous children unmoved. This is how the emancipated children look in a free country.

There are two schools in the Commune, and beyond them lies a broad road for the youth to colleges and universities. They are growing and advancing.

Here are some of the youngsters who came from the Lenin Commune:—

**G. M. Polosukhin.**—Agricultural scientist, now professor of horticultural science in Voronezh Agricultural Institute.

**V. G. Bondarchuk.**—Graduate of the Agricultural Institute, an agronomist.

**Andrushuk.**—Engineer, electro technician.

**Velemozhin.**—Formerly farm labourer, now graduate of the Faculty of Electricity and research student.

**Yashudi.**—Director of a State farm.

**Kavenko.**—Director of a State farm, etc.

This year the Commune has again sent nine of its members to study in the Agricultural Institute.

We know a great deal of the history of the life of the bourgeois young men. But few people realise the story of the young people of collective farms before whom open out tremendous possibilities created for the toilers of the Soviet Union.

At night under the full moon rivalling the electric lamps of the Commune, throwing silver bands of light on the roads of the village, the smell of pine shavings spreads around with special strength. Piles of boards and bricks, heaps of loose earth, the outline of a half-finished building rises in the darkness in a fantastic silhouette and it seems that the primeval forest is being destroyed.

The Commune has not enough room in the old landlord's park. It is carving its way into the surrounding forest, putting up its buildings further and further into it, spreading over the hills. And the tremendous cleared space produced among the trees looks like another Dnieprostroi.

Here is a third new two-storey building looking through the leaves with the brilliant white of freshly cut lumber. And there is a fourth dwelling house with 44 flats, the Commune will finish its construction this year.

In a pine wood at the centre of the Commune is a radio station. It works from morning till late in the evening. It relays powerful stations but also has its own radio studio.

Formerly semi-starved peasants walked here in their bark shoes, and the liberals wrote touching books about this "impoverished region." The region did not change because of this. But the present owners arrived, and life became completely different.

There is no return to the old system. These people have finished with bark shoes, with beggary and uncultured life. The Soviet Power has created a new and better life, it is gradually destroying the century-old contradiction between town and village.

## Slogans of Bolshevik Struggle and Victory

Every year, before the anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution, the staff and brain of the proletarian dictatorship, the *Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party*, publishes slogans under which millions of toilers in the country of the Soviets march in the columns of the October demonstrations. These slogans contain the general line of the Party, the path along which the Bolsheviks call on the workers and peasants to move, *the path to new victories of socialism*. These are slogans of the present day, which formulate the tasks to be solved at the present day by all the builders of socialism, and at the same time there is no clearer document showing how great are the victories already achieved by the toilers, than these slogans.

Let all the toilers think of the profound historic meaning of the slogan calling on the proletariat and peasants of the whole world to proceed along the path of the workers and peasants of the U.S.S.R.: "*Millions of workers and peasants in the countries of capitalism are doomed to hunger, poverty and ruin. In the U.S.S.R., the power of the Soviets has liberated the labour of the*

*workers and peasants from exploitation, has abolished unemployment and poverty, has ensured the victory of collectivism in the countryside.*" This fundamental and decisive summary is penetrating deeper and deeper into the minds of the workers and peasants in the countries of capitalism. The *difference* in the situation of capitalism, where economy is in a state of collapse, where there are fascist dungeons, where there is the hopelessness of unemployment, and the socialist country, where economy is continually improving day after day, where there is genuine freedom for the toilers, where there is a constant growth in their material welfare, where unemployment exists only in the memories of a stage left behind forever, this difference is too sharp and too evident.

We give below some of these slogans.

(1) Long live the seventeenth anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution in the U.S.S.R.! Long live the Socialist Revolution throughout the world!

(2) Workers of the world! Oppressed peoples of the colonies! Raise higher the banner of Lenin! Forward to the storming of capitalism!

(3) Millions of workers and peasants in the countries of capitalism are doomed to hunger, poverty and ruin. In the U.S.S.R., the power of the Soviets has liberated the labour of the workers and peasants from exploitation, has abolished unemployment and poverty, has ensured the victory of collectivism in the countryside. Workers and peasants of the world, follow the path of the workers and peasants of the U.S.S.R.!

(4) Proletarian greetings to our class brothers, the prisoners of capitalism, the victims of bloody fascism, the fighters for the victory of the working class!

(5) Fraternal greetings to the proletariat of Spain, the foremost heroic fighters against fascism, against capitalism!

(6) Bolshevik greetings to the revolutionary proletariat of Germany! Long live the heroic Communist Party of Germany! Long live Comrade Thaelmann! Wrest him from the hands of the fascist murderers! Freedom for Comrade Thaelmann, freedom for the prisoners of fascism!

(7) Working men and women of all countries! Widen and strengthen the united front of struggle against fascism, against capitalism! Rally around the Communist International!

(8) The imperialists are organising new wars, are preparing an attack on the fatherland of the toilers of the whole world, the Soviet Union! Down with the inciters of war! Down with imperialism! Defend the country of the Soviets, the fatherland of all the toilers!

(9) Long live our beloved Red Army, the powerful bulwark of the peace policy of the Soviet power, the vigilant sentinel of the Soviet borders, the faithful guardian of our great fatherland!

(10) "We do not want a foot of foreign soil. But we will not surrender an inch of our land to anyone." (Stalin.)

(11) "We stand for peace and champion the cause of peace, but we are not afraid of threats and are prepared to answer blow for blow against the instigators of war." (Stalin.)

(12) Warmest greetings to the courageous sons of our fatherland, the heroes of the Soviet Union, the bold conquerors of the air.

(13) Working men and women, collective farmers! Fight for the fulfilment of the second Five-Year Plan, for a further rise in the material and cultural level of the toilers, for the construction of classless socialist society! Forward to new victories!

(14) Bolshevik greetings to the shock workers, the foremost fighters of the great army of the builders of socialism! Raise higher the banner of socialist competition and shock work!

(15) Bolshevik greetings to the men and women shock workers engaged on the construction of the underground railway of our Red capital!

(16) Men and women of the collective farms! Strengthen the collective farm system. Finish off the relics of kulakdom! Make all collective farms into Bolshevik farms and the collective farmers well-to-do! Long live the alliance of the workers and peasants victoriously building Socialism!

(17) For the further improvement in the material conditions of life of the toilers! Bring about first-class work in our co-operative societies! Work for excellent dining-room service and cultured dwellings for the workers! The best public facilities for towns and villages!

(18) Socialist property is sacred and inviolable! For the defence of public socialist property, the basis of the Soviet system!

(19) "A strong and powerful dictatorship of the proletariat—this is what is now required to sweep away the last vestiges of the

ding classes and smash their thievish plots." (Stalin.)

(34) The October Revolution conquered under the banner of the Soviets. Long live the Soviets, which carry on the Leninist policy, which organise the construction of socialism and the defence of our great fatherland!

(36) For the unity and brotherhood of the toilers of all the nationalities in the Soviet Union! Long live the Leninist national policy!

(37) "The international contacts of the working class of the U.S.S.R. with the workers of capitalist countries, the fraternal alliance of the workers of the U.S.S.R. with the workers of all countries, is one of the corner-stones of the strength and power of the Republic of Soviets." (Stalin.) Raise higher the banner of proletarian internationalism!

(38) Comrades working in the trade unions! Let us improve the work of the trade unions, carry out their real reconstruction! Nearer to the masses, nearer to production! More care for the further improvement of cultural and living conditions for the toilers!

(40) Promote the women shock workers from factories, mills and collective farms to leading posts! Long live the growing social activity of the toiling women!

(42) Young Pioneers! Strengthen discipline in schools! Master the fundamentals of science! Be ready to continue and complete the great work of Lenin!

(43) Greetings to the workers of science and technique, of art and literature, who march hand in hand with the working class in the great cause of the construction of socialism and the strengthening of the defence of our fatherland!

(44) Long live the C.P.S.U., the leader and organiser of the victorious construction of socialism!

(45) Workers and collective farmers! Rally closer around the C.P.S.U.! For the general Party line! For the victory of socialism!

(46) Let organisational and practical work be at the level of the enormous tasks of the second Five-Year Plan! Open wide the path to the new organisers who are growing up!

(47) Revolutionary theory is a weapon in the struggle of the proletariat for socialism! For the mastering of the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism! For the heightening of the ideological and political training of the members of the Bolshevik Party!

(49) Long live the great and victorious banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin!

## The White Terror

### Rakosi—A Champion of International Communism

Rakosi fell into the hands of the Horthy fascists in 1925, when he was 34. To-day he is 42. He is an old revolutionary. He came into the working-class movement long before the wave of revolution began to rise in the first post-war period. He joined the working class movement as an eighteen-year-old student. He was one of those who organised the socialist wing inside the radical-democratic students' movement in Hungary and worked for its entry into the ranks of the working-class movement. In 1910 he went abroad and worked in the working-class movement in Hamburg and London, and in the latter town he joined the British Socialist Party. His international horizon and his complete readiness to work not only in the socialist movement of his own country, but in every country in which he happened to be, were developed in early years. During the world war he was taken prisoner by the Russians and in May, 1918, he returned to his home country, bringing with him the impressions and the lessons of the February and the October Revolutions.

The October Revolution in Russia had a direct effect on the development of the revolutionary movement in Hungary and later on the development of the Communist Party. The great revolutionary mass strikes which took place in Hungary in January and July, 1918, were fought with the slogans of peace and the defence of the Bolshevik Revolution. The Hungarian working masses greedily accepted every word that came through to them from the revolutionary East. The groups of ex-prisoners of war who returned home from Russia became the germ-carriers of Bolshevism. A group of ex-prisoners of war, led by Comrade **Bela Kun**, played the leading role in the formation of the Communist Party during the first weeks of the bourgeois revolution in Hungary. These men

had gone through the school of Lenin and brought back the lessons of Bolshevism to their own country. Rakosi returned home a few months before this group, but even in the war period he was preparing the way for it. He went to **Szeged**, the biggest provincial town in Hungary, and began to organise the revolutionary wing of the working-class movement there and to prepare the way for its severance from the social-chauvinists.

The **Communist Party of Hungary** was founded in November, 1918, and Rakosi was one of its founders. Hectic weeks and months of revolutionary mass work began and bourgeois Hungary began to crack up everywhere. The peasants demanded the dividing up of the big estates, the soldiers demonstrated on the streets again and again, and the workers began to occupy the factories and arm themselves. The government of the bourgeois-socialist coalition was like a ship without rudder or compass, and it was flung hither and thither by the rising waves of the revolutionary mass movement. It was the heroic and most glorious period in the history of the Communist Party of Hungary. It pointed out the way to the masses, rallied hundreds of thousands to its banners and marched forward to the establishment of the Soviet power.

Every member of the Communist Party became a mass agitator in the literal sense of the expression, and one of the most popular and most capable speakers and agitators of the Party was the 26 year old Rakosi, the secretary of the Communist Party organisation in Szeged. He was everywhere, and the mass movement lent him redoubled force. He travelled throughout the province, spoke to the miners and the peasants, founded Communist organisations everywhere, and was one of the "lightning agitators" of the Party amongst the workers, in the working-class centres, at the demonstrations of the demobilised soldiers and at the meetings of the unemployed workers. He did his full share in the work which won the majority of the Hungarian proletariat for the Communist Party in the period from November to March, and thus prepared the way for the seizure of power by the workers.

On the 21st March, 1919, the proletarian dictatorship was proclaimed in Hungary. The social-democratic leaders had shot their bolt and the working masses abandoned them, whilst the victorious Entente Powers occupied an increasing area of the country and gave the bourgeois-socialist coalition government, in which the Social Democratic Party played the leading role, no peace. The armed insurrection of the working masses was a menacing reality, and the social-democratic leaders then planned a sweeping manoeuvre in order to save themselves from complete isolation. They went to the prisons where the whole of the Central Committee of the Communist Party was imprisoned and proposed the unification of the Social Democratic Party and the Communist Party on the basis of the proclamation of the proletarian dictatorship. The Communist leaders accepted the proposal and the government of People's Commissars was formed.

Rakosi became Vice-Commissar for Trade. The Communist members of the government fought a desperate struggle not only against the counter-revolution and against the attacks of the Entente imperialists, carried out with the Rumanian and Czech armies, but also against treachery in the ranks of the government, against the conspiracy of the social-democratic leaders to depose the government of which they themselves were members.

Unfortunately the Communists were too few in numbers and too inexperienced, and prior to the seizure of power the Communist Party had been organisationally weak, despite its tremendous mass influence. The defence of the proletarian dictatorship demanded the intensest concentration of all available forces, and each Communist had to do the work of five men. Rakosi became the **Commander of the Red Militia** in **Budapest**, and then he went to the front to beat off the intervention of the Czech troops. As a Political Commissar he helped to organise the defence of the **Salgotaryan coal basin** which the Czech troops were trying to capture. This was the only coal district in the hands of the proletarian government, and upon its continued possession depended the electrical supplies for Budapest, the power supplies for the factories, etc., and in short the very existence of industrial production. The defence of the Salgotaryan coal basin was a vital question for the proletarian dictatorship, and the tremendously responsible task of organising the defence was given to the twenty-seven year old Rakosi. Rakosi performed the task brilliantly. He mobilised the masses of the miners, organised battalions of the Red Army from amongst them, battalions of men who worked and fought altern-

ately with pick and rifle. At one moment he was at the front at the head of the miner warriors, and the next moment he was behind the front organising the continuation of production and lending a hand with the loading of coal for the capital. Thanks to his unflagging energy and his brilliant organisation and tactics he gave the capital a breathing space in which the working masses were mobilised and the Red Army formed in an astonishingly short space of time. The Red Army was then hurled against the advancing Czechs and scored a signal victory, forcing the invaders to beat a hurried retreat.

However, all these sacrifices and all this heroism were unable to save the proletarian dictatorship, which collapsed in August, 1919, owing to the consistent treachery of the social-democratic leaders. Rakosi succeeded in escaping from the claws of the white terror, and together with other leaders of the proletarian revolution he was interned in Karlstein by the Austrian social-democratic government. In 1920 he went to Moscow as a delegate of the Communist Party of Hungary, to the Second Congress of the Communist International, and his report on the activity and the experience of the Hungarian Communists contributed considerably to Lenin's work in drawing up the famous 21 conditions of entry into the Communist International, which laid the firm basis of the Communist World Party.

In the years 1921-24 Rakosi was one of the secretaries of the Communist International. He occupied important posts in Germany, Czechoslovakia and Italy. He worked for the formation of the Communist Parties; he fought against Paul Levi in Germany, against Serrati in Italy, and everywhere for the cleansing of the Young Communist Parties from the remnants of their opportunist past.

In 1925 he began his illegal activity in Hungary in the Communist Party there. The ten months of illegal work which he successfully performed were of tremendous importance for the development of the Hungarian Communist Party. After the overthrow of the proletarian dictatorship in Hungary there were no centralised Communist bodies in Hungary at all owing to the previous amalgamation with the Social Democratic Party. The Hungarian working class was defeated and lay weak and helpless. Hundreds of active Communists had been murdered outright, thousands were in prison and thousands more had emigrated to escape the ravages of the white terror. Rakosi's task was to rebuild the Communist Party from the beginning. The fractional struggles amongst the Hungarian Communists abroad hampered the performance of this task at every step. For years it was impossible to found any really firm Communist organisations with roots in the masses of the workers. For years there were no more than Communist circles and groups in Hungary and no centralised party which could have given the masses of the workers a lead. On the basis of the lethargy of the working masses after the great defeat, of the fractional struggles in the Hungarian emigration, and of the sectarian circles in Hungary itself, the poisonous plants of liquidationism began to grow. Small sectarian groups began to grow up which rejected the idea of a centralised party, which preached to the workers that any struggle against fascism was hopeless and which worked with the treacherous social-democratic leaders who had formed an alliance with the bloody Horthy dictatorship to hold the workers back from Communism.

In years 1924-25 the Hungarian working class again began to show signs of political life. A revolutionary mass opposition against the social democracy grew up. The proletarian opposition broke away from the Social Democratic Party, and the Left-wing Socialist Workers' Party was formed. This situation demanded an energetic change in tactics on the part of the Communists. It demanded that the enervating and disruptive fractional struggles amongst the Hungarian emigrants which were isolating the Communists from the working masses should cease. It demanded the end of liquidationism, that the Communist Party should seek touch with the mass workers' opposition, that the Party should drive its roots deep into the masses of the workers and that it should work energetically to secure the hegemony in the Left-wing working-class movement.

Rakosi was one of the first to recognise the necessity of this change, and he went to Hungary to carry on illegal work. The situation in Hungary was such that only a leading comrade, armed with the full authority of the first proletarian dictatorship, could possibly perform the difficult tasks necessary. It was necessary to establish close ideological connections between the first proletarian

dictatorship and the mass struggle for the second. It was necessary to establish close contact with the new generation of revolutionary workers and the old guard of Hungarian Communism. It was necessary to build up the Communist Party anew on the basis of the great traditions of the proletarian dictatorship and, above all, to fight ruthlessly against those liquidators who were seeking to castrate the new revolutionary mass opposition growing up amongst the Hungarian workers by cutting it off completely from the great traditions of the revolutionary working class of Hungary.

The great significance of the ten months of illegal work which Rakosi performed in fascist Hungary consisted in the fact that he performed or prepared the way for the performance of these tasks. He assisted in liquidating the fractional struggles amongst the Hungarian emigrants, in destroying liquidationism in the Communist ranks, and in driving the roots of the new Communist Party deep down into the masses of the workers.

After the overthrow of the proletarian dictatorship the leaders of the social democracy joined with the fascist leaders of the counter-revolution in slandering and abusing the leaders of the Communist Party of Hungary. One of their favourite pieces of demagoguery was the infamous charge that the Communist leaders had left the working masses in the lurch to bear the brunt of the white terror whilst the Communists had fled abroad into safety. The "special trains" in which the People's Commissars are alleged to have fled were one of the favourite weapons in the arsenal of anti-Communist slander. The return of the People's Commissar Rakosi to Hungary for illegal work, under the scourge of the fascist dictatorship, was striking proof that those Communist leaders who had succeeded in saving their lives from the white terror had done so only in order to devote them to the Hungarian working class in its struggle for the establishment of the second and final proletarian dictatorship in Hungary.

(To be continued)

## The Position of Political Prisoners in Austria

By Herbert

During the League of Nations meeting, Princess Starhemberg, who was sent to Geneva for this purpose at public expense, made a beautiful speech to the assembled delegates on the humane treatment of prisoners in Austria and was congratulated on it by the representative of the League of Nations, who either purposely or by an ironic accident was the delegate of the Rumanian Siguranta government. Almost at the same time, Schuschnigg declared that all tales of ill-treatment of Austrian prisoners were "atrocious stories."

Now, in front of us lie dozens of reports of political prisoners from the Woellersdorf concentration camp, from the prisons of Stein and Karlau, in which those who were condemned to life imprisonment or to many years' penal servitude are languishing, and finally from the numerous police detentions in Vienna and the provinces, which throw another light on the "humane" methods of Austrian fascism.

Stein prison was a short time ago transferred to a new building. The modern façade deceives many who only see it from the outside. The extent to which it lacks a modern spirit within can be seen from the following reports from relatives of those imprisoned:—

"The worker X. (his name and those of all the others are known to us; they cannot be made public as this would lead to their further ill-treatment), who has to serve 15 years for taking part in the February fight, was visited a short while ago by his mother. When he saw her he shouted to her: 'Mother, we need help! We need help or we shall all perish!' Immediately the warders threw themselves on X., beat him before his mother's eyes and led him off."

The wife of the political prisoner U. reported:—

"My husband looks like a living corpse. His eyes are staring out of his head, he is pale, and shaking with fever. I do not believe that he will come out of Stein alive. Help him! Help him!"

In a letter, which the worker M. smuggled out of Stein, there is the following:—

"When it pleases their lordships, we must empty the pots for the housebreakers and robbers with violence who are serving their sentences here. We are jeered at, our visiting and exercise rights



are far below those of the criminals. We can write and receive a letter only once in three weeks. It's awful here."

The political prisoner Z. writes from Stein:—

"The food is past words. On the day before the monthly dark cell the soup is salted, so that on the day of the dark cell, when we get no water to drink, we have to suffer terribly."

When the worker D was released from Stein, he called to his comrades who were taking their exercise—"Freedom." The prisoners answered the greeting, whereupon all the prisoners were deprived of exercise, letters and visits.

In recent weeks the regime in Stein was made still worse. The prisoners were thrown in the cell of correction in the cellar at every opportunity.

In the *Karlau* camp, where the position is, wherever possible, still worse, the prisoners get so little to eat that they are growing as thin as skeletons. Numerous prisoners are already ill with severe tuberculosis.

In *Woellersdorf*, which is under a strong control by the international public, the conditions are not so bad as in the prisons.

But here also the situation of the prisoners is getting worse and worse. The food gets worse; in the barracks, as a result of overcrowding, the beds are placed one above the other in order to double the amount of room.

Recently the release of Communist prisoners has been stopped, even when their term of imprisonment has been served. Only after a hunger strike lasting two and a half days, which was organised by the Communists and in which some of the social-democratic prisoners took part, was this illegality stopped. A Dr. Pammer, who appeared on behalf of the Chancellor's office, promised to grant the demands of the strikers. Actually, part of those who were being retained were set free; each one of those who had been sent to *Woellersdorf* for an unspecified time got a definite period.

Fear of the Communists is very great. Not only on the part of the management of the camps, but also of the few socialist party leaders who are still in *Woellersdorf*. In agreement with them, a short time ago, the Communists were forbidden to come into contact with social-democratic prisoners, who up till then had met them during exercise. Thus the danger of Communist "infection" was obviated.

Far and away the worst is the treatment of political prisoners in the police cells, above all, in the provinces, where each official behaves according to his own sweet will. In *Linz*, the workers who were arrested during the last police raid were terribly tortured. One prisoner committed suicide by opening his veins with a nail. Among the arrested were two children of 14 and 15 and also a woman advanced in pregnancy. A 13-year-old girl was twice held for eight hours without her mother being informed, who was not at home at the time of the arrest. The house was cordoned off by the police, so that the little brother, 6 years old, had to stay in the streets all day until the mother at last came home.

In *Ried*, the worker Johann Baumgartner, was burned to death in the police cells in peculiar circumstances. The police state that he, infuriated by the arrest, had himself set fire to his straw mattress. Nothing which could be used to make a light was found on his body; on the other hand, his head and neck showed wounds which could only have been caused by beating with rubber truncheons. The people of *Ried* are convinced that Baumgartner was first so beaten up by the warders that he was seriously injured and that then the police, in order to wipe out the traces, set the cell alight. The warder Lesky was in the room next to the cell all the time and had to have his attention called to the smell of burning and the light of the fire by a passer-by. It is out of the question that Lesky noticed nothing of the burning and heard nothing of Baumgartner's cries for help.

The Austrian workers know that no mitigation of the hard lot of the revolutionary prisoners can be obtained by humble submission to the terror of the government, as is preached by the apostle of compromise Winter, but only through the determined fight of the proletariat. This fight, which is carried on for the immediate stopping of torture and for the release of all the fighters of February and of all anti-fascists has already had some results. For example, the indictment before the special courts, which had been brought against the son of the revolutionary Stanek, who was executed in February, had to be withdrawn as a result of the mass protest of the workers of *Graz*.

But this fight must be mightily increased. Not thousands, but tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands of workers must rally to the "International Red Aid."

## In the International

### The C.P. of Yugoslavia on the Assassinations in Marseilles

(Conclusion)

#### (2) The Political Background of the Assassination

It is quite obvious from the results of the investigation up to date, that the assassination was organised by Croat national-fascist circles, who have received support from Hungary and Italy. It is important to expose all the attempts to conceal the actual origin of the assassination. The bourgeoisie of every country is making such attempts according to their foreign and home political interests. For example:—

(a) The ruling Servian bourgeoisie, with the assistance of the French police, attempted to represent the assassination as an act of the Macedonian fascist organisation of Ivan Michailov. The Servian bourgeoisie is interested in concealing from the international public the fact that the assassins are of Croat origin. It is interested in preventing the sharpening of the contradictions between the oppressing and oppressed nations and in accelerating an understanding with the "oppositional" bourgeoisie of the oppressed nation.

(b) The Italian bourgeoisie endeavoured by means of the Austrian Heimwehr press to put forward the version that the assassination was the act of adherents of the Servian liberal officers' organisation "Black Hand," in order thus to conceal their connections with the assassins and the Pavelitch fascists.

(c) The French bourgeoisie, especially the circles close to the French General Staff, are endeavouring to shift the blame for the assassination and the responsibility for it on to Hitler-Germany in order to divert attention from Italian fascism, to bring about an understanding with the latter and thus ideologically prepare for a war against Germany for the settlement of the Saar question.

(d) A Belgrade paper ventured to assert that the assassination was organised by Communists. It is not only possible but very probable that the bourgeoisie of all countries will attempt to seize on this version.

All these attempts must be exposed to the masses. The assassination was organised by the followers of Pavelitch-Pertchetz, who have sold the interests of the Croat people to Italian and Hungarian fascism. Italian fascism also is responsible for the assassination, which aimed at weakening its imperialist opponent by eliminating the central figure round which the ruling bourgeoisie and the military clique gathered. The assassination was also in the interests of German fascism, as it was calculated to prevent an understanding between the Italian, French and big-Servian imperialists. In this connection an energetic campaign must be conducted among the masses. Fascism means war, the fascists are the provocateurs of war and warlike complications.

#### (3) The Inner-Political Consequences of the Assassination

There is no doubt that the first consequence of the assassination will be increased employment of white terror and brutal force against the revolutionary labour movement, and in particular against the revolutionary movement in the non-Servian countries, and the national emancipation movement of the oppressed nations. The cruel big-Servian fascist oppressors are already now carrying out wholesale arrests, in particular in Croatia. Many innocent people will be killed in this first onslaught of increased terror.

This assassination will no doubt have other inner-political consequences. Alexander the last was the backbone of the military-fascist dictatorship. Thanks to his character as a gendarme, his blood-thirstiness, his terrorist inclinations, he was the most suitable tool for carrying out the dictatorship of that class whose interests he represented. It was due to this role and the power he enjoyed in the camp of the bourgeoisie, thanks to the support of the court camarilla, that Alexander succeeded in coming forward in all conflicts in the camp of fascism as an expert, as mediator and the highest authority.

After his death there will undoubtedly be:—

(a) An accelerated process of decay in the fascist camp of the big-Servian bourgeoisie;

(b) Sharpened contradictions in the ranks of the ruling bourgeoisie regarding the methods of the further fascistisation and the election of new means for rescuing and maintaining fascist Yugoslavia, which has been created by the Versailles Treaty;

(c) A mutual struggle of various cliques and groups for a

larger share in the positions of power and in the exploitation of the people;

(d) An accelerated pace in the process of the maturing of the crisis among the leading circles of the bourgeoisie;

(e) Growing fighting determination of the masses as a result of the increased white terror and the accelerated war preparations;

(f) Certain regrouping in the camp of the bourgeoisie (the possibility of the Right clericals and the national conciliators joining the government) on the one hand, and increased activity of the bourgeois and national conciliatory opposition on the other hand.

#### (4) The Foreign-Political Consequences of the Assassination

The assassination of Alexander and of Barthou, the leader of the French foreign policy, will no doubt have the following consequences:—

(a) Increased danger of imperialist war, in the first place a war between Yugoslavia and Italy and its satellite (Hungary and Austria);

(b) Postponement for a longer period and probably the frustration of the rapprochement between Italy and France, which was to be brought about partly at the cost of Yugoslavia;—

(c) Intensification of all imperialist antagonisms in Central Europe, the Danube Basin, the Balkans and the Adriatic district;

(d) Worsened prospects of Yugoslavia obtaining the international loan it has demanded for such a long time;

(e) Increased tension between France and Italy on the one hand and France and Germany on the other hand.

All the foreign-political consequences of the assassination increase the danger of a fresh imperialist war, which would commence in the Balkans, the Danube Basin and in the Adriatic district.

#### (5) The Main Tasks of the Party

In this situation the Party is confronted by a number of great historical tasks:—

(1) To oppose the methods of the revolutionary mass struggle to the methods of struggle used by the individual terrorists. To spread among the proletarian, peasant and nationally oppressed masses the conviction that salvation and the way out cannot be achieved by desperate acts of individuals, but by mass struggle, by the joint struggle of the alliance of the workers, peasants and oppressed nations, by organising the struggle for the immediate demands and the development of these struggles up to the fight for power.

(2) To organise mass resistance to the new wave of fascist white terror. To carry out immediately the necessary organisational measures (setting up of joint committees, improvement of conspirative methods of illegal work, etc.) for maintaining the Party cadres and securing the normal working of the committees and organisations, even under the conditions of increased terror.

(3) To redouble the work among the masses. To drive home to the members the Leninist truth that the accelerated process of decay in the camp of fascism will not by itself lead to the collapse of the military-fascist dictatorship. Precisely at the present time it is necessary to strengthen the mass struggle against it, to penetrate all fascist mass organisations and accelerate by our activity the process of inner decay of the ruling cliques.

(4) To develop systematic work in the army and the navy, to organise a mass movement against war and fascism, to spread among the broad masses the conviction that the twelfth hour of the struggle has struck, in order to prevent a fresh slaughter of the peoples.

(5) To strengthen the struggle for the resumption of normal diplomatic and economic relations with the U.S.S.R. and to win for this struggle not only the workers and peasants, but also broad sections of the petty-bourgeois masses.

(6) To develop and strengthen the national-revolutionary movement and to prevent panic as a result of the persecutions.

(7) To strengthen our propaganda and agitation in all struggles, strikes and movements: (a) For the overthrow of the monarchy; (b) for the right of self-determination of the Croat, Slovenian, Macedonian, Montenegrin peoples and of the national minorities, up to the right of separation; (c) for the freedom of meetings and organisation; (d) for an amnesty of all political and military prisoners; (e) for the abolition of the law for the protection of the State; (f) for the setting up of the Soviet power of the workers and peasants.

## Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

### Ninety Million at the Polls

On November 1, the elections of the village Soviets will begin in the U.S.S.R. On this date a wide campaign will open for the election of deputies from the toilers to the organs of the Proletarian Dictatorship. **Ninety million** people will take part in this enormous campaign, including ten million young men and women who are taking part in the elections for the **first time**. The elections will begin with the village Soviets, where they will take place on an absolutely new economic basis and where the decisive factor at the present time is no longer the mass of small owners, but the mass of collective farmers and workers on State farms. After November 20, the elections will begin in the towns, where socialist industry has grown mightily during the past years.

The Soviet elections are based on a very wide development of genuine **proletarian democracy**, when in actual practice, under the leadership of the Leninist Party, all the broad circles of activists of the devoted builders of socialism rally together—in the villages, the pioneers and pacemakers of the collective farm movement, the women collective farmers, the shock brigaders of the fields, the representatives of mechanised agricultural labour (tractorists, combine machinists, etc.), the best technical skilled forces, Soviet agronomists and teachers; in the towns, shock brigaders from the mills and factories, enthusiasts from among the working youth, the heroes of labour, the best technicians and engineers, scientists, the new proletarian intellectuals, and—the chief, basic and decisive matter—the growing proletarian activists and their party vanguard. This is real proletarian democracy which both “thinks” and “performs,” which actively creates history, which unites the nation, builds socialism, destroys the class enemy, transforms the petty bourgeois masses, masters culture, grows not by days but by hours, becomes the master of all life, and an example for the proletarians of all countries.

The growth of the class consciousness of the masses in the U.S.S.R. is really tremendous. Brilliant victories obtained under leadership of the Communist Party, the exceptional growth in the power which has been gained and won by the proletarian fatherland; foreign political victories and victories inside the country—all these can be felt by the masses as their force, the strength of their organisation, solidarity and political consciousness. The election campaign once more discloses the whole picture of victories. At the same time it lays bare the shortcomings, brings them to light, carries out a tremendous checking up of people and the entire Soviet apparatus, selects the best and puts them at the levers of the Soviet power in town and village.

The election campaign will take place under the banner of the Second Five-Year Plan, under the banner of classless socialist society. The country of the Soviets will emerge from the election campaign with an apparatus of the proletarian dictatorship which is much stronger, more powerful and better organised.

The U.S.S.R. now stands at the head of an enormous movement for peace as a primary factor of world policy. The U.S.S.R. will emerge as victor from all possible combinations, because its iron power is growing with every day.

The election of Soviets in the U.S.S.R., taking place under the slogans of the party of the proletariat, which is carrying out the greatest cultural construction in the world, demonstrates once more with the greatest force before the whole world the **basic features of socialism**, its present and its future, the forces which have already taken definite form, and the tendencies of its development, its successes and its possibilities. At the time when the heavy tombstone of the fascist regime is crushing all the new shoots of the new life in a number of countries, at the time when capitalism is displaying the greatest instability of its whole edifice and the ruling classes are feverishly searching for a way out, tearing each other to pieces with bloody internal squabbles and vainly dreaming of an organisation which is out of their reach, **the socialist country is more and more becoming a model of unity, co-operation, plan, concentration of properly directed attention and properly directed efforts.** This organisation is a tremendous factor of development of mass activity and the development of mass activity to a great degree promotes the growth of Soviet

**organisation.** Fascism, on the other hand, to the extent that it is the organiser of the State power, converts the wage workers into submissive fulfillers of the will of finance capital, using the methods of unparalleled mass terror against the mass of people and in the first place against the working class.

The Soviet elections again and again demonstrate the impregnability and the granite strength of the proletarian dictatorship, in contrast to the continual changing of ministers, parliamentary scandals, the shots of Marseilles-Bucharest-Vienna, the Spanish terror, the despotism of the fascist cliques, i.e., all the "achievements" of the bourgeoisie of recent times.

The U.S.S.R. is marching to the elections with unfurled banners. In the main the enemy inside the country has been smashed. But the toilers of the country of the Soviets are against illusions, complacency, philistine self-satisfaction. They stand for tireless vigilance, for the struggle to the end, for the further systematic rise of the great socialist country, for the prosperous and cultured life of all people, all toilers, for the classless socialist society, for Communism!

## We Are Realising Lenin's Ideals

(Comrade Kalinin, Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R., on the elections to the Soviets)

Looking back over the path they have traversed, the toiling masses of the Soviet Union estimate the work that has been done, appraise their achievements, bring to light their own mistakes, and in their electoral demands they introduce the practical measures which will ensure the further growth and consolidation of the proletarian state. There is no doubt that the basic questions of state policy will be brought up for discussion during the election campaign.

The toiling masses of the Soviet Union have grown tremendously, both culturally and politically. The realisation of state discipline and state responsibility has grown among the people. It may be confidently stated that there is no country where contacts are so close with the government and where the masses of the people are so organically interested in the general policy of the state as in the U.S.S.R. And this, of course, is just as it should be. The proletarian state, which derives its strength from the close alliance of the working class with the peasants, is bound to be near to them, to be their own personal government.

We enter the present electoral campaign with great achievements. Of course, we did not obtain these achievements without an effort, otherwise they would not be looked on as achievements. A great amount of labour, energy and persistence was expended on them.

Our heavy industry is coming out on to the broad road of independence. Its growth is not only characterised by the fact that it is trying to take first place in the world in the manufacture of iron and metal goods, but also by the fact that our enormous new construction works (the underground railway in Moscow, the second track of the Transiberian railway, the new metallurgical and machine construction plants, etc.) are being erected by our own forces and supplied with equipment of our own manufacture. In technical respects, the country is becoming less dependent on the capitalist world.

The development of industry, especially agricultural machine construction, allowed the Party to carry out a tremendous task—the collectivisation of peasant farms—and thus to bring millions of small scattered poor and middle peasant owners in line with **socialist construction.** At the present day, when the results of collective farm work can be seen, when even the blind can see the success of collective farm production, when the collective farms as an economic form have taken firm root, we may declare with feelings of satisfaction that this was a **glorious victory.** The reconstruction of agriculture on a scale unparalleled in history, which was carried out at the initiative and under the leadership of the Party leader, Comrade Stalin, opened up wide perspectives for the participation of the **peasants in socialist construction.**

The citizen of the socialist state does not think of himself as isolated from the toilers of the whole world. He is profoundly interested in international relations and the situation of the working class and poor peasants beyond the boundaries of the U.S.S.R. The international situation occupies a prominent place in the electoral campaign. In a comparison of our country with

capitalist countries, the results of our work can be seen by the plainest examples. In capitalist countries the conditions are unstable and without any confidence in the morrow. A few years ago the war plans of the ruling classes were carefully hidden from the broad masses of the people. When the Soviet press drew attention to these plots, this was looked on by the foreign press as an exhibition of "unhealthy and unfounded suspicion" and sometimes as simple "Bolshevik demagoguery." At present, in a number of countries, war is being preached quite openly and is being recklessly advertised, while other countries are taking advantage of this to increase their armaments. The ruling classes do not restrain themselves in their war propaganda.

In the majority of the capitalist countries, the intolerable situation is sharpened to the extreme. It is usual to explain this condition by the raging world crisis. To a great degree this is correct, but the enormous armies of the unemployed are also formed through the so-called capitalist rationalisation of production, the lengthening of the working day, the drawing of children into industry, the cutting of wages, the tremendous lowering of prices of farm produce and the raising of prices of factory goods, which in the long run leads to the impoverishment of the masses, the reduction in the number of buyers, the lowering of the total amount of money in circulation, which in turn hits at individual capitalists with the same stick that they are using to strike the working class and the peasants.

In the capitalist world the front of the class struggle is widening day by day, taking on ever more acute forms. And the working class, not seeing any other way out of the situation in which it has been put by capitalism, selects as its immediate task the direct struggle for power, for the dictatorship of the working class. And in reality, only the victory of the working class gives a guarantee of the right to live and enjoy the culture which has been achieved by mankind.

Such is a picture of capitalist reality. There is no doubt that the forthcoming elections will demonstrate to the whole world the utterly different conditions in the U.S.S.R., in the country of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

We shall all participate in the elections with the same enthusiasm, stubbornness and determination with which we overcame and are overcoming the difficulties which we meet on the path of our growth.

We are carrying Lenin's ideals into practice—the ideals of the liberation of mankind from all kinds of slavery.

In electing the best people of our country to the Soviets, we shall rally still more closely around the Communist Party, its leader and the leader of all the toilers, Comrade Stalin!

## The Week in the Soviet Union

### Workers' Delegates at the 17th Anniversary Celebrations

The first group of workers' delegates to the 17th anniversary of the October Revolution arrived in Leningrad on the 2nd November. An Anglo-Irish workers' delegation arrived on board the Soviet steamer "Alexei Rykov." The delegates were all members of the Labour Party or the reformist trade unions or non-party workers elected in factory and trade union branch meetings.

The miner delegates from South Wales were elected by 13,000 members of the South Wales Miners' Federation. All these workers' delegates were visitors to the land of the proletarian dictatorship for the first time. In a declaration made to representatives of the Soviet press they enumerated many of the lies spread by the bourgeois press in Great Britain and Ireland about the Soviet Union and expressed their delight at the fact that they would now have an opportunity of seeing the truth with their own eyes.

A group of workers' delegates from the United States arrived with the same boat. One of the delegates is the representative of 100,000 small farmers in the Western States.

### 15th Anniversary of the Red Military Academy

On the 1st November the Military-Political Academy of the Red Workers' and Peasants' Army celebrated the fifteenth anniversary of its foundation. At the time of its formation during the civil war it was a school which was able to give no more than very short courses of military-political training in accordance with the urgent needs of the moment. Later it developed into a great centre of military-political training, with over 2,000 worker pupils. Many **historical personalities and heroes** of the civil war passed through the Academy. At the moment about 60 per cent. of the pupils are

workers, and about 30 per cent. peasants from the collective farms. Those who have gone through the Academy form the backbone of the political organisation of the Red Army.

The pupils of the Academy receive an all-round training. Part of their studies refer to Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and to the work of the older philosophers. Courses in literary history and other subjects enable the graduates to acquit themselves honourably on all the fields of socialist construction. Many of the graduates of the Academy have later occupied economic posts and not a few of them have been decorated with the Lenin Order for their subsequent services. The works of the teachers at the Academy on Marxism-Leninism, on military questions and on history are printed in huge editions, and many of them have become internationally known.

On the occasion of its fifteenth anniversary the Academy was decorated with the Lenin Order.

#### Work for the Improvement of the Soviet Transport System.

The double-line track from Moscow to the Donetz Basin was opened for traffic a day or so ago. This railway line is 640 kilometres in length, and from 25 to 30 pairs of trains will traverse it daily. The track is of tremendous importance for the Soviet transport system because it connects up the mining and foundry areas of the Donetz Basin with the great engineering centres in Kharkov, Moscow and through Moscow with Leningrad.

The locomotive works in Kharkov has just completed a high-power locomotive. This machine has passed through all its tests satisfactorily and excellent results have been obtained. By the end of the year two further such locomotives will have left the Kharkov works.

The Ukrainian Institute for Inland Water Transport has drawn up a project for connecting up the Donetz Basin with the Dnieper by means of a canal. An inland water transport system of canals and locks will be constructed between the rivers Samara, Voltcha and Dnieper. When this system has been completed about 40 per cent. of the goods traffic from the Donetz Basin to Dnepropetrovsk, Krivoirog and Leningrad will be able to go by water. This will mean a saving of many millions of roubles and will reduce the pressure on the railways.

In order to support the work for the solution of the Soviet transport problem, the Association of Moscow Artists is holding an exhibition, "The Artist and Transport," in the "Kor" Club of the railway workers. Many pictures, including satirical ones, are exhibited. The pictures depict the enthusiastic work for the solving of the Soviet transport difficulties, whilst the satirical drawings are mostly dedicated to the cause of Bolshevik self-criticism.

#### The Reorganisation of the Soviet Libraries

Lively activity for the reorganisation of the Soviet libraries is now proceeding in accordance with the decisions of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union on the 27th March and the 23rd June this year. The tremendous advance of mass culture in the Soviet Union can be measured by the rapid growth of the Soviet libraries and by the enormous extension of the reading public. Millions of workers and peasants who a few years ago vegetated in the darkness of illiteracy have now learned to read and are now working with revolutionary enthusiasm to make up for lost time. In 1911 there were 9 million books in Tsarist Russia. At the end of the first Five-Year Plan there were 124 million books in the Soviet Union, and the Soviet libraries had 15 million readers.

A wide network of travelling libraries has also been established in the Soviet Union. All the factories and all the collective farms have their own libraries and reading rooms. Comrade Krupskaya has done very much to further the development of the Soviet libraries, and she has always taken a special interest in this task. The demand for reading material in the Soviet Union is so tremendous that the numerous publishing houses are unable to cope with it, although they are all working at full pressure. On the 14th

September the Council of People's Commissars issued a special decree for the better utilisation of the existing library stocks and in order to establish still closer connections between the reading public and the Soviet libraries as one of the most important levers for the furtherance of socialist culture.

#### Soviet Natural Resources and Their Utilisation

A deposit of wolfram has been discovered in the Sichote-Alin mountains. This important discovery was made by a student of the Far-Eastern Polytechnic. According to the preliminary reports the deposit is an original wolfram layer such as has never been found in the Far East before.

On the 30th September a slate quarry was opened up in Gdovsk, near Leningrad, and in October 8,500 tons of slate were quarried, representing a far greater yield than had been expected.

The "Third International" copper mine has opened up new workings. These new workings will have an annual production of 130,000 tons of copper ore. When they have reached their full capacity these workings will be the biggest in the world.

The potash combination in Solikamsk has achieved a record level of production during the socialist competition in connection with the Seventh Soviet Congress. 100,000 tons of silvinit were produced.

#### CONGRESS AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM IN RIO DE JANEIRO.

Rio de Janeiro (end of October).

The Brazilian movement against war and fascism has proved its growing influence during the last few weeks, in spite of being driven underground by the terrorist laws and violence of the government. Many of the leaders of the struggle against war and fascism have been thrown into prison or banished to death-bringing districts.

At the end of September a congress was held in Rio de Janeiro by the Brazilian committee movement against war and fascism, and the tasks for the immediate future were laid down. A number of delegates paid with their lives for taking part in this Congress. When the delegates left the meeting hall after the congress, they were attacked and fired upon by the fascist Green Shirt organisation, and several were killed. Nevertheless, the congress has given fresh impetus to the fighting action against war and fascism in Brazil. The resistance of the broad masses against the fascists is growing. When the Green Shirts organised a national rally on October 21, in Sao Paulo, and made a provocative march through the streets, anti-fascist workers and plantation coolies gathered and assaulted the Green Shirts. The Green Shirts were broken up and dispersed. Many of them were wounded, some killed, as even the bourgeois press of Brazil admits. The government is intensifying its terror against the anti-fascist movement, while at the same time protecting the Green Shirts.

#### INDONESIA FOR THAELMANN'S RELEASE

Paris, October 31.

The national revolutionary organisation "Perhimpunan Indonesia" has sent the following communication to the International Release Committee:—

"We much regret that we are not in a position to send a representative to the Juridical Conference for the Thaelmann trial. We are fully convinced that the release of Thaelmann is of as much importance to us national revolutionists of the subjugated countries as for the whole world proletariat.

"We welcome the International Juridical Conference, and wish it successful work. We undertake to do our utmost to attain our object, the release of Thaelmann."

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.