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May Day Manifesto

**18th Congress of the
Bolsheviks**

**Czechoslovakia under
Hitler's Yoke**

K. GOTTWALD

**Lenin on the Unity of the
Working Class**

P. DENGEL

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

ORGAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

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May Day Manifesto

WORKING PEOPLE!

FIFTY years ago May 1 became the militant day of international proletarian solidarity. For the first time in the history of the Labour movement the proletariat demonstrated in the cities of the world as an organised international force under the immortal battle-cry of the Communist Manifesto, "Workers of all Countries, Unite!"

In the course of these fifty years the might of the working class has grown. More than once has it waged severe battles against its mortal enemy, the bourgeoisie, more than once has it inflicted defeat upon the bourgeoisie; it has itself suffered reverses only to rise again as the hero of epic fame in order to strike at the enemy with even greater force. In 1917 the Soviet working class, the shock brigade of the international proletariat, became master of one-sixth of the earth's surface. This constituted an epoch-making victory for the international proletariat, from the consequences of which its class enemy shall never recover. The capitalist world has been sundered by the Soviet working class who has ushered in the epoch of world proletarian revolution. By its victory the Soviet working class created a powerful base for the liberation movement of the working people of all countries. It equipped the impregnable fortress of the world proletariat, the U.S.S.R., with the material forces of victorious Socialism.

Never before has the star of Socialism shone with such brilliancy as to-day. At the XVIIIth Congress of the Bolsheviks the great continuer of the work of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the leader and teacher of the working people of all countries, Comrade Stalin, turned over a new page in the history of mankind—the completion of the construction of a classless

society in the U.S.S.R. and the gradual transition from Socialism to Communism.

In the annals of the momentous victories of Socialism the peoples of the capitalist countries, languishing in the chains of slavery, fascist terror and war, see the living proof of the invincible might of the working class. They curse their present lot and in Communism see their future. In a bond of fraternal friendship, in unison, the peoples of the Soviet Union are building the lofty edifice of Communism, an edifice flooded with sunshine and light, abounding in human happiness and joy. Their great experience is a clarion call to all the oppressed and destitute throughout the world to follow the path of Lenin and Stalin, the path of socialist revolution, the only path leading to the emancipation of working humanity.

Boundless is the suffering imposed upon the working people of the capitalist countries. For them the present day brings with it crisis, unemployment and poverty. It brings from the gang of fascist oppressors mockery, prisons and concentration camps. It brings a chain of crimes committed by the fascist rulers against the liberty and independence of the nations. It brings imperialist slaughter, unleashed by the fascist free-booters.

For almost three years the Spanish people fought heroically against the fascist marauders who invaded their country. The British and French reactionary bourgeoisie were strangling the Spanish people with the noose of "non-intervention." With the support of the capitulators in the leading circles of the Second International, world reaction organised the defeat of the Spanish people. It wrested the sword of victory from this people who defended with their lives not only the independence of their

own country, but also the independence of other nations. Having struck down the Spanish people, who were holding the forces of the fascist aggressors in leash, the raging forces of reaction have added fuel to the flames of the second imperialist war. They are converting Spain into an outpost of the robber plans of German and Italian Fascism. It would surrender the peoples of Europe to be slaughtered, raped and pillaged by Fascism.

In the Far East the Japanese militarists are striving in vain to enslave the four hundred millions of Chinese people. The Chinese people are fighting like lions against the Japanese invaders. They are harassing the enemy behind his own lines. They are putting a cordon of fire around the towns seized by the Japanese. They are exhausting the enemy by a protracted war. The courageous and self-sacrificing struggle of the Chinese people serves to revolutionise the working people of Japan and shatters the morale of the Japanese Army. The Japanese invaders have failed in their attempts to achieve a lightning war, they are powerless in their efforts to conclude the "peace" they desire. In desperation they are driving headlong against Great Britain and France, drawing ever nearer to the colonial possessions of these powers.

Fascism rages through Europe like a mad beast. It has swallowed Austria and Czechoslovakia, occupied Memel, annexed Abyssinia. It is throwing its noose around Poland. It is making a drive for the Balkans, threatening Roumania, Yugoslavia and Greece. It is stealthily creeping upon Switzerland, Holland and Belgium. It demands a re-division of colonies and is stretching out to Latin America. It has cast off all restraint and has become emboldened as a result of the favourable "situation" created by the connivance of the reactionary bourgeoisie of other countries. It is bringing pressure to bear upon the small nations, bullying them and calculating on the treachery of the reactionary elements in the major capitalist countries. It is working with feverish haste, plunging headlong into adventures, for it fears the growing resistance of the peoples. It is letting loose

the mercenary gang of Trotskyite spies and provocateurs who, acting on the instructions of the fascist espionage services, seek to undermine the labour organisations from within, to disarm them in face of the advancing enemy and betray them completely to Fascism.

The British and French reactionaries are now paying the price for their policy of instigating war against the U.S.S.R. Was it not they who accommodatingly threw open the doors of Austria and Czechoslovakia to Fascism, in order to direct its drive to the East? Was it not they who allowed Fascism to seize the Spanish ore, the Austrian and Czechoslovakian gold reserves, the Skoda Works; who offered Roumanian oil and Hungarian wheat so as to strengthen the fascist aggressors for war against the Land of Soviets? Was it not they who freed the hands of the fascist criminals, thereby facilitating the latter's seizure of Spain?

But they have called forth spirits that have turned against them. They have armed the fascist robbers against themselves. By their policy they have exposed their own peoples to the blows of the fascist powers. The masses are realising with increasing clarity that Munich, far from saving peace, has served to accelerate and facilitate further fascist aggression. The indignation of the masses against the policy of Munich, against those who have involved the nations in war under the hypocritical flag of saving peace, is becoming ever greater. The voice of the people demanding the removal from power of the politicians who bear the responsibility for the Munich plot, is swelling louder and louder. The peoples have no faith in the re-assurances of the fascist warmongers, nor in the declarations of their accomplices. It is not words, but deeds, that the people need. They demand a determined stand against the fascist aggressors.

FELLOW WORKERS!

We, communists, have always laid bare the truth to you, no matter how bitter it was. The Communists showed you the true path of struggle against Fascism and war. Did they not warn you that

the policy pursued by the leaders of the Second International leads not to Socialism, but to Fascism, to war? Did they not tell you, at a time when Fascism was only making its way to power in Germany, that the social-democratic policy of endless concessions to the bourgeoisie, the policy of splitting the ranks of the working class, the policy of slandering the Communists only paves the way for the defeat of the working people? Was it not the Communists who proposed to the Second and Trade Union Internationals to establish a united workers' front at a time when it was still easy to inflict a deadly blow against Fascism? Was it not the Communists who insisted upon the urgency of uniting all forces of the working class in order to avert war? Was it not the Communists who exposed the Munich agreement as a plot against peace and the security of nations?

Who has profited from the split in the ranks of the working class? The fascist aggressors. The reactionary bourgeoisie fears the unity of the working class more than hell-fire itself, for they know only too well that by their joint action the millions of workers could grip Fascism in an iron vice, disrupt its predatory wars and accelerate the downfall of the fascist regime.

Proletarians, do not believe those who assert that it is impossible to restrain the fascist war instigators. The fascist criminals are attacking other nations not because they are strong. They are unleashing war because they themselves are being strangled by the contradictions of their regime at home. They look to war as a salvation from the oncoming political and economic bankruptcy of the fascist dictatorship. They want to smother the outburst of indignation among their own peoples by the clamour around their diplomatic and military "victories." But the more territory they seize, the more they undermine the ground on which they tread. Resorting to violence they demolish the established economic and political relations between States, thus intensifying the chaos and the break-up of the entire capitalist system. The more Fascism enslaves other nations, the more menacing is the rear

it creates for itself and for its armies. Under the surface of fascist dictatorship develop hidden revolutionary processes of unprecedented force.

But Fascism will not collapse unless it is overthrown by the working people. Upon their militant determination, their courage, their readiness to make sacrifices depends the historical moment of the downfall of Fascism and the overthrow of Capitalism.

Never will the fascist hangmen crush the Czechoslovakian people who are mustering their forces to rise against their conquerors. Never will the peoples be reconciled to the fascist bondage imposed upon them by force of arms. Fascism's first serious encounter with a strong military adversary will shatter to pieces the rotten system of fascist "alliances" and "protectorates." The seeds of national revolutionary wars are maturing behind the lines of the fascist robbers, the idea of taking the citadel of capitalism by revolutionary storm is maturing in the minds of the oppressed masses.

Never shall that miscreant Franco subjugate the proud and peace-loving Spanish people who have acquired the great experience of a national war against foreign invaders. This people ousted Napoleon. They overthrew the monarchy. They smashed the fascist dictatorship of Primo de Rivera. They will sweep away the power of this hated Italian satrap. The peoples' duel with fascism is not over. The masses of working people of Spain know that their struggle is an integral part of the growing movement of the anti-fascist forces of the entire world. The war which the fascist rulers are unleashing will be the grave also of Spanish Fascism. Spain with its blood-soaked soil will once again become an anti-fascist bastion.

PROLETARIANS!

We are a tower of strength, for we are millions. Upon us depends the work of factories and mills, of mines and blast furnaces; upon us depends the movement of trains and ships; upon us depends whether a handful of parasitic robbers will be kept in clover. The working class

is the militant vanguard of the people, it expresses its interests of to-day and the ultimate interests of the whole of working humanity. But we, workers, must have faith in our own strength, we must have unity which multiplies our might, we need a united front on a national and world scale. We need it as bread, as air, as water. Only by realising our might and bringing it into action with the help of the united front, will we strengthen all the forces of the peoples, the forces of the whole of working mankind. We need the united front because we wish to put an end to Fascism, to predatory wars and capitalist slavery once and for all.

Upon whom does the unity of action of the international working class now depend? Upon the Socialist and Trade Union Internationals. Should their leaders so desire, unity can become an accomplished fact tomorrow. The international working class will become a force exercising decisive influence on the march of events. By its unity of action it will launch a powerful People's Front movement in all capitalist countries. This will mark a serious setback for Fascism, the beginning of its downfall. Do you want this, Labour and Socialist workers? If you do then break the resistance of your leaders to united action of the working class and strengthen unity together with your class brothers, the Communists.

Expressing the will of the working class of all countries, the Communist International proposes to the Executives of the Labour and Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions immediately to commence negotiations regarding the establishment of a united front for struggle against the instigators and incendiaries of war. The Communist International proposes to the Labour and Socialist International a platform for unity of action—defence of peace on the basis of a determined repulse to the fascist aggressors, the organisation of collective security, the struggle in each capitalist country against the treacherous policy of the reactionary bourgeoisie who seek agreement with the fascist aggressors to the detriment of the liberty and independence of their own nation. The Communist

International proposes that a conference of labour organisations of the whole world be convened to draw up a concrete plan of action, to map out the ways and means of struggle, to devise a single organ for the co-ordination of joint action.

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES!

On May Day you will demonstrate together with the proletarians of Germany, Japan and Italy for peace, against the instigators of war, for the overthrow of fascist dictatorship as a means of preserving peace.

You will demonstrate together with the British and French workers against the war incendiaries, for a determined repulse to the fascist aggressors, for the application of economic, political and military sanctions against them.

You will demand from the bourgeois governments of Great Britain, France and the U.S.A. aid to the Republicans of Spain, the patriots of Czechoslovakia, Albania, Abyssinia, the democrats of Austria, in order to liberate them from the foreign yoke.

You will demand arms and credits for China.

You will demonstrate for the united front of the working people of the whole world with the great Land of Socialism.

You will demonstrate for the peace policy of the U.S.S.R. which responds to the aspirations of all peoples.

The Communist International calls upon you, proletarians and working people, to rally to the great banner of struggle and victory, a banner dyed with the blood of the finest sons of the working class, the banner of Marx-Engels-Lenin!

Long live May Day, the militant day of international proletarian solidarity!

Down with Fascism and wars of plunder!

Down with Capitalism!

Long live the Communist International!

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE
COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

The Eighteenth Congress of the Bolsheviks and the International Working Class

THE discussion on international events at the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union revealed with unmistakable clarity the continuous decline of the capitalist world, and the uninterrupted ascent of the Socialist world.

While the delegates of the great Communist Party, which in two decades has wrought such incomparable achievements, were deciding the Third Five Year Plan, the capitalist world was afflicted by yet another economic crisis. In contrast to the new substantial rise in production and mass prosperity in the Soviet Union, there is a new decline in production, a recent increase of pauperisation and unemployment, and generally of economic concussions, in the capitalist world.

While the Bolsheviks are leading the country of Socialism, yet farther along the road of a vast cultural revolution, one capitalist country after another is falling into barbarism. Millions of workers in the Soviet Union are already receiving the education of technicians or engineers; within a measurable period of time, the entire working class will attain to this level, while, in the fascist countries, the workers are being degraded to the level of industrial serfs.

In the Soviet Union, general secondary school education is being introduced for the urban population, and the seven-year school system for the rural. In the fascist countries, the ignorance and lack of education of the youth has assumed such disastrous dimensions that even the capitalists and army chiefs can no longer conceal their apprehension. In the Soviet Union, several hundred thousand sons and daughters of the people each year enter the ranks of the intelligentsia, while in the fascist countries the ranks of the intelligentsia grow thin, and the brigands who rule attack the intellectuals with mockery and hatred.

While the Bolsheviks with a firm hand ensure the peace of the Soviet peoples, the second imperialist war has started in the capitalist world. This war is both frightful and extraordinary. It is a predatory war

of the fascist states whose barely concealed aim is to drive from their positions of power Great Britain and France, to wreck their empires, and, bit by bit, to seize the world as their booty. Nevertheless, the British and French governments act as though this war were not directed against them; they ogle the fascist aggressors and even aid them to execute their plans. This apparently inexplicable attitude of the so-called democratic governments may be explained by the fact that the fascist war for a redivision of the world is simultaneously a war against those peoples who would defend their liberties.

Undoubtedly, the reactionary British bourgeoisie did not care to see Italy's conquest of Abyssinia, with the consequent extension of her strategic basis in Africa. But still less did it wish to see a victory of the Abyssinian people in a national war for freedom, for such a victory by a "coloured" people might stimulate a powerful national movement of the colonial peoples.

Undoubtedly, also, the reactionary French bourgeoisie has been considerably disquieted by the breakdown of the French system of alliances in Central Europe, by the fact that Hitler Germany has subjugated Czechoslovakia, and that German and Italian Fascism is now also reaching out for France at the Pyrenees. But they consider their chief enemy to be the French Popular Front, and, in order to smash this movement, they are prepared to demolish France. In all countries, the reactionary bourgeoisie has ceased to be a patriotic factor; it now unscrupulously sacrifices the interests of the nation in order to maintain its vile capitalist class domination.

THE SECOND IMPERIALIST WAR AND THE SOVIET UNION.

In his historic report to the delegates of the Eighteenth Party Congress, Comrade Stalin characterised the international situation in the following words :

"The new economic crisis must lead, and is actually leading, to a further sharpening

of the imperialist struggle. It is no longer a question of competition in the markets, of a commercial war, or of dumping. These methods of struggle have long been recognised as inadequate. It is now a question of a new redivision of the world, of spheres of influence and colonies by military action.**

"It is a distinguishing feature of the new imperialist war that it has not yet become a universal, a world war. The war is being waged by aggressor States, who in every way infringe the interests of non-aggressor States, primarily England, France and the U.S.A., while the latter draw back and retreat, making concession after concession to the aggressors.

"Thus we are witnessing an open redivision of the world and spheres of influence at the expense of the non-aggressive States, without the least attempt at resistance, and even with a certain amount of connivance on the part of the latter.

"Incredible, but true."†

Comrade Stalin then proceeded to show that "this one-sided and strange character" of the new imperialist war is partly to be attributed to the capitalist states' fear of revolution, but primarily to the fact that most non-aggressive countries, and particularly Great Britain and France, have abandoned the policy of collective security. In this connection, Comrade Stalin disclosed the plan of the reactionary bourgeoisie in Great Britain and France of egging Hitler Germany on to a war against the Soviet Union, of endeavouring to divert fascist aggression to the eastward.

"The hullabaloo raised by the British, French and American press over the Soviet Ukraine is characteristic. The gentry of the press there shouted till they were hoarse that the Germans were marching on Soviet Ukraine, that they now had what is called Carpathian Ukraine with a population of some 700,000, and that not later than this spring the Germans would annex the Soviet Ukraine with a population of over 30 million, to this so-called Carpathian Ukraine. It looks as if the object of this suspicious hullabaloo was to incense the Soviet Union against Germany, to poison the atmosphere and to provoke a conflict with Germany without any visible grounds."‡

"Even more characteristic is the fact that certain European and American politicians and pressmen, having lost patience waiting for 'the march on the Soviet Ukraine' are themselves beginning to disclose what is really behind the policy of non-intervention. They are saying openly and putting it down in

black on white that the Germans have cruelly 'disappointed' them, for instead of marching further east, against the Soviet Union, they have turned, you see, to the west and are demanding colonies. One might think that the districts of Czechoslovakia were yielded to Germany as the price of an undertaking to launch war on the Soviet Union, but that now the Germans are refusing to meet their bills and are sending them to Hades."*

And in actual fact, the reactionary bourgeoisie in Great Britain and France, the Chamberlains and the Bonnets, have neglected nothing in order to encourage German Fascism, by every kind of stimulus, to commence its ostentatiously proclaimed "drive to the East." They have handed over to German Fascism Austria and Czechoslovakia; in September, 1938, they saved it from a threatening break-down; they have stressed the fact that they were not in the least interested in eastern or south-eastern Europe; they have systematically fostered the provocative calumny that the Soviet Union has been economically and militarily weakened by the fact that she has rid herself of the Trotskyist spies and wreckers.

Undoubtedly, there are in Hitler Germany certain influential adventurers whose thoughts and aspirations are bound up with the "crusade against the Soviet Union," but a considerable number of important individuals in the army, and also of fascist politicians, are aware that, in spite of the officially directed frenzy, German Fascism is not strong enough to carry on such a war; therefore they prefer to attack wherever easy booty offers.

Chamberlain's leading idea brings to our minds the words of the poet: "Were he not so awfully clever, one would be tempted to call him terribly stupid!" To the reactionary bourgeoisie, it may appear to be awfully clever to egg on aggressive German Fascism against the land of Socialism, in order to bring Germany and the Soviet Union into a gigantic conflict, so as to appear, finally, as the "mediator" and dictate a peace in the interests of British Imperialism. Yet one cannot help but call this plan terribly stupid. Every class which is condemned by history to destruction reaches a point when its cunning is converted into stupidity, when,

* Stalin's Historic Speech, p. 7, Modern Books (price 3d.).

† *Ibid.*, pp. 9/10.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

* *Ibid.*, pp. 12/13.

by means of the subtlest manœuvring, it finds that it has steered itself into precisely that position which it was expending its utmost ingenuity in avoiding.

The British and French reactionary bourgeoisie desire to make use of the fascist menace as against the working class and the Popular Front movement, and to direct its aggression against the U.S.S.R. Since the Munich agreement, this bourgeoisie can point to a number of apparent successes. With its active support, the mercenaries of German and Italian Fascism have overthrown the Spanish Republic and proceeded to the brutal slaughter of the Spanish fighters for freedom. With its help, German Fascism has subjected the freedom-loving Czechs and established its blood-stained despotism in Central Europe. Through its undermining activities, the People's Front in France was broken and France reduced to the position of a second-class power. Through its agents in the leadership of the Second International, the working-class movement has been weakened and the unity of the workers obstructed. Nevertheless, in spite of these apparent victories, the reactionary bourgeoisie is by no means happy, and the more acute members of their own class are realising, with increasing dismay, that the policy they have been following is conjuring up, more and more rapidly, a new world war, and that more than anything else, it intensifies every contradiction within capitalism.

The Munich agreement has enormously enhanced the aggressiveness of the fascist states. Driven on by their increasingly grave economic situation, and by the suffocating burden of their own armaments, striding with the clashing of arms across one frontier after the other, fleeing from the internal decay in their own lands, and perceiving no other way out than a desperate struggle for world mastery, German Fascism is plunging into ever heavier complications.

The main attack of the fascist aggressive powers is directed against the so-called democratic states. Deterred by the political and moral unity of the Soviet people, by the determined preparedness for defence and the inexhaustible economic and military reserves of the Soviet Union, the

fascist aggressors are turning mainly towards those States which, by means of repeated surrender, have fostered the opinion that they will capitulate in every case. In the East there is a frontier which, the fascist aggressors realise, opposes to them an impassable barrier. This is the frontier of the Soviet Union. But in the West, the frontier opposing them is of a most indefinite nature. The British and French reactionary bourgeoisie has during recent years so frequently been guilty of treachery, that the fascist aggressors have acquired the habit of expecting it to continue to betray.

To these considerations we may add certain further circumstances which serve to accelerate the tempo of fascist aggression. They are the following. So far, Italian Fascism has incurred heavy expenses by its conquests, without having secured any real advantage. Even to-day, Abyssinia is only half conquered, and is still costing heavily in money and human lives, without bringing in any dividends. Spain is a heap of ruins. Both Italian and German Fascism is incapable of restoring this devastated country. Hatred for the foreign conquerors is inextinguishable; undoubtedly this feeling will also affect Franco's Spanish followers, and thus bring about a new unity of the Spanish people. Finally, if it be allowed time, British capital can bring Spain step by step under the influence of Great Britain. The fascist adventurers cannot retain Spain—unless they pursue the path of fresh aggression. As a strategic base for further action, Spain is of use to them; but if they try to rest satisfied with this conquest, they must lose it.

But it is not only the Italian, but also the German conquests whose value is extremely dubious. True, Austria, and, even more, Czechoslovakia, have brought considerable profit to the German wolves of finance; nevertheless, these conquests have not reduced economic difficulties nor retarded the subterranean gnawing of the crisis. Instead of ameliorating the living conditions of the German people, they have worsened them. And they have engendered new internal dangers to the fascist régime. The hatred of the oppressed Austrians, Czechs and Slovaks for the

brutal foreign ruler will become a revolutionary factor of historical significance. The oppressed nations can perceive the possibility of throwing off the foreign yoke by joint action, and then uniting in a league of peoples against German Imperialism. The conquerors have neither the time nor the strength to "digest" their conquests; with madly-gathering speed, they strive towards new conquests in order to grab the necessary raw materials and labour-serfs for their armaments industry.

But these "protectorates" of German Fascism are inhabited by peoples who can look back upon a thousand years of history, who possess their own culture and traditions of national independence. Such peoples do not adapt themselves to the status of colonial peoples. They will make use of every opportunity of winning back their freedom and independence. They will now become suffused with revolutionary thought and emotion to an extent hitherto unknown. The revolution against the domination of German Fascism will be incomparably more consistent and powerful than was that against the former Hapsburg monarchy.

The British and French reactionary bourgeoisie declared that it desired to preserve peace, while supporting those who are making towards a world war, namely, the fascist aggressors. In gratitude for this assistance, those same fascist aggressors now demand the mastery of the world, that France and Great Britain concede them, not only still more countries, but also their own possessions. Every fresh concession sharpens their appetite; and Great Britain and France can already foresee the day when they will be compelled either to mutilate themselves beyond all recognition, or to oppose with arms the fascist claims. The curbing of the fascist aggressors—which, before Munich, they could have achieved without a war—they will eventually be able to effect only by means of a frightful war, at the conclusion of which the peoples will call all those to account who brought about the slaughter and sought not to prevent it. As Comrade Manuilsky stated, in the course of his report to the Eighteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U., on the activity of the E.C.C.I. :

"But the British reactionary bourgeoisie

are, by their predatory plans, digging their own graves. By their secret support of Japanese aggression in China, they are preparing the way for the exclusion of Britain from the Far East; by their concessions to Italian fascism they are paving the way for the loss of British influence in the Mediterranean; by providing loans to the fascist aggressors they are increasing their military might and the chances of their own defeat.

"By strengthening German fascism they are preparing the ground for the partition of their own Empire; by their plans for an onslaught on the Soviet Union, they are preparing the collapse, not only of fascism, but of the entire capitalist system."

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE SOVIET UNION.

The reactionary British and French bourgeoisie has endeavoured to isolate the Soviet Union and to divert fascist aggression towards it. Through the development of events, however, the tables have been turned. Fascist aggression is chiefly directed against Great Britain and France, and not against the powerful Soviet Union which is equal to any attack.

In spite of the campaigns of reactionaries in all countries against the Soviet Union, those peoples who are menaced by Fascism and alien domination—as well as those peoples who have already been subjected to it—are looking ever more hopefully and confidently towards the country where Socialism is triumphant. The so-called democratic governments of Great Britain and France have betrayed sworn treaties and have infamously delivered up free civilised peoples. Only the Soviet Union has supported the menaced peoples, has, at each critical period, asserted, up to the last, its readiness to abide by its treaty obligations. Those peoples who now feel only bitter contempt for the "democratic" governments of Great Britain and France, have a profound and justified confidence in the Soviet Union. *Now, less than ever before, is it possible to isolate the Soviet Union from the peoples.*

But there is yet more to come. Those very governments which sought to divert the aggressiveness of the fascists towards the Soviet Union, are now endeavouring to enlist the support of that country. And suddenly they have become aware of the fact that the Soviet Union, which was ready to defend Czechoslovakia, is by no means

necessarily willing to spring into the breach for the sake of Great Britain and France ; that it is not the Soviet Union which has need of pacts of assistance, and that she can throw her decisive weight into the scales—not in accordance with the wishes of others, but when and how she herself chooses—in the interests of the peoples of the world and of a peace which shall be more soundly based and secured than that of Versailles. In contrast to the foreign policy pursued in Great Britain and France, that of the Soviet Union is unequivocal and undeviating. No distortions can obscure the significance of the following words of Comrade Stalin :

“ The foreign policy of the Soviet Union is clear and explicit :

“ 1. We stand for peace and the strengthening of business relations with all countries. That is our position ; and we shall adhere to this position as long as these countries maintain like relations with the Soviet Union, and as long as they make no attempt to trespass on the interests of our country.

“ 2. We stand for peaceful, close and friendly relations with all the neighbouring countries which have common frontiers with the U.S.S.R. That is our position, and we shall adhere to this position so long as these countries maintain like relations with the Soviet Union, and so long as they make no attempt to trespass, directly or indirectly, on the integrity and inviolability of the frontiers of the Soviet State.

“ 3. We stand for the support of nations which are the victims of aggression and which are fighting for the independence of their country.

“ 4. We are not afraid of the threats of aggressors, and are ready to deal two blows for every blow delivered by instigators of war who attempt to violate the Soviet borders.

“ Such is the foreign policy of the Soviet Union.”*

This foreign policy does not only express the interests of the Soviet people, but also those of the peoples of all the capitalist countries. This, of course, is no fortuitous coincidence, but arises out of the nature of Socialism. In all capitalist countries, it is only the exploiters who long for conquests in order to extend their exploitation to foreign peoples. In the Soviet Union, there are no capitalist exploiters. In the foreign policies of all capitalist countries there exist harsh class antagonisms—take, for example, the attitude of the workers and of the reactionary bourgeois, respectively, towards the Spanish Republic, and also

contradictory interests, as, for example, the fact that the most reactionary sections of the British and French bourgeoisie favour open support for Hitler Germany, while other sections of the bourgeoisie are opposed to any further concessions. But such antagonisms and contradictions cannot exist in the Soviet Union.

In all capitalist countries, then, foreign policy is dependent upon the conflicting desires and fears of the ruling class, which, on the one hand, carries on a fierce competitive struggle with the capitalists of other lands, while, on the other, it recognises the common interests of capitalism as a whole, as opposed to the people's struggle for freedom. The Soviet people, which directs its destinies with its own hands, knows perfectly well that it can never find real allies in the ruling classes of the capitalist countries, but only among the masses of the people. In its own original interests, therefore, the Soviet people stands on the side of the peoples who are fighting for their own freedom ; in other words, *its own original interests are identical with the interests of the masses of the people of the capitalist world.*

The victories of the Soviet people, therefore, are likewise victories of the peoples of the capitalist world.

THE FORCES OF VICTORIOUS SOCIALISM.

The Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union bore witness to world-historical victories of the Soviet people. In all the speeches of those who made the reports and of delegates there was reflected that tranquil sense of power, that well-founded self-assurance, of the Soviet people. There were no harsh words, clamorous exaggeration, thunderous declamation, such as characterises so many party congresses in other countries. Nor was there that conflict, internal strife, conflicting opinions, which are characteristic of the politically-confused parties of the Second International, which are unsettled by the influence of the reactionary bourgeoisie and of the troubled petty bourgeoisie. It was the clear, simple and convincing *language of facts* that was spoken at this Congress. They looked back upon the road traversed during the

* *Ibid.*, pp. 14/15.

last five years, and took note that this road had led uninterruptedly upward, that each milestone represented a victory for Socialism. They looked upon what had been accomplished and saw that it was correct and good, that it meant prosperity and elevation for the people ; and, at the same time, they saw how much is still to be accomplished, what must be improved and perfected.

They looked into the future, and saw before them the development of Socialism into Communism, saw before them the genuine possibility of crowning this great construction with a mighty cupola, of realising in actual fact that of which the greatest thinkers and creators have dreamed : a world in which man shall no longer be subjected to the compulsion of want, but in which he shall fashion his life in freedom and in plenty, according to his own desire and need—the rich and flowering world of Communism. Not in images or allegories, but with the gripping sureness of master-builders, did these delegates of the Soviet people speak of this new world which once existed only as a vision which many decried as being too fantastic.

We have achieved much, said the Soviet people through the voices of their delegates. For a moment we will pause and gaze around us at the land, and over beyond the frontiers of our land. We will compare our country with the capitalist countries, soberly and objectively. Twenty years ago Russia was incredibly poor and backward, a country of the wooden plough, of illiteracy, of despondent drifting. Fifteen years ago, our country was exhausted and drained by war and civil war, by the heroic war of defence against the whole capitalist world which despatched its armies against us. Our early freedom walked barefoot. We had too little bread—our agriculture was virtually of the Middle Ages. We had no machines, no tools. Our industry was a sad ruin. We had less than the minimum of skilled workers ; people had also become unaccustomed to work, and were untrained and under-nourished. The capitalist world jeered at us when we began our race to overtake and outstrip the industry of the capitalist countries, as Lenin's slogan counselled.

But to-day ?

To-day, as Comrade Stalin stated, the industry of the Soviet Union

“ . . . has grown more than ninefold as compared with pre-war, whereas the industry of the principal capitalist countries continues to mark time round about the pre-war level, exceeding the latter by only 20 or 30 per cent.

“ This means that as regards rate of growth our Socialist industry holds first place in the world.

“ Thus we find that as regards technique of production and rate of growth of our industry, we have already overtaken and outstripped the principal capitalist countries.”*

There is no unemployment in the Soviet Union. Production rises uninterruptedly, and with it rise wages while prices are falling. Millions of highly-skilled workers, of technicians and engineers, have been developed. Agriculture has been released from the shackles of obsolete small-scale farming, has been equipped with the most modern agricultural machinery and assures permanent prosperity to the collective farmers and the entire Soviet people. Once, Russia was the country of periodically recurrent famines, but now the Soviet Power has finally expelled hunger from its lands—this is also an enemy who will find that the Soviet frontiers are impassable.

While in declining capitalism the productivity of labour is gradually lessening, in the Soviet Union we are experiencing an unexampled rise in the productivity of labour. The initiative and creative energy of the working-class have found their expression in the Stakhanov movement. The workers—who produce, not for capitalist exploiters, but for themselves and for the whole people—are, in their own interests, striving to attain ever more highly-productive methods. They know that every increase in the productivity of labour directly benefits themselves and the entire Soviet people, that it implies a higher standard of wages and cheaper goods.

In the capitalist countries, the proletariat fears every technical improvement, every measure of rationalisation, because he knows from experience that this merely intensifies exploitation. But the worker in a Socialist society develops and utilises his inventive capacities, his talent for organisation and his creative powers, in order to enhance the productivity of labour and

* *Ibid.*, p. 19.

thereby raise his own standards of living. The Stakhanov movement, therefore, cannot be transplanted to any capitalist country for it is peculiar to Socialism and to Socialism alone.

Faced by the facts of the uninterrupted rise of labour in the Soviet Union, of the early fulfilment of the mighty Second Five-Year Plan and of the magnificent perspectives of the Third Five-Year Plan, even the capitalist world no longer ventures to deny the massive foundations and brilliant triumphs of socialist economy. The contest *between Socialism and capitalism* has entered upon its final phase. In tranquil tones, the Soviet people, through their delegates at the Congress, challenged the capitalist world to this contest. With quiet, assured words, Comrade Stalin and Comrade Molotov showed to what extent Socialist industry, even to-day, has overtaken and outstripped the industry of the most advanced capitalist countries, and to what extent it still remains behind. "In what respect are we lagging?" asked Comrade Stalin, and proceeded to answer this question, as follows :—

"We are still lagging economically, that is, as regards the volume of our industrial output per head of population. . . .

"We have outstripped the principal capitalist countries as regards technique of production and rate of industrial development. That is very good, but it is not enough. We must outstrip them economically as well. We can do it, and we must do it. Only if we outstrip the principal capitalist countries economically can we reckon upon our country being fully saturated with consumers' goods, on having an abundance of products, and on being able to make the transition from the first phase of Communism to its second phase."*

And, as Comrade Molotov said in his report on the tasks of the Third Five-Year Plan :—

"The time has come to tackle, in a practical manner, the solution of the fundamental economic task of the U.S.S.R.: to overtake and surpass economically as well the more developed capitalist countries of Europe and the United States of America, to solve this task once and for all in the near future. Having solved this task, we shall make the U.S.S.R. the most advanced country in the world in all respects, not only politically, which we have long since achieved; not only in the level of technique of production, which

we have also achieved. We shall thus place the U.S.S.R. first in the world economically as well. Then, and only then, will the significance of the new epoch in the development of the U.S.S.R. be truly revealed, the epoch of the transition of the socialist society to a communist society. . . .

"At present our industry has amassed tremendous technique and there is opportunity for its further rapid development. We now have numerous cadres who have mastered technique and are ready for new, still more important battles for the economic might of the U.S.S.R. Besides this, in our country a socialist society has been completely formed, a society which does not want to and will not reconcile itself to economic lagging behind the capitalist countries, even though this is a result of the age-old historical backwardness of our country. That is why the Party of Bolsheviks must put this task on the order of the day. . . .

"The question of extending the economic contest between the U.S.S.R. and the leading capitalist countries has been raised. The question has been transferred to the international arena. All the more intense must be our striving to solve this new task with honour.

"As Comrade Stalin has said in his report, time is required for the solution of this task, at least from 10 to 15 years, another two or three five year plan periods. Fulfilment of the Third Five Year Plan should do much to predetermine the solution of this task."

Thus speak men who know what they want, who estimate, with tranquil certainty, the power of their Party and of their people, capable of fulfilling their great tasks under all circumstances.

The Soviet Union has abolished the exploitation of man by man. It has established the equality of rights of all Soviet citizens in all domains. It has transformed into fact those new human rights: the right to work, the right to education, and the right to leisure. It has opened up for all children of the people unlimited opportunity for advancement. Through the establishment of Socialist democracy, it has ensured the rule of the people. It has united the people politically and morally, establishing the fraternal community of workers, peasants and intelligentsia, and the brotherhood of the Soviet peoples. In the sphere of productive technique and of the rate of industrial development it has surpassed the principal capitalist countries. It has become the strongest and most secure country in the world. What it still needs to accomplish is to supply all Soviet citizens with an

* *Ibid.*, pp. 20/21.

abundance of consumers' and cultural goods. The Eighteenth Congress of the Bolsheviks was able to give the Soviet people the prospect of this.

THE SOCIALIST STATE AND THE RED ARMY.

In order to make sure of the developments mentioned above, the Soviet people—faced by a hostile capitalist world and the increasing aggressiveness of the fascist powers—needs a powerful state and a capacity for defence that is a match for any enemy. It is obvious that the Socialist state cannot die out so long as the country is surrounded by capitalist powers and is exposed to the danger of military attack. As Comrade Stalin so plainly said :—

“ We are going ahead, towards Communism. Will our State remain in the period of Communism, also?

“ Yes, it will, unless the capitalist encirclement is liquidated, and unless the danger of foreign military attack has disappeared. Naturally, of course, the forms of our State will again change in conformity with the change in the situation at home and abroad.

“ No, it will not remain and will atrophy if the capitalist encirclement is liquidated and a socialist encirclement takes its place.”*

The strength of the Socialist state rests upon the indestructible, moral and political unity of the Soviet people, upon the highly, developed Socialist industry and agriculture—which wins from the soil of the Soviet Union inexhaustible wealth, and upon its own, peerless workers' and peasants' Red Army. This strength serves, not only the interests of the Soviet people, but also those of all other peoples, whose liberty and peace are threatened by the fascist aggressors. It was with profound satisfaction that, not only Soviet citizens, but also the people in the capitalist countries, learned from the speech of Comrade Voroshilov, People's Commissar, what vast strength is embodied in the Red Army. Of late, even German military writers have been unable to refrain from referring to the strength of the Red Army, from pensively reflecting on its striking power and its immeasurable reserves in men and material. British politicians and writers have also stressed the incomparable war potential of the Soviet Union and thus

caused world opinion to reflect upon the fact that the Socialist state is a military power of the first rank.

It appears, from Comrade Voroshilov's report, that the firing capacity of an infantry division of the Red Army considerably surpasses that of a German or French division. Cavalry has increased by 52 per cent. in the last five years. The number of tanks has grown almost three-fold; armoured cars, seven-and-a-half times; the number of troops in the tank and armoured-car divisions has increased two-and-a-half times. If we assume that the firing capacity per minute of all tanks equalled 100 in 1934, it has now grown to 334. Light artillery has increased by 34 per cent.; medium, by 26 per cent.; heavy artillery by 85 per cent., and anti-aircraft guns by 169 per cent.

Similarly, the firing-range of all types of artillery has considerably increased. For example, the range of heavy artillery grew by from 50 to 75 per cent., according to type of gun. There has also been an important increase in the rapidity of fire; in anti-tank and anti-aircraft guns, for example, it has more than doubled.

The effectives of the military air force have grown by 138 per cent. since 1934, and the number of warplanes by 130 per cent. as a whole. The horse-power of aeroplane engines in the air fleet has risen by 7,900,000 horse-power since 1934, i.e., by 213 per cent. The speed of pursuit 'planes increased by 56.5 per cent., their ceiling by 21.5 per cent.; the speed of small radius bombers increased by 88 per cent., their ceiling by 83 per cent. and their range by 50 per cent. Large-radius bombers' speed increased by 70 per cent., their ceiling by 77 per cent., and range by 61 per cent. The speed of scouting and light attack 'planes has grown by 67 per cent., their ceiling by 23 per cent., and range by 45 per cent.

The proportion of heavy bombers within the entire air fleet has grown from 10.6 per cent. to 20.6 per cent.; that of pursuit 'planes from 12.3 to 30 per cent., while the proportion of light bombing, attack and scouting aircraft has decreased from 50.2 to 26 per cent. of the whole. This means, of course, that the striking force of the air arm has considerably

* *Ibid.*, p. 56.

increased. The following example given by Comrade Voroshilov is particularly striking:—

“Whereas in 1934 our entire air fleet could lift 2,000 tons of air bombs in one flight, at present it can already carry 208 per cent. more; in other words, the simultaneous bomb volley has increased three times. This mass of destructive metal, capable of being carried great distances, can become not a bad Soviet strait-jacket for the aggressors, possessed by frenzied dreams, if, in some fit of insanity, they attack Soviet territory. . . .

“Not infrequently one can now find in our military aerodromes not only pursuit planes but also bombers with a speed far in excess of 500 kilometres per hour, and a ceiling exceeding 14,000-15,000 metres.”

Since 1934, the motorisation of the Red Army has increased by 260 per cent. In 1934, total engine-power averaged at 7.74 horse-power per Red Army man; now it is 13 horse-power per man—and this with an army which has more than doubled in number. While the German army, for instance, lacks trained commanding officers, the personnel of the command in the Soviet Union forces has been substantially increased, since 1934, to the following extent: Infantry, 118 per cent.; cavalry, 66 per cent.; tank and armoured cars, 154 per cent.; artillery, 124.5 per cent.; aviators, 184 per cent.; aviation engineers, 801 per cent. The Red Army possesses 14 military academies and six special military faculties at the civil universities, giving tuition to more than 20,000 higher commanders, higher military officials, political workers, army engineers and doctors, and so on. Then there are the military schools in the army units themselves, as well as the six and 12 months' courses for junior commanders, from which several hundred thousand men are graduated annually. Thus, the necessary supply of commanders for the Red Army is secured under any circumstances, while in the armies of other countries the problem of the supply of officers in wartime is causing acute disquiet.

Impressive as these figures are, they enable us only partially to gauge the strength of the Red Army. The decisive power of the Red Army lies in its solidarity, such as exists in no other army, in its Marxist-Leninist firmness, its profound love for its Socialist fatherland, its consciousness that it is fighting for its own cause, for

the cause of the people and of all humanity. On Lake Hassan, on the Far Eastern frontier, the Japanese militarists have come to realise the striking power of the Red Army. They have seen how trained soldiers scatter in panic-stricken flight under the blows of the Red Army. They know with what crushing force the Soviet Union will answer any violation of its frontiers.

EDUCATION FOR THE HUMANITIES.

The Red Army enjoys incomparable popularity, not only in the Soviet Union, but among the peoples of the capitalist countries. Upon their arms is reflected the splendour of the Socialist world, the shining strength of a world in which all capacities, all cultural opportunities of mankind, are rapidly developing. Their arms protect peace, freedom and the humanities. The humanities which mean, according to the words of that great German humanist, Johann Gottfried von Herder:—

“The store and yield of all human effort, the art of our species, as it were. Education in this is a task which must be ceaselessly maintained; otherwise we—of both higher and lower grades—shall sink back into raw animalism, brutality.”

While the subjects of Fascism are indeed rapidly sinking into raw animalism, brutality, in the country of Socialism the store and yield of all human effort is being cherished and multiplied, the education in the humanities is being continued. Surely, cultured people in the capitalist countries could not have heard without profound emotion the words of Comrade Molotov:—

“The Third Five Year Plan sets forth a big programme of cultural development. The task that has been set is to achieve universal secondary education in the towns and to complete the introduction of universal seven-year education in the villages and in all the national republics. The number of pupils in elementary and secondary schools in towns and industrial settlements should increase from 8,600,000 to 12,400,000 and in rural areas from 20,800,000 to 27,700,000. In this way, more than 40,000,000 pupils will be studying in our elementary and secondary schools by the end of the Third Five Year Plan period, as against 8,000,000 pupils in the pre-revolutionary Russia. As for the number of pupils studying in the eighth to tenth classes in the secondary schools, it already exceeds that in the old times twelvefold, while by 1942 it will be 34

times more than before the Revolution. There is already hardly a worker's family now but has not children with a secondary education. And the number of such families of workers and other employees, as well as of peasants, in which the children are receiving a college education is increasing more and more. . . .

"The number of students in the universities and technical colleges will reach 650,000 during the Third Five Year Plan period. . . .

"The training of skilled cadres of workers in the basic trades . . . is also continuing to grow. This training should, during the Third Five Year Plan period, provide more than 8,000,000 skilled workers of various specialities.

"The number of people of various specialities with a secondary education will have increased by 90 per cent. towards the end of the five-year period, and the number of those with a completed higher education will increase from 750,000 to 1,290,000, that is, will grow by 72 per cent. . . .

"The size of our intelligentsia is already measured by the impressive figure of 9,600,000 persons. If we were to take into account the fact that many skilled workers in our enterprises already have a secondary education, we would have to raise this figure of 9,600,000 considerably. . . . Together

with the members of their families, our intelligentsia now constitutes from 13 to 14 per cent. of the population of the U.S.S.R. . . .

"We should consider the Third Five Year Plan in the sphere of cultural development in the light of these facts. This Plan has one fundamental task: a great stride forward in the historic cause of raising the cultural and technical level of the working class to that of engineering and technical workers. . . .

"Naturally, one or two Five Year Plans are not sufficient for the accomplishment of this gigantic task, the task of eliminating the distinction between mental and manual labour. The full solution of this task will require several decades, but we are advancing successfully along this road. The Third Five Year Plan will bring us one step nearer the realisation of this great task."

And in fact, never before in the history of mankind was humanist education undertaken in such fundamental, systematic and comprehensive a manner as in the land of victorious Socialism. Here, for the first time, man stands in the centre of things; for the first time, a state takes solicitude for humanity as its main task; here, for the first time, the material and cultural betterment of all citizens is the content and motive of state policy. August Strindberg, the Swedish dramatist and novelist, made the *motif* of one of his plays the phrase: "A pity to be human." Such words—profoundly justified in a decaying capitalism—would appear senseless to any

Soviet citizen. Instead, they may say, in the Soviet Union: "It is a joy to live! It is fine to be a human-being!" Thus, in every sphere, the Soviet Union can challenge the capitalist world to a contest, the historical significance of which was expressed by Comrade Molotov in the following words:—

"Capitalism has accumulated not a few material and cultural values, but it can no longer make use of them even in its own interests. It has already become, in many instances, a garrotter of progress, science, art and culture. . . .

"Communism grows out of what has been created by capitalism, out of its best and numerous achievements in the sphere of economy, material conditions of life, and culture. Communism remoulds all these values and achievements in its own way, not in the interests of the upper crust of society, however, but in the interests of a whole people and of humanity at large. It is necessary to study the cultural heritage without sparing any effort. It is necessary to know it thoroughly and profoundly. It is necessary to make use of everything that capitalism and the past history of mankind has given, and to build, from the bricks made by the hands of the people over a period of many centuries, a new edifice, an edifice fit for the people to live in, spacious, full of light and sun."

In this contest between capitalism and Socialism the peoples of all lands will not merely be the judges but they will also, in fast-growing numbers, take to heart the example of the Bolsheviks, and will gather new fighting strength from the Socialist achievement of the Soviet Union.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION.

The Soviet people owes its victories to the great party of the Bolsheviks, forged by Lenin and Stalin. In its complete unity of theory and practice, of leadership and membership, of Party democracy and iron discipline, this Party represents something which has never before existed in history. Unaltered in its essence, it has continually adapted itself in accordance with the historical situation and the particular tasks needing to be solved at any given period. From illegality to proletarian revolution, from war and civil war to the up-building of Socialism, from the First Five-Year Plan to the Third, it has ever again through hard struggle renewed itself, established itself more solidly, developed further

towards greater unity. It has unmercifully rid itself of elements infected by the corruption of the capitalist world ; it has ruthlessly destroyed the enemies who have crept into its ranks. Its decisive treatment of the Trotskyites and Bukharinites, of this band of degenerate adventurers, murderers, spies and wreckers, has afforded it the maximum of strength in order to fulfil its ever greater tasks. In his report on the changes in the rules, Comrade Zhdanov described how the great Party of Lenin and Stalin was preparing for the fulfilment of these tasks, as follows :—

“ In order to solve the historic problems of building up Socialism and of protection of the gains of victorious Socialism from the surrounding capitalist world and its agents with the Soviet Union, it was necessary for the Party to effect a radical readjustment of its inner Party political and organisational work. Having purged itself of the enemy scum and thereby having strengthened the unity and firmness of its ranks, having readjusted its inner Party political and organisational work, the Party consolidated immeasurably its strength and might, its ideological and organisational equipment.

“ The Party has become stronger than ever before! This we owe to Comrade Stalin’s leadership.

“ The source of our Party’s strength, the source of its historic victories, lies in the fact that it is a Party of a new type, of the Lenin-Stalin type, irreconcilable towards opportunists, towards all enemies of the working class.

“ Our Party is the Party of social revolution, the Party that has grown up on the firm foundation of the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Its programme and tactics and its organisational principles rest on the granite foundation of Marxism-Leninism. Its ranks are made up of the best representatives of the working class, of its most devoted, most politically conscious, revolutionary, courageous and disciplined sons. That is why the Bolsheviks have become the militant general staff of the working class, its revolutionary vanguard, a Party ‘ bold enough to lead the proletariat in the struggle for power, with sufficient experience to be able to orientate itself in the revolutionary situation, and sufficiently flexible to steer clear of any submerged rocks on the way to the goal.’ (*Stalin, Foundations of Leninism.*)”

The changes in the Party rules, which the Congress adopted, represented the altered social relationships in the Soviet Union and the historical tasks of the gradual transition to Communism. During the years of Socialist construction all exploiting elements have been abolished. The class

differences between Soviet citizens are beginning to disappear. The economic and political distinctions between workers, peasants and the intelligentsia are vanishing. On these grounds, admission of workers, peasants and intelligentsia to membership of the Party must in future also express these changed conditions. The maintenance of differing categories for admission, with harder conditions for peasants, employees and members of the intelligentsia, ceases, and personal characteristics will now be taken more into consideration.

In order to ensure the fullest development of internal Party democracy, and of the activity and initiative of all Party members, the new rules will not only lay down the obligations of members, but also their rights. Although they have been looked upon as self-evident, the following rights of Party members are henceforth to be recorded in the rules : The right to criticise any Party official at Party meetings ; the right of all Party members to elect and be elected to Party organs ; the right of all Party members to demand their personal participation in all cases where decisions are adopted with regard to their activities or behaviour ; the right of all Party members to address to every Party authority, right up to the Central Committee, any question or declaration. The express establishment of these rights in the rules will form a barrier to manifestations of any bureaucracy and will stimulate all Party members to yet higher activity and initiative.

This activity and initiative was well expressed in the fact that nearly a million Communists took the floor in the discussions that preceded the Party Congress, and innumerable proposals and amendments to the new rules were introduced. And the the Party Congress itself was a magnificent demonstration of internal Party democracy, of the activity, initiative, assurance and consciousness of power of the membership. This Congress was a highwater-mark, even in the proud history of the Bolsheviks. Never before was there such unity, such genuine and unreserved agreement on all essential questions ; such manysided discussion, and such a clear and vivid sense of the affection for their Party and its

leadership that permeated all delegations. The bumptious phrases of the masked enemy—who cannot overdo his exaggeration and who hides behind a smoke-screen of his own lies—are silenced ; marred by no false tones, there sounded the simple, heart-felt and candid speech of the great Soviet people, its strong and genuine attachment to its Socialist homeland, the Bolshevik Party, and its leader, Stalin.

STRENGTHENING OF THE WORLD'S WORKING CLASS THROUGH THE SOVIET UNION.

In the struggle of the international working class against fascist barbarity, for Democracy and Socialism ; in the struggle of the peoples for their freedom and independence, the Soviet Union represents powerful *material* support—but, even more important than this material support *is the reinforcement of the moral strength of the workers and of all anti-fascists through the victory of Socialism in the Soviet Union.* In his address to the delegates of the Eighteenth Congress, Comrade Stalin referred to this decisive factor, as follows :

“ The chief endeavour of the bourgeoisie of all countries and of its reformist hangers-on is to kill in the working class faith in its own strength, faith in the possibility and inevitability of its victory, and thus to perpetuate capitalist slavery. For the bourgeoisie knows that if capitalism has not yet been overthrown and still continues to exist, it has not itself to thank, but the fact that the proletariat has still not faith enough in the possibility of its victory. It cannot be said that the efforts of the bourgeoisie in this respect have been altogether unsuccessful. It must be confessed that the bourgeoisie and its agents among the working class have to some extent succeeded in poisoning the minds of the working class with the venom of doubt and scepticism. If the successes of the working class of our country, if its fight and victory serve to rouse the spirit of the working class in the capitalist countries and to strengthen its faith in its own power and in its victory, then our Party may say that its work has not been in vain. And there need be no doubt that this will be the case.”*

The international working class has experienced severe defeats of late. The fascist aggressors have crushed Spain and Czechoslovakia. Their accomplices in Great Britain, France and other countries are endeavouring to take advantage of these

events to induce in the workers a feeling of hopelessness, to introduce despair and disintegration in their ranks. The agents of the reactionary bourgeoisie in the leadership of the Second International are zealously occupied in trying to persuade the workers that the working class, in alliance with the rural and petty bourgeois population, is unable successfully to oppose Fascism, and that it is preferable to surrender without a struggle. They are industriously occupied in instigating the Socialist workers against their Communist class brothers, and in slandering the Communist International and the Soviet Union. They are diligently occupied in infecting their own supporters with a sense of weakness, in injecting into them the venom of disbelief in the cause of Socialism.

The reactionary bourgeoisie and its agents in the working-class movement desire at all costs to prevent the workers from becoming aware of a fact which it, the reactionary bourgeoisie, knows only too well, namely, what an invincible power the working class becomes when it unites, when it boldly places itself in the lead of the whole people in order to thrust back the fascist aggressors. The reactionary bourgeoisie knows this well, as we have said, and it acts accordingly.

When the Spanish working class rushed to oppose the fascist aggressors, and brought great masses of the people with it in its heroic struggle, the reactionary bourgeoisie—fearing the gigantic strength of the people under the leadership of the proletariat—afforded every possible assistance to the aggressors. At the same time, the agents of the reactionary bourgeoisie within the working class movement also went into action in order to obstruct and divert the powerful demand for unity which the masses were expressing, so as to prevent the international unity of the working class on behalf of the Spanish Republic.

While German and Italian Fascism was inundating Spain with troops and arms, while the British bourgeoisie was financing Franco and the French Government was keeping the French-Spanish frontier tightly closed, the reactionary leaders of the Second International did everything they could to prevent the unconditional and

* *Ibid.*, p. 61.

resolute employment of the entire strength of the proletariat on behalf of the Spanish Popular Front. Attacked by two fascist great powers, betrayed by the so-called democratic governments, lacking the swift determined support of the internationally united working-class, the Spanish people, under the leadership of the Spanish working-class, was still able to defend itself for two-and-a-half years.

The strength of the working-class was potentially greater than ever before. Had the British working-class during these two-and-a-half years, mustered all democratic forces in order to sweep the Chamberlain government out of existence; had the French workers unitedly and vigorously fought the "non-intervention" policy; had all workers' parties and trade unions achieved international unity, bringing every possible aid to the Spanish Republic—the workers of the world would to-day be registering a victory instead of a defeat.

This was also the position when the fascists, with the aid of the reactionary bourgeoisie, were preparing their attack upon Czechoslovakia. The international working-class was then capable of preventing the Munich betrayal, of frustrating the policy of Chamberlain and Daladier, and thus dealing a blow at German Fascism which might have resulted in its destruction. It would have been able to do this had it not believed the liars who talked of the superior strength of the fascist powers, if it had only had more confidence in its own fighting powers than in the voice of the reactionary bourgeoisie and its agents in the Second International. The definite cause of its defeat lay in the fact that the working-class was too little conscious of its own strength, that it did not sufficiently reject the poison of doubt and unbelief, of capitulation and betrayal.

The strengthening of the proletariat's sense of power, of its class-consciousness and confidence in victory—such is the great task to-day of the Communist Parties and of all revolutionary fighters in the working-class movement. An important means of attaining this is *the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism*.

In the recently-published "History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union," this theory is clearly set forth, so that every

intelligent worker may grasp it; and is also definitely enriched. In his report to the delegates of the Eighteenth Congress, Comrade Stalin contributed a further development in Marxist-Leninist theory. Upon the basis of the victory of Socialism in a single country and its gradual development into Communism, he carried on the Marxist-Leninist theory of the State yet farther beyond Engels and Lenin. By means of this creative theoretical achievement something new has been contributed to the labour movement; and the fully-developed communist theory of the State, demolishing all obscurities, stands out as against the vague and pernicious "theories" of the Social-Democrats. When the cadres of the Communist Parties really absorb the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, when they can propagate everywhere, without schematicism and arrogance, the great teachings of Communism; when they understand how to lead the way intellectually for the workers and anti-fascists, they will have contributed substantially towards liberating the workers from the demoralising influence of doubt and lack of faith. As Comrade Stalin said in the course of his report:—

"It must be accepted as an axiom that the higher the political level and the Marxist-Leninist knowledge of the workers in any branch of State or Party work, the better and more fruitful will be the work itself, and the more effective the results of the work; and, vice-versa, the lower the political level of the workers, and the less they are imbued with the knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, the greater will be the likelihood of disruption and failure in the work, of the workers themselves becoming shallow and deteriorating into paltry plodders, of their degenerating altogether."*

And this axiom applies not only to the Soviet Union but also to the entire working-class movement. To inculcate the working-class with political consciousness—this is one means by which doubt and disbelief may be overcome. The other powerful means is through the *radiation of victorious Socialism from the Soviet Union*. This radiation, like the sun at midday, must and will destroy the bacilli of doubt and disbelief. Socialism has triumphed in one vast country; why, then, should it not triumph in other countries? In one great country the working-class has proved that

* *Ibid.*, p. 46.

it can conquer ; why, then, can it not prove the same in other lands ? In one huge country the *superiority of Socialism over capitalism* has been made palpably apparent ; why should the peoples of other countries shut their eyes to this great historical fact ? As Comrade Molotov stated :—

“ The triumph of our glorious Stalinist Five Year Plans will find its way to the hearts of many millions of workers and toilers far beyond the boundaries of the U.S.S.R., they will be fired with a desire to have their own Bolshevik Five Year Plans, and not the shackling fascist four year plans.”

It is indeed true, as Comrade Stalin has said, that the successes of the working-class of the Soviet Union, its struggle and its victory, will serve to rouse the spirit of the working-class in the capitalist countries and to strengthen its faith in its own power and in its victory.

In the course of their hard struggle, the workers of all countries are realising ever more clearly the immeasurable importance of the Soviet Union to the cause of the working-class, to the future of the human race. Were there no Soviet Union, were

there no great Party of the Bolsheviks, the outlook in the immediate future would be sinister indeed. It is the Soviet Union, however, in which is embodied the liberty and dignity of the human race. It is the great Bolshevik Party in which the unconquerable strength of the working-class finds its clearest expression. Nowadays, to fight for the cause of the working-class and for the future of humanity means to gather in a strong fighting unity around the Soviet Union, unreservedly to support its policy, and to render its great Party and its great leader, Stalin, that unlimited confidence which has been tested a hundred times by knowledge and experience. To oppose the Soviet Union to-day means to oppose the victory of the working-class, to oppose the salvation of the peoples of the world. To stand strongly and imperturbably on the side of the Soviet Union to-day means to contribute materially towards the victory of the working-class and towards the salvation of the peoples.

The certainty of victory—such is the message to the working-class of the world of the Eighteenth Congress of the Bolshevik Party.

Spain and the Capitulators

THE Spanish people has suffered a defeat. After an heroic two and a half years' resistance to the gruelling military superiority of the thieving fascist gangs, the Spanish Republic has been suppressed. Treachery has ignominiously accomplished what the brute force of the enemy could not accomplish. It was in Paris and London that the final blow against the Spanish fighters for freedom, Casado's betrayal, was prepared and organised, to the service of which the old Miaja sold himself, thereby sullyng his name, once dear to the peoples, with bloodshed and dishonour. Reactionary "Social Democrats" of the stamp of Besteiro, mercenary Anarchists, and Trotskyists already long in the pay of the enemy, all hastened to take part in the treacherous slaughter. Desperately the Communist battalions, the revolutionary workers, hurled themselves into action against the betrayal; encircled by enemies, they made the motto come true—"Better to die upright than to live on one's knees!" They were no longer able to save the Republic, and they were liquidated in the spirit of the "peace agreement" signed at Munich. The over-clever "realist politicians" in the ranks of the Second International shake their head and are disarmed—those over-clever "realist politicians," who by their policy of capitulation helped Fascism to become strong, and who are incapable of grasping that they are the embodiment of corruption whilst the Spanish fighters for freedom who resist to their dying breath are the embodiment of salvation and of the future victory of the workers' movement. The Italian weekly paper published by anti-fascist intellectuals gave the right retort to all the capitulators:

"The Paris Commune was defeated too,

but its memory has lighted for the past 50 years the way of the courageous vanguards of European democracy."

Over the corpse of Spain, bleeding from a thousand wounds, the vultures of imperialism are circling. In an impressive ballad the Austrian poet Nickolaus Lenau has painted an unforgettable picture of the three horsemen, who, after the lost battle are riding to their death:

"And waiting as they ride to die,
Three vultures track them in the sky.
Screeching, they bargain how to dine:
That one's your feast, that yours, that mine!"

This is how the vultures are circling about Spain, and quarrelling with horrible screeches over the booty, before it is even dead. Casado's treachery was the attempt of the reactionary British and French bourgeoisie to steal a slice of the booty from the German and Italian fascists and to be in at the kill. These Western "Democrats," after drawing the noose of non-intervention ever tighter round the neck of the Spanish people, have proceeded to set up a slaughterhouse of their own, and to oppose to the Italo-German Franco an Anglo-French Casado. The sacrifice of blood will cost them dear. The German and Italian victors, whose work of butchery they have facilitated, have no thought of withdrawing from Spain. They are holding their Franco firmly in hand and fortifying their position against Britain and France. And the sympathies of the Spanish people for Britain and in particular for France have, meanwhile, been driven from their hearts. It will not be quickly forgotten that Daladier's and Bonnet's France met the Spanish refugees with the pistols of the Moroccan troops and the barbed wire of the concentration camp.

The German and Italian victors will establish themselves in Spain, but the ground will burn under their feet. They have decimated the Spanish people and will decimate it further, but they will not succeed in breaking its back. Not alone the ruins of the towns and villages, nor the dead of every family, nor the gaping wounds of the country will bear witness against them. With the hatred of the oppressed Republicans will mingle the hatred of those Spaniards who were misled by Franco in order to subject Spain to the foreign yoke of Germany and Italy. They will realise that the People's Army defended the freedom of the whole Spanish nation, and that they were destroying themselves when they marched against Madrid under German and Italian command. The people that has once been free and offered such dauntless, passionate resistance to enslavement, will stake everything to shake off foreign rule and settle accounts with its enemies. With words of conviction, Manuisky pointed out in his Report to the delegates to the 18th Party Congress of the Bolsheviks:

" World reaction will not succeed in wiping the heroic struggle of nearly three years against the foreign invaders from the consciousness of the Spanish people. This people has seen better days. It held weapons in its hands. It sowed the fields of the landowners, itself organised production in the factories and workshops, and got to know a life of liberty. Such a people will never be suppressed. Its sacrifice will bear fruit a hundredfold. In the thoughts of the working people it will brand, as an ineradicable stain, not only the fascist governments but also their British and French accomplices and all exploiting classes, it will unleash the hatred of the peoples against them and convert the revolutionary anger of the masses into mighty revolutionary actions of the peoples. . . ."

The capitulators inside the Second International, who by their policy of capitulation share the blame for the tragedy of the Spanish people, are now making fitful attempts to discredit the Spanish fighters for freedom, and to dampen the workers' spirits. They come out against the Spanish Communists, who were outstanding in the front ranks of battle and shed their blood and gave up their lives for the Spanish Republic.

They think they see their chance to vent their anger upon the brave leaders of the Spanish people, on Pasionaria, on Diaz, on Negrin, and on del Vayo. They are not even ashamed to put up to the workers that it is the anti-fascist struggle which produces Fascism. That obnoxious creature Spaak, whose policy is ruining the Belgian Labour Party and bringing Belgium to the brink of the precipice, dared make the assertion, in an election speech on March 13, that Fascism had conquered wherever Communism was strong; Italy, Germany and Spain being the proof of this. With this, Spaak simply repeats the clumsy tale of the fascist propaganda machine, to the effect that Fascism is directed solely against the Communists and not in the least against the liberty of the peoples. Ostensibly, the German fascists marched into Austria because there is an illegal Communist Party there. Ostensibly, the Japanese militarists invaded China in order to suppress the, then illegal, Communist Party of China. Ostensibly, Abyssinia was annexed because Mussolini identified the Emperor of Abyssinia with a Communist. Ostensibly, Czechoslovakia and Lithuania only became German colonies because the Communists "provoked" German Fascism to make them so. On the other hand there is a country where the Communists are far stronger than ever they were in Germany or Spain, a country in which they govern—the Soviet Union. Judging by the remarkable logic of M. Spaak, this country should fall a victim to Fascism before any other; in reality, however, the Soviet Union is the one country in which Fascism is unattainable—in contrast to Belgium and all the other countries in which there are no strong Communist Parties.

People of the stamp of Spaak and his fellow capitulators in the Second International know very well, of course, that the Communists are the most tried and trusted fighters against Fascism. Although M. Spaak knows that, he was so shameless in his election speech as to declare that "the truth about the destructive activity of the Communists in Spain"

would yet come to light. The "destructive activity" of the Communists in Spain lay in the fact that they fought for the unity of the people, for the consolidation of the Republic and its People's Army, for unconditional support for the democratic People's Government, that they marched out to die for liberty and for almost three years prevented the fascist aggressors from proceeding with their attack upon European democracy at the tempo they had envisaged. While the Spanish Communists were carrying on this "destructive activity," M. Spaak busied himself with the "useful" activity of disrupting the Belgian Labour movement and facilitating German Fascism's national disruption of Belgium, his colleagues in Britain and other countries were conducting the "useful" activity of preventing the uniting of the workers and supporting the Munich betrayal. In judging what is "destructive" and what is "useful," therefore, Spaak and his friends are in complete agreement with the German fascists.

To the capitulators every determined struggle against the fascist aggressors appears "destructive," capitulation on the other hand appears "useful." Spain is for them the model of a "destructive" attitude towards Fascism, whereas they openly describe as "useful" the conduct of the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie. The workers will judge between the two examples. They will say to themselves: The Spanish people entered upon a war of liberty for its own cause. During this war of liberty—as even the fascist papers in Germany now admit there was several times a hope of victory for the Spanish People's Army. That the Spanish Republic did not succeed in turning the victories of Guadalajara, Belchite and Teruel into a decisive defeat of fascists, is first and foremost the fault of the capitulators, who did not whole-heartedly support the Spanish people's struggle for liberty, who allied themselves to the disgraceful policy of "non-intervention," and who wilfully neglected to mobilise the forces of the international working class against Chamberlain and all the

other accomplices of the fascist aggressors. The Spanish people was in reality defeated not on the Ebro front, but primarily on the front of the class struggle in Britain, on the front, surrendered by the Labour leaders, of the fight against Chamberlain. The Spanish people has been vanquished in the struggle for its own cause, but the moral forces which this struggle has awakened will align themselves 100 per cent against Fascism and bring about its inevitable defeat. Ask the Czech workers, ask the Czech people, whether it would not have been better, weapon in hand, to defend the strongholds of democracy, than to sink without struggle into the most frightful slavery! They will all, Czech workers and peasants, intellectuals and officers, give you the answer, "It would have been better to fight!" Neither Czechs, Slovaks nor Austrians will escape the bloodiest battles. They have become the slaves of the German war machine. German Fascism will drive them as human materials, as cannon-fodder into its war. It will force them to die for a cause that is inimical and hateful to them, for the cause of their hangmen, their overlords. Under the hardest conditions they will yet organise their struggle of liberation against the German warlords, and win back their independence.

The class-conscious workers of all countries will draw other conclusions from the struggle for liberty of the Spanish people than do the capitulators. Two circumstances prevented the victory of the Spanish people: that it did not quickly nor thoroughly enough unify itself, that it did not with relentless determination do away with all the enemies and saboteurs of unity—and that no united international working class came to its help with the exercise of all its strength. It was unity that made it possible for the Spanish people to resist the military superiority of the fascists for almost three years. The unity of the mass of people in the countries which Fascism threatens, and the unity of the international working class—that would be the decisive step for the liberation of all peoples from fascist aggression.

What Part Should the Working Class Play in the Fight for Peace?

EACH stage in the growth of the second imperialist war is accompanied by further development of the fight in the international working-class for the preservation of peace. The fact that the fascist warmongers were able to occupy in quick succession Abyssinia, Austria, the Sudetenland, Czechoslovakia, part of Lithuania and finally Spain, obliges every peace-loving person, and in the first place every worker, to consider very seriously why, up to the present, the aggressors were not stopped.

In all countries the realisation is growing that the successes of the fascist war-alliance were really due, not so much to its own strength, as to the readiness of the reactionary bourgeoisie in the great "democratic" powers to surrender to its extortions and ultimatums, to leave the threatened weak States, not only without support, but even—as in the case of Spain—to take action against victims of fascist aggression.

Does not the realisation of this fact force on us the following question: "What has happened and what should be done to assure the triumph of the true will of the great majority of the people against the stand taken by the capitulators and the accomplices of the fascist war-alliance?"

Can the working-class, the most important force and predominant factor in the fight for peace, be content with protesting against the acts of violence by the war-alliance, with exposing the aid rendered by the reactionary bourgeoisie in the bourgeois democratic countries, and with demanding a firm stand of their respective governments against the fascist powers?

The protests against the breaches of the law and violent acts of the war alliance have undoubtedly become more urgent, sharp and forceful. They increased during the Spanish war of liberation to a mighty movement, stirring the people all over the world.

Among the everlasting services of the Spanish people which neither rivers of precious blood, nor the scum of bare-faced lies

and calumnies can erase, one thing stands out, they have demonstrated to the whole world and to the working class, confused by the capitulations of reactionary social democracy, that a people without most of the things assumed to be necessary militarily and technically, could resist for almost three years the forces of fascist intervention, superior in numbers and technique. They demonstrated that a people could even attain successes in the unequal fight, that they were able to inflict smashing defeats on the enemy which will brand for a long time his dirty hide with bloody weals and festering scars. This example shook the whole world. This seed sown by the Spanish people, who, through their struggle, advanced to the front rank of progressive peoples, will multiply a million-fold in spite of the fact that the combined efforts of the fascist invaders on the one hand, and the reactionary bourgeoisie of England and France on the other hand, have succeeded in putting into chains this nation who resisted and checked the fascist warmongers for almost three years.

These facts must form the basis of any analysis made by the organs of the working-class press or any class-conscious worker in order to obtain finally an answer to the urgent harassing question: What must we do to prevent the spreading of the present imperialist war for the redivision of the world, thereby furthering the struggle for the liberation of all peoples now oppressed by Fascism, which is a fight in defence of all nations now threatened?

In his report to the 18th Party Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B.), Stalin said with profound earnestness:

"It must be confessed that the bourgeoisie and its agents among the working-class have to some extent succeeded in poisoning the minds of the working-class with the venom of doubt and scepticism."

It is already obvious that these agents of the bourgeoisie in the working-class intend to utilise the temporary defeat of the

Spanish people to cripple further the working-class. The defeatist who "always knew" that the fight of the Spanish people could only end in defeat, should take as a subject of "learned" discussions, the noble example of this nation and the bold initiative of its working-class.

If the international working-class wishes to arm itself against the destructive effect of this poison, in direct contrast to the poisonous crocodile tears of the defeatists in the working-class movement, it should take the fight of the Spanish people as the starting point of all serious discussion on its further struggle against the war-mongers. Furthermore, in future, all those who wish to voice opinion should be judged strictly by their energetic support of the Spanish war of liberation.

In order to reach a common understanding of the working-class on the methods of preventing the further spreading of the imperialist war, we should earnestly investigate the causes of the failure to develop, in spite of vast potential energies and readiness for action, a really effective struggle for the energetic support of the Spanish war of liberation.

The common people realise that if the fascist aggressors are to be driven back, something more than passing resolutions of protest. For instance, the National Committee of the Transport Federation of France, in one of its resolutions, called upon the transport workers and the C.G.T. to demand jointly the calling of an International Workers' Conference by the International Federation of Trade Unions, this conference to include Trade Union representatives of all the countries and *all* Trade Unions, whether members of the I.F.T.U. or not.

A demand for an International Workers' Conference, which will actually unite representatives of all different workers' organisations in order to discuss ways and means of fighting the fascist war-mongers, is being raised by many organisations.

At the same time, workers are demanding decisive measures against supplying war materials to the fascist countries. In the *International Information* of March 17, the organ of the Labour and Socialist International, it was reported that thousands of requests had been sent to the Prime

Minister, originated by the Montreal Port Watch Committee of the Canadian Workers' and Farmers' Party, for the imposition of an embargo on the sea transport of raw materials for armament works of the aggressor states.

What conclusions does the leadership of the I.F.T.U. draw from such demands? What does it contribute towards the burning necessity of creating co-operation of all the forces of the working-class.

The leadership of the I.F.T.U. on March 7th made a public announcement that on March 29th and 30th they will hold a meeting which is to carry out action for peace. The I.F.T.U. bemoans that the decisions taken by them regularly every March since 1936, were forestalled by fascist acts of violence. On every lip there is the question: "What will March, 1939 bring? Will it be a new act of violence, another disclaimer, a new link in the chain of treaty-breaking, or is the animal holding its breath?"

As the responsible leaders of the I.F.T.U. consider the present situation to be so grave, have they empowered the organisations under their control to resist energetically the expected "surprises"?

No, the leadership of the I.F.T.U. who expected "surprises" on the part of the fascist war-mongers in the month of March, just voted for its gathering to be held at the end of March, in order once more to be able to pass resolutions and indulge in new discussions after the event. In calling this meeting for the preparation of peace activity, the leadership of the I.F.T.U. had not at all in mind suitable action by the organised workers, but the adoption of a completely vague and obscure "common solution" of "justice on a world scale." This "common solution" deals with suggestions which have been sharply criticised by the National-economist, Charles Rist in *L'Europe Nouvelle*, where he writes:

"To imagine that it is possible to stop the dramatic development of circumstances of the last five years by calling together round a conference table representatives of a few powers in order to grant Germany economic advantages . . . this idea would be funny if it were not so disturbing. It can only have one effect: to distract by futilities from the real problem of Europe's freedom."

From declarations of the I.F.T.U. secretariat one would gather that the leadership is quite seriously considering misusing the Trade Union movement as a relay service for the "Conference of all States, including Germany and Italy." They even explain the necessity of the invitation to the governments of Germany and Italy, by the fact that Hitler and Mussolini are not the German and Italian people. The correct conception that the German and Italian people are not identical with their fascist governments does not make the responsible leaders of the I.F.T.U. arrive at the only possible conclusion, that just for that reason the working-class of the remaining countries should pledge their support to the German and Italian people in their fight for freedom. But they come to an opposite conclusion. They strive for the participation of governments of the fascist war-alliance in a conference, designed beforehand to appease their imperialist demands and legalise them by presenting them as "integral parts" of a collection of questions awaiting a "common solution."

If the leaders of the I.F.T.U. were in earnest about their words: "It is the people, who over the heads of their guilty governments should fight for a righteous peace," they would have realised by now that this "fight over the heads of the

governments" has broken down up to the present, because the responsible politicians in the leadership of the I.F.T.U. and the L.S.I. have decried and obstructed every step of the working-class in the building of the United Front indispensable for the leadership of this struggle. This is exactly what the working-class and the common people were lacking up to the present in order to transform their solidarity with the people attacked by the war-alliance, into a powerful drive against war-mongers and an insurmountable obstacle to the further spreading of imperialist war.

The place of the working-class in the fight for freedom is not in the tow of the bourgeoisie, but at the head of the people menaced by Fascism and ready to resist. This knowledge is penetrating into the working-class. It becomes clear, that the activity of the working-class cannot be limited by the demand that the existing governments take a firm stand against the aggressors. The working-class should bring its own strength into play in order to create the conditions which would make it impossible for the capitulators to falsify the will of the people and betray their interests. These are the essential lessons drawn from the development up to date of the second imperialist war being waged at present for the re-division of the world.

The Right Wing and Cripps

THE Cripps' campaign for the establishment of Labour and Democratic unity in Great Britain appears to be making tremendous headway. We arrive at that estimation, not on the basis of the fact that one-sixth of the local Labour Parties has already declared for Cripps' policy, but from the frantic efforts of the Labour Party Executive to counteract Cripps.

On the one hand we are told that the campaign is a complete failure and on the other we see the mobilisation of every possible Labour member of Parliament by the Executive in order to condemn the

Cripps' policy, we see trade union executives distributing free to their members the brochure containing the Labour Party's reply to Cripps and also an unprecedented mobilisation of the lower trade union officials, who are urged to attend all meetings of their local Labour Party in order to defeat the policy of Cripps.

At the same time there is a noticeable attempt to turn the discussion away from Cripps' memorandum and to entirely misrepresent the issue.

Chief amongst those who are undertaking this work is Mr. Herbert Morrison, who is ever a willing servant of the trade union

bureaucracy, in its struggle against the left.

On his inspiration the Labour Party Executive have tried to concentrate on the following points which are well expressed in the articles of Mr. John Marchbank, the leader of the National Union of Railwaymen, in the *Railway Review* of March 3rd, 1939.

“ If it is true that his campaign (i.e. Cripps' campaign) is costing £500 a week in salaries to full-time organisers, assistants, and propagandists of various sorts, the appeal for funds is one way of stopping people asking where the money comes from; and it will perhaps provide the nucleus of his General Election fund.”

This is a cunning attempt to present the Cripps' campaign as the campaign of a few rich men, who are seeking to capture the Party for a policy of their own making. Everyone knows that from the seizure of Austria until the present day the movement for the establishment of a Labour and Democratic Front in England has grown in volume; that in April, 1938, the annual conference of the Co-operative Party declared for this policy; that after Munich the rank-and-file of the Liberal and Labour Parties in two constituencies declared for unity and put forward a single candidate against Government nominees with good results, and that the movement has awakened the greatest hopes amongst those who want to see the earliest defeat of the Chamberlain government. In coming forward with his proposals, Cripps is not representing a small group of rich people, but a great number of young, thinking members in the Labour Party. But the cunning political gangsters of the bureaucracy seek to represent this campaign as that of a few rich men seeking to destroy the Party.

The next bureaucratic trick is to represent the campaign as one aiming at disrupting the Labour Party. The aims of Cripps as set out in his memorandum are—

1. To make the Labour Party the predominant partner in a government based on a united opposition;
2. To secure the return of the maximum number of Labour members to Parliament who will support the new government;
3. To secure the return of Liberal and other progressive supporters of the

policy of a united opposition in preference to Chamberlain supporters in those constituencies where there is no chance of Labour candidates being elected;

4. Each Party in the united opposition to have the right to unopagate its own fundamental principles.

It is astounding that anyone could see in such principles the disruption of the Labour Party. The French Socialist Party was not disrupted by entering the Popular Front. On the contrary it increased rapidly in membership and influence. The danger of its disruption can only arise if it were to take up an anti-united front position and thus open the way to Fascism.

“ How the Party's position is fortified by an agitation which begins by proclaiming that it cannot hope to win the next election without the help of Labour's inveterate foes is more than I can understand,” wails Mr. Marchbank. Here is a good example of the unfitness of the Right Trade Union bureaucracy for political thinking. The Labour Party, if it is a serious party, cannot be harmed by facing the facts. If there is ample proof, as there is from the results of the municipal elections and the recent by-elections that the Labour Party cannot win alone, that when Liberal and Labour candidates oppose each other at a by-election the result is the election of a Chamberlainite candidate, then it is folly to scream that the position of the Labour Party is being endangered by a recognition of this fact. The foolish obsessions of the bureaucracy are well illustrated by the astounding remark that Cripps is wanting the Labour Party to seek the help of its “ inveterate foes.”

We have seen in the last years the menacing advance of Fascism in Europe, an advance which is helped in every way by the existence of the Chamberlain government. Yet the Marchbanks see not the Chamberlain government, but the Left Liberals, the oppositional Conservatives, and the progressive intellectuals who are resisting Chamberlain as being “ Labour's inveterate foes.”

The Cripps' memorandum envisaged two possibilities: (a) a special emergency conference of the Labour Party in which the memorandum would be discussed, or (b) a discussion at the Labour Party

Conference at Whitsuntide. From the first, Cripps planned the discussion to be one which would take place inside the Labour Party. He planned to take part in the Labour Party—Co-operative Party joint campaign and did so at the opening meetings of this campaign. Only his expulsion, and the attacks on his policy by the Labour press, compelled him to give his campaign a more public character. Yet the perfectly constitutional attempt to change the policy of the Labour Party is described by Marchbank as “a mass revolt against the Party’s responsible leadership and a repudiation of the programme and policy decided upon by the movement’s elected representatives in delegate conferences.” Strange and wonderful. A campaign is started in order to influence the local Labour Party and the trade unions with a view to bringing about a change of policy at the next Annual Conference, and this appeal to the Annual Conference is interpreted by Marchbank as an attempt to undermine the authority of the National Conference.

When Cripps appeals for a plebiscite of the rank-and-file of the Trade Unions he is met by the following argument :—

“Circumstances have not changed in any mortal sense since the delegates from the constituencies took their decision on this question at the Bournemouth Party Conference. The need for concentrating upon the overthrow of the present government was not less imperative than it is now, or more imperative than it was then.”

Since the Bournemouth Conference in October, 1937, Austria has been conquered, the Munich Pact signed, Czechoslovakia occupied, the Republican Army in Catalonia defeated, and reaction in Britain come more open. In addition, the Liberals have declared their willingness to co-operate with Labour and a number of oppositional Conservatives are also prepared to do so.

Mr. Marchbank and the bureaucracy ignore all this and oppose the unity of all opposition forces. Fascism marches across all Europe, and they complacently declare “circumstances have not altered in any degree.”

But the occupation of Czechoslovakia was not only the sharpest possible exposure of Chamberlain, but also the sharpest exposure of the whole Labour Right Wing who are opposing Cripps. For those gentry had been shouting for months that only a pure Labour Government could defend Britain against Fascism. Did they utilise the crisis to organise a struggle for a Labour Government? They did not. They called for the resignation of Chamberlain and formation of “another Government.” In short their solution is a reorganised Conservative Government to which the Labour Party might give a certain amount of support. This is their real policy. They reject a Labour and Democratic Government, in order to remain the faithful and loyal opposition to a reorganised conservative régime.

Juvenile Crime Under the Nazis

THE campaign undertaken by the Nazis against increasing crime in Germany provides proof, not merely of their inhumanity but also of their complete impotence in the attempt to reduce criminal offences in that country.

When children are brought up to become criminals, one can hardly expect them later to develop into honourable and honest individuals. This reason for crimes committed by young persons in

Germany at once becomes obvious when one reads the German fascist press. There is nothing accidental about this “wildness” of the German youth. As members of the fascist youth organisations, these young people are trained by their superiors and “leaders” in shady adventures, in brawling, robbing, assault and battery. As members of the Storm Troops and similar organisations, the young people are forced to steal, pillage,

terrorise and torture. If they show signs of desiring to refrain from vicious attacks upon helpless Jews for instance, they are punished. If they refuse to maltreat or beat to death the inmates of concentration camps, they themselves become liable to imprisonment in such camps or in jail. All such activities are looked upon in fascist Germany as legitimate, as part of one's "patriotic" duty, and are protected by law. Furthermore, legal protection is enjoyed by all who count as "Aryans" and who—on the grounds of their membership in the "dominant race," take over the wealth and possessions of those whom fascism has deprived of rights and driven into exile.

But the position is quite different for those who are not "leaders," or who are not acting upon the direct orders of their superiors—those, in fact, who seek adventure in their private, rather than "political," capacity.

It is, after all, not so long ago that the "supreme leader" stated that it was not only the rich who had the right to own cars, but that every German "people's comrade," so to speak, would soon possess a German "people's car."

This species of car-mania—which once attacked Hitler himself—has been steadily inculcated into the adherents of German Fascism for years by a process of suggestion carried on by the whole Nazi press. Add to this the intensified propaganda campaign to persuade people to purchase the new "people's car"—a campaign which, according to the Nazi press, has as its objective, the purchase by every tenth person of the population of one of these cars on the instalment system. It will not be long, however, before this new deception of the people, by means of the "people's car," will become apparent.

But this car frenzy has already claimed its victims. More and more the news columns of the Nazi press are occupied with the details of car stealing. The recent case against the Gose brothers, which aroused attention outside Germany, is an outstanding example.

"I wanted to make a pleasure-trip," explained in court one of the brothers, Arthur Gose, 19 years old. And the "Boersen-Zeitung" commented that

probably he believed that, through possession of a car, he could escape from monotony and also his hard work with a building firm. Undoubtedly, Arthur Gose and his sixteen-year-old brother considered themselves to be heroes when they got away with the car, at the point of a toy pistol. They didn't hurt one hair of the head of the bank director who owned the car. According to the prosecuting attorney, the boys' parents are "respectable working people." Yet—

"There can be no mercy for car bandits, whether young or old, rich or poor. Off with their heads! No pardon will be granted!"

So wrote the "Voelkischer Beobachter" on March 3. This newspaper—which complacently states that the German police has succeeded in arresting "nine car-bandits," and points out that the German courts now have the opportunity of pronouncing nine death sentences which should at once be carried out—naturally refers its readers to Adolf Hitler's words:

"The State is also determined mercilessly to destroy and extirpate criminal elements, car bandits, taxi-thieves and murderers."

Thus, the Fuehrer's orders have gone forth! The extirpation has begun! No prosecutor ever considers nowadays whether or not he could win back "juvenile offenders" for the "people's community," as state secretary Freisler demagogically required of methods of punishment. The report in the Berlin "Boersen-Zeitung" of February 28 of the trial of the Gose boys is typical of the real spirit and methods of dealing with juvenile offences in Germany. It reads in part:

"There was not much hair-splitting in this trial. . . . It is possible perhaps to dispute the limits between serious crime and an unpremeditated youthful escapade. But a car robbery remains a car robbery. And the law remains the law. This is how it is; this is how it should be."

These few words alone suffice to demonstrate the crudity, the complete absurdity, of the administration of the law in Germany. To what does it lead, if no distinction be made between serious crime and a youthful escapade? When one ignores the various details relating to an act, but relies solely on the principle: "Off with their heads! No pardon will be granted!"

Unfortunately, however, juvenile crime in Germany nowadays is by no means solely a matter of youthful escapades. And—despite claims made by Nazi legal officials and others, both in the Press and on the platform—the total of offences committed by juveniles has by no means lessened under Fascism. The latest volume of the “*Statistische Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich*” (Statistical Year-Book of the German Reich) cannot help but admit the continual increase in juvenile offences, thus revealing the moral deterioration of German youth under Fascism. Herewith we quote a few figures from the statistics regarding crime among German young people :

In 1937, 24,518 juvenile offenders were tried, being twice as many as in 1934.

In 1937, 12,313 juvenile offenders were sentenced to imprisonment for criminal acts. In 1934, there were only 7,025.

In 1937, 12,475 juveniles were sentenced for larceny. Only 6,947 in 1934.

In 1937, 28 young offenders were convicted of murder, and 70 of homicide through negligence. In 1937, the number of young people convicted of crimes against the person was three times as many as in 1934 or 1933.

In 1937, 158 girls were convicted of abortion and infanticide. And in the first few months only of 1938, 109 girls were also convicted of these offences. In 1935, the number of girls so convicted was only 57.

With regard to “offences against morality,” the following are the figures of convictions: 1933, 612; 1934, 779; 1935, 1,058; 1936, 1,465; 1937, 2,374.

“The offences against morality in 1937, for example, were divided as follows: ‘lewdness with children,’ 1,065; rape, 92; ‘unnatural practices,’ 973.”

Startling as these figures are, it must be remembered that they by no means represent the whole truth. Offences committed by young people who belong to the Nazi organisations are frequently hushed up, and thus never come into court.

The “*Süddeutsche Volksstimme*,” for example, reported last February, that 50 young people, belonging to the League of German Maidens and to the Hitler Youth, under the leadership of a twenty-two-year-old girl troop-leader, Stoehr,

when engaged in so-called field work, organised the performance of “orgies” in a furniture-van on the outskirts of Constance. Those taking part in this show were required to pay an entrance fee. A leading part was played by the daughter of an official of the Gestapo. Several of the girls are now pregnant. Some of the young people were arrested, others sent on to the land. The “*Bodensee-Rundschau*,” a local Constance paper, published an official statement which sought to hush up the whole affair.

Such are the results of “training” in the Nazi youth organisations. And it is these “leaders” of the Hitler Youth—who elevate the memory of Horst Wessel, the pimp and cut-throat, as a pattern for German youth, who savagely suppress every ethical movement among the youth—who receive from Dr. Franck, the Reich “law leader” and president of the Academy of German Law, the opportunity of “taking an active part in the formation of the new order in the Third Reich by participation in the Juvenile Laws Commission.” (Reported in the “*National Zeitung*,” Essen, January 11, 1939.)

The innate sense of justice of the German people—which **does** draw a dividing line between youthful escapades and serious crime—is trampled underfoot. The Nazi system of education is systematically frustrating the desire of the German people to produce a new generation that will be decent, diligent and educated.

Fascism is not in a position to develop children and youths into useful and valuable human beings. It is incapable of bringing the youth who has erred back on to the right path. It is capable only of maintaining its own system, by means of compulsion, brutality, and terrorism. Once, however, the civilised German people and the civilised world have risen against this fascist barbarity and put an end to it, the German people will rise from the moral swamp into which Fascism has led it, and will resume a decent and intelligent way of living.

The Election of the New Pope

THE devout Catholics of all countries looked upon the election of the new head of the Catholic Church with great concern and all democrats and anti-fascists also understood that the decision would not be without influence on the the struggle between the camp of humanity and the camp of fascist barbarism.

Immediately after the decease of the Pope, Pius XI, the Italian and German fascist Press developed their campaign to influence the college of cardinals—the body which had to elect the Pope—in the interests of Fascism. The Italian cardinals, who constitute the majority of the college (of the 62 members 35 are Italians), were subjected to pressure. The paper belonging to the family of the Italian Foreign Minister, Ciano, *Il Telegrapho*, Livorno, wrote already on February 12, two days after the death of the Pope, Pius XI, that there is no “prospect” of the election of a “political” Pope. Among those candidates who could not be considered as likely to be elected the paper expressly named the present Pope, Pius XII, the Cardinal Pacelli.

The newspapers of German Fascism demanded that no “religious” Pope be elected. In spite of this the axis brothers on both sides of the Alps have not really contradicted one another; they both wished to prevent the election of a Pope who was not willing to surrender to Fascism.

The entire Italian Press utilised the fact that Pius XI died one day before the tenth anniversary of the “reconciliation” between the Vatican and the Italian State (the Treaty was signed on February 11, 1929) in order to designate the deceased as the “Pope of Conciliation.” The hint was only too clear. The Italian cardinals were given to understand that they had to elect a successor with the task of “con-

ciliation,” i.e., one who would be prepared to surrender to the dark forces of Fascism.

The paper of Ciano, whose sole service to Italy consists in the fact that he is the son-in-law of Mussolini, did not even shrink from the open grave of Pius XI, but proclaimed that he was an adherent of the war-mongering “Anti-Comintern.” It is generally known that Pius XI during recent years came out repeatedly against the pest of Fascism, against its bloody racial teachings, against the cannibalism of the pogromists. It is known—and the former Italian Foreign Minister, Carlo Sforza, is the guarantee for the correctness of this information—that the Pope, Pius XI, in his talks with the British Premier, Chamberlain, and the British Foreign Minister, Lord Halifax, condemned the reactionary regimes without any ambiguity and expressly reminded the British statesmen of the “Duty of Democracy.” Pius XI was an opponent of Socialism and Communism, but he was convinced that Fascism is nothing more than descent into barbarism and that Fascism seeks to destroy the moral and spiritual qualities of mankind.

During recent years the masses who believe in religion have had the opportunity to get to know Fascism in all its hideousness and baseness. The cardinals who came from Germany could recount to their colleagues how German Fascism rages, seeking to stifle freedom of conscience, to besmirch human dignity, to trample humanity underfoot and to educate the youth in a spirit of brutality and bloodthirstiness. Cardinal Innitzer, from Austria, who, according to the sneers of the *Angriff*, had tears in his eyes all the time he was in Rome, could tell of the sufferings of a people whose national independence had been destroyed by brutal conquerors. The cardinals of the United States of America

were under the influence of the mighty movement of the American people against the fascist pogroms. The French cardinals were more or less conscious of the fact that to give in to Fascism signified nothing less than to dig a grave for the freedom of the French people. And the Italian cardinals themselves were very conscious of the fact that every one who turned to Fascism for protection ran the danger of losing the freedom of decision and the worth of his own personality.

How great this pressure of Italian Fascism on the cardinals became is shown by the fact the the *Temps*, the organ of the French Foreign Office, considered it necessary to come out publicly on March 2 against the endeavours of the Rome-Berlin axis to influence the college of cardinals. The *Temps* referred in its leading article to the particularly difficult situation and wrote :

“ The racial doctrines and the totalitarian regimes contain, as is known, a great danger for the principles which form the basis of the teachings of Christianity and which must be defended in the interests of the future of the Church and civilisation.”

The fact that the cardinals withstood the pressure of Fascism and elected Cardinal Pacelli as head of the Church is certainly a sign of the deep anger of the religious masses towards the inhuman actions of the fascists. Cardinal Pacelli suffered for years the lowest and dirtiest attacks which the fascists could make on his personal honour. His election to the Papacy is undoubtedly a protest against fascist barbarism and the war-mongering of the axis Powers. The entire Press of the world, with the natural exception of the fascist and open pro-fascist papers, described the results of the election as a defeat, or at least as a setback, for Fascism. The fascist Press in this connection is bad-tempered and angry.

The first address of the Pope, Pius XII, was a *message of peace* :

“ We call on all men,” said he in the course of his speech, “ to work for peace, for the peace of a calm conscience . . . for peace in the family . . . for peace finally among the nations in brotherly, mutual help, in friendly co-operation and in heartfelt understanding in the sense of the higher interests of the great human family. . . . In these disturbed

and difficult days peace expresses the most deep-felt wishes of the heart.”

The official *Giornale d'Italia* sought in vain to make these words more to the relish of its readers when it wrote that the Italy of to-day

“ is a model example of Christian charity in the living relations between the different social classes and the justice within the country which is assured for all.”

Every religious person, however, who reads the address of the new Pope, will understand that it is a protest against the fascist regime, even though it is made in a soft and glossed-over form. Fascism cannot have a “ calm conscience ” because a regime which breaks up and destroys the family and undermines peace between the nations has no conscience at all. The twenty-two million Catholics of Germany will apply the words of the Pope to a system which subordinates “ the higher interests of the great human family ” to the lowest interests and instincts of the imperialists who base themselves on racial conceit. The oppressed Austrian Catholics will say to themselves that instead of extending “ brotherly, mutual help,” German Fascism attacked them with guns and bombs.

Far be it for us to engage in idle meditations on what will be the future attitude of the Vatican in the great questions which concern the human race. We do not see, however, that this prevents us from openly declaring that we feel ourselves linked up with the mass of religious people in the struggle for a real peace between the peoples and for common action for the higher interests of the great human family. All clear-thinking workers and anti-fascists see before them the great task of working untiringly for the establishment of comradely relations with all religious-minded people and of convincing them that Fascism is war, injustice, oppression, barbarism, and against the interests of humanity; that every step in the direction of surrender to the fascist war-mongers is fatal to the cause of peace and that all forces must be united in order to bring the war-mongers to a standstill and to advance the well-being of humanity.

Roosevelt and the Unity of American Labour

THE negotiations now under way to unify the American trade union movement and to end the situation of internecine warfare between the two major union centres is the most significant event occurring in the United States in the last several years.

These negotiations have been undertaken by the Committee of Industrial Organisation and American Federation of Labour on the initiative of President Roosevelt, who directly urged both to immediately seek a basis for a united trade union movement so that the working class might better improve its standards and also be better equipped to "protect American democracy."

The success of these negotiations will determine the future of the whole American working class, and will have tremendous bearing on the big struggle looming up between the reactionary and progressive camp for the election of a new President in 1940. More immediately, the success of the negotiations will determine if the reactionaries can continue destroying the workers' gains on a domestic scale, and whether President Roosevelt's anti-fascist foreign policy will be substituted by a pro-Chamberlain policy of "appeasement" and capitulation to fascist aggression.

This is the second direct attempt by Roosevelt to initiate such negotiations within five months. In his annual messages of greetings to the A.F.L. and C.I.O. conventions Roosevelt devoted his entire message to the imperative need of unity. The C.I.O. enthusiastically responded with a willingness to negotiate, but the A.F.L. paid little attention to the matter.

The action of Roosevelt and the conferences being held express the ardent desires of the overwhelming rank and

file membership of the A.F.L. and C.I.O., which have long clamoured for unity by thousands of resolutions, many joint local compacts and other expressions. For long the workers have recognised the fact which President Roosevelt's letter candidly raised, that only a united trade union movement can protect the present gains and also be a bulwark to the aggressions of Fascism which threaten from within and without the U.S.A.

The serious consequences of this split are seen when the events of the past period are considered. The workers have received numerous set-backs and the enemies of labour have gained much ground. Despite the fact that the majority of the American people support the progressive policies of President Roosevelt and have decisively rejected the reactionary candidates and programme, the division of the progressive camp, and the trade union split in the first place, has allowed these reactionary gains.

The progressive demands and desires of the population do not find adequate expression in governmental policy, only because of the great lack of organisation and unity among the masses, as contrasted to the maximum of organisation and unity in the reactionary camp. The strategy of the reactionary forces has been to divide the progressive camp and to defeat its separate sections. The split in the trade union movement was initiated and fostered by the reactionary camp and given ample assistance by the Tories who control the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labour. In order to suppress the increasing political demands of labour, to weaken the organised might of 7,000,000 organised workers, the reactionaries sought to destroy the industrial unions,

The ensuing split was fully utilised to undermine the wage levels, to worsen the working conditions and to impair the legislative gains made by the workers in an earlier period of a united movement. The big advances made by the pro-fascist Republican Party in the recent elections for Congress, Senate and Governors was due to the split and the splitting role of the A.F.L. Executive Council. The reactionary attack against Roosevelt's liberal domestic programme, and Roosevelt's defeat on the question of public works appropriations and unemployment relief funds was due to the same cause. This defeat brought about the loss of work for 2,000,000 people and hunger for thousands of others.

The division in the ranks of the unions was taken advantage of to attempt to destroy the Labour Act, weaken the Security Act, dissolve the La Follette Senate Committee investigating spies in industry, and to defeat necessary national defence measures.

The division in the progressive ranks—and in its strongest section, the trade union movement—encouraged the reactionaries to launch an offensive against Roosevelt's firm anti-fascist foreign policy and seek to enact a foreign policy based upon "appeasement" and capitulation to Fascism.

For these reasons it is clear that a united trade union movement is absolutely imperative to protect the gains already won, to obtain further advances, and to be a powerful barrier against the menace of fascist aggression which faces the American people from within and without.

Trade union unity will undoubtedly bring greater economic, organisational and political gains for the whole people. The National Labour Relations Board, a Government body, recognised this when it said in its recent annual report:—

"A unified labour movement would be in an even stronger position to enjoy the rights protected by the law and the Board is . . . gratified to note that . . . there are signs that before another year has passed disunity in the American labour movement will be a thing of the past."

Unification of the unions would

create a solid body of 8,000,000 organised workers. The American union movement to-day is at an all-time peak of strength and numbers. Approximately 22 per cent. of the eligible 35 million workers belong to unions. The C.I.O. embraces over 4,000,000. The A.F.L. claims 3,468,885. Another 500,000 belong to independent unions, mainly in the Railroad Brotherhoods. A powerful federation of these three movements would give American Labour a mighty instrument of defence and protection.

The C.I.O. proposals for unity are very simple and are supported by the vast majority of the working class. It proposes: one new federation of all C.I.O.-A.F.L. Railroad Brotherhoods into a new Congress of Labour; to agree without vagueness to industrial unions for mass production industries and an end to the craftism for such industries; for inclusion of the entire C.I.O. membership into the new movement without exception; for democratic procedure and national autonomy for each union in the new centre.

The A.F.L. Executive Council pursued a thoroughly reactionary course in the efforts to unite. The A.F.L. split up the negotiations which were started in 1936 by insistence upon its unacceptable demands. It proposed, simply: that the C.I.O. dissolve as such; that certain C.I.O. unions be accepted into the A.F.L. as units, but that a number of others, representing about 2,000,000, be broken up and parcelled out to the A.F.L. craft unions.

This attitude the C.I.O. sharply rejected and declared it refused to be "another Czechoslovakia." The A.F.L. sharpened its opposition to the C.I.O., engaged in open strike-breaking and resorted to any means to wreck the C.I.O. The resulting warfare which lasted for two years cost the workers dear.

Undoubtedly efforts will be made to sabotage the present unity conferences by the reactionaries of the A.F.L. and the employers. But at the same time the deep desire of the workers for unity increases daily.

The C.I.O. under the leadership of Lewis supports the democratic front of Roosevelt, whereas Green and his men tend ever more openly towards participation in a reactionary alliance against Roosevelt. In the historic struggles between the forces of democracy and reactionary forces in America who side with Fascism, Green and Co. are playing a role similar to that of Citrine and Co., in England. But the American workers

want unity. They are fighting for the establishment of a powerful and united trade union movement capable of serving as the backbone of the American people in the struggle for their future. They are becoming more and more aware of the fact that the struggle for trade union unity at the same time constitutes a struggle for strength and unity of the great American people against the fascist aggressors.

THEORY AND PRACTICE OF THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

Czechoslovakia Under the Yoke of Hitler

By K. GOTTWALD

THE fascist rulers of Germany have perpetrated an act of brutal despotism and violence. They have invaded and occupied militarily Czechoslovakia. They have incorporated the Czech country into Germany and declared it to be a German "protectorate." They took Slovakia under German "protection," which is really just another form of occupation of the country, and the remaining part of Czechoslovakia — Ruthenia, was also occupied with the agreement of Germany, by Hungary.

How could this new violation have occurred which destroyed the state and national independence of ten million Czechs and Slovaks ?

* * *

There is no shadow of doubt that the reasons for the occurrences of the 15th and 16th March, 1939, are to be found in the Munich agreement of September 29th, 1938.

Hitler went to Munich with the lying declaration that he only wanted the "freedom" of the Sudeten Germans as well as of the Magyars and Poles living in Czechoslovakia. However, only a few days later, when the so-called fifth occupation zone was determined by Hitler, who was given a free hand by the English and French governments, it became apparent that Fascist Germany had settled the new frontiers of Czechoslovakia, not on the principle of nationality, but from a military and strategic standpoint. The same thing was repeated at the so-called Vienna arbitration when Ribbentrop and Ciano dictated the new frontiers of Slovakia and Ruthenia.

The result of these two forced agreements was the loss of 30 per cent. of the territory and 33 per cent. of the population of Czechoslovakia, including 1,200,000 Czechs, Slovaks and Carpatho-Ukrainians, who fell under the domination of Germany, Hungary and Poland.

Furthermore, the new frontiers were determined in such a way as to reach out as far as possible to the most important centres of the country. The new frontier lay 35 kilometres from Prague, about 3 kilometres from Pilsen, about 15 kilometres from Brno, 1 kilometre from Moravsky-Ostrava, 10 kilometres from Olmütz. The frontier passed alongside Bratislava, the capital of Ruthenia; Uzhorod was actually occupied, etc. Finally, all the important railways and roads were systematically cut. For instance, the important railway line connecting the eastern and western parts of the republic was cut *four times*. To reach Jasina (the western station of Ruthenia) from Prague, one had to travel through four different countries, twice through Germany, once through Poland and once through Hungary, then once through Rumania (the latter connection already existed before the Munich agreement). The railway line to the south-east (Prague-Bratislava) was cut *twice*. Anyone travelling on the main line from Prague to Bratislava had to cross German territory *twice*. Within the territory of the republic, there remained only one single, very inefficient line between Prague and the east, which was also cut at Kosice, so that *the whole of eastern Slovakia and Ruthenia remained without a railway connection and Ruthenia had not even a connection by road*.

It is obvious to everybody that this clever dismemberment was carried out for the purpose of rendering the country unprotected from the military point of view, enabling at any time its complete occupation without great risks by the aggressor.

* * *

German Fascism was not content, however, with the military and strategic dismemberment of the country. Simultaneously, everything possible was done in order to *set one against the other the different*

nationalities comprising the republic, rendering any unification in this respect impossible. With unequalled cynicism and shamelessness, German Fascism used for its own ends the different nationalities of Czechoslovakia, inciting them against each other so as finally to enslave them all.

After the Munich agreement Slovakia and Ruthenia were granted "autonomy" under the patronage of Berlin. Whilst the Reich's military forces occupied the German districts of the Czech country, "autonomous governments" were set up in Slovakia and Ruthenia consisting of adventurers and corrupt and criminal elements. The underworld of the "Ukrainian" white emigration was sent from Berlin to Ruthenia in an attempt to stir up trouble in every possible direction. Absurd megalomania and political madness led the dance. All kinds of adventurers and criminal elements broadcasted to the world speeches about the "Greater Ukraine," tried to set the Ruthenian people against the Czechs, demanded from Czechoslovakia the inclusion of eastern Slovakia in Ruthenia, provoked systematic frontier skirmishes with Poland and Hungary. In a word, Berlin did everything in its power to convert that country in the Carpathian mountains into a seat of unrest.

Fascist Germany worked similarly in Slovakia. It helped to power a "Slovak government" consisting of completely mercenary individuals with a few mountebanks and cheap-jacks. This "Slovak government" only ruled for a few months but managed to bring the country to the verge of economic and financial bankruptcy. The relation between Czechs and Slovaks became more strained than ever. Berlin organised a systematic pogrom campaign against the Czechs in Bratislava. They inspired the Slovak "patriots" to demand the inclusion of Moravian Slovakia into Slovakia and, through bought agents, supported a systematic separatist movement which declared itself dissatisfied with autonomy and demanded the complete "independence" of Slovakia.

Hitler's agents had a completely free hand in Slovakia and Ruthenia. Without turning a hair they ventured to suggest to the Slovak and Ruthenian people that Hitler was their "liberator" and the

Czechs their "greatest enemies." To-day, the whole world can witness the way Hitler sold out Ruthenia to Hungary and established his "protection" over "independent" Slovakia, which in fact means complete loss of national independence. In the light of these events the whole shamelessness and cynicism of the game that Hitler played on the peoples of Slovakia and Ruthenia becomes clear.

* * *

Fascist Germany prepared its act of aggression for March 15th in yet another way. The unity of the Czech people had already been broken at the time of capitulation on September 30th, and the people were considerably disorganised. This was not sufficient, however, for the complete enslavement of the Czech people. Further preparation was necessary. This was carried out for Hitler by the treacherous clique of Czech reactionaries and the government of Beran Chvalkovsky tolerated for the time being by Hitler.

On the orders of Hitler, their first pre-occupation was the suppression of the most consistent fighters for national independence—the communists. The Communist Party and all organisations in which the communists played a leading part, were dissolved. The communists were dismissed from Parliament, municipal councils and works committees, the whole of the communist press was banned.

The reactionary Beran Chvalkovsky government attempted at the same time to demoralise the Czech people by all means in their power in order to break its will to resist German Fascism. "Look daily at the map!" This sentence was constantly repeated in different ways in the press, on the radio, at meetings and in official statements. "Look daily at the map!" That is how the cowards and traitors from the ranks of the Czech gentlemen wanted to spread amongst the Czech people a feeling of impotence and hopelessness of any war of national defence. The Czech people were being prepared for slavery forced upon them by Fascist Germany, they were expected to forget the better part of their history, to accept the loss of national freedom with resignation and humility.

In this effort to break the backbone of the Czech people and to teach them submission

to German Fascism, Czech reaction was assisted by the leading circles of Czech social democracy. After the capitulation of September, 1938, these circles, without consulting the masses of the party, declared the withdrawal of the Czech Social Democratic Party from the Second International. They specifically rejected every acknowledgment of class struggle and socialism; they disbanded the Social Democratic Party and organised a new party under the name of the "National Party of Labour." Although the new party was in "opposition" to the Beran Chvalkovsky government, the leaders of the party supported the government in its home and foreign policy, and participated actively in the government campaign against the desire for resistance felt by the people.

This campaign led by the government and the "opposition" leaders, designed to bring political demoralisation into the ranks of the working-class and the whole people, was justified by its authors on the ground that Hitler would grant national and political independence to the remaining parts of dismembered Czechoslovakia, providing the Czech people were sufficiently submissive to Fascist Germany and ceased to think of a new fight for national defence. How wrong it was to reckon on the mercy of Fascist Germany was demonstrated on March 15th. There can be no doubt that the cringing policy of the Czech reactionaries and of various Czech "democrats" after Munich facilitated Hitler's act of violence of March 15th.

* * *

The events of the few days preceding March 15th were characteristic of Hitler's shameless and cynical manner of finding pretexts for acts of violence against foreign states. Shortly before this fatal day the Prague government was forced to repress the activities of the Ruthenian "minister," Reway. This gentleman, bought by Berlin, carried out the instructions of his Berlin masters in such a way that, not only did the conditions in Ruthenia herself, but also her relations with Hungary and Poland become intolerable. This made the Prague government seize the opportunity of the payment of the budget deficit of Ruthenia to dismiss Reway from his post. This time Berlin did not protest against it in earnest,

although it usually interfered in the internal affairs of Czechoslovakia. It is obvious now that this was done in order to provoke Prague to take further measures of a similar nature.

Shortly afterwards relations between the Slovak and Prague governments were further strained by the negotiations concerning the Slovak budget. Hitler agents in Slovakia increased the agitation for complete "independence" of the country, that is to say, for its separation from the Republic. In agreement with Berlin they were preparing for a putsch. The Berlin government, on whose initiative this putsch was prepared, at the same time informed the Prague government of the preparations for the putsch and gave it to understand that they would have nothing against its suppression. The Prague government, having received support from Berlin in this respect, decided to suppress the separatist movement which was preparing the putsch in Slovakia. On March 10th, the government of Tiso was removed from office, a few separatist traitors arrested, and the Sidor government appointed. Berlin only waited for these measures to be taken by Prague. It gave its separatist agents in Slovakia instructions to organise resistance to the measures taken by the Prague government. In the whole German press and on the radio, a campaign against Czechoslovakia was let loose; the Vienna broadcasting station was put at the disposal of the leaders of the separatist movement, who fled from Slovakia. At the same time Hitler instructed his Nazi agents in different Czech towns to start riots provoking police interference in order to be able to declare to the world that Czechoslovakia was a "seat of unrest and disorder."

After that, events developed very quickly. On March 13th Hitler summoned the deposed Slovak "ministers," Tiso and Durcansky, to Berlin, where he gave them instructions immediately to separate Slovakia from the Republic. On the morning of March 14th, President Hacha, under pressure from Berlin, called together the Slovak "parliament." Surrounded by bands of S.S. and S.A. men from Germany, it declared for the "independence" of Slovakia. On March 14th, President Hacha and the foreign minister, Chvalkovsky,

went to Berlin, whilst the first military detachments of the Reich already began the occupation of Czech territory by marching into the Ostrava district. On the night of March 14th-15th, Hacha and Chvalkovsky signed a treaty in Berlin surrendering "voluntarily" the sovereignty of the Czech country and "placing the destiny of the Czech people in the hands of Hitler."

Early on the morning of March 15th military detachments of the German Reich crossed the Czech frontier at every point, and before noon Prague was occupied. On March 16th the regular troops of the German Reich penetrated into Slovakia and simultaneously Hungary began to occupy Ruthenia.

It is particularly insolent on the part of Hitler Germany to attempt to convince the world in all seriousness that Czechoslovakia and especially the Czech districts had voluntarily invited Hitler for their own protection. As a proof of it the shameful document, signed on the night of March 14th-15th in Berlin by Hacha and Chvalkovsky, is cited. In the meantime, the whole world discovered—and the shameless fascist gentlemen from Berlin do not make a secret of it either, as for instance, the *Volkische Beobachter* of March 16th informs us—that the occupation of the Czech territories started in the evening of March 14th whilst Hacha and Chvalkovsky were still on their way to Berlin.

By the time they arrived in Berlin in the middle of the night, the whole of the Ostrava basin—one of the most important industrial centres of Czechoslovakia—was already occupied by the military forces of the German Reich, and Hacha and Chvalkovsky were presented with an accomplished fact.

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The forcible occupation of Czechoslovakia by Fascist Germany unmasked the whole network of lies, deceit and hypocrisy on which the Munich policy was founded.

Hitler swore at Munich—and Chamberlain as well as Daladier assured everybody—that he did not want anything else but justice for the Germans—the "liberation" of the Sudeten Germans. He said the same a few months earlier when he raped

Austria. That was a lie. Earlier still, by his war against the Spanish republic, Hitler demonstrated to the whole world that he was concerned not only with the enslavement of the German people but also with the subjugation of other people. The occupation of Czechoslovakia by these bandits, the destruction of the national and political independence of 10 million Czechs and Slovaks, is a new and irrefutable proof that Fascist Germany is waging a predatory onslaught against other people and other countries.

In connection with Munich, Hitler declared—and Chamberlain and Daladier supported him—that he had no further territorial demands in Europe.

It is clear that this was also a lie. The communists issued a warning immediately after Munich that for the working-class and the people in general there could not be a more dangerous illusion than the belief in the lying tales emanating from pro-fascist circles, that the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia is the price to be paid for peace and that German Fascism would indulge in no further aggression. The communists had warned the common people only recently of the preparation of further coups by Fascism and its accomplices.

Comrade Dimitroff wrote after Munich :

"The fact should be clearly appreciated that the question has already passed beyond the bounds of the arbitrary revision of the Versailles treaty by the fascist States.

"*What is at issue is a new repartition of the globe.* What is at issue is not only the redistribution of the existing colonial possessions. Fascism is placing on the order of the day the question of the *repartition of Europe itself*, the colonisation of a number of *European* States and the imperialist enslavement of a number of *European* peoples." ("Communist International," No. 12, 1938.)

The annexation of Austria, the intervention in Spain, the occupation of Czechoslovakia and, finally, the occupation of Memel which followed immediately thereon, the colonial régime established in the countries occupied by fascists—all this indicates how correctly the communists predicted the international events and how necessary it is for the communist parties to advance and carry out the policy of the strengthening of the forces of the working-

class and the people in general for the coming struggle against fascist aggressors. In view of the present developments, it becomes particularly obvious how correct were the proposals made by the communists for an international conference of working-class organisations for the purpose of establishing unity of action to stop fascist attacks on the international arena. These developments also show what a tremendous responsibility the leaders of the Second International have incurred by continuous resistance to the calling of such a conference for the establishment of unity in action of the working-class.

The crime against Czechoslovakia and its people roused the public opinion to unprecedented heights of anger. The originators of the "Munich policy" and its chief promoter, Chamberlain, are experiencing the pressure of public opinion in their respective countries. Chamberlain sheds crocodile tears over Czechoslovakia whose enslavement he himself helped to bring about in Munich.

Can the international proletariat, can the public opinion of the world believe in the sincerity of such people as Chamberlain? They share responsibility not only for the fate of Czechoslovakia. At the most critical period of the Czechoslovak tragedy, the same Chamberlains put through a scandalous betrayal of the Spanish people and of the Spanish Republic, handing them over to Hitler and Mussolini.

Comrade Stalin in his historical report to the 18th Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B) brilliantly disclosed the causes of this policy of the so-called democratic countries, which not only retreat before fascist states, but often actually assist them—as happened in Munich and with respect to Republican Spain.

How is it that the non-aggressive countries, which possess such vast opportunities, have so easily and without any resistance abandoned their positions and their obligations to please the aggressors?

"Is it to be attributed to the weakness of the non-aggressive States? Of course not! Combined, the non-aggressive democratic States are unquestionably stronger than the fascist States, both economically and militarily.

"To what then are we to attribute the

systematic concessions made by these States to the aggressors? . . .

"The chief reason is that the majority of the non-aggressive countries, particularly England and France, have rejected the policy of collective security, the policy of collective resistance to the aggressors, and have taken up a position of non-intervention, a position of 'neutrality.'

"Formally speaking, the policy of non-intervention might be defined as follows: 'Let each country defend itself from the aggressors as it likes and as best it can. That is not our affair. We shall trade both with the aggressors and with their victims.' But actually speaking, the policy of non-intervention means conniving at aggression, giving free reign to war, and consequently transforming the war into a world war. The policy of non-intervention reveals an eagerness, a desire, not to hinder the aggressors in their nefarious work, not to hinder Japan, say, from embroiling herself in a war with China, or better still, with the Soviet Union; not to hinder Germany, say, from enmeshing herself in European affairs, from embroiling herself in a war with the Soviet Union; to allow all the belligerents to sink deep into the mire of war, to encourage them surreptitiously in this; to allow them to weaken and to exhaust one another; and then, when they have become weak enough, to appear on the scene with fresh strength, to appear of course, 'in the interests of peace' and to dictate conditions to the enfeebled belligerents."*

In effect the true policy of the reactionary ruling circles of England and France is dictated by their desire to direct the fascist aggression against the Soviet Union.

These "Peacemakers of Munich" do not hesitate to sacrifice to the fascist barbarians whole nations and countries in order to win them for the war against the Soviet Union. Therein lies the *class-content* of the hypocritical policy of non-intervention. *It is clear that only by a combined mighty effort and through a struggle of the united organisations of the working-class and all the other forces in society threatened by Fascism, will it be possible to force upon the capitalist governments a policy directed against the fascist-aggressors which would force them to stop their predatory advance.*

The authors of the bankrupt "Munich" policy cannot overlook, however, the consequences to themselves of their policy up to now. It was to them that Comrade

* Stalin's Historic Speech, Modern Books Ltd., p. 10.

Stalin addressed the following words at the 18th Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B).

"Far be it from me to moralise on the policy of non-intervention, to talk of treason, treachery and so on. It would be naive to preach morals to people who recognise no human morality. Politics is politics, as the old, case-hardened bourgeois diplomats say. It must be remarked, however, that the big and dangerous political game started by the supporters of the policy of non-intervention may end in a fiasco for them."*

* * * * *

Hordes of Gestapo and S.S. men penetrated into the territory of Czechoslovakia with the army of occupation. They organised a terror of an extent and character as yet never witnessed by the people of Czechoslovakia.

Foreign correspondents write from Prague about the setting up of a concentration camp for 80,000 men. Over 20,000 men have already been arrested and mass arrests are still proceeding.

The Hitler régime is preparing a frightful vengeance against all anti-fascists who in any way associated themselves with the struggle for the independence of Czechoslovakia. This involves a great number of people of the most varied political tendencies. It involves communists, socialists, bourgeois democrats, pacifists, Jews, Sudeten German refugees, as well as emigrants from Germany and Austria. It affects the fate of hundreds of thousands of people caught in a trap in the blockaded frontiers of Czechoslovakia, and being hounded by the Gestapo.

Houses and complete blocks of houses are cordoned off by Gestapo and S.S. detachments, searched through from attic to cellar, and all who rouse the slightest suspicion of the Gestapo, are arrested.

It is as yet impossible to say how far the bestial vengeance of Hitler's hangmen will go. The *worst* is to be feared. Undoubtedly, Hitler will endeavour to behold the Czech and Slovak people, *destroying physically* its best political and cultural representatives, and first of all the best and most honest representatives of the Czech and Slovak working-class. International solidarity of the working-class and practical help in the saving of tens of thousands of anti-fascists is the question of the hour.

The fact that Hitler uses the services of lackeys and detestable traitors and cowards from the ranks of the Czech and Slovak bourgeoisie, to the disappointment of the world and the political demoralisation of the Czech and Slovak people, should not make anyone draw conclusions that fascist Germany will behave with annexed Czechoslovakia in any way different from a conquered colony.

However, in spite of it all, the history of the Czech and Slovak people does not end on March 15th and 16th, 1939. It would be wrong for the world to conclude from the capitulation without a fight, of the Czech ruling-class and even the voluntary acceptance of the Hitler yoke by the Slovak bourgeoisie, that the Czech and Slovak people sanction the ignominious behaviour of their ruling-classes. Of course not!

The Czech and Slovak people will continue their underground struggle against the rule of the oppressors and colonisers, against the foreign domination of fascist Germany. It will be an unusually difficult struggle. Yet it can be said with complete certainty that occupied Czechoslovakia, and especially the Czech regions, will never become a safe rear for Hitler.

In the difficult struggle for national liberation, the Czech and Slovak people and first of all the Czech and Slovak working-class, will unite their forces with the working-class of Germany, Austria and the Sudetenland. The Czech and Slovak workers know very well that their class comrades in Germany, Austria and the Sudetenland, not only disapprove of the predatory invasions of German Fascism, but fight for the overthrow of that Fascism which oppresses them just as brutally. The German working-class should also know that the struggle of the people of Austria and Czechoslovakia against the foreign rule of German Fascism and for their national liberation is not directed against the national interests of the German people but for the common goal—the overthrow of the common enemy—the overthrow of swastika Fascism.

The common people of Czechoslovakia will derive their greatest strength from the knowledge that a great, powerful, un-

* *Ibid.*, p. 13.

conquerable country, the Land of Socialism, land of the future—the Soviet Union—is on their side, on the side of right, truth and justice.

With great emotion and confidence, the people of Czechoslovakia heard these words of Stalin pronounced at the 18th Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B) :—

“ We stand for the support of nations which are the victims of aggression and are fighting for the independence of their country.”*

The important role played by the mighty Soviet Union in the struggle against fascist aggression was made clear by the note sent by the People’s Commissar for Foreign Affairs in the name of the Soviet Union to the government of fascist Germany on March 18th after the annexation of Czechoslovakia. No country used such clear language as the U.S.S.R. ; no one revealed so completely the deceit of the fascist gangsters, condemned so decidedly the violence wrought by fascist Germany against the peoples of Czechoslovakia.

The Soviet note repudiated the impudent assertion of German Fascism that Czechoslovakia was the seat of unrest threatening the peace of Europe. It asserted the established truth that

“ the Czechoslovak Republic was one of the few European countries in which, after the world war, internal peace and friendly foreign relations were effectively assured.”

Hitler attempts to “ legalise ” his violation of Czechoslovakia by the well-known document signed by Hacha in Berlin. The Soviet note gives a pointed reply :—

“ The Soviet Government does not know of a constitution of any country empowering the head of the State, of his own accord, without the approval of the people to bring to an end its existence as a State. It is a proposition difficult to accept, that any nation would be willing to surrender voluntarily its independence, and agree to its incorporation in another State, even more so in the case of a nation which fought for

hundreds of years for its independence, and for the last twenty years enjoyed an independent existence. President Hacha of Czechoslovakia, in signing the Berlin treaty on March 15, 1939, was not empowered to do it by his people and acted in flagrant violation of articles 64 and 65 of the Czechoslovak Constitution and contrary to the will of the people.”

In his predatory invasions, Hitler frequently appealed to the right of nations to self-determination. The Soviet note affirms, that in the case of Czechoslovakia, no one asked the people its opinion, and that :—

“ in view of the lack of any expression of opinion by the Czech people, the occupation of Bohemia and Moravia by German troops and the following acts of the German government, could only be considered as arbitrary, violent and aggressive.”

The Soviet note also affirms that similar violence was used against Slovakia and Ruthenia, and states that :—

“ in view of the foregoing, the Soviet government cannot recognise the incorporation into the German Reich, of Bohemia and Moravia, and under whatever disguise, Slovakia, as legal or in conformity with the generally recognised standards of international law and legality, or in conformity with the principle of the self-determination of the people.”

This energetic intervention of the Soviet Union in defence of the victims of fascist violence demonstrates, not only to the peoples of Czechoslovakia, but to all the people threatened by fascist barbarism, that in the Soviet Union they will find their strongest supporter. This makes clearer still the necessity for the working-class of all the capitalist countries and all the peoples to join forces around the Land of Socialism, to join forces primarily for the struggle against the fascist aggressors.

It is as true for Czechoslovakia as for all the other small nations, that it is not only the class question of the working-class, but also the national cause of the people as a whole, which are inseparably linked up with the Soviet Union. That is why, come what may, this rightful cause will be victorious.

* *Ibid.*, p. 15.

The European Colonial Empire of German Fascism

By K. FUNK

THE imperialist war, for a redivision of the world, which has now been carried on for over two years is drawing with increased rapidity more and more countries into its vortex. The "new order in Europe," which the Berlin-Rome fascist war alliance has for so long been propagating, has assumed form in the establishment of a German colonial empire in Central Europe.

If any further proof were needed, that the Munich agreement and the so-called arbitration of Vienna have accomplished exactly nothing towards the provision of a basis for a durable peace, such proof would be forthcoming in full publicity and with brutal emphasis in the facts of the annexation of the Czechoslovakian Republic and the assault on Lithuania, and in the further moves made by German fascism which result from these two occurrences. If there had still existed politicians who sought to allay their supporters' anxiety by setting forth the facile assurances of the representatives of the Hitler regime as the guarantee of a peaceful further development of affairs, the brutal actions of German fascism have decisively given them the lie. For assurances such as those given by Germany—after the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, arranged in Munich—that she had no further territorial claims in Europe, are now deemed unnecessary by the German fascists themselves, despite their pride in the effectiveness of their recent thimble-rigging game. Politicians of various tendencies—even including some German anti-fascists—who were so short-sighted as to allow German Fascism some sort of "right" to the so-called inclusion of allegedly German peoples in Austria and Czechoslovakia, are now landing in increasing difficulties, as German expansion seizes upon Czechs, Slovaks, Lithuanians and others; for these recent

acts of force lend themselves even less than the former ones to the camouflage of "self-determination of peoples"—which the fascists have so distorted as to turn it into its direct opposite.

And, finally, those circles in the British Labour Party and the French Socialist Party, who once sought to excuse their policy of surrender to German Fascism by the pretext that one cannot blame Germany for cancelling the provisions of the Versailles Treaty in her own way, have been deprived of their subterfuges; for the violent acts of German imperialism can hardly any longer be explained away, even by the most tractable capitulationist, as being merely a process of correction of territory ceded by Versailles.

The harsh and sharp-edged truth is rather the following:

"Fascism is placing on the order of the day the question of the *repartition of Europe itself*, the colonisation of a number of European states and the imperialist enslavement of a number of European peoples." ("After Munich," by George Dimitroff; pp. 11 and 12; Modern Books, Ltd., London.)

GERMANY'S IMPERIALIST COLONIAL EMPIRE IN EUROPE

Beginning with the annexation of Austria, German Fascism has seized the following territories:

Country	Area in Square Miles
Austria	32,370
Bohemia	20,102
Moravia and Czechoslovak Silesia	11,708
The Memel Territory ..	935
"Protectorate" of Slovakia	8,908

Rumania and Lithuania, it is true, are not officially German "protectorates"; nevertheless their sovereignty—because of the "trade agreements" concluded with Germany and the direct supervision of German commercial and other

organs in those countries—is extremely limited. Germany has been able to force upon these countries extensive and trenchant prescriptions with regard to further economic development. She has already reduced them to the status of semi-colonies. In the “free city” of Danzig, also, practically all laws are imported from fascist Germany.

Thus, we may see that, beginning with the annexation of Austria, Germany has seized some 75,000 square miles of new territory in Europe. We do not include in this total the territory of Spain, which is now to a considerable extent under the direct or indirect control of Germany. Nearly 20,000,000 human beings have also been forcibly incorporated into the German Empire.

Of these 20,000,000 who have been impressed into the German Reich, only about 500,000—the inhabitants of the Memel and Danzig areas—belonged to the population of Germany at the end of the first world war. Even official German writers estimate the number of German-speaking inhabitants of the Memel Territory before the separation from Germany, as only 50.9 per cent. The figure given for Danzig, however, is 95.4 per cent, but this is contradicted even by figures from other German official sources which give the percentage as 85 only.

We give these figures in order, once more, to scotch the pretence that the recent German *coups de force* represent any kind of readjustment of unjust provisions of the Versailles Treaty. By means of the Versailles Treaty, Germany ceded, partly directly and partly through plebiscites, 21,704 square miles of territory, with 4,602,000 inhabitants. We omit from this reckoning the 5,600 square miles and 1,874,000 inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine, which provinces Germany annexed from France in 1871, and which reverted to France after the last world war. Thus Germany's total area before the world war was 102,672 square miles, without counting Alsace-Lorraine.

A comparative study of these figures will show that German Fascism has now established a colonial empire in Europe whose extent is far greater than that of

pre-war Germany. National Socialism, which proclaimed itself for so many years as a fighter against the “Versailles bondage,” and which thus brought German chauvinism to the boil, has established a system of oppression and exploitation of foreign peoples in comparison with which the imperialist Versailles Treaty was mild indeed.

Even German official figures on the territories which were separated from Germany by the Versailles Treaty show that in some of them there was actually a majority of non-German nationalities. For instance, the German Government itself claimed only 34.6 per cent German-speaking inhabitants for Posen, and 25.6 per cent for North Silesia. The system of imperialist oppression which Germany has now erected in Europe robs 20,000,000 people, who do not belong to the German nation, of their freedom and right to self-determination.

With the establishment of this European colonial empire, Germany has proceeded to the realisation of the most far-reaching warlike claims—claims which, during the first world war, were put up only by a small group of ultra-jingo imperialists. On the pretence of seeking a revision of the cramping provisions of the Versailles Treaty, and by means of an outrageous distortion of the right of self-determination of peoples, German Fascism has in actual fact rushed in where the most extreme German imperialism previous to and during the world war never dared tread. While certain so-called democrats and pacifists, and even some socialists, still babble of peace, agreement and settlement, modern German Imperialism is going ahead as though the war of 1914-1918 had never interrupted its march.

THE “NEW ORDER” IN EUROPE

Ever-active German propaganda seeks to present the establishment of a Nazi colonial empire in Europe, the imposition of a most oppressive alien rule over the peoples of South-East and North Europe, as the “new order,” by means of which a “senseless experiment has been liquidated” and a “house of cards” brought down—this, of course, with

reference to Versailles. The *Voelkische Beobachter*, for example, states that "these countries are only returning whence they came," and that "creative solutions" have now been provided in the place of "miserable bungling."

The *National Zeitung* writes that Germany has become for South-East Europe "in a higher sense that orderly principle which it has lacked ever since the collapse of the old order." Thus the organ of the second greatest German mining concern, the "Hermann Goering Reichswerke." Alfred Rosenberg, the most obscurantist of the obscurantists of our time, in an article in the *Voelkische Beobachter* of March 23, 1939, described Germany as "the essential Europe," and recalled words from the period of the Emperor Frederick I, "Barbarossa," to the effect that, compared with the German people, the French and the English are but small nations; and proceeded to parallel the present tasks of Germany with that "European mission" which was undertaken by the medieval German emperors of the "holy Roman empire of the German nation."

The 150th anniversary of the great French Revolution is now being made the occasion in the literature of German Fascism for taking a stand in principle against the conceptions—moulded by the bourgeois revolution—of the nation and the citizen. In their place, we are offered—as "creative solutions"—a return to the confusion of the Middle Ages, the resumption of medieval bondage and oppression, modernised and intensified by Fascism.

German Fascism is discovering "justified claims" which are allegedly based upon the "national principle," on "vital space" or on "historical precedents." The most aggressive imperialist power that at present exists comes forward as the most determined enemy of all the achievements of the bourgeois revolution, as the deliberate instigator of a return to medieval conditions of government and justice, which appear to be more useful for its imperialist ends than those forms which developed out of the bourgeois revolution.

It is neither true nor ingenious to

waive aside as "romantic" the way German Fascism fastens onto medieval concepts and forms. Inasmuch as this "romanticism," deliberately cultivated by the most unscrupulous imperialists, is intended to revive from the limbo of forgotten things, medieval conceptions of justice, it is the expression of an advanced process of decay of imperialism, an attempt to enslave whole peoples and nations, to paralyse their growth and reduce them to the status of helots of the "Germanic" ruling class.

German Fascism acts in accordance with the ancient principle of the German knight and robber: Why toil to obtain by the plough what can be conquered by the sword? What other peoples have acquired by diligent toil, the German fascists confiscate by force. Their bayonets lacerate the flesh of foreign peoples; the caterpillars of their tanks crush underfoot the liberties of peoples which have been secured only after centuries of endeavour and struggle.

The "principle of order," as German Fascism itself proclaims, consists in the resurrection and intensification of that reactionary violence, of that sacking by alien invaders of the products of the labour of other peoples, against which so many European peoples had to defend themselves for centuries.

This "principle of order," very much to the detriment of the development of Germany, proved itself to be, during the Middle Ages, an obstructive, reactionary force, opposed to all progress. It sought to prevent the independent development of the Slav peoples in Europe. It constituted itself a barrier to the culture of the Latin countries. It acted as the destroyer of progressive ideas, such as those of Johann Huss, of Prague, for example. It sought to impose upon the Czechs and other Slav peoples of Central and South-East Europe a parasitical Germanic ruling caste which endeavoured either to exploit or to suppress these peoples both economically and culturally.

It stubbornly opposed the development of the towns and of the leagues of towns and kept Germany in continual warfare with neighbouring countries.

The "principle of order" never aided progress; the latter had to make its way by means of a protracted struggle against this principle.

The German historian C. G. Heinrich, wrote in his "Geschichte des Deutschen Reichs" (*History of the German Empire*), published first in 1778, as follows:

"The Germans were not in the least concerned with tilling the field and awaiting the harvest. They did not want to secure by sweat what they could receive through blood. . . . And their law books, to a great extent, consisted of decrees dealing with herds."

We are far from any desire to wax righteously indignant over the actions of those far-off ancestors of the modern Germans; we quote this passage solely to demonstrate that any return to this—as represented and practised by German Fascism—means a return to barbarism, and that the "principle of order" is a most reactionary one.

For progress and culture received no impetus from the reactionary power of the medieval "German" state. The German people, in the long run, had to pay dearly for the reactionary ambitions of its medieval emperors and princes and for the marauding expeditions of the notorious Teutonic knightly orders—for everything, in fact, that is nowadays adduced as the historical basis for the "principle of order." For the German people was plunged into countless wars, large and small; it was delayed in the building of its own state. Through the Thirty Years' War, it was reduced to the position of the most wretched and backward people in Europe. It was only through the protracted and painful penetration of the principles of the great bourgeois French Revolution that the German people was at last enabled to resume contact with progress. The ideas of the French Revolution invigorated and fertilised the prostrate intellectual life of Germany.

Georg Forster (1754-1794), one of the most progressive German thinkers—it was he who said: "All peoples of the earth have an equal claim on my good will"—in a letter dated November 3, 1792, described an event which took place in the city of Mainz, which well

illustrates the reactionary effect the "principle of order" had had on the German people. He wrote:

"This afternoon they are going to dig up the stone under the court-house, which the Elector Diether von Isenburg, 300 years ago, caused to be laid there and bound with iron hoops and chains, when he said: 'I am laying down a roll of butter here for you; when the sun melts it, you shall have your rights and liberties again.' Mainz was a free town of the Reich, and Diether forcibly deprived it of its rights. The ceremony, which is to take place to the accompaniment of military music, will cause a sensation, particularly as it is connected with the planting of a Freedom Tree. . . ."

While the European peoples who are colonised and oppressed by German Fascism are storing up an avalanche of hatred to concentrate upon the reactionary bearers of the "principle of order," the German people also has no cause to remember the dark days of its past in the way that Rosenberg would have it. It is to the honour of the German people that it has had among it distinguished men some who have candidly and honestly written and spoken of that dark era and the bloody and shameful reality of the "principle of order."

F. C. Schlosser, an outstanding German historian (1776-1861), in his "Weltgeschichte" (*World History*) has described the "cultural" and colonising activities of the German knightly orders in the Baltic states, as follows:

"The German knighthood found it . . . much more advantageous to gain glory, large estates and heaven in lands near to Prussia, than to journey to the far Orient. . . . Like the Spaniards of the sixteenth century in America, the knights dealt abroad, death, fire, plunder and inhuman cruelty. . . . The speech, customs, liberties and nationality of the natives fell into a decline, even when they were not extirpated."

As opposed to the falsely idealised picture of the colonising activities of the German knightly orders in the Baltic countries, the incorruptible Schlosser tells us that these countries had become "solely the concern of the Pope and of those families who were able to endow their sons with benefices, estates and official positions to which birth alone entitled them."

Schlosser writes as follows on the foundation of the representatives in those days of the "principle of order," to whose acts the fascists to-day so eloquently refer:

"Innocent III endorsed the Order and at the same time declared the poor pagans to be outlawed. Emperor Otto IV enfeoffed the Bishop of Riga with their land, as though it were his to dispose of, and the Teutonic knights, who were now streaming ever more numerous into the new German feudal territory, exemplified on the Baltic Mohammed's principle that whoever will not believe in the great prophet must either die or be regarded as equal to the dog and other unclean beasts."

Let us conclude our picture with an account by Schlosser of the suppression of an uprising by the tormented Estonians:

"Finally excess of suffering brought about a general uprising (1343). The entire embittered mass of the Estonian people arose, slew over 1,800 knights with their women, children and servants, and laid siege to the capital, Reval.

"In their extremity the Estonian knights called upon the German order which despatched a relief army which acted frightfully. Instead of describing in our own words what then broke over the unhappy Estonians, let us reproduce the simple account of a writer who literally reproduces his sources. From this we shall better realise . . . what a fate was prepared for the working people on the land in all Europe by the unfortunately overromantic knights.

"'The Estonians,' says the historian Hiörn, 'sent to the Lord Master and his 700 horsemen and promised him that they would submit to the order and bring it tribute, but on the condition that they be freed from the nobles whose arrogance and tyranny they could no longer endure. But the Lord Master did not allow himself to be misled by this and with his men attacked the peasants and slew nearly all of the ten thousand. The principal instigators and authors of the revolt were all tortured to death with frightful suffering and the city of Reval was thus happily freed through the help of the order. The Danish governor, after having most heartily thanked the Lord Master and his followers for such kindness, proceeded to request further help against the Finns.'

"The order did not hesitate, however, to draw advantage from the aid it had rendered. It sent in a bill of costs to the Danish governor similar to that which it had formerly sent to the king of Poland . . . with regard to East Pomerania; and with such effect that

the Danish king . . . in 1346 relinquished by treaty Estonia, with all his rights, as a province which was too burdensome to Denmark, to the German order against the sum of 19,000 marks in full-weight silver."

Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744-1803), one of the most important German poets and philosophers, gave judgment as follows on the Germanisation of the Baltic countries, in his work, "Ideas on the Philosophy of the History of Humanity":

"Finally the Teutonic knights, who had been summoned by the Duke of Masovia to aid against the pagan Prussians, received from a German emperor as a gift everything that they themselves had been able to conquer, and what did not actually belong to him, the German emperor; they conquered Prussia, joined with their brothers of the sword in Livonia; received Estonia from a king who did not know how to maintain it; and thus, finally, they ruled from the Vistula to the Southern Dvina and the Neva, in knightly arrogance and debauchery. The old Prussian nation was exterminated, and Lithuanians, Samoyedes, Courlanders, Latvians and Estonians were shared like cattle among the German nobles. After long wars with the Poles, they lost, first the half and then the entirety, of Prussia, and finally also Livonia and Courland. In these districts they left nothing behind them to be said on their behalf except that it would be difficult to rule a conquered country more arrogantly and oppressively than they had ruled these shores which, had they been cultivated by some of the seaport towns, would certainly have become quite different lands."

It is upon disgraceful and pernicious colonisation, as this great thinker describes, that are based the "just claims" now evinced by German Imperialism with regard to the Baltic states, just as with regard to South-East Europe. It was to such heroic deeds that the representatives of the Hitler regime referred when, on the day of their occupation of Memel, they stated that this land had been German 700 years ago and had remained German ever since.

Rosenberg definitely demands of the German people that it shall pay attention to these particular periods of German history and act accordingly. Rosenberg describes the restoration of this robber-knight tradition as Germany's "mission" in these times. The "principle of order" of the imperialistic present reaches way back to that of the darkest ages. In the

same manner, in Germany itself, Fascism has reduced former German citizens to the status of serfs, as part of its task of establishing and preserving the rule of monopoly capital. In the same manner, it introduces, with reference to all spheres of life, examples from the feudal era which in "modernised form" appear to be most likely to maintain such a regime in existence.

However contradictory it may appear, at the first glance, this matching of medieval "romance" with the most definite and aggressive form of modern imperialism, it is, nevertheless, quite natural and well expresses Lenin's brilliant definition of imperialism as the last stage of capitalism. And let us mention in passing that, as a matter of fact, Lenin has anticipated, in his "On the Junius Pamphlet," precisely such a development of aggressive colonial policy in the centre of Europe, making it dependent upon the result of the first imperialist world war.

Now, while the new imperialist war is becoming a fact, while German Imperialism is endeavouring to realise and in part succeeding in realising the war aims which it failed to achieve in 1914, it has become necessary to have a clear view of this development, and to call things by their right names.

The present advocates of this "principle of order" appeal to the bearers of this principle in the Middle Ages, to the slaughterers of peasants, the marauders and spoilers, the enemies of the peasants and of the hard-working citizens and craftsmen of the towns, to the barrier to progressive development of human culture. How fitting! For the present-day advocates of the "principle of order" are the plug-uglies, the lick-spittles, the mercenaries of the modern barrier to human progress. They boast of the successes of the modern application of the "principle of order" as for instance: "Agreements for cultivation on a gigantic scale, as that of the I.G. Farbenindustrie with no less than 48,000 peasants of South-East European countries." (*National Zeitung*, Essen.) They allude to the transplantation of a chronically sick economy—rendered so

through Fascism—to countries outside Germany, the installation of parasitical supervisory bodies and debt-collecting authorities in the economic fabric of such countries as the annexed Czechoslovakia, or of Rumania, impressed into Germany's service, as being progressive, although it is obviously nothing other than nakedly imperialist robbery. The *Deutsche Bergarbeiter Zeitung*, the organ of heavy industry, published on March 12 of this year—several days before the entry into Czechoslovakia of the invader's troops—a bulky special supplement entitled "South-East Europe." In this publication, the maps no longer represented Czechoslovakia as a separate country, described the south-eastern countries neighbouring on Germany as provinces of "German vital space." From precisely the same point of view as that employed to-day by German Fascism in carrying out its measures of colonisation, the most reactionary and die-hard representatives of German Imperialism spoke in 1915.

In the war aims propagated in 1915—usually called the "Professors' Memorial," for it was signed by 325 professors, as well as 148 lawyers, and so on—appeared the same principles of imperialist plunder policy—formulated by people like von Class, Haushofer, and others—as Hitler has adopted and developed yet farther:

"We must get rid, once and for all, of the French peril. For the sake of our own destiny, we must mercilessly weaken this country politically and economically, and improve our own military-strategic position in relation to it. . . ."

Based upon this objective in the struggle for the mastery of Europe, the following European colonisation plans were drawn up in the statement of war aims in 1915:

"We must hold Belgium fast in our hands, politically, militarily and economically, whatever reasons may be adduced against it. Economically, Belgium will bring us a substantial increase in strength. Also racially it can provide us with a considerable accession when once, in the course of time, the Flemings, who are so closely related to us in culture, have freed themselves from their Latin environment and recall their old

Germanicism. . . . No political influence in the Reich should be conceded to the inhabitants; and in the areas relinquished by France the principal concerns and properties must be transferred from hostile to German hands."

In this manner, the German Imperialist war demands of 1915, now revived, point out stage by stage the drive for the domination of Europe.

With regard to the role to be played by the Baltic states as German colonies and bases for the further conquest of Europe, the following demands were expressed:

"The boundary rampart and foundation of the protection of our people's growth is offered by land" which, as a German frontier in the East, "shall also make secure the Prussian Poles against too direct influence by Russian Poles who might perhaps rise to secure their independence.

"But furthermore we shall not hesitate to refer emphatically to that ancient land of the Russian Baltic provinces, cultivated for 700 years by Germans, whose fertile and sparsely populated soil presents a colonising area rich for the future . . . and whose peoples, Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians, could form a reliable source of casual labour, so urgently needed."

There we have the "New Order" of the *Voelkische Beobachter* of to-day, already proclaimed. The "New Order" which is in fact the old disorder which the German aggressors, ancient and modern, have always caused with their plans for the domination and Germanisation of Europe, and who, wherever they can gain a foot-hold, form the most reactionary obstruction to the progress and advancement of the various peoples and nations, in fact, of all mankind.

SOON GOT, SOON GONE

From ancient betrayals and bitter experience, the German people has derived many lessons in the rapid rise and precipitous fall of great "empires." It is no accident that present fascist propaganda is compelled to argue vigorously against comparisons, frequently made among the people, with regard to the fortune and downfall of Napoleon and other usurpers. Certain German proverbs of the people are particularly popular

just now in Germany. As for instance: "Soon got, soon gone!" "Ill-gotten gain never thrives!" "A bow long bent at last grows weak!" "The pitcher goes so often to the well, it comes home broken at last!"

One cannot avoid the timeliness of a comparison between the fascist present imperialist policy of conquest and Bismarck's attitude in 1866, after the defeat of the Austrian army. Hastily but vainly, Hitler endeavours to explain his policy as the direct continuation of Bismarck's. In German bourgeois circles, which otherwise would appear to approve a policy of imperialistic expansion, misgivings and disagreement are being more and more generally expressed, and are based, in part, upon considerations which Bismarck recognised in his time. Bismarck who undoubtedly was sensitive to the national feelings and interests of other peoples, for reasons of his own, resolutely opposed the annexation of Bohemia to Germany, after the victory of the Prussian troops over the Austrian. He was too fearful of the unquenchable, embittered hatred of the Austrians, the Czechs, the Hungarians and other south-eastern European peoples. Therefore he vigorously countered the suggestion of a triumphant march of German troops in Vienna. In his memoirs, he later wrote:

"For reasons of our later relations with Austria it appeared to me to be necessary to avoid the possibility of humiliating memories. . . . Even at that time I had no doubt but that we would have to defend the achievements of this campaign in later wars, as Frederick the Great had to defend the results of his two first Silesian wars in the heavy fire of the Seven Years' War. . . . How these later wars for the maintenance of gains would take shape could not be foreseen. . . . This consideration constituted for me a political reason for preferring to avoid, rather than favour, a triumphant entry into Vienna in the Napoleonic style. . . . We had to avoid wounding Austria too deeply, and leaving behind us more bitterness and desire for revenge than necessary." (*Our own translation.—Ed. "C.I."*)

That Bismarck well realised the reasons why he made this decision, is revealed in

the following passage, also from his memoirs:

“What could be substituted in Europe for that which the Austrian State had fulfilled, from the Tyrol to Bukovina? New organisations on this area could only be lastingly of a revolutionary nature. We could not use German Austria, either in whole or in part; nor gain a strengthening of the Prussian State by the addition of provinces such as Austrian Silesia and portions of Bohemia; a merging of German Austria with Prussia would not succeed; nor could Vienna be governed as an appendage to Berlin.” (*Our own translation.—Ed. “C.I.”*)

These purely utilitarian considerations of Bismarck's, which are in complete contradiction to the practice of the fascist usurpers—who hasten to occupy every conquered small town with pompous ceremony—play an important part to-day in the minds of definite sections of the German people and are joined to the bitter realisation by the masses that every imperialist conquest of German Fascism immediately brings forth further aggressive aims; and that, after each new conquest or successfully employed blackmail, the position of the German masses is worsened.

The year that has passed since the annexation of Austria has also been the hardest year of armaments-economy decrees, growing scarcity of foodstuffs, oppressive compulsory labour, brutal terrorism and disgraceful pogroms. To-

gether with the establishment of a German colonial empire in Europe, the chains have been rivetted yet more firmly on the limbs of the German people itself. The increase in terrorism in Germany results from the well-based apprehension of the German taskmasters that the discontented German masses might be strengthened, by the drive of the peoples oppressed by German Imperialism, in their own struggle for freedom; and thus the struggle of the German masses against Fascism could be allied with the struggle of the oppressed peoples, to form a powerful current which the fascist central government could as little resist as could, in its time, the medieval “empire” stand against the combined pressure of the peoples, the German towns and peasants.

If the Germans were only to do what Rosenberg most fears—namely, to estimate their own history critically—this new “principle of order”—the most aggressive imperialism of our time—would be recognised by the German people for what it is: the most reactionary force of our day which, while oppressively and parasitically ruling foreign peoples, also bars the path of the German people towards progress and liberty, and is imperilling the future of the German nation. The recognition of these facts would unite wide masses of the German people, including sections of all classes, to fight Fascism for the sake of the future of Germany.

America and the Communist International

By EARL BROWDER

THE American Socialist and Labour Movements had always had close connections with the First and Second Internationals. When the Communist International was formed in 1919, the old opportunist leadership of the Socialist Party stubbornly fought against the post-war rebirth of the International. In the struggle against this leadership the Communist Party of the United States was born. As a consequence of the political and organisational immaturity the movement in the outset was split into two parties (the Communist Party and the Communist Labour Party), which were only united two years later. The infamous repressions of the Palmer raids and deportations of 1920 broke up the normal development of the Party until the end of 1921, when its scattered forces were drawn together and emerged in the Workers' Party of America, with C. E. Ruthenberg at the head, uniting the best members, leaders and traditions of the old Socialist Party. Four years later the name was changed to the Workers' (Communist) Party, and in the Sixth Convention, March, 1929, to Communist Party of the U.S.A.

The period of the post-war crisis of the capitalist world was the time of the gathering of our forces into a Party. That was the period of the consolidation of the workers' power in the Soviet Union, the defeat of its armed enemies within and without, and the beginning of its economic reconstruction.

The period of partial and temporary stabilisation of the capitalist world, after the post-war crisis, in which capitalism regains the pre-war level of production, the period of the Coolidge "prosperity" in the United States, was a time of relative stagnation in the American Labour Movement. The Communist Party, in severe and long-drawn-out fractional struggles, formed its first leading

personnel. The causes of this fractional struggle were the activity of the hostile and alien groups of Trotskyites and Lovestoneites then within the Party, and expelled finally in 1928 and 1929. That was the period of the Soviet Union's reconstruction of economy above the pre-war level, the beginning of socialist industrialisation, leading into the First Five-Year Plan and collectivisation of agriculture.

The period of the renewed world crisis of capitalism, beginning with the stock market crash in the United States in the last half of 1929, and leading to the rise of fascism, as well as to the beginning of the second imperialist world war, marked the beginning of the steady political and organisational growth of the C.P.U.S.A. It is a period of firm consolidation of Party unity based upon proving in practice the profound lessons of Lenin's and Stalin's teachings; a period of rise of the Labour Movement and of the united and people's front. This is the period of the gigantic strides forward of the Soviet Union, the completion of the foundations of socialist economy, the unexampled multiplication of production, and the historic realisation of the socialist democracy of the new Stalin Constitution.

It is with this background always in mind that we should study the relations between America and the world Communist Movement crystallised in the Communist International.

The professional "red-baiters" and the anti-Communists have never ceased to spread the idea, in a thousand variations, that the American Communists are some sort of automatons or puppets operated by strings from Moscow and speaking as phonograph records for some mystical "foreign body"; this fantastic conception they have symbolised in the formula "Orders from Moscow." This slanderous attack is particularly spread to-

day by the Dies Committee and its agents, and by all supporters of the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo "Anti-Comintern Alliance" of war-makers.

The red-baiters became sarcastic about the "sudden change of attitude" when on June 29, 1938, I presented a formal statement for the Communist Party before the McNaboe Committee of New York State, declaring:

"The Communist Party makes its own decisions, it has never received orders from Moscow or anywhere else, and if it did receive any such orders, it would throw them in the wastebasket."

This is not something new, and was not a changed attitude in any way. This position has always characterised the relationship between the Communist International and the C.P.U.S.A.

As an important confirmation of this fact, which needs to be brought to the attention of all democrats and progressives who have been frightened by the Dies Committee, let me cite the words of Joseph Stalin, spoken in 1927 in reply to a question put by a delegation of American trade unionists (non-Communists) who were visiting the Soviet Union. Stalin said:

"The assertion that the American Communists work under 'orders from Moscow' is absolutely untrue. There are no Communists in the world who would agree to work 'under orders' from outside against their own convictions and will and contrary to the requirements of the situation. Even if there were such Communists, they would not be worth a cent. Communists are bold and courageous, they are fighting against a host of enemies. The value of a Communist, among other things, lies in that he is able to defend his convictions. Therefore, it is strange to speak of American Communists as not having their own convictions and being capable only of working according to 'orders' from outside. The only part of the assertion that has any truth in it at all is that the American Communists are affiliated to an international Communist organisation and from time to time consult with the central body of this organisation on one question or another. But what is there bad about this? Are the American labour leaders opposed to an international workers' centre? It is true they are not affiliated to Amsterdam (International Federation of Trade Unions; since then the A.F. of L. has affiliated to the I.F.T.U.—E.B.); not because they are opposed to an international workers' centre as such, however, but because they regard Amsterdam as being too radical. (Laughter.)

Why may the capitalists organise internationally and the working class, or part of it, not have its international organisation? Is it not clear that Green and his friends in the American Federation of Labour slander the American Communists when they slavishly repeat the capitalist legends about 'orders from Moscow'? Some people believe that the members of the Communist International in Moscow do nothing else but sit and write instructions to all countries. As there are more than 60 countries affiliated to the Comintern, one can imagine the position of the members of the Comintern who never sleep or eat, in fact do nothing but sit day and night and write instructions to all countries." (Laughter.)

(Printed in a pamphlet "An Interview with Stalin by the American Trade Union Delegation," 1927, and in "Leninism; Vol. 1," by Joseph Stalin, pp. 383-4, International Publishers, N.Y., 1933.)

This quotation confirms that my statement to the McNaboe Committee contained the long-established position of the Communists of all countries, that there was nothing new in principle in my declaration, nor was there anything opposed to general Communist views on this question.

Having cleared this question out of the way, the much more important point remains of the nature and direction of the influence which the Communist International has exercised in the development of the C.P.U.S.A. Communists are the last to deny that influence; we have learned the most profound lessons from our affiliation to the Communist International, and above all are American Communists indebted to the individual contributions of three men, Lenin, Stalin and Dimitroff. It is this above all that I would discuss.

Lenin's writings during the World War reached American Socialists only in a fragmentary and sometimes distorted form. Despite this, they were the decisive factor in bringing together the Left Wing which later founded the Communist Party. With the victory of the Russian Revolution, Lenin's thoughts began flowing to us more completely and directly. With the establishment of the Communist International in March, 1919, Lenin personally devoted many long hours of most painstaking educational work with the American delegates who visited Moscow. In the midst of the

most pressing problems of State, of an enormous country struggling with heart-breaking problems, Lenin found time for long and intimate conversations with Americans.

Lenin gave most of his attention, talking with Americans, to asking innumerable questions and making comments on the answers. Thus he was never *talking at* but instead *drawing out* his visitors. By his questions he directed attention to what he considered the most important problems. By a thousand questions on conditions of labour and life, and on the Labour movement, he taught that fundamental lesson that no one could be a serious Communist who was not *immersed* in the daily life of his own people. His constantly reiterated question, "Why do you not have a daily newspaper?" and his incredulous and quizzical attitude to all answers that tended to exaggerate the difficulties, was really the genesis of the *Daily Worker*, which was born in the very week in which Lenin died. His intimate knowledge of the fundamentals of American development always astonished American visitors; it was only after his death that we learned of his book on American agriculture, the first really scientific study of the American agrarian question, as distinct from its separate parts, ever written. He was fully acquainted with the deep connections of Marx and Engels, and the First International, with America, and had a profound understanding of the world-historical importance of the Revloutionary War of 1776 and the Civil War of 1861-65; unfortunately for us, he was not able to impress this sufficiently upon the visiting American comrades for this understanding to take root and grow in the American Party, and it is only in the last few years that we have awakened to the rich revolutionary content of American history which Lenin was trying to point out to us. From these brief characteristics, it is clear that Lenin was always bringing us *closer to America*, closer to the working class and people of our own land, closer to our own nation and the treasures of its history. And that is not the

least of the reasons why rapidly growing masses of Americans learned to love Lenin and to follow him; and why with every passing year Lenin's spirit grows stronger in our country.

Stalin's intimate political and spiritual collaboration in the solution of the problems of growth and consolidation of the American Communist movement, came fully to our consciousness in 1929. That was a year of climax of factional strife in which the anti-Party and essentially anti-Communist groupings of Trotskyites and Lovestoneites threatened the disintegration and destruction of the Party. It was the calm wisdom, incisive analysis, and unanswerable, devastating criticism of errors and unprincipledness in the discussions of 1929, that closed the formative period of our Party. Stalin's fraternal opinion in the form of two speeches of 1929 about American problems take a permanent place in the history of our Party, which first placed squarely the historic international role of our Party, without the full understanding of which no one can claim to really understand this history. Moreover, Stalin taught our Party the meaning of the Leninist style of work, the necessity of combining Bolshevik zeal and devotion to the working class with "American efficiency" which is "an antidote to 'revolutionary' phrasemongering and fantastic invention." And this, too, is not the least of those many reasons for the universal confidence and love felt by all American Communists for Stalin.

Dimitroff became for the American Communists a decisive influence, as he, in the "Reichstag Fire Trial," by his Bolshevik courage and skill, defeated the German fascists in their own courts. With the historic Seventh World Congress, and the world-historic contribution of the united front and People's Front against Fascism, Dimitroff became not only in a general, but in a most intimate sense, an intellectual inspirer of the American Communist movement. Dimitroff has become "ours," one of the fundamental facts in our life, his thought is to our political life as the air we breathe is to our physical life.

It is most emphatically clear, therefore, that when we repudiate the conception of "Orders from Moscow" slander of the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis and its agents everywhere, we affirm with equal emphasis our closest comradeship union with the greatest spirits of the International Communist Movement, with the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and with our millions of comrades in other lands, who are united in the Communist International. Because we are becoming every day *better Americans*, we are also becoming *better internationalists*; because we were internationalists we were able to become American in the truest and most profound sense. We have revived on a higher plane the great traditions of internationalism, which was always the most living core of the American movement for freedom, as exemplified in the great figures of Jefferson, Pain and Franklin.

Never before has the international spirit and outlook been more vitally necessary for our nation.

The Rome-Berlin-Tokyo war alliance is threatening to engulf the whole world outside the impregnable stronghold of the Soviet Union.

Great Britain and France, under the domination of monopoly capital, continue the suicidal policy of "appeasement" and surrender before the fascist axis, which not only endangers their own national existence, but already presents a direct threat to the Americas.

Among the great powers, only the Soviet Union has pursued a firm, consistent policy of intransigent resistance to the fascist world offensive, and of active help to the attacked and threatened people.

Among the capitalist democracies, only the United States has assumed an attitude which, if consistently developed, can lead to the creation of another great world centre of organised resistance to fascist world conquest. But this can be realised only if the United States policy takes into consideration *all* the active and latent forces of a world democratic front.

It is one of the historical functions of

the American Communists, which we can perform best because of our organic connection with the world movement, through the Communist International, to make our people world-conscious, by creating a clearer understanding that the national security of our country is most intimately bound up with the fate of world democracy and peace. From the time of Marx and Engels this has been a conscious goal of Communists. It is worth while to recall the words of Marx, contained in the Inaugural Address of the International Workingmen's Association (the First International), on September 28, 1864:

"If the emancipation of the working classes requires their fraternal concurrence, how are they to fulfil that great mission with a foreign policy in pursuit of criminal designs, playing upon national prejudices, and squandering in piratical wars the people's blood and treasure? It was not the wisdom of the ruling classes, but the heroic resistance to their criminal folly by the working classes of England that saved the West of Europe from plunging headlong into an infamous crusade for the perpetuation and propagation of slavery on the other side of the Atlantic.

"The shameless approval, mock sympathy, or idiotic indifference, with which the upper classes of Europe have witnessed the mountain fortress of the Caucasus falling a prey to, and heroic Poland being assassinated by, Russia, the immense and unresisted encroachments of that barbarous power, whose head is at St. Petersburg, and whose hands are in every cabinet of Europe, have taught the working class the duty to master for themselves the mysteries of international politics; to watch the diplomatic acts of their respective governments; to counteract them, if necessary, by all means in their power; when unable to prevent, to combine in simultaneous denunciations, and to vindicate the simple laws of morals and justice, which ought to govern the relations of private individuals, as the rules paramount of the intercourse of nations. The fight for such a foreign policy forms part of the general struggle for the emancipation of the working class."

This thought has always been a basic guiding line of followers of Karl Marx to the extent that they understood their Marxism. Lenin developed it to its climax in the great October Revolution, which took its origin largely in "the fight for such a foreign policy," in the fight for "peace without annexations and without indemnities." Stalin has

further developed it in the firm and consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union, which is supporting in every way the democratic peace forces of the entire world against the robber ways of the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis. Every nation, every class, every Party, and every individual leader in the world, is choosing to-day between surrender to the war-making alliance on the one hand, or the stern defence of the policy enunciated by Marx in 1864 on the other hand.

There can be no doubt that the great majority of the American people have chosen to "vindicate the simple laws of morals and justice . . . as the rule paramount in the intercourse of nations." In the fight to realise the will of the

people on this issue, upon which the fate of the world depends, the Communists will be in the front ranks of the most effective fighters, as worthy members of the Communist International, because they are thereby also the best representatives and continuators of the great traditions of Franklin, Paine and Jefferson.

On the Twentieth Anniversary of the Communist International, we repeat the words of Stalin on the occasion of Lenin's death:

"In departing from us Comrade Lenin bequeathed to us the duty of remaining loyal to the principles of the Communist International. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that we will not spare our lives to strengthen and expand the union of the toilers of the whole world—the Communist International."

The Weakness of Italian Imperialism

By F. LANG

AFTER Munich, both open and disguised agents of Hitler Fascism, and false "pacifists" tried to persuade the people that the sacrifices of Czechoslovakia was necessary for the preservation of peace. The warnings of the Communists, the warnings even of Right politicians, such as de Kerillis and others, that people should not give way to treacherous illusions, were rejected with the remark that Hitler "himself" declared that he had no more territorial claims in Europe, indeed, that with respect to France, he had foregone any claims to alteration of the frontier. But the rejoicing over the "salvation" of peace was not of long duration. The Axis turned a little, and the Italian Axis-partner made his demands on France in threatening tones.

On November 30th, 1938, exactly two months after Munich, the Italian Foreign Minister, Mussolini's son-in-law, Ciano, made in the Chamber a great speech on foreign affairs which reached its climax in the statement that Italy would know how to realise her "natural claims," whereupon the fascist puppet-members of the Chamber, following their instructions, broke out

into cries of "Tunis, Corsica, Nice, Savoy." In the days following, in Rome, anti-French demonstrations were arranged, and in the press was unleashed a violent campaign of agitation against France, the demands and "natural claims" were screwed higher and higher, the Italian fascists demanding not only Jibouti and a "just" share in the Suez Canal Company but practically speaking, the command of the Mediterranean. After a speech by Mussolini, on January 28th, 1939, in Rome, organised agitators shouted "To Paris! To Paris!" and groups of students marched through the streets shouting these cries.

The German fascist press, which can write only what is agreeable to the regime and expressly approved by it, supported Italy's demands. Already on January 7th, the *Voelkische Beobachter* wrote:—

"If from this (the renunciation of the Laval Agreement) Paris tries to draw justification for a complete rejection of Italy's claims, such an attitude would in no way accord with the situation. The French cause is not served by such sentiments. . . . The future must show whether it is wise for Paris, at this juncture, . . . to take up a standpoint which eventually might prove untenable."

The aggressors threatened war openly

and, in his speech of January 30th, Hitler left no doubt remaining that, in the event of war, Germany would stand by Italy.

The essence of fascist foreign-political propoganda is blackmail, the threat of war. Those recipients of fascist money in the countries against which the attacks are directed, endeavour to persuade the public that the fascist aggressor is so "strong" that one can only advise capitulation to him with all possible speed. It is therefore the purpose to investigate whether Fascism is indeed "so" strong as its mouthpieces maintain.

THE DIFFICULTIES OF ITALIAN IMPERIALISM

The condition of Italian Imperialism is indicated by three factors.

(1) The meagre subsistence-basis, almost complete dependence on other countries for a whole series of vitally important raw materials.

(2) Ruined finances, continually increasing Budget deficit, great burdens placed on the populace by the colonial policy, by excessive armaments and preparations for war, inflated State and Government apparatus, loss of important markets as the result of sanctions, economic autarchy and the Axis policy.

(3) Increasing popular discontent, impoverishment of the widest masses, shrinking of the purchasing power of all classes of consumers, and ever decreasing power of resistance as a result of the demoralisation caused by the economic corruption and knavery of the fascists in power.

Meagre Subsistence-Basis and Poverty in Raw Materials

The fascists and their apologists boast of the successes of the "Grain Battle," and supposed independence in producing necessary foodstuffs. The truth, however, is that Italy, although it has very much restricted the importation of foodstuffs, must import from abroad every year an average of more than 1,100 million lire in animals and foodstuffs (1934, 1,123.3 million; 1935, 1,127 million; 1937, 2,890 million; and 1938, 1,423 million lire.) The *Economist* of June 18th, 1938, in a long article on the subject, shows that

Italy would be independent of wheat supplies from abroad only if it could produce a yearly average of 85 million quintals of wheat. Actually, however, the average in the last five years (1934-1938) was only 68 million quintals.

Although the fascist regime forces the masses of consumers to buckle their belts tighter, and in spite of all the decrees on compulsory adulteration, which actually makes the bread unpalatable, Italy has to import about 200 million lire worth of wheat yearly.

In order to extend wheat-growing areas, not only would great resources be necessary which are not at Italy's disposal, but it would be necessary to utilise, more than previously, the pasture lands, which would cause a great decrease in the number of cattle. It appears already that the numbers of sheep declined from 11,754,000 in 1918 to 10,269,000 in 1930, and 8,862,000 in 1936. The number of goats declined from 3,083,000 in 1918 to 1,893,000 in 1930 and 1,795,000 in 1936.

In order to be self-sufficing in olive oil production—an indispensable article of food in Italy—Italy would have to plant fifty million more olive trees. Even if the plan to plant half-a-million trees every year were capable of being realised, it would be a century before Italy would be able to supply her own needs.

Even according to fascist authorities, large sections of the Italian people to-day are undernourished. One can see from an enquiry made by the Italian Central Statistics Office that in the province of Lecce, in Calabria, 47 per cent. of persons examined, in Salerno province, 41 per cent., in Sassari (Sardinia) 40 per cent., and in the Bozen province 27 per cent., were insufficiently nourished, whereby must be counted the fact that the calories contained in wine were reckoned in the total of units of nourishment calculated. The meat consumption declined from an average of 18.5 Kg. per person per year in 1930, to 14.2 Kg. in 1937 (against 50 Kg. in England and 40 Kg. in France). The consumption of vegetables declined from 42 Kg. per person per year in the period 1926-1930 to 32 Kg. in 1937. Similarly, the consumption of sugar, milk, etc., has declined considerably.

Thus economic autarchy is essentially a system of hunger and want. In spite of this, Italy is still unable to provide herself with food for the people. In this connection the following points must not be lost sight of :—

Of every 1,000 Italian workers (according to the Census of 1925) 557 persons are engaged in agriculture, against 384 in France and 75 in England. More than a half of the working population lives from agriculture which brings in about 32,000 million lire annually. A protracted war which would withdraw a corresponding percentage of the agricultural population from their normal occupation would completely disorganise agriculture, having catastrophic effects on the provision of food for the army and the people, and would have a devastating effect on the country's financial capacity.

Italy's meagre subsistence basis is the first serious difficulty of the regime and of Italian Imperialism.

With respect to supply of raw materials for industry, Italy's dependence on other countries is even greater, indeed, in many branches Italy is *entirely* dependent on importation from abroad.

Italy has no coal and must import annually, coal to the value of 1,730 to 1,740 million lire (1937, 1,741 million; 1938, 1,732 million). Italy has no petrol. She had to import in 1937, crude oil to the value of 568 million lire, and oil products to the value of 256 million and, in 1938, crude oil to the value of 656 million and oil products to the value of 136 million. In 1935 Italy imported 2,111 million tons of crude oil and oil products, in 1936, 1,814 million and in 1937, 2,534 million tons. A "great" war however would increase many times Italy's petrol requirements. The chief sources of her supplies are the U.S.A. (about 460,000 tons), Central America (370,000 tons), Irak (214,000 tons), Iran (195,000 tons), and Rumania (420,000 tons). One need not count on all these States continuing their supplies and, apart from this, Italy would be able only at great cost to herself to give some scanty protection to the sea-routes. Germany itself has no petrol with which to help Italy out; Albania, which is completely under Italy's economic and political tutelage,

does not produce more than 70,000 tons per year. Since Italy lacks coal, she could not produce petrol from coal.

Italy has no tin, no nickel, no rubber (yearly import about 200-220 million lire worth, apart from the fact that in wartime the need for rubber would be greatly increased). She has no cotton, importing 1,056 million lire worth in 1937 and 820 million lire worth in 1938. She has no chromium, no phosphates (in which Tunis is so abundantly rich), and no jute. She has to supply 90 per cent, of her requirements of wool and 95 per cent. of cellulose, by importing.

Italy has to import copper (about 60,000 tons yearly, the chief source of supply being Spain). She is poor in iron ore (importing annually about 230 million lire worth of iron and scrap, together with 500 million lire worth of semi-finished and finished iron goods).

Italy's total import of industrial raw materials, in 1937 ran to 6,245 million lire and in 1938 to 5,290 million. Of the total cost of all imports, 45-48 per cent. is accounted for by imports of raw materials for industrial purposes.

A pro-fascist political writer sums up Italy's situation with respect to raw materials in the following sentences :—

"Italy must export in order to live. In order to export, she must import raw materials. In order to be able to buy these raw materials, she must export again—or acquire them by conquest. Conquest costs money and this money, for the most part, can only come from making refined products of raw materials. . . . Apparently it is impossible to break the circle; just as in the case of Japan, it inexorably forces armament and foreign trade to develop side by side."

This is the second difficulty, a vulnerable point of Italian Fascism. Without petrol, without coal, without rubber, without cotton, without wool, Italy cannot carry on any protracted war. In the imperialist war she fought on the side of Great Britain, France, Russia and the United States, that is, with the powers richest in raw materials. In a war against France, Italy would be stripped of its sources of help; after the exhaustion of her resources she would be face to face with insoluble problems.

The *Critica Fascista*, a fortnightly directed by the Italian minister Bottai, in

its number of January 1st, let the cat out of the bag when he wrote :—

“ The entire development of the European political situation of the last two or three years is unfavourable (contrario) to French-English domination, but was brought about—if one can use the expression—by England’s co-operation.”

As soon as this “ co-operation ” of England and France with Italy stopped, Italy would be in a singularly precarious situation.

Thus we see that, in the field of supplying the population with the necessary food-stuffs as well as that of supplying the arms industry and the army with necessary materials, Italy’s situation is very unfavourable.

Italy’s Financial Situation

The Italian Foreign Trade Balance has been adverse for years. Italy must import more than she exports. In 1937 the excess of imports over exports amounted to 5,640,000 million lire. In earlier years the adverse foreign trade balance was to a large extent covered by the tourist traffic, the money sent home by emigrants (they sent about 2,000 million lire to Italy each year) etc., so that the debit balance was not too heavily burdened. In the last few years however, tourist traffic has much declined and money sent by the emigrants has been exhausted. The reserves of the Bank of Italy have to suffer in order to cover the deficit in the foreign trade balance, and they are shrinking to a threatening extent.

Similarly, in recent years, the Budget shows a continually increasing deficit. Expenditure for crazy armament schemes, for the expeditions against Abyssinia and Spain and for Africa (Colonial power) suck the very marrow from the people’s bones. In 1935 the (stated) ordinary and extraordinary expenditure for army, navy air-force and Africa amounted to 6,159,000 million lire, 1936—16,759,000 million lire, 1937—23,755,000 million lire. The ordinary expenditure alone (which often amounts only to a half of extraordinary expenses) for armaments and colonies for 1938, are given as 7,148,000 million lire. The recently presented Budget for 1939-40 provides the following expenditure for these purposes :—

Africa	18,968,000	million lire
Army	34,060,000	” ”
Navy	27,036,000	” ”
Air Force	21,650,000	” ”

That is, for armaments, apart from colonies, a total of 82,746,000 million lire, to which must be added a further 2,475,700 million lire as the first instalment of an expenditure of 10,000,000 million provided expenditure on arms.

The National Budget finished 1935 with a deficit of 2,030,000 million, in 1936 expenditure exceeded income by 12,686,000 million, in 1937 by 16,230,000 million, and in 1938 by 12,173,000 million lire. The Budget for 1939-40 provides for a deficit of 52,449,000 million lire, but which in all probability will be much more. In the four years 1935-1938, the regime piled up a deficit in the national Budget of 43,119,000 million lire. The *Economist* of January 9th, 1939, from which the figures for 1935-38 are taken, notes in this connection that :—

“ Signor Mussolini’s root problem . . . is, to find sources of revenue with which to cover this extraordinary expenditure. Balancing the Budget on paper may cause him small worry; finding hard cash is another matter. That search for hard cash must at bottom depend for success in increased production and on improved foreign trade. And for neither of these desirable things are the signs very favourable.”

No, the signs are not favourable. Germany, the “ loyal ” Axis partner, captures Italy’s markets. To give one example only, the total Jugoslavian imports from Italy declined from 555 million dinars in 1934 to 430 million dinars in 1937. The proportion of Italian shipping bearing Jugoslavian exports declined from 60 per cent. in 1933, to 44 per cent. in 1937. Italy has been squeezed out of her place as middleman for Jugoslavian merchandise, especially timber. Similarly, the foreign trade of Hungary with Italy declined considerably. Germany has strengthened her position in the economic life of Bulgaria, Turkey and a whole list of other countries, mainly at the expense of Italy.

Her colonial empire means for Italy an extremely heavy burden. Before the conquest of Abyssinia, Italy had to spend 400-500 million lire annually on the colonies. The attempts to settle Italian farmers in the colonies, in spite of the

well-known land-hunger of the Italian farmers, and in spite of the advantages bestowed on the regime, have hitherto miscarried. Reports spread during recent weeks about the large-scale settlement of peasants in Libya, have had, as the press of the world has established, no purpose other than to mask the concentration of troops in the colonial regions.

Abyssinia swallows up tremendous sums of money. Italy has to maintain large contingents of troops there because the population is not dependable, indeed, great areas are actually not in Italian hands at all. It is not the land flowing with milk and honey as Mussolini persuaded the masses before the expedition. The population will not exchange food for paper lire, so that everything has to be brought in from Italy.

In order to open up the country's wealth, Italy needs means which, without a loan, she can never raise from her own resources. And it is always possible that in the event of a war, if Italy's forces are occupied, the Abyssinians will revolt and chase the impudent conqueror from their country.

The fascist regime is driving Italy to ruin. The parasitic apparatus of the State and of Government has been enormously inflated. More than a million militiamen, an incalculable host of corporations, vigilance committees, police, an enormous array of OVRA agents (secret police), high, middle and low officials and fee-takers of all species have fastened themselves like leeches on the nation's body and suck Italy dry. The poorer the nation becomes, the more bosses enrich themselves at its expense. Italy has been financially undermined. But a modern war costs money, more money, and still more money. Here we have Italy's third difficulty.

Impoverishment of the Masses and Growing Discontent

We have attempted to show the conditions for guaranteeing the necessary raw materials needed for daily bread, provisioning of the country and the arms industry. What then is the situation with respect to the third, and, in a protracted war, the decisive factor, the factor of the people? Can the régime count under all circumstances on the complete and unwavering

support of the masses? Is the régime sufficiently capable of resistance to be able to bear great burdens and trials such as *modern* war against richer and stronger countries would involve?

Italian public life has for years been eaten up with corruption.

While the masses lead the lives of beggars, the bosses, great and small, enrich themselves enormously. It is an open secret in Italy that Mussolini, at one time penniless, is today one of the richest men in the country. The Mussolini-Ciano family (before the fascists took power, the Cianos were as poor as church mice) has controlling interests in the giant arms firms, shipbuilding and insurance companies. It is the largest shareholder of the great "Terni" arms trust which is connected with the English Vickers Company. The Mussolini-Ciano family has an interest in the great Tirrenio-Florino-Citra arms group. The enormous armaments ordered in the "national" interest, is a source of gigantic profits to the supreme head of the government and the Ciano family allied to him by marriage.

Minister of State Pirelli and his brother control 39 companies with a total capital of 7,818,000 million lire. Donegani, President of the mammoth chemical trust Montecatini, in which the German concern I.G.F. (Dyes) has an important interest, controls 33 companies with a share capital of 33,336,000 million lire. Agnelli, President of the Fiat Works (Fiat was one of the most important financiers of the march on Rome), controls 32 companies with a total capital of 18,902,000 million lire. Volpi controls 14 companies with a capital of 1,752,000 million lire. Senator Vittorio Cini controls 16 companies with a capital of 2,480,000 million lire. Senator Ettore Conti, President of the Banca Commerciale controls 18 companies with a capital of 34,741,000 million lire, Senator Borletti 29 companies with a capital of 1,000 million lire. The great landlord Count Pavoncelli who owns tens of thousands of hectares of land, controls 11 companies with "only" 669 million lire. The list could well be continued, but these few examples will suffice. All these multi-millionaires are among the props of the regime, they are the real masters of Italy

The fascist bully Farinacci, Starace, Secretary of the Fascist Party, do not lag behind their "Master" in voracious greed.

The lesser ones imitate the "greater," they treat the districts and provinces under them as their own domains, blackmail the people, buy country seats and palaces, landed properties and businesses, abuse their official positions in order to make the wives of their "subordinates" docile. Corruption flourishes with State approval.

But the people starve. The cost of living rises, but wages remain stationary—unless they are reduced. Unemployment and short time decimate working-class wages. We have seen already how the consumption of meat, vegetables, sugar and milk continually declines. The Turin worker earns only a half of what the Paris worker earns. Women's work is so badly paid that secret prostitution has reached an enormous extent, which, in its turn, leads to an extraordinary increase of venereal diseases. At the present time, Italy has (that is according to official statistics) 750,000 people with syphilis of which a third are women. The régime has very little money to spare for combating venereal diseases.

A forty-hour week is in operation, on paper, for industrial workers with the exception of workers in arms factories, but in actual fact, in many factories, for example in the Ansaldo dockyards of Genoa, work goes on up to sixty hours a week. The collective agreements concluded by the Fascist Trade Unions with the employers and binding for the workers, have been so cunningly put together, that no worker can discover and determine what his real wage is. In their wages policy, the Fascist Trade Unions pursue the aim by means of a sharp gradation of wages, of driving a wedge in between those employed, thus permitting no joint demand to be formulated.

Apulian agricultural workers have recently described the situation in an article published abroad. They write :—

"The bread does not satisfy, work becomes more and more scarce, prices rise, in short, the living conditions of the people and especially of agricultural workers become more and more insufferable."

If the land workers demand their rights, the Fascist Trade Union leaders say : "If

you want work, be silent and do what the Master wishes."

An Italian who lives abroad and visits his home occasionally, gives his impressions in the following words :—

"I am now in — and could ascertain that there the blackest misery reigns. . . . My home is still beautiful. . . . But the mines which formerly were in full swing are now almost completely inactive."

He goes on to say, furthermore, that unemployed and want are in command. The children are undernourished, emaciated, and rejoice if they receive a piece of bread.

The burden of taxes is especially ruinous to the farmers. The land-tax has risen by 57 per cent. in recent years. Giovanni Sala, a Consul in the Fascist Militia, declared flatly that the people suffered from land-starvation. Hundreds of thousands of farmers seek work as daily labourers. An examination of about 3,400,000 Italian farm-houses showed that 142,000 houses were quite uninhabitable, that 475,000 could be repaired only at great expense, and that in general only a half of the houses satisfied the most modest pretensions.

The Slovenes and Croats of Venezia, Giulia and the South Tyrolese live in especially wretched conditions. Their schools are closed, their businesses callously robbed, their best and truest leaders proscribed. The régime "solves" the problem of nationalities in true fascist style, that is, by force and terror.

But the factor of the people is a very serious, perhaps the most serious difficulty of the régime. An impoverished people, a people sucked dry by the fascist vampire, a people whose sense of justice is daily and hourly outraged by the shameless activities of the bosses, by the corruption of those in power, by the orgies of violence and terror. A people whose most elementary rights are trodden underfoot. The widespread opposition voiced among the working class and even in bourgeois circles in the critical weeks of the Abyssinian expedition, when the Italian army was achieving no success, is the best proof of the fact that the régime is not firmly based on the masses, and that the nation is not ready to follow fascism to the end on the road to disaster.

There is no doubt that, in a great war, in a war against an enemy superior in military, cultural, political, economic and social aspects, the Italian opposition, already fermenting in the depths, would intensify and become dangerous to the régime of blood.

Neither the imperialistic world war, nor the conquest of Abyssinia have solved the *fundamental* problems of Italian Imperialism. The words which Lenin wrote in his article "Imperialism and Socialism in Italy," apply in full measure to Italy today :—

"Italian imperialism was named 'imperialism of the paupers' . . . owing to the poverty of Italy and to the desperate misery of the masses of Italian emigrants. . . . Every country which has more colonies, capital, armies, than 'we' have, deprives 'us' of certain privileges, certain profits or super-profits."*

But it is just this poverty of Italy, its inner weakness that increases the aggressiveness of Italian Imperialism. The Pirelli, Donegani, Volpi, Mussolini-Ciano families are prepared to drive the country to ruin in order to increase their own profits, to satisfy their greed for power and to keep their positions. It would be wrong to believe that Italian Fascism will collapse

automatically. Italian Imperialism, with its stink of poverty and wretchedness, will shrink from no bloodshed, from no slaughter, to solve its own inner conflicts at the expense of other countries and their peoples, to seize new territories, to make sure of new sources of raw materials and new markets. The endless war agitation carried on in Italy, the education of youth in the "spirit" of Chauvinism and war, the continually recurring speeches in praise of war, and open threats in the direction of France, show unmistakably that Italy is ready for anything.

It is all the more necessary that the threatened nations should realise that Italian Fascism can win advantages from them only if treacherous politicians do not hurry to its assistance, if English and French high finance pump it full of money, if new regions and concessions are offered to it on a salver. If the nations remain strong, help the Italian people in its self-sacrificing struggle against the oppressor, if they are not taken in by the loud speeches of the fascist bullies, but oppose them steadfastly and calmly, then Italian Fascism will not be able to realise its plans, and, together with its Axis partners, set up its rule over other countries.

The Working Class and the Struggle for North Schleswig

By R. MAGNUS

TRAVELLING from Hamburg through the districts of Holstein one comes to a narrow isthmus which is the beginning of the peninsula of Jutland. Its lower part is called, by the Danes, Sønderjylland (South Jutland) and by the Germans, Schleswig. "Schleswig is a curious country," wrote Engels to Marx, in 1864, "the east coast is very pretty and rich, the west coast is also rich, but in the middle is health and waste. The bays are all very beautiful." This spot with its delightful scenery, surrounded by the Baltic and the North Sea, bordered in the north by the little river Königs-Au

and in the south by the Eider, has for years been the frontier land between Denmark and Germany. Its position makes it a natural bridge between the Scandinavian and the German peoples. Until 1864, Sønderjylland-Schleswig was a part of the state of Denmark with the Eider as its southern frontier. From 1864 to 1920 it was under Prussian rule and the frontier was the Königs-Au. In 1920, as a result of a plebiscite, it was divided into roughly equal portions and North Schleswig was reunited with Denmark. The frontier, corresponding almost exactly with the language division, has run since that time north of the Flensburg fjord and the island of Sylt.

* Lenin, "Collected Works," Vol. XVIII, pp. 332-333, Martin Lawrence, London.

Schleswig moreover, although divided,

was the bridge of a cultural, peaceful, neighbourly existence between two nations. When Fascism came to power in Germany, the frontier between language and country became the frontier between bourgeois culture and fascist barbarism. In April, 1933, resounded the threat, "German National Socialism will seize North Schleswig like a stroke of lightning." The occupation of North Schleswig is one point in the German fascist programme of imperialist robbery. At the bridge of idyllic North Schleswig, German Fascism stands ready to march into Denmark. This bridge has become a battle front.

Hitler gave the signal for non-recognition of the existing German-Danish border in "Mein Kampf," when he described the frontier as one of Germany's "bleeding, unhealed wounds."

"With the erasure of Germany's signature under the Versailles Treaty," runs a fascist pamphlet reproducing the official German attitude, "Denmark's ownership of North Schleswig has been conclusively deprived of all legal foundations." ("North Schleswig," Willi Walter Puls, Leipzig, 1937.)

But the return of North Schleswig to Denmark was only the reparation of an act of force by Prussia in 1864. The reunion with Denmark was based on the result of a plebiscite and took all possible account of the profession of their nationality voiced by the population of North Schleswig. But that is just what German Fascism will not recognise. "Self-determination is a liberal-marxist deception," wrote the fascist "Northschleswig Newspaper." "The nation has no right to vote as to whether it wants to be Danish or German. No, descent and blood make one either one thing or the other." The German fascists, who, when it suits them, appeal with impudent demagogy to the right of self-determination, betrayed their real intentions with these words.

NORTH SCHLESWIG IS DANISH.

"I am certain," wrote Engels in 1864, "that in Jutland as in Schleswig the Danish settlement dates from the seventh or eighth century. The present Jutland dialect is proof by itself."

In 811 the Eider was the frontier of the empire of Charlemagne and in 1027 the Emperor, Conrad II, by treaty with the

Kings of Denmark, recognised this as the imperial frontier. Over the "Holstein Gate" at Rendsburg, until 1806, was hewn the inscription, EIDORA ROMANI TERMINUS IMPERII (The Eider is the frontier of the Roman Empire). Sonderjylland and Holstein always belonged to the kingdom of Denmark. In the thirteenth century, the Danish kings gave Sonderjylland to their sons as a duchy, and the successors of these dukes made many connections with German Holstein, south of the Eider. The Counts of Holstein ruled for a time in Sonderjylland. But even the German Emperor Sigismund, whose faithlessness in the struggle against the Czechs is a foretaste of present-day fascists, in 1424 after he had been conclusively defeated by the Czechs, gave the judgment that:—

"the whole of Sönderjylland always belonged to Denmark, still does, and shall continue to belong to Denmark in the future, so that the Counts of Holstein neither had nor have any kind of right or claim to this country."

Later Danish kings of German ancestry, the Oldenburg dynasty, encouraged the northward spread of the German language, which had begun with the Reformation. German was the official language at the Danish court and in many departments of Government. In Schleswig the population was even requested to change its language from Danish to "Platt," or Low German! It was considered more "refined" to be German. The Danish mother-tongue of the Sönder Jutes was degraded to the level of "common" talk. Although a certain language change was carried out in Schleswig in this manner, nevertheless the Danish origin of the population of the whole of Schleswig has remained unshaken until the present day.

Claus Eskilden author of an enlightening book "Danish Border Lore" says:—

"The whole of Sönderjylland, with the exception of the Friesian district of the west coast, is just as much pure Danish soil as any other district of Denmark. The population to-day is still of the Danish race. It speaks the Danish tongue, its whole mental attitude, shown in building styles, in the details of daily life, in legends, lore, customs and beliefs is just as much Danish as any other part of Denmark. Ever since there was a Danish nation and a Danish State, Sönderjylland belonged to Denmark until Bismarck said "Dat mött wi hebben"—"We must have that!"

THE FOREIGN RULE OF PRUSSIA
OVER NORTH SCHLESWIG.

One of the effects of the February Revolution and the March Struggles of 1848, in Germany, was the development of the Schleswig-Holstein Movement formed with the object of separating the two duchies from Denmark. The movement met with the resistance of the Danish Nationalist policy which at that time had replaced Germanism in Denmark and aimed at the complete union of the duchies with Denmark. Neither the policy of the Danish Cabinet, which stubbornly held on to the Eider frontier, nor the "incorrigible Schleswig-Holstein humbugs" (Marx, in his letter of December 22nd, 1863), took any account of the real situation and the wishes of the population of Schleswig.

Engels, who had made a thorough study of the question, came to the conclusion, based on the principles of nationality and language, that Schleswig would have to be separated. On December 3rd, 1863, he wrote to Marx about this, among other things, saying that he had "toiled through the whole question" and arrived at the conclusion "that the Schleswig-Holstein theory is stupid nonsense." In Point 5 of his letter he says that:—

"The German right to Schleswig is confined to the *South* which is German by nationality and its own free will. Thus Schleswig must be divided."

On December 4th, Marx replied:—

"I agree with you entirely with respect to the 'sea-surrounded,' and added "Only we must not irritate the Danes. They must see that there is nothing more to their own advantage than the exclusion of the German elements." (Marx refers here to the German part of the population of Schleswig.)

On November 13th, 1863, however, the Danish Government had proclaimed a common Constitution for Denmark and Schleswig. When the "Eider Danish" Cabinet rejected the Prussian and Austrian demand for the abolition of this Constitution, this gave Bismarck the *casus belli* he wished for. In April, 1864, the Danish Army was defeated in the fortifications at Düppel. The Prussian and Austrian troops occupied the whole of Jutland and pressed on towards the Danish Islands. Volunteers hurried from Sweden and, especially, from

Norway, to fight on Denmark's side against Bismarck's war of conquest. On October 30th, 1864, Schleswig and Holstein were ceded to Prussia and Austria in the Peace of Vienna.

About this time, Engels went to Schleswig in order to study the situation again on the spot, and visited Düppel, Flensburg and Sonderburg. On November 2nd, 1864, Engels, who had a good command of Danish, wrote to Marx about his impressions of the population.

"The people are definitely one of the biggest and heaviest of human types on the earth. . . . These chaps are great fanatics and I like them for that reason. Bismarck was indeed very much mistaken in thinking he could overcome this kind of people in his way. . . . 'Have we let ourselves be defeated by these Prussian bureaucrats?' . . . that was the sort of thing they were saying.

"Matters of language and nationality are very peculiar. In Flensburg . . . all the children, playing around the harbour in mobs, spoke Low German ('*Platt*,' the dialect peculiar to Hamburg and its surroundings). Against that, north of Flensburg the speech is Danish, that is the 'Low' Danish dialect of which I understood hardly a word—an everyday dialect." Engels concluded with the remark that "later on something would have to be ceded to the Scandinavians."

Prussia and Austria were soon at war over the possession of the Duchies, and in the Peace of Prague of August 23rd, 1866, Austria had to renounce her claims with respect to Schleswig-Holstein. But nevertheless, Article 5 of this Peace Treaty contains the provision that in North Schleswig a free plebiscite of the population should decide whether this district should belong to Prussia or Denmark. That this decision would have gone unmistakably against Prussia was shown by the elections on February 12th, 1867, at which 22,469 (81.4 per cent.) Danish and 5,380 (18.6 per cent.) German votes were cast. Therefore Prussia did not keep to the provision of the Prague Peace Treaty and, by agreement with Austria on April 13th, 1878, abolished it.

In his article "On German and non-German Chauvinism" (printed on May 31st, 1916, in "Voprossy Strachowanija" No. 5), Lenin described clearly the situation which had then arisen.

"Let us consider the Danes, for example. Like all other 'Great Powers' Prussia, at the

annexation, took possession also of a district with Danish population. The violation of the rights of these people was so open that when the Austrian 'rights' to Schleswig were ceded to Prussia by the Peace of Prague of August 23 to 20, 1866, it was laid down in the Peace Treaty that the population of the northern districts of Schleswig should be asked in a free plebiscite whether they wished to be united with Denmark, and, if the answer were in the affirmative, that they should be so united with Denmark. Prussia did not fulfil this and in 1878 set aside the vote which was highly 'inconvenient' for Prussia.

"Friedrich Engels, who did not ignore the Chauvinism of the Great Powers clearly pointed out this injury to the rights of a small nation by Prussia."

At the same time that it denied the right of self-determination to the Danish population of North Schleswig, the German Government decreed that half of all school lessons in North Schleswig should be conducted in German. In 1888 all teaching in Danish in North Schleswig was forbidden. The people of North Schleswig regarded the 56 years of Prussian rule from 1864 to 1920 as the rule of foreigners. During this time they carried on a determined struggle for their Danish heritage and stood their ground. H. P. Hansen, spokesman for the Danes of North Schleswig in the German Reichstag, was always supported by Liebknecht and Bebel in standing up for the national and cultural interests of the Danish population against the policy of Germanisation.

After the Great War, the population of North Schleswig for the first time in history had the chance of deciding their nationality for themselves. It was then shown how rightly Marx and Engels had judged the situation. The frontier, drawn in 1920 according to the plebiscite, ran where Engels had already suggested in 1864, namely to the north of Flensburg.

THE REUNION OF NORTH SCHLESWIG WITH DENMARK AND THE QUESTION OF THE GERMAN MINORITY.

On June 15th, 1920, North Schleswig, together with the islands of Alsen and Röm was reunited to Denmark. This was a district of 3,993 square kilometres (for the sake of comparison, the Memel district covers 2,657 square kilometres). On both sides of the frontier remained national

minorities, very unimportant as far as numbers were concerned. In the plebiscite of February 10th, 1920, 75,431 votes were given for Denmark and 25,329 for Germany. On March 14th, 1920, 12,793 votes in the district south of Flensburg were given for Denmark and 51,820 for Germany. It must here be noted that a considerable portion of the German votes were given, not by Sönder Jutes but by Reich Germans living in North Schleswig—members of garrisons, police, civil service, pensioners, etc.

The German minority in North Schleswig is of a singular character. A few thousand workers belong to it, but for the most part it consists of well-to-do small-holders, independent craftsmen and tradesmen. Their total is at most 28,000 people, that is, about 15 per cent. of the 185,000 inhabitants of North Schleswig and not even 1 per cent. (to be exact, .76 per cent.) of the total population of Denmark (3,750,000). About 20,000 of these Germans, nevertheless, use Danish as their everyday language, and in speech, surnames, customs and personal peculiarities they differ in no way from the Danes. For this reason they are called in North Schleswig the "German-minded."

In all General Elections since 1920 the German lists have totalled from 7,500 to 10,500 votes, that is 13.3 per cent. to 15.6 per cent. respectively of the total votes in North Schleswig. They reached their highest gross vote in 1935 with 12,621 votes, which nevertheless was only 15.4 per cent. of all votes in North Schleswig and 0.8 per cent. of the total votes in Denmark. At the local elections in 1937 there were 15.8 per cent. German votes. Out of the 122 parishes in North Schleswig there are only two small parishes, Ubaerg and Höjerland, which together have 1,500 inhabitants, in which there is a German majority. Taking the 15 parishes of the narrowest frontier district, the centre of which is not more than 10 kilometres from the border, one still finds a solid Danish majority of 7,966 (69.4 per cent.) against 3,513 (30.6 per cent.) of German votes.

In 1936, out of 25,136 schoolchildren in North Schleswig, 3,736, that is 14.9 per cent. were taught in German. At the present time, out of 24,555 schoolchildren, 3,426 are taught in German, that is, 13.95

per cent. The average proportion of the "German-minded" in the population of North Schleswig is expressed in these figures, as in the election figures. Yet this proportion is decreasing. The church statistics show that the proportion of children baptised according to German rites remains far behind the corresponding vote-percentage in the separate places, and the number of burials carried out according to German rites far exceeds it.

The "German-minded" in North Schleswig possess without any restriction all common rights of the other citizens of the Danish State. There is a special accommodation of the Danish Election Laws with respect to the constituencies of North Schleswig which ensures them a German mandate in the Danish Parliament with a smaller total of votes than is otherwise required for a Danish mandate. There are German representatives in the Town and Parish Councils to correspond to the German votes in the local elections. The German minority has complete freedom to organise and to form societies.

The Danish State is generous in the establishment of German schools. If 20 per cent. of the voters of a School District, representing 10 children, desire it, German instruction is organised for these 10. This is also the case if a smaller number of voters representing 24 children apply for it. Against 313 Danish schools there are 32 German schools completely maintained by the Danish State and 56 German private schools which receive a grant from the Danish State.

This complete freedom of political, cultural and language activity of the German minority in North Schleswig stands in complete contrast to the national suppression of the Danish minority in South Schleswig (about 13,000 people) and their persecution by German Fascism.

FASCISM THREATENS NORTH SCHLESWIG.

The German minority in North Schleswig would never have used their situation as the basis of a demand to be united with Germany. But their existence is a pretext for the German fascists to make this demand. Systematic undermining was intended to make North Schleswig ripe for

Fascism. One method was the school struggle which led to a disproportionately large number of German schools. In every possible way, by granting economic subsidies and loans, the German fascists endeavour to bring children under the influence of German schools. Although new German schools have been set up in recent years, the total number of children attending them has decreased. Another method is the struggle for land. This is directed by the Vogelsang Trust which with German money buys mortgages on small-holdings and farms. In this way the company tries to get the land into German hands, to serve as a reason for frontier revision at a suitable moment. The Company owns about 80 holdings and holds mortgages on 600-700 farms, principally in the frontier district. But nothing came of the "lightning" fascisation. In the inner confusion of the numerous fascist small groups and parties, continually fighting among themselves, in their frequent changes of leadership, one senses not only the counter-effect of the resistance of the Danish population, but also that of the resistance of the German minority itself against the advances of German fascist influence.

After the occupation of Austria this offensive became extraordinarily acute. In celebrations was invoked the memory of 1864 when Prussian and Austrian troops had occupied the greater part of Denmark. Veterinary-Surgeon Möller, leader of the North Schleswig fascists, proclaimed "In six months North Schleswig will belong to the Third Reich." In April, 1938, at a "Party Congress" he announced the slogan: "The Swastika as far as the Königs-Au." Terrorism was used to bring the German minority "into line." The German-printed newspaper, *Nordschleswigsche Zeitung*, received an openly fascist editorial staff, and the Vogelsang Bank became the official agency of the Reichsbank; the Fascist Party was trained on the German pattern. The direction of agitation and propaganda is directly under the control of the Schleswig-Holstein District Organisation of the Nazi Party in Kiel. Strhr, Fascist Director of Propaganda, who was commandeered to direct the work in North Schleswig, declared recently :—

"The Prussian province of Schleswig-Holstein was made the North Mark District of the Greater German Reich by National Socialism and we in North Schleswig belong to this district, even if a frontier separates us. North Schleswig is a section of the German front."

Hitler Germany treats North Schleswig as an irredentist district, as appears from an official declaration of Councillor Berndt of the Fascist Propaganda Ministry. The North Schleswig fascists co-operate with the Danish fascists, support their spying organisations which work under instructions from the Gestapo, and themselves carry on extensive spying activity. North Schleswig has become the playground of treasonable fascist elements. With the support of S.A. gangs from Flensburg, a campaign of terrorising meetings is carried on against all other parties. In official declarations the fascist leaders refuse obedience to the Danish Constitution and recognise for themselves only National Socialist laws.

After the occupation of the Sudeten region the fascist attacks increased in intensity. Exceeding the original demand for the inclusion of North Schleswig in the German customs area, a "Congress of Officials," on October 9th, 1938, issued a kind of "Carlsbad Programme" which contained the following demands :—

1. Complete muzzling of the Danish press and all Danish organisations in North Schleswig and punishment of any criticism of Hitler Germany.
2. Complete freedom in the "Land Fight" for the Germans and cessation of all Danish defensive measures.
3. Autonomy of German schools, and
4. Granting of Danish nationality *en masse* to all the Reich Germans ordered into North Schleswig by the fascists.

These demands were made as "from a part of the whole German nation, and in its name." The frontier itself was expressly not recognised. Möller declared that no recognition of the Danish-German frontier was to be read into Hitler's declaration that he had no more territorial claims in Europe, since in this matter there had not yet been any negotiations between Copenhagen and Berlin.

The Danish Government has up till now allowed the greatest latitude to the provoc-

ative behaviour of the fascists in North Schleswig. Breaches of the ban on uniforms have gone unpunished. Sentences for criminal damage to Danish farms by German fascists have been quashed by higher courts. In other respects they have been very accommodating to the fascist demands. In the matter of schools, further rights have been granted to the German minority, for example the setting up of special German School Councils, Parents' Councils and School Committees in the German schools. Even Pastor Schmidt, the representative of the German minority in Parliament was forced to admit that, with the new School Law, "the rights of our national group in our own cultural matters has been recognised and our wishes with respect to schools substantially fulfilled."

What is worse is that the Danish Government systematically says nothing to the Danish people about the really threatening situation in the frontier district. For years the Government press has said nothing about the North Schleswig question. When the liberal cultural society, "Kulturkampen," at the end of 1937 published an account of Sønderjylland which caused some sensation, the whole of the Danish bourgeois and social-democratic press kept silent about it at the Government's order. The same fate attended the publications of the Norwegian journalist, Johan Vogt, concerning German influence in Denmark and Sønderjylland. In the previous year when the military occupations by Hitler Fascism caused great concern among the population of North Schleswig over the question: "Will North Schleswig be the next among spoils?" the Social Democrat Premier, Stauning, deplored "the nervousness which causes people to discuss whether Denmark can expect the same fate as Austria." In their New Year's speeches, too, Stauning and the Foreign Minister, Munch, tried to hush up the seriousness of the situation. They maintained, in contradiction to the facts, that "there is no frontier question and no frontier struggle."

In the meantime, the danger is that the Danish Government, through its trade policy with Germany and its policy of neutrality to the fascist aggressor, will bring Denmark into ever-increasing de-

pendence on Germany. That would allow German Fascism further to increase its pressure on Denmark. Hitler Germany can at any moment raise the question of the union of North Schleswig with Germany. The danger is real enough. Hitler Fascism is concerned with more than the narrow strip of land. Hitler Germany wants the whole of Denmark to place its great agricultural and industrial production, the whole of Danish territory and its water communications in the service of fascist war-preparations and to force Denmark to serve Germany as a vassal state. The weaker Danish resistance in North Schleswig, the greater is the danger that Hitler Germany will appropriate this region ; the weaker the resistance to fascist aggression in Denmark, the greater the peril that Hitler Fascism will take possession of the whole of Jutland and other strategically and economically important parts of the country.

THE WORKING CLASS AND THE DEFENCE OF NORTH SCHLESWIG AND OF DANISH INDEPENDENCE.

Hitherto, the struggle for national defence in North Schleswig has been carried on by a series of national and cultural organisations such as the Frontier Union, with 80,000 members throughout Denmark ; the School Union, the Language Union, the National Defence Legion (the Danish institution in the " Land Struggle " against the *Vogelsang Bank*), the Young Frontier Defence Legion, and others. These organisations and also the mouthpiece of the population of North Schleswig, the newspaper *Hejmdal*, arose, partly during the Prussian period and partly as defence organs against fascist advances. The special feature of the situation is that the population of North Schleswig, who, in the course of history have stood their ground against the un-Danish policy of earlier rulers of Denmark as well as against national suppression by the Prussians, now, as the most imperilled section of the Danish nation, is exposed to the fascist onslaught. Thus a section of the Danish reactionary bourgeoisie is stabbing the people of North Schleswig in the back. The pro-fascist movement of the big farmers and the Conservatives support German agitation and betray the

interests of the people of North Schleswig. In addition to this there is the fact that, not only did the Prussians treat North Schleswig as a colony and consciously prevent the development of industry, but that North Schleswig was also left in the lurch by " national " Danish capital, so that in this district to-day there is as good as no industry at all. Unemployment in North Schleswig is therefore higher than in the rest of Denmark, a fact which helps to foster fascist demagoguery. The population of North Schleswig cannot depend on the support of the reactionary Danish bourgeoisie, whose attitude is conditioned by consideration of trade and profit and which is also prepared, at the given moment, to hazard North Schleswig.

The struggle for the national and social interests of the population of North Schleswig coincides with the class-interests of the Danish working-class and, in fact, can only be carried on as an anti-fascist struggle. The task of the Danish working-class is to take the lead in this struggle. Hitherto, Danish Social Democracy has not carried on any struggle for the defence of North Schleswig. Only the local organisations of the working-class in North Schleswig have shown a certain activity. This commenced at the Tinglev Conferences on April 17th, 1933, when 300 delegates of the North Schleswig trade unions decided to carry on the fight against Fascism with all possible means at their disposal. Last year, the working committee which arose out of this movement was reorganised ; a " National Organisation of the Workers Movement of South Jutland " was created. In recent years, the Trade Unions, the Social-Democratic and Communist Parties in the area have strengthened their ranks. The Communist Party of Denmark has called on all workers' organisations and other democratic organisations in the country to take an active part in the anti-fascist struggle in North Schleswig. In North Schleswig the Party strives for a united front of the working-class. In order effectively to concentrate all forces against the agents of Hitler Fascism in the coming elections, it decided to refrain from publishing its own lists of candidates and to mobilise the whole of the working-class to support the Social-Democratic candi-

dates who stand for the defence of North Schleswig. The Communist Party demands the industrial development of North Schleswig, the improvement of communications and harbours and support for agriculture, fisheries and handicrafts.

But the activity of the Danish working-class hitherto has been all too restricted. With the Danish Government's policy of retreat before Hitler Germany has been bound up the pressure of Stauning's Party on the trade unions to hold back in the struggle which is now being waged in North Schleswig and to confine themselves to matters of culture, etc. If the Danish workers' organisations, especially the trade unions which number half a million members, stand together, united and determined, they can force the Government to pursue a policy of defending the North Schleswig frontier and the independence of the whole country. In this they can count on the support of the great majority of the Danish people. North Schleswig is the gateway of the attack of German Fascism on Denmark and here the beginning must be made to bar the way to Fascism. The great demonstrations which took place throughout Denmark on this year's anniversary of the North Schleswig plebiscite show that the conditions for such a struggle are favourable.

THE STRUGGLE FOR NORTH SCHLESWIG IS A SCANDINAVIAN QUESTION.

Public attention in Scandinavia is being directed more and more strongly towards the North Schleswig question. The Danish-German frontier is rightly regarded as the southern frontier of the whole of Scandinavia. Even the former Norwegian Premier, Mowinckel, who is by no means "left," declared that "The frontier which now separates Denmark from Germany has been drawn as justly as possible." Thus throughout Scandinavia voices have been raised in favour of a guarantee of the inviolability of this frontier and its defence by all Scandinavian States in concert. This

touches German Fascism in a sensitive spot. The *National Zeitung* of Essen raged furiously against the idea that the Scandinavian States should thus prepare to resist the fascist aggression threatening the whole of Scandinavia. The frontier was a matter concerning Germany and Denmark, wrote Goering's paper. This threat by the Essen *National Zeitung* received from the Swedish paper, *Dala-Democraten*, an appropriate answer, which summed up the attitude of Scandinavian workers and Scandinavian peoples as follows :—

"For us in Sweden and Norway, it cannot be a matter of indifference, where Denmark's southern frontier was drawn. A threat against this southern frontier, which would be an open breach of the right of self-determination of peoples, would be a harmful threat to the whole North. Hitler and his mental defectives too must understand that the peoples of the North are sensitive to that threat against the Northern Community such as is represented by Sönderjylland and the Southern Jutes. They must, therefore, understand that we in the North do not and cannot remain indifferent to what happens in the country next door to us. We permit ourselves to look on Sönderjylland as the frontier guard of the whole North against the South, and the problems of Sönderjylland as the problems of the whole North. In what manner we in the North, outside Denmark, will show our solidarity with our national brothers and blood-relations in Sönderjylland, time itself will decide."

It is therefore with justice that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Denmark, in its summons to the Danish working-class and the Danish people, to the struggle against fascist aggression, says :—

"If we fight for the preservation of our independence, then not only will Denmark be assured of the sympathy of the peace-loving nations of the whole world, but also, as surely as Denmark's southern frontier is the southern frontier of the North, and as the other Scandinavian peoples are inspired by the same will for freedom and defence as we are, we can count on their active support if we are attacked!

"In Sweden and Norway, Iceland and Finland we have class comrades, friends of like mind, blood-relations and, if necessary, brothers in arms ; but only a Danish nation that helps itself can expect such support!"

Lenin and the Unity of the Working Class

By Ph. DENGEL

LENINISM, the theory and tactic of the proletarian Revolution, developed, as one of its most important principles, the thesis that the proletarian Revolution can only be victorious if the revolutionary vanguard of the working class has won over the majority of the proletariat and can count on the support or on the benevolent neutrality of the whole class. In "Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder" Lenin said:

"To throw the vanguard alone into the decisive battle before the whole class, before the broad masses have taken up a position either of direct support of the vanguard, or at least of benevolent neutrality toward it and one in which they cannot possibly support the enemy, would not merely be folly, but a crime."^{*}

Lenin, therefore, waged a tireless struggle for the unity of the working class.

In his article "On the Unity of the Workers," written in December, 1913, he says:—

"Unity is essential for the working class. . . . And this unity is infinitely dear, infinitely important, to the working class. Divided the workers are nothing, united they are everything."[†]

Lenin fought for the unity of the working class in order to make it capable, in alliance with the peasantry, of overthrowing the Tsardom, sweeping away the power of landlords and capitalists, setting up the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and bringing about the victorious building of Socialism. In order to be equal to this task, the working class needs revolutionary experience and revolutionary tempering. Therefore Lenin fought always for fundamental revolutionary unity and against "unity" with all varieties of opportunism, against unity without concrete revolutionary content.

LENIN'S STRUGGLE FOR THE UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS IN THE REVOLUTION OF 1905-1906

At the beginning of the Revolution of 1905 there were already in existence in the Russian Social Democratic Party, two distinct ideas, two tactics, Bolshevik and Menshevik. As a result of the opportunism and splitting tactics of the Mensheviks in 1905, the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party was already split into two factions. The split was not yet complete and the two factions were not yet officially two parties, but in practice they were very much like it.

But the deep and irreconcilable differences of opinion existing between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, in matters of organisation and tactics did not prevent the Bolsheviks, in the great struggle of the first Russian Revolution, from acting in strikes, demonstrations and armed risings, together with the workers who were still under the influence of the Mensheviks in order to convince the workers, in the course of the struggle and on the basis of their own experience, of the correctness of the slogans and tactics of the Bolsheviks, and to draw the waverers on to the side of the Bolsheviks.

In his article "On the Reorganisation of the Party," Lenin writes that the great majority of the Social Democratic workers were very concerned by the split and demanded unity, and that it was not at all amazing that the workers threatened "with their fists from below" in order to secure unity by force. Pointing out that the working class forms the overwhelming majority of all Social Democratic organisations, Lenin said:

"Hence it is now possible not only to urge unity, not only to *promise* to unite, but to unite in reality, by the majority of organised workers in both factions simply deciding to do so."^{*}

^{*} Lenin, "Selected Works." Vol. X, p. 136.

[†] Lenin, "Collected Works," Vol. XVII, p. 122.

^{*} Lenin, "Selected Works," Vol. III, p. 465.

Lenin and the Bolsheviks were for unity in 1905 because they were convinced that the split in the great rising revolutionary movement could and must be overcome. In this they based themselves on the will to unity of the mass of the workers, they trusted in the rapid development of the revolutionary consciousness of the workers on the basis of the experience and struggles which would convince them of the correctness of the slogans, of the tactics of the Bolsheviks.

In order to lead this alliance further, to the *actual unity* of the workers' movement, differences were not to be concealed nor minimised, the ranks of the Bolsheviks themselves were to stand iron-firm. Therefore Lenin fought against conciliation in their own ranks and any attempt to pass lightly over the differences with the Mensheviks.

The Conference at Tamerfors (Finland) in December, 1905, at which Lenin and Stalin met for the first time, decided to take all the steps necessary to restore the unity of the Party. The workers, richer by the experiences of the December rising, also demanded unity within the Party. The Bolsheviks proposed to the Mensheviks that a Unity Conference should be called. But Lenin demanded that the Bolsheviks should come with their own platform to this Conference, so that it should be made clear to the workers what position the Bolsheviks took up and on what basis the union would proceed.

Thus when the Unity Conference took place in April, 1906 in Stockholm, it turned out that the Mensheviks were in a majority. The Conference took decisions which did not rise to the level of the tasks of the proletariat in the revolution. It adopted the Menshevik programme and chose a Central Committee composed of Mensheviks. The Mensheviks openly opposed the hegemony of the proletariat in the Revolution.

"Only formal unity was reached at this Congress," says the 'Short History of the C.P.S.U.(B).'* "In reality the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks retained their own views and their own independent organisations."

In the discussions which took place in

the Social Democratic organisations after the Stockholm Conference, the great majority of the workers decided in favour of the Bolshevik standpoint. In the revolutionary struggle of 1906, more and more workers became convinced of the correctness of the Bolshevik tactics and freed themselves from the Menshevik leadership which was not capable of directing the revolutionary struggle of the masses.

The Bolsheviks demanded the calling of a new Party Congress. In May, 1907, the Fifth Party Congress took place in London. This Congress was a great success for the Bolsheviks in the workers' movement for at it, practical unity of the Party was achieved. In the article "Impressions of a Delegate," Comrade Stalin characterises the successes of the Fifth Party Congress in the following way:—

"The actual unification of the advanced workers of all Russia into a single all-Russian party under the banner of *revolutionary Social-Democracy*—that is the significance of the London Congress, that is its general character."*

LENIN'S FIGHT FOR UNITY IN THE YEARS 1912-1914

In the difficult years of reaction, when Tsardom endeavoured, with the help of terror and the gallows, to root out the revolutionary workers' movement, the struggle between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks was not ended in spite of the decisions of the Fifth Party Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party. In these years of reaction, the Bolsheviks carried on a struggle on two fronts; against the Liquidators, those agents of the Liberal bourgeoisie in the Party and against the Otzovists, those "inverted Liquidators" (*Short History of the C.P.S.U.(B)*; p. 132.)

In the period of renewed advance of the revolutionary movement in Russia, in the years 1912-1914, the Bolshevik path parted finally from that of the Mensheviks.

At the Prague Conference of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party, in January, 1912, conclusions were drawn from all previous struggles of the

* P. 86, English edition.

* "Short History of the C.P.S.U. (B)," p. 91.

Bolsheviks against opportunism and the Mensheviks were excluded from the Party. The Prague Congress united the Bolshevik organisations in a single Bolshevik Party. It gave itself definite form, once and for all, as the class party of the proletariat, the new kind of Party, suffering no opportunism in its ranks, a Party which is ideologically united and whose policy is under unified centralised direction. The Bolshevik Party knew how to organise illegal and legal work successfully and to lead the working class.

In these years the Trotskyist traitors tried to masquerade as "uniters" of the workers' movement. Lenin said that Trotsky is more shameful and harmful than the avowed Liquidators, because he tried to deceive the workers by pretending to stand outside the opposition faction. Trotsky supported completely the Menshevik liquidators. Lenin waged an uncompromising and decisive struggle against the Trotskyists and other compromisers who were supported by the opportunist leaders of the Second International. He said:—

"With Liberal-Labour politicians, with people who disorganise the workers' movement and violate the will of the majority, there can be no unity, neither federative nor any other kind of unity. What there can and must be is unity of all consistent Marxists, of all fighters for the totality of Marxism and for unrestricted slogans, independent of the liquidators and excluding them."*

In the period of the sharpest struggle against the Liquidators, Lenin and the Bolsheviks tried to draw the wavering Social Democrats over on to their side. Not all Mensheviks were Liquidators. The so-called "Pro-party Mensheviks," with Plekhanov at their head, opposed not only the Liquidators but also Trotsky's so-called August Bloc. Therefore the Bolsheviks made a temporary alliance with the "Pro-party Mensheviks" against the elements opposed to the Party. This peculiar united front with the Plekhanov group helped the Bolsheviks to push the Liquidators out of the workers' movement, especially out of those legal organisations that still

existed, and to capture a series of Menshevik workers' organisations.

In all mass campaigns of the working class, the Bolsheviks achieved unity with the Menshevik workers' organisations (e.g., at the elections for the Fourth National Duma in Petersburg).

At the outbreak of the Great War the Second International collapsed. Actually it disintegrated into single social-chauvinist parties which fought each other. The leaders of the Parties of the Second International split the working class, destroyed the international unity of the workers and betrayed their solemn undertaking made a few years before.

At the end of 1915, Lenin, in his article "Opportunism and the Collapse of the Second International," appealed to the Basle Manifesto which had been adopted by the International Congress of the Second International in 1912. In this Manifesto it was stated that the workers of all countries considered it a crime to shoot each other down for the sake of higher profits for the capitalists. Lenin wrote:—

"The Basle Manifesto proves in an incontestable way the absolute *betrayal* of Socialism by the socialists who voted for military appropriations, who entered cabinets, who recognised the defence of the fatherland in 1914-1915. This betrayal is undeniable. Only hypocrites can deny it."*

At that moment, when Opportunism was revealed in its completest form as Social Chauvinism, and when all Parties with the exception of the Bolsheviks went over to the Imperialists, Lenin boldly raised the banner of International Workers' Unity.

"But the greater the efforts of the governments and the bourgeoisie of all countries to disunite the workers and to pit them one against the other, the more ferociously they use for this lofty purpose a system of martial law and military censorship . . . the more urgent is the duty of the class-conscious proletariat to defend its class solidarity, its internationalism, its socialist convictions against the orgy of chauvinism of the "patriotic" bourgeois cliques of all countries."†

The adoption by Lenin of this clear attitude, furthering real unity of the

* Lenin, "Collected Works," Vol. XII, p. 389.

* Lenin, "Collected Works," Vol. XVIII, p. 388, English edition.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 77/8.

working class, was attacked by all kinds of opportunists.

Just as in the struggle for the overthrow of the Tsardom there could be no real unity with those who denied the independent leading role of the working class in the bourgeois-democratic revolution, so, during the Great War, unity was impossible with those who joined forces with imperialism and made the workers unable to struggle. A real unity of the workers was possible only on a basis of determined and ruthless struggle against imperialism and against the pace-makers of imperialist influence inside the workers' movement.

Achievement of unity of the working class—not false, superficial and formal, but real unity—is a thing for which the class conscious section of the working class must stubbornly fight. Lenin expressed this with extraordinary precision and clarity in his article "On Unity," (June, 1914). He wrote:—

"Unity is necessary for the workers in fact. And most necessary of all is to grasp that no one outside the workers themselves will 'grant' them unity, no one is in a position to help them to their unity. One cannot 'promise' unity—that would be empty boasting, self-deception; unity cannot be 'created' by an 'understanding' of little intellectual groups—that is a most miserable, naive and gross error.

"Unity must be *fought for*, and only the workers themselves, the class-conscious workers themselves, are in a position to achieve this—by persistent stubborn work. . . ."

After the collapse of the Second International, the Bolshevik Party under Lenin's leadership became the organiser of a new international workers' unity. Lenin and the Bolsheviks developed widespread work in propaganda and organisation in order to lay the foundation of a new International, free from Opportunism. The difficulties of this task were enormous. The Zimmerwald Conference brought no ideological clarity into the ranks of the Socialists. Unity was not achieved at this Conference. Even the "Zimmerwald Left," grouped around Lenin, was not united. But Lenin and the Bolsheviks did not falter. They

trusted in inevitable revolutionary development, they trusted in the strength of their example and in the victory of Marxist theory. And they conquered.

THE STRUGGLE OF LENIN AND STALIN IN 1917 FOR UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS

After the overthrow of Tsardom and in the short period of time from February to September, 1917, the Bolsheviks, under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, won over the majority of the working class in Russia. They united the workers for the struggle for Peace, Bread and Freedom, for Soviet Power.

Step by step the Bolsheviks destroyed petty bourgeois illusions in the ranks of the working class and overcame the influence of the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries. They criticised most keenly the policy of class co-operation which they exposed as a bourgeois policy.

In the struggle against the counter-revolutionary co-operation of the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries with the imperialist bourgeoisie and with the landlords, the Bolsheviks fought tirelessly at the same time for the creation of proletarian unity. The Bolsheviks permitted no uncertainty about the programme for this unity. They took their stand on renunciation of co-operation with the bourgeoisie, on the creation of an alliance between the working class and the peasants and on the recognition of the Soviets as the organs of the new State's power.

When, in August, 1917, the counter-revolutionaries, led by Kornilov, carried out a putsch against the Provisional Government, the Bolsheviks were the organisers of the united front of all democratic forces against the Kornilov forces, against the White Guards and the bourgeoisie. In his article, "The Russian Revolution and the Civil War," Lenin wrote:—

"An alliance of the Bolsheviks with the Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks against the Cadets, against the bourgeoisie, *has not yet been tested*, or, to put it more accurately, such an alliance has only been *tested on one front*, only in the *five days* from August 26-31, during the Kornilov affair. At

* Lenin, "Collected Works," Vol. XVII, p. 514.

this time this alliance yielded a complete victory over the counter-revolution, one achieved with a facility never previously experienced in any revolution. It yielded such an annihilating defeat of the bourgeois, landlord, capitalist, entente type of imperialist and cadet counter-revolution that the civil war on this front collapsed into dust.”*

The preservation of the Republic and of democratic achievements by determined, revolutionary measures was the task of the Bolsheviks in this period.

The Social Revolutionaries and the Menshevik leaders, frightened to death by Kornilov's rising, then sought the protection of the Bolsheviks, for they knew that only the Bolsheviks were able to mobilise the masses to defeat the Kornilov forces.

While the Bolsheviks mobilised the masses for the struggle against Kornilov they did not for a moment cease their struggle against the Kerensky Government. They exposed the Provisional Government in the eyes of the masses, they exposed the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries who by their policy had contributed objectively to the organisation of Kornilov's counter-revolutionary conspiracy.

On September 9, 1917, Comrade Stalin published in the Bolshevik newspaper *Rabotschii Put* a leading article entitled “On the Revolutionary Front,” in which he said:—

“You want unity of the front with the Bolsheviks? Break with the Kerensky Government, support the Soviets in their fight for power—and there will be unity. Why was unity so easily and simply built up in the days of the Kornilov revolt?”

“Because at that time it arose not as the result of endless discussions but in the process of direct fight with the counter-revolution.”

Thus the Bolsheviks, led by Lenin and Stalin, brought into being in the course of the class struggle the revolutionary united front.

LENIN, STALIN, AND THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE UNITED FRONT

Lenin, the founder and leader of the Communist International gave thorough

attention in all its aspects to the development and Bolshevising of real Communist Parties in all countries. Lenin insisted always on Communists remaining in close contact with the masses, taking account of the stage of development reached by the masses in all decisions and actions and raising their political knowledge and consciousness to the level of the revolutionary vanguard. Only in this way is it possible to win over the majority of the working class, for the “pure” Proletariat as the “Leftists” conceive of it, does not exist.

“And all this makes it necessary—absolutely necessary—for the vanguard of the proletariat, for its class-conscious section, the Communist Party, to resort to manœuvres and compromises with the various groups of proletarians, with the various parties of the workers and small proprietors. The whole point lies in *knowing how* to apply these tactics in such a way as to *raise* and not lower the *general* level of proletarian class-consciousness, revolutionary spirit, and ability to fight and to conquer.”*

Lenin shows in one concrete example how Communists must bring about the creation of a United Front even under extraordinarily difficult circumstances. In “Left-Wing Communism,” Lenin proposed to the English Communists:—

“. . . to unite their four . . . parties and groups into a single Communist Party on the basis of the principles of the Third International and of the *obligatory* participation in Parliament.”†

and to propose to the Labour Party leaders a “compromise” or electoral agreement in order to defeat the reactionary bloc of Liberals and Conservatives then in existence and make possible the formation of a Labour Government.

In the event of the Labour leaders rejecting this coalition, Lenin suggested further, the Communists should put forward candidates only in a few constituencies and everywhere urge the principle of voting for Labour candidates against bourgeois candidates.

At the Third Congress of the Communist International, in 1921, Lenin defended with the utmost keenness and stubbornness the tactic of the United

* Lenin, “Collected Works,” Vol. XXI, p. 261.

* Lenin, “Selected Works,” Vol. X, p. 116.

† Lenin, “Selected Works,” Vol. X, p. 128.

Front, the necessity for which he had laid down in "Left Wing Communism."

In November, 1920, the Stuttgart Organisation of the Metal Workers' Union, which was under Communist leadership, adopted a fighting platform for the defence of the interests of workers and peasants. This platform which was discussed in many Trade Union meetings, called on the workers to unite in the struggle for higher wages, increase in social funds, provision of work, guaranteed food relief, assistance to peasants to increase agricultural productivity, and for control of production. In January, 1921, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany addressed an "Open Letter" to the Social Democrats, to the German Independent Socialist Party and the reformist Trades Union Congress (A.G.B., General Trades Union League). The Reformists rejected the offer, but the mass of the working class greeted the step taken by the Communist Party of Germany and pressed for united action. This unity was then achieved in some German industrial centres. In his speech at the Third Congress, Lenin said in connection with the "Open Letter." . . .

"But I think it is a shame and a disgrace to hear it said at the Congress, after such a long debate, that the 'Open Letter' was opportunistic! . . .

"The 'Open Letter' was an exemplary political step. This is what we say in our theses. And this is what we must absolutely insist upon. It was an exemplary step, for it was the first practical step in the direction of winning over the majority of the working class."*

Clearly following on Lenin's doctrine of the United Front tactic were the theses "On the work of the United Front" which were adopted by the Executive Committee of the Comintern on December 28, 1921, and which later were approved by the enlarged Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and by the Fourth Congress of the Communist International. These theses proceed from the principle that the masses have not yet lost their faith in the Reformists. The desire of the masses for

unity makes it possible for the Communists to combat successfully the sabotage and splitting tactics of the Reformist leaders and to bring about unity of the working class for the defence of its own interests. The Communist Parties were called upon to take the initiative in the realisation of the Workers' United Front.

The enlarged Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, meeting from February 21 to March 4, 1922, agreed to the theses and decided on a resolution on the participation of the Communist International in the International Conference of Labour Organisations to be called on the suggestion of the so-called "Two-and-a-half International," the Vienna Workers' Union of Socialist Parties.

The decision of the enlarged Executive of March 4, 1922, runs as follows:

"It is proposed by the Communist International that at the coming International Conference, only those questions should be dealt with which concern the direct, practical and united action of the working masses.

"The Agenda of the International Conference must be arranged entirely with this end in view, to ensure *that unity in action of the working masses which can at once be achieved in spite of fundamental differences of political opinion.* The workers, who are well aware of the depth of these differences, none the less demand, with the overwhelming majority of the working class, unity in action with respect to the urgent and immediate practical interests of the working class.

"This sound demand of the mass of workers is in complete agreement with the attitude of the Communist International."*

This Conference took place in Berlin in April, 1922. Directly after the conclusion of the Conference, Lenin wrote, on the results of the negotiations, an article entitled "We have paid too much."

"The representatives of the Second and 'Two-and-a-Half Internationals' acted as blackmailers in order to extort a political concession from the proletariat for the benefit of the bourgeoisie while refusing, or at any rate making no attempt, to induce the international bourgeoisie to make some concession to the revolutionary proletariat."†

Although the representatives of the Communist International allowed them-

* Conference of the Enlarged Executive, 1922, p. 146, German edition.

† Lenin, "Selected Works," Vol. X, p. 302.

* Lenin, "Selected Works," Vol. X, p. 281.

selves, at this Conference, to be deceived by the reactionary leaders of the Second and "Two-and-a-half" Internationals (the representatives of the Communist International promised that no death sentences should be carried out on the counter-revolutionaries under arrest in Russia and that the Soviet Government would permit representatives of all three Internationals to be present at the judicial proceedings) Lenin did not consider it right to tear up the agreements signed between the representatives of the Second "Two-and-a-half" and Third Internationals.

At the time the Reformists tried in every way to free themselves from mass pressure for the United Front. While the representatives of the three Internationals were negotiating in Berlin, the press and organisations of the Second International carried on a systematic campaign of slander of the Soviet Union and of discrediting the United Front.

On May 19, 1922, Lenin's friend and associate, Comrade Stalin, wrote a letter, in the name of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, to the Executive Committee of the Communist International, in which he exposed the reactionary slanders of the Second International against the Soviet Union and showed that these slanders are only an excuse for sabotage of the United Front against the capitalist offensive.

It says in this letter:

"By carrying on such propaganda the Second International wants to justify its stubborn sabotage of the united front and to get free from the direct accusation that it is failing in the elementary duty of a socialist to defend the positions of the working class against capital that grows more insolent every day.

"In view of what is laid down above the C.C. of the C.P.S.U.(B.) declares its readiness, if this would satisfy the Second International, to remove from joint declarations all slogans which concern the defence of the Soviet Power that knows how to defend itself with the aid of the revolutionary proletariat of all countries. *The C.C. of the C.P.S.U. in fact regards unity of the working class in its struggle against capitalist reaction as the main task of the day.*

of proletarian internationalism. Throughout the whole world, the masses of the proletariat are facing the onslaught of capitalism, says Lenin, and he then continues:

"We adopted the united front tactics in order to help these masses to fight against capital, to help them understand the 'cunning mechanism' of the two fronts in the whole of international economics and in the whole of international politics; and we shall pursue these tactics to the end."*

These words of Lenin are a precious heritage to all communists.

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, THE FIGHT FOR THE UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS AGAINST FASCISM AND WAR

Lenin's work lives and grows strong. It is carried on and developed by his closest collaborator and most faithful pupil, Comrade Stalin. Like Lenin, Stalin helps the Communist Parties to make the strategy and tactics of Bolshevism their own.

The Communist Parties had to overcome severe trials and great drawbacks and difficulties. They learned and developed from the examples of the victorious Bolshevik Party, under the leadership of Stalin.

At its Seventh World Congress, the Communist International, through Comrade *Dimitroff*, raised high the banner of Proletarian Unity in the struggle against Fascism.

"Millions of workers and toilers of the capitalist countries ask the question: How can Fascism be prevented from coming to power and how can Fascism be overthrown after it has been victorious? To this the Communist International replies: *The first thing that must be done, the thing with which to begin, is to form a united front, to establish unity of action of the workers in every factory, in every district, in every region, in every country, all over the world. Unity of action of the proletariat on a national and international scale is the mighty weapon which renders the working class capable not only of successful defence but also of successful counter-attack against Fascism, against the class enemy.*"†

The end of Lenin's article "We have paid too much" is also filled with the spirit

* Lenin, "Selected Works," Vol. X, p. 305.
† G. Dimitroff, "The United Front," pp. 30-31.

Faithful to the teaching of Lenin and Stalin, Comrade Dimitroff said:—

“The establishment of unity of action by all sections of the working class, irrespective of the party or organisation to which they belong, is necessary *even before the majority of the working class is united in the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the victory of the proletarian revolution.*”*

An outstanding example of the correct application of the United Front tactic was given by the Communist Party of France which, already before the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International realised the United Front, fought successfully for the restoration of Trade Union Unity and prepared the ground for the creation of the anti-fascist People's Front.

The working class of the whole world and all progressive humanity regard with reverence and amazement the heroic struggle of the Spanish people. The heroic resistance of the Spanish people would not have been possible without the achievement of unity of the Spanish proletariat in the struggle against Fascism and reaction in their own country and against fascist intervention.

At the present time it is no longer sufficient for the United Front to be achieved in this or that particular country. The struggle against the fascist aggressors and their allies in all countries demands the union of the proletariat, international unity of action.

This urgently necessary unity of the working class can only be achieved by the initiative, perseverance, determination and daring of the communists. The conditions necessary for the success of the struggle are given. The working masses of all countries demand with increasing insistence the achievement of unity and determined resistance to Fascism.

The experience of recent months have shown that the French working class, in spite of certain waverings in the ranks of the Socialist Party, remains true to the United Front. The movement for the United Front grows stronger and stronger in England, in the United States, in the countries of Latin America and even in the fascists and semi-fascist countries.

In the present situation, Lenin's teaching, his legacy to the communists of bringing about the United Front is especially topical and especially binding.

Lenin taught that to bring about the unity of the working class requires persistent, careful work in all directions for the uniting of class-conscious workers. Lenin taught that unity must be built on the foundation of ideological clarification of main differences, without which unity of action cannot be achieved. Above all, unity must be achieved in factories, Trade Unions, etc. An agreement, by itself, is not sufficient—the masses themselves, in their everyday struggle must put vigorous life into the agreement.

Lenin insisted that, in the struggle for unity and of the realisation of the United Front, freedom of criticism must be preserved in order to utilise to the full the experiences of the vanguard of the workers, increasing the class-consciousness of the whole working class.

Lenin's teaching was that of relentless struggle against the agents of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the working class, against the enemies of unity in the workers' movement, who divide the workers and split their ranks in the interests of the bourgeoisie.

Lenin and the Bolsheviks never separated their struggle for working-class unity from the struggle to win the semi-proletarian or petty-bourgeois, and especially the peasant, masses. In its historic struggle, the working class must make an alliance with these masses—that is one of the most important principles of Marxism-Leninism. Lenin's doctrine of the unity of the working class is inseparably bound up with his doctrine of the task of the working class and its ability, in the epoch of imperialism, to lead every progressive movement in the world. It is because Lenin recognised this lofty historic role of the working class that he fought so relentlessly and stubbornly against opportunism in any form, against bourgeois degeneration of the workers' movement and for the *real unity* of the working class. All experiences have proved the correctness of Lenin's teaching.

* *Ibid.*, p. 32.

OBITUARY

Walter Stöcker

By W. FLORIN

The torturers in the German concentration camp of Buchenwald, who carry out the murder of defenceless prisoners with systematic thoroughness, have recorded for their "Fuehrer" a further accomplishment: the Communist, Walter Stöcker, tortured to death at the end of six years' captivity!

Walter Stöcker was one of the bravest and most popular leaders of the Communist Party of Germany. After falling, in 1933, into the hands of the Fascist terror-mongers, being thrown from one concentration camp to the next, subjected to the most horrible physical and moral tortures, he never for an instant failed to represent the strength and goodness, revolutionary loyalty and convictions of the German working class. Hundreds of defenceless prisoners who threatened to collapse under the cunningly-designed terrorisation of their tormentors, took fresh heart from the example of Walter Stöcker. His unshakable firmness and indestructable faith in the future victory of the German workers, lent the sufferers a new perspective. The torturers of German Fascism, it is true, succeeded in destroying his body, but their bestial force was incapable of assailing the proud, progressive spirit of this true communist. They can trample Germany under, drown the voice of the German people in blood, and bury its culture in the mire of their dictatorship, but from the eyes of indomitable prisoners like Walter Stöcker there shines upon them the day of reckoning that is to come, the stern truth: You will end in shame, but we will conquer. You can torture us, and still we will conquer. You can kill us, and still we will conquer.

They have tortured him to death, but they cannot prevent his proud spirit, his courageous resistance, and his revolu-

tionary determination, from living on in the German working class.

Millions of workers in Germany knew him, this unremitting fighter against reaction. They heard him in the factories, in the Trade Unions and in Parliament. He sowed the seeds of zest for struggle, inspiration, energy. He was agitator, propagandist, organiser and leader at the head of the struggling masses. He built for himself, through his loyalty to the working class and the toiling people, his devotion to the cause of humanity, his understanding and his genius for action, and his constant helpfulness towards all friends and working people, a permanent memorial to his name in the German working class.

For thirty years Comrade Walter Stöcker marched in the ranks of the German labour movement. Early on, coming from lower middle-class surroundings, he joined the young workers in Cologne. When he joined the Social Democratic Party in 1908, he already counted as a sharp opponent of the opportunists, in view of his activity in the youth movement where he had played an active and leading part. In his Trade Union too, which he entered in 1907, he fought the tendency to reformism. In German left-wing circles in Social Democracy, the young comrade of Cologne quickly began to be counted a valuable force, and several times, even in the pre-war period, Walter Stöcker was included in private conferences of the left wing.

During the war, Walter Stöcker, together with a large section of the Cologne and Dusseldorf organisation, linked up with the centrist Independent Social Democratic Party (U.S.P.D.). In this he played a leading and important part in the Rhineland and in Westphalia. Within this

Party (the U.S.P.D.) Walter Stöcker belonged to the leadership of the left wing, and came into close contact with Ernst Thaelmann, whose struggle for the amalgamation of the U.S.P.D. with the Communist Party of Germany and the Communist International he supported to the hilt.

At the National Congress of the U.S.P.D. in 1919, Stöcker, as the chief speaker for the left wing, advocated affiliation to the Third International. And when the centrist leadership of the U.S.P.D. found itself compelled by mass pressure to send a delegation to negotiate in Moscow at the Second Congress of the Communist International, Walter Stöcker became a member of this delegation as representative of the left wing. On his return to Germany from the Second Congress, following conversations with Comrade Lenin, Stöcker, by his report back to the left wing, rendered them invaluable assistance in their struggle for amalgamation with the Communist Party of Germany and affiliation to the Communist International. The left wing won a majority among the members of the U.S.P.D. for amalgamation. And at the Party Conference of the U.S.P.D. in October, 1920, held at Halle where the left wing majority went on record for amalgamation with the Communist Party of Germany, Walter Stöcker was the chief spokesman for the left wing. At the conference which followed of unification of the Communist Party of Germany and the Independent Social Democratic Party, Comrade Stöcker was elected to the Central Committee of the Communist Party, of which he was a member up to his arrest in 1933. From 1920 onwards he represented the Rhineland and Westphalian workers in the German Parliament, and from 1924 to 1931 he was leader of the Communist Parliamentary Group.

In the great actions of the German working class, Comrade Stöcker always stuck bravely to his post. He took part in the suppression of the Hohenzollern war régime, and belonged in 1918 in the Rhineland to the Workers' and Soldiers' Council. During the Kapp putsch, whilst in the leading councils of the U.S.P.D. in Rhineland-Westphalia, he took part in leading the fight of the Red Guards. In

connection with the Rathenau murder, the occupation of the Ruhr, and the Cuno Strike, Stöcker was particularly successful in achieving united action by the workers of the Rhine-Ruhr district. Walter Stöcker, during his long period of activity, understood how to combine in a revolutionary way his parliamentary work with mass activity.

By his disclosures, from the tribune of the Reichstag, of the parliamentary jobbery and coalition wrangling of the Social Democratic Party Leaders with the bourgeoisie, and by his exposure of the wire-pullers who controlled the bourgeois parties, Comrade Walter Stöcker taught the German working class impressive lessons about the real class character of so-called bourgeois democracy. He also put good weapons into the hands of the revolutionary workers with which to unmask the veiled dictatorship of the monopoly capitalists.

As an inspired supporter of the Soviet Union, Comrade Stöcker did a great deal to convey to the people the truth about the Soviet Union, and to strengthen the ties of the German workers with the country of victorious Socialism. Even by 1919-20 Walter Stöcker had made notable achievements in this direction, and later he devoted himself, through the "Alliance of Friends of the Soviet Union" which he founded, and of which he became the international President, almost entirely to popularising the mighty deeds of the Soviet Union.

When the Fascists, those bestial reactionaries, attained power in Germany, Comrade Stöcker, who was at that time abroad, hurried back to Germany, back to the scene of struggle, in order to help mobilise the people against Fascism. In those decisive days he worked with the utmost fervour to influence the Social Democratic leaders to form a United Front with the Communists. His efforts were unluckily in vain. While Wels was giving his approval in the Reichstag to Hitler's policy, Walter Stöcker lay, badly maltreated, in the dungeons of the S.A.

After Walter Stöcker had withstood the torture dens of Sonnenburg and Lichtenburg, he has now been murdered in his fiftieth year, in the Buchenwald concentration camp, where hundreds of steadfast

anti-fascists have been tortured to death in recent months. Walter Stöcker showed himself in the concentration camp to be an exemplary steadfast communist, truly devoted to the working class, although being a leading communist, he was subjected to special maltreatment. Neither provocation nor terror, nor the length of his confinement, could break him. So, since the fascists could not bend this Bolsheviki fighter, they murdered him.

The cowardly murder of Walter Stöcker must deeply rouse the consciences of all honourable men. The capitulators in every country admonish the workers and working people to "compromise" with German Fascism. But how can anyone compromise with the fact that in the middle of Europe a gang of robbers and murderers exercises its sway? How can

one compromise with the fact that in the middle of Europe hundreds of thousands of people languish in fascist concentration camps and are methodically tortured to death? How can one compromise with the fact that in the middle of Europe a boil has developed, which is growing larger and larger and spreading further and further? One cannot compromise with an abscess. One cannot say one is reconciled to a plague.

The murder of Walter Stöcker must arouse afresh the consciences of all workers and working people in every country, and provide them with the impulse wherewith to come with all their strength to the help of the martyred German people against their oppressors, and to prevent the further extension of German Fascism.

DOCUMENTS

To the Peoples of Germany, Austria, and Czechoslovakia

THE fascist rulers of Germany have committed another monstrous crime. They have sent their troops into Czechoslovakia and occupied the country by naked force.

When Hitler occupied militarily Austria, when he snatched the Sudeten territory, he declared he was acting in the name of the right of nations to self-determination and only wanted to unite Germans in one Reich. That was a piece of deceit and treachery for it was a question in reality of the annexation by force of countries whose people had no desire whatever to be subject to German Fascism. But this time the deed of imperialist violence is open and beyond dispute. More than 9 million Czechs and Slovaks have been robbed of all idea of the right of self-determination and their state and national independence held up to scorn and annexed by Hitler Germany.

Once again it has become clear to the whole world that Hitler's aim was not and is not the "national emancipation of Germans" but is a campaign of pillage against other peoples and countries.

Six months ago the four great powers—England, France, Italy and Germany—guaranteed the frontiers of dismembered Czechoslovakia. Munich was proclaimed as a surety of peace and Hitler, it was declared, had "no territorial demands in Europe." That like the other was a lie. To-day Czechoslovakia has been occupied, militarily, by brute force, by one of the "Guarantors." German Fascism, by its attack on a sovereign neighbouring state has itself proved that Munich, as the Communists declared from the outset, was only a further step in the development of the imperialist war. On the governments of France and England lies

the blame for the fact that the peoples of Czechoslovakia were handed over, defenceless, to the fascist aggressor.

For the Czech and Slovak people the occupation of Czechoslovakia means that their country has been turned into a colony. National Socialism has named Czechoslovakia, now in its power, "The Reich Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia." It is establishing a "Protectorate" over Slovakia which in form may be different but in content will be the same as the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. Even in the name, National Socialism expresses the fact that it wants to create for itself a colony in the heart of Europe. The Czech people, under a colonial administration, is to work and to be exploited for the profit of German finance capital, for the armaments of German Imperialism. Its industry, the products of its agriculture, its raw materials are to pass into the possession of German financial magnates and German armament capital. Its economy is moving towards the same decline which has seized German economy under the rule of Fascism. The people of Czechoslovakia is to be driven down to the standard of slaves now that with regard to its rights it has been placed on the level of slaves by the "Protectorate Constitution." In its own land it will have no right to speak and on every side it is subject to the fascist overlords. The aim of National Socialism is the uprooting and destruction of the Czech people.

For the German and Austrian people the occupation of Czechoslovakia—just as after the occupation of Austria—means an even greater oppression than before, an intensification of speed-up in work, a rise in exploitation, a tightening of the

bonds and the immediate danger of being driven to the slaughter in the next attack of German Fascism.

For the people of Europe the occupation of Czechoslovakia means that the danger of fascist enslavement has enormously increased, that they will be caught up in the "big war," towards which Fascism is steering.

The German anti-fascists and the Austrian people solemnly declare, before the whole world, that they look upon the disgraceful invasion of Czechoslovakia as a crime which has been committed in opposition to their will. The German people desires to oppress no foreign nation. Just as it desires the independence and freedom of the Austrian people, so does it desire the independence and freedom of the Czech, Slovakian and Sudeten-German people. The peoples of Czechoslovakia, whose struggle for their independence and autonomy is entering a new and difficult phase, may be assured of the fact that the German and Austrian people also will never recognise the occupation of Czechoslovakia by German Imperialism. The German anti-fascists, the Austrian people, and the peoples of Czechoslovakia stand to-day in one front for the struggle against their common oppressor, German Fascism; for the struggle for their common freedom, for the German democratic republic, for the independence and state sovereignty of the Austrian people and the peoples of Czechoslovakia.

The occupation of Czechoslovakia has already led to a growth in the opposition to the rule of National-Socialism. Today, the front against the Nazis embraces the anti-fascist masses of Germany, the Austrian people and the peoples of Czechoslovakia. The Czech people will develop a tenacious, vigorous and effective resistance to German Fascism, to its agents and to all its measures. That small gang of corrupt traitors who opened to Hitler the path to Prague, will be made to feel the people's contempt and unanimous repudiation. Like their National-Socialist masters, they will be surrounded by a *cordon sanitaire*, and will daily be caused to feel that all, whether young or

old, whether man or woman, whether socialist, communist or supporter of any other party, are their pitiless enemies. The Austrian people will link up its struggle for emancipation with that of the peoples of Czechoslovakia; thus they will be able to aid each other mutually, just as the German anti-fascists will be able to help them and as they will help the German anti-fascists.

At the head of this united front of the people stands the working class, the best representative of the interests of the whole nation. Just as the anti-fascist struggle of the German working class has as its objective a free Germany so do the working classes of Czechoslovakia and Austria stand at the head of the struggle of their respective peoples for national emancipation. For the call, which the Communist International made in its appeal to the working class after Munich, on the Twenty-First Anniversary of the October Revolution, applies now ten-fold:

"Only the working class can rally, rouse and lead the people to a victorious struggle for national liberation. The working class is the backbone of the nation, the bulwark of its liberty, dignity and independence."

Mindful of the great historical tasks which stand before the workers of our countries, the Communist Party of Germany, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Communist Party of Austria call for solid, unbreakable unity in the ranks of the working class. Whoever nowadays continues to hinder or sabotage the united front of the workers is a direct assistant to the Nazis. Establish everywhere the unity of the workers, the backbone of the unity of the people. Let the struggle of the workers of Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia be united.

German Fascism is arming for aggression and invasion. The new "surprises" which it is planning are clearly recognisable: the occupation of all the small countries of Europe, and war against the great powers. Only an iron front, embracing all lovers of peace and liberty, can defeat this. Such a front must be established. At the head of this front

stands the Soviet Union which has declared through the words of its leader, Stalin, the leader of the toilers of the whole world, that it stands for "the support of nations which are the victims of aggression and are fighting for the independence of their country," and which represents the strongest support in the struggle against Fascism. The Soviet Union was the sole country which, in its note to fascist Germany, openly and unequivocally stigmatised the occupation of Czechoslovakia as an act of despotism, force and aggression, and which, through its proposal for the calling of a conference of the powers interested, revealed the method for successfully warding off fascist aggression.

The peoples of Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia are conducting their struggle with the aim of the overthrow of blood-stained Nazi Fascism, and they are confident that, with the support of the toilers of all countries and with the help of the great and powerful Soviet Union, they will gain their freedom. Then there will arise a German democratic republic,

an independent democratic Austria and the independent democratic republic of Czechoslovakia.

We appeal to all liberty-loving persons in the world: Defend the fighters for freedom in Czechoslovakia, whose lives are threatened, the leaders of the Czech and Slovakian people, the Anti-fascist German and Austrian refugees. Do not lose sight for one moment of the demand of the shackled peoples of Austria and Czechoslovakia:

Out with the German troops and German police from Czechoslovakia and Austria! Restore the sovereignty of Czechoslovakia and Austria! Long live the joint struggle against barbarous Fascism! Long live the united struggle for freedom of the peoples of Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia! Long live the unity of the working class! Long live the international solidarity of the working class!

The Communist Party of Germany.

The Communist Party of Austria.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

From the Communist Party of Germany

THE Communist Party of Germany has expelled Múnzenberg from its ranks. Already in 1938, the Central Committee of the C.P.G. had occasion to expel Múnzenberg from the Central Committee of the Party. This expulsion of Múnzenberg from the Central Committee was unanimously approved by the following Party conference. The C.C. of the C.P.G. thereupon proposed to the International Control Commission of the Communist International that it undertake an investigation into the case of Múnzenberg. We publish herewith the decision of the I.C.C.:

DECISION OF THE I.C.C. IN THE MÚNZENBERG CASE

The Múnzenberg case was dealt with in the sessions of the I.C.C., on January

20 and February 16, 1939. Múnzenberg was invited in good time to attend this session, which was scheduled for the beginning of January. In the invitation Múnzenberg was expressly informed that the I.C.C. would consider his non-appearance as disregard for the elementary revolutionary discipline of the Party and the working-class movement, and would examine and settle the matter in his absence. Múnzenberg refused to appear at the session of the I.C.C. The reasons brought forward by Múnzenberg for his non-appearance were of such a nature that they could only be considered by the I.C.C. as invalid subterfuges. The proceedings therefore took place without his attendance.

The subject-matter of the proceedings consisted of:

1. Münzenberg's expulsion from the C.C. of the C.P.G. by the Central Committee of the Party and Münzenberg's objections to this decision.

2. The request by the C.C. of the C.P.G. to investigate the further charges submitted against Münzenberg.

The I.C.C. had before it all the material relating to the expulsion of Münzenberg from the C.C. of the C.P.G., as well as Münzenberg's letter, in which he raised objection to this expulsion, and his other letters to the Communist International. After careful examination of the material in evidence and verification of the material transmitted by Münzenberg, the I.C.C. arrived at the following conclusions:

1. Already, in the past, Comrade Thaelmann and other comrades in the leadership of the C.P.C. had had repeatedly to criticise and reprimand Münzenberg in the sharpest manner, because he gave evidence of an unprincipled attitude in important political questions, showed a propensity towards bluffing in his work, and sought to evade the control and discipline of the Party. Before the fascist dictatorship in Germany, Münzenberg, as an adherent of the adventurist Neumann group—hostile to the united front—carried on insidious struggle against Ernst Thaelmann, against the C.C. of the C.P.G. and its policy. The activity of this group was very severely condemned by the Communist International.

2. When, in 1932, Münzenberg withdrew—in words—from the Neumann group, the Party and the Communist International assigned to him various tasks of agitation and propaganda, in order to give him the opportunity of overcoming, through his work, his weaknesses and errors. But under the conditions of the fascist dictatorship, of the difficult illegal position of the Party, which particularly demanded from all Party comrades the most scrupulous regard for Party discipline and the strictest vigilance with regard to the fascist enemy, Münzenberg lost faith in the power of the working class. Under the conditions of political emigration, de-

tached from the German working class, Münzenberg became politically demoralised.

3. This demoralisation was expressed in his intrigues against the Party and in his relations with Trotskyist elements and other enemies of the working-class movement.

Early in 1936, the C.C. of the C.P.G. was compelled to reprimand Münzenberg because he divulged internal Party affairs in order to intrigue against the Party leadership. An investigation in 1936 established the fact that Münzenberg had brought into the circle of his co-workers elements who were strongly suspected—and some of them convicted—of relations with enemies of the anti-fascist movement. Münzenberg put difficulties in the way of this investigation. From the material now before the I.C.C. it is evident that Münzenberg had entered into relations with such persons and institutions which are under no circumstances in the interests of the working class. Münzenberg has constantly declined to give any explanation about his connections to the C.C. of the Party.

4. Münzenberg's political demoralisation was further expressed in his disorganising activity with regard to efforts to secure a united front and a people's front. In the face of the complicated internal situation, of the increasing aggression of Fascism, and of the attack of the reactionary section of the bourgeoisie of Great Britain and France upon the people's front, and in the face of the necessity for more vigorous anti-fascist struggle, Münzenberg showed more and more open indications of capitulation.

Münzenberg used great cunning in trying to conceal this capitulationism. In words, Münzenberg advocated the unification of all forces in the struggle against Fascism; in actual fact, he tried to destroy the union, already started, of various anti-fascist forces. In this, he endeavoured to make use of every hesitation of individual partners in the united front or people's front. At conferences of communists, social-democrats and other anti-fascists, Münzenberg re-

peatedly acted in a way which did harm to the anti-fascist movement.

In the course of this disorganising activity, he had recourse to slandering the Party leadership, and endeavoured to discredit its policy of the united front and people's front, in order to mislead sincere supporters of the united front and people's front, and to undermine their comradely co-operation with the communists.

5. In addition to this activity behind the scenes, Münzenberg later proceeded to open propaganda of a Trotskyist character.

Without consulting the Party leadership, and against its will, Münzenberg published books and pamphlets which are of use to the fascist enemy, including a book by Ludwig which insults and disparages the German people, and an anti-Soviet book by the Trotskyist, Sternberg.

Münzenberg's calumnies regarding the policy of the Party were circulated by him in such a way that they were published in organs on which Trotskyists collaborated and which carry on a constant warfare against the united front and people's front. He allied himself with Trotskyist elements.

Münzenberg also, therefore, did not comply with the summons of the Party to oppose openly Trotskyist spies and the crimes of the P.O.U.M.

Münzenberg has always declined to comply with the demand of the Party leadership that he should clarify his relationship with the Party in a discussion with it. Just as characteristic of this development in Münzenberg was the fact that he never answered the repeated invitations of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

After his expulsion from the C.C., Münzenberg continued on an increased scale his activity against the policy of the united front and the people's front, and fully exposed his attitude for the liquidation of the Communist Party.

On the grounds of the facts cited, the I.C.C. finds that the expulsion of Münzenberg from the C.C. of the C.P.G., and its reasons, to be completely justified.

The I.C.C. conveys to the C.C. of the

C.P.G. the results of the investigation requested by the latter. It is for the C.C. of the C.P.G. to take decisions arising out of them, with regard to Münzenberg's Party membership.

The International Control Commission of the Communist International

Whereupon, on March 6, 1939, Münzenberg was expelled from the ranks of the C.P.G. by the C.C. of the C.P.G. We cite below the resolution on his expulsion, adopted by the Central Committee:

EXPULSION OF MUENZENBERG FROM THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY

The C.C. of the C.P.G. resolves to expel Münzenberg from the ranks of the Communist Party of Germany, on the grounds of his unprincipled and deceitful conduct, of his struggle against the united front, his constant intriguing and disorganising activity within the people's front movement, his deliberate interference in the co-operation of Communists with other anti-fascist forces, his attempted deception of supporters of the people's front movement, his connection with Trotskyists and other enemies of the working-class movement; all of which is equivalent to treachery to the Party and to the working-class movement.

In this decision, the C.C. bases itself on the results of the investigation which was carried out on its request by the I.C.C. of the E.C.C.I.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany.

March 6, 1939.

* * *

Even before the illegal Communist Party of Germany published this decision, Münzenberg made use of the delay in publication to deceive public opinion. He published a demagogic and calumnious article against the C.P.G., in which he announced his resignation from the C.P.G. This traitor, who has been driven out of the heroic Communist Party, is continuing his deception of the working class and all anti-fascists.

The Record of German Decline

THE economic and cultural decline of the German people is becoming all the more pronounced. After the latest arbitrary act of Hitler, after the final suppression of Czechoslovakia, the German Propaganda Minister Goebbels announced to the world that the:

"Germans are again in the arena of international affairs and the Reich must be reckoned with in all modern political calculations. . . ." (*Völkischer Beobachter*, March 21.)

But even Goebbels cannot avoid dealing with the question of the ever worsening *standard of living of the German people*.

In his article, entitled "Coffee Aunties," published in the *Völkischer Beobachter* on March 11, an article in which he derided in very jeering terms those Germans who are accustomed to the drinking of coffee, we also find the following sentence:

"If we . . . are not able to import more coffee into Germany the explanation is to be found in the reduction in the exchange reserve, which, as is known, must be claimed for other more important things. . . ."

"We do not wish in this case to use the sharp antithesis of 'First Cannon and then Coffee' but we regard the consistent carrying through of the *rearmament of Germany* as more important than the providing of our coffee aunties with sufficient coffee."

But although Goebbels expressly emphasised that he had no wish in this case to use the sharp antithesis "First Cannon and then Coffee" in the concluding part of his article he applied it only too clearly when he said:

"Therefore we have arranged for the disappearance of this coffee worm. In times when coffee is scarce, and that is the case at present, reasonable people drink very little coffee or even none at all. The vulgar types and coffee aunts have got to wait until there is again sufficient coffee."

According to published reports the national committee of the confectioners

has issued a circular regarding the regulations affecting the sale of coffee stating that the following measures are intended; the vendors of coffee will receive one week a minimum supply of coffee beans and the following week only blended coffee. The pastry shops, cafes, etc., are directed:

"To adapt themselves as quickly as possible to these indispensable measures of economy, otherwise special detailed measures will have to be taken."

In this way the foodstuffs of the German people are withdrawn one after the other and "substitutes" recommended for them. And it has now become usual for the fascist Minister of Propaganda to characterise the reduction in the supply of foodstuffs as desirable in the interests of the health of the people: white bread is unhealthy, fat and meat are unhealthy, coffee is unhealthy, wine and beer are unhealthy, etc. It is regarded as a "self-evident duty" of the German people that:

"at a time when some foodstuffs or articles of luxury begin to be scarce, it is not only necessary for persons to limit consumption but also to *completely renounce them*." (*Völkischer Beobachter*, March 2.)

But even on an empty stomach every German worker has got to work like a horse. Here are some extracts from the fascist press about the limitless exploitation now taking place:

"The hours of labour in the collieries have been increased by 45 minutes. Lads, who had previously never touched a pick and shovel, have been drawn into this work. Girls give their year of service there. Many appear to give to the limit of their strength in order to meet the effort required. . . . The meaning of the work is not the wage, it is not the extension of any particular factory, it is for National Germany. . . ."

"Our work projects are big, and the demands on our labour forces can hardly be more intense than they are at present. . . ." (*Völkischer Beobachter*, March 21. "Workers, Work On!")

Whilst this article writes only in a quite general way about how the German workers are being skinned the *Völkischer Beobachter* of the same date publishes another article dealing concretely with the huge demands made on the lorry drivers who were mobilised for the western fortifications. First of all is stated the large number of workers put on to these "German western fortifications":

"278,000 workers in the organisation 'Todt,' in addition to 84,000 workers in other organisations, 100,000 men in the Labour Service, as well as numerous battalions of sappers and divisions of infantry."

The article goes on to say:

"At the highest point of the building operations some 15,200 lorries were being used. And every lorry carried a daily average of 14.4 tons. In the month of September alone they covered a total of 50 million kilometres, i.e., a length equal to 1,200 times round the circumference of the earth. In the same month of September the number of loads carried totalled about two million. Thus on the average each lorry travelled 4,560 kilometres and carried 182 loads.

Even the *Völkischer Beobachter* cannot help but admit that "downright inhuman" demands were made on the lorry drivers, that there was "no rest either by day or by night" and that "the drivers at that time cursed their dog's life."

These examples of the shameless exploitation of the German workers, who are badly fed and underpaid, can be continued endlessly.

We will, however, also cast a glance at the conditions in the *villages*. He who believes that the conditions there are better than those of the industrial workers has made a big mistake. The *Völkische Beobachter* of March 9 publishes an article by Gustave Behrens, entitled "Stagnation in the Battle of Production?" Herr Behrens attributes the catastrophic situation in the German village to the "lack of labour-power in almost every farm." He is silent, however, about the fact that the lack of labour power on the land has been caused by the catastrophic conditions of the peasants and the fact that "regulated economy" results in masses of land-workers going into the industrial centres.

We will let Herr Behrens speak for himself:

"I have before me as an example a report about an area in Mecklenburg. The first farm mentioned in this report consists of 160 morgen* and must be farmed by the peasant and his wife alone. On the second farm of 170 morgen the only labour available is that of the peasant and his mother; as a result the number of cows has been reduced by half. On a third farm of 170 morgen the peasant having tried in vain to get labourers and dairy men now attempts the obviously impossible task of doing the work with the aid of his wife and child of twelve. Under these conditions the peasant is occupied with the thought that cattle must be got rid of. . . . In the same way it is reported that a farm in Saxony has been compelled to reduce the number of milch cows from 95 to 65, on another farm from 60 to 45, on a third from 14 to 7, and on a fourth from 34 to 25, etc. This is because of the shortage of labour. In one village three peasants sold 28 milch cows in one day. In another place it was proposed to go forward with a plan for changing the milch cows for fattening cattle. . . ."

It is obvious that the decline in the situation regarding the rearing of cattle cannot be attributed only to the shortage of labour. It arises from the whole system of controlled economy in agriculture, shortage of fodder, the ban on slaughtering, the compulsory milk deliveries, etc. In connection with the decline in cattle-raising the *Statistische Reichsamt* states that the number of horned cattle on December 3, 1938, totalled 19.91 million head as compared with 20.5 million head on the same day of the previous year. The number of pigs has declined from 23.85 million to 23.54 million and the number of goats from 2.63 to 2.51 million.

This terrific exploitation and inadequate nourishment of the working people of Germany results in a continual worsening of the *health of the people*. In the above cited article Herr Behrens states that:

"The worsening of the health of the youth working on the land as a result of overwork is to be seen on an ever-increasing scale. In Saxony 680 of 1,388 recruits from the land for the S.S. had to be rejected as unfit. In an agricultural school in Saxony only seven of the 66 students were found to be healthy and of these seven students four came from

* Morgen: nearly an acre.

the town. The remaining 59 scholars suffered from crooked backs and chests, flat feet and other diseases which are a proof of overstrain. . . ."

The fascist periodical, "Die Deutsche Volkswirtschaft," ("German Economy") deals with the results of the increased exploitation in the German factories. The exploitation has had the following results:

"1. A physical and normal weakening of labour's power of resistance.

"2. In numerous factories it was established that the nervous tension amongst the workers is to be attributed to the working conditions.

"3. Absence without excuse and tendency to slack off are manifestly on the increase in the factories."

At the meeting of the committee of the local sick benefit society in Stuttgart the director stated that in the middle of February there was reached the highest point of sickness during the last ten years. During January, 1939, the number of sick persons increased on the average to 4.76 per cent as compared with 3.11 per cent in December, 1938, and by the middle of February jumped to 7.8 per cent. What a sudden leap these figures represent is shown by the fact that on some days more than 1,000 cases of sickness are reported, once even 1,732 cases were notified, as compared to the previous average of 350. In these cases only those whose sickness prevents them from continuing their occupation have been included.

And it is with a people in this condition, whose strength has been strained to the utmost extreme, whose health has been continually worsened by poor food and over-exertion, that Hitler intends to increase German exports now that his policy of autarchy has run aground. It is intended that this increase of exports shall again take place at the expense of the working class. What was the position of German exports in 1938? The Essen *National Zeitung* (February 14) contains a report on "Hamburg's Ocean Traffic in 1938." In this article it is said:

"The decline in Germany's export trade, which is partly to be explained by the unscalably high tariff walls and nationalist strivings, and partly by the general devaluation of world currency was clearly reflected in the trading figures of Hamburg."

"The trade of the port shows a steep

decline of 12.7 per cent. . . . The decline affects all classes of goods but particularly the overseas trade. Ladings of raw materials sank by 673,000 tons or 20.5 per cent., those of manufactured goods by 401,000 tons or 16.0 per cent."

In its issue of February 15 the Essen *National Zeitung* contains an article on "Germany's Coal Exports in 1938." It states:

"We are now in possession of detailed statistics dealing with the foreign trade of Germany during December and the whole of 1938. From these it is clear that 1,864,341 tons of coal were sent abroad by land and water during December as compared with 1,979,254 tons in November and 2,952,544 tons in the last month of the year 1937. Thus December shows a decline of 114,913 tons in comparison with November and of 1,088,203 tons with December 1937. The total export for the year 1938 was 29,639,149 tons, which is almost nine million tons (8,989,776 tons) less than in 1937."

German economy cannot tolerate this steep decline of exports. It needs foreign exchange in order to acquire the raw materials essential for the war industries. The increase in the amount of raw materials imported (by 866,000 tons or 8.2 per cent as shown by the Hamburg ocean traffic figures for 1938) was not sufficient to satisfy the claims of the war industries. These demands are unbelievably high. According to the reckoning of the "Economist" and the "Banker" expenditure on armaments stands in the following proportion to the general expenditure:

Financial Year	(In milliards of marks)		
	Total Expenditure	Armament Expenditure	Percentage of Total
1932-33	6.7	1.0	15
1933-34	9.7	3.0	31
1934-35	12.2	5.5	45
1935-36	16.7	10.0	60
1936-37	18.8	12.2	67
1937-38	23.0	16.0	70

Expenditure on armaments since the existence of the Hitler dictatorship have risen from one milliard marks (1932-33) to 16 milliard marks (1937-38). These figures prove on what a gigantic scale Hitler prepares for war and they also make it clear that the decline now affecting the German people in all spheres must be placed against the account of the war plans of German Fascism.

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