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In the Cesspool of Counter-Revolution

By Karl Radek (Moscow)

Those who read the Soviet newspapers of December 17 noticed in them two reports from the life of the Soviet Union. In one report it is stated that the Soviet smelting industry already to-day, before the end of the year, is able to record an output of 10 million tons of pig-iron. The other report stated that the scoundrel who, on December 1, had killed the leader of the Leningrad Bolsheviks, one of the leaders of the Party, Comrade Kirov, had been instructed to carry out this murder by the agents of the class enemy, the vile dregs of the former Zinoviev anti-party group.

The first report aroused fresh enthusiasm among all workers and collective peasants of the Soviet Union, and showed the foreign proletarians the tremendously increased forces of the U.S.S.R., i.e., the forces of the Soviet proletariat and of the collective peasants, who, under the leadership of Lenin's Party, under the leadership of Stalin, have achieved such world-important victories. This report completely confirmed Comrade Stalin's words, that there are no fortresses which the Bolsheviks cannot capture. The second report came to all Communists, to all honest proletarians as a heavy and painful blow.

When the shot was fired which took the life of the courageous leader of the Bolsheviks, nobody doubted for a moment that this was the work of the class enemy of the proletariat, for only a fierce, malicious enemy of the proletarian dictatorship could direct his revolver against the collaborator of Stalin. But the class enemies who had used the scoundrel Nikolaeff as a tool proved to be not the direct representatives of the openly white-guardist

troops who had hitherto carried out terroristic assassinations, and who will attempt to commit further terroristic deeds if they are not crushed by the hand of the proletarian dictatorship. It transpired that among the class enemies there were to be found the dregs of that group which, as a result of differences with the Party leadership on a number of fundamental questions, had commenced faction work years ago and formed a bloc with the Trotskyists. This group, which was completely defeated by the Party, furlled its banner, but in the further development its dregs sank to the depth of organising terroristic attacks on the Soviet Power.

Every worker knows that the Party will crush with an iron hand these dregs of the former Zinoviev anti-Party group. They have proved by the shot fired on December 1 how dangerous their existence is. But it is very important to ascertain the greatness of this danger. This danger is clearly revealed in the light of the tremendous victories and achievements of the Soviet Russian smelting industry as an important factor of the development of Socialism in the Soviet country.

The general economic importance of the fact that the U.S.S.R. has attained an output of 10 million tons of pig-iron, whilst pre-war Russia had an output of only four million tons—the U.S.S.R. reached this pre-war level only in 1929—the economic importance of the fact that the U.S.S.R. had doubled its output of pig-iron since 1930, is clear to every class-conscious worker and peasant. The Soviet country is producing pig-iron in such quantities that the further development of socialist industry, of agriculture and of

the defensive capacity of the country is assured. It is also clear to everybody that the Soviet Union has advanced to **the first place in Europe in regard to the output of pig-iron**. Pig-iron is one of the main factors for the industrialisation of the country. To attain first place in Europe in regard to the output of pig-iron means to catch up to the capitalist countries on this important sector of the front.

Those who attentively followed the discussions on the smelting industry at the Party Congress, at the Plenum of the Central Committee at the end of 1933, know that the working class of the U.S.S.R., the Party and its leadership have achieved these 10 million tons of pig-iron only at the cost of enormous difficulties. These 10 million tons are condensed energy of the workers, the formen and engineers, condensed energy of the leading economists, and undaunted energy and far-sightedness of the Party leaders, who have been able to bring the masses to realise the fact that independence and socialism cannot be secured without great victories in the sphere of the iron industry. The achievement of these victories necessitated the help of all other sections of the proletariat—the coal and iron miners, the transport workers, the workers in the engineering industry; and it was also necessary to get the broad masses of the collective peasants to understand that there can be no bread without iron, and also that there can be no iron without bread.

The years of struggle for the First Five-Year Plan, the commencement of the struggle for the second Five-Year Plan are years of the greatest consolidation of the Party. This consolidation has been achieved only on the basis of Stalin's policy, which defeated the Trotskyist, the Zinovievist and the Right opposition. It was achieved as a result of that policy which created the firm, ideological unity of the Party, the ideological basis for the tremendous new constructions, for the gigantic work which gave the country ten million tons of pig iron. Therefore, these ten million tons of pig iron are a symbol not only of the growth of socialist industrialisation, not only of the growth of that force which transformed the individual peasant farm into socialist agriculture, a symbol not only of the increase in the defensive power of the country, but also a brilliant example of the victory of the Leninist Party under the leadership of Stalin. In these ten million tons of pig iron there is expressed that growing force, which is called by history to build up the first State of the toilers, the first land of Socialism, which is called upon to be the leader of humanity in its struggle for its emancipation from the fetters of capitalism. Ten million tons of pig iron produced by socialist industry are a symbol of the general tendencies of development.

* * * * *

In face of these ten million tons of pig iron what have the miserable remnants of the Zinovievist and Trotskyist opposition, the Right opposition, and all oppositional middle groups to show? All oppositional groups, expressed in one form or another, behind one mask or another, the pressure of the petty-bourgeois sections of the population of the U.S.S.R. upon the proletariat. The Party tore the mask from all oppositional groupings; the Party defeated them in the ideological sphere; the Party flung them out of the ranks of the working class and reduced them to the level of small grouplets behind which there are no sections of workers whatever. Already at the time of the first Five-Year Plan the card on which all oppositional groups had put their stakes was completely out-trumped. All the sound elements with a robust faith in the living forces of the proletariat enthusiastically rallied round the Leninist Central Committee and realised that the Party, led by Stalin, is leading Socialism to triumph. The defeated opposition split up into various groups. Those elements, which were recruited from the ranks of honest proletarian revolutionaries who had temporarily deviated from the correct path, returned to the Party in order to make good by their honest work their political mistakes, which developed into crimes against the proletarian State, against the interests of international Socialism.

An insignificant number of oppositional elements openly remained outside the Party: they insisted upon their errors, degenerated more and more into counter-revolutionary grouplets and became the advance-guard of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie. Another section, however, returned to the Party, not because they had realised the incorrectness of their views, but because they were defeated; they returned to the Party in order to wait there "for

better times"; they went there with a dagger up their sleeve. These people were prepared if need be to make declarations, to swear oaths of allegiance, but it sufficed to glance at the faces of these murderers in order to realise that they—these empty heads without any political programme—have remained officers without an army, but with a longing for officers' epaulets. These dishonest political charlatans, these people without any belief except belief in their "great historical importance," have become an element of disintegration among their non-commissioned officers and rank and file soldiers. **These elements possessed no influence in the Party.** The Party judged these oppositional elements who wanted to work honestly, according to their deeds and the zeal which they displayed in socialist constructive work, according to the optimism, which they shared with the struggling masses of workers, regarding the overcoming of all difficulties.

The Party did not put any faith in the double-dealers. But the double-dealing meant, as regards the lower links of the former opposition: do not give up your arms, we, your leaders, are compelled to manoeuvre, but the struggle is bound to come.

But it is impossible to maintain even the smallest cadre if one is unable to show them any perspective based on real facts, an actual development. What, however, could the Zinoviev double-dealers show to the Youth, the grouplets which still kept in contact with them, what could they oppose to the great victories of the Five-Year Plan? **They were hollow within, they did not possess any perspective, could not imagine any perspective.** Hence, they were bound to exaggerate all difficulties, educate their people in a defeatist spirit, instil in them the abominable hope of the defeat of the working class, the defeat of the Communist Party. In order to achieve this they had to fan their hatred against the best of our class, against the best representatives of our Party. All this resulted in such an ideological muddle, evoked such inner conflicts that the people thereby lost their sense of honour and their belief in everything, became traitors to the proletariat, the Party, the revolution, and sank ever deeper into the morass. Many of these people also sank into the moral swamp even before they finally sank into the political quagmire. In order to fire a shot from a revolver all that is necessary is a little powder. But for people who at one time had connections with the labour movement, people who had once read Lenin and Marx, for such people to aim their revolver at a leader of the Soviet power, at a leader of the Party, meant that they had sunk to the lowest depths.

The direct social force of this group is aptly characterised as "dregs" in the resolutions of the Leningrad and Moscow organisations. They are not backed by any worker or peasant. Those Leningrad workers who formerly followed Zinoviev for a time have long been working enthusiastically in building socialism under the leadership of Stalin. **These dregs are renegades of the Party, putrifying while alive, who have seized the revolver and become murderers of the proletarian leaders in the interest of the bourgeoisie.** They are dangerous if they are not flung out of the Soviet building, for, under cover of their Party card, they are able to commit such vile deeds as the murder of Kirov; outside of the Party they belong to the cesspool, where all remnants of the defeated class enemy gather. The Party will crush them, annihilate them, sweep them from the earth with the convinced support of all those who have the cause of the working class at heart.

The fascist press will greet this murder as a proof that the invincible Stalinist-Leninist Party is eaten away within. That is the heartfelt wish of the warmongers, but they have wished a lot and their wishes have not come true. This time also they will be disappointed. The dregs of the former Zinovievist anti-party group represent the dirt originating from the decomposition of the split-off small parts of our Party, which has grown in the meantime and is full of health and vigour. These dregs are the inveterate enemies of the working class who have wormed their way into the Party by deceit and, screened behind their Party card, have emerged as the agents of the class enemy, as intelligence officers of the worst enemies of the Party and of the proletariat. The Party will ruthlessly smash this pack and proceed on its path, solve ever greater tasks every day. Should the enemy venture to stretch out his feelers to the U.S.S.R. he will realise the significance of the ten million tons of pig iron which will soon increase to fifteen, to twenty million tons. Neither the social order of the U.S.S.R. nor its past contain the pre-conditions for a split between the working class and the peasantry. The socialist industrialisa-

tion of the country, the collectivisation of agriculture, and the liquidation of the kulak resulting from it, constitute the overcoming of those temporary contradictions which have been able to arise between the working class and the peasantry. The Party of Lenin and Stalin, which is proceeding on the broad historical path of the abolition of the remnants of the class, towards the classless society, which is overcoming all difficulties in the struggle, which is fighting against misery, for a prosperous life for the masses of the people, and for the first time in history has created the basis for a real human existence, is an invincible power. The serious loss which it has suffered through the deed committed by the dregs of the former Zinovievist anti-Party group will be only a signal for increased vigilance, for the consolidation of the Party against all enemies of the proletariat.

Politics

Foreign Political Review of the Week

The Christmas atmosphere last year was rendered gloomy by the withdrawal of Germany from the League of Nations and the war passions which had been aroused by the German November plebiscite. Poland turned its back on its protector, France, and went over to the side of Germany. Italy seriously considered whether it should not follow the example of Poland. The chimes of the Christmas bells, with their message of "peace on earth," sounded dismal. The more cheerfully they sound this Christmas, when the diplomats at Geneva have succeeded by their bargaining in averting the immediate danger of war in the Saar and on the Danube.

Just before the Christmas holiday *Sir John Simon* wished to make use of the opportunity in order to contribute his little bit to the so-called pacification of Europe. He proposed to the French Foreign Minister, *M. Laval*, nothing less than that Germany's armaments should be legalised and in this way to help Hitler achieve a foreign-political victory, of which he is so badly in need. In return for this Germany should go back to Geneva, resume its place at the Disarmament Conference and finally agree to a limitation of armaments. Regulated competition in armaments, it was argued, would be preferable to unbridled competition in armaments; it could also lead to agreements, serve peace and all the other things which sound so beautiful in the mouth of English diplomacy.

Laval's inclinations towards Hitler are too well known for the British Foreign Minister to have any fear of meeting with a rebuff. But *Laval* cannot do as he would like. The French General Staff are not prepared to agree straightaway to surrender the armament provisions of the Versailles Treaty, the more so as Germany's secret armaments encounter certain technical, but above all financial, difficulties. Germany's economy is declining because all the resources of the country are being devoted to secret armaments. If Germany were permitted to arm openly, then it would receive armament credits from abroad, above all from England, as *Baldwin* openly declared in his great speech on German armaments. *Laval* therefore could not bring himself to consent to this proposal. But what he hesitates to do now he may very easily do in the future. The English Foreign Minister has invited Messieurs *Flandin* and *Laval* to come to London in order to continue the bargaining there. *M. Laval* and *Sir John Simon* are both filled with an unconquerable love for fascist dictators. Whilst *Laval* must show a certain amount of reserve towards Hitler, there is no need for him to exercise any restraint in regard to *Mussolini*. It is asserted by some who have a good knowledge of French foreign policy that there can be no talk of an Italo-French understanding until *Mussolini* abandons his revisionist standpoint with regard to the Treaty of Trianon and openly recognises the inviolability of the Yugoslav frontier, which he obstinately refuses to do. Nevertheless, *M. Laval*, in the speech he delivered to the French Senate on December 18, represented a Franco-Italian agreement as something which would be realised shortly, and at the same time eulogised *Mussolini*. He stated:—

"I now turn to *Mussolini*. I cherish feelings of the greatest respect for him and welcome in him the eminent head of a friendly government and wish to express my appreciation of his conciliatory actions and his will to peace."

That is how a Minister of republican, democratic France speaks of *Mussolini*!

Naturally this eulogy has little to do with Italian foreign policy. Italy, which supported Germany, and later Hitler Germany, against France, which has incited Hungary and recently also Austria against the allies of France, against the Little Entente, which, even if not directly, is no less responsible for the assassinations in *Marseilles* than Hungary—it is impossible to say of this Italy that it is carrying on a conciliatory activity. This extravagant homage is paid to the oppressor of the Italian people, who holds down the starving and suffering masses by means of force in order that they shall not disturb the sweet peace of the upper ten thousand. But this inner-political attitude of *Laval* corresponds to a definite foreign-political attitude, which naturally leads away from the Soviet Union and finally, even if by a ziz-zag course, to an anti-Soviet bloc, as is recognised by sober politicians who cannot be suspected of seeing in every foreign-political action an attempt to encircle the Soviet Union.

We are speaking here of a rapprochement between France and Italy, not France and Germany, and fascist Italy, of course, cannot be regarded as hostile to the Soviet Union!

There are politicians, who consider themselves very clever, who maintain that there exists a *difference in principle* between fascism and national socialism, especially on questions of foreign policy. That *Mussolini* and *Hitler* do not see eye to eye in everything, and that in politics one must take differences into account goes without saying. But it is impossible to see a long way ahead in politics unless we proceed from *essentials*. If we do this then we must state that, in spite of different emblems, in spite of different phraseology, Italian fascism and German fascism have one thing in common: they serve as the last sheet anchor of capitalism in its moral crisis, carry out the policy of the most reactionary sections of finance-capital, and as a means thereto employ the most barbarous measures. Just as in home politics they attempt ruthlessly to crush any opposition to finance-capital, designating such opposition as Bolshevism, so they are naturally opposed to that country which is the embodiment of Bolshevism, the Soviet Union, in which there are no finance-capitalists and consequently also no fascist henchmen. That fascism is compelled, in spite of all the power it has at its command, to give way to its own unarmed workers, and then makes a virtue of necessity, nobody will deny. How much more, therefore, it is compelled to give way to the workers' and peasants' State, to this great power! *Mussolini*, above all, has done this repeatedly, and he has not neglected to make a great virtue of this necessity.

If one looks carefully it is not difficult to discover *Mussolini's* cloven hoof. When, in October last, the Spanish bloodhounds raised a great outcry about foreign interference, *Mussolini's* papers immediately joined in the chorus; when a white-guardist incitement set in at the time of the murder of *Comrade Kirov*, *Mussolini's* press agencies in Berlin immediately joined in this incitement. And finally the International Fascist Congress at *Montreaux*, which was arranged by Italy, paid for by Italy and which was held under the chairmanship of the fascist deputy *Coselschi*—this spurious international announced only one *positive* programme: unrelenting fight against Bolshevism.

Fascism means deadly hostility to Bolshevism, to the Soviet Union. A policy for which *Hitler* and *Mussolini* are to be won and the precondition of which is the arming of Germany, is a policy against the Soviet Union, a policy the final aim of which can only be a war of intervention against the Soviet Union.

To come back to *M. Laval's* eulogy of *Mussolini*, we see that the chief of the Blackshirts immediately took it as a blank cheque, and has also immediately proceeded to cash it. According to the latest reports from Abyssinia, Italy, whose troops have in the course of fourteen days killed more than 200 Abyssinians on Abyssinian territory, is continuing insolently to demand "reparation" and is advancing its troops farther into Abyssinian territory. Whether this means war, which is being waged without a declaration of war, or whether Italy intends first "only" to secure pledges or good strategic positions for a future campaign of conquest it is impossible to say at present. Two weeks ago we wrote that a Franco-Italian understanding would be the prelude to a robber-war by *Mussolini* against Abyssinia. It is quite possible that this time we shall prove bad prophets. War can break out already before the formal conclusion of the Franco-Italian Treaty.

Whilst Sir John Simon endeavoured in Paris to prepare the way for the legalisation of Germany's armaments, Japan's notification of its abrogation of the Naval Agreement arrived in Washington, which means the commencement of a fresh race in naval armaments. The London "Economist" of December 22 deals in detail with the motives behind this action on the part of Japan. Had Japan denounced the Washington Agreement because it considers this necessary in the interests of self-defence? The old agreement would have been a better means of securing the defence of Japan than a naval armaments race as it prohibits both America and England from building new naval bases in the Pacific Ocean. Was it a matter of prestige? Did Japan feel itself humiliated by the ratio of 3:5:5? A government such as the Japanese government would not allow itself to be guided in its policy by mere feelings. Japan therefore intends to attack. This is proved by its whole activity since 1931. Japan reckons on the support of England in its fight against China, against America and against the Soviet Union. But such a support of Japan would mean for England the loss of Australia and Canada, which are hostile to Japan. Canada would certainly unite with the United States, to which it is bound by many economic ties. The "Economist" proposes a guarantee pact in the Far East. Should Japan not agree to this, then England, America, China and the Soviet Union should conclude a defensive alliance.

This article of the "Economist" had hardly been printed when news arrived that leading English capitalists had concluded a supply contract with Manchukuo, mainly for the development of strategic railways against the Soviet Union. They are hardly likely to have done this without the consent of the English government. Has England already decided on its policy in the Far East? Whether it has or not, there is no doubt whatever that a fresh competition in naval armaments has commenced.

Peace on earth was proclaimed from all the pulpits of the Christian churches on Christmas Day. It would be more true to say: armaments on earth; armaments on land, sea and in the air.

The Eastern Pact

By Gore Graham

The Franco-Soviet protocol, signed at Geneva, emphasising the mutuality of interests in the struggle for peace, made it clear that both the Soviet Union and France regard the realisation of the Eastern Pact as the chief means of securing peace in Europe. At present strenuous efforts are being made by the initiators of this pact to bring this realisation about. There was recently a good deal of anxiety felt amongst the staunchest adherents of the Eastern Pact because it seemed that M. Laval had not inherited M. Barthou's enthusiasm for this policy. The foreign correspondents were commenting on M. Laval's leanings towards direct negotiations with Hitler and were reporting the anxiety which this and other signs of Laval's temporising were causing to Titulescu, Herriot, Tewfik Rushi Bey and others. The leaders of the Little Entente were getting impatient at the way in which the Eastern Pact was being held up and felt that the French answer to Poland, sent on November 26, was a waste of time. The Pact, it was argued, should be concluded without Germany and Poland; composed of France, the Soviet Union, the Baltic States, the Little Entente and the signatories of the Balkan Pact, it would present such a combined force that Poland would soon decide not to linger any longer with Hitler Germany.

This impatience was caused by the intense feeling of insecurity and the imminence of war amongst the Central European Powers. Even a level-headed bourgeois statesman like M. Benes, the Czech Foreign Minister, had declared that the next eighteen months would certainly provide a decisive answer to the question of war or peace.

Now, however, the various doubts have been pacified and the Franco-Soviet protocol, to which Czechoslovakia has added its signature, is a solemn undertaking by the signatories not to pursue any bilateral negotiations (separate French negotiations with Germany, for example) and reaffirms that the French goal in the attainment of peace is the conclusion of the Eastern Pact.

Germany and Poland remain in opposition to the Pact. It is these two countries, assisted by the reactionary elements in other countries, that are placing the obstacles in the way of its realisation. The immediate issue in German foreign policy, of course, is the question of the Saar. A lot of things are waiting in abeyance

until this issue is decided, including not merely foreign political questions such as the question of Austria or East Europe, but also important internal developments like the Church issue and the continuation of the "purge" inside the Nazi movement. It is beyond doubt that unless the vote in the Saar Plebiscite presents an overwhelming majority for Hitler, the event will be a setback to Nazi Germany. Its effects inside Germany as well as its effects in the foreign political struggle can only be conjectured. A setback can produce foreign political adventures born of desperation; and on the other hand a "victory" can easily cause the same Europe-shaking moves on the part of Hitler Germany. But in any event it is extremely likely that German opposition to the Eastern Pact will continue.

Hitler Germany is opposed to any mutual pacts of assistance because the be-all and end-all of such pacts is the security of peace. From the beginning Hitler has struggled for bilateral agreements because his foreign policy is simply one of securing allies, that is, dividing the Powers, of forcing holes everywhere he can through which the Nazi aims of expansion can be pursued. Hitler signed a bilateral agreement with Poland, undertaking non-aggression for a period of ten years. Such an agreement was a heavy shock that needed some absorbing in the Nazi movement which for years had been breathing revisionist fire against Poland. But it was borne easily enough. Hitler's purpose was evident. It was to split Poland and France. It was a good exploitation of Polish grievances, of her big Power conceit, and her congenital anti-Soviet feelings. The non-aggression, the peace part of the agreement is so much opportunist eye-wash. Hitler would make a scrap of paper of it (as would, of course, any imperialist Power) whenever it suited Nazi-German interests.

But a pact of non-aggression with undertakings of mutual assistance against a disturbance of peace and joined by all the States within a particular zone is quite a different thing. And Hitler can only oppose it, fight to prevent it, just as he opposed the previous proposal of Litvinov for a pact guaranteeing the independence of the Baltic States.

Of course there are critics of the Soviet foreign policy who disapprove of its sponsoring and supporting such pacts. First, they declare that it is wrong for the socialist State to co-operate with any capitalist countries even in the maintenance of peace. They agree that the whole aim of such pacts is the security of peace and would be the last to think of denying the exclusively peace character of Soviet foreign policy. But they shrink from the idea of the Soviet Union joining its forces with those of capitalist co-signatories in the possible eventuality of steps being taken to restrain the aggressor. They say that the Soviet Union would then be supporting the imperialist interests of those capitalist States who were interested in the status quo and therefore opposed to a disturbance of peace. In a sense, of course, that is true. But what is the alternative to that? The alternative is actual support of the aggressor States who are interested in aggressive action, in breaking the peace, in disturbing the status quo.

Is it better to assist France and other countries to maintain peace, to keep the status quo, or to assist Germany and Japan to break it and seek by means of war the achievement of their expansionist aims? Surely the question has only to be put to be answered. The Soviet Union does not approve of the territorial divisions imposed in Europe by the Versailles Treaty—which, by the way, are all that is to-day left of the Versailles system. But when, as at present, we are on the eve of world wars and to prevent them is an immediate and pressing task, it is surely necessary to oppose the aggressor countries, to put obstacles in the way of every attempt to change the status quo by war. Especially since the aggressor countries that are out to change the status quo both in Europe and the Far East (Germany and Japan) are now using all the nationalist grievances against present territorial arrangements as tools of fascism. Furthermore; these two countries, who to-day are the universally recognised aggressors, are before everything anti-Soviet and self-appointed crusaders against the U.S.S.R. No one who is deeply opposed to war and realises the fateful consequences to the whole of humanity can review these facts and still continue to doubt the wisdom of the Soviet Union in co-operating with capitalist States that are interested in building up security against war. Nothing was said when the Soviet Union added its signature to pacts proposed by capitalist statesmen which were of a general nature and did not really amount to anything more than a few high falutin' phrases. (Take, for instance, the Kellogg Pact,

which the Soviet Union signed accompanied by a criticism of its complete inadequacy). But to-day, when we have a mutual assistance pact like the Eastern Pact, sponsored by the Soviet Union and supported by capitalist States whom fear of aggression have driven into regarding peace as a matter of deadly earnest, then there are criticisms and doubts. And these criticisms and doubts are based on the fact that these proposed measures provide a tangible concrete material guarantee against war; that they are serious, and not scraps of paper, that they contain provisions whereby a number of States (several capitalist and one socialist) pledge themselves to take definite action against an aggressor who seeks to break the peace.

The Soviet Union would be completely insincere in its talk of desiring peace if it did not seek the establishment of definite agreements for **action in defence of peace**. For how long, indeed, have peace-lovers chafed at the hypocrisy of capitalist States who have treated peace agreements as scraps of paper? Remember how the League Powers refused to do anything to prevent Japan's war on China; which they could have prevented. Such peace-lovers surely owe a tremendous debt to the Soviet Union for having led the way towards the establishment of tangible guarantees against war, proposing pacts with definite undertakings for action against an aggressor, who in turn has been clearly categorised by the Soviet government's definition of aggression.

All the reactionary opponents of the Soviet Union and war-mongers the whole world over have been doing their best to interpret these peace efforts as alliances between the Socialist State and the capitalist States. These aims, whether they be pursued by the White Guardist provocateurs or people such as **Fenner Brockway**, can only have one purpose—to injure the confidence which the masses of the working peoples have in the socialist Soviet Union. There is no worker or serious opponent of war anywhere who cannot but support the policy of the Soviet Union when he examines the issues involved. When in the outside world there are some powers anxious for peace and others driving towards war, what can the Soviet Union do but co-operate with the Powers anxious for peace? If it does not do that it assists the Powers that are making for war. There is no third course.

The biggest force in the capitalist world that will defend the socialist Soviet Union is the force of the masses of workers and oppressed peoples. But who has the effrontery to deny that the best service that the Soviet foreign policy can perform both in its tasks of defending the workers' fatherland, in assisting its allies abroad, not only in their efforts to defend the U.S.S.R., but to establish Soviet Power in their own countries, is to do all it can to prevent the outbreak of war, to continue indefatigably in the struggle for peace? The answer is: only the most contemptible provocateurs, whatever be the colour of their shirts.

The London Naval Conversations and the Armament Race

(Conclusion)

III.

Whilst the most complicated diplomatic negotiations are proceeding their participants are taking care not to lose valuable time and are feverishly arming.

Japan is backing up its claims to parity not by words but by deeds: the second programme of naval extension decided on last year is now being carried out. This programme includes the construction of two mother ships, two cruisers, carrying six-inch guns, fourteen torpedo boats and six submarines, not to mention various smaller and merchant vessels. In addition, ships not coming under the limitation provisions of the Naval Treaties are being built on a large scale. These include three big aircraft-carriers, two oil tankers, which, it is reported, can in case of need be converted into big auxiliary cruisers, sixteen torpedo boats, four submarine destroyers and others. In addition to open naval armaments, Japan is arming secretly. Thus, for example, special pocket submarines are being built and the standardised production of submarine parts is being organised in order to ensure the rapid construction of submarines in the event of war. The air force is being increased at a feverish rate. The naval air force consisted at the commencement of this year of 21 squadrons, i.e. (with the reserves) about 850 aircraft; the military air force consisted of 27 squadrons, i.e., about 1,200 aircraft. According to the programme recently decided upon, the naval air force must be raised to 39 and

the military air force to 34 squadrons. This means that the combined Japanese air fleets will possess over 3,000 aeroplanes.

At the same time, the system of Japanese naval bases in the Western part of the Pacific is being extended and strengthened. Contrary to the provisions of the Washington Treaty and to the League of Nations mandate, Japan is fortifying the Marianne, the Caroline and the Marshall Islands. At the recent meeting in Geneva of the Mandate Commission of the League of Nations the Japanese delegates gave most evasive replies to the urgent questions put to them regarding the measures being adopted by Japan. At the same time, however, Tokio gives plainly to understand that Japan is determined not to part with possession of its mandatory islands, in spite of the fact that it has withdrawn from the League of Nations.

The feverish pace with which Japan is arming is leading to an exceedingly rapid increase in expenditure. Already in the current year the Japanese military budget has reached dimensions hitherto unknown in peace times—487 million yen for the navy, 450 million yen for the army. It is intended next year, however, to increase this budget still more—700 million yen for the navy, 600 million yen for the army. The expenditure on armaments already swallows up over half of the entire budget.

The **United States of America** are energetically carrying out the naval programme which was decided on on March 27 last under the Winson Bill, by which it is intended to bring the American fleet up to the limit set by the Washington and London Agreements. The section of this programme reckoned for the financial year 1934-35 provides for the construction of one cruiser with eight-inch guns, two flotilla leaders, twelve torpedo boats and six submarines. Orders have been placed for these ships. The programme for next year (1935-36) provides for the construction of two further cruisers, one mother ship, three flotilla leaders, twelve torpedo boats and six submarines. The American naval air force, already the strongest in the world, is being systematically strengthened; it is to be increased within five years from its present strength of about 1,000 aeroplanes to 2,184 aeroplanes. At the same time the military air force is to be increased from 1,800 to 2,320 aeroplanes. It is intended also to extend the system of naval bases. Of special importance in this connection is the projected construction of bases for lighter types of vessels and for the air fleet: Dutch Harbour in Alaska as well as on the Aleutian Islands. The recent fast cruise of the whole of the American fleet through the Panama Canal from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean within the very short space of 39 hours, manoeuvres intended to be carried out next year in the triangle formed by the Hawaiian Islands, the Aleutian Islands and the Pacific Coast of the U.S.A., and the intended establishment of an air service between the U.S.A. and China, via the Hawaiian and the Philippine Islands are very significant.

Great Britain is arming no less intensively than its rivals. Although it aims at shaking off the "fetters" of the London Treaty, it is making full use of the possibilities given by this agreement, especially as regards the building of cruisers. The 1933-34 programme, which provides for the construction of three cruisers, one flotilla leader, eight torpedo boats and three submarines, not reckoning the smaller units, is being carried out at an accelerated rate. Orders have already been given for the carrying out of the programme for the current year, which provides for the construction of four cruisers, one mother ship, a flotilla leader, eight torpedo boats and three submarines.

The whole system of British naval bases is being strengthened and extended. The construction of the naval base at Singapore will be completed already next year. At the same time the Australian-New Zealand bases for lighter ships are being strengthened.

Great Britain is also developing its air services. The last section of the air route from England to Australia is to be opened shortly. In the recent great air race from London to Melbourne, the distance was covered in three days. This air route, together with the branch line from Singapore to Hong Kong will have great importance in securing connection with the Pacific Ocean and the Far East. The Trans-African London to Capetown air service is also of great strategic importance. Finally, it is intended to establish an air service between England and Canada via Greenland. According to the programme decided this year, it is intended to increase the present strength of the air fleet of Great Britain (not reckoning the independent air forces of the various Dominions) within four years by 41 squadrons (over 600 aeroplanes), i.e., to 135 squadrons.

Parallel with the competition of the great sea Powers there is also developing the rivalry between France and Italy, which is further complicated by the appearance of a third party, Germany. The construction of capital ships by European Powers inevitably involves the general resumption of competition in these powerful fighting units.

This is the actual situation on the eve of the Naval Conference in 1935. Its prospects are thus by no means encouraging!

The "Test" Elections in Czechoslovakia

By Karl Braun (Prague)

The Czechoslovakian defenders of "democracy" have learned all manner of things from Hitler, Mussolini and Pilsudski. They "defend" "democracy" with methods which would not shame the fascist rulers, they become enthusiastic about Hitler's "Fight against Unemployment"—why should they not also utilise experiences in carrying through elections which have been developed in fascist countries? The coalition government's decision that in about 70 municipalities the elections, long overdue, should be allowed to take place on December 2 and 9 was therefore a direct imitation of the example of the Nazis of Danzig ("Test Elections," as the government newspapers themselves call it, in order to see whether and when they can dare to announce a General Election).

The choice of these municipalities has been made with the greatest care. Voting is to take place only where the coalition parties feel that they are strong and safe. In this connection the case of Silberbach is very characteristic, where the announcement of the election was annulled three days before the polling day because there the Communist and social-democratic organisations came forward together in the election fight on the basis of a fighting pact against increasing poverty and fascism.

These conditions must naturally be taken into consideration when general conclusions are drawn from the results of these elections, the political importance of which, at such a moment as the present, is extremely great. With this reservation, the following main points with regard to the results of the elections of December 2 and 9 can be established:—

The Communist Party showed a loss of votes in one part of the municipalities, while in another they maintained their vote and in a few municipalities achieved a notable increase in votes. The "Socialist" government parties in general maintained their positions, in some places even won votes. As far as the fascists are concerned, the Czech fascists, in common with the German, did not obtain their loudly announced "smashing victory," and did not succeed in breaking into the ranks of the workers. The Czech fascists, the "National Opposition," of Stribny and of the Kramar Party even lost votes in some places. The election successes of the German fascists of the South German Heimat Front is to be accounted for, in general, by the fact that this successor of the dissolved national socialist party succeeded in uniting around itself the previous national socialist votes and the votes of the German national party, which was dissolved at the same time, and also in getting votes from the other bourgeois parties. Figures of the December 9 elections in 27 municipalities, in which there were Communist candidates (some results still outstanding), give the following picture:—

	Votes	Seats
Communists	7,014	159
German and Czech Social Democrats	5,872	122
Sudetic German Heimat Front and Landbund ..	3,384	71
National Opposition (Kramars-Stribny)	1,549	25
Czech National Socialists	3,375	54

In 18 of these 27 municipalities the Communists either lost or maintained their positions. In nine municipalities they increased their votes. Compared with the Communist vote of 1932 we get the following: In 25 of these 27 municipalities (two comparative figures are lacking) the C.P. of Czechoslovakia received 7,870 votes. The decline as a whole was 1,018 votes, or 13 per cent.

Although, therefore, the government coalition and the fascist parties did not succeed in destroying the central positions of the Communist Party, nevertheless the election results of December 2 and 9 do not correspond in any degree to the objective situation, even when all the above-mentioned limiting conditions are taken into consideration. Great dissatisfaction with the coalition policy of their parties prevails among the social-democratic workers. Without exaggeration, we can speak of the beginning of a sharp crisis in these parties. Nevertheless, they could maintain their

positions in this election, and even strengthen it in more than one district. There is only one explanation for this contradiction: the C.P. of Czechoslovakia has not succeeded in making clear to the social-democratic workers the whole perniciousness of the policy of coalition and of the policy of the lesser evil generally, and winning them for unity of action. In those places where the Communists concentrated all their forces on the creation of unity of action, carried out an active policy, organised struggles, there successes were achieved. The best example in the Czech district is that of Chabry, near Prague, where, recently, successful common action has been taken against the fascists, and the Communist Party in the municipal elections increased its vote by about 10 per cent. In some of the West Bohemian districts, for the same reason there were successes in the election.

In so far as the fascists have achieved successes—and especially in the German district it is a question of quite distinct successes, which must not be underestimated—it shows essential and serious weakness in our Party. True, at the present time, a high tide of chauvinism is sweeping the country; true, the bankruptcy of bourgeois democracy and of the "democratic" parties is driving the petty bourgeoisie into the fascist net; true, national oppression of the minority districts forms a favourable soil for fascist movements. Nevertheless, the election results had been different if the C.P. everywhere and in all districts had carried on the fight against fascism courageously and energetically, and if at the same time in the minority districts they had showed in a better and more consistent way the leading role of the Party in the fight for national emancipation. Here also we can see: where the Party fights actively and energetically against national oppression and fascism, in spite of the fascist and chauvinist wave, successes are achieved.

It is true that, in this estimation of the results of the election, the fact that the Party has had a year of the most heavy persecution behind it, which hindered it from using to the full the favourable objective conditions, should not be overlooked. It was also not easy for the Czech Communist Party, a mass Party, to adjust itself to the conditions of increased terror, in which success could only be achieved in the correct combination of illegal methods of work with the maximum utilisation of the legal possibilities which still existed. The fact that everywhere where an increase in votes is recorded, there the Party organisation came out actively, organised struggles, concentrated on the formation of unity of action, and showed the face of the Party, whereas on the other hand, a loss of votes is to be found where the Party organisations were passive, showed weaknesses in the tactic of the united front, in the fight against fascism and in the national question, or where the Party had been compromised by an opportunist municipal policy—these facts show that the Party is on the right road, if it now mobilises all its forces in order, on the basis of a correct application of the tactic of the united front, to develop the fight in the factories for higher wages, action of the unemployed for their day-to-day demands, fighting actions against the abolition of political and national rights, against the fascists and imperialist warmongers, and in these struggles brings out its leading role as the only Party of the Czechoslovakian proletariat.

The Anti-Fascist Struggle in Portugal

By Albino (Lisbon)

The economic crisis in Portugal is becoming more acute. Exports which had dropped from 1,030 million escudos in 1929 to 791 million escudos in 1932, increased to only 802 million in 1933 and showed a fresh decline in 1934. The value of foreign trade amounted in the months of January to July, 1934, to 1,675 million as compared with 1,763 million in the same period of 1933. Trade with the colonies has likewise declined in the same period by nearly 20 per cent. The decline in the export of the most important articles is simply catastrophic: the quantitative decline in the sardine industry was 35.5 per cent. in 1934 as compared with 1932, and in regard to wine 13.7 per cent. in 1933 as compared with 1932. That the industrial crisis is becoming more acute is admitted even by the fascist government, which recorded a decline in the revenue from industrial taxes—which already in the financial year 1930-31 showed a drop of 30 million escudos as compared with 1929-30—of 6 million for 1933-34 as compared with 1932-33. The situation of agriculture is still worse, a fact which is admitted by the fascist press.

As a result the "corporative State" is already shaken to its

foundations. The contradictions within the capitalist camp are reflected in the press, which is unable to pass over in silence these differences of opinion.

The financial policy of the dictatorship, which is directed towards preparation for war and increase of the police force for the suppression of the masses, aggravates the economic crisis. In the period from 1928-1934, about 3,300 million escudos were squeezed out of the masses of workers and poor peasants by means of increases in the wages and turnover tax. Wages for compulsory work on the roads and public works were reduced by 40 per cent., and in industry also wage reductions were carried out.

As a result of the economic crisis the indignation of the masses against the fascists is increasing from day to day. The influence of the *Communist Party* among the workers is growing, and even some sections of the middle classes are coming under the influence of the class struggle of the workers. The opposition to the dictatorship is growing even among the armed forces. The radicalisation of the peasants is increasing.

In the recent election campaign to the National Council the posters of the fascists were torn down soon after they had been pasted up. On November 7 eight red flags were hoisted in Barreiro and remained there the whole morning. As soon as the news of the death sentences pronounced on revolutionaries in Spain arrived in Lisbon, a committee of intellectuals was formed which submitted to the Spanish Consulate a protest declaration containing thousands of signatures. At the elections to the university councils the fascists were defeated and were only able to record successes at the Technical High School and in the Agronomical Institute.

In the navy a conflict broke out among the sailors at the naval base of *Vila Franca* (6 miles from Lisbon). The sailors refused to go on land as they had not received any holiday pay.

Great political actions were recently carried out by the peasants, in particular by the vintners. Their opposition is directed against the prohibition of the sale of wine and against the fascist monopoly of the cultivation of grapes.

As a result of the contradictions among the capitalists, the failure of the "new State," and the growing resentment of the masses, the leaders of the Republicans are displaying increased activity, aiming at a fresh military coup d'état. The leaders of the *Republicans* and those fascists who are in opposition to the *Salazar* government, have formed a bloc for this purpose. But even among these groups there exist differences of opinion.

In the course of the election campaign the fascist government made several attempts to provoke the workers. Thus, for instance, in *Torres Vedras*, a village near Lisbon, the workers were called upon to join the fascist national trade union. This appeal was spread in the form of leaflets signed with a forged stamp of "Red International of Labour Unions—Inter-Trade Union Commission."

The government, which did not succeed in developing its national trade unions into mass organisations, is now proceeding to convene the "Chamber of Corporations" in addition to the National assembly.

In the election campaign for the National Assembly, only the Communist Party conducted a fight against the fascists. The leaders of the Republicans and all political philistines of the opposition to the dictatorship demonstrated their opposition by individual abstention from voting, without any agitation. On the other hand, the C.P. called upon the masses to go to the poll and to drop into the ballot-box the voting papers of the "National Union," which were the only ones admitted, after having first spoiled them.

The Murderers and Their Instigators Must be Punished Without Remorse

Moscow, December 24.

The workers of the Soviet Union have received with the greatest indignation the news of the discovery of a counter-revolutionary terrorist group composed of the dregs of the *Zinoviev* opposition. In numerous meetings held in the factories of *Moscow*, *Leningrad*, *Kharkov*, *Kiev* and other cities of the Soviet Union the workers unanimously expressed their hatred of the cowardly Fascist gang, who murdered the beloved leader of the *Leningrad* workers. The workers everywhere demanded unanimously that the cowardly assassins and the traitors to the cause of the working class be punished without mercy.

Germany

The Decisive Stage of the Fight for the Status Quo

By Ernst Bayer

The united front of action between the Communist Party and the social democratic party has existed for more than six months. It has broken the ban of chauvinistic incitement; it has won one locality after the other, conquered the factories, extended its influence over new sections of the population far beyond its own membership. The new feature in the Saar resulting from the long and advancing struggle of the united front is the fact that the terror of the Brown front has been defeated in many places. The plan of Goebbels and Pirro, who intended by setting up the so-called German Front to paralyse every independent action of the Saar people at the plebiscite by means of moral and physical terror and by stigmatising the anti-fascists as "betrayers of the country" and "separatists," has been frustrated. The united front is advancing, fighting and achieving successes; it is developing into the people's front against Hitler by winning allies from the ranks of the Catholics, middle-classes and peasants.

The anti-fascist front in the Saar has to fight against chauvinism, which has been promoted by the fact of its 15 years' separation from Germany and is daily fanned by the agents of Goebbels. The Communist Party and the Unity Trade Union of the miners have made the greatest efforts during the last few months to win over to the anti-fascist front the Christian miners employed in the French pits, who have been misled by chauvinistic propaganda and who are unaware of the actual state of affairs in the Third Reich. Not only among this decisive group of workers, but in its whole political work in the united front for the status quo our Party is fighting a great battle against chauvinism, which lyingly represents Hitler as being synonymous with Germany and a victory of the status quo as meaning completely irrevocable separation from Germany, and impudently denies that the Saarlanders will have the possibility of voting later for union with an emancipated Germany.

When, some weeks ago, in view of the national-socialist preparations for a putsch, there were threats of an occupation of the Saar by French troops, the incorporated Saar press did everything in order to whip up chauvinistic passions. In the meantime Hitler, in order not to increase the foreign-political isolation of Germany, agreed at Geneva with the occupation of the Saar by an international police force, and thereby himself opened the gates to the Saar. This act of submission by the Hitler government was intended to induce the League of Nations Council to refuse the population of the Saar the possibility of a second plebiscite in the future. Hitler's consent to foreign troops occupying the Saar does not, however, in any way mean that the Nazis intend to abandon their chauvinistic incitement and provocations. On the contrary, the Brown press has made use of the incident which occurred some days ago, in which an English police officer came into conflict with a band of Nazis and was severely mishandled by them, as an occasion for a wild chauvinistic incitement. Cases of terror, which had grown rarer in the last few weeks owing to the activity of the workers' defence organisations, are again becoming more frequent. It is obvious that the agents of the Gestapo (Secret Police) and the Nazi special troops sent from the Reich are planning to provoke further conflicts with the foreign troops, partly in order to lay the blame on anti-fascists and partly, in the event of reprisals by the imperialist troops, to create an atmosphere of chauvinistic incitement on the occasion of the plebiscite on January 13.

The anti-fascist mass movement has been working like a ferment in the ranks of the Christian population of the Saar. Large numbers of Catholic opponents of Hitler, of the more progressive elements among the middle classes and peasants have joined in the fight of the united front under the slogan: "*Never to Hitler!*" and a new anti-Hitler organisation, "The German People's League for Christian Social Community," has joined the people's front for the victory of the status quo. In defending the premises of the Christian Metal Workers' Union, which were raided by the national socialist troops on the orders of *Ley*, the anti-fascist metal workers established the fighting alliance with the Christian metal workers against the Nazi trade union destroyers.

The definition of the status quo by the League of Nations Council in Geneva, which made it quite plain that the people of the

Saar will have the possibility of voting at some future time for union with a free Germany, has for many Catholics finally settled the vexed question whether a vote for the status quo would not mean perpetual separation from Germany.

Since the summer months the fighting unity of the two miners' unions has been developing in the struggle against chauvinism and for the miners' demands. The powerful drive for fighting unity developed in the course of the anti-fascist offensive of the miners into a strong movement for trade union unity, in which the unity union of the miners was an indefatigable pioneer in the struggle to overcome the division in the trade union movement. The building workers and the railway workers are leading the way in uniting their respective unions. The pressure from below was so strong that all obstacles were swept aside and at the last general meeting of the miners' union, at which a delegation from the Unity Miners' Union was present, it was decided amidst great enthusiasm to unite the two miners' unions. This union set the seal of organisational unity to a fighting alliance which had been created in the pits and the miners' lodges. In achieving this unity the miners clearly recognise that the new united miners' union must be a fighting instrument for the victory of the status quo and for all fights after January 13. On the same day on which this union was unanimously decided on, *all delegates of the free trade unions assembled at an A.D.G.B. conference of the Saar declared for the status quo.*

The united front struggle and the realisation of trade union unity in the Saar set an example for the development of unity of action and the rebuilding of the free trade unions in the Reich.

The fight of the anti-fascist front in the Saar has entered on a decisive stage. Four weeks before the plebiscite the united front has come forward with a great programme of *right of self-determination of the Saar people after the victory of the status quo*, with a programme of democratic and social demands for the transition time until reunion with Germany. With these demands it is intended to show that the fight for the status quo is conducted not only for the defence of the rights and the vital interests of the Saar population against Hitler's hangman's regime, but in order that the status quo shall create more favourable conditions for the fight for more rights and liberties and better conditions of life. This fight for the right of self-determination of the Saar people is bound up with the fight against the terror and the war provocations of the Nazis. The *social political Congress*, held on December 16, drew big sections of pensioners and Catholic women into the people's front. The *Congress of the Saar Youth*, which was held at the same time, was, with its big delegations of Christian youth and of the Hitler youth, a successful step towards winning fresh masses of the youth. The effect among the Christian miners of the two miners' unions will lead to a strong development of opposition to the Gleichschaltung of the Christian miners' union and to the winning of numerous Christian fellow miners for the anti-fascist fight.

Thus the people's front on the Saar is fighting the great anti-fascist battle under the slogan "*Never to Hitler, for the sake of the German people!*" a battle which is being fought against an enemy who has enormous means at his disposal, and which can become suddenly and dangerously acute as a result of the provocative methods of the Nazis. The anti-fascists of the whole world must be ready to support this fight for freedom.

Members of Zinoviev's Anti-Soviet Group Arrested

Moscow, December 24.

Tass announces:—

Besides the persons involved in the Nikolayev case, who have been committed for trial, officers of the Commissariat for Home Affairs have in connection with this case arrested the following members of the former anti-Soviet group centred around Zinoviev: Sharov, Kuklin, Fainilovitch, Bakayev, Vardin, Salutski, Gorshenin, Zinoviev, Bulach, Gertik, Jevdokimov, Kamenyev, Fedorov, Kostina, Safarov. Of these the cases of Federov, Zinoviev, Safarov, Vardin, Kamenyev, Salutski and Jevdokimov, with regard to which the inquiry has not brought to light material sufficient for a committal to trial, have been submitted to the Commissariat for Home Affairs for special consideration with a view to administrative banishment.

Letters from Berlin

I. Unemployment on the Increase

The Reich Institute for the Provision of Employment sees fit to admit that the number of unemployed has increased by 86,000 during the month of November.

The Institute attempts, of course, to weaken the effect of this increase—partially admitted because of the impossibility of a further denial—might have on the minds of the masses. So it repeats its old sum of arithmetic according to which unemployment has been reduced by 3,650,000 since February, 1933, and by 1,700,000 since January, 1934, bringing the figure down to 2,354,000 at the end of November, 1934. Although during the year and three-quarters which have elapsed since Hitler's accession to power a certain number of workers have undeniably been put to work, partly through the temporary revival in the armament industry and partly through the "provision of work" ramp, this feat of Nazi arithmetic was accomplished chiefly, as everybody here knows, by excluding a great number of unemployed from benefit and dropping them from the statistics, by dismissing a great number of young workers and women, who, no longer being entitled to benefit, do not figure in the statistics either; by not considering as unemployed the unemployed sent on task work into the rural areas and labour camps and by reducing working hours in the shops instead of dismissing men outright, thus keeping the number of employed men at the same level, though increasing the real volume of unemployment.

In addition to these, there are a number of other methods used to disguise the increase of unemployment. One of these less well-known methods is that applied by a number of employers who have fixed a "standard working time" of about 2,000 hours per annum per worker; a certain quota of the wages is deducted on every pay-day, and after the workers are through with their 2,000 hours "standard time" they are dismissed and their own money, previously deducted from their wages, is now paid out to them each week or at intervals of ten days, instead of unemployment benefit. These workers do not figure in the unemployment statistics either. By such methods are the unemployment returns manufactured, though direct faking is not excluded either.

Without the slightest doubt the increase of unemployment in November was considerably greater than the Reich Institute admits, as its figures include only the registered unemployed (and even these figures have probably been doctored), but not the new unemployed who are excluded from benefit or have been sent on task work.

The Reich Institute attempts to represent this increase in unemployment as "seasonal," hoping thus to reassure the working masses. But in reality the increase is not by any means due to the seasonal factor alone. The head of the Reich Institute, a certain Dr. Syrup, himself admitted part of the truth in the speeches he made at meetings of manufacturers in Cologne and Frankfurt at the beginning of December. The Cologne speech was reported by the Nazi press in a very condensed, perfunctory, and unenlightening form, but the Frankfurt speech was the subject of a more detailed report in the "*Frankfurter Zeitung*" of December 5; according to this report, Dr. Syrup had said that a further increase of unemployment was to be expected and that

"public opinion would have to be enlightened more than heretofore that an increase of unemployment figures in winter was natural and inevitable. . . . In the first place it was the seasonable factor which would have a negative effect, although this factor was not as important in Western Germany as in other parts of the country. The scarcity of foreign currency and of raw materials would in part have a further increasing effect on unemployment."

Dr. Syrup, who in his November report points to seasonal influences as the only reason for the increased unemployment figures, in his speech already adds the scarcity of foreign currency and raw materials as further reasons, though he still puts seasonal influences in the first place. Naturally the seasonal factor is not without its influence on the November increase of unemployment, but the specific weight of the increasing economic difficulties of Hitler Germany is in reality much greater than Dr. Syrup is prepared to admit. This is confirmed by reports from the workshops.

Thus in the *Siemens works in Berlin* a number of skilled workers were dismissed "owing to a decrease in orders." In the *Cologne Rubber Works* 400 workers were dismissed; another large

enterprise in Cologne, the **Humboldt works**, also reduced its staff. In **Hanover**, the Owin radio works dismissed 1,100 workers of a total of 1,400 owing to a cancellation of foreign orders. The **Conti works** in Hanover and the "**Stande**" works of the same city, manufacturing agricultural machinery, have given notice to all young workers employed by them. In Southern Germany the leather industry has introduced short time owing to a lack of raw material. The **Stayer and Däubler** weaving mills in **Ulm** work only 36 hours a week for the same reason. The **Bosch** works have introduced a three-day week in several departments.

These reports, besides obviously giving the lie to the official assertion that the November increase in unemployment was not more than 86,000, show that in addition to the seasonal factor the growing economic difficulties of Hitler Germany are at the root of the increase in unemployment, both as regards the number of unemployed and the shortage in employment caused by short hours.

The growth of unemployment proves that the factors adverse to an economic revival are gradually beginning to assert themselves.

The government attempts to disguise the rise in the unemployment figures by various means, hoping thus to keep the workers quiet. At the same time the attack on the workers' standards is increased in scope and force. Dr. Syrup said in Frankfurt that mass dismissals of workers were to be avoided and that the workers in the textile industry, already on short time, were to work shorter hours still. The same step was under consideration with regard to the rubber and leather industries. Dr. Syrup also stated that the Reich Institute intended "to use its funds in a cautious form for the production of raw materials at home," i.e., to put the money deducted from the workers' wages at the disposal of the employers as subsidies for a substitute industry. A ridiculously low "increased" short-time benefit" was further introduced for certain groups of workers and in other groups a lengthening of the unemployment benefit was granted. With such measures the brown masters of Germany hope to soothe the workers and camouflage the worsening of their standards.

The very insignificant concessions mentioned in the preceding paragraph are set off by the increased poll tax, by wage cuts of various forms, by forced winter relief contributions, by mass dismissals of young workers and women, and by the new rigorous regulations issued against the unemployed in various parts of the Reich. Thus the unmarried sons and daughters, even if of age and not living in the house of their parents, are no longer allowed unemployment benefit if their father or mother is working, and vice versa, the parents get no unemployment benefit if a son or daughter is working. They are thus compelled to live together. A man and wife, if unemployed and not living together, get only half of the benefit they are both entitled to.

The answer of the workers and of the Communist Party is an increased united front action against dismissals and short time, against benefit and wage cuts, and increased taxation; for higher rates of benefit and for higher wages, with the object of overthrowing the capitalist Hitler dictatorship. The growth of unemployment is an object lesson for the masses showing them that there is only one road open to them—to establish a Socialist Germany in which, as in the Soviet Union, there is no unemployment, but work, bread, freedom, and a chance for everyone.

II. Banks, Dividends and Directors' Fees in the Third Reich

The Hitler government has just issued a decree dealing with the banks and regulating credit conditions, dividends and other similar questions. The press and the Nazi mandarins try to make the workers believe that the measures contained in the decree are directed against capital and are of great importance, to a great extent redeeming the anti-capitalist pledges given by Hitler to the masses before his accession to power.

In article II of the programme of the National Socialist Party, Hitler solemnly promised to abolish unearned incomes and "interest slavery." He also promised a number of other measures apparently directed against big business.

What then is the meaning of the new bank and dividend decree?

The Bank Act, based on the report of Schacht, given in his capacity as chairman of the Banks Investigation Committee, definitely puts an end to all talk about the nationalisation of the banks, although, of course, even nationalisation of the banks in the

capitalist Third Reich would have as little in common with Socialism as say the Post Office, which is also administered by the State. The banks would in this case be no less capitalist than before and would merely be administered on behalf of the capitalist class by the capitalist state, which would continue to pour profits into the pockets of the capitalists. At present about 70 per cent. of the share capital of the joint stocks banks, with an aggregate capital of over 10 millions, is in possession of the Reich, but this circumstance has not changed the capitalist character of these great credit-dispensing banks in the least, nor has it induced them to charge lower interest rates. Every worker in Germany knows this.

Yet the Hitler government has refrained from even such a "nationalisation" of the banks, from such a state capitalist camouflage of the usury practised by the banks. The reason for this is that the capitalists consider the direct way of profit-making more convenient to themselves. The Hitler government by the new decree intends to exercise only an "elastic supervision of credit operations by the State." There is to be a bank supervision office, of which Schacht is to be the head. In other words, the capitalist class, through its Bank Supervision office, issues certain orders which are to secure the greatest measure of profit for the bankers, landowners and big business in general. But in any case, as the "*Frankfurter Zeitung*" (December 7, 1934) says in an article dealing with the report of the Banks Investigation Committee,

"the way is left open for the return to private ownership even of those banks which in recent years have passed into the hands of the State or of the Reich Bank."

It is ridiculous even to mention Socialism in this connection. By the "elastic supervision" mentioned above, the capitalists see to it that they get more profits than before.

The fascist paper "*Schule der Freiheit*" (December 9, 1934) attempts in despair to console its Nazi readers by the following argument:—

"The report with its finding against the nationalisation of credit will certainly disappoint many of those who hoped that interest slavery would be abolished through the nationalisation of the banks. They can rest assured, however, that the nationalisation of credit could not bring us a single step nearer to an economic system emancipated from the bonds of interest."

That is certainly the case in the capitalist Third Reich of Hitler. Whether the banks are nationalised or not, whether the Banks Supervision Office exercises its "elastic" supervision or not—interest slavery, the exploitation of the masses by the captains of industry, landowners and bankers goes on as before, and is even increased under the Hitler régime.

The new loan and stocks act, issued as an extension of the capital investments act of March, 1934, requires that all dividends exceeding 6 per cent.—or if the enterprise in question had paid a higher dividend in the previous year, exceeding 8 per cent.—be paid into the German Gold Discount Bank in Berlin for investment in government loans of the Reich. The Gold Discount Bank handles these funds as trustee for the company, and after three years is to pay them back to the shareholders. During these three years the funds are to be used as credits for the purpose of subsidising work provision schemes, i.e., for promoting armament production of all kinds. This is the gist of the new credit laws.

Dividends up to 6 per cent. or 8 per cent., as the case may be, are paid out to the shareholders in the old way. It is of course entirely within the power of the chief shareholders to accommodate their dividend policy in future to a limit of six or eight per cent. Even if they should fix a higher dividend, they lose nothing, for the amounts exceeding the dividend limit remain the property of the shareholders; they can, for instance, borrow money on them, etc.; they are merely administered by the Gold Discount Bank, which pays the shareholders interest on them, and after three years pays back the whole. Furthermore, the Gold Discount Bank gives credits, subsidies and donations to the industrialists out of these funds, permitting them to manufacture and supply armaments on the pretext of "work provision schemes" and pocket fat profits.

The total funds expected to come in from these excess dividends do not, by the way, amount to more than 40 million marks, and only about one-tenth of the enterprises of Germany has distributed a dividend exceeding 6 or 8 per cent. in the last year. Thus the new law does not touch nine-tenths of the capitalists at all and does not deprive the remaining ten per cent. of a single

penny, while it further enriches the capitalist class as a whole by granting them subsidies out of the excess dividend funds.

By this law Hitler has not redeemed a single one of his demagogic pledges. On the contrary, the law further enriches the capitalist class and promotes war preparations and armaments. Schacht, who is merely the mouthpiece of Hitler, said in an interview given to *W. R. Wallace* (*"Frankfurter Zeitung,"* August 28, 1934), that

"industry must be in a position to make profits. We need money and the way to get it is to make private enterprise profitable. Germany will do this, make no mistake about that."

There can be no mistake about that. While the wages and benefits of the workers are cut down, while the poverty of the masses grows unceasingly, the capitalists and Hitler increase their dividends and profits by higher taxation, higher prices, lower wages, by the "work provision" ramp and the armament racket. This is the course Hitler is steering and he will not deviate from it.

The fees paid to Directors serving on the Boards of enterprises are another illustration of how Hitler promotes the interests of the idle rich. Part of these fees is disguised in the balance sheets under the heading "expenses," etc. But even so, the admitted amount of these fees is interesting enough.

The following table gives an idea of what these fees were in 1933:—

Enterprise	No. of Directors	Total fees
Berliner Handelsgesellschaft	4	536,117
Dresdner Bank	8	642,000
Adka-Leipzig	4	221,126
Stahlwerksverband	6	241,180
Rheinisch - Westfälisches Kohlen- syndikat	—	520,354
Harpener Bergbau	7	355,592
Commerz- und Privatbank	—	699,000
Mannesmann Röhren	—	664,590
Tietz	5 to 7	280,500
Karstadt	5 to 7	303,041

The journal *"Wirtschaftsdienst"* (September 14, 1934) gives a statistical survey of 248 companies with a total capital of 4,610,000 marks. In 1933 the fees paid to members of the Board of Directors and the Board of Supervisors were:—

Enterprises with a capital of 10-20 million marks	Directors	Supervisors
Of 20-50 million marks	40,000 marks	4,000 marks
Of 50-100 million marks	52,000 "	4,000 "
Over 100 million marks	41,000 "	5,000 "
	86,000 "	6,000 "

Of course this does not mean that a director gets only 40,000 to 86,000 marks per annum or a supervisor only 4,000 to 6,000. These sums are only fees from one company. But the same man can be, and mostly is, on the boards of half-a-dozen, a dozen or more companies and can get, and often gets, fees amounting to half a million or a million marks per annum. To this must be added the concealed fees.

This is the "abolition of unearned incomes" promised by Hitler, who has broken this promise no less than his other promises.

What the Hitler régime does for the capitalists on the one hand and for the workers on the other can be shown by a random example, the 1933 annual report of the Harpener Bergbau A.G., a mining company in Dortmund:—

	Marks	Increase as against 1932
Net profit	4,500,000	100 per cent.
Men employed	—	4 per cent.
Wages paid	—	2.14 per cent.
Fees of 7 directors	355,592	—
Fees of 18 supervisors	39,188	—

Net profits have increased by 100 per cent. A member of the Board gets 50,000 marks per annum for doing nothing, a supervisor for doing ditto 2,200 per annum. But the workers got a wage-cut as the increase in the aggregate wage is smaller than the increase in the number of men employed.

The new laws, the fat dividends and fat directors' fees, the starvation wages of the workers—all this shows that the Communists are right in mobilising the workers against Hitler, and that they are right in saying that the unearned incomes of the millionaires can be abolished, interest slavery broken, capitalism over-

thrown only by overthrowing Hitler and establishing a Soviet state, a Socialist Germany which will expropriate the big landowners, the bankers and industrialists and transform their wealth into the Socialist property of the community.

"Miscarriage" of Justice in Leipzig

(December 23, the Anniversary of the Verdict in the Reichstag Fire Trial)

By A. Kurella

"A political drama of world-wide significance has come to a close, a gigantic trial which for three months held men in breathless tension far beyond the frontiers of the nation concerned, a trial which was one single appeal to the conscience and good sense of humanity and which resulted in a verdict from which there is no further appeal."

These were the opening words of the leading article in the *"Berliner Lokalanzeiger"* of December 23, 1933, the day on which judgment was pronounced in Leipzig in the Reichstag fire trial.

The attention of the whole world, including Germany, was riveted on the central figure of this "political drama of world-wide significance," **Georg Dimitrov**. The hatred of the diehard Nazis, accumulated during the fifty-seven days of the trial, was concentrated on Dimitrov. But during the same time millions of right-thinking men and women throughout the world rallied around Dimitrov, whose courage inspired them first with astonishment, then with admiration, and finally with sympathy and affection.

The Leipzig trial, staged by its instigators as a criminal case, but which turned into the greatest political trial of all times and finally into a mighty duel between two philosophies, resulted in the acquittal of the man who had undertaken to turn the tables on the Court and who was soon recognised by the whole world to be the real accuser instead of the accused.

The acquittal of Dimitrov and his comrades meant more than merely the escape of an innocently accused man who possessed the sympathies of all honest men of the earth. It was the expression of a historical law, the symbol of the inevitable victory of the idea represented by Dimitrov.

The National Socialists themselves were very dissatisfied with the verdict pronounced by **Dr. Buenger** on December 23, 1933. The "National Socialist Party Correspondence" wrote the same day under the heading *"Miscarriage of Justice in Leipzig"*:—

"The sentence in the Reichstag fire trial, acquitting Torgler and the three Bulgarian Communists on formal grounds, is regarded by the sense of justice of the nation as a clear miscarriage of justice."

In this, i.e., in considering the sentence as a miscarriage of justice, Dimitrov was of the same opinion as the National Socialists.

"As the Court was leaving the hall," wrote the *"Vossische Zeitung,"* on December 24, 1933, "Dimitrov jumped up to make a declaration. But he could not have his say, as the judges had already left the room."

What did Dimitrov wish to say in this final declaration?

The notes he made for it, which, together with the voluminous notes he made during the preliminary proceedings, were saved and are now in Moscow, give us an answer to this question. These say:—

"The difficult task this Court was expected to fulfil was to feed the wolf, but save the sheep from being eaten. The sentence is an unsuccessful attempt to solve this insoluble task. The prosecution with its indictment was in the same position as a woman who has had a miscarriage.

"Why miscarriage?"

"Because the formal condemnation of Communism as the originator of the deed is tantamount to the finding that the National Socialists were the originators.

"If Van der Lubbe had accomplices and if these accomplices were not Torgler and the other prisoners, then . . . ?

"Then the question arises why, during the inquiry which lasted five months and the trial which lasted three, the real accomplices were not found?

"And the further question: those accomplices must have been well acquainted with the position and the conditions in the Reichstag, or they could not have done the deed. But who at the period in question could have been so well acquainted with these matters if not the National Socialists themselves? Who could be sure of undisturbed access to and

egress from the Reichstag at a time when the Communists were under continual observation and persecution?

"... The Reichstag fire a signal? A signal for what? For a 'National Revolution'!

"For a war of extermination on the working-class movement and the Communist Party, for the establishment of the 'total state' of a National Socialist autocracy!

"High treason? No! Treason to the German people. The discovery and trial of the instigators, of the men behind the deed, of the 'Mephistopheles' will be reserved for the justice of the future proletarian dictatorship in Germany."

These were the words with which Dimitrov intended to close the proceedings in the Leipzig trial. As had so often happened during the trial, the Court prevented Dimitrov from pronouncing this correct characterisation of the verdict.

The verdict, which was not a summary of the results of the trial, but a perversion of the truth, could not veil the real results of the trial from the eyes of the world. All lovers of truth in the whole world agree with the statement by Dimitrov in his first article written after his final liberation and published by the "Pravda" on March 4, 1934. He says:—

"The provocative Leipzig trial was framed up by the fascist chiefs with the object of proving to the world that it was the fascist butchers who saved Europe from Bolshevism in February, 1933. What were the concrete tasks which German fascism set itself to solve by organising the Leipzig trial?

"First to vindicate the fascist fire-raisers and butchers in the eyes of public opinion at home and abroad and to shield the real criminals by imputing their guilt to the Communists.

"Secondly, to justify the barbarous terror and the monstrous oppression of the revolutionary proletariat.

"Thirdly, the trial was to supply the materials for another anti-Communist campaign and was to serve as a basis for another sensational trial, with the C.P. in the dock.

"Fourthly, the trial was to prove that the fascist government was victoriously fighting world Communism and had in the nick of time saved capitalist Europe from the Communist danger. The heads of the four accused Communists were to serve as legal tender in the impending business deal with the imperialist Powers, who were to reward the historical services of the German government by granting it equality in the armament question and making other concessions to it.

"At the Leipzig trial fascism made its debut in the part of the gendarme of Europe against Communism. This debut had a disastrous end for the fascists. To use a popular Bulgarian proverb, German fascism entered the Leipzig Court like a proud lion and left it bespattered from head to foot.

"The trial was an acid test for the Communist Party and for the revolutionary proletariat. It was turned into a fine demonstration of fidelity to the red flag, of a self-sacrificing and faithful fulfilment of revolutionary duties and observance of proletarian discipline. The fact alone that the fascists, despite all their efforts, could find no witnesses for the prosecution among the workers and that the workers, when forced into the witness-box, gave their evidence with the courage befitting the representatives of the working class, meant the end of opportunist pessimism, of unbelief in the prospects of a proletarian revolution in Germany after the accession to power of the fascists."

To-day we can add two things to this description of the results of the Leipzig trial.

First, that what Dimitrov had said during the Leipzig trial concerning provocation and individual terror as methods of fascist policy has been confirmed over and over again by the political developments which have taken place since then. A glance at the home and foreign policy of the Third Reich during the past year is sufficient to convince us of this.

Secondly, the united front established in the world campaign for the liberation of the Communist prisoners of the Leipzig trial has irrevocably changed the face of the international revolutionary movement. The urge towards the union of all anti-fascist forces which manifested itself so powerfully during the Reichstag fire campaign and which reached a higher stage in the united struggle of Communist, Socialist, and non-party workers in Austria, France, and Spain can no longer be held back. The campaign for Dimitrov, which was continued in the campaigns for Ernst Thaelmann, for

Rakosi, for the prisoners of Vienna and Oviedo, marks a new phase in the international working-class movement, at the end of which we find the revolutionary unity of the entire working class.

The Leipzig verdict was not an end, but a beginning. The condemnation and execution of the unhappy instrument of the crime, Van der Lubbe, has not put an end to the investigation of the backgrounds of the Reichstag fire. The "Berliner Lokalanzeiger" was right again in saying on December 23 that:—

"The struggle to find the instigators and the accomplices in the broadest sense of the word will go on, for here unfortunately not everything has been cleared up before and at the trial."

True, the struggle to find the instigators and accomplices of the fascist provocation of February 27, 1933, goes on, in the broadest sense of the word. It will end with the victory of those, of whose spirit and ideas Georg Dimitrov gave in Leipzig so convincing a demonstration to the world.

The Reconstruction of the Free Trade Unions

By F. Stark

The slogan issued simultaneously by the Communist and social-democratic trade union functionaries, for the reconstruction of the Free Trade Unions as class struggle organisations, has met with enthusiastic approval among the masses of the workers, and especially among the former Free Trade Union functionaries and members.

Ever wider strata of the workers are realising that the mass forces of the proletariat, organised in trade unions, must be opposed to the mighty monopolist capitalism, which looks to the fascist state power for support in its offensive against the working class. Thanks to the traitorous policy of Leipart and Grassmann, fascism was able to shatter the trade unions, but it has not been able to destroy the trade union class traditions among the German working class. There fascism has not yet succeeded, in spite of all its measures, in exterminating the feeling of comradeship among the former members of the trade unions, and especially among the Free Trade Union functionaries. Recognising the fact that precisely at the present moment, in view of the ruthless offensive of capitalism and the brutal terrorism of the fascist dictatorship, it is imperative to oppose the utmost determination and organisation to the attacks of capitalism, class-conscious workers in many parts of the country have taken up the task of rebuilding the Free Trade Unions as organisations of the class struggle. Hence illegal groups of the German Metal Workers' Union, of the Factory Workers' Union, etc., have sprung into existence in a number of large undertakings in Berlin, in South-Western Germany, in a number of large enterprises of the West of Germany, of Saxony, and other districts.

It is, however, of the utmost importance to accelerate the pace of this reconstructive work and to take up this important task on a larger scale in all industrial centres, in all parts of the country, by means of joint action. The experience already gained, the positive and negative aspects of the reconstructive work up to the present, may therefore well be made the subject of a brief survey, enabling the whole of the workers to profit by them.

A mighty impetus towards the reconstruction of the Free Trade Unions has been given by the unity of action between the Communists and social democrats, between units of the Communist Party and social-democratic groups, as achieved in different parts of the country during the last few months. These groups have jointly resolved to organise the struggle against the murderous offensive of capital, against the fascist Labour Law, against the reactionary factory regulations, against the fascist law for the exploitation of youth. They have joined in formulating the united demands of the workers and in arousing the workers by means of factory newspapers, leaflets, and other material. They have joined in mobilising the resistance of the workers against the capitalist offensive, by means of organising discussions in the works and factories, sending delegations, electing commissions of various kinds. In the course of this militant mobilisation, the groups thus joining in united action have had an opportunity of recognising fully the necessity of rebuilding the Free Trade Unions, though there has frequently been a lack of the necessary determination required to utilise for this purpose the actually existing activity of the workers.

But precisely here great weaknesses become apparent. In many cases social-democratic groups have been ready to join us in united action and to mobilise the workers against capitalist

attacks, but individually they have refused to take part in the joint reconstruction of the Free Trade Unions, maintaining that this is the task of the former trade union functionaries. These social-democratic comrades have in some cases even continued to defend the old social-democratic standpoint of a formal differentiation between political and trade union tasks.

By means of comradesly discussion we must make it clear to our social-democratic class comrades that the political struggle is indivisibly bound up with the trade union struggle, and that it is precisely the reconstruction of the Free Trade Unions, in combination with the achievement of unity of action against the offensive of capitalism and against fascism, which offers great possibilities of inducing increasing masses of the workers to take part in resistance action. Here it is important to overcome all inhibitions in order that the Free Trade Unions may be built up again with the aid of the social-democratic class comrades and in order that precisely the social-democratic workers may be won over as members of these organisations.

Of late, however, the former reformist trade union leaders too have resumed with renewed energy their efforts to build up reformist trade union groups again, isolated from the class-conscious trade unions, in order to frustrate the efforts for the joint reconstruction of the Free Trade Unions as class struggle organisations. Our comrades have, for instance, observed in a large undertaking in Berlin that the initiative taken by leading functionaries of trade unions has led to the rebuilding of four trade union organisations side by side on the old lodge pattern. That is to say, instead of the realisation of the demand made for so many years by the class-conscious trade unionist: One industry—one union! we see here a renewal of the reformist attempt to deepen the trade union split in the working class by means of reconstructing trade unions to exist side by side with one another.

In a large enterprise in Berlin the Communist factory cell joined the social-democratic factory cell for united action. At the same time these two groups agreed to join in rebuilding the German Metal Workers' Union in the factory, and for this purpose issued an appeal to the workers. On this a number of former trade union functionaries, of whom our comrades had assumed that they were standing passively on one side, approached the Communist and social-democratic comrades and informed them that it was quite unnecessary to form a new organisation in the factory, since they had already built up a group of the German Metal Workers' Union, numbering 40 members. It is characteristic of the influence of the reformist trade union leaders that these functionaries refused the proposal to establish trade union unity by joining their group to the newly-formed group of the Communists and social democrats. All class-conscious workers, especially the Communists, must attentively follow these attempts made by individual reformist trade union leaders and must oppose the slogan of trade union unity to all reformist endeavours at disruption. This means that intensive work must be carried on for the enlightenment of the workers on this question. Our contacts, as Communist organisations, with the social-democratic groups, represent a great advance in this direction, but they do not suffice. What is needed is close contact with the masses of the former Free Trade Union functionaries and members now organised by compulsion in the fascist "German Labour Front." Hence the achievement of united action and the reconstruction of the Free Trade Unions are indivisibly bound up with our revolutionary work in these organisations. The masses of the former trade union members and functionaries have by no means been converted into adherents of fascism by being forced into the co-ordinated trade unions. On the contrary, their overwhelming majority are deadly enemies of the fascist regime. Communists, social democrats, and former Free Trade Union members must join here in the task of winning over the masses of the workers for unity of action and for the reconstruction of the Free Trade Unions. For this purpose the utilisation of functions in the Labour Front is of the utmost importance, for precisely these functionaries possess thousands of possibilities of furthering and promoting this work by legal and semi-legal means. Many of the former functionaries of the Free Trade Unions now hold office in the "German Labour Front" as dues collectors, secretaries, etc., and utilise their opportunities in the struggle for united action and for the reconstruction of the Free Trade Unions. It is of paramount importance that no false ideas should be allowed in our ranks on this point, that the acceptance of functions in the Labour Front meant desertion to the camp

of the class enemy. If, for instance, five of the dues collectors of the Labour Front have been won over in an undertaking for the joint cause of the workers, for the achievement of united action, for the rebuilding of the Free Trade Unions, this means that in the course of their work in collecting the dues, they have the opportunity of exercising a semi-legal influence over 150 to 200 workers.

This need to combine revolutionary work in the Labour Front with the work for trade union unity is emphasised by the experience gained in other places—in South-Western Germany, for instance. Here revolutionary and social-democratic trade union functionaries have taken the initiative towards rebuilding the Factory Workers' Union, but apart from our revolutionary work in the Labour Front. The consequence up to now has been that the work progresses very slowly, and the danger arises that small groups of ten to twenty members remain isolated unless they concentrate their main efforts on work within the German Labour Front. For a worker to join a Free Trade Union group does not mean that he is to leave the Labour Front. On the contrary, precisely such groups must form the opposition in the Labour Front. All other tactics are bound to lead, willy nilly, to the isolation of the most active forces in each factory from the masses of the workers and from the members of the Labour Front. Therefore care must be taken that the question of dues does not become an obstacle. The dues must be placed at a figure enabling the members to remain at the same time members of the Labour Front.

These are only a few of the weak points and uncertainties revealed in the actual practice of our work for the reconstruction of the Free Trade Unions, and which must be overcome by constant and systematic discussion and by unceasing self-criticism of our work.

Provocation—A Typical Method of Fascism

The publication of the testament of Karl Ernst, Storm Troop leader and one of the victims of the massacre on June 30th, has created a great sensation throughout the world. Mr. Grigoriev, one of the defenders of Dimitrov, speaking at a meeting of journalists in Geneva, declared:—

"The testament of Karl Ernst confirms the assertion that the present regime in Germany is a regime of lawlessness and terror. This is of importance in forming an estimate of the trials which have taken place recently before the 'People's Court' and other German courts and in forecasting the probable results of the trial of Ernest Thaelmann, the leader of the German anti-fascists. The testament throws a curious light on the charge of high treason brought against him, as all 'protective measures' taken against the alleged plan of a 'Communist insurrection' were based on the Reichstag fire, which Ernst's testament now again shows up as a frame-up engineered by the National Socialists themselves."

We take this opportunity of discussing at somewhat greater detail the methods of frame-up and provocation characteristic of fascism.

In the summer of 1931, a fascist lost his nerve. The plans hatched in the National Socialist Party filled him with horror and apprehension and he gave up for publication a document, a plan of the terror, which contained in detail a complete scheme for mass arrests, mass executions, dissolution of all anti-fascist organisations, exceptional legislation against anti-fascists, a list of hostages and of those who were to be shot on sight. This document was subsequently known as the "Boxheim document" and the man who was responsible for its publication was very soon "put on the spot" by the hatchet men of the Nazi Fehme.

This "Boxheim document" created some sensation, being as it was a direct attempt on all democratic liberties, but Mr. Werner, then Chief Public Prosecutor and now Chief Prosecutor at the People's Court (the same man who is now engaged in trumping up the charge against Thaelmann) declared that the document "constituted no transgression of the constitution and the laws" and stopped the proceedings against its authors. The reason for this was that the document had been given the heading "Measures to be taken immediately after the proclamation of the Communist revolution."

The Chief Public Prosecutor was satisfied that with such a programme the Nazi would save the nation from Bolshevism. But to anybody in the least familiar with politics it was perfectly clear that the Nazis needed a "Bolshevik revolution" before they could carry

out their plans. And as the Communist Party and its leader, Thaelmann, showed no inclination to do the Nazis this good service, the latter resorted to provocation as leading principle of their tactics.

Each of their demonstrations was a provocation of bloodshed. They assaulted and shot at onlookers in order to provoke the workers to reprisals. When the workers defended themselves—and this they did very often and very thoroughly—the Nazis complained that they had been attacked. After Hitler's accession to power a venal jurisdiction has pronounced death sentences in over 70 cases, all connected with such acts of provocation on the part of the fascists, and many of them several years old.

We appeal to all our readers to help save the fifty men now lying in the condemned cells and expecting from day to day to be dragged to the scaffold by orders of Goering, Goebbels or Hitler, given in a fit of anger about an insufficiently attended demonstration or an unsuccessful attempt at falsifying election results.

The victims of a monstrous deliberate provocation appeal to the conscience of the world to save innocent men.

Provocation is the typical fascist method, in home and foreign policy, in dealing with anti-fascists or with their own adherents.

Because the Communist Party of Germany was not deceived by the provocation of the Nazis, the latter set fire to the Reichstag themselves.

Why do we repeat this again and again?

Because the world must understand that the fascists attempt to justify all their terrorist laws, all their atrocities and cruelties by a monstrous provocation, the firing of the Reichstag.

Only when one has really understood the part played by provocation in fascist policy can one understand the crying injustice, the endless humiliations inflicted upon the thousands languishing in the fascist prisons, and their magnificent heroism.

One understands then that in the name of human sympathy, of common cleanliness and decency, of the highest ideals of humanity we must fight for all German anti-fascists with all the forces we can muster.

Look at the great men of the fascists one after the other. Look at **Goebbels**, who made a national hero out of a pimp. He egged Roehm on, supplied him with arguments to carry on his opposition, then went to Hitler, "repented," turned king's evidence and left Roehm to face the firing-squad of his good friend Hitler.

Look at Reich Minister **Goering**, who used a forged signature of Roehm to summon the Storm Troop leaders to Roehm's house on a certain night, while Roehm had no idea of it all and was giving himself a good time with his boy friends. Then Roehm was shot because the existence of a conspiracy was "proved" by the arrival of the Storm Troop leaders summoned by—Goering himself.

Look at the adventurer **Rosenberg**, who sent Russian White Guards from Berlin to the Manchurian frontier because the war between Japan and the Soviet Union was not coming fast enough for his impatience.

Look at the whole Nazi gang which had Dollfuss shot and then shed crocodile's tears at his death, which harboured and pampered the Ustaschi terrorists and their paper in Germany and then sent a ceremonial delegation to attend the funeral of Barthou and the Yugoslav king, their victims.

These unscrupulous agents-provocateurs hold a hundred thousand prisoners as hostages. Judges and public prosecutors, if they do not assist the gangsters from conviction, do so because they fear for their own miserable lives.

Adventurers hold high office, act as "diplomats," re-arm frantically, provoke another world war on all sides.

Only the massed forces of the international anti-fascist front can wreck this provocation. We call for stronger action in order to save the prisoners, to protect the hostages, to liberate Thaelmann and all others.

We wish to tell the world that our struggle against the agents-provocateurs, our struggle to save the imprisoned anti-fascists is at the same time a struggle against the fascist war-mongers.

For Thaelmann and for peace! This is not an empty agitational phrase, but living truth in these fateful days.

Rescue the Youthful Victims of Hitler Fascism

Appeal of the World Committee for the Victims of Hitler Fascism

The savage campaign which has been organised by the spies and detectives of the German Secret Police against the young guard of the anti-fascist Defensive, against Communist, Christian and Socialist young workers, has in the last few weeks led in several parts of the Reich to wholesale slaughter, against which all the young forces of anti-fascism in the whole world, the masses of young toilers, and in addition all honest intellectuals, must be mobilised.

On September 26, in Elbing, **Gregor Meissner**, a young Catholic worker, was beheaded on the denunciation of the national socialist gangsters and on the order of Goering. Even the fascist Court could not bring the slightest of proof of murder against the young anti-fascist.

On November 10 **Josef Reiting**, a comrade in the Frankfurt anti-fascist Youth, who was not a member of any party, was executed on the special instructions of Goering for a murder committed by the Nazi bandits themselves, after a farcical trial, and in spite of the fact that his innocence was completely established by irrefutable evidence submitted to foreign legal experts.

At the end of October the mother of **Walter Haebicht**, a member of the anti-fascist guard of the Young Communist League, received from the Dachau concentration camp the laconic message that her son had "died" on July 2. The bands of torturers, after waiting over four months before letting the public know of the cowardly murder committed by them, informed the mother that the ashes of the young anti-fascist could be fetched by her at any time. Who is still alive who could report of the terrible sufferings and tortures under which **Walter Haebicht** died?

The World Relief Committee has just learnt that at the end of September two young anti-fascists who fulfilled their revolutionary duty in the ranks of the Hitler Youth were murdered in Hamburg by the Secret Police.

In the middle of September last, also in Hamburg, two young Communists, **Richard** and **Janner**, were tortured to death by the brown Secret Police. In spite of the assertion of the police that **Janner** had committed suicide by hanging himself, the relatives of the deceased were not allowed to see his body.

At the beginning of September another revolutionary young worker was thrown out of the window of the Hamburg police station.

Five murders in one month in Hamburg alone stand to the account of the brown murderers.

When Hitler delivered his speech in the Blohm and Voss dockyard in Hamburg, before the plebiscite of August 19, the anti-fascist feelings of the dockworkers were manifested in an unmistakable manner, to the great annoyance of the brown lackeys of heavy industry. "By chance" there were wholesale victimisations and arrests in this dockyard after the great "event," including the arrest of many young workers. One of these young workers lies in hospital with broken limbs and torn internal organs, and it is very doubtful whether he will ever recover. Another Hamburg young worker, who had been arrested, severely ill-treated for months in a concentration camp, then released, sent to a labour service camp, where he was continually persecuted, on September 29, when the Secret Police arrested him in his lodgings, cut his throat with a razor. Still alive, but hardly conscious, he was dragged into a motor car and frightfully beaten. Witnesses whose testimony is above suspicion report that some of these brutes shouted at him: "You swine, tell us the names of the others!" He was not conveyed to hospital, but to prison, where, according to further reports of witnesses, he was further mishandled. The report of this appalling case concludes with the words: They want to do him to death in prison; should he come out alive, which is very questionable, he will in any case never recover his speech.

To the five murders of young anti-fascists in Hamburg there are to be added other vile deeds of the Secret Police.

Fritz Grosse, formerly representative of the working youth in the Reichstag and one of the bravest, most experienced anti-fascist fighters in the Young Communist League, has disappeared for weeks in the torture chambers, without a trace. What has become of him? Is he still living? Nobody knows.

Two innocent people executed, six murdered, three in prison, with their lives hanging by a thread—this is what Hitler has done for the Youth!

The young people of all countries, the masses of the anti-fascist toilers and intellectuals of the whole world, must learn the full truth: fascism slaughters the Youth. Over the whole world the great united front of solidarity must be set up against blood-sucking fascism, for the rescue of the young anti-fascist victims.

Forward in the spirit of Josef Reitingger, Gregor Meissner, and Walter Haebicht. For the release of Fritz Grosse and all kidnapped, imprisoned and mishandled champions of the young anti-fascist front against war, militarisation and shameful exploitation.

Freedom for the two young Hamburg workers who are in the dungeons of the Secret Police, in the clutches of the brown rulers.

Save Ernst Thaelmann, the fighter for the anti-fascist united action of the young proletarians with all their allies. Save all the victims of Hitler fascism!

Spain

Ten Days in Spain

An Interview with Comrade Peri, member of the Chamber of Deputies, on his Tour through Spain

Paris, December 20.

Peri, member of the Chamber of Deputies, has returned to Paris from a ten-day tour of Spain. He visited Barcelona, Madrid and Oviedo, and met many Communist and social-democratic worker functionaries, numerous persons belonging to other parties, members of the Cortes and workers who took an active part in the insurrection. Asked by our correspondent to give his general impressions, Peri stated that, in the first place, the Spanish revolution had not been vanquished, but at the moment Spain is in a state of quiet in which forces are being reorganised in order to employ them in the future. It must be emphasised, declared Peri, that fascism has not won the battle in Spain. There can be no comparison between what one sees in Spain and what one saw in Germany a few weeks after the fascists took over power there.

Our correspondent: "But the workers have been suppressed in Asturias; wholesale arrests are still taking place, which are bound to have a depressing effect?"

Peri: "It is true, our friends suffered serious losses. Forty thousand revolutionaries are in prison. Fresh arrests are taking place every day. Many revolutionaries are threatened with death, specially our Comrade Gonzales Pena. The state of siege still remains in force and with it the censorship, while the workers' organisations are only semi-legal. Taking advantage of this difficult situation, the socialist party, under the leadership of Besteiros, is commencing a movement hostile to unity of action and by means of which it is intended to lead the socialist party on to the path of downright reformism in order thereby to purchase its legality. This is the only fact which can be recorded to the disadvantage of the revolutionary movement."

In reply to our correspondent's question whether the workers do not feel that they have suffered a severe defeat and whether dependent elements are not going over to Besteiros, Peri replied:

"Not in the least. The working class is not depressed. Its organisations are almost entirely intact. Its stores of weapons have not been confiscated by a long way. In Oviedo the workers absolutely refused to resume work under the conditions dictated by the government. They demonstrated against these conditions and the government was compelled to retreat.

"Besteiros' policy of capitulation is being fiercely combated in the socialist party, and there is no doubt that it will be defeated. Among the lower organisations of this party, especially among the youth, the movement for the formation of a 'united revolutionary party of a Bolshevik character' is growing. Both the Communist Party and the socialist party are continually gaining fresh members."

To the question whether the anarchist leaders and the leaders of the Catalanian "Left," who have so basely betrayed the movement, have lost their influence among the masses, Peri replied:—

"Unfortunately, they still have a fairly big influence, although there are signs of a considerable change. There is great discontent and fierce disputes in the C.N.T. (Anarchist trade union federation). In Saragossa there is a strong movement in favour of joining the Workers' Alliance. In Barcelona the Catalanian

'Lefts' have still the dominating influence. The "Lefts" still make use of the fact of the imprisonment of Companys in order to say that, in spite of all his weaknesses, he is an enemy of fascism. A certain number of supporters of the "Lefts" are, however, openly demanding that the people's front, which should include the Workers' Alliance, should be set up against fascism. One can say that among the anarchists and among the masses of Catalanians a clarification process is taking place, although too slowly."

Our correspondent asked Peri whether the united front between the Communists and the socialists had not been shaken by the false attitude of the socialist party to the question of the revolution. Peri replied: "No, it is stronger and firmer than ever. The Communists and socialists in the prisons are exercising a severe self-criticism as demanded by our Party. The socialist workers realise that it is necessary not only to abandon their technical-military idea of the revolution, but at the same time to free themselves from the reformism of their leaders, such as Besteiros. They understand and agree when our comrades point out that mass work in the army is more important than the methods adopted by the socialist party of winning the sympathy of a number of officers. I have myself been told that a number of socialist leaders are inclining towards our view of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

"Why has the Spanish bourgeoisie not set up a more rigorous fascist dictatorship and why does it allow the revolutionaries the possibility of semi-illegal activity?" our correspondent asked.

To this question Peri replied: "That is very simple. The bourgeoisie cannot do otherwise. The government already before the insurrection was unable to solve a single one of the tasks it had set itself. Now the problems are, of course, much more difficult than formerly. There are fierce conflicts between the capitalist groups. The agrarian reform is combated by the big landowners. It has proved impossible to form a bloc of the Right wing elements. The government does not venture to dissolve the Cortes, the functions of which, in spite of everything, are a hindrance to the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The revolutionary movement is so strong that it finds sympathy in broad circles, while the bourgeois cliques are quarrelling over the division of the profits. As a result, it is impossible to introduce open brutal fascism."

Asked by our correspondent to give some examples of the sympathy of the broad masses for the revolution, Peri replied: "Take Asturias, for example. One can safely say that the whole of the population, without distinction of classes, is against the campaign of suppression, especially against the abominable deeds of the Foreign Legion and the Moroccan troops. The bourgeois in this district have a genuine respect for the exemplary leadership of the movement by the revolutionaries. At the same time, however, they are filled with indignation at the atrocities committed by the government troops. Under the pressure of public opinion the government was compelled to recall Doval, the friend of Gil Robles. The 60 million pesos which have been granted for the 'restoration of the province' are intended to pacify the bourgeois and petty bourgeois circles which protested against the robbery and extortion committed by the government troops."

"The official communiqués about the 'restoration of order' are therefore lies?" said our correspondent. "I am convinced," replied Peri, "that a fresh wave of revolt will soon sweep Spain. The most immediate and important task that the Communist Party has set itself is the organisation of the revolution. Everything is being done in order to strengthen the workers' alliances and to consolidate them on the basis of the factories. There still exists one weak spot: the peasantry. The peasants are still under the impression of the defeat they suffered in June (strike of the landworkers and small holders), but their misery is so appalling that fascism has been unable to build a powerful movement in the rural districts as it desired.

"In any case our comrades are full of confidence. They believe that in spite of all mistakes, for which the false attitude of the socialists to the revolution is responsible, the movement would have been victorious in October if Companys had armed the Workers' Alliances, or if he had only held out a day longer, for then the movement would have spread to Madrid. Our comrades say: because we have learnt much, and because the socialist workers in particular have learnt much and corrected their mistakes, next time—and this next time will be in a few months—we shall be victors."

The Labour Movement

The Textile Workers' Strike in Roanne

France is one of those countries in which the economic crisis has greatly increased in acuteness in the course of 1934. The industry most seriously affected is the textile industry.

Whilst the general index of production (1913=100) amounted to 97 in July and August last as compared with 112 and 111 respectively in July and August, 1933, and in September amounted to 95 as compared with 110 in September, 1933, the production index of the textile industry sank in these three months from 58 to 55 and to 54 respectively as compared with 77, 78 and 78 for the corresponding months last year. In September, 1933, the output of the French textile industry amounted to not more than about half of that of 1913, although in the meantime France has annexed the very important textile province of Alsace-Lorraine.

Exports of woollen goods, which in 1927 still amounted to 6,222 million francs, in the first seven months of 1934 amounted to only 842 million francs. In certain districts only half the normal number of workers are employed. In the wool-spinning industry the situation is disastrous. In the spinning industry in the textile district of Roubaix-Tourcoing, in which about half of all the looms in France are concentrated, the mills are working only 30 per cent. of their capacity. The cotton industry has not been spared by the crisis; hundreds of mills have been closed down, while short time is very widespread.

In this critical situation the employers wish to "bring production into harmony with consumption." With this end in view mills are to be closed down, machines and looms scrapped and short time extended to the whole of the workers. At the same time they are intensifying the rationalisation, reducing the wages of one category of workers after the other and preparing for a general offensive against the wages of all textile workers.

According to the data of the unitary textile workers' union, over 100,000 textile workers in the various districts are threatened with wage cuts ranging from 8 to 20 per cent., and this in spite of the fact that, even according to employers' figures, wages in many districts have already been reduced by a half, so that weekly wages of 50 to 75 francs (75 francs is equal to about a £) are very frequent, and there are some places in which women textile workers earn no more than 6 francs a day!

The French textile workers replied to this offensive in various districts with partial strikes and are preparing to offer mass resistance to the general offensive of the textile barons.

In this situation the mass strike in Roanne is of special importance. It is also, however, of great political importance in view of the general political and economic situation in France. Occurring at the moment when the bourgeoisie is launching an economic and political offensive against the whole of the proletariat, at the moment when trade union unity is being realised, the strike in Roanne must be regarded as the prelude to the great mass struggles which are approaching.

Preparations must, of course, be made for these big struggles. The revolutionary trade unions are confronted by this task.

The unitary trade unions and the workers of Roanne are giving a splendid example of how a strike should be prepared and conducted. The example offered by Roanne must therefore be thoroughly studied by all trade unionists and by the whole of the working class.

* * * * *

Wherein lie the great experiences in the strike in Roanne? The following are some of the essential points:—

(1) The strike reveals the great will to unity and to fight which prevails not only among the textile workers but also among the whole of the working class. The textile workers of Roanne established unity of action on a concrete basis and with a clear and definite plan.

(2) The leadership of the strike is in the hands of the strikers themselves. Each mill and each locality has its strike committee, and the central strike committee, consisting of 130 factory delegates, is leading the struggle in an effective manner.

(3) At the same time work in the unitary organisations is not neglected. Trade union meetings are taking place at which special trade union work is discussed.

(4) The mass strike in Roanne was prepared by a series of par-

tial strikes and commenced in three mills. It now embraces 15 localities and 8,000 strikers.

(5) Right from the commencement every effort has been made to extend and intensify the struggle (demonstrations, mass picketing, special work among the workers in other branches of industry, among small shopkeepers, etc.).

(6) Great drive of the campaign of popularisation and solidarity.

The strike also reveals a number of weaknesses, which, however, can be overcome, as, for instance, the insufficient activity of the mill strike committees, especially in the case of the weavers.

The good leadership of the strike is in the first place the result of its good preparation, of the great experience in struggles of the proletariat of Roanne, and the application of correct tactics in the time before the strike. The employers had made long preparations for the general attack. Months previously they had made attacks on the wages and working conditions in various mills in the district. But the unitary organisations replied with blow for blow, and thus it came to a number of smaller strikes. In June 80 workers of the firm of Gillet-Lederlin went on strike, which, however, at once spread to all the mills of this firm, so that 500 workers fought under the leadership of their central strike committee consisting of 30 members. The strikers were drawn into active participation in the leadership of the strike. Thanks to these tactics the workers of Gillet-Lederlin were able to enforce their demands.

The partial struggles (Gillet-Lederlin, Dachelette, etc.), the textile workers' conference held at the end of July, and a number of meetings which were held before the outbreak of the strike were the best preparations for the mass strike.

On November 8 the employers belonging to the textile employers' association announced a wage cut of 12 per cent. The wages of the textile workers amounted on an average to 200 francs a month. This cut was therefore regarded as monstrous. The unitary trade union of Roanne replied at first with a powerful partial action, namely, the immediate stoppage of work in three important mills. On the same day a meeting was convened at which 2,000 workers unanimously decided for strike action. In 48 hours the strike was 100 per cent. in 20 spinning mills, printing and dyeing works in Roanne; 4,500 workers were on strike. In order to extend the strike to other mills and works in the district, the workers marched in demonstrations to many localities and were everywhere greeted with sympathy by the workers, peasants and shopkeepers.

Special work was carried on among those workers who were not immediately threatened with wage cuts. The workers in these factories joined in the strike and demanded the signing of a collective agreement which should secure the present wage rates for three months. Ten employers signed such an agreement. This was the first victory. The agreements were submitted to the general meeting of strikers, who decided that work in these factories should be resumed. The workers whose demands had been fulfilled decided to give 12 per cent. of their wages for the support of the strikers.

The central strike committee also organised special meetings of out-workers, who are specially exploited, in order to draw them into the strike, which it succeeded in doing by linking up the demands of the factory workers with those of the out-workers.

Thanks to these tactics, 8,000 workers are now on strike and the strike front is being reinforced daily. Arrangements were also made to extend the strike to other districts in which the workers are threatened with wage reductions.

At the outbreak of the strike unity of action was immediately established between the reformist and unitary unions. All measures for organising, leading and extending the strike were adopted jointly; the two organisations organised joint factory meetings at which the factory strike committees were elected. The local strike committees were elected in the same way. The central strike committee numbers 130 members, comprising delegates from all factories, and was elected by all strikers.

The reformist and unitary trade union leaderships jointly discuss the work and the proposals to be submitted to the central strike committee, but it is also necessary to summon the reformist, Christian, and unitary trade unionists to joint meetings in order to discuss the work in the factories and localities.

Unity of action was also established for the purpose of recruiting new members. One membership application form for both unions has been drawn up jointly and distributed, leaving it free to

every striker to decide the organisation he or she wishes to join.

The realisation of unity of action has called forth great enthusiasm among the strikers and at the same time increased their confidence and fighting determination. The will to unity has also spread to the Christian workers, and the Christian trade union with its 70 workers has been compelled to join the central strike committee. The unitary trade union proposes the formation of a united trade union for the whole district.

The employers are resorting to various manoeuvres against the united front and against the strike. At first they attempted, but in vain, to persuade the workers that not wages, but only the rates of wages were to be reduced and that if the workers increased their output by 12 per cent. they would earn as much as they did before. On November 29 they declared themselves ready to receive a deputation of strikers, but on condition that members of the unitary organisation did not take part in it. The unitary trade union and the central strike committee thwarted this manoeuvre by sending a deputation of three reformist workers. Nevertheless, the negotiations did not lead to any result. The employers are now trying to break the spirit of the workers by starvation and repressive measures, by sending individual letters threatening them with dismissal, concentrating large bodies of the police in the district, prohibiting demonstrations and depriving the socialist mayor of Roanne of his control of the police, arresting the secretary of the unitary trade union, Comrade Boyar, etc.

But all these measures on the part of the employers only serve to strengthen the fighting spirit of the workers. The arrest of Comrade Boyar led to a spontaneous protest demonstration of 1,000 strikers which secured his immediate release.

The solidarity campaign for the strikers, which up to now has brought in over 100,000 francs, must be continued and strengthened. A representative of the strikers was received with great enthusiasm at several meetings organised by the unitary trade unions in Paris and Lille. A meeting and demonstration on behalf of the strikers held at St. Etienne was attended by 7,000 workers. The proletariat of France and the international proletariat must strengthen their solidarity campaign in order to secure the victory of the strikers of Roanne, which will be a victory for the whole of the working class.

The White Terror

Rescue Our Comrade Rakosi

By Harry Pollitt (London)

What would you feel like if after serving a sentence of eight and a half years in a torture prison when the time of your release came you were calmly told that you were now going to be held in prison to wait new charges being levelled against you for events that took place sixteen years ago?

That is the question that must be put to every worker and friend of the heroic fight of the Hungarian working class and one of its greatest leaders, Comrade Rakosi, who now stands menaced with the death penalty arising out of the farcical trial that is being staged on January 14, 1935.

For eight and a half long years Comrade Rakosi has given an example of exemplary courage and bearing in the face of the terrible suffering and provocation that the Hungarian fascists are past masters of. These hangmen had hoped that in this time they could have killed Rakosi as a result of their prison treatment. But the spirit of the revolutionary is unconquerable, and Rakosi served the sentence originally inflicted upon him, and on the day that his liberation was due, instead of walking out of the death house of the Hungarian hangmen, he was just told that a new indictment was being prepared against him.

Since April, 1934, he has been kept in prison waiting. Now the indictment has been drafted. Rakosi is to be tried by what is technically described as "summary procedure," which means he has no chance before such a court, and that the death sentence by hanging is already written out.

That is the intention of the Hungarian fascists, who have never forgotten the heroic stand of the Hungarian workers and peasants in the short days when the Soviets ruled in Hungary.

But there is another court that must and can not only speak but act. It is the workers' international tribunal. At once we must rouse the workers to the knowledge of this new infamy that is being planned. At once we must get the same

mass mobilisation that was secured when the Hitler hangmen thought that Comrade Dimitrov and his comrades were secure in their clutches.

World protests and Comrade Dimitrov's magnificent stand succeeded in confounding the plans of the German fascists; world protests, strengthened by the memories of the splendid stand and speeches of Comrade Rakosi made eight and a half years ago, must now this very moment be organised in every land, in order that we can snatch Rakosi from the scaffold.

It can be done, it must be done. It will be an indelible stain on our revolutionary honour if we let Rakosi die. It will be a heavy blow at the international working-class movement that Rakosi has served so nobly and so well if we do not use every minute to fan the wave of protests already beginning into a mighty ocean of demands for the immediate release of Rakosi.

Just now the social democrats are making, as usual, a united front with their various capitalist governments against the Soviet Union. Their crocodile tears are bespattering pages of the bourgeois press about the recent trials and executions of known counter-revolutionaries, the scum of the earth, the bandits and terrorists who would try and bring down the Soviet Union, who work in close relationship with the terrorists of all the European capitals, and who can always rely upon the support and hospitality of the Hungarian government. But these same social democrats are silent where the case of Rakosi is concerned. He is only a worker with a lifetime of service to the working class, with a lifetime's devotion to the revolutionary cause of the workers.

The Hungarian fascists want to kill Rakosi, not because of the events that took place in a revolutionary situation in Hungary sixteen years ago, and for which Rakosi as People's Commissar for Social Production had no responsibility, but because they know that Rakosi free is another revolutionary fighter free to continue the struggle against hunger, fascism, and war. Because they know that Rakosi free will come back immediately into the ranks to carry on the struggle as undauntedly as before, seeking to inspire all those he will come in contact with, with renewed ardour to carry on the fight against fascist oppression and terror.

Eight and a half years in a foul jail. Twenty-hour hours in a day, three hundred and sixty-five days in a year, eight and a half years of this slow torture and suffering, and yet to be able to face the gloating hangmen with a smile born out of the proud knowledge that the revolutionary cannot be crushed.

Our duty is plain. Rakosi has done more than one man ought to be called upon to bear, but he has had to do it, because the protests of the workers have not been loud enough, have not been forceful and sustained enough. Now to action to end this nightmare of suffering and uncertainty. Rakosi belongs to the international working-class movement; we have the responsibility of freeing him, and doing it now.

Only four weeks remain. Believe me, they will seem to fly to those whose lives are at stake. In every large city there is some representative of the Hungarian government. Let us organise the workers to make their presence felt. Resolutions, protest deputations, all these must be got under way. International opinion still counts even amongst fascist hangmen. Let it be so exerted now, that the Hungarian government is forced to realise that under no circumstances are the workers of the world prepared to let this trial proceed. That they demand the release of Rakosi, and that they intend to secure this.

It is the duty of all the Communist Parties to take the lead in developing this agitation to rescue one of the bravest and most dauntless fighters of the Communist International.

The Blow at Rakosi is a Blow at the International Proletariat

The news that Comrade Rakosi is to be brought up for trial has called forth the greatest indignation throughout the world. People find it hard to believe that the Hungarian government, which has such an unenviable reputation in its own country, and especially abroad, would venture to add this fresh monstrous crime to its already black record.

It cannot have found this an easy matter. Proof of this is that it not only waited until Rakosi had completed his sentence of eight and a half years' penal servitude, but also that after his re-arrest on April 25th, 1934, the Public Prosecutor allowed a full eight months to pass before he issued his indictment. The matter had occupied the minds not only of the judiciary, but in the first place

of their masters, the members of the government. It was they who insisted on going through with this infamous prosecution.

The Rakosi case is to serve as a deterrent. Hungary is in the grip of a terrible economic crisis which has been aggravated by the unsatisfactory wheat harvest of the summer and the unfavourable weather conditions in the autumn. The grain prices have risen and caused a rise in bread prices, but the possibilities of foreign sales, which might afford a certain financial compensation, are extremely limited. The potato crop, which was very good, is rotting in the ground. But what is the worst of all, the autumn sowing is sprouting up owing to the mild winter weather. The first January frost will destroy next year's harvest. Discontent is growing apace and revolutionary ideas are spreading. The government resorts to measures of intimidation. The Rakosi case is to serve this purpose; Rakosi is to be made an example.

As to the effect on public opinion abroad, the government knows perfectly well that even purely bourgeois groups turn away in disgust from a jurisdiction which treads under foot the most elementary principles of justice and which now prepares to re-try a man who has passed ten years in penal servitude and even condemn him to death for deeds of a purely political character committed 16 years ago.

Of course the Hungarian government knows all this very well. But it hopes that the growing crisis of capitalism has so far strengthened the fear of international Communism, that the reactionary bourgeoisie will not only tolerate the judicial murder of a Communist, but welcome it. If Goering has the audacity to demand the gratitude of the international bourgeoisie for fighting Marxism with riding-crop and automatic pistol, with torture-chamber, gibbet and axe, why should not Gömbös try his hand at the same game?

We know that it is no easy task to take up the struggle against such determined and arrogant enemies of the working class as the men who constitute the Hungarian government. But let us think of the threats uttered by Hitler against the accused in the Leipzig trial, of the threats uttered by Goering in his cross-examination by our comrade *Dimitrov*. The public opinion of the world has proved stronger than they, although they rule the greatest industrial country of the Continent. How much easier it will be for a world movement to sway the pigmy Hungarian caricatures of Hitler and Goering.

We must show who is the stronger in the arena of world opinion.

It will not be difficult, if each of us does his duty.

The cry of millions, rising from meetings, from the press, from demonstrations, telegrams, letters, telephone messages reaching the ears of the masters of Budapest through their legations abroad, will not fail to take effect.

Time is short. The Rakosi trial begins on January 14th.

The Fight for Kisch

By P. F. (Paris)

The author of "A Reporter on the Rampage," the militant writer and fighter against all the obscurantists and poisoners of the capitalist witches' cauldron, *Egon Erwin Kisch*, delegated by the World Committee Against War and Fascism to the Pan-Australian Congress Against War, to be held in *Melbourne*, has been sentenced to six months' imprisonment by a Sydney court of justice. He is the first victim of a law which now has been established for white entrants to the country, the same barriers which for a long time have excluded coloured immigrants from Australia. Needless to say the law applies only to "undesirable" whites. The *Duke of Gloucester*, for instance, or *Sir Maurice Hankay*, Britain's chief war-mongering expert in the Far East are very welcome guests in Australia.

Kisch was to be sent to prison by force of this new law, the "lex Kisch." But the government and the Public Prosecutor who get their tips from the Home Office and the Colonial Office in London were much mistaken when they thought that they had seen the last of this unpleasant business.

This fellow, Kisch, who jumped on land from aboard the liner when he was refused a landing in Australia, who made a fiery speech at the anti-war conference in spite of a broken leg and who blew up the respectable Australian Society of Writers, does not know when he is beaten. And the tricks of the immigration authorities who call him an "immigrant" although he is only a

visitor; who give him a dictation test in Gaelic, a language no less foreign to them than five of the six languages Kisch can speak, all these tricks will be frustrated by the courageous resistance put up by Kisch.

The Kisch case has raised the dust even in the *British House of Commons*. *John Wilmot*, the Labour Member for Hammersmith, asked the Home Secretary whether it was true that the Australian government had been instructed from London to prevent the landing of Kisch (in spite of his being in possession of the required passport and visa) and his participation in the anti-war congress of the Dominion. He further asked whether it was true that Kisch had been refused a landing in Britain and if so what was the reason for this. *Sir John Gilmour*, in his answer, carefully avoided to deal with the real point at issue, which is that Kisch is to be barred from the British Empire because he is an anti-fascist and an opponent of war. *Sir John Gilmour* said that the Australian government was alone competent to decide on the admission or non-admission of any person to that country. He thus evaded the question whether the government of the almighty metropolis had exercised its influence on the authorities of a little colony in order to induce them to decide against the admission of Kisch. *Sir John Gilmour* as good as admitted this by readily confirming that Kisch had been refused a landing in England in September, 1933, because he was "notorious for his seditious activities."

However, the Kisch case has attracted the attention of liberal-minded men and women in all parts of the world, for it gives a very interesting illustration of the road along which the British Empire is fast progressing. Well-known politicians, lawyers, writers and artists have, in telegrams and letters, given vent to their indignation at this attitude of the British and Australian governments. The World Committee Against War and Fascism have taken steps towards the cancellation of the prison sentence and expect that Kisch will be put in the position to fulfil his mission in Australia.

The Society of Writers has raised its voice on behalf of Kisch, one of its prominent members. The British Anti-War Committee has appealed to the most important international organisation of writers, the P.E.N. Club to intervene in this scandalous case of victimisation. The International Juridical Association has adopted a resolution protesting against the unjust sentence passed on Kisch.

In Australia itself a mighty campaign is in full swing. The government of the Australian Commonwealth and its Chief Public Prosecutor, *Menzies*, have certainly not obtained the result they had in view, for with the Kisch case they have stirred up problems they would certainly have preferred to leave unraised. The broad mass action against reaction and militarism are only in their beginnings in Australia.

Fight for the Unity of the Labour Movement

The National Congress of the Reformist Trade Union Federation in Czechoslovakia

By G. Friedrich (Prague)

The reformist trade unions of Czechoslovakia, which are united in various central bodies, have created a Trade Union Federation (*Odborové sdružení*), embracing all these central bodies. This Federation has a membership of 628,850, of whom 216,672 belong to the German trade unions. 82.5 per cent. of the members are organised in workers' trade unions and 17.5 per cent. in trade unions of employees.

The Tenth National Congress of the *Odborové sdružení Československo* (O.S.C.) was held recently in Prague. The delegates to the Congress were not elected by the members, but nominated by the Federation Executive. Hence the majority of those present were secretaries and trade union officials.

In connection with this Congress the Red trade unions again submitted to the reformist trade unions a proposal to agree to joint activity for the minimum demands of the workers and to set up the basis for trade union unity. This proposal was not only submitted to the Congress but also brought up for discussion among the rank and file of the reformist trade unions, and in the factories. In many factories special resolutions welcoming this proposal were adopted.

As a result of this broad agitation of the Red trade unions, the Congress had to deal with several motions submitted by reformist trade union groups. Glass factories in the Stein-Schoenau district, the reformist fraction of the factory council of the Poldi smelting works in Kladno, the workers of the Odkolek factory in Prague, mine workers of the Moravian-Ostrau district, the workers of the textile factories in Friedland, etc., sent in resolutions supporting the proposal submitted by the Red trade unions. The reformist union of the taxi-drivers made particularly active propaganda for trade union unity. The resolution adopted by this union suggested the sending of a delegation to France in order to study there the results and methods of united front work.

The official delegation of the Red trade unions, which had come in order to put forward the arguments in favour of trade union unity, as well as delegations from factories and trade unions, were not admitted to the Congress. Even the delegates present were not allowed to move the resolutions and amendments of their reformist trade union groups. The delegation of the French unity trade unions of railwaymen, post, telegraph and telephone workers were likewise not admitted to the Congress and treated in a very churlish manner. On the other hand, Jouhau, the collaborator of the French bourgeoisie, was solemnly welcomed by the Congress.

The questions dealt with by the Congress and the resolutions adopted confirm the previous policy of the reformist trade unions and, on the other hand, mean a fresh step on the path of collaboration with the bourgeoisie, an attempt to subordinate the trade unions to the State apparatus and the economic organisations of the bourgeoisie, a fresh step on the path of the fascisation of the trade unions.

There was much talk at the Congress about the "economic" programme of the trade unions. In the Congress resolution dealing with this economic programme an attempt is made to convince the workers that the capitalist cartels can be subordinated to an "organisation of planned production." The "compulsory cartelisation" demanded by the Congress would mean a further merging of the economic organisations of the bourgeoisie with the State apparatus, i.e., greater exploitation of the toiling people by means of increased prices, higher taxes, etc. The compulsory cartelisation with the participation of the trade unions, as suggested by the reformist trade union leaders, means a still closer collaboration of the trade unions with the bourgeoisie and their conversion into tools of fascist suppression. The idea of compulsory cartelisation with the participation of the trade unions is nothing else but the idea of the fascist "Labour Chambers," which are a part of the economic and political structure of the fascist States. The reformist leaders wish to play the chief role in the fascisation of the trade unions right to the end. The social-political demands of the Congress are drawn up in the same spirit.

Thus, for instance, the Congress demanded the development of the State Labour Exchanges, a demand which means only throwing dust into the eyes of the workers, as not a single worker will get more work through these Labour Exchanges. The demand was also raised for shorter working hours, without any mention being made of increase of rates of pay in order that the workers should not suffer a wage reduction as a result. Congress finally demanded a further and still more energetic intervention of the State in the matter of "reorganising economy." This intervention of the State has hitherto found expression in the rights of the workers being more and more restricted. Thus the intervention of the State led to the period of office of the factory councils being lengthened by a year, thereby depriving the workers of their right to elect their representatives in the workshops. And following the announcement of the State "planned economic measures," the mining industrialists are demanding the dismissal of 25,000 "superfluous" workers.

However, the Congress of the reformist trade unions could not altogether evade the question of unity of action and trade union unity. In spite of the sabotage and manoeuvres of the platform, the demand of the workers for the united front was raised. The General Secretary of the trade unions was compelled to reply in his concluding speech to some speakers who had demanded immediate realisation of unity of action even at the cost of the socialists leaving the government coalition. The General Secretary repeated the old phrase about the "insincerity" of the Communist offer and advocated the construction of a powerful united trade union federation comprising the reformist trade unions.

The Tenth Congress of the O.S.C. rejected the proposal for

unity of the Red trade unions and thus opposed militant unity with the revolutionary trade unions. These decisions are in accordance with the interest of the bourgeoisie. But the Red trade unions of Czechoslovakia will continue and intensify their work for uniting the trade unions on the basis of the class struggle.

The Struggle for the United Front in Western Ukraine

By Marin (Lemberg)

The united front campaign launched by the Communist Party of Western Ukraine is winning broader sections of workers. The necessity for setting up the united front is being realised by the Polish Ukrainian, Jewish socialist and non-party workers. They realise that it is necessary to resist the fresh attacks of the capitalists on the wages and the last remnants of social insurance, to take up the fight against the concentration camps, against the systematic murder of Communists and anti-fascists, against the fresh wave of terror and the "pacification," which in Volhynia in particular, has assumed the form of physical annihilation of whole villages; they realise that it is necessary to fight against the fascisation of the trade unions by means of such a strong weapon as the united front is. In a unanimously adopted resolution the workers of the reformist building workers' union who have allied themselves with the Left workers, declare:—

"Following the example of the workers in other countries, we building workers decide, just as the garment workers, to set up the united front. Our class interests are the same, and we suffer the same misery; let us therefore establish unity of action and a united trade union!"

In Lemberg, the capital of the Western Ukraine, occupied by the Poles, the campaign for mobilising the workers under the slogan of the united front is able to record some achievements after the strike in the Branka factory. In reply to the attempt of the management to reduce wages, the workers, some hundreds strong, occupied the factory and prevented goods from coming in or out of the factory. The occupation of the factory lasted a whole week. The management thereupon applied for police assistance. After a struggle lasting for an hour, in the course of which several workers were wounded, the police succeeded in breaking the resistance of the workers and driving them out of the factory.

The report of this brutal action soon spread to all factories and aroused great indignation. The C.P. of the Western Ukraine immediately issued a leaflet calling upon the workers to down tools and demonstrate their solidarity with the courageous Branka workers. The strike spread to the following factories: **Aida, Leopolja, Karpatit, Hazet, a paper factory, 36 printing works, a dozen smaller metal works** and a certain number of garment works.

These struggles had an outspokenly political character and were directed against the fascist terror and the bloody suppression of economic strikes of the workers. The participation of the printing workers in the strike movement deserves special note. These workers, who formerly enjoyed a certain privileged position, have also experienced a worsening of their wage and working conditions.

The C.P. of the Western Ukraine is utilising the experiences won in this strike movement in order to promote the setting up of the united front. It has addressed a proposal to the P.P.S. (Polish Socialist Party), the Ukrainian social democratic party, the Jewish Bund and the U.S.R.P. (a party comprising mostly lumber workers and poor peasants) to organise public meetings, factory meetings and demonstrations for the release of Comrade **Thaelmann** and all political prisoners, the victims of the Polish occupation and of fascism.

The Ukrainian social democratic party has made a reply which is the height of cynicism and provocation; it takes up the defence of the fascists bandits who are organising conspiracies and attacks upon the workers' and peasants' government of Soviet Ukraine and are advocating a counter-revolutionary march on Kiev. The other social democratic parties adopt more skilful tactics; they attempt to manoeuvre, to temporise or declare that their hands are bound by their central committee, which alone has the right to conclude a final pact.

Many facts prove that the workers are beginning to see through the cunning manoeuvre of their social democratic leaders and are opposing their sabotage of the united front. Thus, for instance, the building workers, the quarry workers and the workers from the **Tesja** factory in **Kalush** have set up the unity trade unions on the platform of inner democracy and proportional elections. The socialist Youth of

Lemberg have concluded a united front with the Y.C.L., set up a parity committee, and intend to issue an information bulletin for the discussion of all questions connected with joint activity. The young workers attended the workers' demonstration held to protest against the police terror exercised on the occasion of the Branka works strike. In **Schodnitza**, which is situated in the oil district, the local branch of the P.P.S. rejected the dilatory and sabotaging policy of its central committee and decided to liquidate the organisation.

The **Workers' Left** is convening a **Workers' Congress in Lemberg** to which delegates are to be elected in the reformist and Left trade unions, at factory meetings and at meetings of the unemployed. The campaign for the mobilisation of the masses is being developed under the slogans of the struggle against the capitalist offensive on wages, against the fascisation of the trade unions, against the fresh wave of terror and "pacification," against the concentration camps, for the release of Comrade Thaelmann and all political prisoners, for secular schools, at the expense of the State, at which instruction shall be given in the mother tongue, for a Ukrainian university in Lemberg and an effective relief action for the unemployed.

There is no doubt that the campaign for the calling of the Congress will mobilise all sections of toilers under the flag of proletarian internationalism against the savage offensive of Ukrainian nationalism and against the anti-Soviet war which the imperialists of Poland and Germany are preparing in alliance with the Ukrainian bourgeoisie.

Preparations for Imperialist War

The Armament Policy of Polish Imperialism

By Nemo

With the open rapprochement between Poland and Germany there has been a considerable increase of Polish armaments. These armaments mean serious preparations for war on the part of Polish imperialism, and are welcomed by the national socialist press. Thus the "**Deutsche Wehr**" of October 11 points to the high level of the Polish army,

"which is bound to call forth the admiration of every impartial observer and makes Poland an ally worth securing by any European State."

In these words there is clearly expressed the fact that the Third Reich sees in the yesterday so hated Polish army a valuable ally for the realisation of its plans of imperialist conquest. The same object is pursued by the German press in its endeavours to popularise the leaders of the Polish army and to represent them to the masses of Germany as ideal and capable militarists. The national socialist press makes no secret of the fact that German fascism, in close collaboration with Poland, aims at the conquest of the Baltic and the Soviet Ukraine, and at the same time carefully avoids the delicate question of the German-Polish frontiers.

It would be a mistake to assume, however, that the Polish bourgeoisie, and especially the army commanders, are unanimously in favour of joining the German war front. The article published by General **Sikorski** in the "**Kurier Warszawski**," in which he demands that the Polish air force be strengthened and points to the danger threatening from Germany, was only one example of the resistance which still exists to a German-Polish alliance, which in view of the political situation can only be a war alliance. Be that as it may, it is a fact that Poland is arming at an accelerated pace in order to appear to the imperialist Powers as a serious factor and to be able to realise its old expansionist plans.

The **auxiliary service law** promulgated in October is characteristic of the endeavours of the Pilsudski government to mobilise all the available forces of the country for the purpose of war. This law, which was issued by means of an emergency decree, introduces compulsory auxiliary service for all men from 17 to 60 years of age, and for those women who are fitted by training for service in the event of war.

A further decree has been already announced on the powers of the authorities, in the event of war, to compel all the inhabitants of Poland, including foreigners, to render material and personal service in the interest of national defence. The auxiliary service law can be regarded as the conclusion of numerous measures already carried out for the purpose of militarising the country, including the civilian population.

Shortly before the promulgation of the auxiliary service law, the **air defence law** was passed which, like the Italian air defence law, consists of ten articles. Under this law the authorities can, in the event of a threatening air or gas attack, set up an air and gas defence service for the whole or part of the country. The law provides for air and gas defence, especially in regard to the tasks of the population, already in times of peace. The costs entailed by these measures are to be borne jointly by the State, the municipalities, industry, private persons and public organisations.

The oldest gas and air defence organisation in Europe, the "**Polish League for Air and Gas Defence**," called "**Lopp**" for short, is popularising air defence in close connection with propaganda for increasing the air force. The rapid development of this organisation is shown by the fact that in the period from May to December, 1933, alone it gained over 200,000 new members, and at the end of 1933 had a membership of 1,062,000. In 1924 the organisation had only 120 members. To-day it has over 60 clubs and 20 clubs for young people in Warsaw alone. The income of the "**Lopp**" already amounts to over 40 million zloty.

The "**Lopp**" is carrying on large-scale propaganda among the civil population in order to train them for defence against air and gas attacks. At the same time it carries on a large amount of research work. The **Polish Aero-Dynamic Institute** is a creation of the "**Lopp**." In addition, two experimental workshops near Warsaw, two schools for aircraft mechanics in Lemberg and Bromberg, and a school for military pilots in Radom have been built out of the funds provided by the "**Lopp**." The new Polish pursuing plane "**P 24**," which is equipped with a 14-cylinder, 800 horse-power motor is capable of a speed of 33 metres a second and can reach a height of 3,000 metres in four minutes, shows great progress made by the Polish air force.

At the end of November the draft of a new decree of the President was published, under which the peasants are compelled to cultivate certain plants and carry out certain works which are of importance in the event of war. Under the same law, in the interest of national defence, the proprietor, manager or holder of a farm can be ordered to leave it. Violation of this decree in time of peace is punishable with imprisonment up to five years and in time of war up to ten years.

Great attention has been devoted lately to the strengthening of the **fleet**, which is stationed in the harbour of Gdynia. At the present time four mine-layers are being built. Swedish dockyards have been asked to submit tenders for the construction of two destroyers. It is planned to build three new submarines and numerous seaplanes. The Polish naval budget amounted in the financial year 1933-34 to no less than 45.6 million zloty.

Increased efforts are also being made to develop the **strategic transport system**. The current military budget, which amounts to 300 million zloty and swallows up no less than 35 per cent. of the total budget, provides 45.5 million zloty for railway construction and 77.5 million zloty for the construction of roads and bridges. In the spring of this year the Polish State railways raised a loan in London of 133 million zloty for the purchase of brakes for goods waggons. The **militarisation of the railwaymen** acquires increased importance in connection with the preparations for war. Reliable officers and non-commissioned officers are being given responsible positions on the railway at strategically important junctions. Already some years ago the railwaymen were placed under military law.

A no less feverish activity is to be observed in the construction of **streets, roads and bridges**. The Transport Ministry last summer took over the control of 17 new autobus lines, chiefly in Western White Russia and Western Ukraine. Of the new bridges which have been constructed, special mention should be made of the bridge over the Vistula near Pulawy, which was finished in summer. This bridge, which was built at a cost of 7 million zloty, is to-day the biggest bridge over the Vistula and connects Warsaw with the important Polish fortress of Modlin and in addition provides a direct route for motor-driven vehicles between Warsaw and Gdynia. The Polish "**Road League**" has been carrying on energetic propaganda of late for the construction of strategic roads and bridges.

Finally, mention should be made of the extensive work for improving the telephone connections, as well as for the motorisation of the country, which furnishes further evidence of the increased war preparations of Polish imperialism, which call for the greatest vigilance on the part of the workers.

Students' World Congress

Worker and Student

By Conrady

Nazi phraseology represents students and workers as one unit, and surpasses itself in enumerating their common services to what the Nazi leaders call the revolution.

The legend of the joint struggle of the working class and the students in the Storm Troops, the demagogic misrepresentations classifying students and workers as the "promoters of the revolution," so that they alone "may claim to-day to be the stratum of the people bearing the whole," all this has its origin in the conceptions and desires of the petty bourgeois student class.

In the capitalist world, only those can attend a college who are able to pay the fees, to maintain the standard of living and buy the necessary text books. Hence the students in the capitalist colleges are almost exclusively the children of capitalists and of the middle classes between the big bourgeoisie and the working class. This stratum includes a variety of social grades, the lowest of which approach closely to the proletariat. The uppermost grades, on the other hand, merge almost in the bourgeoisie. This last category supplies the main quota of students.

Considerably more than fifty per cent. of the students in Germany are the children of academicians who belong to what is known as the "free" professions, or officials of medium or high rank. The fathers of the others are for the most part small factory owners, independent tradesmen, merchants.

This uppermost stratum of the petty bourgeoisie, closely bound by a thousand ties to the big bourgeoisie, is either directly (as official or civil servant) or indirectly ("free" professions, small capitalists) dependent on the bourgeoisie. The student, threatened by the crisis with its over-crowding of the colleges and the lack of employment for academicians, clings the more desperately to the big bourgeoisie; he appeals to its social solidarity, and hopes to avert his economic decline.

Wavering to and fro, hating both financial and monopolist capitalism, yet rejecting the claims of the proletarian revolution, the petty bourgeois student seeks a third way of escape. He hopes to be able to participate in the direct exploitation of the working class, either as a factory owner, as a functionary of the State apparatus, or as a member of one of the free professions. Were he to join the proletarian movement, he could not maintain these illusions.

He dreams—as we may read in the May number of the "Deutscher Student," of the "uniting of the bearers of the revolution—worker and student—for the joint work of education and construction." He believes that:—

"The creation of the real community of the people depends on the complete accomplishment of the task of bringing the hand and brain workers together again, of achieving their inner unification."

This community of the people, which is to crush both capitalism and Communism and to reconcile the classes, is this not the true socialism? The bourgeoisie, being implored in such tones, naturally agreed, and commenced presenting its own aims and objects to the most awakened sections of petty bourgeois youth, camouflaged in the form of an infallible solution of the economic problem. For the bourgeoisie this is an important matter, for they must endeavour to bring back to the fold the intellectual cadre of imperialism, which they observe is losing faith in the science and the philosophy of the bourgeoisie.

The four college terms which have passed since the Nazis came into power show very clearly what is to be understood under the community of students and workers.

In order to accomplish the first step, "co-operation" was agreed upon between the students' organisations and the National Socialist Workshops Organisations (N.S.B.O.). On July 25, 1933, this co-operation was solemnly inaugurated by a great demonstration in Berlin. For the moment this appeared to be all. Soon after, however, voices were heard demanding "militant tasks," and pointing out that the joint gathering of students and workers in meetings did not represent "socialist reality." Hence the task was set:—

"The point of departure for regaining the German worker for the nation lies in cultural life." Thus the "Deutscher Student."

In other words: the student, in addition to his task of organised blacklegging in the Technical Emergency Aid, must endeavour to achieve the ideological confusion of the workers.

On May 1, 1934, the "Deutscher Student" commented on this question:—

"Besides the great demonstrations, National Socialist students will everywhere place themselves at the disposal of the National Socialist Workshops Organisations, and will perform work of cultural training in the great industrial undertakings. . . . This joint educational work will enable the workers to acquire much knowledge which was not imparted to them under the Hohenzollern school and educational methods—and they will receive much enlightenment, much refutation of the ideas instilled into them by history, and by the persistent agitation of the Marxists."

It could scarcely be stated more clearly! The student is to come forward as the henchman and slave-driver of capital in the great struggle between the decaying capitalist bourgeoisie and the socialist workers. Then the capitalists will condescendingly allow the student to call himself the "born leader of the people." ("Activist," December 1, 1933), and to fancy that he is the chosen teacher and ideologist of the people. What do these self-deceiving matters? The main point is that the student undertakes to train the young workers properly in the labour service, and is ready to die a hero's death in imperialist or civil war.

But the bourgeoisie is not only becoming less and less able to feed its slaves, the proletariat. It is obliged at the same time to lower the standards of living of its own immediate servants in the petty bourgeoisie, and even to expose them to unemployment and starvation. Thus under the Hitler regime the standards of living of the students have not improved, but have worsened.

To-day the student is again unreliable, his organisations "disrupted." The pillar upon which the capitalists have leaned whilst "re-educating" the workers has crumbled. Now the authorities are afraid to organise the comradeship houses in which the young workers and students were to live under one roof. On the contrary, the "comradeship houses" now accommodate **students only**, in the hope that this barrack life may keep them from further disruption, and they may be drilled for a year undisturbed. There can be little doubt that it would have turned out very badly indeed for the bourgeoisie, had it ventured to house the proletariat from the Siemens factories and the students of Berlin under one roof.

The same methods are adopted by the Nazis in their so-called "selection of gifted students," by means of which the children of workers and the poorer classes were to be given the possibility of study. The organ of the Berlin colleges, the "Activist," which calls itself "the paper of the workers and students," publishes a letter from the father of a factory student, stating:—

". . . My son, although enrolled at the University, is still a workman like myself. . . . Now he has money to pay for something for himself. Can it not be made possible for such a young man to be a student and a worker at the same time? But the work at the bench makes it impossible for him to attend the technical meetings, the labour service, the comradeship service, the numerous obligatory roll calls and lectures. If it is to be made possible for a worker to be a student at the same time, which I doubt, there is still much to be done."

The editors, knowing from experience that confiscation of the paper and jail for themselves would be the result of comment, make none.

But the same number of the paper, October 26, 1934, publishes an agreement between the factory students' organisation and the National Socialist Youth Committee:—

"The social centre of the National Youth Committee will provide for economically weak Hitler Youth leaders the possibility of fulfilling their task in the matter of education as in other matters. . . . Hitler Youth leaders whose talents are far above the average will in the future not be submerged in a trade in which their talents are not utilised, but will be given the possibility of developing an elite of National Socialist leaders."

It has needed four terms in order that a few corrupt bosses receive a stipend, whilst the great masses of the petty bourgeois students have still to pay the high fees obtaining in the days of the old "system." In many cases this has forced students from the middle classes, whose families have not been able to pay their

fees, to abandon their studies. And the young workers, instead of being given bread and work, are forced into the land service, the labour service, the slavery of the "land aid."

This is where the alliance with the bourgeoisie had led. The bourgeoisie, shaken by the crisis and depression, needs, however, no engineers or physicians, no teachers or writers. All it needs is police to keep a watch on the rebellious workers—and even these it cannot pay adequately.

To-day the hospitals are being closed, although the health of the nation is worse. Schools are being closed, although the classes are overcrowded and the children have to walk miles to school, especially in the rural districts. Physicians and teachers are without employment, and forget all they have learned for want of practice. Engineers invent many useful and important things for mankind, but find that the profits of the capitalists are more important, and that their inventions may not be utilised. The sole science of interest to the bourgeoisie is that of preparations for the imperialist massacre of the peoples. Science, the progress of technics, become the curse of mankind under the rule of decaying capitalism. Only in the Workers' State, as the Soviet Union proves daily, are the knowledge and science of the scholars a blessing to mankind.

Everywhere in the capitalist world the colleges publish the same record: closing down of institutions, no employment for academicians, complete lack of prospects for students. It is only in the Soviet Union that the number of colleges and students increases; here alone the capable and the talented have opportunities for study and can find occupation in their professions after finishing their studies.

Everywhere in the colleges and universities of the capitalist world there is unrest, disruption, hopelessness. The students are looking for a new path. A beacon-light is established by the alliance of the Californian students with the proletariat. These students not only refused to perform scab work during the strike of the workers in San Francisco, but many joined in the courageous mass picketing. One body of students, by its courageous intervention on the part of workers on strike, has forced the university authorities to prohibit the participation of the students in economic struggles, even threatening suspension from the university. The Dean of the University of Oxford has been forced to this step by the determined militant alliance between the anti-fascist students and the proletariat. The Spanish anti-fascist students fought undauntingly and courageously at the side of the proletariat. In the Balkan countries, in Poland, in Hungary, the students have given many splendid examples of their solidarity with the working class.

The Students' Congress will draw the lessons from these experiences: the dreams of playing the leader and of the "third way" are illusory; the student in the capitalist world must realise what Comrade Molotov declared at the Fifth All-Union Congress of engineers and technicians:—

"The middle classes cannot play any leading role, but are compelled either to remain the passive draught animal of the bourgeoisie or becoming the ally of the proletariat, which under its fighting flag alone will bring to all toilers emancipation from the yoke and exploitation of the bourgeoisie."

China

The Co-operative Movement in Soviet China

(Report from the Central Soviet District)

In the midst of the permanent revolutionary struggles and wars against the class enemy on the frontiers of the Soviet district, the Soviets are reconstructing their economy in order to raise the emancipated country on to a higher economic level and secure the economic basis necessary for conducting the revolutionary war. The co-operative movement occupies an important place in this economic reconstruction. The co-operatives are mass organisations, the overwhelming majority of their members of which are peasants; they are establishing a close economic connection between the peasants and the Soviets. In spite of the permanent state of war in which the Soviet government and the whole of the Soviet population are living, the co-operative movement, under the leadership of the Communist Party and of the Soviets, has recently made a big step forward.

Up to the time of the setting up of the People's Commissariat for Economy in April, 1933, there existed only individual co-operatives in the most advanced Soviet districts, such as Sinkuo, Sienli,

Suikin, Sanchan, etc., and these had no connection whatever with each other. It was only a year ago, after the economic reconstruction congress, that the co-operatives made a big advance.

The following figures from the Central Soviet district (not including the Soviet district of Fukien, Chekiang, and Kiangsi with 100,000 co-operative members) shows the development of the co-operative movement:—

	Aug. 1933	Feb. 1934
<i>Consumers' Co-operatives—</i>		
Number of branches	417	1,140
Membership	82,940	295,993
Capital in dollars	91,670	322,525
<i>Grain Co-operatives—</i>		
Number of branches	457	10,712
Membership	102,182	243,904
Capital in dollars	94,894	242,079
<i>Productive Co-operatives—</i>		
Number of branches	76	176
Membership	9,276	32,761
Capital in dollars	29,351	58,552

According to these figures the membership of the consumers' co-operatives increased by 250 per cent. in six months, the membership of the grain co-operatives by over 140 per cent. and the membership of the productive co-operatives by about 250 per cent. The number of branches of all the three kinds of co-operatives increased in the same period from 950 to 11,028. The capital increased from 215,915 dollars to 623,156 dollars.

In the Sinkuo Soviet district the slogan: "Every village should have its own consumers' and grain co-operative" has already been realised. In addition to the above-mentioned co-operatives, there are about 1,000 draught animal and ploughing co-operatives and numerous workers' auxiliary co-operatives as well as credit co-operatives. Thanks to the draught animal co-operatives and the workers' auxiliary co-operatives, the output of agriculture greatly increased in spite of the fact that a large portion of the peasants and agricultural workers are fighting in the ranks of the Red Army. Many women have been drawn into the workers' auxiliary co-operatives. They formed shock brigades for the cultivation of the soil and engaged in revolutionary competition. About 25 per cent. of the peasants possessed no oxen or other draught animals for the cultivation of the rice fields. The draught animal co-operatives were therefore established in order to assist these poor peasants. In many districts, for instance in Suikin, the shortage of draught animals has been completely overcome by the draught animal co-operatives.

The co-operatives have been considerably improved as regards organisation and administration. The work of the co-operatives has been co-ordinated, their administration centralised. Every co-operative has its administrative centre in the town, to which the administrative bodies in the various villages are subordinated. The consumers' co-operatives have district administrative centres in 17 Soviet districts, which are subordinated to the two provincial administrative centres in Kiangsi and Fukien. Since December last year the whole of the Central Soviet district has been united in one administrative centre of the co-operatives.

The co-operatives enjoy the greatest confidence of the masses and are already playing a big role in catering for the daily needs of the masses. In the Soviet district of Sinkuo the average monthly turnover of the consumers' co-operatives (imports and exports) amounts to 60,000 dollars. In the village of Seitchi the private shops have been almost completely ousted by the consumers' co-operatives. In this village there exist two co-operative stores for textile goods, two stores for the sale of salt, oil, meat, and one store for the sale of sugar, beans, etc. More than 60 per cent. of the inhabitants of this village are members of the co-operatives. A similar situation exists in the districts of Sienli and Suikin. Only the Soviet provinces of Kwantung-Kiangsi, Fukien and the northern part of the Central Soviet district are lagging behind in this respect.

The co-operatives grant special privileges to the members of the Red Army. They are granted an abatement of 20 per cent. on all their purchases and are given a longer credit. The co-operatives subscribe 50 per cent. of their profits to the State loan, 10 per cent. go in gifts for cultural purposes (for clubs, schools, text books for children, etc.), 10 per cent. are set aside for wages and salaries and the remaining 30 per cent. are used for investment purposes.

Among the productive co-operatives mention should be made of the co-operatives for the production of salt, chalk, iron ore, camphor, stoves and boilers, textiles, paper and tobacco.

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

Elections in Moscow

By Our Special Correspondent, L. F. Boross

Moscow, December 10.

As a preliminary to the impending elections to the Soviets, the Moscow Soviet has issued a report on its activities during the years 1931-1935.

The 260 pages of the report published in book form by the Stationary Office of the Moscow Soviet is full of facts of the greatest interest not only to the citizens of Moscow, but to the working-class town dwellers of the capitalist countries.

The first chapter of the report deals with industrial developments. During the years covered by the report the Moscow Soviet has succeeded in increasing industrial production in the capital city by 120 per cent., the value of production increasing from 3,365 million roubles to 7,500 million roubles. There is not a single unemployed person in Moscow (nor in the whole Soviet Union), although the population of the city has increased by nearly a million (900,000) during the last four years. Whole new industries have come into being and most of the old small and medium enterprises existing before the revolution have been turned into giant plants. The production of machines has increased thirtyfold and industrial production in general has increased eightfold since the revolution. The workers in a seven-hour day produce two and a half times as much as they did in 10-11 hours before the war. The productivity of labour has increased not only owing to up-to-date methods of production but also owing to the feeling of the workers that they are working for themselves, for their own class. That this increase in the productivity of labour in the socialist enterprises is coupled with a rise in the standard of living is proved among other things by the fact that the large-scale industrial production of clothes and shoes in Moscow is more than *twenty-four times* what it was before the war, and that at the same time the production of the Moscow food industry has risen to four times that of 1913 and to twice that of 1930.

The production of *electric power* is five times what it was before the war and two and a half times what it was at the time of the last elections. *Railway traffic* to and from Moscow has surpassed the corresponding figures of all other European capitals at least so far as goods traffic is concerned. The comparative figures are: Moscow, 1933, 18 million tons; Berlin, 1932, 11.7 million tons; Paris, 1933 (pre-depression), 10.5 million tons. The termini have been extended and transformed, the suburban railways electrified and a number of changes effected with a view to making travel more convenient.

The number of post offices has increased from 146 in 1930 (and 54 in 1913) to 314. Part of the telephone exchanges are now automatic. The number of holders of wireless licenses has increased more than threefold owing to the great increase in the production of wireless sets.

In the middle of 1931 the construction of an *underground railway* in Moscow was decided. In 1932 the work of construction began. Only a few weeks now separate us from the day when the first line, 12 kilometres in length, will start running. As regards interior arrangements, convenience of travel and the artistic details of its stations, the Moscow "tube" will be the finest in the world.

No less radical a change will be effected in long distance goods traffic by the second gigantic building project of the past period of activity, the *Moscow-Volga canal*, begun in 1932. Some idea of the dimensions of this canal will be conveyed by the following comparative table:—

Canal	Length	Excavation in millions of cubic metres	Concrete work in thousand cubic metres
Manchester Canal ...	57 km.	35	365
N. German Canal ...	99 "	78	—
Central German ...	120 "	80	—
Panama Canal ...	80 "	160	3,860
White Sea Canal ...	227 "	21	395
Volga-Moscow ...	128 "	134	2,480

The *population* of Moscow has increased by nearly 10 per cent. (9.9). Leaving out of consideration the increase through the influx

from the rural areas and including only the natural increase, i.e., the excess of births over deaths, we find the following figures as compared to other capital cities:—

Excess of Births Over Deaths per 1,000 Inhabitants (1932)

Moscow	+7
New York	+5
London	+2
Paris	+0.5
Berlin	-2.9

The aggregate wages of all Moscow enterprises rose between 1931 and 1933 from 2.1 to 3.6 milliard roubles, i.e., by 66 per cent. The average wage of the individual worker increased from 122.70 roubles to 174 roubles per month, i.e., by 41.8 per cent. After the disappearance of unemployment the number of workers per family increased very considerably and the real wages *per family* increased to a much greater extent than the real wages per individual. At the same time the average working day was shortened from 7.18 hours to 6.9 hours. In addition, every sixth day is a rest day in the Soviet Union, instead of every seventh as in capitalist countries. The expenditure on the social services of Moscow are characterised by the following figures:—

1931	161 million roubles
1933	226 " "
1934	258 " "

Increased wages are of value only if the workers can buy a greater quantity of food and articles of general consumption with them. On this point the report gives the following figures: The turnover in foodstuffs increased by 32 per cent. between 1932 and 1933, the turnover in articles of general consumption by 12 per cent. during the same period. The number of public retail shops (as distinguished from the closed co-operative shops attached to the factories and catering only for the factory staff) has increased in Moscow as follows:—

	Shops and Stores	Kiosks	Total
July 1st, 1931	2,048	4,091	6,139
January 1st, 1934	3,306	4,931	8,237

The consumption of fresh vegetables has increased to the following extent:—

1931	273 million kilograms
1932	300 " "
1933	358 " "
1934	500 " "

In 1934 two million four hundred and forty thousand workers could have their lunch in the public dining halls of Moscow, as compared with 1,300,000 in 1931. These dining halls are by no means a kind of "mess" where you must eat what you are given, but in the majority genuine restaurants with a wide choice of dishes. They serve the convenience of the workers and help to emancipate the women from the drudgery of the household. 420,000 *children get a warm midday meal every day in the school dining halls of Moscow*, and another 70,000 are fed daily in the crèches and kindergartens.

From the chapter on *housing* we quote only one figure: half a million inhabitants of Moscow have been rehoused in new dwellings during the last four years.

Education has developed tremendously. Not only has general compulsory elementary education been introduced and put into practice, but since last year secondary education, including children and youngsters from 8 to 17 years of age, has been made compulsory and universal. In accordance with this great scope of education, the expenditure of the Moscow municipal authorities for educational purposes has been in

1931	53.6 million roubles
1932	100.9 " "
1933	132.6 " "
1934	186 " "

With its 409 scientific and special libraries, with its 20.5 million books and 100,000 readers, Moscow doubtless occupies the first place in the world as a city of libraries. The number of scientific institutes has also increased from 197 to 234, and the number of scholars engaged in scientific pursuits from 9,646 to 15,112. The number of permanent professional theatres increased from 26 (with 17,665 seats) to 37 (with 33,897 seats) and the number of theatre-goers from 3,201,742 to 4,234,2000 per annum. The greater half of the seats in most theatres are reserved for the workers of the Moscow factories.

We could go on quoting similar figures and facts for all sections of public life: hospitals, maternity and child welfare institutions, urban traffic, the drainage system, parks, playing fields and public baths all show the same rapid development and growth. The fact that one-sixth of Moscow as it exists to-day has been built in the last four years will be sufficient to characterise the pace of this development.

Who are the men responsible for the work of the Moscow municipal administration? In addition to the elected delegates to the Soviets, 45,000 factory workers participated in this work as members of sections, commissions, committees, etc. The leader of the Moscow proletariat is *Laz. Kaganovitch*, Secretary of the Central Committee and of the Moscow District Committee of the C.P.S.U.

The workers of Moscow are about to decide again who is to carry on this splendid work during the next five-year electoral period. Their decision is all the more important as the elections will without a doubt introduce a period of even more rapid development for our international proletarian capital city. The coming lustrum will see the completion of the second Five-Year Plan and the establishment of a classless Socialist social order.

The Fate of the Peasants in the Soviet Village

By L. F. Boross

II. Claudia Alexandrovna Ilyina

One of the 51 "famous kinsfolk" of the village of Gulinky is Claudia Alexandrovna Ilyina. She very willingly relates the story of her life. And she has something to relate.

Her childhood: She is the daughter of a rather poor middle peasant who had twelve mouths to feed. She then tells about the insurmountable barriers which the pre-revolutionary village set up for a village girl.

Hunger: The bread did not always suffice until the next harvest. If it did suffice at times then there was never anything else besides potatoes and radishes to go with it. For that reason the peasants from the former Ryazan province were called "potato bellies."

Child Exploitation: "I don't even know how old I was at that time. I could hardly tell the difference between cucumbers and weeds. But I had to work for the estate owner, Terentiev, pulling up weeds from morning until late at night, for 10 kopeks a day."

Ignorance and prejudice: In 1916 I finished the parish school in our village. I had only attended three classes. There were also lessons only in winter, and in summer we had to work for the estate owners. I was practically the only girl in the village who had completed these three classes in the village school. The other girls only went to school for a year or two or didn't go to school at all. The opinion was that a girl doesn't need to study. I felt a strong desire to continue to study, and also felt that I had ability for it. But I couldn't even think of it."

It was only the proletarian revolution that put an end to this hopelessness.

But—relates Claudia—there were still enough difficulties left. A paradise could not be made out of the old primitive Ryazan village at a single stroke. The revolution gave land to the peasants who had very little land, drove away the estate owners and distributed his land, implements and livestock among us. It became easier for us children to interrupt our work for the purpose of study. In 1919 a secondary school was established in the neighbouring village of Staroshilovo. For a sack of potatoes our village

teacher provided me with enough knowledge to enable me to attend the secondary school. This was formally a Soviet school, but it was still not "our" school. There were not yet sufficient revolutionary teachers. Old teachers taught according to old methods, in so far as they did not sabotage altogether. During these first years of the revolution the students of the secondary school were for the most part children of rich peasants and mill-owners, who had still withstood the storm of the revolution. The children of the kulaks were well clad, while we were in tatters. We differed from them outwardly as well as in our language, and this meant that we were mocked at and scorned a great deal. In general, the poorer peasants did not yet dare to allow their children to study. They who had lived in age-old slavery could not yet really believe in the reality of their freedom.

And on Sunday, if we came to the village, the peasants shunned us. They still had prejudices and thought that only the sons and daughters of the priests and estate owners should study. Whoever was born into a poor peasant family should not occupy himself with such things.

Our poor secondary school gave me but very poor knowledge, so that I could not pass the entrance examinations to the Moscow University. I then had to work as an office worker in the district financial office. In 1927 I began work as a factory worker in the "Samototchka" metal factory in Moscow. From this factory, after I had supplemented my theoretical and practical knowledge, the Young Communist League sent me to the evening courses of the Machine Construction Institute, whilst I continued to work in the factory during the day. After completing the first two years, I worked as a technician and later as manager of the department for workers' inventions. I am now a technologist, and at the same time I am finishing the fourth year of the Institute.

In the meantime the life of my parents in the village has also altered very much. To-day they no longer live only upon bread, potatoes and radishes, but also have enough meat, chicken and eggs and are well clad. It was only collectivisation that led to the fact that there are no poor peasants in the village, but only peasants who work honestly and those who are lazy.

That has also altered our material conditions in the town. During the early years when my husband, who is now an engineer, studied too, we had to support also my parents out of our relatively scanty stipends. Then when the collective farm got into swing they began to help us. Now both we and they live well.

There were strong prejudices in the village against us students even during the first years of collectivisation. We were able to overcome these prejudices somewhat only because, in summer, we worked along on the fields, and showed that we had not yet forgotten how to use a scythe. To-day the collective peasants have quite a different attitude. The many machines and tractors and the new methods of work in the large agricultural enterprise, which belongs to them, have also awakened in them the thirst for knowledge, and especially the thirst for technical knowledge. They no longer like to see us spend our summer holidays doing field work. They say: "We have sent you to the universities not in order to give us a hand in our work but to inform us of everything that you have learnt there." They demand from us intellectual, organisational and political assistance, tuition and cultural work. If many of us, none the less, help along on the fields during our summer vacation, then we do it more for personal reasons. It is, after all, also our collective farm and we cannot look on when the others work without doing anything ourselves.

And how do you live in the town? Is there nothing lacking for a happy life?

I do not correctly understand your question. If you mean whether all our needs are satisfied, then that would be a mistake. We are well provided for materially, but I have not got an easy life. I work seven hours a day in the factory and in the evening I spend another four to six hours in the university. In between

times I also have to look after my child, and besides that I have a number of political and social functions. However, not all of that is obligatory. But I cannot remain neutral towards my socialist surroundings. The efforts that I make for the Soviet power, which has helped me to realise my dreams, the efforts that I make for the Party to which I owe my new life, I do not feel as a burden, but as a joy. Within a year I shall be finished with my university studies and then I shall also have more free time left for myself. The new life does not fall into our mouths like a roasted pigeon; we ourselves must do something to bring it about. But it was the Revolution, the Soviet power, that has given us this very possibility of fighting for and obtaining a new life.

There are still such little things like the following: We have only *one* room. My husband and I disturb each other when we read and study, and our child disturbs both of us at work. Formerly, I longed to live as I am living to-day. But now I already feel the need of having a flat with at least three rooms.

The same thing can also be seen in the village. After my parents had tasted the first joy of a well-to-do life, they have now become more and more insatiable. Yesterday, November 7, my parents and a few other diligent collective peasants were taken for a trip on the airplane belonging to the editorial board of the "Peasants' Paper." In the past they would have never dreamed that they would ever sit in an airplane. And as you have heard to-day at the election meeting, our collective peasants have given instructions to the newly-elected village Soviet to *see that the village builds its own landing place*, although, on the other hand, the roads are still so bad that in bad weather one can hardly get to the next village with a horse and wagon.

But we know that very soon, next year at the latest, I shall have my three-room flat; my village will soon have good roads as well as a landing place, and, if possible, it will also have its own airplane, together with the neighbouring villages. For no one any longer hinders us in the development of our life. The only limitations consist in the following: We have done away with all exploitation, and we, the ruling workers and collective peasants, cannot and do not want to exploit anyone. Whatever we want to have *we ourselves must build up with our own united forces*. That costs effort, costs time, costs inconveniences. But if by your question you mean whether *I personally feel happy*, then I must tell you that I feel completely happy, precisely because the Soviet government has made it possible for me to help us along in building up all that you have seen and that you will still see.

And when I see, in the town as well as in the village here, how the edifice of our life becomes one story higher each year—is that not happiness, is that not something for which every peasant of every country must fight?

This is how Claudia Alexandrovna Ilyina, a *new* person from the *new* village of a *new* world, ended the story of her life.

(To be continued.)

The Week in the Soviet Union

Death of Nicolai Marr, a Great Soviet Scientist

One of the most prominent scientists of the day, Nicolai Marr, Vice-Chairman and oldest member of the Academy of Science of the Soviet Union and Chairman of the State Academy for the History of Material Culture, died in Leningrad after a long illness. Marr was also Director of the Research Institute for Speech and Thought, member of the Central Executive Committee of the R.S.F.S.R., active member of the Communist Academy and of a number of European scientific institutes and learned societies. He was one of the greatest linguists the world has known. Born in 1864 in Kutais in Georgia, he graduated from the University of St.

Petersburg (as it was then called) and chose the Georgian and Armenian language as his chief study. Later he investigated the Arabic, Syrian, Hebrew, Ancient Persian, Turkish, Sanskrit and other languages. After his graduation the young scholar published a number of papers on Georgian history and the Georgian language.

In the first years after the October revolution Marr participated in the organisation of the new universities, of the museums, and was active in the protection of historical monuments.

He was a revolutionary in science. He spurned all traditional views of bourgeois philology and in 1930 joined the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Marr has published more than 500 scientific papers and books in Russian, French, German, Georgian and Armenian.

By the death of Nicolai Marr the science of the Soviet Union and of the world has lost a great scholar and a revolutionary theoretician of the science of languages.

The First Soviet Congress of the Autonomous Jewish Territory of Biro-Bidjan

The first Soviet congress of the autonomous Jewish territory of Biro-Bidjan was opened in Biro-Bidjan on December 18. More than 300 delegates from all parts of the territory and all collective farms participated in the proceedings. Numerous greetings were sent to the congress by organisations and individuals from New York, Los Angeles, Paris, Warsaw, etc., etc.

Kalinin sent a telegram of greetings saying that the formation of this autonomous Jewish territory was one of the achievements of the October Revolution and a fresh proof of the clearness and stability of the Leninist policy towards national minorities continued by Stalin. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee was confident that the autonomous Jewish territory would, with the fraternal assistance of the workers in all countries, achieve great victories on all fronts of the struggle for Socialist construction.

The history of the autonomous Jewish territory dates from 1928, when the Soviet government decided to put Biro-Bidjan at the disposal of Jewish workers wishing to settle in that district. The decision at the same time provided for the transformation of the district into an autonomous Jewish national territory in the event of the plan of Jewish colonisation giving favourable results.

During the last six years the economic aspect of Biro-Bidjan has been radically changed. Numerous scientific expeditions investigated and described the unusually abundant natural resources of the territory, which possesses extensive forests, iron, magnesium, coal, gold, and graphite deposits, offers favourable conditions for the breeding of fur-bearing animals and for fishing, and has large stretches of fertile soil. The exploitation of these natural resources has already begun. In six years the population of Biro-Bidjan has increased to nearly double, while the area under cultivation has increased to two and a half of its former dimensions; 98.5 per cent. of the entire agricultural area belong to collective farms. Special mention must be made of bee-keeping, conditions for which are extremely favourable.

The 35 industrial co-operative societies have produced goods to the value of 7,300,000 roubles.

The general economic improvement is accompanied by a universal development of all cultural activities. In six years a great number of new cultural institutions have been built; schools, hospitals, nursery schools, crèches, libraries have come into being. An agronomic institute and a Jewish theatre have been recently opened. In 1935 the territory will receive a new influx of immigrants; 12,000 new Jewish settlers will give a fresh impulse to the agricultural, industrial, national, and cultural development of the territory. The year 1935 is to be devoted in the first place to the building of houses. The plan of construction provides for a complete transformation of the city of Biro-Bidjan in the shortest possible time. It is to be the most progressive industrial and cultural centre not only of the Biro-Bidjan territory but of the whole Far Eastern region.

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