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## The Meeting of the Executive of the Second International in Paris

By Ercoli

The Executive Committee of the Labour and Socialist International which is about to meet in Paris will deal with a proposal of the Communist International for the organisation of united action on an international scale in support of the Spanish workers who are fighting against reaction and fascism. The Communist International made this proposal at a time when the question of solidarity with the Spanish workers was a particularly acute one, and had the proposal been accepted immediately with the same enthusiasm with which it was made, the solidarity of action of the international proletariat would by this time undoubtedly have reached a pitch and intensity unparalleled for many years. The speedy organisation of such an action of international solidarity would have meant a severe blow for the reaction and fascism throughout the world, for it would have aroused the enthusiasm and the fighting spirit of millions of workers everywhere. The delay of the leaders of the Second International in dealing with the proposal of the Communist International has sadly diminished the speed, intensity and volume of the proposed action.

However, the situation is not hopeless by any means, and there is no doubt that millions of workers are impatiently and anxiously awaiting the decisions of the leaders of the Second International. Millions of workers hope that these decisions will represent a new step forward in the organisation of international unity of working-class action which increasing masses of workers regard to-day as the most effective weapon at their command in the struggle against fascism, reaction and imperialist war. We Communists are completely in agreement with these workers, and we, too, hope that steps will be taken by the Leaders of the Second International as quickly as possible to establish unity of working-class action on an international scale.

However, what must we expect from the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Second International? The thing which chiefly disturbs us is that in the period between the first

meeting of the representatives of the Communist International and the representatives of the Second International in Brussels and the coming Executive meeting in Paris a downright mobilisation of all those forces which are opposed to any united front policy has taken place within the Second International. A disturbing fact is that all those sections of the Second International which are still legal, with the sole exception of the Socialist Party of France, are opposed to a united front policy, from the British Labour Party to the Swedish Social Democratic Party, from the Danish section to the Swiss section.

What is the significance of this fact? It means that there is a danger of a split in the ranks on an international scale, a split between the working masses in the countries ruled by a fascist dictatorship or in those countries which are directly threatened with the establishment of such a dictatorship, and the working masses in those countries which still enjoy the remnants of a more or less progressive democracy and a parliamentary regime, and which are not yet immediately threatened with the danger of fascism.

The united front between the Socialists and the Communists in France was formed after the menacing events of February 6 last. It was formed in Spain when the fascist dictatorship was already on the threshold. It has been formed in fascist Italy, in fascist Austria, in the Saar district which is directly threatened by fascism, and it is about to be formed in fascist Germany. Unfortunately there are many social-democratic leaders who refuse to consider the deep significance of these facts and who are inclined to laugh at the urge to unity of action on the part of those workers who have already suffered from fascism or are immediately threatened by it. They find it absurd that a united front forms everywhere after the game, in their opinion, has already been lost, after the last cards have been played out and trumped by the enemy, and at that between little groups of emigrants "who no

longer count." Even worse, there are many social-democratic leaders who demand that the united front which has been formed between the largest legal section of the Communist International in any capitalist country, the Communist Party of France, and the French Socialist Party shall be dissolved.

We must answer this joint action of the social-democratic leaders who are against the united front and who would like to destroy the progress which has already been achieved towards the establishment of working-class unity of action, and we must answer it energetically and unambiguously. The fact that unity has been brought about either in those countries where the fascist dictatorship is already in existence, or in countries which are directly threatened by it, is no accident and it can also not be explained as an act of desperation. On the contrary, it is a sign that the working masses learn from experience. It indicates that the sufferings of the working class in Italy, Germany, Austria and the other countries have not been in vain. The working masses were defeated by fascism in Italy, Germany and Austria because the social-democratic leaders consistently pursued a policy of co-operation with the bourgeoisie and thus created and nourished the most fantastic illusions amongst broad sections of the working class, because the social-democratic leaders split the ranks of the workers and opposed all efforts to remedy the lack of unity. Under the terrible blows of fascism big sections of the proletariat had realised this truth. That unity of working-class action which has been brought about in France and Italy, in Austria and Spain, and in the Saar district is the first step of the working classes to overcome the split which has weakened their forces and to re-establish complete proletarian unity.

What is the aim, let us say, of the leaders of the British Labour Party, who are so anxious to break up the united front which has been formed in France? What else is the meaning of their demand if not to drive the workers back into the worst stages of the split? What else is the objective meaning of such a demand if not to clear the way for the victorious advance of fascism in France? The workers of Great Britain must realise that if fascism triumphs in France the day of its triumph in Great Britain itself is not far removed.

What is the aim of the social-democratic leaders in Sweden and Denmark when in the interests of their miserable governmental experiments they demand that the magnificent fight for working-class unity of action should be broken off? This movement is still in its infancy, but its aim is to re-establish the unity of the working-class movement throughout Europe in the struggle against fascism, capitalism and war. They may rest assured that the international proletariat needs no further example than that of Germany to prove that the policy of co-operation with the bourgeoisie leads inevitably to the victorious advance of fascism. They may rest assured that the international proletariat needs no further example than that of Austria to prove that the "great" Social Democratic Parties have completely abandoned the theory and practice of revolutionary Marxism, that they are giants with feet of clay and completely unable to stem the advance of fascism.

The only real barrier which the workers of the world can erect against the advance of fascism is the establishment of working-class unity of action on the basis proposed by the Communist International and the Communist Parties. Recent events in France prove this to the full. On the eve of the Executive meeting of the Second International, which will demonstrate the concentration of the main forces which are opposed to unity of working-class action and which wish to destroy those successes which have already been obtained, it is our task to intensify our struggle for the united front, to make clear its advantages to the workers everywhere, to defend it where it has already been formed and to concentrate all our efforts in an attempt to enlarge and extend it. The workers of France, Austria, Spain and Italy must not retrace their steps and go back to the old disruption which added such strength to the forces of our class enemy. On the contrary, the workers of Europe and the whole world must go forward following their example and establish working-class unity everywhere.

No matter what the decisions of the Paris meeting of the Executive of the Second International may be, the struggle of the Communist International and of the Communist Parties for a united front and for unity of working-class action on a revolutionary basis will continue uninterruptedly. We are firmly convinced that the final victory will be ours because in our struggle for an international united front we are the representatives of the real and urgent interest of the workers all over the world.

### The Paris Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Second International

The conference of the Executive of the Labour and Socialist International which began on November 14, in Paris, is taking place behind closed doors. An official communiqué on the conference will be issued on Friday after the conclusion of the Executive meeting. According to our information, representatives of the International Federation of Trade Unions are also present, among them being *Jouhaux* (France) and *Bayerle* (Czechoslovakia). *Adler* stated that the reply to the proposal of the Communist International will be given after the conclusion of the debates. In spite of the fact that nearly all the leaders of the Second International are opponents of the united front, this question dominates all the deliberations of the Conference. It appears that the representatives of the Scandinavian, Dutch sections and of the British Labour Party are not only opposed to the united front, but are hoping for its collapse in those countries where it has been already realised. However, the Second International cannot go so far. *Vandervelde*, *Adler*, *Abramovitch* and others who want to confine the united front to occasional local affairs having no great international importance and to satisfy the British and Scandinavians as well as the social-democratic workers who expect joint action, are attempting to word its rejection into a form which will be acceptable to all. They claim to be in favour of the united front, but on a democratic basis, provided the Soviet Union makes a decisive turn in this question. They are not quite sure in regard to the importance implied in this turn. The "Left" would be satisfied with an amnesty in the Soviet Union; *Vandervelde* would like to see the legalisation of the Russian Section of the Second International; and the future English Ministers, as well as the Swedish Ministers, submit as a condition for the united front the abolition of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the return to democracy in Russia. These deliberations threaten to prove a great disappointment to the broad masses of social-democratic workers, who are insisting on action and do not want a manoeuvre. The reply of the Labour and Socialist International will not remain the last word in this matter for the Communists. They will continue to fight unswervingly for the realisation of unity of action.

## Politics

### Foreign Political Review of the Week

The extreme sharpening of the international situation, which in Germany even amounted to open talk of war, has in the past week outwardly undergone a certain alleviation. The Saar question, over which the conflict arose, still stands in the forefront. The Saar Committee of the League of Nations met in Rome under the chairmanship of Baron *Aloisi* in preparation for the Saar question being dealt with by the meeting of the League. The chairman of the League of Nations Governing Commission, Mr. *Knox*, has addressed a fresh complaint to the League of Nations against the national-socialist terror originating from Germany. Finally, *Hitler* has raised a diplomatic protest in Paris, London and Brussels against French troops being held in readiness for the Saar Commission. This protest was coolly received in London and in Paris flatly rejected. Next week, however, when a special meeting of the League of Nations will deal with it, the Saar question may become a question of the greatest world-political significance.

A declaration made by *Ramsay MacDonald* at the Lord Mayor's banquet on the armament question must be regarded as an important foreign-political event. Since *Hitler* came into power *MacDonald* has pursued a policy of rapprochement with Germany, a policy of concessions, of encouragement, the cost of which had to be borne by France. Apart from *Mussolini*, no foreign statesman bears so much responsibility for Germany's arming as the present head of the British Cabinet. Germany was already arming at a feverish pace when *MacDonald* was still advocating the formula "Disarmament before security," whereby he provided *Hitler* Germany, which was not threatened outwardly by anybody, with a moral justification for its armaments. *MacDonald* has now publicly abandoned his old attitude and returned to the French standpoint. And he has done this precisely at the moment when *Hitler* was reckoning on *MacDonald's* sympathy, when he had sent a special representative, *Baron von Ribbentrop*, to London in order to obtain the assistance of England for the legalisation of Germany's armaments.

In the meantime, the excitement which followed the Marseilles assassinations has died down. But this is said to be only the calm before the storm. All preparations are being made in order to raise the whole matter before the League of Nations. Yugoslavia is said to be insisting on sanctions against Hungary. It is reckoning on the help of the Little Entente and of the rest of the Balkan Powers, on France, and on the moral support of England. What, however, will Poland and Italy do, to obtain whose help General Goemboes undertook his journeys? It is no secret that Italy is sabotaging the inquiry aiming at ascertaining who is responsible for the Marseilles assassinations. It is certain that the object of the visit of the Hungarian Prime Minister to Rome was to obtain assurances of Italy's support, just as his visit to Warsaw was for the purpose of securing Poland's support. Will not Yugoslavia proceed independently if it cannot achieve its aims through the League of Nations? "Under the present strained conditions the smallest event can have the effect of a bombshell," said Benes in his recent speech to the Czech Parliament. He was referring directly to the Marseilles assassinations. Will the effect of this bombshell, however, take place now? Are we not confronted with a sort of repetition of Serajevo, when the conclusion of the investigation was followed by an ultimatum?

The speech of Benes contained other important references to the seriousness of the international situation, in which the Soviet Union constitutes a strong bastion of peace, the only bright spot, so to speak, which fact was strongly emphasised by Benes. Benes spoke openly of the dangerous situation in which Czechoslovakia, which is being squeezed between Poland and Hungary, is in. In the attitude of Poland Benes saw not a tactical move, but a constant threat to Czechoslovakia, against which it can only defend itself by means of its army. It should be noted that Benes, in his foreign-political declarations, has hitherto constantly avoided calling attention in this way to the importance of the Czechoslovakian army. Benes regards the sharpening of the antagonisms between Poland and Czechoslovakia not as a local phenomenon, but as a part of the international shifting of the fronts which is taking place at the present moment. He spoke of "new fronts and new forces," without specifically naming them. The London "Times" of November 8, in a long article on "Middle Europe," indicates these new fronts. The "Times" writes:—

"The countries of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe are eagerly watching developments, and are asking themselves what their lot will be in any future conflict. They see a country enormously virile and strong, which they believe to have territorial aspirations, developing a military machine which, as they think, will before very long not have its like in Europe. Its man-power is superior, not only numerically but in military enthusiasm, physique, training, efficiency, and organisation to that of any other country. They believe it has recently made great strides in actual armaments. In any case they know for certain that it has an incomparable industrial machine, which can be applied to the production of war material at a moment's notice. They believe that its present rulers have an inflexible programme, and that they are obsessed by the knowledge that they can only retain power in the long run if they can show successes. . . . The watching countries regard the events of July 25, for which the Austrian government's Brown Book lays the responsibility upon the Reich, as proof of their beliefs.

"All these countries, weighing their own position and concerned for their own futures, are to-day asking themselves which will prevail: this strong and resolute country, traditionally the most valuable military ally in Europe, or the countries opposed to it. For them the fate of Austria will be the test. . . . Sound observers think that the victory of national socialism in Austria would inevitably draw Poland, Yugoslavia, Hungary, and Bulgaria into the German orbit. . . .

"The deference shown by Poland to Germany cannot be explained by the desire to impress forgetful Western Powers with the importance of Poland. When so many English voices, though silent on the subject of Tanganyika, urged the return of the Polish Corridor to Germany it is small wonder that Poland decided that she must look after her own interests and took the first opportunity to make an arrangement with Germany."

Unfortunately, owing to lack of space, we must content ourselves with quoting only the above passages from the very remarkable article in the "Times," which gives a very lively presentation

of the new forces and new fronts which are forming. However, both the speech of Benes and the "Times" article suffer from the fact that they perceive only the foreign-political activity and refuse to see the *inner* development in the various countries, and therefore only partially take into account the rise of the new forces. Mussolini has a much better nose for scenting inner-political dangers. In an unsigned article in the official "Corriere della Sera" of November 7, dealing with the communiqué on the conversations between Goemboes and Mussolini, reference is made to the serious inner situation in the various countries. The "Corriere" writes:—

"Not only the international situation is in a ferment and giving rise to a ferment, not only are the antagonisms between State and State strained, but the inner situation in the various countries is critical."

We see from this article what a big effect the Spanish events have had on Mussolini. The Spanish rebels are fiercely attacked, and, in the usual clumsy manner, the cause of the trouble is attributed to foreign influences. The "Corriere della Sera" states:

"What foreign influence is at work here? It is sufficient to remember, and it is also time to remember, that a Russian observed with satisfaction how Spain was about to become really ripe for a great Bolshevistic experiment."

This warning is intended to induce the Powers not to push things too far, also not with Hungary; they should rather peacefully agree, eventually against Bolshevism, as hinted in the passage quoted above.

In any event we have here a valuable admission of the effect of the new forces, of the role they are playing in foreign politics, namely, of the newly developing forces in unity of action. These are in fact the *new forces* which are working most effectively against the criminal, insane plans to let loose a new war, and which in the course of further developments will become a new power which will clear out the whole pack of imperialists.

New fronts, new forces are forming, said M. Benes. We, however, add: not only imperialist new fronts, not only imperialist forces, but *new fronts* and *new forces* against *fascism and war*. The salvation of humanity depends upon the strengthening of *these* fronts and *these* forces.

## The Travels of Goemboes

By Viktor Zina (Bucharest)

Following on his visit to *Warsaw*, Goemboes, the Prime Minister of Hungary, has now visited *Rome* and *Vienna*. The fascists of Budapest, whose foreign policy is dictated by revisionist interests, are seeking allies on the eve of an embarrassing discussion at the coming session of the League of Nations concerning the support which the Croat terrorists have enjoyed. They are striving in particular to strengthen their connections with Rome. The travels which Goemboes has undertaken raise the question of the future of the whole of Central Europe and the Balkans, where the conflicting imperialist interests are colliding ever more bitterly and where the balance of power is by no means secure.

The fact which dominated Danubian and Balkan politics until a few weeks ago was the hesitant attempt to bring about a rapprochement between *France* and *Italy*. This attempt was meeting with difficulties on the part of Yugoslavia and the Little Entente, and its aim was to erect a barrier against the *Anschluss* of Austria to Germany. *Mussolini's* speech in Milan which called for a rapprochement not only between Italy and France, but also between Italy and Yugoslavia, was very significant from this point of view. However, during the past few weeks Mussolini has been unable to resist the temptation to make capital out of the difficulties of French imperialism internally and in connection with the Saar district, and he is therefore pursuing a much less clear game at the moment. The manoeuvres of Germany not only in Yugoslavia and in Rumania, but also in Vienna, where *Schuschnigg*, the confidant of the Pope, has begun negotiations with the Austrian national socialists with a view to the incorporation of the latter in the "Patriotic Front," have been received in Rome with obvious dissatisfaction. The "*Lavoro Fascista*" writes clearly:—

"We in Italy are well aware that any attempts of Germany to secure a rapprochement with Yugoslavia are aimed at establishing German hegemony in the Balkans. . . . Italy and the other interested powers will prevent the achievement of such an aim under all circumstances."

Mussolini has even called *Schuschnigg* to Rome because he

finds the attitude of the latter towards the national socialists suspicious. The basis for a rapprochement between France and Italy on the basis of a joint struggle against the *Anschluss* of Austria to Germany and against any German penetration into the Danube Basin and into the Balkans seemed to have been found. However, Mussolini is unwilling to abandon the advantages which Italian hegemony in Budapest and Italian support for revisionism offer, and one of the inevitable conditions of any rapprochement between France and Italy will be that Rome disavows formally the revisionist aspirations of Budapest.

Following on the assassination of King Alexander of Yugoslavia in Marseilles, French diplomacy succeeded in booking one or two gains in the Balkans, and this fact has naturally caused dissatisfaction in Rome. The conference of the Balkan Entente which took place in *Angora*, following on the conference in Belgrade, was undoubtedly a success for French imperialist diplomacy, for the chief figure of the Balkan Entente is *Titulescu*, the Foreign Minister of Rumania, who is still the confidant of the French Foreign Ministry. The result of the conference of the Balkan Entente in Angora was the adoption of an organisational Statute for the Entente with a permanent Council, a permanent Secretariat and an advisory Economic Council.

The public declarations of *Titulescu* have established clearly the aims of the Balkan Entente, namely, to resist with all possible means the territorial aspirations of the revisionists, and above all of Hungary. The conferences in Belgrade and in Angora have also brought about a rapprochement which practically amounts to parallel action between the Balkan Entente and the Little Entente. The mouthpiece of the French General Staff, the "*Echo de Paris*," writes:—

"Should Italy continue to operate in co-operation with Hungary it is obvious that it would no longer be possible to distinguish between the Balkan Entente and the Little Entente, the two would merge into one whole."

As an answer to the conference of the Balkan Entente in Angora Mussolini wished to utilise the visit of *Goemboes* to Rome as a demonstration of continued Italo-Hungarian co-operation.

The fascist government in Budapest is in a tight corner. There is a danger that the League of Nations will call on it to give an account of the support which it has granted to the Croat terrorist bands, and in particular the *Ustaschi*. At the same time both the Little Entente and the Balkan Entente have raised the banner of resistance to Hungarian territorial revisionism. The Hungarian fascists have therefore been compelled to take the offensive.

A beginning was made with the visit of *Goemboes* to *Warsaw*. The French press has not failed to comment bitterly on the difference between the cool reception accorded to *Barthou* on his visit to *Warsaw*, and the friendly welcome which *Goemboes* received. In any case, French imperialism is in no doubt about the attitude of its erstwhile ally, Poland. In his report on the international situation delivered to the Czechoslovakian parliament, the Czech Foreign Minister *Benes* declared frankly that the latest manoeuvres of Polish foreign policy were not to be considered as incidental deviations or as a passing phase, but as facts and tendencies of permanent value. Whilst he was in *Warsaw* *Goemboes* undoubtedly strengthened the relations between Poland and Hungary, and there is little doubt that the negotiations between him and the Polish government dealt with the question of the establishment of a joint Polish-Hungarian frontier at the expense of *Czechoslovakia*.

After his visit to *Warsaw*, *Goemboes* went to *Vienna* and *Rome*. In *Vienna* he did not fail to receive *von Papen*, who is one of the main wirepullers of the efforts to establish an entente between Germany, Hungary and Poland. However, the most important of the visits of *Goemboes* was that to *Rome*, and the results of his negotiations with *Mussolini* have been described as satisfactory both in *Rome* and in *Budapest*. There is no doubt that *Goemboes* demanded that Italy should do everything possible to prevent the question of Hungarian support for the Croat terrorists from coming before the League of Nations, and that Italy should continue its support of the Hungarian territorial revisionist demands.

The official communiqué issued after the meeting between *Mussolini* and *Goemboes* in *Rome* is reminiscent of the one which was issued after the conclusion of the agreement between Italy, Austria and Hungary at *Rome*. It declares that:—

"The two governments were able to place on record a

complete harmony of permanent tendencies and their joint determination to continue and develop their co-operation with Austria."

It would appear that *Mussolini* gave *Goemboes* some assuring undertakings probably with regard to the revisionist policy of the Budapest government. The French press is naturally very dissatisfied with the *Rome* negotiations, and the same dissatisfaction is mirrored in the press of the Little Entente. The famous French foreign political expert, *Pertinax*, points out that there can be no question of any rapprochement between Italy and France unless the relations of Italy to the Little Entente and in particular to Yugoslavia are improved, and he adds significantly:—

"A *modus vivendi* between Italy and Yugoslavia is conceivable only if Italian diplomacy abandons its support of Hungary in the latter's efforts to secure a revision of the territorial clauses of the Peace Treaties."

The future of the rapprochement between France and Italy is therefore still overclouded. The French Prime Minister, *Laval*, is to visit *Rome* soon. The French Ambassador in *Rome*, *de Chambrun*, has returned to *Paris* for instructions, but the prospects of a rapprochement which seemed favourable after July 25 are now becoming less and less so.

The question of the future of the Danube Basin remains completely unsolved. Germany, Italy, France and the Vatican are all busily spinning their plots and counter-plots, but all the agreements and undertakings tend to lapse after a few weeks. Group reshufflings are taking place constantly and altering the relation of forces. They are intensifying the antagonisms between the imperialist powers and heightening the danger of war. The deliberately ambiguous attitude of *Mussolini* is encouraging the efforts of the imperialist block which is led by Hitler Germany and which is making for imperialist war in the immediate future and for a war against the Soviet Union. The revisionist policy of the Hungarian fascist government, which represents one of the most important links in Germany's Eastern policy and which suffered a slight setback recently, now appears to have secured further support in *Rome*. The journeys of *Goemboes* from one capital of Europe to the other have thus resulted in strengthening the positions of the adventurers who are at the helm in *Budapest*. Obviously the present alignment of forces cannot be considered as in any way permanent, but after the intense activity of *Goemboes* the prospects of favourable results from the forthcoming negotiations between France and Italy are not all too bright.

## The Rapprochement Between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia

By D. Vlachov

Unfriendly relations have existed between Bulgaria and Serbia, which afterwards became Yugoslavia, for more than twenty years. For five years (from 1928 to 1933) the frontiers between these two countries remained closed. The relations between the other Balkan countries were likewise anything but friendly. The severe economic crisis in the Balkan countries and the relations existing between the imperialist big Powers, as well as the regrouping which has taken place among the latter, have had an effect upon the relations between the Balkan States. The hereditary enemies of yesterday: Bulgaria and Turkey, Turkey and Greece, are beginning to talk of friendship. They have already concluded pacts of friendship. Relations between Yugoslavia and Greece have improved; at the same time Yugoslavia and Rumania have come more closely together.

The Balkan Conference in 1929 represented an attempt to alleviate the sharp antagonisms which existed between these States, to prepare for intervention against the Soviet Union, and to organise the fight against the rising revolutionary wave in the Balkan countries. This Conference, however, did not succeed in solving these questions. The Balkan Conference has failed to have any influence on the policy of the Balkan countries.

In the meantime the international situation further deteriorated. The economic crisis assumed ever greater proportions and the antagonisms between the imperialist States increased. The danger of war has increased, especially in the Balkans.

As a result of this state of affairs and under the influence of the big imperialist Powers, especially France, the relations between the bourgeoisie of Bulgaria and of Yugoslavia have become less strained. In their fight against Turkey and against Greece for an



outlet on to the Aegean Sea, the bourgeoisie of Bulgaria has begun to seek the aid of Yugoslavia.

In addition, with the setting up of the fascist military dictatorship in Bulgaria as a result of the military coup d'état of May 19, the relations between the two fascist military dictatorships improved. The whole of the press of Bulgaria and Yugoslavia began to speak of a rapprochement; the press suddenly discovered common interests, a blood relationship, brotherly feelings between the peoples of Bulgaria and Yugoslavia.

This rapprochement was promoted by the great majority of the bourgeoisie of both countries. The economic ruin in both countries, the need of money and the fear of encirclement, of complete isolation, compelled the bourgeoisie of Bulgaria to seek the friendship of Yugoslavia. On the other hand, the desire of the Pan-Serbian bourgeoisie to secure its hinterland in the event of an armed conflict with Italy, compelled the fascist-military dictatorship in Yugoslavia to respond to the approaches of Bulgaria. Fascist Italy did not regard with favour the manifestations of friendship with Yugoslavia, which became increasingly frequent in Bulgaria. On the other hand, that part of the Bulgarian-Macedonian bourgeoisie which pursued a policy of orientation towards Italy did not remain without influence. It participated in the central government itself, where it had two representatives. The terrorist bands of *Ivano Michailov*, the bands of the hangman *Tsankov*, the pro-Italian groups in the Agrarian League, in the democratic party and the other bourgeois parties constituted a force. The supporters of a rapprochement with the present-day Yugoslavia proceeded cautiously. But after May 19 this policy became the axis of the foreign policy of the fascist-military dictatorship in Bulgaria. At present the policy of rapprochement to Yugoslavia is announced openly and with enthusiasm in Bulgaria.

The enthusiasm of the dictatorships in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia reached its highest point on the occasion of the arrival in Bulgaria of King Alexander. Alexander's stay in Bulgaria was characterised by a gush of brotherly sentiment at banquets and after-dinner speeches; above all, however, by conversations and negotiations of great political importance, even if the decisions adopted at these meetings related only to minor points: measures for increasing the cultural bonds between the peoples of the two countries, opening of new frontier crossings, plans for the construction of railway lines to connect Geshevo and Kumanovo and Widin and Negotin respectively.

The *Balkan Conference*, in which all the Balkan States took part, revealed many antagonisms existing between these States. But those who benefit from the slave treaties in the Balkans and their protectors need an organ which could immediately pledge the governments, an organ which should constitute a force and guarantee for their conquests. The Balkan Conference was not such an organ. This organ was created in Athens on February 9, 1934, by the signing of the *Balkan Pact* between Rumania, Turkey, Greece and Yugoslavia. As is known, its task consists in guaranteeing the territorial status quo of the Balkan States and perpetuating the slavery of the oppressed Balkan peoples.

It may be mentioned that the proposers of this Pact were Greece, Turkey and Rumania, especially Greece. Greece and Turkey wanted by means of this Pact to secure their frontiers against an attack by Bulgaria and Yugoslavia on Greece, and against an attack by Bulgaria on Turkey. Bulgaria and Albania refused to join in the Pact of Athens. At the last moment Yugoslavia joined in the Pact. In taking this step it had in mind its interests not only in the Balkans but also in Central Europe. It reckons that the new *Balkan Entente*—as the bloc which was formed as a result of the Balkan Pact is called—could be made use of for its policy in the Danube Basin. For Yugoslavia the Balkan Entente serves similar purposes as the *Little Entente*. The same motives actuate Rumania in its policy towards the Balkan Entente.

The *Conference of the Council of the Balkan Entente*, which took place in Angora on October 30, revealed the true character of this Entente: it is a new instrument of war as well as for oppressing and exploiting the Balkan people. The decisions adopted at this Conference are being kept secret. It was simply announced that "important decisions" were adopted in Angora, but their contents were not made known. However, some idea of the nature of these decisions is divulged by the declarations of the most important leader of the Balkan Entente, *Titulescu*, who openly announced that the aim of the States participating in this Entente consisted in forming an important military force in order mutually to guarantee their territorial integrity.

Bulgaria still remains outside the Balkan Entente, although the relations between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia have entered on a phase of close rapprochement.

There is no doubt that, in spite of the recent events in Yugoslavia, in spite of the murder of King Alexander, parallel with the Balkan Entente, the relations between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia are becoming increasingly cordial, for this is necessary in the interests of the fascist-military dictatorships in these two countries.

But the working masses of Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and the other Balkan countries can expect from this rapprochement as well as from the Balkan Entente only a closer tightening of their chains. Only the victorious revolution can free the Balkan peoples and the exploited classes from slavery, oppression, exploitation and from the fascist dictatorship. And only this revolution can bar the way to imperialist war.

## Child Labour in the United States

By J. Hart

### The N.R.A. Unmasked

In 1930, two years before Roosevelt became president of the United States, the federal census showed at least 1,800,000 children between the ages of 10 and 17 employed as wage workers.\*

At this time, during the worst years of the crisis, the government agencies and bourgeois institutions were forced to lament the fate of the child labourer who was being more and more exploited during the years of the crisis.

In May, 1930, the U.S. Department of Labour, through its Child Bureau, released a document called "The Community and Child Labour," in which it bewailed the fact that "many children work in industrialised agriculture in which the working day is as long as that of the 19th century factory—and the speeding up is often as severe as the factory of our own day. Besides the children in agriculture, there are thousands under 14 years of age, and hundreds of thousands who are only 14 or 15 years old in non-agricultural employment." It states further "that between 1920 and 1930 at least 1,822,220 different 14 and 15 year old children have gone to work." How many under 14 went to work we do not know!

And further: "It is safe to say that if there were no poverty a great deal of child labour would cease to be. . . . It is in the homes of poverty where the struggle to obtain ordinary comforts, if not the actual necessities of life, is seen, that the child's dissatisfaction with school or indifference to it, or his inability to do the required school work—the principal other reasons given for going to work at an early age—result in his withdrawal."

At about the same time Miriam Heeler, of the Publicity Department of the National Child Labour Committee, reported that in Los Angeles the situation reached such a point that a supervisor was appointed to "supervise working children's interests, who states that many of the children losing their jobs need special training in what might be termed "job ethics" (?). . . . To meet the needs of such children the replacement class holds conferences and discussions on local opportunities for employment, how to look for work, how to secure a job, how to hold a job." (My emphasis—J. H.)

On March 4, 1933, President Roosevelt took office. It did not take long before the National Recovery Act was introduced. There was much ballyhoo and noise. It did not take one year for Roosevelt solemnly to announce that "child labour was abolished." No sooner did he say these magic words when Secretary of Labour Perkins, William Green, and every one of the lesser lights began to bugle in loud terms about the wonderful accomplishments of the N.R.A., among which was the abolition of child labour.

The world press pointed to the United States to show how capitalism, after all these years, was able to abolish child labour.

So complete was this "abolition" that Roosevelt in his last "heart-to-heart" talk over the radio on October 4 thought it necessary just to mention it in passing as an achievement of his administration.

Even socialists were taken in completely. They echoed the call of the liberal National Child Labour Committee, "to ensure

\* This is an under-estimation, because there is no record of children under 10.

the permanent abolition of child labour by means of law." They agreed that child labour is abolished now—but this is only temporary, they say: let us insure it for ever by decree of Congress.

How did Roosevelt abolish child labour, one may ask. It would be interesting to know how this was done.

By admission of the government, child labour is a direct result mainly of poverty. We can enlarge on this and say that, from the point of view of the family, child labour is usually a result of one or a combination of the following causes:—

- (1) Low wages in the family.
- (2) No income, due to unemployment.
- (3) Lack of adequate school facilities.

If we agree with this, we can only come to one conclusion: and that is that Roosevelt abolished child labour by abolishing all of the above-mentioned causes of it. Let us see.

Are there still **low wages** in the American workers' and farmers' families? Even during the N.R.A., when the codes were supposed to raise wages, we find wage cuts being put over and a constantly rising cost of living. Even the Roosevelt government will admit the existence of poorly paid workers. The textile and other strikes put the question of higher wages as a major demand. If such is the case, then it is clear that many workers have been forced to send their children to work in order to secure additional income. In addition, the farmers, poverty stricken by the drought and the A.A.A. programme, surely need additional income this winter.

How about **unemployment**? The New York "Times" of September 23 contained an article showing that in New York City one family out of every seven is destitute; that there will be about 1,000,000 persons on relief this winter; that there is an increase of at least 1,500 new relief cases per day in New York. Donald Richberg in his reports to President Roosevelt admits that federal relief will have to be given to at least 5,000,000 families this winter. It is clear that there are at least 15,000,000 workers unemployed, many of them heads of families. Surely an unemployed family has no other alternative than to send out everyone, including the child, to look for work.

And what about the position of the schools?

In 1933, Dr. Zook, U.S. Commissioner of Education, gave out the following information:—

2,280,000 children of school age are not in school.

2,000 schools did not open; school terms are shorter in nearly every large city and from one to two months less than 100 years ago.

900,000 children in 18,000 rural schools go to school for less than six months.

In Alabama 81 per cent. of all children did not go to school in 1933.

That this situation may even be worse is shown by a recent statement of Secretary of Interior Ickes, who was instructed by President Roosevelt to consider the question of giving about 2,500,000 dollars to open schools for at least three months in such States as Texas, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Georgia, Nebraska, and S. Dakota.—(N.Y. "Times," October 4, 1934.)

And so we have the situation of millions of children who have no other alternative except to look for work.

In brief, the fairy tale of the "abolition of child labour" becomes apparent.

But one can argue even so, the code provides for abolition of child labour under 16. It is, therefore, necessary to study the code to see whether child labour was abolished by decree.

Let us study each field separately.

(1) Agriculture—there is no code for agriculture. This means that the old situation still remains.

(2) Domestic service—there is no code for domestic service.

(3) Street trades—there is no code for street trades except for newsboys. The printing codes allow the employment of children as newsboys, "provided such employment does not conflict with school attendance."

What this means for areas where schools are closed, as well as in general, is quite obvious!

These three sections employ the great majority of child labourers.

What about the textile industry? Although the codes did speak of abolition of child labour under 16, and for a time there was a slight decrease in children employed, it was soon discovered that children were either being bootlegged into shops, or were

employed at home, where the manufacturers installed looms (Patterson, South).

But the Roosevelt administration has, by its own mouth, "abolished child labour." This was done by stopping altogether the publication of any statistics or data relative to this question. One gathers that there is no need of publishing data when child labour has been so thoroughly wiped out.

We must once and for all put an end to our negligence of this field of struggle. The fact that Roosevelt must speak about "The abolition of child labour" is one indication of the widespread sentiment of the workers and farmers against child exploitation. We must lead this sentiment and direct it along Marxist-Leninist channels against the demagogic, hunger programme of Roosevelt. Not only must we smash the legend of "abolition of child labour," but we must actively defend the interests of the masses of exploited children.

## Spain

### Appeal of the C.C. of the C.P. of Spain

*The following appeal of the C.C. of the C.P. of Spain was published in October after the revolutionary fights. It contains a criticism of the tactics of the united front organs, the "Workers' Alliances," which in some localities, in addition to Communists and socialists, also comprised anarchists.*

#### To All Workers and Peasants of Spain, Catalonia, the Basque Provinces and Galicia

The provocation of the exploiting class of Spain, which set up the Vatican-fascist government, called forth an outburst of popular indignation which has shaken the regime of the bourgeoisie and landowners to its very foundations.

Tired of suffering hunger, exploitation and terror, the workers rose in order to take up the fight for bread, land and freedom. In very many places, especially in Asturias and Biscaya, the red flag of revolution and Soviet power fluttered in the breeze as a symbol of a new Spain, freed from misery. The heroism of the workers in the fight reached its highest point in the glorious epoch of **red Asturias**, where the socialist republic of the workers and peasants was proclaimed, which is still being maintained today, defended with the breasts and weapons of the slaves of the pits, in the midst of a hell of blood and machine-gun fire let loose by the fascist dictatorship government of Lerroux-Gil Robles, who sent their brutes of the Foreign Legion and the colonial troops to murder the brave mine-workers, to massacre their wives and children with artillery, to burn down their dwellings and to violate the proletarian women.

Long live the courageous proletariat of Asturias!

Long live the heroic proletariat of Asturias!

**Workers!**

**The battle which has been fought is not the decisive battle.**

The executioners of the working people should not exult too early at their victory. **We have returned to work, but we are ready to gather our forces again, to take up the fight again at a more favourable moment, and with greater confidence in victory than ever before.** Let us learn from events and make use of the experience. That will strengthen us on the sure way to victory.

**The Communist Party, which flung itself into the fight with all its forces although it did not agree altogether with the tactics and methods of organisation of the fight, which did not spare itself any effort nor shrink from sacrifices in order to place itself at the head of the fighting masses, now invites all workers to draw the lessons from this fight not only in order to solve the doubts and questions which to-day confront thousands of proletarians, but in order to arm them with the theory and correct tactics which will lead us to victory in the coming fights.**

**Why did we not win the victory?**

Among all the exploited there was no lack of will and courage, determination and firmness, devotion and sacrifice. Why, then, did we not win the victory? **Because, as our Party has repeatedly declared, there was not sufficient political and organisational preparation for the revolution, because its programme was not brought to the knowledge of the whole of the working masses, because the advantages which the revolution will bring to the workers, the peasants, the soldiers and all the exploited had not been popularised. The fact that the revolution cannot be simply made but must be organised, that the organisation of the revolution cannot**

be confined to groups of volunteers who are "ready for everything," but that all the forces of the working class and the immediate allies of the revolution, the peasants, must be drawn into the fight—all this was ignored.

The resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, published in the "Mundo Obrero" (World of Labour) of September 17, stated: "The Workers' Alliances, as their name implies, arise as the organ of one of the main driving forces of the revolution, namely, the proletariat, which is a guiding force—but they fail to recognise the second main driving force, represented by the peasantry, without the alliance with which there can be no guarantee of the socialist revolution." This is the reason why the army, except in a few isolated cases, did not also join in the fight on the side of the workers.

The overwhelming majority of the soldiers are peasants, and they will only go over to the side of the revolution if it satisfies their requirements. As they did not know what the revolution would give them, the tremendous forces of the village, for the far greater part, did not join the fight.

The problem of power, the main question of every revolution, was not presented plainly and clearly to the proletariat and the masses of the peasantry. The greater majority of them therefore did not know into whose hands and to what organs they had to place power, and what power meant for them. There was lacking a programme—this force which, when it becomes embodied in the masses, causes them to defy death in order that the programme shall be realised in life. In the above-mentioned resolution of the C.C. of the C.P., it is stated: "The fight to smash the regime of the bourgeoisie and landowners and for the power of the workers and peasants presupposes the political and organisational preparation of the masses for the achievement of this aim. Therefore, the propaganda of the programme of the workers' and peasants' government, setting forth that which the victorious revolution will give to the working people, must be intensified among the working masses in town and country."

The facts have confirmed the correctness of this estimate. In order to throw the whole mass of the toiling people into the fight, it is necessary that they be previously permeated with the programme, which must become the flag of the advance-guard, summoning them to the fight. As this was not the case, the enormous forces represented by the proletariat in every factory, in every mine and every field, were untapped. For this reason neither factory committees nor committees of peasants nor the Alliances were set up in every place where exploitation took place—in which workers, peasants and soldiers should be directly represented—that is to say, organs for preparation of the armed revolt, embryonic organs of power of the victorious revolution (Soviets). The fact that all this was lacking is not due to chance. It was in accordance with an unclear view of tactics. There was lacking both the theory and practice of the revolution. There was lacking the unity and iron discipline which must characterise the party of the revolution. Within the socialist party there are to be found devoted revolutionaries together with elements which do not conceal their hostility to any revolutionary action. This fact was bound to be reflected in a number of vacillations in regard to directions and some confused and contradictory instructions. This was the reason for the terrible mistake that the general strike was not carried out before the formation of the hangmen's government of Lerroux. This meant that the initiative was left in the hands of the enemy.

Another terrible mistake was to entrust the issue of the fight to such vacillating persons as Companys and his like, who out of fear of the development of the people's revolution capitulated to the forces of the enemy, or to the Republican army commanders, instead of the united masses of the workers. In order to ensure the victory of the revolution it is necessary that the leadership of the revolution shall remain in all its forms in the hands of the exploited. That is the only guarantee of victory. Our heroic comrades in Asturias and the Basque province have proved this. "The emancipation of the working class can only be the work of the workers themselves" (Marx). This fact was not realised in its whole significance.

**Comrades anarchists, take note!**

The Communist Party endeavoured in good time to correct these errors, and persisted in its endeavours in the course of the fight. Nevertheless, in spite of the seriousness of the errors, the

situation would not have developed in favour of the monarchist-fascist canaille if, above all, the anarchist leaders of Barcelona and Saragossa had not committed their shameful act of betrayal of the revolution at the very moment when all the exploiters of Spain were fighting like lions with weapons in hand.

It is not merely the civil guards and storm guards, not only the monarchist and fascist officers, not merely the machine guns which for the moment decided the battle in favour of the blackest reaction. To the ever-lasting shame of the anarchist leaders it was their appeals, which they issued from the general headquarters of the fascist Batet in Barcelona. The leaders of the Anarchist Federation prevented the victory of the revolution. They sold their own anarchist comrades who, in Asturias, Madrid and other places, realised their duty to their class and fought bravely together with their Communist and socialist brothers.

It is these anarchist leaders who are chiefly responsible for the present situation. Do not forget this, comrades anarchists!

From what has already been said it is evident why the peasants did not seize possession of and defend the land, uniting with the proletariat in the fight, and why the great majority of the soldiers did not fraternise with the workers and go over to the revolution. Therefore the counter-revolutionary pack was able to tear down the red flag of the revolution and hoist the black flag of the death penalty, suppress all the democratic liberties of the working people, pounce like jackals onto the defeated districts in Catalonia and in the Basque province, entrust power into the hands of the fascist monarchists and return to the monarchist-militarist-jesuit past.

Everything that is reactionary and backward in society, the whole combined forces of counter-revolution, are hastening to celebrate their triumph. But they are in too much of a hurry. They can shoot, imprison, increase the misery and hunger among the working people still more, but the hungry will not become satisfied by fasts, the pains and tears of the mothers and women of the people will not be stopped by the whips and blows of the civil and storm guards. It is impossible to satisfy the people with blows of the butts of rifles and bayonet stabs, nor to hold back with the voice of command of the arrogant generals the disaster to industry and agriculture which the Lerroux regime has brought.

The workers want bread and work; the peasants want land; the whole people want freedom. In the heart of every worker and every peasant there lives the will to fight and take revenge. The class hatred against this regime of hunger, misery and terror is spreading—below the surface, and sullen hatred is germinating in the depths of the working masses, which will break out—and this not before long. Taught by these events, these masses are being better steered for the fight, better organised to march forward to victory under the leadership of their class advance-guard.

**The fight is not yet at an end.**

This is proved by the fact that the band of clerical-fascist hangmen are far from having mastered the situation. In Asturias the proletarian legions are continuing their heroic fight. The same can be said of the mining district of Biscaya. To-day the proletarian forces are retreating, but at the same time are preparing to employ new fighting tactics based on a new organisation. The great battle for bread, land and freedom has not yet been fought. The Workers' and Peasants' Alliances are being formed in the working-class centres. We shall convert every factory into a stronghold of the revolution. We have fought unitedly and we shall advance unitedly more firmly than ever. We shall discuss in a brotherly manner the experiences, the positive sides and the mistakes of the past fight, but nothing can destroy the unity of action of the Communist and socialist workers. And we shall continue in our endeavours to draw to our side the anarchist workers who have so clearly perceived the shameful attitude of their leaders in this movement.

We shall continue unitedly to defend tooth and nail the heroes of red Asturias and the Basque provinces, to prevent reprisals by the fascist employers. We shall continue united in the fight against the government, against the death penalty and against the monarchist-clerical-fascist reaction; united in order to support the prisoners, to fight for land for the peasants, for freedom of the press, of meeting and the trade unions, for the freedom for the people of Catalonia and all suppressed nations, for the disarming of the fascist hordes and for the arming of the workers and peasants; united to form a single anti-fascist bloc and for the power of the workers, peasants and soldiers.

### Socialist and anarchist workers!

The facts have shown the correctness of our political line, of our tactics and our revolutionary fighting tactics. They have proved once again that there can be only one party of the revolution, and that **this party is the party which bases its activity on the tremendous experiences of two glorious and victorious revolutions, of Russia and Soviet China.** Everywhere where our forces predominate, as in Asturias and the Basque provinces, the form of organisation and tactics made possible glorious achievements which to-day are the pride of all revolutionaries of Spain. Our Party, in spite of the reactionary storm which is raging around it, remains at the head of the fight of the oppressed masses. More than ever their firm hands are grasping the flag of socialist revolution against the cowardly calumniators and against the lackeys of capital. And thus, as in the past, they are holding aloft this flag on which is inscribed the battle cry for land, bread and freedom, the battle cry of the Soviets, for the triumph of Socialism.

For the first time in the history of the Spanish revolution the flag of the Soviets has been raised and defended in the revolutionary fight against the bourgeois-landlord regime. **In Asturias the Socialist Republic lived and still lives on the basis of the Soviets.** A new chapter has commenced in the history of the proletariat and of the peasant masses of Spain. To-day the proletariat knows from its own experience that only under the flag of the Soviets can it conquer. The future fights will be waged under this sign, and we shall be victorious.

Comrades all, keep a stout heart! To-day let us more than ever maintain faith in victory! Let us close our ranks firmly, courageously and calmly, collect our forces, maintain discipline. Let us extend our battalions! **Strengthen the advance-guard of the fight, come into the Communist Party!** Workers, peasants, soldiers, gather round our flag and let us march in firm ranks to victory!

Long live the workers' and peasants' government!

Long live the Soviets!

Long live the proletariat united in the Alliance of the workers and peasants!

Long live the world revolution and its general staff, the Communist International!

Long live the Communist Party of Spain!

**Communist Party of Spain.**

## Appeal of the C.P. of Catalonia

The seizure of power by the government of the Radicals and the Ceditists (C.E.D.A., the Spanish coalition of the Autonomous Rights—Ed.) called forth a general strike in the whole country. Thousands of toilers have fought with weapons in hand against murderous fascism, against the Lerroux-Gil Robles government. In Madrid, in the Basque Provinces and in Asturias the workers are still fighting courageously against the mercenary troops of the government. The workers of Asturias, with admirable courage and endurance, are offering resistance to an army equipped with the most up-to-date instruments of destruction and consisting for the greater part or Foreign Legionnaires (Tercio) and Moroccans.

The toilers of Spain and Catalonia are setting a magnificent example. The experiences of Germany and Austria taught the proletariat of Spain that only a ruthless fight against fascism and its supporters could prevent the murderous bands, the bands of Gil Robles from seizing power in order to crush the revolution and to subject the working people of Spain and Catalonia to a terrible period of misery and murder.

The working people of Catalonia took their place in the front ranks of this battle. The order for the general strike issued by the Workers' Alliance was followed by all the workers of Catalonia. Unfortunately, however, owing to the special position of Catalonia, owing to the fact that the national emancipation movement was still led by a bourgeois party, the proletariat had not the entire leadership of this great popular uprising against fascism and against reaction. The vacillations, the fear of the people's revolution, which characterised the leaders of the Republican Lefts of Catalonia (Esquerra), the tremendous tactical and political mistakes committed by the leaders of the Estat Catala fraction, resulted in the forces of the Central government breaking down in a few hours, by means of artillery, the weak resistance organised by the official elements of the Generalidad. The Generalidad remained on the offensive, instead of immediately going over to the attack. The capitulation of the Generalidad, which was the official leader of the movement, rendered it impossible for the

workers, who for the greater part were unarmed, to continue the fight on their own. It is the Generalidad which was defeated, not the masses of the people. The working people of Catalonia has been able to learn from this fight very important lessons which will be employed to advantage in the next fight against fascism and against Spanish imperialism. The most important of these lessons is that, only under the leadership of the Catalonian proletariat, in close alliance with the working people of Spain, can the victory of the demands of the Catalonian people, the national and social emancipation of Catalonia, be achieved.

The fight is not at an end! Fascism has not conquered! All workers, all peasants, the intellectuals, all the men, women and children of Catalonia, are filled with indignation against the military occupation of their country and with the desire to fight against reaction, against fascism and against Spanish imperialism, which has trodden underfoot the liberties of the Catalonians.

All, both great and small, wish to fight against the military occupation of Catalonia, against the monstrous sentences pronounced by the Military Courts, for the release of all prisoners taken in the fight, for solidarity with the heroic proletariat of Asturias, the Basque Provinces and Madrid, for the national and social emancipation of Catalonia!

Youth of the Estat Catala! The Communist Party of Catalonia once again summons you to the fight! This time under the leadership of the proletariat, under the leadership of the Workers' Alliance. We Communists have the right to address this appeal to you, for we, just as you, have defended the Catalonian Republic with weapons in hand. You must unite with us at your work-places, in your dwellings, join forces with the workers in the Workers' Alliance and altogether create committees of the Workers' Alliance in every factory and in every residential quarter. Youth of Estat Catala! The Communist Party calls upon you to enter the ranks of the Communist International, to which our Party and the Bolshevik Party belong, which has brought freedom to more than 150 nationalities formerly oppressed by tsarism.

Workers of the C.N.T. (Anarchist Trade Union Federation—Ed.), anarchist workers! Your leaders have betrayed you. Whilst in the whole of Spain the workers of all parties fought against fascism, whilst thousands of workers were being shot down by the mercenary troops of reaction, your leaders pronounced themselves against the movement and thereby became the supporters of fascism and reaction. The one driven by blind sectarianism and the other by treachery, refused to see in this magnificent movement anything but a minor skirmish between the Republican Left and the Lerroux-Gil Robles government.

And your anarchist leaders opposed the demand of the masses of Catalonia and thereby played into the hands of Spanish imperialism. The workers of Asturias, Madrid, the Basque Provinces and many other districts fought in the united front for the revolutionary solution of their own questions and for the freedom of the people of Catalonia, a question which must be solved by the working masses of the whole Peninsula.

And these Spanish workers, who are continuing even to-day their heroic resistance to the attacks of an enormous army, this proletariat, which includes among it the majority of the anarchist workers of these districts, has realised that it has been betrayed by the anarchist leaders of the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. (Iberian Anarchist Federation) in Catalonia, Saragossa and Andalusia.

Comrades, workers in the anarchist organisations and in the C.N.T.! You must join in the fight in the same way as your comrades in Asturias and Madrid have done, who have fought heroically, together with the Socialists and Communists, against the Lerroux-Gil Robles government.

Form the united front at the work-places with the workers of the Workers' Alliance and with those of the Estat Catala!

Break with your leaders who are opposing unity of action! Prepare to resume the struggle of solidarity with the workers of Spain and against the reaction established in Catalonia!

Into the fight, toiling people of Catalonia! Against murderous fascism! Fight against the imposition of death sentences decided on by the reactionary parliament!

Against the Military Councils!

Against the military occupation of Catalonia!

For active support of the heroic fighters of Asturias and the Basque Provinces!

For the release of all prisoners taken in the fight!

The land and the harvests for the peasants!

Form Committees of the Workers' Alliance at the work-places!

Form armed defence corps of the working people of Catalonia!



# Germany

## Letter From Berlin

Germany's Economic Dictator, Schacht, has had enough of social demagogy. Germany's capitalists demand from him that he should provide them with secure and increased profits, and, as Hitler needs at the same time milliards of marks for war purposes, this means that the workers and peasants and the middle classes must be exploited more ruthlessly and brutally than ever. Schacht feels that the social demagogy and promises and the "socialist" phrases of the national socialist leaders are hampering him in this task, and he therefore announces the programme of the finance capitalist dictatorship with provocative vigour. Hitler has once again refused to accept Schacht's resignation and the latter has therefore no need to fear a conflict with the demagogic Goebbels, Darré and Ley. He is well aware that should it come to a show-down the demagogues will have to beat a retreat when they are faced with the immediate representative and confidant of finance capital.

Schacht made use of the "Day of German Handicraft" in order to make it perfectly clear to the worthy master handicraftsmen who still hope that national socialism will "break the chains of interest slavery" that there can be no question of any reduction of the rate of interest because under such circumstances, as Schacht informed them, confidence would be undermined and the accumulation of savings capital hampered. He also informed them that it would not be possible to support German handicraft indefinitely by granting State subsidies to the building trade every year. In other words, the gullible middle class was told point blank by Hitler's Economic Dictator that it had no salvation to expect from brown-shirted fascism.

In a speech delivered at a conference of Thuringian industrialists on October 29 Schacht used still plainer language. His picture of the economic situation of Germany was one of unrelieved gloom, but he did his best to place the responsibility for it on to the shoulders of the Bruening era and on to the shoulders of foreign countries. However, his explanation is not likely to make the situation any the more palatable to the millions who were led to believe that national socialism once in power would cure all the evils of the Bruening era. But Schacht's frankness went still further and he declared:—

"There is no doubt that we shall all have to pull in our belts, although there is absolutely no reason for despair. We are by no means supplied with sufficient raw materials, but there is no really acute shortage."

There is certainly no acute shortage of anything so far as Hitler's well-to-do supporters are concerned, the ones to whom Hitler referred in such uncomplimentary tones when he launched the latest national socialist winter relief swindle. But when the supreme economic leader of a poverty-stricken country in which last winter there were 17 millions of people in need of assistance, according to the official figures issued by Goebbels, now announces that everyone will have to pull in his belt tighter, what is that but an announcement of naked and brutal want for the millions in the coming winter? The economic situation of Germany is catastrophic. At least 20 millions of people are on the verge of starvation. In the textile and clothing industries prices are rising so rapidly as the result of the shortage that textile goods and clothing are already out of the reach of the masses of the people, whilst numerous staple articles of mass consumption have practically disappeared from the open market. In such a situation the following words of Schacht sound like cynical mockery:—

"I am sorry for those housewives who run around anxiously saying I must now buy two or three pieces of soap because soap is getting scarce. No, my friends, we have enough soap, we have enough clothes, and we have enough to eat and drink."

It must be poor consolation for the millions who have not enough clothes to wear and not enough to eat and drink that Schacht and his well-to-do friends have enough of everything. Even Schacht is compelled to admit, whilst praising his substitutes to the sky, that they are "very much more expensive" than the foreign commodities. However, he conveniently forgets to mention that his substitutes are also very much inferior to the foreign commodities. The national socialist press is now engaged in an intensive campaign on behalf of these substitutes and all sorts of

fine-sounding names are being invented for them, but everyone in Germany knows that substitutes are just plain and inferior substitutes for the real article no matter what fine name they may bear.

Speaking of his new plan for the State control of imports Schacht is just as refreshingly frank:—

"The new plan is abhorrent not only because it will subject us to new and great privations, for we are used to that by now, but also because it is inevitably connected with a tremendous amount of bureaucracy and organisation."

Increased privations and bureaucratic muddle on the top of it all, that is all the national socialist economic dictator has to offer the working masses. Schacht has no time for social promises, but what he lacks in demagogy in this connection he makes up for in his attacks on foreign capitalist countries. Perhaps Schacht imagines that abusing foreign countries is a cheap way to let off steam, but the German people will have to pay for his stupid provocations in the last resort. The first task after national socialism came to power was, according to Schacht, to make it clear to foreign countries that there was no more money to be got out of Germany. However, Schacht himself postponed the performance of this task until the second year of the national socialist regime when he proclaimed his famous moratorium last May. And then by means of increased imports and the sudden imposition of restrictions on payments in foreign currencies he succeeded in pocketing a forced loan from foreign sources to the tune of 800 million marks.

The foreign creditors who were foolish enough to lend money to the fraudulent bankrupt Schacht now receive nothing but insolent and cynical mockery for their pains:—

"I have told all coupon-clippers quite clearly, put your coupons in the drawer besides the scissors and forget all about them for two or three years, and in the meantime use your influence on your own governments to get international trade going again. If you do that we shall be able to earn money again, and then after two or three years we shall be pleased to use our earnings to pay off your coupons again as far as possible."

With what moral indignation and contempt this agent of German finance capital refers to "coupon-clippers" when he is talking of foreign capitalist creditors whilst all the time his own economic policy in Germany is being conducted solely in the interests of German coupon-clippers!

As we have already pointed out, the German people will have to pay for these stupid and insolent provocations, because the ruin of the export trade and of Germany's foreign credit will inevitably lead to a further deterioration in Germany's internal economic position. The comment of the "Prager Presse," the mouthpiece of the Czechoslovakian Foreign Office, is illuminating:—

"The 'successes' of this man (Schacht) on the economic and financial field would have made him impossible long ago in any country where public opinion is not gagged and kept in ignorance. Schacht has developed the cynicism of the bankrupt to a height unexampled at least in official circles. . . . Foreign creditors of Germany are well aware that their money cannot leave Germany even in the form of export goods, because Germany's rearmament and the inflation of consumption eats up everything, both raw materials and finished goods, and that there is no power in the world which can compel the consumers outside the national socialist world to buy those German goods which are now invading the world market under the trade mark 'dear and bad.' . . . Germany's foreign creditors must now swallow Schacht's mockery on top of the damage that has been done to their pockets. Schacht's finance and economic policy has not only ruined Germany's export trade, but also her foreign credit, and for half a century at that."—("Prager Presse," October 31, 1934.)

If we substitute the short period of time which German capitalism still has left to live for the fantastic span of half a century, then the prophecy of the "Prager Presse" may be accepted as correct.

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Whilst Schacht announces the programme of German finance capital with ruthless and provocative frankness, the leader of the "German Labour Front," Dr. Ley, is desperately appealing to the workers to "maintain discipline." In an appeal which bombastically describes Hitler's latest Decree on the "Labour Front" as "a

social constitution such as the history of the world has never before presented," he directs the following exhortation to the officials of the "Labour Front":—

"I place the responsibility on you officials of the German Labour Front for the careful and accurate carrying out of this constitution which our leader has given us. Do not become over-confident and do not treat lightly the mission which the Leader has given you. . . . I strictly forbid any official to interpret the constitution arbitrarily and at his own discretion. We must not give our enemies, the reactionaries, the masked Liberals and the Marxists, the possibility of creating cheap triumphs out of a false feeling of over-confidence on our part. . . . Therefore strict discipline is the order of the day. Be on your guard. Do not let yourselves fall victim to incitement. Continue to work calmly, exactly as before."

What is the significance of this extraordinary appeal? Since October 1 in most of the factories no wage agreement was any longer in force. Only in the public works and institutions were the wage agreements, which existed on October 1, lengthened until March, 1935. The fascist slave labour law has thus come into operation now for all private workshops and factories. As "economic leaders," the employers are now able to issue "factory regulations" at their discretion, and with regard to wages and working conditions they have much room for arbitrariness. The general principle which is to govern the regulation of wages is the system of payment according to results, or ruthless piecework driving, without any guaranteed minimum wage. The latest "Factory Regulation" issued by the management in the Berlin works of the General Electric Company (A.E.G.) declares: "Wages will be fixed by free agreement and with regard to the existing wage agreements." The "Factory Regulation" then declares that there is to be no limit on piecework earnings, either maximum or minimum.

It is true that official government circles still insist that the principle of no-change should be maintained both with regard to wages and prices, but in fact prices are steadily rising whilst the methods of indirect wage reduction are being practised with increasing ruthlessness. On top of this there is the "voluntary" contribution of the workers to the Winter Relief Scheme which amounts to from one to three per cent. of the total wages earned. The factory and department attacks of the employers on wages are producing partial actions on the part of the workers for the defence of their wage standards.

In the present tense situation in which the fascist regime is threatened with increased unrest and growing proletarian activity in the factories, the new Decree of Hitler gives the "German Labour Front" the task of mediating between the employers and the workers. The appeal of Ley quoted above reveals the fear of the higher national socialist officials that the subordinate officials of the "Labour Front," who are under direct pressure from the masses of the workers, might use the powers which the new Decree appears to give them on behalf of the interests of the workers. Ley therefore forbids the officials of the "Labour Front" to do anything on their own initiative before he has issued his instructions as to the way in which the new Decree is to be carried through. The lower officials of the National Socialist Factory Organisation (N.S.F.O.) and of the "Labour Front," many of whom were already beginning to hope that they would finally be able to have a say against the employers in the factories, have now been taught a different lesson. Ley orders them to continue playing the role of lackeys of the employers and to do nothing without express instructions from above.

Naturally, Ley would not have found it necessary to issue such instructions if he had not seen the ferment which is growing in the factories and if he had not felt the pressure of the workers in the lower ranks of his own organisation. For the revolutionary, class-conscious workers of Germany Ley's appeal must be a spur to continue their work for the mobilisation of the workers in the factories, for the organisation of partial actions of the workers, for the intensification of the working-class pressure on the "Labour Front," and for the rebuilding of independent fighting class trade unions.

The rearguard engagement of the national socialist dictatorship in the church conflict has ended in the meantime with the complete defeat of Hitler and his confidants. The particular confidant of the national socialist government in church matters,

Jaeger, has been compelled to resign all his offices, and all the measures which he had taken in the South German Churches at the instance of the notorious psycho-pathological case, Julius Streicher, have been declared invalid.

A delegation of Bavarian peasant-farmers, representing 300,000 Protestant peasant-farmers in Bavaria, forced its way into the Chancellery and tabled its protest against the abuses created by the Reich's Bishop Mueller and his henchmen. The "Leader" felt it politic to receive the leaders of the church opposition, the deposed bishops, Wurm and Meiser, instead of the Mueller clique who had been invited to an audience with Hitler and had had their invitations cancelled on several occasions. The negotiations ended with a forced holiday for Mueller, who still resisted with hands and feet. Hitler abandoned his henchmen and declared neutrality on the part of the State in church matters.

The idea of a "National Church" has failed for the moment. The deposed Bishops of Wurtemberg and Bavaria have been re-installed in their sees. The Reich Church Council announces that in order to "alleviate the situation" it will consider once again all the questions at issue, including the question of discipline, and that it will issue a new ecclesiastical communal regulation. In reality, however, these concessions on the part of the dropped pilot, the national socialist Reib Mueller, have now no longer any significance, for the moment the National Socialist Party and State remove their protecting hand from the "Reich Church" the latter body loses all its authority. This latter body was created by the "German Christians," the national socialist religious organisation, so that its defeat is at the same time a signal defeat for the National Socialist Party and for Hitler himself. It is understandable that in his latest instructions to the press the Propaganda Minister Goebbels has strictly forbidden the newspapers to publish any comments on the outcome of the church conflict.

The spirit of the petty-bourgeois masses who have compelled Hitler to capitulate in the church question is described as follows in a report published in the "Neue Zuercher-Zeitung" on October 29:—

"Apart from the alarming reports from Northern Bavaria, where there is a great ferment in the towns and where the peasants are in a mood not far removed from rebellion, warnings are also reported to have come in from the district national socialist leaders, Erich Koch and Buerckel, in East Prussia and Rhineland-Westphalia, according to which the oppositional church movement is rapidly gaining ground in these provinces. Incidents and disturbances would seem to have taken place in Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen in Southern Germany, but all news and references are being suppressed by the censor."

The strength of the church opposition is drawn from two sources: first of all from the broad anti-fascist mass feeling which is being contributed to from a thousand sources; and, secondly, from big sections of the bourgeoisie which are dissatisfied with the absolutist rule of the national socialists, the so-called "reaction." Hitler's capitulation to the church opposition is a sign of the growing strength of the so-called "moderate elements" in the ranks of the ruling classes, the Schacht, Guertner, Neurath and von Papen group as against the radical demagogic group of Goebbels, Darré, Rosenberg and Ley. The "moderate elements" are being driven to increase their activity owing to the unfavourable foreign political situation, and in particular by their anxiety for the result of the Saar plebiscite, anxiety which almost developed into a panic when the French threat to march into the Saar was made known.

The anti-fascists must draw important lessons from the outcome of the church conflict. It shows, above all, that the apparently omnipotent fascist dictatorship can be compelled to beat a retreat when it comes face to face with firm and united resistance on the part of the masses. It shows further that broad sections of the petty-bourgeoisie and of the peasantry, who were once the firmest supporters of national socialism, are prepared to carry on an active struggle against the national socialist regime when they feel that their vital interests are at stake.

Now that the leaders of the church opposition have won their point at least in part in the questions which interest them they will seek to make their peace with the national socialist dictatorship, but the masses who supported them for other than purely religious reasons and came thereby in conflict with the national

socialist regime will understand more easily that the struggle against the barbarous regime which has brought bloody despotism, misery and privation to Germany cannot be fought out on the religious field and not under the leadership of ecclesiastics, but only on the political field and under the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat.

## Armaments and Monopolist Usury Drive Germany Bankrupt

Schacht, the Economic Dictator of Germany, has quickly followed up his speech in Weimar when he announced that no further payments would be made to Germany's foreign creditors by action. On November 3 the Reich Bank announced that owing to its unfavourable position with regard to foreign means of payment it would be unable to pay the promised 40 per cent. in cash under the terms of the moratorium of May 29, 1934, on interest falling due on those bonds which mature in the period from July 1, 1934, to June 30, 1935.

This announcement will cause great indignation abroad and particularly in the United States, for the world knows that this alleged inability of Germany to pay is a trick on the part of the German finance capitalists, particularly as the German government has just concluded a new agreement with the British government according to which Germany agrees to pay by instalments not only the accumulated commercial debt of five million pounds sterling to British creditors, but also the full interest falling due on all Dawes and Young Plan bonds so far as they were in the possession of British nationals on June 15 last. The United States government has always protested energetically against discrimination on the part of Germany as between its various foreign creditors and has threatened economic reprisals for the eventuality that Germany's inability to pay should militate against the United States only. Schacht has already given notice to end the German-American trade agreement, and apparently he is under the delusion that he will now be able to extort more favourable conditions for Germany in the new one.

Having regard to Schacht's notorious reputation it is astounding that any country should be prepared to enter into agreements with Germany at all, but naturally, in view of the world trade depression, no country is prepared to abandon its exports to Germany so long as the faintest hope of receiving payment for them still exists. The Anglo-German trade agreement stipulates that the monies due on 55 per cent. of Germany's exports to Great Britain shall go to pay Great Britain's exports to Germany. On this basis the British creditors will get their money only if the balance of trade is strongly in Germany's favour and the British government therefore warns its nationals against any excessive exports to Germany. The agreement permits either party to it to give notice to end it in one month from the date of such notice, and it will occasion no surprise if Germany gives notice to end it in a week or so.

After protracted negotiations between Germany and Czechoslovakia an agreement has been come to according to which Czechoslovakian exports to Germany will be cut down to about one half of their former volume and that Germany's indebtedness to Czechoslovakia should be paid off in goods.

The Austrian government has prohibited the export of a number of raw materials which Austria is itself compelled to import. Germany was accustomed to purchase such raw materials in large quantities in Austria. As the clearing arrangement between Austria and Germany does not apply to transit business the Austrian exporters who have engaged in such transactions will have to wait a long time for their money.

Schacht's methods can be summed up as follows: First of all Clearing Agreements and agreements for mutually balancing payments for goods supplied are concluded with foreign countries apparently with the aim of producing a balanced foreign trade, whereas in reality Germany utilises such agreements in order to import as much raw material as possible for war purposes. Owing to this forced import of raw materials Germany's foreign trade balance becomes passive and Germany's foreign debts cannot be paid. Those countries which find large sums due to them then import large quantities of German products in order to compensate themselves and thus Germany forces up its exports. For a time this game has been favourable to Germany, but it is inconceivable that foreign countries should let themselves be fooled for ever, and then the imports of raw materials will have to stop and Germany's exports will rapidly shrink. In September the imports of textile raw materials into Germany sank for the first time

seriously. Cotton purchases fell from 369,000 double cwts. to 242,000 double cwts., yarn purchases fell from 29,000 double cwts. to 12,000 double cwts., wool purchases fell from 107,000 to 65,000 double cwts., whilst the import of flax, jute and hemp fell from 203,000 to 143,000 double cwts.

Only fools in Germany can possibly take Schacht seriously when he declares that foreign countries are deliberately boycotting German goods. What deliberate boycott does exist in foreign countries plays an insignificant role. The drop which has taken place in the German export trade is due chiefly to two reasons: the excessive price of German goods as a result of monopolist usury in Germany, and secondly the widespread use of substitutes in Germany which has become necessary as a result of the fact that the good raw materials are being used for armament purposes.

The excessive price of German goods which is causing German industry to lose its competitive capacity can be seen particularly in the price of agricultural produce in Germany which plays an indirect role in the formation of industrial prices as an important element of wage costs. A comparison of German prices with those prevailing on the world market reveals the following gross contrasts:—

(In Marks per Ton)	Wheat	Rye	Oats	Fodder	Barley
Germany ... ..	200	160	170	160	—
World market ... ..	90	60	50	60	—
(In Marks per 100 Kilos)	Pigs	Cattle	Butter	Sugar	Eggs (100)
Germany ... ..	80	75	250	42	10
World market ... ..	25	25	90	9	5

If we take the products of heavy industry as an example of industrial production we find that the contrast is not much less gross:—

(In Marks per Ton)	Blocks	Bars	Sheet Iron
Germany ... ..	96.45	110	129.1
World market ... ..	47.24	65.34	82.94

This excessive level of German prices strengthens the inflationist tendencies amongst those sections of the German industrialists which are interested in furthering the export trade. In October the Mayor of Bremen and district leader of the national Socialist party, Markert, was deposed. Only later did it become known that Markert was dismissed because he had carried out a little mark depreciation on his own. He placed an import duty of 20 per cent. on all goods and used the fund thereby created to subsidise exports. The practical result was the same as a depreciation of the mark by 25 per cent. and would have led necessarily to a corresponding increase of home price levels. Schacht therefore intervened and secured the dismissal of this arbitrary inflationist.

However, not all the incitement against rising prices and the threats of draconic punishment recently issued in a pronouncement of Goering could stop prices from rising in view of the general shortage of raw materials, the general fear of an inflation, the disappearance of important staple commodities from the markets and the wave of panic-stricken hoarding. The figures for the turnover in retail trading for September indicate the amount of hoarding which is going on in Germany. The turnover figures for September were no less than 11 per cent. above the level of September last year. A considerable part of this increase, about one-third, is accounted for purely and simply by the increase in prices, but the part played in it by hoarding is seen by the figures showing the increased sales of the following commodities: Clothing materials 49.7 per cent., underwear 40 per cent., men's and boys' clothing 32.7 per cent. The turnover in the textile trades increased by 23 per cent., whilst according to the official figures only 4 per cent. of this increase was accounted for by the rise in prices. The drug stores sales have increased by 5 per cent. This is accounted for by the rapid increase in the purchase of soap which is running short. On the other hand, retail trade figures for the foodstuff trades were 0.6 per cent. below the previous year, despite the fact that a very considerable increase in prices has taken place!

Only a little while ago the national socialist authorities pointed with pride to every increase in turnover as a proof of the success of their economic policy, but now they are becoming alarmed and are issuing the severest threats against the "hoarders." "No punishment is too severe for those who disorganise economic life by hoarding," declares one national socialist newspaper, whilst "profiteers" are already being branded as "saboteurs" and "traitors."

This strong language reveals the fear of the national socialists at the results of their own economic policy, their fear of the approaching catastrophe which they have themselves brought on.

## The Latest Events in the German Church Conflict

Privy Councillor *Jaeger*, the all-powerful legal administrator of the German Evangelical Church, has now been compelled to resign his office as Prussian Under-Secretary and as head of the Ecclesiastical Department of the Ministry of Culture.

*Jaeger* was appointed by Hitler as legal administrator of the German Evangelical Church and practically as dictatorial commissar with wide powers. The task entrusted to him by Hitler was to break down all resistance to the national socialist Reich Bishop *Mueller*, to work with *Mueller* to play the Evangelical Church completely into the hands of the national socialist party, and to pursue with all possible energy the policy of founding a National German Church. This latter body was intended to unite all possible Evangelical shades of Protestantism and the Catholics as well in one church which would form a chauvinist synthesis of Germanic heathenism and Christianity, chiefly the former, under the leadership of Hitler fascism.

Last September, as the representative of Hitler, *Jaeger* delivered a lecture in a small circle of ecclesiastical fascists in Wurtemberg in which he declared that national socialism aimed at establishing a church which should be completely filled with national socialist ideology. It wanted, he declared, one leader, one party and one church.

Hitler would like such a fascist National Church as an effective instrument in the hands of German monopoly capitalism for the easier exploitation and suppression of the working people, for the strengthening of the fascist terror, for the facilitation of the military aggression of fascism and for the strengthening of the brown fascist dictatorship. The uniform organisation and subjugation of the church to the fascist State was intended to lend the dictatorship of monopoly capitalism greater strength internally and externally.

In the furtherance of his plans for the formation of this National Church Hitler appointed *Mueller* as Reich Bishop of the Evangelical Church, *Jaeger* as his legal adviser, and numerous other national socialists as high dignitaries of the church. An espionage system against oppositional clerics and laymen was organised. Dictatorial orders of all sorts were issued. Pastors were removed from their offices and even Bishops like *Meiser* in *Bavaria* and *Wurm* in Wurtemberg were deposed, and in short a regime of violence was established in the Evangelical Church.

These measures caused deep indignation amongst the masses in the Evangelical Church. The dissatisfaction and the growing resistance of the German masses against the exploitation and oppression, practised by the Hitler dictatorship in the interests of monopoly capitalism, formed the background for the religiously cloaked opposition which rapidly grew up amongst the evangelical masses. The masses who have taken an active part in the church conflict are chiefly petty-bourgeois strata, but in the villages and in the smaller towns there is a certain percentage of workers involved. This opposition was strengthened by the resistance of the Catholic working masses to the Hitler terror against the Catholics.

A number of the leaders of the Evangelical Church, such as Bishop *Marahrens*, also opposed Hitler's church policy. These evangelical leaders are naturally just as much supporters of capitalism, of the national incitement of the masses and of Germany's re-armament as Hitler himself, but they are opposed to a too open utilisation of the church in the way Hitler demands because they fear that this would lead to a diminution of the influence of the church on the masses. Further, most of the high dignitaries of the Evangelical Church sympathise with the nationalist *Hugenberg* group which is the rival of the national socialist party for power in Germany and which is doing its best to maintain its positions in the Evangelical Church against the "totality" tendencies of the national socialists.

The differences in the bourgeois camp in Germany are also expressed in differences between the leaders of the Evangelical Church. *Marahrens* and *Wurm*, etc., feel themselves the defenders of Lutherism against the neo-paganism of Hitler and Rosenberg, etc. In connection with the general intensification of class antagonisms in Germany and of the differences in the camp of the German bourgeoisie, the opposition in the Evangelical Church against the brutal dictatorship of Hitler, *Mueller* and *Jaeger* in the Evangelical Church has increased. Thus the pastors organised in the so-called Confessional Synode adopted strongly-worded

resolutions against Reich Bishop *Mueller* and expelled *Jaeger* from the Protestant Church. Decisions to refuse the payment of church taxes were also adopted, the means for the support of the various churches being raised in Germany by taxation imposed and collected by the State.

Despite all the terror and all the persuasion *Mueller* and *Jaeger* remained isolated from the masses of the Evangelical Church and from the pastors. The Evangelical Church opposition also received support from abroad, particularly in Scandinavia, Switzerland and the United States, support which expressed itself in public declarations and statements in the press. In order to counteract this propaganda the German Foreign Office sent *von Papen* to Scandinavia, but he returned without having achieved any success and was compelled to report growing opposition abroad to the Hitler dictatorship in the church question also.

In view of the intensification of Germany's economic difficulties and of its internal and foreign political difficulties, in view of the growing indignation of the masses against the Hitler regime, in view of the obvious isolation of *Mueller*, *Jaeger* and the rest of the national socialist religious leaders from the masses of the religious, in view of the growing indignation of the masses of the members in the Evangelical Church, and in view of the boycott measures organised by the church opposition, Hitler has been compelled to beat a retreat. *Jaeger* has been deposed and the deposed oppositional Bishops *Wurm* and *Meiser* have been reinstated in their sees. According to an official church statement, "the points at issue" regarding the legal situation in the church and including the question of discipline are now to be re-examined. Further, a new church ordinance is shortly to be issued in an attempt to find a basis for a settlement of all the outstanding disputes in the lower church bodies.

Hitler has been compelled to beat a retreat and for the moment he has been compelled to make concessions in personnel questions to a number of the oppositional groups, but he has not abandoned the main line of his policy and he is preparing new manoeuvres and new measures in order to force through his religious policy, establish a regime of terror and slavery of conscience in the church in order to subjugate it completely to the national socialist party. *Jaeger* has been banished as a scapegoat, but the Reich Bishop *Mueller* remains. It is Hitler's intention to succeed through *Mueller* where he failed through *Jaeger*. One of the measures to this end is the new Church Ordinance which lays great weight on "the band of self-sacrificing and trained laymen who are at the service of the clergy." Such helpers will be staunch national socialists and their task will be to spy on the oppositional clergy, to incite the members of the Evangelical Church against such oppositional clergy, to facilitate the appointment of pro-Hitler church dignitaries and to work for the establishment of Hitler's "National Church."

Hitler's retreat is an indication of the weakness of his fascist regime, but the new manoeuvres which he is now planning show that he intends to continue the warfare in the church, for the interests of monopoly capitalism and of the fascist regime demand it, if they are to carry out their war policy successfully.

The fight against Hitler's attempt to abolish liberty of conscience in Germany is therefore not only a matter for the members of the Evangelical Church, and not only a matter for the persecuted Catholic workers, but a matter for the workers of Germany as a whole. This struggle can be successful only if it is raised beyond the level of a purely religious question and connected up with the struggle of the masses against wage cuts, against the fascist slave labour law, against increased taxes and increased import tariffs, against all forms of fascist terror, against the danger of imperialist war and for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship.

The Communists in Germany are mobilising the masses of the workers in this struggle and they have made it their own affair to support the fight of the evangelical masses against the religious terror of Hitler and his supporters. The Communists show the Protestant and Catholic workers of Germany the solution of their difficulties in a socialist Germany where there will be freedom of conscience, freedom of religious observations, and work, bread and well-being for all the toilers.

### Gold Production Exceeds the Plan

In the first 10 months of 1934 the year's production programme of the Soviet gold-mining industry was carried out to the extent of 90 per cent. The production plan for the first 10 months was thus considerably exceeded.



## The Frame-Up Against Ernst Thaelmann— Fascist Demagogy as Legal Argument

The International Release Committee continues in the following article the publication, in popular form, of the results of the juridical examination of those "crimes" which the fascists are inventing in order to be able to frame-up a case against Thaelmann. The article is an appeal to the masses and the press to support the particularly difficult work of the lawyers in the release action and for the preparation of the International Conference of Jurists. The article therefore deals solely with the legal aspect of the matter, while the international tasks of the general release action are set forth in the brochures written by Henri Barbusse (International Release Committee), Georgi Dimitrov (World Committee Against War and Fascism), and Wilhelm Pieck (International Red Aid), as well as in former articles in the International Press Correspondence.\*

### "Individual Terror"—a Typical Nazi Method

The Nazis have used buckets of ink and reams of paper in accusing the Communist Party of Germany of having planned murderous attacks, dynamite outrages, bomb attacks on railways; that there existed special "Terrorist Troops," "Murder Detachments" of Communists, etc.

"Keep on spreading calumnies, some of the dirt will sure to stick." Even this plan of the political desperadoes proved a failure. The world has too good a memory. It remembers the following facts:—

What a cry there was of "the Communists have done it" when the half-crazy Matuschka derailed railway trains and blew up bridges in Germany and Hungary. This campaign ended ignominiously, when Matuschka himself declared that he was an anti-Bolshevist, that he wanted by means of his crimes to encourage the police to proceed more drastically. His connection with fascist organisations was plainly established. During the trial at Budapest, Matuschka gave the court the Hitler greeting.

What a miserable and precipitate retreat Goering and Goebbels, together with their whole court of law, had to make on account of their slander that Dimitrov had taken part in the blowing up of the Sofia Cathedral. How brilliantly Dimitrov proved that this outrage was the work of the fascist provocateurs in Bulgaria.

Everyone will remember how, in the Buelow Square trial, even the special fascist court was compelled to acquit the chief accused, Albert Kunz, member of the C.C. of the C.P.G.

Why? Because the main point of the accusation, namely, that the C.P.G. had organised terrorist groups and murder detachments, and employed individual terror, absolutely collapsed and turned out to be a pure invention of Goebbels. The fascist Public Prosecutor himself had to move that Kunz be acquitted.

The "saviours of Europe from Communism" have no time to glance through the history of the workers' movement. They want to cause anti-fascist "heads to roll." For this purpose every means is justified. But their thirst for blood does not alter the fact that everybody with the least knowledge of politics knows that Karl Marx conducted a ruthless fight against Bakunin; that Lenin fiercely fought the social revolutionaries as agents of Tsarism; that the Russian revolution has swept away the anarchists and social revolutionary assassins. The case of the Tsarist provocateur Asev will be a warning example to all Marxists for decades. It is equally well known that the Communist International, under the leadership of Stalin, conducts an energetic openly-proclaimed fight against police spies, provocateurs and terrorists.

What, therefore, was the attitude of Ernst Thaelmann, who is a disciple of Marx, Lenin and Stalin, to individual terror? A report delivered by him was printed in February, 1932, in a 100,000-edition pamphlet and reprinted in newspapers with a total circulation of 300,000. In this report Thaelmann stated:—

"There are people who are of the opinion that the Central Committee adopted this decision against individual terror solely for tactical reasons, in order to secure the legality of the Party. Comrades, in face of such views we must make it perfectly clear that our decision against individual terror is meant quite seriously, and that we are not afraid to draw the organisational consequences from it. The Party does not tolerate any social revolutionary tendencies in its ranks!

"By ruthlessly fighting against acts of individual terror and against thoughtless and adventurist putschist tendencies in general in our movement, we at the same time see to it that the bourgeoisie is not given an easy pretext for prohibiting the Party.

"Lenin taught us quite clearly that we Communists are opposed to individual terror, not because of any servile, cowardly attitude towards the bourgeoisie, but because this attitude of ours corresponds to the real interests of the revolutionary mass fight."

"Thaelmann's high treason" is proved to be pure demagogy. The "C.P.G.'s plan of insurrection" has proved to be a patchwork of forgeries. Now a further main pillar of the "case" for the prosecution, the charge of "individual terror," has collapsed.

We declare quite openly and plainly: It is no use your trying to besmirch Ernst Thaelmann with your own shame and disgrace. It is you who are the individual terrorists!

You have fascist murder-detachments in every Brown Shirt Troop, in every police presidium, in every concentration camp!

You beat the member of the Reichstag Schutz in Konigsberg into a mass of bleeding pulp which could only be carried away in a sheet.

You flung the member of the Reichstag Funk out of the window of the High Court so that he was smashed to pieces on the pavement below.

You beat Stelling, a member of the Reichstag, to death, sewed his body up in a sack and sank it in the water.

In the Columbia House, in Generalpapestrasse, in Oranienburg, in Brandenburg, Dachau and Papenburg, you set up torture chambers in comparison with which the Inquisition was a paradise.

You sent out murder detachments who shot down not only General Schleicher, but also his wife, and also killed the Catholic Klausner.

You tortured John Scheer to death and arranged a shooting competition, using his body as a target, in order to "shoot away" the traces of your terror.

### Thaelmann the "Traitor"

The fascists, who realise the weakness of their position in the Thaelmann trial, are dragging in a further "crime": Treason! This charge may, in certain circumstances, even mean a death sentence if the Nazis succeed in taking international public opinion by surprise.

Ernst Thaelmann fought passionately against the danger of war, in defence of peace, against imperialist armaments, against the plundering of Germany by the dictated peace of Versailles.

Like vultures the Nazis have seized upon the speech delivered by Thaelmann on October 31, 1932, to the workers of Paris against competition in armaments and in defence of peace.

Seizing on his demands that the huge sums expended on the upkeep and arming of the German Reichswehr and the French army should be used to ameliorate the suffering and misery of the war victims, the unemployed, the pensioners, small peasants, small holders, fishermen and the middle class—demands which are raised in all countries by all opponents of war—the Nazis want to charge him under the sedition laws: with spreading disaffection in the army, destroying the defensive power of Germany. Thaelmann's fight for peace does not fit in with the plans of the international war-mongers.

Here we have an obvious and shameless twisting of the law. The speech delivered by Ernst Thaelmann in Paris, four million copies of which were distributed in Germany, did not offer even von Papen or General Schleicher any grounds for prosecuting Thaelmann. Hitler, Goering, Goebbels, however, want to attempt this two years later.

Against this outrageous intention we cite a man known to the whole world, Karl Liebknecht:—

"Gentlemen, if that is treason, if to champion the idea of peace is treason, if the proclamation of the international proletarian class struggle is treason, yes, gentlemen, then I repeat: it has become an honour to be branded as an international traitor. ('Hear, hear' from the socialists, laughter from the Right.)

"But do not the judicial authorities realise that it is the height of self-mockery by present-day society when work for peace against the murder of the people is described as high treason? Is there equal rights for all? For peace demonstrations and peace propaganda one is persecuted with fire and sword. On the other hand, war propaganda and incitement to

\* See also No. 56, page 1482.

mass murder is regarded as the duty of every patriotic man." (Liebknecht's Reichstag speech, March, 1916.)

The murdered Karl Liebknecht rises up as a witness on behalf of Thaelmann.

To all those who have still any illusions regarding fascist "administration of justice," regarding "justice" as Hitler, Goering and Goebbels understand it, we must say:—

Thaelmann is to be brought before the second senate of the so-called People's Court of Justice. What is the composition of this Court? In addition to reliable S.A. leaders, there sit on the judges' bench flight-commanders, majors, captains, and naval officers—people to whom war is a profession, representatives of the War Ministry, representatives of the aircraft industry, those groups of capitalists who make millions of profits out of armaments, who are driving headlong to war. The so-called People's Court is a court of militarists and war contractors. It is in a double sense of the word, a military court against the defenders of peace.

Does the world now realise the great danger threatening Thaelmann in the shape of the People's Court? Herr Jorns, the Public Prosecutor, who acquitted the murderers of Karl Liebknecht, has been selected by Hitler and Goering to appear for the Prosecution.

We, however, must not only protect Ernst Thaelmann against the Military Court, but wrest him from the clutches of the fascist betrayers of their country. For if the sentence does not satisfy the war inciters, Thaelmann will be in danger of being foully murdered by fascist assassins.

## A Document Proving Thaelmann's Innocence

NOTE.—The following document has been placed at our disposal by Comrade Dimitrov. It is an extract from the original protocol of the Reichstag Fire trial—the first extract from the protocol, which has been kept secret by the national socialists, to be communicated to the public. It was among the papers which Dimitrov was able to take with him when he left Germany. During the trial Dimitrov was allowed to see a part of the stenographic report of the proceedings, and he copied out the most important parts during the night.

The following extract is from the protocol of November 28, 1933 (46th day of trial), page 92H. The dialogue reported here was preceded by an expert's report, lasting two days, given by Detective-Inspector Heller (head of the central "bureau for watching the Communist movement"), dealing with the alleged plans of the C.P.G. for an insurrection.

From the questions put by Dimitrov to this witness for the Prosecution and from the replies thereto it is evident that the prosecuting authorities were unable to bring forward any actual proof of the alleged carrying out of or even preparation for an armed uprising for the end of February, 1933, by the C.P.G.

The document acquires political importance at the present moment by reason of the fact that, according to the latest press reports, the charge of preparing an armed revolt is now to be brought against Ernst Thaelmann in the approaching trial. The outcome of the political part of the Leipzig trial (November 27 to December 5, 1933), of which this document forms an important part, plainly proves this accusation brought against the C.P.G. and its leadership to be absolutely unfounded, and thereby at the same time proves the innocence of Comrade Ernst Thaelmann.

Dimitrov: The Chief Public Prosecutor has proposed calling 37 witnesses to give evidence during the political part of the trial. Among these 37 witnesses are ten detectives, police commissars, etc.; about 25 are political prisoners on remand. One of these officials is Herr Heller, who gave evidence yesterday and to-day. I presume that in him we have before us not only a witness, but also a political expert. I presume further, that we have before us in the shape of this witness a rapporteur for the national socialist government on the so-called Communist danger in Germany. He is therefore a very competent person, a very important witness. For this reason, Herr President, I would ask you to allow me, in a few words, to make clear various important matters, or rather to have them cleared up by putting one or two questions to the witness.

I have listened to this report with very great attention, and I must say, Herr President, that the lecture, in spite of its tediousness, was for me personally very interesting and very useful by

reason of the great quantity of documents read out. Through this report I have learned in detail for the first time many important things, and I am very grateful for this. Contrary to Dr. Sachs, I am of the opinion that, now the trial has been converted into a political trial, it is necessary to clear up thoroughly the political background of the Reichstag trial. If you want it, you will have it. A la guerre comme à la guerre, as the French say.

President: That was only the introduction, Dimitrov. Let us now come to the real business.

Dimitrov: Although it will take up somewhat more time, I am in favour of the question being thoroughly cleared up. I should therefore like to ask the witness whether, in his statements, he was citing firstly the decisions of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, of the so-called Twelfth Plenum, and secondly the decisions of the C.P.G., its National Party Conference, District Party Conferences, and other bodies.

President: Whether what? I do not understand this question?

Dimitrov: Whether the witness in his report was referring to these decisions.

President: We know this already. He has already said so. What more do you want to know?

Dimitrov: I should like to know exactly whether I have understood correctly. Is it a question of these decisions?

President: Yes, it is a question of the decisions of the E.C.C.I. Plenum and of the Central Committee and of the district conferences. That is quite clear.

Dimitrov: Secondly, it is a question of a quantity of documents, leaflets, circulars, newspaper articles and pamphlets before and after the fire. Is that so?

Heller: Yes.

Dimitrov: Thirdly, your report dealt with various reports on the activity of the Communist Party after the fire, after the Party was prohibited, with evidence that the Party, although prohibited, is still active and fighting. Finally, your report dealt with various police reports of material confiscated—also after the fire—of explosives, various stores of weapons, plans to blow up and set fire to various places. Finally, your report dealt with the "Communist poetry," which is a stupid, unreasonable, very badly formulated article in the form of a poem. That, therefore, is the whole of the evidence.

President: You understood it quite correctly. I do not know why you repeat this all over again?

Dimitrov: Then I have therefore correctly understood that three-quarters, if not four-fifths of these documents support my thesis, namely, the thesis that the Communist Party of Germany, in January, February and March, had not set itself the immediate task of armed revolt, and that it had nothing to do with the setting fire to the Reichstag. Three-quarters of this very interesting material confirms this thesis.

Dr. Werner: But the prisoner is now arguing his case!

President: Let him go on a bit. Dimitrov, you know that I have proposed that no speeches should be made now. The question is whether you want to go on in this manner. If so, I must ask the Court to make a decision.

Dimitrov: I do not want to make any further statement, but only to draw the conclusion. Is it true, Herr Heller, that in this great quantity of documents, which have been collected from all parts of the Reich, you have not brought a single document showing that the government and the officials were expecting an armed revolt on the part of the Communist Party between the 20th and the end of February, and were holding the armed forces of the State in readiness for this revolt. You have not brought such documents here?

President: You have heard what the witness said?

Heller: Pardon, Herr President. I do not quite understand this question.

President: Whether you had documents from which it is to be seen that armed troops or the like were kept in readiness, and that the government were holding armed forces in readiness.

Dimitrov: Yes, in expectation of a revolt. Have you such a document?

Heller: I have not read out such a document; I have not such a document and such a document is also not necessary.

Dimitrov: Have you such a document at all?

Heller: I cannot answer that question here. I do not know and have not bothered about this. That is not part of my work.

*Dimitrov*: I therefore ask, Herr President, whether the witness, as rapporteur for the authority responsible for these things, knows of the existence of a document, a command, a circular, an order issued by the Prussian government or the Reich government or the police in this connection? Is there such a document dating from the period before February 27?

*President*: That is a repetition of your former question, which the witness has already answered.

## Great Britain

### Armistice Day and the Struggle Against War

By R. Bishop (London)

The sixteenth Armistice Day was celebrated in Britain by the forces of imperialism with more gusto than ever before, but behind it all this year was a wider realisation that a new and more deadly world war is looming.

The Sunday newspaper placards divided their contents between such phrases as "Honour the Glorious Dead!" and "Is War Near? By Lloyd George." Gone are the illusions of the early post-war years, that the 1914-18 war had ushered in an era of peace and brought an end to wars.

The armament factories of Britain, in the main, were working overtime shifts on Sunday. At one minute to eleven the workers were engaged making machine-guns, rifles, poison gas, torpedoes, etc. At eleven o'clock the sirens went off—work was stopped. Two minutes later the silence was ended, the motors were re-started and the work of preparing for the next war went on in British factories, whilst the prelates and the Statesmen spoke their pieces in honour of peace at the cenotaphs, the war memorials and the shrines in every city, town and village of Great Britain.

This year's Armistice Day services received the greatest support from the Labour Party as a national body, although in almost every area large numbers of the rank and file Labourites revolted against the hypocrisy of the ceremony and, whether they knew it or not, against the jingoism of the reformist chiefs as expressed at the Labour Party Conference and the Trades Union Congress this year.

At the Cenotaph in London the soldiers were drawn up in a guard of honour. The King and the Royal Family stood on one side. The Cabinet and the Labour leaders stood on the other. The Archbishop of York piously intoned:—

"We should pledge ourselves not to use our armed forces except to repel an attack actually delivered or else at the bidding of the international authority."

The day before, the imperialist "Daily Express" had opened an exhibition of pictures of war horrors, the initiation of which was undertaken by Lloyd George, who stated:—

"Children will be in the front line next time, liable to be strangled with the same poisonous fumes as their parents. So the time has come when we should let this generation know what war means. It means to kill, to shatter, to mutilate, drown and starve. There were nations where millions starved. I am not one of those who think war is quite imminent. I am a little hopeful it will be put off, but it is there lurking on the path along which humanity has to tread, and any moment it may spring on us. You have the ferocious grin of war just above the horizon."

The impudence of the man who himself cheered on millions to the carnage in the last great slaughter, who was more responsible for the blockade which, in the first instance starved millions of Germans and Austrians, and then of the cordon sanitaire which forbade the sending of food and medicaments to Russia when the famine and the cholera and typhus epidemics were breaking out at the conclusion of the Civil War. To-day, still in the service of imperialism, the old charlatan, hiding behind a pseudo-pacifist camouflage, paves the way for new blood-baths, bloodier than the last.

The government prates of its love of peace, whilst its representatives are haggling with the representatives of Japanese and U.S.A. imperialism for naval control of the Pacific. Baldwin talks of Britain's frontiers now being on the Rhine, and the government negotiates with the French for the right to erect military aerodromes for the defence of Britain on French soil. Increased estimates are obtained from Parliament for new naval and aerial

expenditure and greater mechanisation of the army. Neville Chamberlain talks of the "imminent peril of new conflagrations" as a justification for increasing war expenditure.

The League of Nations Union, in an absent-minded moment, launches a great national ballot for the purpose of sounding the entire electorate on the question of disarmament. The questions are not pacifist in character, certainly they are not calculated to incite anybody to militant resistance to war and the preparations for war.

But in so far as such a ballot, conducted in every constituency of the country—not a mere straw ballot, tends to throw up an obstacle, however slight, in the path of war; it has aroused the ire of the National Government. Sir John Simon, Foreign Secretary, whose deputy declared two months ago at Geneva:—

"The foreign policy of His Majesty's government has been based upon the League ever since its creation."

raged in the House of Commons against the ballot and the League of Nations Union. He was ably backed by Sir Austen Chamberlain, who not so many years ago got the Nobel Prize, with Briand, for fathering Locarno.

Whilst the material preparations for war proceed apace, alongside the peace talk of the politicians, so do the ideological preparations. Never has there been such a year as 1934 for military tattoos, naval weeks, air pageants, recruiting stunts, Empire Day celebrations, and so on ad nauseam. Britain blesses (officially) the entry of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations, whilst its semi-official emissaries of the Federation of British Industries—perhaps the most powerful organisation in Britain—are going out to Japan and Manchuria on a mission of "trade and goodwill," offering their assistance in the supply of armaments and other materials which would help Japan in its aggressive war preparations against the U.S.S.R.

Despite the encouragement that British imperialism has always given to Japan to expand westwards at the expense of the U.S.S.R., she has always been afraid of Japanese dreams of expansion in the southern Pacific, hence the fortification of New Zealand, the strengthening of the Singapore base, etc.

At the naval talks that are proceeding in London, Britain has played its traditional game of trying to move behind the scenes and get what she could out of both parties. Last week-end it appeared that there was a likelihood of an Anglo-Japanese rapprochement to a degree that would practically mean the revival of the old Anglo-Japanese alliance. But that has fallen through. Japan's insistence on naval parity in the Pacific does not suit Britain's desire that Japanese aggression should be directed solely westward. It is painfully clear that Japanese rapacity has designs on Oceania as well as the Asiatic mainland. America, too, decided that a definite stand had to be taken against Japan. She gave a sharp reminder to Britain that she would have to stop her manoeuvres and stand on one side or the other.

Britain has been driven into the open, and at the moment there is an Anglo-U.S. understanding against Japan as far as the Naval Conference is concerned.

General Smuts, the South African imperialist, speaking in London the day after Armistice Day, brought a sharp note of criticism into his speech, which was surely intended as a semi-official rebuke. The "Times," which has been running a campaign, subtle and insidious, for the recognition of Manchuria, suddenly finds the correspondence on this question "crowded out."

This does not imply any lessening of the war threat. It is merely a further indication of the increasing complexity of international capitalist contradictions, which in its turn increases the danger of war by reason of the growing desperation of the capitalist class.

Whilst these preparations are going ahead, the more far-sighted of the capitalist politicians are awake to the danger to themselves of which Stalin spoke in his speech to the Seventeenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union:—

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

General Smuts, in the London speech previously referred to

declared that many countries did not want war because they knew that war would "simply mean internal revolution."

We have entered into an era of wars and revolutions. The revolutionary upheavals which are taking place throughout the world are plain for all to see. The preparations for new imperialist wars should be no less obvious. Even if capitalist countries do realise the dangers of revolutionary upheavals within their borders as an outcome of war, they are fixed in such a cleft stick, they are gripped so tightly by the fangs of the crisis, that even the probability of vast working class uprisings affords to them a preferable "way out" to the certainty of developing crisis in times of nominal "peace."

This year saw big developments in working class resentment against the war-makers, against all the flummery of Armistice Day, which attempts to hide the war preparations that are going on. And, despite the strenuous efforts of the reformist chiefs, it saw this resentment taking shape in united front activities on a larger scale than ever before. There is hardly a town in Britain where the official Armistice celebrations were not countered by working class demonstrations. In **Dublin** the official imperialist demonstration was completely overshadowed by the workers' activity. Ten thousand demonstrated under the banner of the **Republican Congress** against the Armistice Day celebrations. Previous to the meeting a big parade of ex-servicemen, wearing their medals, marched through the city. Wherever imperialist emblems were shown the workers hauled them down. The police made repeated baton charges, but were foiled in all the arrests they attempted to make by the militancy of the crowd.

The largest undergraduate demonstration ever held in the city of **Oxford** was held this year. As the military and ex-servicemen marched away from the Cenotaph a demonstration of 1,500 workers and students, marshalled by a woman student, went to meet it. The University authorities had forbidden the students to carry banners, but these were borne by local trade unionists, and bore such slogans as "We want scholarships not battleships." A big united front platform drove the lesson home, with speakers from the Labour Party, the Trades Council, the League of Nations Union, the Communist Party and many trade union branches.

In **Sheffield**, **Harry Pollitt**, the leader of the Communist Party, addressed one of the largest meetings ever held in the city, a meeting largely composed of workers engaged in the armaments industry, who cheered to the echo the triumphs of the Soviet Union, and the outlining of the need for organisation to stop war preparations.

In **London** a great West End theatre was packed out at a meeting organised by the **Women's Committee Against War**. Speakers included prominent women Labourites, women trade unionists and the well-known Liberal social reformer—**Margery Fry**—as well as **Communists** and **Madame Duchene** (of France).

At a **Labour League of Youth** meeting, held at another London theatre, **Aneurin Bevan**, Labour M.P., declared:—

"The capitalists won't take a vote before they declare war. There's only one thing that will stop them, that's revolution."

In the Lancashire towns of **Nelson** and **Blackburn**, in the Yorkshire towns of **Leeds** and **Bradford**, in the great port of **Bristol**, in small towns like **Guildford**, the working class showed their solidarity in the face of imminent war. These towns are but representative of hundreds of others where the united front operated in practice, despite the threats of the bureaucrats.

A united front against British capitalism, a tremendous strengthening of mass anti-war activity in every field. This is the only effective way to expose the machinations of the National Government and to defeat their plans.

#### Underground Gas Extraction From Coal

A little while ago an important scientific conference took place in **Leninsk-Kuznietzk** to discuss the state of the efforts to extract gas from coal underground. The conference examined the achievements already obtained in this respect. Although the problem has not yet been completely solved, the results are absolutely positive and extremely promising for the future. Gas extracted from coal underground is of a high calorific content and eminently suitable both for industrial and household purposes. In a letter addressed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party and to **Comrades Stalin** and **Kaganovitch**, the engineers, scientists and shock brigade workers promise to concentrate their best efforts on solving this important scientific and industrial problem.

## Fight for the Unity of the Labour Movement

### The Bases of Trade Union Unity in Poland

By G. Henrykovski

The mass action of the Labour "Left" to establish the proletarian United Front has already penetrated fairly deeply into the Free Trade Unions. During the last two months resolutions in favour of the united platform proposed by the Labour "Left" have been passed by a number of reformist trade unions, namely, by local branches of the textile, metalworkers', woodworkers', building workers', chemical workers' and leather workers' unions, the tailors' union, etc., as well as by the trade union cartels in **Bialystok** and **Grodno** and by three local trade union cartels in **Upper Silesia**. Similar resolutions have been taken by ten big textile works in **Lodz**, four in **Czenstochova**, the **Bismarck** foundry in **Upper Silesia**, and the factories in **Radomsko**. In the **Posen** district the united-front action has made decided progress. Declarations in favour of the opposition platform have been made by the **Cegielski** works, the biggest metal works in **Posen**, by the meeting there of 1,500 metalworkers called by the P.P.S. trade union leadership, by workers' meetings at **Chodziej** and **Oborniki** and the **Industrial Workers' Union** at **Lubon**.

A new feature of this widespread united-front movement against the capitalist offensive, fascism and imperialist war, is the constantly strengthening demand of the masses for class unity in the trade union movement. In the mass meetings mentioned above the united-front platform put forward by the "Left," having for its basis the class struggle and democracy within the trade unions, was accepted. At **Tomaszov-Mazowiecki**, a big working-class centre in the industrial district of **Lodz**, the conference at which all the trade unions there, without exception, were represented, accepted this platform and recommended all organisations to carry out a re-election of all leaderships on the basis of this platform.

At the Congress of the Textile Workers' Union, held at the end of September, the reformist leaders were confronted for the first time for many years with the fact that a considerable section of the Congress (19 out of more than 70 delegates) declared themselves against the policy of the union secretary **Szczerkowski** and in favour of the proposals made by the Labour "Left."

The Labour "Left" has emphasised more than once that it is ready at any time to bring about, on the basis of its proposed platform, the union of the parallel trade unions. On the occasion of the Textile Union Congress, the "Left" in the **Lodz** industrial district carried out, under the slogan of the fight for this platform, a canvassing campaign for the strengthening of the Textile Workers' Union; they are now carrying on a similar campaign to strengthen the metalworkers' union in **Warsaw** and the mineworkers' union in the **Dombrova Basin** and **Upper Silesia**.

The unity of the trade union movement, the platform on which this unity can be realised, occupy at present the centre of the discussion concerning the United Front going on between the Communist Party and the leaderships of the P.P.S. and the "Bund."

In the course of the united-front negotiations that took place in the last two weeks the leaders of the "Bund" rejected the unity platform of the Labour "Left." One of the "stipulations" for a united-front agreement with the Communists drawn up by the central committee of the P.P.S. is that the Communists shall "renounce all separatism and fraction-mongering in the trade union movement." In reply to **Comrade Lenski's** pamphlet, the P.P.S. organ, **Tydzien Robotnika**, of October 21 states that "by renunciation of separatism and fraction-mongering" it understands renunciation of proportional election and agitational freedom for all political tendencies.

Class unity in the trade union movement is a powerful means of strengthening the resistance of the working class to the capitalist offensive and to fascism. Unity is wanted of such a kind that is able to forge the ranks of the fighting working class together without distinction of party and to strengthen in it the consciousness of its own power. This, however, requires that freedom of agitation and conviction, the right to criticise, and proportional representation are assured to the political groups working in the trade unions. The system of proportional election enables the



minority to participate in the daily work of the trade union and branch leaderships; it joins the union more closely with the mass of the members, wins it the confidence of the broad unorganised masses and thereby strengthens the class unity of the proletariat.

But in the mouths of the editorial staff of the *Tydzien Robotnika* the phrase "democracy within the trade unions" is an empty one, when they assert that the propaganda of proportional election is "propaganda for the paralysation of the trade unions."

After the union of the Social-Democratic and Communist trade unions the trade union movement numbered more than 500,000 members. Proportional representation existed at the time in a large number of unions. The local, district and central committees, in which oppositional workers were sitting side by side with P.P.S. and non-party comrades, organised and directed big strike struggles. After the Third General Trade Union Congress in Warsaw (1925), at which the P.P.S. leaders got through their resolution on breaking off connections with the Communist Party, when proportional election was abolished in all the unions controlled by the P.P.S. and "Bund," a period of disruption and tremendous weakening of the trade union movement set in. Of the mass membership, 500,000 strong, only 200,000 have remained in the trade unions of the Central Commission.

We recall only that in the Railwaymen's Union the district committees of the Warsaw and Radom areas, as well as more than a dozen local committees in Warsaw, Dombrova Basin, Brest, Lapy, etc., were several times suspended and disbanded. Commissars were put in everywhere in their place. The same happened in the metal and mine workers' unions. Those unions, in which the "Left" workers were in the majority in the central or district committees, were shamelessly and deliberately smashed by the reformist leaders of the Central Commission of the Trade Unions. The Industrial Workers' Union was expelled from the Central Commission and then dissolved. The "Bund" functionaries *Himmel-farb* and *Zimmermann* have done the work of causing a split in the Clothing and Leather Workers' unions. The setting up of the parallel trade unions was a result of the policy of reprisals and expulsions pursued by the trade union bureaucrats of the P.P.S. and "Bund."

After all this the *Tydzien Robotnika* ventured to assert that in the trade union organisations run by the P.P.S.

"democracy within the trade unions is complete; the members elect the leaderships by a majority vote; everybody has the right to his convictions and to disseminate them—not, however, to break up the organisation."

What this "right to convictions and to disseminate them" looks like has been discovered by those unions that during the last few weeks have declared themselves for the proletarian united front and for the platform of class unity in the trade union movement. The list of these organisations that have been hit by the reprisals of the trade union central committees affiliated to the Central Commission, is well known to the *Tydzien Robotnika*.

One thing here must be given particular emphasis: **Our fight for democracy within the trade unions does not mean in the least that we are making our work in the Free Trade Unions dependent on the previous realisation of our demands.** A proof of this is the brisk activity of the "Left" in the Lodz, Warsaw, Posen and other trade unions. The best way to win the masses of the members of the Free Trade Unions for the demands of the "Left" is through energetic participation in the day-to-day work of the trade unions, through fighting for every elective trade union post, no matter whether election is proportional or majority.

**We want the unity of the trade union movement. We are concerned not only with the unity of the parallel unions, but also with the strengthening of all unions of the Central Commission, with turning them into genuine mass and class organisations!**

The road to class unity in the trade union movement goes by way of joint demonstrations and struggles, by way of systematic realisation of the united front against the liquidation of the remnants of social insurance, against fresh onslaughts by capital and by fascism. The road to this unity goes by way of the joint struggle for the protection of the trade unions threatened with incorporation in the government apparatus, by way of the fight for the winning over of the masses of the workers organised in the fascist trade unions for the anti-fascist movement. The acceptance of the platform proposed by us will increase the fighting power of the trade union movement and turn it into a mighty weapon in the proletarian struggle.

**We must confront the fascist demagogy about "unity" with the class unity of the trade unions.**

**The working class cannot wait!** The decisive sections of the proletariat are on the eve of battle: the textile, mining and metal workers. One immediate step is to exert to the utmost all forces in repelling the capitalists' new offensive against wages and working conditions and the fresh onslaught by the fascist government on social insurance. On the model of the Tomaszow-Mazowiecki workers, all trade union organisations must develop more widely the proletarian united front and at the same time move forward to the practical realisation of class unity in the trade union movement. The tempo of the further development of the revolutionary movement in Poland depends upon our activity and our perseverance in the fight for this unity.

## For Unity of Action of Communists and Social Democrats

### United Front Offer of the C.C. of the Communist Party of Germany to All Social Democratic Groups and Leaderships

The Central Committee of the Communist Party has repeatedly, especially in the last few weeks and months, addressed appeals to all social-democratic workers, functionaries and groups, offering to set up the united front of action against the capitalist offensive and against the common enemy, Hitler fascism. This call for fighting unity has met with a big response and warm approval among the masses of social democrats and trade unionists, as well as among the whole of the working class. In various parts of the Reich it has been possible, by means of discussions and agreements between the Communist Party, social-democratic members and functionaries, groups and organisational units, to realise unity of action for putting through definite demands. This united front movement was introduced with particular success in Saxony, Berlin, Thuringia and in some towns in the west. The bold step towards realising the united front taken by the district Party committees of the C.P.G. and the S.P.G. in the Hessen-Frankfurt district—which issued a joint platform of concrete demands, furnishes a model example to the German working class of how to set up the united front in practice.

The C.C. of the Communist Party of Germany states that, as a result of this drive for unity on the part of the workers, a number of social-democratic leaders have issued a platform in which they express their readiness to set up the united front for the purpose of carrying out certain demands of the workers. The Communists, who in the Saar district, in France, in Danzig and other places have eagerly and successfully seized the initiative for realising the united front, who, through the Communist International, approached the Second International with a proposal to set up the united front in all capitalist countries for support of the heroic workers and peasants of Spain, have no more ardent desire than to realise the united front of struggle on the broadest possible basis also in Germany.

The C.C. of the C.P. of Germany, in brotherly unity with the Spanish workers and peasants, also made a united front offer to the social-democratic leaders, groups and organisational units and to those social-democratic leaders who have declared their readiness to set up the united front with the Communists, and proposed to them to initiate solidarity actions for the Spanish class comrades and to connect these actions with the increased fight against the fascist enemy in their own country, against Hitler fascism. In order to expedite the arrival at an understanding regarding joint fighting measures, the C.C. selected from its midst a comrade with full powers who is instructed to conduct negotiations with the representatives of groups and organisations of the social-democratic party who are ready to realise unity of action, for the realisation of the following fighting demands:—

(1) Joint fighting measures against the fascist terror, against the carrying out of death sentences, for the release of Thaelmann, Mierendorff and all anti-fascist prisoners.

(2) Joint fighting measures against the Labour Law, fascist factory regulations and the displacement of the Youth.

It is, of course, understood that the supporters of unity of action mutually refrain from irrelevant attacks on each other, and it is equally a matter of course that a sober discussion of all differences of opinion regarding the theory and tactics of the Labour Movement must not be hindered. The C.C. of the C.P.G. submits its united front offer to the workers of Germany with the urgent appeal to do everything to secure the victory of unity of action against the capitalist offensive and the fascist dictatorship.

## To the E.C. of the Young Socialist International

Comrades,—The white terror is raging in Spain. Thousands of bold and courageous fighters have perished in the heroic revolutionary struggle against the unbearable oppression of capitalism, against starvation and want. Many thousands of workers and peasants have been wounded. Tens of thousands, including an enormous number of youth, who fought for the cause of the working class, have been thrown into prison.

The soldiers and the fascist dregs of human society are wreaking bloody vengeance in Asturias and throughout the country.

The wounded men, old and young, workers and peasants, are in danger of execution. Tens of thousands of prisoners and their families are living through painful hours in expectation of savage vengeance.

The bourgeoisie, the manufacturers and the landlords, are preparing to fetter the working class and the peasantry of Spain in the slavish chains of fascism.

In many factories the whole of the workers have been dismissed. The young workers are being driven out of the training schools. The employers are dooming to death from starvation those who dared to insist on their right to live.

The Spanish Communist and Socialist Youth fought shoulder to shoulder at the barricades against the common class enemy.

The French Communist and Socialist Youth, on the basis of the united front, are jointly mobilising all the forces of the youth in defence of the Spanish workers and peasants against fascist reaction.

In Great Britain, Belgium, Austria, Switzerland, and other countries, the Communist and Socialist Youth have formed a united front, striving to carry out their international duty together.

It is becoming more and more plain to the broadest masses of the youth that the struggle of the Spanish proletariat is the struggle of the entire international proletariat against capitalism, and that any delay in defending our Spanish class comrades, any delay in the struggle will mean new sacrifices and will allow the executioners to wreak their vengeance on the defenceless prisoners, the wounded and their families.

In the struggle against fascist reaction, in defence of the Spanish proletariat, nothing divides the workers, peasants, the employed and unemployed.

Some months ago a powerful international anti-fascist movement forced the German fascists to give way when they were preparing their vengeance against Comrade Dimitrov.

There cannot be the slightest doubt that the slaughterers of the Spanish working class and peasants will also give way and capitulate like the German fascists if they feel the force of the indignation of millions of people.

For this very reason, in the interests of the struggle against fascist reaction and the defence of the Spanish toilers and the youth, we once more make an open appeal to the Executive Committee of the Socialist International of Youth.

Ollenhauer, with the agreement of the president of the Young Socialist International, Koos Vorink, on October 16, 1934, on formal grounds, rejected the proposal of the Executive Committee of the Y.C.I. to conduct a joint struggle against fascist reaction and in defence of the Spanish toilers, without submitting it to the Bureau and the Plenary Session of the Executive Committee of the Young Socialist International.

Following this example of Ollenhauer, which it is difficult to describe in proper terms, the leading organs of the League of Socialist Youth in Sweden and Czechoslovakia also rejected the corresponding proposals of the Communist Youth.

The Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International cannot reconcile itself with the reply of Ollenhauer and Vorink, and with the position of the leaders of the Socialist Youth in Sweden and Czechoslovakia in the matter of the establishment of the united front in the interests of the working class and the struggle against fascism.

Every day fascist reaction is mercilessly shooting down and executing without trial the workers and peasants, the Communist and Socialist Youth. For this reason we once more propose that the Executive Committee of the Socialist International of Youth should **immediately** discuss our proposal for joint actions in the struggle against fascist reaction and in defence of the Spanish Youth, their fathers and mothers.

We are absolutely convinced that if there is a genuine wish to

establish the united front of the toiling youth in the struggle against fascist reaction, the Executive Committee of the Young Socialist International has every possibility to decide the question independently and in the positive sense regarding the joint defence of the Spanish toilers, thus taking the initiative in bringing up this question at the forthcoming Plenary Session of the Socialist and Labour International.

In view of these sincere motives, the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Y.C.I. requests you to allow its delegation to be present at the forthcoming Plenary Session of the Executive Committee of the Socialist International of Youth and to present its point of view and concrete proposals for a joint struggle against fascist reaction and in defence of the Spanish workers and peasants.

With the aim of reaching a more rapid agreement on this important question and in order to make it possible for the Bureau of the Executive Committee of the Young Socialist International and the Socialist Youth to discuss this question preliminarily, the Executive Committee of the Y.C.I. makes the following proposals:—

(1) During the period of the joint struggle against fascist reaction, to establish a united front between the Internationals and between the Communist and Socialist Youth organisations in all capitalist countries without exception, in defence of the Spanish workers and peasants and their young generation.

(2) The basis of the agreement must be one single condition—a joint struggle and the mobilisation of the broad masses of the youth against fascism and the brutal terror in Spain. It is understood that as soon as agreement is reached, mutual attacks will cease during the period of the joint struggle.

(3) With the aim of better organising an international campaign and directing it, an international youth committee for the defence of the Spanish Youth and their families should immediately be formed on conditions of parity.

(4) To make an immediate appeal to all the non-reactionary mass youth organisations to send their representatives to the International Youth Committee and to form corresponding national and local committees in each country, in town and village, in mills and factories, mines and universities, and to carry on an international campaign.

(5) It will be the duty of the International Committee and of the national and local committees to mobilise the millions of the youth for a struggle against fascist reaction and to conduct an International campaign:

For the cessation of the brutal white terror in Spain.

For the revocation of death sentences and the liberation of the prisoners.

For the cessation of the persecution of the families of the killed and wounded workers, and the stoppage of dismissals from the factories, estates and trade schools.

For the defence of the workers and peasants who have fled from brutality, for affording them the right of asylum and against surrendering them to the executioners.

Against the military-fascist dictatorship.

For political rights for the workers and peasants.

For the right to legal existence for the Communist, Socialist and other organisations of the toiling youth.

For the prohibition and disarming of all fascist reactionary organisations.

It will also be a duty of the International Committee and also of the national and local committees to organise the collection of funds for assisting the families of the killed and prisoners and the organisation of an International Fund for the assistance of the Spanish workers and peasants; to organise mass meetings, demonstrations and protest strikes; to expose the slanderous statements of the bourgeois papers in justification of the brutal terror exercised by the military-fascist reaction in Spain.

The Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Y.C.I. is firmly convinced that these proposals will arouse the warmest response among the Communists, Socialists and toiling youth of the whole world, because these demands mobilise and rally together the youth at the present moment for the struggle against fascist reaction.

The Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Y.C.I. awaits a prompt reply from the Executive Committee of the Socialist International of Youth, and expresses its hope that the decision arrived at will correspond to the interests of the struggle against fascist reaction and the defence of the heroic youth of Spain.

The Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Y.C.I. recommends all Communist Youth Leagues to make a suitable proposal once more to the Socialist Youth and together with them, to carry out their international duty and obligations to the Spanish proletariat.

The Spanish proletariat have retreated, but their revolutionary forces have not been broken and their revolutionary energy and activity has not been smashed. The hour is not far distant when the workers and peasants, with the support of the international proletariat, will deliver a smashing blow at capitalism, and the victorious banner of socialism will wave proudly over Spain.

Presidium of the Executive Committee of the  
Young Communist International.

## Fight Against Imperialist War

### Japanese Warmongers in Europe

Japan's Finnish Brother-in-Arms

By Nemo

The preparations being made by Japanese imperialism for war against the Soviet Union are by no means limited to the Far East; they are carried on systematically in Europe too. If as yet the Japanese warmongers have not dared to cross the far-eastern frontiers of the Soviet Union, this is only because they are attempting to organise simultaneously an attack on the Soviet Union from the West. It is only necessary to point to the manifest brotherhood-in-arms between Japan and Hitler-Germany, with Poland and Hungary also wanting to join in, for the significance of the anti-Soviet efforts of Japanese imperialism in Europe to be appreciated.

It is giving away no secret to draw special attention to the fact that the powerful forces of the British and French bourgeoisie regard the war-plans of the Japanese imperialists with a great deal of sympathy. The plan to solve all internal difficulties at the cost of the Soviet Union; the resolute determination to occupy the Soviet country by force—this and this only provides the unifying force for this grouping, which for the time being covers Japan, Germany, Poland and Hungary.

But only for the time being! For Japanese imperialism is going ahead with its endeavours to extend the anti-Soviet front in Europe. If the encirclement of the Soviet Union is to be free from gaps, then the border-states and Finland also have a place in it, and if it is possible for these in their turn to win in the military sense the Scandinavian states as a cover in their rear, then all the better for the cause of intervention.

And so it comes about that **Latvia** suddenly receives a Japanese councillor of embassy with the rank of minister; a minister who—what a historical accident!—was for five years employed in the Japanese embassy in **Berlin**! So it comes about that at the same time some important changes take place in the personnel of the Japanese legation at **Helsingfors**. Thus it happens that **Estonia** concludes a trade agreement with Japan, although apart from cellulose there is nothing to export to Japan; and that the poor **Lithuanians** suddenly crop up on the world-market, by appearing in the Japanese trade balance sheet. Thus it happens that within a short space of time the border states and Finland are honoured with four Japanese delegations and that even in these stirring times the Japanese military staff is able to find plenty of leisure and interest for the Baltic. Thus it happens that Japan's biggest combines are opening branches in **Stockholm**, and from there are flooding the whole of Scandinavia and Finland with cheap goods in such quantities that even Great Britain's exporters are having to abandon traditional trading positions. And thus it happens that Finland can ship her timber while still green to Nagasaki and that "Japanese business" is taking up more and more room in the account books of Sweden's armaments industry. Tokio's direct contact with Kovno, Riga, Reval, Helsingfors and Stockholm is making itself felt.

Following the example of the Americans, who are using Chinese territory for extensive preparations for war against Japan, the Japanese war-incendiaries are also planning to turn the whole of the Baltic and Finland into a place d'armes against the Soviet Union. The pressure systematically exerted by Japan has already resulted in an acceleration of the general armaments

tempo in these states, and the anti-Soviet character of this activity is frankly admitted. Of this Finland offers the best proof.

Since in July the Finnish Field-Marshal **Mannerheim**, a friend of the German general staff, declared that Finland, being exposed to danger more than other countries, must increase her potential defensive power and raise the country's insurance-premium in the shape of the defence-force, an extensive campaign for increasing preparations for war has set in in Finland. This campaign is waged round the slogan, "Greater Finland," that is, the old plans of the Finnish fascists for the occupation of Soviet-Carelia. A Fin named **Johannes Rautakoura** has published a book called "The Struggle for World Hegemony, 1935-1950," in which he describes the conquest of Siberia by Japan and the formation of an alliance between Germany and Poland as the proper factors for the realisation of a Greater Finland. This book met with an enthusiastic reception among the Finnish public. Declaration of war by Japan against the Soviet Union will be taken by the Finnish fascists and militarists as the signal for their invasion of Soviet-Carelia.

Disregarding the emphatic peace-policy of the Soviet Government, acknowledged throughout the world, the Finnish press paints a glaring picture of the danger of an attack by the Red Army on Finland. This ideological poisoning of the popular mind serves no other purpose than the justification of increased armaments and alliance with the most active anti-Soviet factors. A fresh armaments loan, amounting to 800 million Finnish marks, has been planned; 300 million are for strengthening the air force and 150 million for increasing heavy artillery. This makes the offensive character of the planned increases in armaments quite clear. Already at the beginning of this year Finland secured from Great Britain and Holland some modern **Fokker** fighting planes with a speed of 300 km. per hour. In Finland's general increases in armaments, greatest attention is being paid to the air weapons, in the hope of being able to carry out a decisive attack on the neighbouring district of Leningrad. In imitation of the Göring-Göbbels lying propaganda about "unknown airmen" over Germany, the Finnish press recently produced alarming stories of "unknown airmen" over Finland, in order to emphasise the urgency of armaments in the air.

Serious attention is also being given to naval armaments. With 2 modern coastal armoured ships, 5 submarines, 6 gunboats and 25 fast torpedo-boats, Finland presents a noteworthy sea-power in comparison with her maritime importance. Besides 2 destroyers which are in building, 17 further destroyers have been ordered from British yards. The allotment to it of a powerful air-force increases considerably the value of Finland's navy. Efforts to establish an independent armaments industry have also been pushed ahead. Self-sufficiency in arms is already to a great extent guaranteed. Finnish shipyards are even able to execute foreign orders, in particular those concerning the building of gunboats and submarines. Co-operating closely with **Vickers** (Great Britain) a new design of small and medium calibre is being produced, while with the help of **Bofors** (Sweden) a factory for the production of heavy guns has been established at **Tammersfors**. And the Finnish Centre Party, which hitherto has been against increased armaments and the establishment of an armaments industry in Finland, is to-day energetically supporting the armaments measures.

The fascist intervention-mongers in Berlin are watching Finland's armaments activities with the greatest satisfaction. The "Deutsche Wehr" of September 18 writes as follows:—

In Finland they are at any rate fully aware of the fact that the great neighbour in the East, in spite of her frequent declarations in favour of peace, has developed her own war industry at high pressure and can now probably cover the requirements of the Red Army herself.

The anti-Soviet character of Finland's armaments are clearly demonstrated by these remarks of the "Deutsche Wehr." In view of the specially intimate and genuine friendship existing between the general staffs of Germany and Finland, one may rely on the information given in the German press as to the character of Finland's armaments. The brotherhood-in-arms between Germany and Finland was forged in the furnace of the first intervention in 1917, and at the present time it is being renewed and strengthened as much by the warmongers of Germany as by those of Finland. The unveiling of a memorial to

a German submarine, sunk in 1917, that was supplying arms to Finland against the Red Army, was used recently in a demonstrative way to emphasise the necessity for a military alliance between Finland and Germany; just as the Finnish professor **Oehquist** felt compelled to journey to Berlin in October in order to give public thanks for "Germany's armed help in 1917."

It was left to the press of Germany to raise the question of the Aaland Islands and their refortification. To-day this question is the subject of lively discussion in Finland and Sweden. Thus the influential Swedish general **de Champs** recently declared in "**Aftenbladet**":—

No one understands better than I the great military value of the fortification works on the islands of Aaland. At the time they represented the last word in the art of fortification and had nothing to equal them in the Baltic. For Finland and Sweden their destruction was a great misfortune.

To understand what **de Champs** means by "misfortune" it is enough to recall the fact that in 1929 this Swedish general demanded the development of the Swedish defences "to the very limits of what the country can bear" in order "together with the Finnish army to beat off the Russian attack," and asked for the reformation of five Swedish infantry divisions, because the overhauling at the time of the Finnish defences emphasised the necessity, especially for the struggle against the Red Army, of five divisions. The Finnish newspaper "**Sata-Kunnan**" goes so far as to say that the entry of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations rather than mitigating the question of the Aaland Islands has made it more acute, and that the present situation represents a serious menace to Finland and Sweden. Can the vigorous agitation carried on in the German press and as late as October 17 in the "**Völkischer Beobachter**" about the Aaland Islands mean anything but preparations for their refortification? And, in view of the extremely important strategic role of the Aaland Islands for an attack on **Leningrad** and **Kronstadt**, can one fail to see whether things are pointing?

Finland's accelerated armaments are armaments against the Soviet Union. And it is no accident that they should coincide with the appearance of Japanese agents in North-East Europe. The "**Finski Sozialdemokrat**" has already revealed that Japanese agents are financing the fascist volunteer-organisation "**Pochianchemo**." Since 1933 this organisation has been particularly interested in the Soviet Union; its units make use of official army instruction, it prepares the ground for "incidents," i.e., military provocation, on the Soviet frontier. Japan's war-chest is paying any organisations, individuals and newspapers that to-day give their support to increased armaments and the creation of a Greater Finland at the expense of the Soviet Union.

## United States Aids Japan's War Machine

By John Cadmus (New York)

The peculiar honour which binds murderers as well as thieves together is vividly illustrated by certain disclosures in the American press. According to the **Philadelphia Inquirer**, as reported in the **N.Y. Times**, "Seventeen de-commissioned United States destroyers are being converted into raw materials for Japanese munitions," demolition being now under way at the Philadelphia Navy Yard. The report continues:—

"The vessels, used during the World War, have been sold by the Navy to private interests in Brooklyn for about 200,000 dollars. After demolition the scrap metal will be loaded for the Orient. Within the last few weeks a half-dozen ships have sailed out of the port of Philadelphia alone, at the rate of two a week, carrying as cargoes from 500 to 2,000 tons of scrap metal, all bound for the Orient. . . . The tale of the seventeen destroyers being dismantled at the Navy Yard is not by any means without precedent. From every port in the country ships have been carrying scrap to the Orient—and, most often, that means Japan."

These obsolete warships, which originally cost American taxpayers something like 2,000 dollars a ton to build, were sold by the Navy Department at the fabulously low figure of 6.24 dollars a ton for ferrous metal (iron and steel) and 108.2 dollars a ton for non-ferrous metal (copper, brass, etc.). It is expected that the seventeen vessels will yield about 8,400 tons of ferrous and 1,300 tons of non-ferrous metal—a sizeable contribution to the munitions fac-

ories which the Japanese government is running overtime, on sweated labour at starvation wages, to help to make the Orient safe for fascism. Two shiploads of potential death a week, out of one American port alone! And reports from the Western coast tell the same story. Nine merchant ships have been sold to Japanese buyers, six of them from San Francisco.

These purchases of scrap metal by Japan have been going on for a long time. Early in March of this year 4,000 tons of this valuable "waste"—in the form of old sugar milling and oil refining machinery—were shipped out of the Port of Spain, Trinidad; in May 7,000 tons of scrap, ostensibly sold by the Panama Canal to the Long Island Equipment and Machinery Company, were re-sold to Japan and shipped out of Cristobal in the freighter "**Glasgow Maru**." During the past year Japan has been America's heaviest customer for scrap metal, having purchased well over half a million tons, and generous orders are received by the principal European countries, particularly **England**, where plans for the "reorganisation" of the iron and steel, shipbuilding and textile industries will result in throwing thousands of tons of "redundant" and obsolete machinery on the market. In regard to shipbuilding alone, reports from England show that during 1933 just under one million tons of excess vessels were scheduled for breaking up: three large cargo ships, and the Red Star liner "**Lapland**," went to Japan. A similar process is taking place in Japan itself: in order to "encourage" its merchant marine, 400,000 tons of obsolete ships must be scrapped by March 1, 1935; Japanese munitions workers will be bludgeoned into converting this mountain of iron and steel into shells for the "scrapping" of human lives in Manchuria, China, Mongolia—and, if the military have their way, the Soviet Union.

Returning to the United States. Disclosures made in the course of the half-hearted Arms Inquiry, whose first sessions were held in Washington during September, bring out a few of the treacherous negotiations secretly carried on between this country and Japan for the furtherance of the latter's military plans. On June 13, 1934, a letter was sent from the Japanese firm, **Okura and Co.** to the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation of California, referring to an order placed for the Japanese Navy for the latest model of the Electra military plane. In the same letter this American firm was advised of the approaching visit to the United States of the following naval and military experts of Japan: Captain M. Hirose, K. Saneyoshi, Commander J. Okamura, and Lieutenant Commander Y. Yamada. The Lockheed people are requested "to do your utmost in demonstrating in every way possible your products, inasmuch as these officers are very important to us for the sake of future business."

Another letter—this time from the semi-official British arms merchants, Soley and Company, Ltd., to its U.S. agents, the American Armament Corporation—spills more dirt on the international munitions racket, as it concerns Japan. After referring in detail to the generous purchases by Chiang Kai-Shek's Gangster government of rifles, machine guns and small arms. Mr. John Ball, director of Soley and Co., waxes eloquent over the war clouds looming over the Far East—meaning, of course, Japan. His American agents are advised that, in case of "emergency,"

"there would be a big rush for serviceable material for immediate delivery, and not many firms could produce about 700,000 rifles, about 50,000 machine guns, all of the same calibre, with spare parts and ammunition, for immediate delivery, delayed by only the time to pack and put on the steamers. The idea may be a trifle problematical, but it might arise one day, and if you have already 'sowed the seed'—?"

Plenty of this murder-seed was already sprouting from the fertile soil of Japanese imperialism, for Ball continues:—

"The Japanese Naval Department has lately bought large quantities of Lewis guns, in our calibre .303, for their Hotchkiss and similar types are not equal to the Lewis for aero use by the observer; neither has the 6.5 bullet as much effect as the .303 armour-piercing type or the incendiary or 'tracer' type. As you know, 'incendiary' bullets are prohibited, so they have become 'tracers'—what's in a name?" (All emphasis mine—J. C.)

"As you know"—might echo all the Foreign Offices of the world—'national hatreds,' 'war' and 'fascism' are unpopular among the masses, so they have become 'patriotism'—what's in a name?" A final quotation from this letter brutally confirms the



correctness of the Soviet Union's analysis of the Far Eastern situation:—

"In spite of all the dreams of the idealists, who imagine that Homo Sapiens is filled with honour, justice, love and self-sacrifice, Japan is going to take a still further slice of China, and comparatively shortly, while the getting is good. To place herself in a favourable position, **Japan must either buy over the Soviets or fight them**—and Japan will do one or the other before attending to some more of China."

In this Japan will receive the fullest aid from the United States, and other imperialist countries—until the time comes for dividing the spoils.

## Students and Scholars in the Struggle Against Militarisation and War

By Jean Lapiere

Since the war the importance of what has been called "pre-military" training has greatly increased as a leading factor in the general war preparations of the imperialist countries. In order that cadres of politically reliable men, thoroughly familiar with up-to-date war technique (extensive motorisation, etc.) might be formed, the schools and universities have adjusted themselves even more energetically than before to an intense "moral" and military training in view of the next war.

This means that, above and beyond the customary ideological influence, all countries have introduced systems of more or less compulsory military training in their schools and universities. This special military training aims at enabling the technical knowledge and the abilities of the students to be utilised to the utmost for the formation of military cadres (officers, and at the same time airmen, army doctors, war chemists, etc.). These cadres are deliberately kept apart from all contact with working youth. The sports carried on in the schools and universities are developing more and more into defence drill, and are generally superintended by active or retired officers. The various clubs and associations (scouts, etc.) find themselves confined chiefly to field operations and to participation in parades of every kind. Students are pressed more and more into such scab organisations as the German Technical Emergency Aid or the French Union Civique. Finally, great numbers are subjected to scarcely disguised military training with the aid of labour service and labour camps.

Chauvinist education in every branch of knowledge, by means of text books, lectures (on air defence, etc.), courses of instruction in the science of defence, slanderous attacks on the Soviet Union, and participation in parades and sports events, go hand in hand with the scientific preparation for war in the laboratories and seminaries (chemistry, physics, geography, all forced upon the students from an increasingly military standpoint). To this must be added the practical training given in the fascist organisations. All these factors of a daily growing militarisation may be seen increasing by leaps and bounds under fascism, so that it may be stated without exaggeration that the schools (including the technical and craft schools) and universities—in Germany and Italy, for instance—are becoming more and more like barracks, in which any anti-war standpoint is regarded as high treason. At the same time it must be stressed that all fascist manoeuvres in this direction are camouflaged with the utmost demagoguery as "German" or other "socialism," as the case may be.

We need only touch upon a few of the most characteristic of the numerous measures taken during the last weeks and months in the field of militarisation. In Germany: The younger students are compelled to live in barracks—the so-called "comradeship houses"—so that more time is spent on drill and less on study; students are being transferred in increasing numbers to the Reichswehr, to form cadres there; all students and scholars are forced to take part in the State Youth Day, which consists solely of military drill. Besides all this there are the labour service camps, defence sport, training of women students as air defence guards and ambulance attendants.

In Italy the new decree on the militarisation of the nation signifies even a considerable "advance" on Paul Boncour's notorious law in France. Pre-military training begins at the age of eight in the schools, with the aid of the Balillas, and is continued in various stages (all obligatory and involving participation in the fascist formations) until service in the army is commenced at the age of twenty-one. By this means the term of military service is prolonged by about four and a-half years. The same

endeavour may be observed in Switzerland in the law for lengthening the term of the training of recruits, in France in the threatening two years of military service, etc.

In other countries other forms are adopted. In Greece, for instance, both men and women students take part in courses of musketry training, in Roumania students are trained as "people's guards"; in Bulgaria the young people are trained in the State Youth Organisation by officers of the reserve (who are also commissioned to develop the fascist organisations in the schools); in Austria "defence instruction" has been introduced; in the British Empire there are intensified recruiting drives for the territorial army, and the Officers' Training Corps have the special support of the scout organisations; in Czechoslovakia "defence days" are organised in the schools and colleges; in Poland new mobilisation regulations have been issued. All these measures, and many similar ones, show clearly the course being steered towards employing the working and peasant youth as cannon fodder in new wars.

But a very great many of the students and scholars are rebelling. They have no desire to serve as cannon fodder. They realise the role assigned to them, and they protest against militarisation, against war. It is true that many of them have not yet recognised that it is only in alliance with the toiling masses that they can carry out their resistance successfully. Many are still in the preliminary stage of dissatisfaction (for instance, the German students who have issued the slogan of "not marches, but study"). Others imagine that they have found a solution in individual refusal to take part in war. But the fermentation is universal, everywhere there is repugnance to the idea of being made the scientific and physical instrument and object of the coming war. It is the task of our movement to develop this repugnance into active resistance, and to utilise the campaign for the world congress for the purpose of winning over for anti-militarist action all those who are opposed to military drill and to the application of science for the purposes of war.

In the United States the actions taken against militarisation and war have undoubtedly won over the great masses of the people and have attained a level rarely equalled in other countries. Since the Amsterdam Congress, anti-war conferences have been held in the great majority of schools and colleges, attended by representatives of all progressive students' organisations and of the broad masses of unorganised students of every political persuasion. In many places loosely connected associations, committees, and clubs have been formed, and have exercised much influence on the official students' press. The lively propaganda carried on against military training (R.O.T.C.) has encountered sharp repressive measures from the school authorities. In the summer of 1933 there were 26 students suspended from the New York City College. The rapidly growing movement organised a strong protest against these suspensions.

This anti-militarist campaign attained its culminating point so far in a one-hour strike, held on April 13, 1934. In New York 15,000 struck, and 25,000 all over the U.S.A. The meetings and demonstrations advanced the slogans: Abolition of the R.O.T.C.; scholarships, not battleships. All attempts on the part of reactionary groups to disturb the demonstrations were frustrated.

This strike aroused a response in a fresh wave of anti-war and anti-fascist conferences. Everywhere the students joined the workers in the struggle against the blacklegs and against the use of students as "vigilants." In many universities the majority of the students were induced to leave the R.O.T.C. In Minnesota, for instance, only 250 students are members this year, instead of 2,300.

Fresh efforts are being prepared for Armistice Day (November 11). Demonstrations, conferences, torchlight processions all over the country. A delegation to Roosevelt in Washington to demand the abolition of the R.O.T.C., the annulment of the war credits and the employment of money in aid of the victims of the crisis, especially the poor students. At the same time hundreds of telegrams will arrive in Washington, putting the same demands on the concrete lines required for each individual school and college. Whilst the strike on April 13 was organised only by the American League Against War and Fascism and by the organisations of the revolutionary and socialist students, this time the Christian, pacifist, and corporative students' organisations are also taking part. The Young Communist League, Socialist Youth, and the Methodist Youth Organisation, have promised their fullest

support. In the course of the campaign the delegates to the Geneva World Congress will be elected.

In **England** the Cambridge students have carried on a great campaign against their laboratories being used for the production of poison gases. In London the students of the Polytechnic School heckled the War Minister, who was giving a speech calling for recruits for the territorial army, so effectively that he only contrived to gain five recruits. Leaflets have been distributed against Baden-Powell, the leader of the Boy Scouts, who issues similar appeals to that of the War Minister. After lengthy co-operation success was obtained in inducing a number of scout groups to join our movement. When the new university term commenced leaflets were distributed to every newly enrolled student warning him against joining the O.T.C. and calling upon him to join the local anti-war committee. At the International Labour Camp Conference, held this year in Rendsburg, the English delegation, on the initiative of our comrades, protested against labour service and military drill.

In the **Czech** secondary schools, where all "political" (read: anti-military and anti-fascist) activities are prohibited, a wide anti-war movement has been organised this year in spite of the heavy penalties involved. With the aid of the students, leaflets have been issued and discussion evenings arranged. Anti-militarist books and pamphlets have been lent out systematically and visits to progressive theatrical performances organised. Excursions have been organised, with discussions. In this manner it has been made possible to gain the ear of students who were politically indifferent or even under fascist influence, and to win them over for the anti-war movement and for the anti-militarist actions. Thanks to excellent mass mobilisation, the students have been able to prevent lectures being given by generals on air defence and gas war.

On the "Days of Defence" the students and scholars distributed leaflets and stickybacks in all the Prague schools. Several students were arrested in consequence, others punished by expulsion. On the day after these arrests the following inscription was found written up in a Prague school: "Persecution will not stop us. The toiling masses are with us." In Brünna a large number of anti-militarist leaflets, intended for the schools, were confiscated by the police. In Slovakia several scholars were refused admission to the matriculation examination on account of their anti-militarist activities. The secondary school scholars arrested in Prague in the middle of August on charges of high treason (law for the protection of the Republic) and of founding a prohibited secret society, have been brought up for trial. One of them, who stated openly in court that he was an anti-fascist and was prepared to carry on his anti-militarist propaganda, was sentenced to seven months' imprisonment, a considerable fine, and loss of civic rights; his comrades received shorter sentences.

In the **Balkan countries**, especially **Bulgaria**, anti-militarist propaganda is widespread in the schools and universities. It is not by accident that there are several students and scholars among those condemned to death in Plovdiv and Varna. In **Yugoslavia**, where the students have made a number of protests against compulsory military measures, a White Guardist was prevented from giving a lecture, which would have been an open call for intervention against the Soviet Union, by the demonstrations made for the Soviet State by the students of the Belgrade University.

And in the countries already at war the students stand side by side with the toiling masses in a heroic and self-sacrificing struggle. In **Japan**, above all, where the students stand in the foremost ranks of the propagandists of "dangerous ideas." During the last few years hundreds of Japanese students have been arrested for anti-war propaganda, and many have been tortured to death. In spite of all terrorist measures, the movement penetrates far into the military and officers' schools. In **China** the students take a great part in the struggle against intervention against the Soviet Union; at the same time they are the champions of the national revolutionary war of the Chinese people against Japan.

In **South America**, in Bolivia and Paraguay, the students are fighting at the front and in the country against the murderous Chaco war. Many of them have been thrown into prison, some sentenced to death. When fifty students from **Paraguay**, studying in Montevideo, were called up for military service at the front, our comrades in Uruguay protested in meetings and demonstrations, and organised a great campaign for fraternisation among those called up.

All over the world students and scholars are fighting against war and militarisation. Whether the action be against fascism or for economic demands, the slogans against militarisation and war always take the first place (as, for instance, at the recent students' strike in Montreal, Canada). For the problem of military drill, the problem of the exploitation of science for war purposes, are questions confronting every student and decisively influencing his personal development, both materially and intellectually. Therefore these questions must be the cardinal points on which our agitation and propaganda turn in the congress campaign. Our broad slogans enable us to lead broad masses of the students and scholars successfully in the struggle. We must not confine our efforts to those students who are already opposed to war, it must be our object to reach at the same time those who participate in the labour service and military training, frequently out of idealism, or are even members of fascist organisations or under fascist influence, and to make it clear to them how their abilities are being misused and what possibilities of development exist for the student and for science in the land of the Soviets. This is one of our most important tasks.

The anti-militarist fighting week (from November 4 to 11) in preparation for the congress campaign must raise all these questions in impressive demonstrations organised with the support of the toiling masses, and draw the attention of all students and scholars to them. The American example should be followed, the special conditions of the country in question being taken into account, and a far-reaching mobilisation of all students carried out, new committees formed, delegates elected, demonstrations of the workers and all the toiling masses supported—these are the most urgent tasks for this international fighting week.

## Trade Union Movement

### The Convention of the American Federation of Labour

By Bosse (New York)

The 54th Convention of the American Federation of Labour met in **San Francisco** during the first two weeks of October, and in spite of the best efforts of its leadership it had to report more progress in certain directions than any other gathering in years. It endorsed the principle of industrial unionism and that of organisation of the unorganised, under pressure of the revolt of the masses against the attacks of the N.R.A., though it will do its best to castrate these formally progressive steps, as far as possible.

On the other hand, the convention was conducted in the most reactionary fashion of any of its history, the most elementary aspects of trade union democracy being violated in an orgy of steam-rolling. The bureaucracy further tied up the federation to the chariot of the N.R.A., and, unless the influence of the "Left" wing and the militancy of the workers hold it back, it will degenerate into a semi-governmental apparatus.

The report of the Executive Council to the convention showed the average membership for the year ending August 31 to be 2,608,000, a gain of less than half a million over the previous year. It was the lowest figure since 1920, except for 1932 and 1933. Last year Green had predicted a gain of ten million, and at the end of this convention he again promised a gain of a million for next year. During the year of the N.R.A. over 5,000,000 workers, or twice the total of the A.F.L. membership, were forced into company unions, while Green and his brethren sabotaged their organisation. The new federal (industrial or plant unions) number 1,800, with 90,000 members, largely in the basic industries. Many more could have been organised had the bureaucracy desired.

The income for the past year was 1,070,000 dollars, and the balance from the previous year 400,000 dollars. Expenses for the year were 907,000 dollars, including such items as 324,000 dollars for organisers' salaries and expenses, 31,000 dollars for officers' salaries and expenses, 135,000 dollars for printing the monthly American "Federationist," 134,000 dollars for the Gompers' memorial fund, etc. In the defence fund was 466,000 dollars, but for strike and lock-out benefits there was spent only 1,084 dollars during the entire year.

The Executive Council commended itself for having favoured the following legislature: Appropriation of 660 million dollars for war ships and planes; appropriation of three million dollars (!) for vocational education; continued opposition to Japanese immi-

gration; approval of the Philippine Independence Act, which enslaves the Filipinos more securely to American imperialism; etc. On unemployment insurance, the Executive Council reported that 25 State legislatures have Bills before them; but none has been passed. The Council takes the viewpoint of the employers in opposing genuine unemployment and social insurance: "It is definitely understood that Congress cannot enact a federal unemployment insurance law." The A.F.L. endorses the fake Wagner Bill, on which hearings have not even been held.

The speakers before the convention were, as usual, members of Roosevelt's cabinet, archbishops, mayors, legionnaires, ex-labour fakers and present ones, domestic and foreign. Those who broke the San Francisco general strike were given places of honour on the speakers' list. The leading issue before the convention for some time was a bitter jurisdictional struggle in the building trades, with the open threat of a split. Some 800,000 carpenters, electricians, and bricklayers, the largest unions in the industry, fought with an equal number in minor unions who had expelled them from the building trades department of the A.F.L. The basis for the crisis was the 75 per cent. unemployment in this trade. The convention supported the three big unions, and the matter is settled, on the surface.

The most important issue taken up was that of **industrial unionism**, and the convention for the first time endorsed it unanimously. It was forced upon the leadership by the militancy of the membership in the local unions, a large number of resolutions having come from all over the country demanding it. The N.Y. **Times** labour correspondent summed it up so:—

"Yielding to the ceaseless demands for a clear and definite statement of policy with regard to its attitude on forming industrial unions embracing every group of workers in the basic and mass production industries . . . the convention confessed that it was impossible to organise craft unions in these industries." The issue was critical: "It was no secret that the members of the federal unions were discouraged and were beginning to fall away . . . action could not be postponed for another year."

These workers, most of whom organised spontaneously, despite the efforts of the A.F.L. to keep them from doing so, were beginning to fall away to the "Left" wing, to independent or to company union influence. The convention admittedly supported the resolution calling for industrial unionism to combat the "Left" wing's growing influence ("to keep them from organising under some other banner").

The "Times" correspondent went on to say that the workers in the federal unions "feared that the old-line craft unions would seek to divide them up and dismember the industrial unions when organisation was completed." This is just what the old guard hopes to do.

The resolution adopted hamstrings these new unions in the auto, radio, cement, aluminium, etc., industries by instructing the Executive Council to appoint the officers and decide the policies and finances of the new industrial unions as long as it wished to do so.

**John L. Lewis**, head of the miners and the worst reactionary in the A.F. of L., sponsored the fight for the industrial unions. **Howard**, of a craft printers' union, who betrayed the San Francisco strike by keeping the printers at work, the newspapers going, etc., also championed it, saying frankly that otherwise the Reds would get the new unions. The interests of the craft unions were amply provided for, as the majority of A.F.L. are craft unions. Since everyone admits a number of large strikes are likely this winter, especially in these unorganised, mass-production industries, the A.F.L. leaders are already providing for betraying them. Lewis has his eye on Green's job, and so poses as a progressive and defender of the new ideas.

The convention wanted a curb on company unions, but merely asked the government for it—it did nothing to fight them and win away their workers. It asked the N.R.A. National Labour Relations Board to ban them from the factory ballots when the workers voted for the kind of union they wanted to represent them. This was in line with the policy of considering the N.R.A. a boon to labour. As the U.S. has joined the International Labour Office, the A.F.L. is considering doing the same, just as it goes along with the government in every step!

The convention demanded representation on N.R.A. codes,

defeated a resolution demanding withdrawal of A.F.L. officials from N.R.A. boards, "requested" enforcement of clause 7a (allegedly permitting unionisation). As Green put it, "Labour must be made an active partner in the supposed partnership of government, industry, and labour."

The Executive Council stated that under the N.R.A. "minimum wage rates in the codes have been set so low that the purpose of the N.R.A. has been completely nullified in a large part of industry." Consumption has not been increased nor the standards of living raised under the N.R.A. In the year ending July, 1934, average weekly wages increased 6.4 per cent., while the cost of living gained 6.3 per cent. "In many industries codes have meant a very real decrease in wages" (textile, newspaper, petroleum, wholesale trade, etc.). Many codes include "meaningless and unenforceable provisions for an adjustment in wages." The shorter working week has been so manipulated as to mean lower wages and a much longer working week, in some cases as much as 54 hours.

The Compliance (complaint) Boards are taking care of "only a negligible portion of all violations." Workers joining unions are being fired, company unions being created under the N.R.A. Its agencies "were either unwilling or unable (!) to enforce the law, or delayed so long that unions were weakened or even destroyed. . . ." Yet, despite this damning indictment, the members of the A.F.L. are urged to have faith: "The decisions of the labour boards reassure the rights written into the National Recovery Act."

The **Negro** question came into the open with a bang at this convention. A resolution to expel unions discriminating against Negroes was adopted by an oral vote, over-ruling the Resolutions Committee. Green ignored it, and had the question referred to the Executive Council for further study for a year. The great pressure exerted upon the reformist Negro leaders by the mass campaigns around the **Scottsboro** issue and around the Negro sharecroppers and metal miners in the South caused the successful raising of the question for the first time.

The fight of the bureaucrats not in the inner council was a main issue on the floor, Lewis and his pals battling Green to a standstill after a number of efforts at previous conventions. By a deal made behind the scenes, and tied up with the industrial unionism issue, they were given places on the Executive Council, which was increased to 18. **Gorman**, hero of the textile strike betrayal, came by aeroplane to speak on the strike. He called it an "amazing victory," because it won many new members (he was careful not to say how many); because, while it did not win union recognition, it won "the nearest thing" to it. The stretch-out was being settled by "investigation." The blacklisting of scores of thousands, company unions, and other aspects of the defeat were not mentioned.

Ninety per cent. of the delegates were not representatives of the membership, but top officials of the unions. The rank and file showed some progress, having had no delegates in 1932, one last year, and 15 this year. All their resolutions were reprinted in the official proceedings, summarised in the San Francisco press, and came up on the floor. It is true they were railroaded to the scrap heap in the worst orgies of Red-baiting and downright terrorism. Rank and file delegates were refused the floor consistently, and were howled down by Green and his clique.

The six "Left" wing resolutions included the following: Condemnation of Green for his betrayal of the San Francisco strike; a national 24-hour strike in January to support the unemployment insurance bill; against expulsions for political beliefs; withdrawal from N.R.A. posts; release of the **Scottsboro** boys, **Mooney**, and **Thaelmann**; protest against German fascism and growing fascist tendencies in the U.S.; condemning the use of militia in strikes; against gangsterism in the unions; giving a speaker time to report on the U.S.S.R., etc.

The **rank and file conference** met simultaneously with the regular convention. The mass meeting opening it was attended by 1,500, with delegates from rubber, coal and metal mining, meat-packing, building, auto, machinist, marine, clothing, textile, shoe, food and other unions. **Weinstock** and other leaders reported, reviewing the struggles in their locals and the experiences gained from them. A national conference was called to meet in **Pittsburg** on October 27-28, and local conferences were being held meanwhile.

The widening of the sphere of influence of the rank and file

is shown by the large number of unions defying Green's ukase of September 11, which ordered the expulsion of all Communists and militants from the A.F.L. The following city central bodies either filed the letter without action, rejected it, or answered it caustically: St. Louis, Seattle, Chester, Everett, Newark, Kalamazoo, etc. In Cleveland three locals took similar action; in Chicago, the painters; Grand Rapids, the painters and metal polishers; Seattle, the machinists and boilermakers; Boston the paperhangers and food workers; Butte, the copper miners; New York, the cleaners and dyers, etc.

## Trade Union Victories in Australia

By J. Billett

By the election in August, 1934, of Comrade Nelson to the national presidency of the Australian Miners' Federation, the militant trade union opposition have captured the most important positions in one of the largest and most important unions in Australia.

The Australian Miners' Federation, or to give its correct name, the **Workers' Industrial Union of Australia**, is organised throughout Australia on a district basis. It has over 30,000 members, including the metalliferous section in Broken Hill, New South Wales, where lead and silver is mined.

The largest coalmining districts are in New South Wales, at Newcastle (northern district) and at Wollongong, the southern district. The constitution of the union has a revolutionary objective and provides for a wide form of democracy in the election of the officials and the management of union affairs.

The election in February, 1934, of the militant candidates, Comrades **Orr, Jack and Nelson**, to the positions of national secretary, northern district secretary and national president respectively, was the outcome of years of militant planned activity by the revolutionary trade unionists.

Intensive activity was carried on among the miners, especially in the decisive districts in New South Wales. Militant groups were formed in the mines, which issued pit papers. These militant groups were co-ordinated by an executive, which issued a national paper outlining a militant policy for the mining industry, as well as circulating thousands of leaflets dealing with particular events.

A very important campaign, waged in the mines and lodges and among the unemployed, was for the unemployed miners who had been unemployed for more than six months, and who were automatically excluded from the union, to have the right of voice and vote and to nominate for union positions. This campaign was so strong that the splitting policy of the reformist leaders was defeated.

Particularly good work was carried on during the northern miners' lockout of 1929-31. This struggle arose out of a demand by the mineowners for a 12½ per cent. wage cut. The reformist leaders fought against the Minority Movement policy of broadening the struggle to all mining districts, to a general strike in the coal-mining industry, and led the miners to defeat, despite their pronounced desire to struggle, which was evidenced in the building of a **Workers' Defence Army**, which took the Red Army oath, had clashes with the police and scabs, resulting in the killing of a miner and the wounding of a number of others. This sectional struggle, which exhausted the miners and paved the way for a 12½ per cent. reduction of wages in all districts, marked the turning in favour of a militant trade union policy.

This was very noticeable in the elections for the leading union positions, held in 1932, when the militant nominees were only narrowly defeated. The obvious conclusion to be drawn from these results was that the old reformist leaders who held their position for from 10 to 15 years could be defeated if the Minority Movement waged a good campaign. With this end in view, Comrades **Orr, Nelson, Jack and Scanlan**, were nominated by the militants to contest the 1933 elections. The bureaucrats ruled out Scanlan's nomination on the grounds that he had worked outside the industry when unemployed.

A very good campaign was waged on behalf of our candidates and the Minority Movement election programme of demands. Tens of thousands of leaflets were distributed; the "Red Leader" sales in coal-mining areas increased by 300 per cent., and our candidates conducted a vigorous tour in the mine-fields. The election resulted in the defeat of Teece (secretary) and Hoare (northern district president) and the election of Comrades **Orr and Jack** to these

positions. Comrade Nelson was only narrowly defeated for the presidency.

When Orr took over the secretaryship in February, 1934, a strike broke out in the government-owned coal-mine at Wonthaggi (Victoria) against victimisation and for union recognition. This struggle provided a real test for the new militant leadership. The reformist leaders in the unions and Labour Party were hoping that the new leadership would prove incapable, and thereby discredit the Party and the Minority Movement. Their hopes were not realised, as the leadership exercised by the Minority Movement achieved a most notable victory.

The Wonthaggi strike, involving over 4,000 miners, lasted 20 weeks. The most energetic united front solidarity campaign on behalf of the strikers was carried on throughout Australia, which brought moral and financial support from the trade union movement, Labour Councils, the Victorian Labour Party Executive and numerous local Labour Party branches, and unemployed organisations, which forced the Victorian government to capitulate and grant the strikers' demands. The outcome of this struggle had enormously strengthened the influence of the revolutionary movement and demonstrated the superiority of militant leadership over the previous treacherous reformist leadership. In Wonthaggi, where the miners are 100 per cent. organised, the militants captured a majority of seats on the Lodge Executive, and over 400 mineworkers joined the Minority Movement, and the Party nucleus was trebled.

It was immediately following these victories (August, 1934) that the extraordinary election for the presidency of the Miners' Federation was held, when the militant candidate, Comrade Nelson, was elected with a majority of close on 2,000 votes, defeating well-known members of the Lang Labour Party.

The winning of these vital positions is a heavy blow at the Lang Labour Party in New South Wales, which in the past has drawn a very large share of its finances from the Miners' Union. The publication and maintenance of the "Labour Daily," the Labour Party's official organ, was only made possible by the tens of thousands of pounds drawn from the Miners' Union. In fact the total amount of money owed to the Miners' Federation by the Labour Party, principally by way of loans and shares, amounts to over £42,000.

That the Labour Party is alarmed at the decline of its influence among the miners is to be seen in the following extracts taken from the September 4th issue of the "Labour Daily":—

"The activity of Communists in the election of officers of the Miners' Federation is not to go unchallenged by Labour Party interests. For the first time in the history of the organisation the next elections will be contested by endorsed A.L.P. candidates. . . . The inclusion of Communist influence in Federation affairs is regarded by Labour Party supporters as not in the best interests of the organisation."

This challenge must be taken seriously by the Party and the Minority Movement. The fact that militant candidates have captured the key positions in the union does not mean that the rank and file as a whole have been won over to the side of the revolutionary movement, that we have captured the union, and that little work now remains to be done.

The Party can only maintain and extend its influence by carrying out energetic activity in the mining areas. The splitting policy of the reformists can best be defeated by paying the closest attention to the discontent of the mineworkers and organising a broad united front of workers of all tendencies, Labour Party, Communists and non-Party workers, in order to struggle against attacks on wages and conditions and for their everyday demands. Our growing influence should be consolidated by driving ahead for the strengthening of the trades unions and improving the work of the nuclei and militant groups, and our lodge and union fractions, especially in the northern and southern districts, where considerable improvement can be effected. The Party should utilise its growing influence in order to recruit for and build the Party.

These victories in the sphere of trade unionism vividly demonstrate what successes can be accomplished when trade union work is given serious attention by the Party, and should spur the membership onwards to achieve an all-round improvement in trade union work generally.



## Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

# Letters From the Soviet Ukraine

By Our Special Moscow Correspondent, L. F. Boross

### DROUGHT IN THE COLLECTIVE VILLAGE

Poltava, Middle September.

Part of the winter wheat had been destroyed by frost. Scarcely a drop of rain had fallen all through the spring. The weather was worse than in the famine year 1921. At that time the peasants thought of the saying: "As ye sow, so shall ye reap" as a cruel irony. There was another saying which seemed to them nearer the truth: "When the land is thirsty, the peasant goes hungry."

In the spring of 1934 there were a number of people anxious to remind the collective peasants of the Poltava district of the year 1921. The priests especially, where they could find anyone to listen to them. They endeavoured to rouse a panic: "God is punishing us, now we shall all have to starve." A number of backward individual peasant farmers, believing this agitation, deserted their fields and "fled" to the towns—not to starve there, but to take work in the first factory or workshop which they ran across on their way. "God's punishment" was thus frustrated from the beginning, since there is no unemployment in the Soviet Union, and no one need starve who is willing to work.

Nobody fled from the collective farms. Here there was not the slightest sign of the panic which formerly swept the steppes of the Ukraine in the drought years. Instead of this, a heroic struggle commenced under the slogan: "A good harvest in spite of the drought!"

On the "Bolshevik" collective farm the collective peasants began to water the arid fields with the aid of the fire brigade pumps and pails. Suddenly a fire blazed up in the village, and the bell of the church still open here rang the alarm. A haystack had taken fire, and the work of the first day of irrigation was lost in consequence of the necessity to call all hands to put out the fire.

The village priest thought this a suitable moment to come forward, full of self-importance. He declared to the collective peasants that the fire was a sign from God, who was angry that no prayers for rain had been made. He proposed that the watering of the fields should be abandoned, a procession formed, and earnest prayer made for rain.

It need not be said that this "agronomical" suggestion was derisively rejected by the overwhelmingly godless majority of the members of the collective, but it also had the effect of considerably shaking the relations between the few "believers" still remaining and their priest. In principle they were not opposed to the procession, but were of the opinion that "first we should finish the watering of the fields." The complete collapse of the church congregation on the "Bolshevik" collective farm followed shortly after, when the incendiary—a notorious shirker—admitted under examination that the priest had instigated him to set fire to the hay in order to sabotage the irrigation work.

The fields of the collectives cannot be watered only by fire brigade pumps or primitive buckets. But even these primitive methods were carried out heroically. The collective farm "October Ray," for instance, records that its members carried 4½ million litres of water to their fields.

A factor of special importance was the efficient and early sowing, the rapid conclusion of this part of the work. On the "October Ray" farm the spring sowings were completed in six days this year, as compared with 22 last. Besides this, harvesting was completed in 14 days, as compared with 22, and threshing in 12, as compared with 33. These achievements have been chiefly due to a more efficient organisation of work and to the development of socialist competition and other socialist methods of work. The free time gained by the better organisation was utilised for re-hoeing the fields.

The majority of the other collectives can record similar improvements in working organisation. On the collective farm "Red Partisan" the spring sowings were complete on March 28 (last year April 15), hoeing on June 4 (June 28), harvesting on

July 2 (July 22). The timely sowing ensures better retention of the moisture still in the soil, and the earlier maturity of the grain affords a better protection against the hot winds. The rapid harvesting work and threshing secure the collectives from losses through grain falling from the ripe ears. And all these measures, in their totality, naturally signify an increased productivity of labour. It is a characteristic fact that the same work, requiring 28,823 working days between January 1 and July 1 in 1933 on the "Red Partisan" farm, required only 19,500 working days this year, including the completion of harvest work, the irrigation, and a number of improvements not yet carried out last year. Has this lessening of working days brought unemployment in its train? Quite the contrary. What it has brought is: (1) a larger income per working day; (2) a number of collective peasants set free to take work in the industries where there is a shortage of labour, thus further increasing the income of the family; (3) greater possibilities for the youth, freed from field work, to study at the technical schools or colleges; (4) possibilities for the development of collective livestock breeding; etc., etc. The improved organisation of work thus brings only great advantages to the members of the collectives.

A great improvement in working discipline has also been achieved. This year the "Red Partisan" records 54 working days lost by absence without excuse, as compared with 324 during the same period last year.

Among the numerous other factors playing a role in combating the drought special mention must be made of considerable increase in the number of machines and tractors possessed by the collective farms, and of the Machine and Tractor Stations supplying such machinery.

What has been the result of all these efforts?

In spite of the drought, the grain crops have been larger than in the previous "record year" on about 13 of the 33 collective farms served by the Poltava Machine and Tractor Station. On the majority of the other collectives of this group the crops were the same as last year or somewhat smaller. A rare exception is formed by such collectives as that of the "Ivestya" in Sinzi, where the unit of 8-9 double cwt. of wheat attained last year has dropped this to only 5-6 double cwt. But in compensation for this all the collectivists can record a much larger potato and vegetable yield than last year. Even such collectives as the "Ivestya" have earned a larger amount in cash than last year. Among the more than two dozen collective farms where I conducted my inquiry, I found only one single one where the vegetable crops and cash receipts had turned out worse than last year. In this case the collective farm itself was not to blame. It is, indeed, the best collective farm in the district: the "Blagoyev" commune. Here the unit of 13-14 double cwt. attained last year has sunk to 4-5 double cwt. The vegetable crops are not bad, but not so good as last year. But what has been attained signifies a miracle of collective work and effort. Up to July 18 (!) not one drop of rain had fallen in this village. On July 18 a hailstorm destroyed the work of many weeks. Only a farmer can appreciate what it means if even under these circumstances the farm has still been able to ensure sufficient bread and vegetables (and meat from its own piggery and poultry farm), from its own resources, in order to supply all its members amply till the next harvest.

The crops harvested on the "Postyshev" collective farm in the village of Golovach may be taken as typical of most of the collectives of the Poltava district:—

1933:

Wheat (autumn sowing) per hectare ..	8 double cwt.
Wheat (spring sowing) per hectare ..	10 double cwt.
Rye per hectare (maximum and minimum)	8-15 double cwt.
Autumn wheat considerably less, spring wheat and rye considerably more.	

1934:		
Wheat (autumn sowing per hectare ..	4½	double cwt.
Wheat (spring sowing) per hectare ..	13	double cwt.
Rye per hectare (maximum and minimum)	10-18	double cwt.

1933:		
<b>Vegetables:</b>		
Potatoes, 38 hectares .. .. .	100	double cwt. each
Potatoes, 8 hectares .. .. .	220	double cwt. each
Beetroot, 6 hectares .. .. .	220	double cwt. each
Cucumbers, 9 hectares .. .. .	170	double cwt. each
Onions (sown), 2 hectares		
Cabbage, 240 double cwt.		

1934:		
Potatoes, 56 hectares .. .. .	150	double cwt. each
Tomatoes, 11 hectares .. .. .	300	double cwt. each
Beetroot, 8 hectares .. .. .	350	double cwt. each
Cucumbers, 11 hectares .. .. .	170	double cwt. each
Onions, 6 hectares		
Cabbage, 200 double cwt.		

With the exception of cabbage, which shows a smaller yield per hectare, and cucumbers with the same yield per hectare, we observe a considerable increase in the yield of the soil. At the same time the area given over to vegetable gardening has greatly increased.

Cash income: 1933, 342,724 roubles; 1934 (estimate), approximately 438,000 roubles.

Let us check up these results against those achieved by some other collectives:—

**"Red Partisan":** Total average of all kinds of grain:  
 Record year, 1933 .. .. . 7.4 double cwt. per hectare  
 Drought year, 1934 .. .. . 7.8 double cwt. per hectare  
 That is to say, **more than last year.**

Vegetables: similar results to those of the "Postyshev."

**"Bolshevik":** Winter wheat, 12 double cwt. per hectare (as compared with 13½); spring wheat, 10 double cwt. (8). Somewhat less grain on the whole, but incomparably more potatoes and vegetables.

It is an exaggeration when some of the collective peasants in their enthusiasm comment on these achievements as if the collective farms had gained a complete victory over the forces of nature. This complete victory will not be attained until the mechanised irrigation plant now being constructed in many districts has been set in operation. The drought has done a great deal of damage. But this damage, thanks to the unparalleled and heroic collective work accomplished, does not consist of a failure of the crops, but in the fact that the tremendous amount of work accomplished has not enabled the crops to be doubled. The historical victory of the collective farms does not consist of their now being able to "laugh at droughts," but in the fact that even an unprecedented drought has not been able to hold up the collectives on their path to general prosperity.

(To be continued)

## Workers' Delegations to the Seventeenth Anniversary Celebrations

By Albert Inkpin (London)

From sixteen different countries the **Friends of the Soviet Union** have organised worker delegations to attend the seventeenth anniversary celebrations. In addition to delegations from European countries there were delegations from the United States, Canada and Africa. A total of over 120 delegates attended the anniversary celebrations and are now touring through various parts of the U.S.S.R.

The biggest delegation was from Czechoslovakia, composed of 16 delegates, followed by France 14, Sweden 12, Canada 11, England 10, Holland 9, Germany 7, America, Belgium, Denmark, and the Saar 5 each, Austria and Norway, each 4 delegates, and so on. Preparatory work in Spain has assured a delegation of 20, when the political events of October wiped the whole project off the agenda. Another excellent delegation, following an equally good campaign, was secured in Rumania, but at the last moment passports were refused, and the Rumanian F.S.U., which had lately been showing remarkable development, was subject to severe repression. The Rumanian fascist press, indeed, is now carrying on such bloodthirsty agitation against the organisation as to make its legal continuance very

problematical. Seven excellent delegates were secured from Germany, under conditions of difficulty which require little imagination to conceive.

The industrial composition of the delegation is good. Out of 120 delegates there are thirty metal workers, twelve miners, twelve textile workers, twenty transport workers, and about thirty general workers, such as builders, printers, lumber workers, etc. There are five unemployed delegates and four agricultural workers. Over 80 per cent. of the delegates are organised in their appropriate unions and many of them are trade union functionaries of influence. Most of them were well supported in their election as delegates by their union organisations.

One of the Dutch delegates is employed in a munitions works and one of the French delegates is from an important aeroplane construction factory. For the first time the French delegation includes a seaman. From Canada are two lumber workers, anxious to study lumbering conditions in the U.S.S.R. for the purpose of campaigning against the slander campaigns in Canada. Of the Saar delegates three are miners from very big enterprises, one of them being Thomas, the former Saar "delegate to Thaelmann." Indeed, it can be said that in the industrial composition, in the campaigns that have been carried out in their preparation and in the extent of the support won both in the enterprises and the workers' unions concerned, the delegations are worthy of their important political mission.

Politically more than 50 per cent. of the delegates are members of the social-democratic parties, about 5 per cent. are Communists, and the rest are non-party.

Reports show that the difficulties of electing delegations continue to grow on each occasion. First, the difficulties of raising the necessary finance from the workers has grown enormous, through the widespread impoverishment of the workers in all countries. Secondly, refusal of leave of absence again played a big part, whilst excellent and big delegations from Spain and Rumania were completely prevented, in the one instance by the political developments and in the other by the sudden government refusal to grant permission to travel. The difficulties placed in the way of the delegations by Nazi Germany did not merely affect the illegal German deputation but extended also to delegations from other countries. For example, it was not without difficulty that the five Belgian delegates secured the possibility of travelling through Germany, whilst some of the delegates travelling from Czechoslovakia found that the German authorities had persuaded the Polish officials to refuse visas necessary for the journey across Poland. This Polish sabotage at German instigation was overcome by energetic counter-measures on the part of influential Left elements in Czechoslovakia. But it gave a striking instance of the reality of the menacing German-Polish rapprochement and revealed very clearly the political objective of this rapprochement.

Despite all difficulties, however, an excellent body of genuine workers' representatives from many parts of the capitalist world came to the Soviet Union. They will be returning again at the end of the month in order in their respective countries to bind still tighter the bonds of friendship between the working peoples of the U.S.S.R. and of the outside capitalist world. These delegates will be still stouter friends of the Soviet Union; its active defenders and energetic warriors in the cause of world peace.

## The Week in the Soviet Union

### The Seventeenth Anniversary Celebrations

The reports which are now coming in from all parts of the Soviet Union indicate the tremendous enthusiasm with which the seventeenth anniversary of the October Revolution was celebrated everywhere. The celebrations were everywhere on the grand scale. One million seven hundred and fifty thousand working-class men and women took part in the huge demonstration in Moscow, 1,500,000 in Leningrad, 400,000 in Kiev, 300,000 in Khar'kov, 250,000 in Rostov on the Don and proportionately large numbers everywhere else. In town and country scores and scores of millions of workers and peasants took part in the celebration of their great victory. In Leningrad the workers marched through the streets bearing flags and banners, multifarious posters and numerous models which symbolised the victories being won on all the fields of socialist construction. Long columns of armed workers headed the procession to demonstrate the inexhaustible reserves of proletarian defence. In the great square in which the main meeting was held tens of thousands of shining bayonets were thrust into

the air to emphasise the determination of the workers of the Soviet Union to meet all armed attacks on the Soviet Union in kind and to repulse them decisively. "We shall defend the Soviet Union, the Fatherland of all Workers!" was the slogan on innumerable banners and posters. Those members of the *Austrian Schutzbund* who are now working in Leningrad appeared in a body and shouted slogans against world fascism. Numerous placards demanded the release of Ernst Thaelmann, the leader of the German workers.

Leningrad is now preparing for the elections. Seventeen years ago the first Red Guards appeared on the streets and stormed the Winter Palace under the slogan, "All Power to the Soviets!" Today all power is indisputably in the hands of the Soviets and the slogan of the Leningrad workers is, "Elect our best men into the Soviets!"

The demonstration of the workers in *Kiev*, the new capital of Soviet Ukraine, was a symphony of many-coloured flowers and banners. A huge procession of 30,000 Soviet children took part in the march, and at its head was a huge model of the globe with greetings to the working-class children of the world. Amongst the hundreds of thousands of demonstrators were members of the collective farms in the neighbourhood with their families.

The enthusiasm manifested at the anniversary celebrations in Habarovsk, the capital of the Far Eastern Soviet area, was particularly intense. The spirit of the masses was expressed in the words of *General Bluecher*, the commander of the Soviet Far Eastern Army: "We fought under conditions of extreme difficulty for a Soviet Far East. The members of the workers' and peasants' Red Army and the members of the red guerilla bands suffered intense privations and constant hunger. Ill-clad, ill-fed and ill-equipped, they went into the struggle with grim determination and fought for a better future. The future they fought for is unrolling itself before our eyes now. From a backward agricultural country the Soviet Union is rapidly developing into a highly modern industrialised country with the last word in technical progress at its disposal. The Soviet Union has built powerful engineering and other industrial works and it is about to win first place in the production of pig-iron. We have fought for our future and we are winning. To-day we are celebrating with unbounded enthusiasm the seventeenth anniversary of our original victory which made all this possible. Here in the Far East a powerful new coal-mining basis has been established and new industrial works of all sorts have been built. The backward Taiga district is being turned into a modern industrial area. From the old-fashioned ploughshare we have advanced to the modern tractor. Our successes on the cultural field are no less great."

Referring to the October celebrations throughout the Soviet Union, the "*Pravda*" declares that this year the demonstrations offered overwhelming proof of the all-round consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. No social order in the history of humanity had ever succeeded in giving its manifestations the same air of deep-seated satisfaction, joy and enthusiasm. Up till October, 1917, no power in the world represented so completely and exhaustively all the hopes and longings of the overwhelming majority of the population. Seventeen years ago the Soviet power had been little more than a hope, a far-off ambition. To-day it is a present reality, and on the broad and powerful basis of a socialist order of production the gigantic framework of the new classless society is raising itself before the eyes of the whole world. Socialism had penetrated deeply into the very being of the millions and millions of workers and peasants who populated the Soviet Union, and this was the explanation of such tremendous and unanimous expressions of the will of the people which had just taken place in all the towns and in all the rural areas throughout the Soviet Union. The whole of the Soviet Union pressed forward to the shining peaks of socialism. The working masses of the Soviet Union honoured its best representatives in a magnificent fashion and expressed its love and loyalty to the Party of Lenin and to its great leader Stalin. The October celebrations had demonstrated once again the iron unity of the workers and peasants in support of the Party of Lenin.

The ideas of the socialist October Revolution were the leading ideas of our day and generation. The reports of the October celebrations held outside the frontiers of the Soviet Union demonstrated how deeply the idea for which the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union were fighting had embedded themselves in the hearts of the workers throughout the world. The ideas of socialism and the fame of the Soviet Union had spread into the farthest corners of the earth. The fire of socialism which the Bolshevik

Party had lighted seventeen years before was aflame throughout the world and the great ranks of the international army of socialism were ever extending and strengthening, led by the gallant proletarian fighters for the Soviet Revolution in Germany, Spain and China.

The Soviet power is entering the eighteenth year of its existence armed with the successes it had already won and fully realising the tremendous responsibility which rested on it. The preparations for the Soviet elections were in full swing and everywhere the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union were examining the successes and the activity of the past year, and improving the organs of the Soviet power. They would send their best representatives into the Soviets and demand that every Soviet should concentrate all its energies on furthering the cause of socialism, improving the standard of life of the toilers and increasing the defensive capacity of the Soviet Union.

## The White Terror

### Rakosi—A Champion of International Communism (Conclusion)

Comrade Rakosi was denounced to the police by an agent provocateur named Samuel, and arrested on September 22, 1925. Fifty-five workers, Communists and members of the Left revolutionary workers' party were arrested on the same day. The bourgeois press of the whole country shouted hysterically: The Communists are preparing for a revolt. And the Hungarian social democracy furnished the catchword for this incitement. **Karl Peyer**, the leader of this party, declared in an interview:—

"The Second International categorically declared at its Marseilles Congress that they emphatically condemn the putsches which are being organised by the Soviets."

Thus the Hungarian social democracy declared, before any investigation had taken place, that Rakosi, Weinberger and their comrades had prepared an armed "putsch" and that they had organised this "putsch" on behalf of the Soviets, i.e., the Soviet Union. This was an open demand to bring Rakosi before the Special Court and to condemn him to death.

The Public Prosecutor made use of the catchwords of the social democrats. Seven weeks after his arrest, Rakosi, together with four other leading comrades, was brought before the Special Court on the charge of having made preparations for an armed revolt. In his speech before the Court the Public Prosecutor declared:—

"Rakosi and Weinberger came to Hungary on the instructions of a foreign Power and of the Third International in order to set up together an organisation aiming at the destruction of the Hungarian Constitution and of social order as well as the deposition of the royal Hungarian government. They intended to attack the various classes of society with weapons in hand."

Here are already the outlines of the policy of Hungarian fascism, according to which the Communist movement is considered as the agency of a "foreign Power," the policy which led to the execution of Sallai and Fuerst in the year 1932, and which caused the Hungarian government to introduce more drastic measures in regard to combating spying activity.

The two trials of Rakosi and comrades, the proceedings before the Special Court in November, 1925, and the proceedings before the ordinary Court in July, 1926, will always remain glorious pages in the history of the Communist Party of Hungary and of the whole international labour movement. Rakosi's stand before the class court was a model example of revolutionary fidelity to principles, inflexibility and Bolshevik heroism in face of death. He converted the Court in the truest sense of the word into a tribune of Communist mass agitation, as an "accused" he won for his illegal Party the possibility of legal mass propaganda.

"Why did you come from Moscow to Budapest?" asked the President of the Special Court.

"Because I am a member of the C.P. of Hungary and because I wanted to organise the Communist Party in Hungary. The statement of the police protocol to the effect that the Russian Communist Party or the Soviet government sent me to Hungary is idiotic. The Russian Party is likewise affiliated to the International, thus when I came to Hungary as a Hungarian Communist in order to perform Party work it was not necessary to obtain the permission of the C.P. of Russia."

Rakosi made the following declaration in his closing speech to the Special Court:—

"Against the calumnies of the Public Prosecutor, I declare that whilst tsarist Russia was at the head of world reaction, Soviet Russia is the most powerful defence and the hope of the international and the Hungarian working class against world reaction. The Communist International and the Soviet Union are not identical. But our Russian comrades are the best soldiers of the Communist International, and it is only this International that is fighting for the cause of the workers which has been betrayed by the social democracy."

In the trial before the ordinary Court the Public Prosecutor Miskolczy declared in his speech for the prosecution that "propaganda for the Soviet Union means high treason." "The demand for the recognition of the Soviet Union is a punishable act. Hungary has never recognised the Soviet Union and never will recognise it."

(The Public Prosecutor did not foresee that eight years later fascist Hungary was compelled to recognise the proletarian world Power, the Soviet Union.—Ed.)

"Hungary is in a state of war (!) with the Soviet Union, and therefore the glorification of the Soviet Union means high treason."

These attacks did not prevent Rakosi from declaring:—

"The Soviet Union is the main support of the fighting world proletariat and of the colonial peoples oppressed by imperialism. The post-war period shows that the Soviet Union is the only country whose economy is advancing, whilst the capitalist countries are in a chronic state of economic crisis. The development of socialist production in the Soviet country is leading to a constant improvement of the standard of living of the toilers, whilst in the capitalist countries the living conditions of the workers are getting worse every day."

Regarding the proletarian dictatorship Comrade Rakosi declared: "The victorious counter-revolution is making use of every means in order to desecrate the memory of the proletarian dictatorship and its Communist leaders. But the victorious counter-revolution is only the better ploughing the revolutionary soil. The sufferings of the proletariat furnish it with a living object lesson and cause the longing for a new proletarian dictatorship to burn in the hearts of the proletariat as an unquenchable flame. Since the year 1848 the proletarian dictatorship has for the first time conducted a really revolutionary, national foreign policy. Its banner bearer was the Red Army of Soviet Hungary, which conducted a victorious revolutionary war against the Czech and Rumanian imperialist robbers. The Hungarian national question can be solved in the interest of the toilers only on the basis of the Leninist programme of the Communist International and only by the revolutionary collaboration of the international proletariat."

Comrade Rakosi declared before the Special Court:—

"The Paris Commune was also described as the work of a handful of tramps and adventurers, and to-day the world proletariat makes pilgrimages to the graves of the Communards. This will also be the fate of the Hungarian Communards. The victory of Communism cannot be frustrated by means of bayonets, martial law and violence."

Again and again he referred to the role of the social democracy. He declared, for instance, before the Special Court, that the social democracy had betrayed the interests of the unemployed. The President interrupted him:—

"You are also mistaken in this respect."

Rakosi replied:—

"This constitutes a smashing criticism of social democracy, if you, Mr. President, are so extraordinarily satisfied with their activity."

Comrade Rakosi stated before the ordinary Court:—

"The leading sections of the social democracy are the lackeys of the bourgeoisie."

The President again interrupted him: "Do not calumniate a Hungarian political party."

Rakosi continued:—

"Just as social democracy is saving the bourgeois society, so the bourgeois Court defends social democracy. I do not criticise the social-democratic workers, but their leaders. The latter were

corrupt already before the war and betrayed the workers. . . . This party possesses the monopoly of a legality as a "workers' party" in Hungary. Since it betrayed the proletarian dictatorship it has sided openly or covertly with the ruling classes and fought against the proletariat. In the first period of the counter-revolution its ministers caused Communists to be hanged. It did not oppose the concentration camps, and it agreed to the accelerated and summary court proceedings. In its pact with the Bethlen government it furnished the counter-revolution with a certificate of good conduct; it sold to it the rights of combination of the agricultural labourers and of the railwaymen. . . . The hatred and contempt of the workers for this party is growing from day to day, and the inevitable result will be that the social-democratic party will be left without followers."

He fought for the legality of the Communist Party of Hungary and declared:—

"The Public Prosecutor called the Communists of the whole world hooligans and riff-raff. All this abuse does not touch me in the least; conscious of my Communist dignity, I cast it aside. Thousands of Russian Communists have died as martyrs for the noble aim of the emancipation of the working class. In the same way Hungarian Communists sacrificed their lives in order to serve the great cause of the emancipation of the proletariat. We Communists are not afraid of death if it is a question of working for our Party. . . . We shall not learn self-sacrifice from the bourgeoisie."

The Court room became a tribune.

The Hungarian bourgeois paper "Ujsag" wrote on November 17, 1925, after the proceedings before the Special Court:—

"We do not deny it: this Rakosi puts us obstinate bourgeois people a little to shame. For here we have these people, immediately threatened with death, feeling and knowing that they cannot expect any mercy, not attempting to minimise their guilt, denying nothing, withdrawing nothing, and thereby committing a serious crime; they make it impossible for us to despise them. We feel ashamed that Communism possesses fanatics for whom the idea means more than their miserable lives. Bourgeois ideology is incapable of calling forth such devotion."

Rakosi must and can be rescued! He must and can be wrested from the bloody clutches of his jailors.

The international working class has rescued him once already; it was due to the mass protest campaign organised by the International Red Aid that the Special Court in 1925 declared itself incompetent to deal with this case, and Rakosi was brought before the ordinary Court. Mass meetings of the Moscow trade unions took place, factory meetings in Berlin, demonstrations in New York and Paris, questions were asked in the Prague Parliament and in the Prussian Diet: the international working class held its protecting hand over Rakosi and called to the Hungarian fascist government: hands off!

This action must and can be repeated.

During the last few months the Hungarian working class has fought a number of class battles against the bourgeoisie. Powerful mass strikes have shaken the rotten edifice of fascist rule of violence. The Hungarian bourgeoisie is realising that in this mass movement the forces of the second Hungarian Soviet power are growing. It knows that in the cries of the hundreds of workers who week after week are demonstrating in front of Rakosi's prison and demanding his release, the second Hungarian proletarian dictatorship is knocking at the door.

The Hungarian bourgeoisie wants to give short shrift to this maturing, growing second Soviet power, by pronouncing sentence against the first Soviet power in the person of Mathias Rakosi. It wants to combat the growing forces of the second, new Hungarian Soviet power by declaring war, in the person of Rakosi, the People's Commissar and leader of the Red Army, on the living traditions of the first Soviet power in Hungary, the glorious four and a half months of the year 1919.

The workers of the whole world, regardless of party, must come to the aid of the Hungarian workers who are demonstrating in front of Rakosi's prison for his release; they must come to the assistance of the growing forces of the second Soviet power in Hungary by joining in the struggle for Rakosi's release.