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The Bloody 30th of June in Germany

On June 30 Hitler put his "People's Commonwealth" into action. He caused his closest comrades and veterans to be executed. On June 30 he let loose civil war in the most brutal, brutal and treacherous fashion against his own mass organisations. He also gave an example of national socialist "comradeship" by letting loose one section of his party to crush and slaughter the other. He carried the national socialist principle of "loyalty for loyalty" to its logical end in the spirit of real "front-line patriotism" by causing Roehm, Heines, Ernst and the other leaders of the Brown Storm Detachments (S.A.) to be killed, by his own black-uniformed Special Detachments (S.S.) The "principle of leadership" was also realised. The subordinate leaders wanted to overthrow their leader, and the leader reviled and besmirched the dead bodies of his old comrades and fighters, the same men who had been put forward as a shining example to the youth as veteran fighters and "supermen." On June 30 Hitler proved the correctness of the national socialist racial theories. Indeed, only amongst the "supermen," only amongst the representatives of the highest Nordic-Aryan race could such Sodom and Gomorra scenes have taken place, such orgies, such gluttony, such perversities, such robbery and such misuse of public funds.

On June 30 Hitler also demonstrated to the full the national socialist idea of "honour." Provocation, lies and deception he used again, this time against his own comrades and friends, and handed them over to the execution squads to be shot down like mad dogs. The "People's Commonwealth," honour, loyalty, comradeship, front-line patriotism, heroism, supermen, the purity of public life, the family sense—all these ideals of fascism were revealed in their true colours. And after an orgy of treachery, meanness, lies, bestiality and perverse sadism he presented himself as the "saviour of the Nation," receiving declarations of loyalty, bows from the bishops, praise from the generals, congratulations from the leaders of industry, and oaths of obedience and submission from those leaders of the Brown Storm Detachments he did not have executed.

Only a class doomed to death, only a social order doomed to destruction can have such representatives, such "heroes," such

leaders. Degenerate and rotten like German monopoly capitalism, degenerate and rotten like the fascist dictatorship, wading through blood and mud like the ruling class of Germany—these are the representatives of the "system." A pimp-like Horst Wessel just made a national hero and they are all worthy of him.

June 30 revealed the depth of the crisis from which the fascist dictatorship is suffering, and June 30 is the beginning of the end for the fascist dictatorship in its national socialist form. The economic, social, inner political and foreign political difficulties came to a head on June 30, but at the same time June 30 represents a desperate attempt on the part of German monopolist capitalism to save its fascist dictatorship and to reform its open terrorist dictatorship on a new basis.

The State consists of detachments of armed men with such attributes as prisons, we were taught by Engels. On June 30 the State of Hitler's Third Reich appeared on the scene in all its naked brutality. Martial law, that is to say, the Reichswehr, the police, and picked bodies of the black-uniformed Special Detachments were let loose against the Brown Storm Detachments. Leaders of the Storm Detachments were executed, others thrown into prison, the headquarters of the Storm Detachments were occupied, the members of the Storm Detachments sent "on holiday," forbidden to wear their uniforms and—although it sounds like a bloody and grotesque joke—forbidden to wear their "dirks of honour" until further notice. The Storm Detachments are to be cleaned up, and tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands of "old and new fighters for national socialism" are to be turned out. The basic force of Hitler's Third Reich is being bombarded with mud.

This a contradiction of the Third Reich, of the fascist dictatorship was not solved, but reproduced on a higher stage. The contradiction was that German monopolist capitalism had forged for itself a weapon for erecting the fascist dictatorship in the shape of the National Socialist Party, that through this party German monopolist capitalism appealed to the broad masses of the petty-bourgeoisie, the peasants, the plebian and the lumpen-proletarian elements in order to set up its own terrorist dictatorship against the proletariat. The contradiction was that fascism

in Germany succeeded as in no other country in creating for itself a broad petty-bourgeois, peasant, plebian, lumpenproletarian basis in order when once in power to carry out the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, the most chauvinist and the most imperialist elements of German finance-capital. The petty-bourgeois elements in the rural areas and in the towns, and in particular the most active elements in the brown Storm Detachments and in the fascist factory organisations, will now develop into an anti-fascist force, thanks to their dissatisfaction and indignation, a force which we can win.

Once in power, the Hitler government carried out the dictatorship of monopolist capitalism, and just for that reason it inevitably came into contradiction with its own mass basis. This was all the more inevitable because the fascist dictatorship did not succeed and could not succeed in penetrating into the nucleus of the German working class. Our proud and heroic German working class, led by its Communist Party, stood like a rock of granite amidst the storms of the fascist dictatorship. All the attacks of fascism broke ineffectively against this rock of granite. And because the fascist dictatorship still further intensified the crisis of German capitalism, because it worsened not only the situation of the proletariat, but also the situation of all other sections of the toiling masses, because it is leading the country into social, internal and foreign political catastrophe it is steadily losing its peasant and petty-bourgeois mass basis also. The original enthusiasm of these sections quickly turned into an attitude of critical waiting, and this in its turn is now developing into bitter indignation.

The crisis which came to a head on the 30th June was only the reverse side of the advance of the revolutionary working class which is already beginning to draw over the indignant masses of the petty-bourgeoisie in the towns and the peasant masses in the rural areas to its side.

The brown Storm Detachments were a pretorian army in the service of finance-capital. After the accession of Hitler to power hundreds and hundreds of thousands of new recruits streamed into the ranks of the Storm Detachments, which soon numbered from 2.5 to 3 million men. In its civil war against the proletariat and in its preparations for imperialist war the monopolist bourgeoisie was compelled to appeal to the broadest possible masses. Together with these millions, however, went also the disappointment, the dissatisfaction, the indignation and the rebellion of the petty-bourgeois masses, the plebian sections and even certain backward elements of the proletariat into the ranks of the Storm Detachments. Roehm, Ernst, Heines and the other bandit leaders of the Storm Detachments dreamt of the overthrow of Hitler and the erection of a State under the control of the Storm Detachments. They endeavoured to make use of the dissatisfaction of the masses in a distorted form to their own ends. They naturally were unable to understand that in the period of monopolist capitalism the petty-bourgeois, plebian and lumpenproletarian elements, to whose social pressure they were subjected, despite their own adventurous banditry, were between the upper and nether millstones of modern society, between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, and therefore quite unable to play an independent role.

The monopolist bourgeoisie has crushed the rebellion of the petty-bourgeois sections in so far as it expressed itself at the head of the Storm Detachments. It crushed the rebellion with blood and iron with the assistance of the Reichwehr, the police and the black-uniformed Special Detachments, and it was able to do so because the proletariat had not yet succeeded by its mass struggle in winning the leadership of these sections. In this operation Hitler, Goering and Goebbels were only the lackeys of German finance-capital. They were the cloak which hid the naked bloody and revolting features of German finance-capital and Junkerdom.

Hitler was in Neudeck and humbly received the orders of Oldenburg von Januschau and the East Elbian Junkers. From Neudeck he went to Krupp in Essen and received from him equally humbly the orders of heavy industry and the national council of German industry. From Neudeck and Essen he then went to Munich. The orders received in Neudeck and Essen were then promptly carried out in Berlin and Munich.

The 30th June in Germany means that the fascist dictatorship of monopolist capitalism has definitely repulsed its petty-bourgeois mass basis of support. This is the first step towards the fall of the fascist dictatorship because it was no longer possible to carry out the fascist dictatorship.

industry, the Junkers, the Reichwehr generals, the high officials etc. left this dirty work to Hitler, Goebbels, Goering and Himmler. Monopolist capitalism and the Junkers are cynical enough to "permit" their lackeys to carry out this dirty and bloody work, though it were carried out both against a "second revolution" and against the "reaction" simultaneously. They permitted Goebbels and Goering to organise a new provocation on the line of the Reichstag fire, to talk of a conspiracy between Roehm and von Schleicher, and to make mysterious hints at "conspiracy with a foreign power." As chivalrous gentlemen they permitted the murderers to slaughter both von Schleicher and his wife and son, and von Papen under police surveillance. All this belongs to the Hitler-Goebbels circus just as much as the exposure of the rottenness of the fascist leadership by Hitler himself. In the industry, the Junkers and their Reichwehr generals and high officials will probably permit Hitler to continue his dirty and bloody work for a few weeks or months more, to disperse the brown Storm Detachments and to begin the capitalist offensive again with renewed energy and to take the bankruptcy of the State with all its consequences on to the shoulders of national socialism, and perhaps even to carry out the inflation. But then they will get rid of Hitler, Goebbels and Goering and present themselves as the "Saviours of the Nation."

In this sense the 30th June represents an attempt on the part of the monopolist bourgeoisie and the Junkers to reorganise the fascist dictatorship on a new if narrower basis. That is the plan of German monopoly capitalism.

With the assistance of General Blomberg and his Reichwehr Hitler, Goering, Goebbels and Himmler will launch a new wave of terror against the working masses, because they are well aware that the only force which can defeat this plan to reorganise the fascist dictatorship is the independent class action of the proletariat, which to-day has more favourable conditions than ever before for winning the masses of the working petty-bourgeoisie as allies in its anti-fascist struggle. Despite this new wave of terror, the German proletariat, under the leadership of its heroic Communist Party, will develop its mass action and its anti-fascist struggle and smash the plan of the German fascist bourgeoisie.

The German proletariat is faced with a big and serious danger in this struggle. The social democracy feels that its turn is coming again. The "Deutsche Freiheit" already announces that a military dictatorship would represent a progressive step as compared with the Hitler dictatorship. In the theoretical organ of the Social Democratic Party Central Committee in Prague, the "Zeitschrift fuer Sozialismus," Viktor Schiff openly defends reformism and the coalition policy. He writes:-

"We are supposed to have been too little Marxist? Were we not perhaps too Marxist? Did we not perhaps consider the industrial workers too much to the exclusion of other sections of the population, and did not our acknowledgment of the class struggle, an idea which can appeal only to the urban proletariat, do us more harm than good?" And he continues:-

"We must not permit ourselves to turn away possible allies in our struggle, allies who are perhaps those who are preparing the way for us and who at the moment have even a greater possibility of action than we have. It would be wrong to enter into any details at the moment."

This is the programme of the new coalition policy, that is the programme of the lackeys of the Reichwehr generals, of the Special Detachments and the Bishops. And the Central Committee of the Prague bankrupts, the men who voted for Hindenburg, the men who went down on their knees before Hitler and von Papen, now dare to pretend that the mud and blood, the shame and corruption which at present prevail in Germany have anything to do with Bolshevism. Once again they place the Weimar Republic before the German working class as the ideal to be aimed at, the Weimar Republic which offered the basis for the development of fascism. Precisely in order to prevent their new class treachery we must forge a unity of action of the fighting proletariat for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship no matter what form it may appear, and keep this aim before us in all our anti-fascist struggles, in all strikes, in the preparation of political mass strikes, in the carrying out of anti-fascist mass actions, and also in the struggle to win the deserted and betrayed members of the Brown Storm Detachments, the national socialist toilers, the social-democratic, Christian and trade union workers.

The 30th June in Germany means up a new stage of the struggle for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship.

Politics

Foreign Political Review of the Week

June 28 was the 15th anniversary of the signing of the Versailles Peace Treaty. The fascist dictatorship of Germany celebrated in its own way this day of mourning of German imperialism. Hitler, in the name of "the community of the people" in the spirit of the "comradeship of the trenches," had his party comrades and S.A. men shot, and, as a small recompense for his hangmen's services, the Reichswehr generals connected with the Hindenburg clique graciously allowed him to murder General von Schleicher, together with his wife—chivalry is the highest manly virtue! Papen was arrested, but only for half-an-hour. On the other hand he had to permit his closest colleagues to be arrested, and one of them even "committed suicide."

The events in Berlin and Munich throw a vivid light on the profound crisis of the fascist dictatorship in Germany. They reveal the total crisis of the totalitarian fascist dictatorship. The crisis of the rulers is already here, and now everything depends upon whether the mass indignation—converted into mass actions—forces its way into this fissure and finds an outlet in an explosion. The monopolist big bourgeoisie is finally discarding the petty bourgeois, peasant and plebeian masses, as it can no longer retain them as a mass basis, and is endeavouring to reshape its fascist dictatorship, supported by the bayonets of the Reichswehr and the elite of the terrorist groups, the police and the bureaucracy; a socially secure, more solid, but much too narrow a basis to maintain the fascist dictatorship. The crisis of the fascist dictatorship in Germany—a reflection of the economic, foreign-political and social crisis and of the revolutionary upsurge of the masses—means a severe blow to the fascist offensive in the whole of Europe; it will enthrone the anti-fascist fight of the proletariat not only in Germany but in the whole of Europe.

As regards the foreign-political effects of the German events, Hitler will certainly endeavour to represent the smashing of the S.A. as something to his credit in the eyes of the English bourgeoisie, as an attempt to "normalise" the fascist dictatorship, and thereby to obtain some concessions in return for the heads of Roehm, Heines, Ernst, etc. It is more than doubtful, however, whether he will succeed in this attempt. Hitler, as it is, has hitherto only carried out the dictatorship of the most reactionary, of the most imperialistic and chauvinistic elements of the big bourgeoisie and junkers, and the "cleaning up" of the S.A. will serve to reveal more plainly than ever these features of the fascist dictatorship. The "Echo de Paris" writes:—

"In England and the United States it will be announced that the Hitler regime has come to its senses and one must encourage it by concessions in the armament question. Against the French thesis the argument will perhaps be brought that the S.A. has been smashed. We are of the opinion, however, that nationalist Germany, which will be governed more reasonably than Hitler Germany, should call forth the utmost distrust. The Reichswehr generals, the bureaucrats, the junkers and the big industrialists will take their old place in the State and at the end of this evolution many see the silhouette of a Hohenzollern."

Thus writes the organ of the French General Staff, which also has close connections with the Foreign Ministry. How long finance-capital will still need Hitler as a figurehead it is impossible at present to say. The crisis of the fascist dictatorship will render the foreign political situation in Germany still more difficult, the more so because the profound crisis at home renders the foreign policy of the fascist dictatorship more adventurous.

Fifteen years since the conclusion of the Versailles Peace Treaty, and we are experiencing the profoundest crisis of the Versailles Peace Treaty itself. The relation of forces between the imperialist Powers, on which the Versailles Treaty was based, have thoroughly changed. The victory over imperialist Germany was achieved by an imperialist coalition, and this coalition broke up already at Versailles. The United States and England refused to conclude a military alliance with France in order to guarantee the Versailles Treaty. The United States withdrew and refused to join the League of Nations, and England likewise refused to undertake any obligations for securing the Versailles Treaty, except in so far as it related to the German-French and German-Belgian

frontiers. Italy is to-day opposed to the Versailles division of the world and stands for a redistribution in the interests of Italian imperialism.

What remains over after fifteen years of the Versailles Treaty? Germany and the other defeated countries are no longer paying any reparations. The provisions of the Versailles Treaty regarding the disarmament of the vanquished countries have long since been rendered a dead letter by actual developments. Germany, Hungary, Bulgaria, and even Dollfuss Austria, are aiming. All that remains of the Versailles Treaty are the frontiers drawn by it. And now the fight is being waged over these frontiers.

The Second International for years spread the illusion that it would be possible with the aid of the League of Nations to achieve a peaceful revision of the Versailles frontiers. Barthou's journey to Prague, Bucharest and Belgrade gave the world to understand that revision means war. Benes, Titulescu and Yofitch put forward this slogan, and Barthou confirmed it in the name of French imperialism.

The Italian block replied to the strengthening of the Little Entente and the strengthening of the relations between the Little Entente and France with two demonstrations: in Hungary the government arranged demonstrations against Barthou's speech in Budapest, and a solemn protest against Barthou's speech was made in the Hungarian parliament. All parties of the Hungarian bourgeoisie declared themselves ready to continue to fight for the old frontiers of Hungary, for revision of the Peace Treaty, and, of course, the Hungarian social democracy did not fail to take part in this demonstration of Hungarian chauvinism.

The representatives of the Hungarian parties have striven to prove with scientific arguments that Transylvania never was Rumanian, but was always Hungarian. There is not the slightest doubt that there are considerable Hungarian minorities in present-day Transylvania, but it is equally beyond doubt that the overwhelming majority of the population is Rumanian. The question whether there was once a Hungarian majority in Transylvania can be left to the historians.

The demonstrations in Budapest were supplemented by Mussolini's naval demonstration at Durazzo. A squadron of the Italian fleet suddenly appeared in the harbour of Durazzo, without the Albanian government having been previously informed, on the very day on which Barthou was in Yugoslavia. This insolent demonstration against a weak State pursued further aims than to intimidate the Achmed Zogu government.

Mussolini has succeeded in converting Albania into a vassal State of Italy. Italian hegemony in Albania was shaken in the last few months. It is hard to ascertain how far France and Yugoslavia were responsible for this shaking of the Italian position in Albania. The fact is that Mussolini ceased paying subsidies to Achmed Zogu and arranged the naval demonstration in Durazzo. It is also a fact that the Italian naval demonstration was at the same time directed against Yugoslavia and France. Mussolini wanted to demonstrate that, in spite of the Balkan Pact, and in spite of Barthou's journey, Italy does not abandon its claims in the Balkans.

It is not due to chance that, simultaneously with the crisis of the Versailles system, the crisis of the Washington agreements is developing. Preparatory negotiations are now going on in London on the renewal of the Washington Naval Treaty between England, the United States and Japan. The actual negotiations have hardly commenced and a crisis has already become apparent. Japan wants naval parity with England and America, and this the United States refuses. In addition, the Washington Naval Agreement is connected with the Nine-Power Agreement on China, and Japan has torn up this last agreement by the occupation of Manchuria. Japan also refuses to discuss the political questions of the Pacific. On the other hand, Japan, for very obvious reasons, has proposed a non-aggression pact to the United States in order to cover its flank on this side in the case of a war against the Soviet Union. The United States, in turn, has rejected this Japanese offer. Simultaneously with the crisis of the Versailles system, the crisis of the Washington Agreements becomes more acute. These two treaty systems were the main pillars on which was based the division of the world after the great war. These main pillars are collapsing. We are confronted with a new cycle of wars.

Germany

The Hitler Regime Is Doomed to Perish

Leading article in the "Pravda" on the events in Germany published on July 2, 1934.

The fascist dictatorship in Germany has received a terrible blow, but this does not mean that it has lost all possibility to manoeuvre. However, the events of the past few days in Germany demonstrate clearly that German fascism has passed the zenith of its successes in the way of social demagogy and is now faced with an extremely dangerous descent. During the past few days German fascism once again revealed itself as the agent of finance capital. The class-conscious workers of Germany were already aware of this fact, but to-day even the backward sections of the German workers are in a position to see clearly who it was that put the Hitler party into power and in whose interests Hitler is acting. To-day it is much easier for the masses to see through the cunning and shameless demagogy with which the fascist dictatorship has deceived the toiling masses for seventeen months. The Hitler regime created more favourable conditions for the ruthless and reckless exploitation of the proletariat, and of the working masses in general, in the interests of finance capital than ever before. However, what has been done in this direction up to the present was only the beginning of the carrying out of the programme for the plundering of the working masses by the capitalists and agrarian Junkers. To-day the efforts of the German bourgeoisie to extricate itself from the crisis at the expense of the millions of the toilers are particularly desperate. The German bourgeoisie intends to squeeze the last penny out of the masses, and for this reason it requires dumb, humble and obedient slaves content with the merest pittance.

German imperialism is arming for foreign political adventures. Already it is carrying on a dangerous and exhaustive trade war, although it has no great backing in the way of gold or foreign currencies for the purchase of raw materials, no secure markets and little or no hope of obtaining foreign credits. The working masses of Germany are being condemned to an existence of hunger and misery similar to the war and blockade period. Millions of working people are already suffering bitter poverty and privation, but the programme of finance capital for their further exploitation still remains to be carried out in order to provide Krupp and Thyssen and the banks with the necessary funds.

The general deterioration of the internal and external situation of the fascist dictatorship resulted in the opening up of a struggle in its own ranks. The situation became critical when the discontent spread like wildfire in the ranks of the Brown Storm Troops. The members of the Brown detachments began to demand the fulfilment of all the promises made to them, including measures to check the ramp of finance capital, and their demands grew in energy and determination. The mass basis of the fascist dictatorship began to break up in a dangerous fashion. The Brown Storm Detachments put increasing pressure on "the leader" and demanded that the "struggle against capital" should at last begin, for they had taken the demagogic and fiery speeches of Hitler, Goebbels, Goering and their own leaders seriously. As a result the Brown Storm Detachments gradually changed from being a support of the fascist dictatorship into being a hindrance to the carrying out of the programme of exploitation on behalf of monopoly capitalism. Before long the moment came when the fascist dictatorship had to fling round the helm suddenly and dissolve the Brown Storm Detachments and get rid of their leaders. Hitler succeeded in isolating the Roehm group and destroying them. However, the millions of betrayed and deceived members of the Brown Storm Troops remain. It is not possible to get rid of them all in the same way as their leaders were disposed of, and it is becoming increasingly difficult to deceive them. The crack in the façade of the dictatorship will therefore widen rapidly, and the breach between the dictatorship and its one-time mass basis will widen increasingly, with the result that the dictatorship will be isolated from its mass basis, a process which may still provide many surprises.

The fascist regime in Germany is inevitably drifting towards the maelstrom. The events of June 30 are of the utmost sig-

nificance in this respect. The fascist dictatorship is devouring its own children. The slaughter of these men will cause a feeling of revulsion in the minds of all those who still believed in the social demagogy of the dictatorship. To-day Hitler is marching over the slaughtered bodies of his oldest companions. The form and methods with which the differences in the fascist camp are to be settled have now been laid down. Naturally, Hitler is not Caesar, and modern Germany has little resemblance to Ancient Rome. The events of June 30 are more reminiscent of the customs in Ecuador and Panama. But Germany is neither Ecuador nor Panama, and the mass murders of the past few days will not be without their effect. The situation which has developed in Germany indicates that it is becoming increasingly difficult for the fascist dictatorship to prevent the extremely dangerous alliance of the mass resistance of the working class against the robber programme of finance capital with the ferment of discontent amongst the masses of the petty-bourgeoisie. Fascism is once again demonstrating itself to be the deadly enemy of the petty-bourgeoisie after having exploited the hopes and illusions of the petty-bourgeoisie to the full in the struggle against the revolutionary proletariat. Considered from this standpoint, June 30 was the biggest defeat which German fascism has yet suffered and its effects will be felt far beyond the frontiers of Germany.

The petty-bourgeois masses honestly believed that fascism would secure a peaceful and comfortable life for them. To-day they are in a position to see that there is no other way out for them but a struggle shoulder to shoulder with the proletariat under the leadership of the Communist Party, against capitalist society as a whole and against the armed guards of capitalism—the fascist dictatorship. The broad masses of the population of Germany regard the Hitler dictatorship in quite a different light from that of February-March, 1933, and even before the events of June 30. Hitler is still Reich's Chancellor and he still speaks in the name of Germany, but the master of the situation is not Hitler but another agent of finance capital—the German Reichswehr. All the "vital forces" of German imperialism are grouped around the Reichswehr. The Reichswehr is not merely an army in the ordinary sense of the word, it is the tried and trusted weapon of the ruling classes of Germany. It is not only the military general staff of the German bourgeoisie, but its political general staff also. It was not fortuitous that the military forces were sent into action when it became necessary to settle accounts with the leaders of the Brownshirt Troops.

And what is to happen now? The mass basis of fascism has been sadly damaged. The fascist dictatorship is revealing itself more and more as the agent of that "reactionary clique" at the mention of whom but a few days ago the fascist agitators foamed at the mouth. At the same time there is an obvious leftward tendency on the part of the masses. The members of the Brown Storm Troops are unorganised and dismayed for the moment, but they will find their way into the ranks of the anti-fascist organisations. This reshuffle in the relation of class forces is a typical characteristic of the approaching period, and conditions the tactics and the manoeuvres of the Hitler-Goering group. The old forms of demagogy have proved themselves to be no longer effective and fascism is facing still more serious and dangerous problems. A general offensive against the standards of living of the working class has still to be carried out. The fascist dictators are well aware that the German proletariat will offer bitter resistance in one form or the other to the new robber offensive of capitalism against their conditions of life. Big class struggles are approaching.

Fascism is facing a still harder test, however. The financial situation is rapidly becoming catastrophic. Germany is advancing towards a new inflation. A new inflation means not only the mass impoverishment of the proletariat, but also the utter ruin of the petty-bourgeois masses. It is therefore not impossible that the fascist dictatorship, in its desperation, will once again make play with the weapon of social demagogy in order to hold the masses in check with promises on the one hand and the bayonets of the

Reichswehr on the other. Undoubtedly fascism is reckoning on its reserves, the rich peasants and those elements amongst the rural population which are still pro-fascist. However, after the events of June 30, the fascist dictatorship has less reason than ever to hope for any lasting effects from its social demagoguery. The burden of taxation and the pressure exerted by the economic policy of German finance capital are weighing more and more heavily on the masses of the working people. The economic situation of Germany is not improving; on the contrary, it is steadily growing worse. All these facts will accelerate the development of the working masses from the present period of passive resistance to the policy of exploitation and oppression into the period of open class struggle. When this point arrives, and all indications show that things are developing in this direction rapidly, then new collisions are probable with the Hitler-Goering camp, with the repetition of the events of June 30. These are the prospects for the further development of German fascism. It will still seek to manoeuvre and still seek to use its old weapon of social demagoguery in accordance with the new situation, but the result will be that the deceived masses will become more uncertain than ever, the room for fascist manoeuvres will be restricted and its mass basis will undergo important changes.

The events of June 30 show clearly that the hopes of the bourgeoisie that it would be able to turn Germany, the most powerful country in Europe, into a fascist graveyard have come to nothing. For the moment the German bourgeoisie is still able to maintain its rule, but its collapse under the hammer blows of the rising proletariat cannot be long postponed.

The Fight Against the "Factory Regulations"

There is no question relating to the social position of the exploiters and the exploited, between the capitalists and the workers, in Hitler's Third Reich which is not affected by the new "Factory Regulations." These regulations deal with all questions from the engagement of workers to their dismissal and in such a way that the workers are handed over bound to their exploiters.

It was not for nothing that the Hitler government abolished all collective tariffs and agreements. Any collective action on the part of the workers in any branch of industry must be a thorn in the side of the exploiters, for it contributes to increasing the class-consciousness of the workers and raising the qualitative level of their struggles. For the class-conscious worker the fascist measures to destroy all the social achievements of the working class do not mean that the collective struggle of the working class has reached its conclusion. On the contrary, everything will have to be done to develop the struggles which arise in the individual factories as a result of the new regulations into struggles affecting the whole industry in question. The workers must still fight for the collective agreement embracing whole industries as against the individual agreement. These tariff agreements are not only the result of long struggles, but also the basis for further and still broader mass struggles.

Questions relating to wages and working hours are the central points of the struggles which have arisen around the new regulations. Working hours can be lengthened in a masked fashion without anything definite being said in the regulations. An example of this is offered by the action of the national socialists in the Berlin Traffic Company (B.V.G.), led by the prominent national socialist Engel, as a result of which the working hours of the men on the vehicles have been extended by about an hour, thanks to adroit manipulations. In addition, the rest pauses have been cut down by means of systematic "mistakes" in drawing up the running schedules.

And here is an example with regard to wages. In the Rhine Metal Works A.G., in Duesseldorf, tariff wages are still formally in force, but, in fact, 50 per cent. of the workers go home at the end of the week with wages which vary between 13 and 18 marks, and in some cases even between 8 and 13 marks. Despite the continued existence of the tariff agreements on paper, therefore, there have been indisputable deteriorations in the wage situation of the German working class.

The lack of organisation at present suffered by the working class in Germany must not be permitted to serve as a cloak for passivity in this question. Powerful mass organisations and class trade unions are necessary in order that, under the leadership of the Communist Party, the enemy can be beaten more effectively, but the only basis for the formation of such mass organisations and class trade unions is the struggle itself.

Let us take a look at this question in connection with the above-mentioned example of the lengthened working hours introduced into the Berlin Traffic Trust. The first thing which should have been done here was for the Communist groups amongst the workers of the Trust to take up a clear attitude towards the attempts of the national socialist leaders and to issue clear slogans to the men. In the given situation the slogan could only be: "Every driver and conductor must reject the arbitrary measures forced on him!" Each man must go to the manager and demand an alteration of the service schedules. In addition, the Communist groups should have called on the men to go to the "confidential council" in masses and demand from it that it take some action on behalf of the men. Naturally, the council would have refused to take any action at all and as a result it would have been still further exposed as a tool of the capitalists. In fact, many of the men did go on their own initiative to the manager and protest against the new arrangements, but the Communist groups should have utilised the indignation amongst the drivers and conductors in order to initiate the formation of a commission, to put forward a list for such a commission to be supplemented by the men themselves, and confirmed in some sort of illegal or semi-legal form by the men as their representative organ, instead of the so-called "confidential council." A fight of the men for the recognition of this commission should have been organised. If this commission were actually recognised as a negotiating body on behalf of the men, then the "confidential council" would be forced into the background as a tool of the capitalists. Should the commission obtain recognition, thanks to the pressure of the masses of the workers, then this victory would strengthen their fighting spirit considerably. In any case, the fight for such a commission would provide further ground for a broad united front movement in the factories and prepare the way for the creation of illegal revolutionary trade union groups on a factory basis.

The conditions for successful work in the factories would be considerably facilitated if there were not only a relatively active Communist group at work, but also oppositional work by revolutionary workers under the leadership of the Communists in the "Labour Front" and other fascist mass organisations which exist in the factories. This oppositional work would offer the possibility of providing the work of the Communist groups in the factories with a broader basis and of creating legal or semi-legal possibilities for permanently influencing the workers in the factories. If in the given situation in the Berlin Traffic Trust there had been any oppositional work under Communist leadership even in the "Labour Front," the lengthening of working hours could have been brought up in the meetings of the "Labour Front." Sufficient meetings of the "Labour Front" take place amongst the workers of the Berlin Traffic Trust, and the national socialist leaders are for ever complaining about the poor attendance. In such a situation, however, it ought to have been possible to remove the cause for their complaint and to have obtained a mass attendance at one of these meetings. One or more of the men, appointed by the opposition, which must organise not only the Communist workers, but all those revolutionary workers who are members of the "Labour Front," could then have brought up the question of the lengthening of working hours in the meeting. Such workers might have been refused the floor or they might even have been dismissed, but the workers of the Berlin Traffic Trust have discovered by now that no amount of submission can save them from dismissals. Such an action in the meeting of the "Labour Front" would have had a further aim, namely, to convince those workers who still believe in the national socialists that their confidence is misplaced.

Such action in the factory, which is only possible on the basis of a really well-organised oppositional activity in the fascist mass organisations, and above all in the "Labour Front," would greatly increase the realisation of the workers of the necessity of their organisation on the basis of the factory and would facilitate considerably the conditions necessary for the creation of a representative body enjoying the confidence of the masses, a body which would remain in the air were it formed under other conditions. Only under such circumstances would the Communist cell be in possession of the necessary channels in order to make its influence felt amongst the workers and in order to give them a real lead in their struggles. If new struggles break out, then there is a completely new situation. The illegal trade union groups would then have the task of putting forward the necessary demands in accordance with the given situation, whilst these demands would

then be carried into the fascist mass organisations by the fraction in the "Labour Front."

Such work would also succeed more quickly in establishing the correct relations with the social-democratic workers and facilitate the passage of these disappointed workers into the camp of Communism, whilst at the same time it would prevent any sectarianism on the part of the members of the Communist Party.

Thus we see in practice that the whole work of the Communists amongst the masses of the German workers coincides with the struggle against the fascist "Factory Regulations," and that on this basis only can we create the necessary conditions for the development of those higher forms of the struggle which must be reached if the fascist dictatorship is to be overthrown.

A Fascist Diversion in Connection with the Thaelmann Trial

Moscow, June 28, 1934.

In an article entitled: "Beware! A Fascist Diversion!" Fritz Heckert writes as follows regarding the report published by a German news agency of an interview the German Chief Public Prosecutor gave a correspondent of the "Berliner Börsenzeitung" regarding Thaelmann:—

After the fascist press had announced every day for several weeks that the trial of Ernst Thaelmann, the leader of the C.P.G., "would take place shortly," "that it would commence in the first days of July"—and repeatedly demanded Thaelmann's head—the "Berliner Börsenzeitung" now publishes an interview with the Chief Prosecutor. From this interview we learn that "the preliminary investigation is not yet ended, but that it is expected it will be concluded shortly." This means, therefore, that the trial will probably not take place at the beginning of July. The Chief Public Prosecutor further stated that the crimes with which Thaelmann is charged are punishable by imprisonment up to ten years.

What is the meaning of this statement of the Chief Public Prosecutor on the Thaelmann trial? As a result of the growing pressure of the international mass campaign for the release of Thaelmann, which is gathering the Communist and social-democratic workers in a united front, the whole trial is now becoming inconvenient to the fascists who only recently were loudly demanding the head of the workers' leader. They are beginning to see that they are unable to achieve the desired success with the farcical trial staged by them. They are afraid that the trial of Thaelmann might lead to even worse results for them than the Reichstag fire trial of Dimitrov and his comrades. A few days ago the same "Berliner Börsenzeitung" ruefully declared that it could not be a matter of indifference to Germany if the French Communists succeeded in carrying out a great campaign of meetings and street demonstrations for the release of Thaelmann, and that these Communists had even succeeded in getting the French social democrats to participate in these actions. The interview given by the Chief Public Prosecutor, therefore, means in the first place a confession by the fascists that they cannot stand for long the increasing pressure of the international release movement for Thaelmann, which is extending beyond the limits of the Party.

This is quite understandable when one carefully considers the whole inner and foreign political situation of the rulers of the Third Reich. Papan's speech plainly indicates that, under the feet of the system which, it was said, would last for "ten thousand years," there is heard the dull rumblings presaging a volcano outbreak of the pent-up popular indignation. The funds out of which the demagogic manoeuvres, the economic and political experiments of national socialism have been paid are almost completely exhausted.

Viewed in the light of the results of the elections to the Confidential Councils the meaning of Hitler's manoeuvre becomes even plainer. These elections have shown that the overwhelming majority of the workers in the German works and factories are against fascism and are waiting for the day when they will be able to overthrow the Third Reich. If international activity increases and intensifies its pressure, the German workers will be mobilised and encouraged to more energetic action. The international action for the release of Thaelmann has shown them that they are not alone in their fight, but that they are supported in their fight against Hitler by the solidarity of the workers of the whole world. Is it not clear, therefore, to every proletarian that we must not relax our pressure?

The fascists, by their manoeuvre, aim at weakening this pressure. The Public Prosecutor and his fascist masters are reckoning that if the date of the trial is postponed indefinitely, the strength of the international protest action will be weakened, and if Thaelmann is apparently no longer threatened with death, but only with a maximum term of imprisonment—ten years—then great masses will cease to participate further in the action for his release. If, however, the campaign on behalf of Thaelmann falls off, the fascists will be able to do with Thaelmann whatever they wish, and the same depression will again prevail among the German workers. The great fight for the release of Thaelmann was able to develop and achieve its first success among the masses of the workers in the period of the fascist offensive because it was conducted on the basis of the united front of the proletarian class. The united action of our class—that is what the enemies of the working class fear more than anything else. The German fascists know that the setting up of the unity of the working class means the end of their rule, and the capitalists of all countries realise just as plainly as the rulers in Germany that the united action of the proletarians in their countries bodes nothing good for the capitalist dictatorship. The united front of the workers of all countries for the release of the leader of the German revolution means, however, still more. It plainly demonstrates that the idea of internationalism is penetrating ever deeper in the proletarian masses and is inspiring their actions. This united front must, therefore, be extended and its aggressiveness against the fascists increased. Victory must be achieved in the united front.

If we succeed in releasing Thaelmann by means of mass pressure, then German fascism and the wildest warmongers in the fascist camp will receive a crushing blow. Therefore, nobody must be deceived by the fascist manoeuvre. Our first success must spur the masses on to redouble their efforts. Thaelmann must be wrested from the claws of the fascist hangmen! In all countries, in all proletarian organisations, the workers must exert their united forces for the release of Thaelmann. On every occasion we must think of the words of Barbusse: Thaelmann's release must be won like a battle!

This battle has only begun! Our mass action must cause the first success to be followed by complete victory: the release of Thaelmann!

Second Czech Workers' Delegation to Thaelmann Returned

Prague, June 26, 1934.

The second Czech workers' delegation has returned to Prague without having seen Thaelmann. The Criminal Court in Moabit, Berlin, where Thaelmann is imprisoned, declared that it was not empowered to permit a visit to Thaelmann, and the delegation was referred to the Ministry of the Interior. Here the leader of the delegation, Sekanina, a Prague lawyer, spoke with Ministerial Councillor Erben, who declared that the government was not in a position to grant permission to see Thaelmann to the many delegations which had arrived recently for this purpose, but the Czech delegation would be granted permission if the Czech government displayed direct interest in this matter. The delegation therefore applied to the Czech Embassy in Berlin, which, however, replied that it is not competent to obtain a permission to visit. The Czech working class will now exert all its forces in order to compel its government to show "its interest" in the matter.

The workers' delegations from all European countries, which stayed in Berlin during the last week, were not able to speak with Thaelmann, but they demonstrated to the German government the tremendous extent of the action on behalf of Comrade Thaelmann, and they manifested in the heart of swastika Berlin the fighting solidarity of the world proletariat.

Soviet Ambassador at the National Peace Congress in Birmingham

The London correspondents of the Soviet press report: The Peace Congress which has just been held in Birmingham was a most interesting event. The invitation to the Soviet Ambassador Maisky to attend the Congress and the reception accorded him demonstrate the tremendously increased authority of the Soviet Union. The 500 delegates to the Congress gave Maisky an ovation when his name was only mentioned as being present as a guest. This ovation was repeated when Maisky rose in order to deliver his speech and also when he finished speaking. The speech of the Soviet Ambassador was repeatedly interrupted by loud applause.

Great Britain

The British Labour Party and War

By Reginald Bishop (London)

In a manifesto issued last week by the Labour Party Executive, the General Council of the Trades Union Congress and the Executive of the Parliamentary Labour Party, the reformist chiefs came out openly on behalf of supporting a British capitalist government engaged in what it euphemistically terms a "defensive war." Past experience shows that in every imperialist war the other fellow is always the aggressor, and the past record of the Labour reformists shows that they will not interpret the phrase any differently from other capitalist politicians.

A big change has been wrought from last October, when, under pressure of a great mass movement built up from the gigantic Anti-War Conference held at the Bermondsey Town Hall, London, both the Trade Union Congress and the Labour Party Annual Conference passed resolutions pledging themselves to organise working-class resistance to any war.

"In order that the trade union movement may do everything which lies in its power to prevent future wars, the General Council shall, in the event of there being a danger of an outbreak of war, call a Special Congress to decide on industrial action, such Congress to be called, if possible, before war is declared."

The above standing order was read out from the chair by the president, who added that in view of the seriousness of war and its apparent imminence a Special Congress would be called in the immediate future.

No such Congress has been called. And now the T.U.C. has declared against the line forced upon it by the militancy of the workers last year. The Labour Party, at its annual conference last year, was even more concrete, declaring in favour of utilising all means, including the General Strike, to prevent war.

All that has gone by the board. With the most flimsy and cowardly pretexts, the Labour Party and T.U.C. chieftains now line up with the open war-mongers. Of course, a pretence of still being "fighters for peace" is attempted, but it is of such a character that no one is likely to be deceived. "Labour Abandons Folded Arms Pacifism" declares a big headline in the Liberal "News-Chronicle." "The Times" congratulates the Labour Party in its leading article upon having adopted:

"a constructive policy for peace in place of a pacifism which would have destroyed the foundation of security for this country, for Europe and for the world."

The now notorious manifesto starts:—

"Labour is emphatically opposed to any form of aggressive war." Quickly come provisos:—

"But it is recognised that there may be circumstances in which the government of Great Britain might have to use its military and naval forces in support of the League in restraining an aggressor nation which declined to submit to the League's authority, and which flagrantly used military measures in defiance of its pledged word."

The manifesto sets out that:—

"Labour's foreign policy is based on the collective peace system, which means a League of Nations plus such co-operation between the League and non-member States.

Labour policy, it is stated, is directed:—

- To expounding and clarifying the undertaking not to resort to war by a non-aggression treaty, backed by a definition of aggression, and ultimately by revision of the Covenant.
- To provide machinery and obligations for the final settlement of all disputes by pacific means, including facilities for peaceful changes in the status quo.
- To ridding the world of all national armed forces, substituting therefor an international police force under the League's authority.

The first step in this direction, it is declared, is the establishment of an international Air Force under League direction. Further on it is declared:—

"A Labour government would pass a Peace Act which would bind the government to submit disputes with other nations to the League." Under these circumstances, the manifesto continues, the Labour movement must insist upon:

"The duty of supporting our government unflinchingly in all the risks consequent and attendant upon its taking action in collective measures against a 'peace breaker.'"

The association of the Labour movement with the imperialist government is clear and unashamed. "Our government," they say, as bold as brass. In the last section of the manifesto the abandonment of the General Strike is propounded, with the most pitiful reasons being put forward in defence of this act.

"It is recognised that the lack of an independent trade union movement in such countries as Germany, Italy, Austria and others, makes the calling of a General Strike against their governments an impossibility; and in other countries, such as Japan, the weakness of the trade union organisation made it unable to restrain its government.

"Recognising that aggressive action might come from some of these countries, the General Strike could not be possibly made effective by the trade unions there. A general strike against war to be effective must be world-wide."

As an afterthought, the manifesto declares that, anyhow, the responsibility for stopping war should not be placed on the shoulders of the trade union movement.

The suggestion that the German and Austrian workers would not wage a sturdy fight against war is a preposterous one. It is common knowledge that one of the strongest restraining influences upon the war-plans of Hitler is a realisation that the launching of war would be the signal for a wholesale rising of the German masses against fascism, especially if they knew that they could depend upon strike action against war in countries such as Britain.

As far as Britain itself is concerned, there are many indications that the workers themselves do not want to be relieved of the "burden" of striking against war.

Quite recently a census was taken from house to house in the workers' quarters of Cambridge by the Cambridge Anti-War Committee. Now this is an aristocratic university city, by no means a revolutionary stronghold, yet a big majority was shown in favour of a general strike against war, the trade unionists who participated were almost unanimous in declaring themselves in favour.

A similar phenomenon was to be observed at the annual conference of the National Union of Railwaymen, which was held this week. The chairman, sensing the militant feeling that has developed among the rank and file, declared:—

"The danger of war is recognised by everyone. In spite of the last struggle, 'the war to end war,' a menace hovers over the homes of the working classes in every country of the world. England and America are piling up armaments and increasing navies and air forces for the purposes of defending themselves against other nations, who were arming also for the purpose of defence.

"The time has come for the workers of the world to put their foot down and to issue an ultimatum: 'No war for us under any circumstances.'"

Prior to 1914, various Congresses of the Second International passed resolutions of strike action in the event of war, but when war came, only the Bolsheviks in Russia and minority groups in other countries made any attempt to fight against imperialist war. The leaders of social democracy in Germany, France, Britain, etc., lined up with "their" governments as soon as war broke out.

On this occasion, the reformists are at their old treacherous game again, with this difference: now they are not waiting for war to break out. Already they are preparing the way by hypocritical talk of assisting the League of Nations in maintaining "collective peace," and supporting a "defensive war."

The reformists have made their position clear. They are the willing accomplices of British imperialism in the vast war preparations that are being pushed ahead now more rapidly than at any time since 1918. They have expressed their willingness to lead the workers into another blood-bath, and to pave the way for a second war of intervention against the Soviet Union.

The necessity has never been greater than it is now to build up a powerful rank-and-file anti-war movement on the broadest possible basis, pledged to fight now against every kind of war preparation, pledged to expose the meaning of the hypocritical Labour manifesto, pledged to build a giant organisation of toilers who will leave no stone unturned to stop all war preparations, and, when war does break out, to turn the imperialist war into a war against capitalism and imperialism.

Austria

The Transition to the New Constitution

By Ed. Staerk (Vienna)

One of the many peculiarities which characterise the new Austrian Constitution is the fact that, although it has been issued, approved by the National Council and published, it has not come into force. This circumstance, it is true, is of no importance whatever for the working people of Austria. This Constitution is not even a covering for naked absolutism, for complete absence of rights. It is a matter of complete indifference whether the complete lack of rights is sanctioned by the absence or the existence of the new Constitution.

Only the Dollfuss dictatorship itself is interested in the existence of a "legal basis" for its activity. In view of its very narrow mass basis and in view of the enormous importance of securing the support of foreign capital, the Dollfuss government must make a show of governing legally. The growing difficulties resulting from the increase in the resistance movement of the workers and the wave of Nazi terror render it more necessary than ever for the Dollfuss dictatorship to put on a Constitutional garb.

On June 23, the law relating to the transition to the new Constitution was published. This transition is to be accomplished in three stages. On July 1 about half of the Constitution comes into force. On July 15 the two supreme controlling bodies, the government auditing department and the Federal Court of Justice, will commence their activity, and on November 1 the remaining provisions of the Constitution will come into force.

From July 1 the name "Austrian Republic" is to be done away with and replaced by the designation "Federal State."

The announcement that the law on the rights of citizens would be abolished on July 1 aroused general surprise, for in actual fact no one knew that this law still existed. The government has taken care that nothing remains of the rights of the citizens. The only right which remained hitherto consisted in the judges being irremovable. This provision will be abolished on June 30, 1935. This measure is apparently directed against the Nazi judges, but in actual practice will mean that the Nazi judges will try to demonstrate their loyalty to the government by pronouncing brutal sentences on the workers.

The provision defining the competence of the Federal State and the provincial governments and the "authoritarian" administration in the provinces has now come into force. The bourgeois opposition in the provincial Diets thereby lose any possibility of protest they hitherto possessed. The right of the Federal Chancellor to veto the decisions of the provincial Diets comes into force on November 1, but the provincial Diets can already be dissolved by the provincial governor with the approval of the Federal Chancellor.

The municipal bodies remain, insofar as they are not dissolved by the provincial governor or replaced by other members. This means in practice that all provincial Diets and municipal councils are handed over by Dollfuss and Starhemberg to the Heimwehr and the patriotic fascists.

The new legislative and advisory bodies will be formed on November 1, but they will not consist of representatives of the corporations as provided by the Constitution, but will be appointed by the government, for Austria is a corporative State without corporations.

In its efforts to make the situation look as if it has been normalised, the Dollfuss dictatorship is thinking of limiting the powers of the summary courts. These were directed only against the workers, as the Communists said they would be at the time they were set up. The government has now provided that the ordinary courts shall be empowered to pronounce a death sentence in cases of high treason, murder, bomb outrages and arson and has decided on a number of organisational measures in order to expedite court proceedings.

These measures are only directed against the working class. Capital punishment for high treason is plainly directed against the Communists. Several leading Communists are already being charged with high treason, and Dollfuss has given sufficient indication that he will stop at nothing in order to crush the working class.

The normalisation of political life which is to be effected by

the coming into force of the new Constitution only conceals the preparation for fresh blows against the revolutionary movement. But the working class on its part will also intensify its fight against the fascist dictatorship.

The Robbery of the Vienna Municipal Tenants

By Gustav (Vienna)

The fascist administration of the town of Vienna, in accordance with its programme of shifting all burdens on to the working people, has undertaken a monstrous robbery of the tenants of the municipal housing estates. From July 1, 70,000 working-class families, more than half of whom are unemployed, are to be forced to pay tremendously increased rents for their flats in the municipal dwellings.

The new municipal administration set up by the Dollfuss government has done away with a number of taxes on luxuries, such as champagne, racehorses, domestic servants, and reduced the house-building tax for the big houses and villas. On the other hand, it has placed new burdens on the mass of the people, including a special charge for removing the house refuse and an increase in the water rate.

Further burdens are imposed on the working people in connection with the two new government loans. In order to cover a deficit, very optimistically estimated at 45 million shillings, in the year 1934, the Vienna municipality is issuing short-term bonds which are taken over by the banks. A second loan is being issued under the fraudulent title of the provision of work loan. Although the Vienna municipality has ceased building any further new houses, other public works, such as building of streets, etc., are necessary. These outgoings, however, although ruthlessly cut down, are being taken out of the ordinary budget and, following the example of the Federal government, included in an "extraordinary investment programme for the improvement of the labour market." For this purpose 22 million shillings have been borrowed from two savings banks on mortgage of the municipal housing estates.

The interest on these loans and their repayment are now to be squeezed out of the tenants of municipal flats, and therefore the rents are to be increased enormously. The increase in rent applies to all municipal dwellings and tenants without distinction. The smallest increases amount to 50 per cent. and in most cases up to 100 per cent. No consideration is shown to tenants with large families or who are unemployed.

The new rents have now been increased on an average far above the level of private dwellings. Thus, for example, a flat in the Karl Marx Hof consisting of two rooms and a kitchen, which hitherto cost 19 shillings a month, will now cost 28 shillings, whilst a similar privately owned flat in the neighbourhood costs only 18s. a month. On a municipal housing estate in the 10th district the rents of similar flats have been increased from 10 to 18 shillings a month, whilst a better privately owned flat in the same district costs only 15 shillings a month.

The tenants in the municipal dwellings and also the whole of the working population of Vienna are filled with indignation. The fight against the increased rents has become a big mass movement. The Communist Party has placed itself at the head of the fight. By means of leaflets and posters it has spread the slogan not a penny more rent, and called upon the workers not to pay the new taxes and increased charges. Numerous meetings and conferences are being held in order to organise the defence action of the working-class tenants. In spite of the fascist terror, big public demonstrations organised by the Communists and attended by hundreds of workers are taking place.

Deputations are continually being sent to the authorities. Dr. Winter's papers, "Das Kleine Blatt" and the "Arbeiter-Sonntag" are being inundated with a flood of letters of protest and complaints. In order not to lose influence over the working-class readers they have been compelled to publish a number of these letters.

Even the meetings of the fascist trade unions and the patriotic tenants' association are dominated by the fight against the increased rents. Smaller meetings of fascists are continually being converted into protest meetings.

The municipal authorities, who are frightened by the strength of the defensive action, have issued a leaflet in which they try to make out that the proposed increased rents, etc., are only a trifle. In order to split the united front of the tenants, Schmitz, the

fascist mayor of Vienna, has ordered that poor tenants shall receive rent allowances from the Public Assistance Committees. But this measure will not suffice to satisfy the workers as it will apply to a small number of tenants, whereas practically all working-class families are in a state of dire poverty and not able to pay the increased rents.

The Communist Party calls upon all tenants to stand firm until they have achieved victory, and not allow themselves to be split by demagogic manoeuvres. The next few weeks will be decisive for the issue of this struggle.

China

Chinese Revolutionary Army Defeats German Fascist Officers

By Bela Kun

The revolutionary-democratic Workers' and Peasants' Soviet Republic in China is continuing its defensive struggle against the counter-revolutionary war of intervention of the Chinese generals with wonderful heroism. The Chinese militarists of Nanking and Canton have concentrated all their forces against the Central District of the Chinese Soviet Republic in the provinces of Kiangsi and Fukien. Chiang-Kai-Shek's sixth campaign against the Central Soviet District has been going on for a year. The Kuomintang generals, the betrayers of the national liberation struggle of the Chinese people, notwithstanding the support of the leading imperialist powers—including the United States—have not attained any successes to speak of against the Red Workers' and Peasants' Army of the Chinese Soviet Republic. If General Chiang-Kai-Shek, the hangman of the Chinese workers and peasants and of the best sections of the intellectuals, succeeded in repulsing some of the troops of the Chinese Red Army in some parts of the Central Soviet District, another large Soviet territory, in the Province of Szechwan, is developing to a tremendous degree, north-west of the Central District.

The plans for the sixth campaign of Chiang-Kai-Shek's troops were drawn up by the German General von Seeckt, the former commander of the German Reichswehr. The leadership of the operations is in the hands of two German generals and about 70 to 80 German General Staff officers, mercenaries from Hitler Germany, have found a "place for themselves" in China. Relying upon the most modern technical means of warfare, most of which come from the United States, England, France and Czechoslovakia, the German generals and the General Staff officers promised their Chinese colleague and employer, General Chiang-Kai-Shek, to annihilate by the month of June the Central Soviet District where the Chinese Central Soviet Government is located. The pupils of General Ludendorf and the emissaries of Hindenburg and Hitler seriously miscalculated. The operations of the Chinese Red Army in the Central District were directed by General Chu-Deh, the greatest red Marshal of the Chinese revolutionary forces, who began his military training in Germany, continued it in the ranks of the Chinese revolutionaries and in the Communist Party of China, and who showed himself to be a master of the art of war as against the fascist generals.

After several brilliantly-carried-out manoeuvres against Chiang-Kai-Shek's troops, Chu-Deh, the Chinese revolutionary leader of the army, dealt Chiang-Kai-Shek's troops a severe blow which threatens to frustrate the plans of General von Seeckt for the Sixth Campaign. The European press publishes little information regarding the big battles which are being waged around the Central Soviet District, but the "New York Times" already reports the new big victory of the Chinese Soviet Army.

The Hankow correspondent of the "New York Times" writes the following, on June 2, regarding this big victory of the Chinese Red Army:—

"Hankow, China, June 2.—Losses in killed and wounded totalling 19,600 are reported to have been suffered by German-trained Nanking troops in a battle with Communists in Kiangsi Province.

"These troops, which were considered General Chiang-Kai-Shek's crack soldiers, had been held in the rear as reserves, but General Hans von Seeckt, former Commander of the German Reichswehr, is understood to have urged the advisability of a 'baptism by fire.'

"The soldiers fought well, but transportation along the single highway to the front became disorganised under a flank

attack by the Communists and chaos followed. The divisions affected in the fighting were the fourth, ninth, tenth, fourteenth, forty-third, fifty-ninth, eighty-third and eighty-seventh."

The German fascist adventurers in China, as a result of the Ludendorf-Prussian art of warfare, led the troops in such a way to the "baptism of fire" that they thereby helped the Chinese Red Army to achieve a considerable victory. The fascist generals and the other officers have up till now all shown themselves to be great masters of war against unarmed workers and small peasants, but when they came up against armed troops, when they were confronted with the revolutionary art of war of the Marshals of the Chinese Red Army, they failed again. They showed that they really were hangmen but not fighters.

The new great victory which the revolutionary troops of the Chinese workers and peasants have achieved over the German fascist generals and over Chiang-Kai-Shek does not yet mean that the danger confronting the revolutionary-democratic Chinese Soviet Republic is over. The United States and the British imperialists send further transports of arms and munitions, of military planes and means of chemical warfare for Chiang-Kai-Shek, which are again to be used by the German mercenary officers. The Japanese are ready to give General Chiang-Kai-Shek the possibility of concentrating all his forces against the Chinese revolutionary-democratic people's revolution and Chiang-Kai-Shek is sacrificing everything in order to have a free hand against the revolutionary-democratic workers' and peasants' revolution. The Chinese workers and peasants who are fighting for their national liberation against foreign imperialism, for their vital interests against the Chinese militarists, the feudal nobility and the big bourgeoisie, require speedy assistance from the international proletariat. The revolutionary army, which is so bravely beating the German fascist generals, awaits the well-deserved, rapid assistance of the proletarians throughout the world in their liberation struggle.

The Situation in the Chinese Soviet Republic

(CONCLUSION)

(From the Report of the Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Chinese Soviet Republic, Mao Tse Tung, at the Second Soviet Congress of the Chinese Soviet Republic.)

The financial policy of the Soviets aims at meeting the requirements of the revolutionary war and also at obtaining money for revolutionary work. The Soviets obtain their revenue from the following sources: (1) Confiscation and requisitioning of the property of the feudal exploiters. (2) Taxation. (3) Development of the national economy.

The Soviets derive the greater part of their revenue from the confiscation and requisitioning of the property of the exploiters. The progressive taxes of the Soviets are the trade and agricultural taxes imposed on the exploiters. The trade tax consists of customs duties and trade licences. The agricultural tax is higher for the larger families who have had more land allotted to them. The poor and middle peasants have far less to pay than the rich peasants. Landworkers and families of the Red Army are exempted from taxation. In the event of bad harvests or disasters, the taxes can be reduced or remitted altogether.

The development of national economy as a source of Soviet finance constitutes an important part of the Soviet government's financial policy. Considerable progress is already to be recorded in this direction in the Soviet districts of Fukien, Chekiang, and Kiangsi. The State banks are instructed in the first place to issue bank notes to cover the requirements of the national economy. Considerable successes have been recorded in the fight against corruption and extravagance.

The Soviet finances will improve still more when we have captured further districts from the Kuomintang and when our national economy has developed on a broader basis.

The main tasks of the economic policy of the Soviets consist in developing agricultural and industrial production, in promoting foreign trade and in developing the co-operatives.

Agricultural production has made great progress in the Soviet districts. In the year 1933 it increased on an average by 15 per cent. compared with the previous year. In the Soviet district of Fukien, Chekiang, and Kiangsi the increase amounts to 20 per cent. After the setting up of the Soviet power, agricultural production declined somewhat as a result of the constant fighting in

the first two years, but since then, thanks to the correct distribution of the land, the assistance of the Soviets, and the growing enthusiasm of the masses, production has constantly increased.

As a result of the enemy blockade we have had difficulties with regard to our export, with the result that many handicraft undertakings have suffered a set-back. The tobacco and paper industries have suffered the most. These difficulties, however, are by no means insurmountable. As a result of the increasing consumption of the Soviet population there is a good market for goods within the Soviet district. In the first six months of 1933 the efforts of the Soviets and the development of the co-operatives resulted in a revival of many industries, as, for instance, the tobacco, paper, camphor, wolfram, fertiliser industries and the manufacture of agricultural instruments. New industries, such as, for instance, the paper industry and the cloth-weaving industry, have arisen in the Soviet district of Fukien, Chekiang, and Kiangsi.

The Soviet district of Fukien, Chekiang, and Kiangsi has commenced very early with the control of the circulation of commodities, as, for example, the importation of salt and textile goods and the export of food and wolfram, as well as with the distribution of food in the Soviet districts. In the Spring of 1933 these measures were carried out also in the Soviet district of Kiangsi. The setting up of a Foreign Trade Bureau is an initial success in this sphere.

The State undertakings have not a very large output as yet, but there are splendid prospects for their future development. The co-operative undertakings are making rapid progress. According to the statistics of September, 1933, there were 1,423 co-operatives in 17 districts. In some districts, such as Suikin and Sinkuo, the number of co-operatives has doubled. In order to promote the State undertakings and co-operatives an economic construction loan to the amount of three million dollars has been issued, and is being readily subscribed to by the broad masses in the Soviet districts.

In spite of the relative backwardness of the Soviet districts, and in spite of the constant threat of attack, the cultural policy of the Soviets has achieved considerable progress.

In 2,931 villages in the Soviet districts there are 3,052 Lenin elementary schools attended by 89,710 boys and girls, 64,612 evening schools, 32,368 reading circles with 155,371 members, and 1,656 clubs with 49,668 members. These figures relate only to the Central Soviet district.

Large numbers of school children are members of the pioneer groups, where they are trained for Communism.

The women are likewise taking advantage of the educational facilities with great enthusiasm. In Sinkuo, for example, out of 15,740 evening school pupils 69 per cent. are women; in the reading circles the percentage is 60 per cent. Women are also working as heads of elementary schools, evening schools, and reading circles.

There has been an increase in the number of evening schools for the teaching of reading and writing. The cultural progress in the Soviet districts is illustrated by the increased circulation of newspapers. In the Central Soviet district there are 34 newspapers. "Red China," the organ of the Soviet government, has increased its circulation from 3,000 to 40,000; the "True Word," the journal of the Youth, has a circulation of 28,000; the "Fight," the organ of the Communist Party, has a circulation of 27,000; and the "Red Star," the organ of the Red Army, has a circulation of 17,300.

Revolutionary art has made a good commencement in the Soviet district by the formation of the Workers' and Peasants' Theatre Club and the Blue Blouse (agit-prop troupes). Red Sport has gained ground everywhere, and sports grounds have been set up in various localities.

In addition, military-political high schools of the Red Army, Soviet universities, and other high schools have been created. These are under the direct control of the People's Commissariat for Education, and aim at creating leading cadres for the revolution.

In order to free the women from the thousand-year-old barbarous marriage system, the Central Soviet government issued in November, 1931, a number of decrees granting complete freedom of marriage and divorce, prohibiting the purchase of brides and child marriages, and securing equality between men and women

in marriage. According to this law, men are allowed to marry at the age of 20 years and women at the age of 18 by simple registration. Divorces are granted when one of the two parties demands it. The Soviets grant full protection and recognition to illegitimate children.

The national policy of the Soviets is definitely directed against the oppression of national minorities. According to article 14 of the Constitution, adopted at the first Soviet Congress in November, 1931, Soviet China recognises the complete right to self-determination of the national minorities and will promote the national culture and language of these minorities. According to article 15 of the Constitution, Soviet China grants the persecuted revolutionaries of other countries the right of asylum and supports them in their fight for the complete victory of the revolutionary movement conducted by them. The fact that numerous Koreans, Annamites, and Formosians took part in the first and second Congresses of the Chinese Soviet Republic is a proof that the Soviet government is effectively carrying out these provisions of the Constitution.

Fascism

How Fascism Has Kept Its Promises to the Working Peasants

By M. Nicolletti

In order to draw the peasants into the fascist movement and to capture power, the fascists in Italy made a number of promises to the peasants. They promised to give land to the landless peasants. Mussolini himself held out the prospect of "extraordinary taxation of the big capitalists up to 50 per cent." in order to ease the burden of the peasants, and promised the social regeneration of the country as well as "prosperity" through a "strong," "authoritarian" government. These promises were afterwards taken up by the bourgeoisie of other countries in order to play the same game as that which the bourgeoisie in Italy so successfully carried out by bringing the fascists into power.

The National Institute for Agrarian Economy in Rome published this year a very thorough survey of the situation of the small peasants, with the household budgets of "typical" peasant families, etc., which furnish interesting data regarding the situation of the peasants in Italy under the fascist regime. It is evident from these household budgets that the taxation of the incomes of peasant families increased from 12.6 per cent. in the year 1921 (immediately before the fascist seizure of power) to 33.9 per cent. in the year 1928 (after six years of fascist dictatorship!). At present the taxation must be much higher. The debts of the peasants of the village of Campigno, one of the villages investigated by the above-mentioned Institute, amounted in the year 1927 to 35,390 lire, in the year 1929 to 87,420 lire, and in the year 1932 to 129,412 lire. This constant growth of the burden of indebtedness clearly shows the increasing robbery of the small peasants.

The budgets of the average smallholding families showed an average net income of 5,720 lire in the year 1924. In the year 1926 these budgets already showed a deficit of 2,604 lire on an average. In the year 1929 the average deficit had increased to 8,189 lire, and in the year 1931 to 10,000 lire.

The report issued by the fascists had to admit that, already in the year 1931, numerous smallholders were compelled to give up their land without being able to pay their debts.

In a fascist newspaper we have found data which enables us to ascertain the number of ruined and proletarianised small peasants. The review "Agricoltura Fascista" of February 25, 1934, maintained in a polemic against the Paris "Temps" that the number of agricultural workers in Italy amounts to 4,971,220. As according to the last official people's census taken before the fascist dictatorship in the year 1921, the number of agricultural labourers was 4,094,446, it follows that during the twelve years of the fascist dictatorship 876,774 small peasants were plundered by the fascist treasury and the big capitalists and have sunk to the level of land workers.

The tragic experience of the Italian peasants must open the eyes of the peasants of all countries and make them realise what fascism is in reality: an attempt of the big capitalists and big agrarians to prolong their regime and their privileges which only bring misery and destitution to the mass of the people.

India

The Agrarian Problem in India*

III. The Struggle of the Indian Farm Labourers and Peasants

The Indian villages have their own experience of struggle and their own experience of failures and defeats. In the previous century they rose in rebellion more than once against the foreign invaders, destroying the moneylenders and sometimes seizing the land of the landlords. These movements compelled invaders to use more cunning, deceit, and plunder. The leaders of these movements, consisting of nobility and rich people, frequently helped the oppressors after the defeat to strengthen their power, and the villages were left without any gains. During the last quarter of a century there has not been a single national people's movement which has not excited the peasant masses. In the days of Tilak, the villages saw many bold young people who foretold the end of the British raj. But after this movement there was a rapid decline. Even the best of the sons of the Zemindars and other rent receivers could not and did not want to rally the masses of toilers for a real struggle to liberate the country from the yoke of imperialism and the chains of the landlords and moneylenders.

Then came the World War. It took hundreds of thousands of people and hundreds of millions of rupees from India for the battlefields of British capitalism. It became impossibly expensive for the poor in India to live. But the town capitalists got rich out of war contracts, began to build factories and establish banks and commercial offices. The soldiers who returned from the war, the workers who were crowded in the towns, the peasants who had been excited by war and poverty, demanded national independence and liberty, freedom from servitude and slavish dependence. However, it turned out that the whole business was led not by them but by smart lawyers, capitalists who had got rich after the war, "good" landlords who did not forget to rob the tenants, and Gandhi with the National Congress of the educated and rich. They promised to free India from national slavery with the help of satyagraha, but after the shame of Armitisar they led the country to the victory of the General Dyers and their Ministers in London. They preached charka in order to turn the eyes of the villages away from the land of the imperialists and landlords. When this failed and the peasants began to plunder the landlords, the National Congress made a decision in 1922 to stop civil disobedience because the peasants were threatening the property of the landlords. The struggle of the Sikh and Moplah peasants and the tribes on the North-West Frontier brought forward thousands of bold fighters, but the leaders of the Congress disorganised the movement. In order to save the landlords and the moneylenders they sold the cause of national liberty, and the peasant masses were deceived and defeated.

A new upsurge of the mass struggle began under the influence of the courageous struggle of the Bombay textile workers in 1928-29. India once more got into motion and again the National Congress enticed the masses from the path of struggle by a will-o'-the-wisp. One day they announced that the chief aim of the struggle was to abolish the salt tax, another day it was civil disobedience, and a third day it was negotiations in London, or the abolition of restriction for the untouchables.

They fawn, bargain, sell and betray the country to the British invaders. Only in isolated cases, when they have not the power to hold back the mass onslaught, the Congress organises peasant actions so as to lead them later into an impasse. But the struggles of the workers, the strikes in Bombay, the insurrections in Sholapur, organised by the workers, the struggles of the workers' leaders, the Meerut prisoners in the court and in the jail, show that in the towns, along with the capitalists who deceive the peasants, is rising another revolutionary force—the proletariat. In 1930 above all, in the districts which produce grain and jute for export, the indignation of the peasants grew against the moneylenders, zemindars, landlords, talukdars and tax collectors, against the seizure of the forests, and national slavery. The rising in Kisheroganj seemed to give a signal for general peasant discontent. The revolutionary wave in 1930-31 and 1932 swept over Bombay, Bengal, Behar, Berar, the North-West Frontier, the Central and United Provinces, Madras, Punjab, Alwar, Kashmir, Burma, etc. In a number of cases (e.g. in Buldan, in Behar, and in some parts of

Bengal and the United Provinces), the agricultural proletariat was the initiator and organiser of the peasants' struggle against the moneylenders, landlords and tax collectors. The peasants demanded above all to stop the seizure of the peasant harvests, peasant property and land, to stop the collection of arrears of taxes, rent, and interest on moneylenders' debts. By direct action they seized the harvests on the fields of the moneylenders and landlords (Berar, United Provinces), drove out the tax collectors and the British oppressors and drove their cattle into the forests and pastures which had been taken from them. In many places they formed people's courts to deal with the landlords, moneylenders and British invaders. More and more frequently, compared with the past, they began to seize the land of the landlords, the property and implements of the landlords and moneylenders. In a number of places the peasants took up arms and courageously revolted (the insurrection in Talampur in 1930, in the United Provinces in 1931). The struggle of the farm labourers and peasants of India in 1930-31-32 showed that the overwhelming majority of the Indian villages are thirsting for a complete revolutionary annihilation and reconstruction of the entire land system. They are striving towards this, they are seeking the path towards this aim. This is the **guarantee of the coming victory** of the toiling majority of the Indian villages. The lack of success of the movements in recent years was not caused by the peasants going too far in their demands. It was the very reverse. It was caused by the fact that they did not see far enough, that they did not yet completely realise who were their friends and who were their enemies, and had not yet become steed in the struggle. Lack of success was caused by the scatteredness of the peasant movements, by the fact that in the various districts of the country the peasant actions are distinguished by various degrees of consciousness and organisation. It was caused by the fact that the struggling peasant masses had not firm proletarian leadership.

Over 300,000,000 of the inhabitants of the Indian villages are scattered in 500,000 villages, and many as a rule know little of railroads, post, telegraph, factories, newspapers and the organised political struggles of the masses. They are scattered, down-trodden, tied up with ancient prejudices of caste, tribes, etc. However, necessity teaches how to carry on struggle. Necessity compels the toiling majority of the Indian villages to open their eyes and unbend their backs so that they will not be utterly crushed by poverty and slavery.

British imperialism is the strongest, most merciless and dangerous enemy of the toilers of India. It knows this, and sets its hopes on the Rajahs, the richest and strongest landlords and moneylenders who have grown fat on the plunder of peasant goods and peasant land. It gives them a share of the "power," converting them into its trusted officials. It helps them to take the land from the peasant masses, clearing the land for British plantations, for big estates worked half by labourers and half by serf tenant labour. To this selected upper circle of agents it tries to join part of the most shameless kulak land grabbers, making it possible for them to grow rich at the expense of the backward villagers. In order to weaken the sharp outbursts of peasant discontent, here and there, it makes insignificant reductions in tax arrears and peasant debts. But its basic line consists of military billets which ruin whole provinces, courts to deal with non-payers of taxes, the confiscation of the land from the poor and middle peasants with the aim of making Indian raw material still cheaper, with the aim of receiving still higher profits. The policy of imperialism is simultaneously the policy of its agents—the landlords, moneylenders and commercial agents.

Imperialism and the landlord and moneylender strata are seeking a way out of the crisis by a still more unbearable enslavement of the villages, and the complete suppression of the revolutionary move in the country forms the basis of all their calculations for oppression.

Imperialism and its herd of landlords and moneylenders protects itself from a peasant revolution by still further taking the land from the peasants and increasing the power of the strongest

landlords. Violence, terror, the power of the bayonet and the stick is the strongest but not the only weapon of the imperialists against the revolt of the peasant masses. Taking advantage of the ignorance of the toiling masses (which is caused by the rule of imperialism itself), the British exploiters try to divert the growing indignation and rage of the peasants from their real enemies to imaginary ones, try to inflame the hatred of religion, caste and tribe, to introduce discord into the ranks of the struggling masses. When the toiling Mussulman peasants rise against the landlord and the moneylender, the agents of imperialism try to present things as if the evil is not that the landlord and moneylender are plundering and despoiling the peasants, but all that is evil is that the landlord and the moneylender have not the same religion as those whom they plunder. From time to time in those districts of India where landlord oppression and peasant ruin are strongest, imperialism makes so-called rent laws, makes various categories of tenants with various rights. Does the situation of the peasants improve from this? No, it does not. The peasants, both poor and middle, who according to the letter of the law become "protected tenants," nevertheless remain under the heavy oppression of the landlords. The landlords can always bribe officials, get round the law or turn it to their own use. And who gets the benefit from the "protected tenants' rights? It is the officials, merchants, kulaks or moneylenders who buy them and again reduce yesterday's "protected tenant" to a position without rights. The position of the toiling peasants has become worse. Besides the old landlord, a new parasite bears down on him in the form of the moneylender or merchant who has become a "protected tenant." Imperialism received definite benefits from the "rent laws"—by splitting the ranks of the peasants into various divisions with various rights, splitting the solidarity of the villages.

The rights of the Indian bourgeoisie, both Hindu and Mussulman, are restricted by the domination of the British invaders. The imperialists do not allow them to touch the main levers of economy. The share of the Indian capitalists in foreign trade is only 15 per cent. The Indian accumulations in the banks produce British super-profits. The internal market is full of imported manufactured goods, and there is no scope for Indian industry. It is difficult for them to be satisfied with this. It compels them to wish for liberation from British rule. But at the same time the Indian bourgeoisie, Hindu and Mussulman, and some of the landlords who are nearest to them and who pretend to love the people, are afraid of a national revolution. Indian capital has invested hundreds of millions of rupees in land and obtains millions in income from rent servitude. Indian lawyers grow fat, like spiders, from never-ending law cases concerning land, while the Indian manufacturers take advantage of the helpless situation of the workers and peasants in order to buy labour power and peasant raw material for low prices. The national revolution will begin with the overthrow of the imperialists and the punishment of the landlords, and then it can advance further to the struggle against wage slavery and take the path of the Russian Bolsheviks. Therefore, the Indian bourgeoisie and the landlords who are nearest to them prefer a bargain with British imperialism to a national revolution. If it were possible to get rid of the British yoke without a national revolution, the Indian capitalists, with their landlord friends, would probably after coming into power undertake to make an alliance between the Indian landlords and the Indian kulaks, without the leading participation of the British imperialists, with the aim of taking the land from the peasant masses and turning them into an army of farm labourers with a small plot of land. But so far there has been no chance for this, and therefore the programme of bourgeois reforms on the land question is in reality an attempt to save landlord ownership under the wing of British imperialism. The treachery at Bardoli in 1922 showed with a sharp plainness that the Indian bourgeoisie who stand behind the back of the National Congress are always ready to sacrifice national freedom and independence to save the landlords and moneylenders. On August 31, 1928, the Conference of bourgeois and landlord parties of India, including the National Congress, adopted a project for the future constitution of India. In order to "calm the fears of the Zemindar landlords" (as was emphasised by Pandit Malavia) it was specially provided that all titles of private and personal land and property is hereby guaranteed to its owners, when the power passes to the future self-governing Indian government. In 1931, in order to conceal the bargain which was being prepared between Gandhi and Lord Irwin, the Congress adopted a loud-sounding resolution on "justice

for the toilers." Even in this resolution it only promised the peasants a considerable reduction of the land tax and the rent paid by the peasants from uneconomic holdings.

Since 1919 the National Congress has tried to bargain with the British imperialists for concessions for the Indian capitalists and landlords. For this purpose it has taken advantage of the discontent and indignation of the masses, to make the enslavers of India more favourable as to these concessions. At the same time, it has tried in every way to confuse the Independence movement. It has weakened and paralysed the movement. It advised the masses of the people non-resistance to violence, in order to distract the masses from the revolutionary struggle. It sent its lawyers, leaders, "good" landlords, and capitalists into the villages in order to prevent the peasants revolting against landlord-moneylender slavery. It always advocated national unity for the liberation of the country, and every time it turned this unity to the benefit of the British rulers, the Indian landlords and moneylenders. It found a certain support in the villages among some of the kulaks who were also fearing for their incomes from usury and the renting out of land.

All this teaching was and is counter-revolutionary, because the Congress strongly supported the very basis of the land servitude of the peasants and declaimed against revolution. First, in one place, then in another, the Congress-ites seized on one demand or another, first for the reduction of the land tax, then the demand for the election of the panchayats, but every time their aim was to weaken and undermine the movement. They tried to unite the peasants and landlords on the demand for the reduction of the land tax, so that they could depict the landlord as a benefactor and secure their own profits. They tried to put obstacles everywhere in the path of the peasant movement, so as to prevent it from joining into one all-Indian stream. They energetically collected the land tax for the British treasury in a number of provinces in 1931 and faithfully served imperialism. They advised the peasants to resist "standing on their knees" and they themselves connived at their suppression, hypocritically turning their eyes away. The leaders of the Congress invited British punitive troops against the peasants in every place where the peasants conflicted with the landlords. However, the Congress never lost sight of the steady growth of the resistance of the labourers, the village poor and the toiling peasants to their enslavers and exploiters. From their ranks came people like young Nehru, Subhash Bose, etc., who claimed that they were not with the bourgeoisie but with the toilers, that they wanted a system without exploitation. These double-tongued servants of the bourgeoisie submit to it when it gives them orders and are revolutionaries and socialists in words when it is necessary to use more cunning deceit. They have greatly assisted in the defeat of the peasant movements. The young Nehru helped Gandhi to bring the Red Shirts to heel. At the instructions of the Congress he went to quiet down the peasants in the United Provinces. When he was accused of calling for the seizure of the land of the landlords and the struggle for a workers' and peasants' republic he denied it. He only said that "The swaraj we are seeking must be the power of the panchayats."

In the panchayats the master is not the poor peasant but people of high caste, land grabbers, kulaks. The camp of imperialism, the rajahs, landlords and moneylenders, is the camp of the open and deadly enemies of revolution. The camp of the bourgeoisie and the landlords nearest to them is the camp of the money bag which sells national freedom to save its own exploiting rights.

The question of the reconstruction of the entire land system of India is firstly a question of the national liberation of India from the yoke of British imperialism. Secondly, it is a question of forcible revolution: only by overthrowing the power and breaking the strength of those who have seized the land, water, forests, mines and all the wealth of the country, is it possible to deal with them according to the will of the majority of the nation, the toilers and the exploited. Thirdly, it is a question which cannot be solved by any conspiracy of a handful of bold people against the invaders. Its solution is the national revolution. Fourthly, it cannot be solved in such a way as to benefit all classes together, both the landlords and the peasants, the bourgeoisie and the workers, the kulaks and the farm labourers and poor peasants. It is a question of the struggle of classes. Fifthly, it is a question of the alliance of the working class and the peasants, because only those two forces are capable of marching to the end for the freedom of India from the imperialist yoke and from the oppression

of the landlords and moneylenders. Sixthly, it is a question of the organised, definite, self-sacrificing and leading participation of the proletariat in the struggle for the cause of the peasants.

The class of hired workers cannot have any other basis and vital aim than the struggle for the abolition of classes, for the destruction of all exploitation of man by man. It is not bound by any property and under no circumstances is it interested in the exploitation of anybody. It stands at the levers of machines creating miracles and able to give labour, peace, freedom and bread to all toiling and exploited mankind. Day after day it is compelled to carry on a struggle against capital, which appropriates its labour power. Life teaches it that only the dictatorship of the proletariat and social ownership of the chief means of production can open the path to classless socialist society, where every possibility for the exploitation of man by man will be rooted out, finally and irretrievably. Before the eyes of the proletariat is the great example of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. The October Revolution in 1917, which was carried out by the workers in alliance with the poor peasants, took all the land from the landlords and gave it to the peasants. It took the factories, railways, banks and other wealth from the bourgeoisie and put an end to the rule of capital. It established the power of the Soviets, which are elected only by the toilers. The Soviet Power is the power of the working class, which does not want any rights of exploitation for itself, but seeks only one thing—the complete liberation of labour from all exploitation. On this basis, while educating and drawing the whole mass of toilers into the government administration, it leads the general alliance of all who were previously oppressed and exploited against capital. The October Revolution set free the tsarist colonies and created national Soviet Republics in which all the previously oppressed nations had the full possibility to build up their national governments, to develop their national culture, and make a radical improvement in their situation. The backward and downtrodden agricultural country was converted by the Soviet Power, led by the Communist Party of Lenin, into a country of the foremost Socialist industry and advanced Socialist agriculture. The peasants received from the workers tractors and fraternal labour support, and saw in practice the advantages of collective social labour, and in place of scattered individual farms they began to build up collective farms. The poor peasants and farm labourers who never hoped to have a cow of their own are rapidly advancing to a well-to-do life, obtaining cows and other animals to improve the food supply of their families who work on the socialised fields. The kulaks who oppressed the poor and small peasants have been finally eliminated. The Soviet Union has not only formed its invincible Red Army and defeated the attacks of the imperialist Powers. It is overtaking the richest countries of capitalism. In these capitalist countries there are tens of millions of unemployed, but in the U.S.S.R. unemployment has been abolished. In those countries the peasants are impoverished and ruined, but in the U.S.S.R. the peasants in the collective farms are confidently building up a well-to-do life. In those countries there is the dungeon for the workers, but in the U.S.S.R. there is the government of the people who work. In those countries there is the jail and oppression of weak and downtrodden nations, but in the U.S.S.R., the Uzbeks, Tajiks, Azerbaidjans, Georgians, Armenians, Ukrainians and others are masters of their own Soviet Republics.

On this side of the Himalayas there is the domination of the British jackboot. On the other side of the Himalayas there is the Power of free labour.

The foremost proletarians and poor peasants will learn from this example. They know that this cannot be achieved at one blow. The liberation of India from the yoke of British imperialism, the seizure of all the land of the imperialists, rajahs, landlords and moneylenders and its division among the peasants, the seizure of all industrial undertakings, railroads, banks and other property of the imperialists and their transfer to national property, and the Power of the Soviets elected by the workers, peasants and the toilers of the towns, this is the first decisive step. By their firm and undeviating struggle for this, the workers of India must rally around themselves the toiling peasant masses. By their struggle and bold help to the organisation of the farm labourers and poor peasants, they must plainly show to the peasants that in addition to the path of slavery and bourgeois deceit covered by empty talk about the freedom of India, there is an independent path for the workers and peasants, the path of

revolution against imperialism, landlord oppression and moneylenders.

The Communist Party of India is the Party of the workers who stretch out their hands to the peasants for a joint struggle.

It calls on the peasants to learn the necessary lessons from the struggle of the Chinese workers and peasants. In China there are Soviet districts which unite tens of millions of people. There the land of the landlords and the moneylenders had been confiscated for the benefit of the peasants. There all the old taxes, moneylenders' debts and contracts of servitude have been annulled. There the Soviets rule. There the workers and peasants have their own Red Army. For four years the British, American, Japanese, French and other imperialists, together with the Chinese capitalists and landlords, have been trying to crush the Soviets. But they cannot succeed because the support of the people is growing and strengthening for the Soviets, which are liberating the country from imperialist slavery and serfdom to the landlords and moneylenders. The Chinese Soviets show that the enslaved East has found its path to freedom, that the alliance of the workers and peasants is an unconquerable force.

In India the working class is only beginning to rally and organise itself, to forge out its fighting forces. The Indian bourgeoisie try in every way to disorganise its ranks. But the cause of the workers cannot be killed either by British oppression or by the trickery and deceit of the Indian bourgeoisie. This cause is going ahead and will conquer, because the British imperialists and the Indian capitalists are compelled to gather the workers in factories, railroads and docks. They cannot prevent the workers making common cause among themselves, and cannot prevent new fighters coming forward.

The alliance of workers and peasants is the guarantee of the success of the revolution in India. But to carry it out there must be stubborn work and organisation. If a person calls himself a Communist but does not stand in the first ranks of the masses, nobly struggling against imperialism, he is worthless. If he is for the workers and peasants in words, but does not teach the masses in practice to struggle for their vital demands, he is worthless. If he speaks of the alliance of the workers and peasants, but in practice cannot distinguish the village rich from the farm labourers, and does not wish to work to rally together the village poor, he is worthless. India is taking its first steps on the field of the class struggle.

The imperialist yoke and serfdom to the landlords and moneylenders can be destroyed only by a real revolution and the establishment of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasants in the form of the power of the Soviets. The leading role of the working class, the farm labourers and the poor peasants in the Soviets will be a condition for the really complete and undoubted victory of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution, because only on this condition is it possible mercilessly to crush all the plots of counter-revolution and paralyse the attempts of the bourgeoisie to behead and betray the revolutionary struggle of the masses. At the same time, this leading role of the proletarians and the poor peasants will be the guarantee for the further deepening and widening of the revolution and the transition to the direct struggle against capital, without which no victory can be stable and guaranteed. The town bourgeoisie and the kulaks will inevitably struggle to turn the revolution to their own benefit, with the aim of widening and consolidating a system of hired slavery and the seizure of the government power by the bourgeoisie. On the other hand, the working class, supported by the poor of the towns and villages, will strive to consolidate and strengthen the Soviet system, to reorganise the confiscated enterprises of the imperialists on Socialist lines, to rally the agricultural proletariat in support of the poor against the kulaks, really to consolidate the right of the toilers to the land which they cultivate directly with their own labour. Foreseeing the inevitability of these battles, the bourgeoisie try in every way to bring the petty-bourgeois sections under their influence, concealing and slurring over their own efforts to attain complete class domination. The upper ranks of the petty-bourgeoisie who live from the exploitation of the labour of others, as represented by the well-to-do strata of the bourgeois intelligentsia, merchants, handicraftsmen, and kulaks, also display a selfish interest in not making any distinction between the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution and the destruction of the system of wage slavery. The power of national suppression and the oppression of feudal relics helps to spread among the masses the idea that the overthrow of imperialism and

the landlords makes it unnecessary and superfluous to struggle against the Indian capitalist exploiters. Here is to be found a tremendous danger for the cause of the revolution and the alliance of the workers and peasants. The struggle against the class deception of the bourgeoisie and against the petty-bourgeois pretence that bourgeois-democratic demands are Socialist demands is absolutely necessary for the victory of the Soviet revolution and the consolidation of the Soviet system in India.

In the course of the differentiation of classes in the country in recent years, there have arisen various groups and even parties connected with the peasants. An example of a revolutionary peasant organisation is the Punjab Workers' and Peasants' Party. This Party, which is being drawn more and more into the orbit of proletarian influence, expresses in its chief slogans the revolutionary desires of the peasants to put an end to the servitude to the imperialists and the feudalists. It represents its democratic demands as Socialist demands, not realising that the carrying out of the democratic changes is not Socialism in itself, but only clears the path and creates the conditions for a further successful struggle to destroy the capitalist system and create Socialist society.

The Workers' and Peasants' Party does not yet understand that not only the struggle for Socialism, but also the struggle against imperialist domination and serfdom to the landlords and moneylenders can be successfully organised and carried to its conclusion only in alliance and under the leadership of the proletariat headed by the Communist Party. The experience of all peasant movements, including the movement in the Punjab, shows that although the peasants are at present a revolutionary force, nevertheless they cannot play an independent leading role.

All peasant actions which have taken place have had a spontaneous local character and have therefore been defeated, or else they have been led by the rich elements of the villages (which found expression in a number of the partial demands formulated by the Punjab Workers' and Peasants' Party) and dragged at the tail of the bourgeoisie. The peasants are incapable of playing an independent leading role. They either march under the leadership of the bourgeoisie and are defeated, as has been the case hitherto in India, or enter into alliance with the proletariat and follow the lead of the Communist Party, and in spite of possible temporary defeats they take the revolutionary path, overthrow the power of the imperialists, landlords and moneylenders, and establish the power of the workers and peasants, as in Soviet Russia. The whole experience of workers' and peasants' parties teaches that unless there is clarity on this fundamental question, no revolutionary peasant organisation which is really trying to secure the liberation of the toiling masses from the yoke of the imperialists and other exploiters will be capable of successfully helping the cause of the Indian revolution.

The partial demands of the Punjab Workers' and Peasants' Party mainly express the interests of the well-to-do peasants. With the development of the revolutionary consciousness of the peasant masses the growing discontent with the reformist policy of the Congress, all the most downtrodden sections of the villages are beginning to take part in the movement of the Workers' and Peasants' Parties, and this is expressed to some extent in the work of these parties.

The Communist Parties are not only struggling for the destruction of the power of imperialism and oppression of the landlords, but simultaneously for the destruction of wage slavery. The first duty of the advanced worker-Communists is to help the struggle and organisation of the agricultural workers, to form trade unions of farm labourers, which will struggle every day for the vital interests of the agricultural workers against the planters, landlords, capitalists and kulaks. The formation of peasant committees for carrying through the non-payment of taxes, rent and debts to moneylenders, or for the struggle for the use of forests and pastures, or for the abolition of exactions, etc., is the best form of uniting forces and must be based on the active participation of the farm labourers and poor peasants in them. We cannot let pass a single case of violence by the landlords, tax collectors or moneylenders without offering resistance in one form or other (leaflets, meetings, demonstrations, etc.). In the struggle of the poor and toiling middle peasants, they must learn to unite, to be firm and ably to defend their interests.

In India there are many organisations calling themselves peasant organisations but in reality following the lead of rich, pettifogging lawyers, the Zemindar landlords. The Indian bourgeoisie, led by the National Congress, creeps into all the peasant

organisations, holds peasant conferences and land leagues with a definite aim. It is afraid that the toilers and exploited of the villages will take the struggle for their interests into their own hands, and then it is good-bye to peace between the Zemindars and the peasants, and it will be impossible to deceive the peasants by little campaigns and concessions.

Communists do not lead the peasants by the nose, but teach them how to carry on the struggle. The city workers know the cunning and treacherous tricks of the capitalists better than the village farm labourers and poor peasants and can understand them better. The working class and its vanguard also know that only the organised efforts of the toiling masses and not isolated shots at English invaders and their servants can overthrow the power of the British bayonets and capital in India and put an end to servitude to the landlords and moneylenders. This is taught by the experience of all revolutions. It is not isolated heroes who liberate the masses of the people. They are liberated by their own struggle in every factory, in every village, in the street, in the fields, everywhere it is necessary to put an end to violence by the force of their own organisations and consciousness.

The Platform of Action puts forward the following programme of peasant demands:—

(1) The Communist Party of India stands for the confiscation without compensation of all the lands and estates, forests and pastures of the native princes, landlords, moneylenders and the British government and their transfer to the use of the toiling masses of the peasants through peasant committees. The Communist Party of India stands for the complete destruction of mediæval land ownership, for a destruction which would cleanse the whole of the land from all mediæval rubbish.

(2) The C.P. of India struggles for the immediate nationalisation of all plantations and for putting them at the disposal of revolutionary committees elected by the plantation workers to be used in the interests of the entire Indian people.

(3) The C.P. of India struggles for the immediate nationalisation of the entire irrigation system, the complete annulment of all debts and taxes and the handing over of the direction and control over its work to revolutionary peasant committees elected by the toiling peasant.

(4) The C.P. of India calls on the peasants and the village proletariat to carry out all kinds of political demonstrations, to make collective refusals to pay exactions and taxes or to carry out the decisions and regulations of the government and its agents.

(5) The C.P. of India calls for a refusal to pay rent, the cost of irrigation, contributions, and to refuse to carry out any work whatever (begar) for the landlords, native princes and their agents.

(6) The C.P. of India calls for a refusal to pay debts and obligations to the government, landlords and moneylenders in any form whatever for the landlords, native princes and their agents.

(7) As a practical slogan of agitation among the peasants and as a means of giving the greatest consciousness to the peasant movement the C.P. of India calls for the immediate organisation of the revolutionary peasant committees with the aim of carrying on a struggle to carry out all the revolutionary democratic changes in the interests of freeing the peasants from the oppression of Anglo-Indian imperialism and its feudal allies.

(8) The C.P. of India calls for the independent organisation of the village proletariat, especially the plantation workers, for fusing it with the proletariat of the towns under the banner of the Communist Party and for electing representatives of it to the peasant committees.

The C.P. of India is firmly convinced that the complete, consistent and firm carrying out of the above-mentioned political and social demands can only be achieved by overthrowing British rule and forming an Indian Federated Workers' and Peasants' Soviet Government.

With the aim of developing the mass movement and the masses of farm labourers and peasants into the revolutionary struggle, on the basis of defending their immediate and most vital needs, it is advisable to develop partial actions, using such partial demands as:—

- (1) Refusal to pay local taxes for the support of the police and the village administration, forming 7-15 per cent. of the land tax.
- (2) Refusal to pay the exactions collected by the Zemindars, landlords, taxildars and village elders.
- (3) Refusal to carry out any forced labour for landlords, Zemindars and village administration; refusal to fulfil a begar in any form whatever.

(4) Refusal to make any forced gifts to the landlords, moneylenders, police, etc.

(5) Refusal to carry out transport obligations for the tax collectors, administration and landlords.

(6) The demand for the abolition of unpaid road-making obligations, which are especially burdensome in the native states, and refusal to carry them out.

(7) The immediate stoppage of the seizure of the peasant harvests, property and land for the non-payment of taxes, rent and moneylenders' debts. The organisation of detachments of farm labourers and peasants to defend the peasant harvest, property and land.

(8) The demand to withdraw the troops and police who are sent to be billeted in the villages and the abolition of all punitive fines.

(9) The boycott of landlords, moneylenders and kulaks who seize peasant land.

(10) The demand for the supply of food and clothing to starving peasants and unemployed farm labourers at the expense of the landlords and moneylenders through elected committees of peasants and farm labourers. The organisation of public works for the starving and the guarantee of the minimum cost of living, under the control of an elected committee.

(11) The demand for the abolition of debt slavery.

(12) The demand for the immediate revising of all rent contracts with the aim of lowering rent.

(13) The demand for the removal of hereditary patels and village elders appointed from above.

(14) Panchayats consisting of the "best" families and rich people and which frequently settle conflicts between peasants and distribute some lands, must be reorganised into freely-elected peasant organs with the participation of farm labourers and household servants.

(15) Immediate release of the arrested peasants and farm labourers.

(16) The boycott of English courts and the settling of all land cases and disputes by elected peasant committees.

(17) The abolition of all forms of personal, rank and caste inequality in the sense of disposing of personality, property, freedom of travel, signing contracts. A boycott of people who use this inequality for their slavish interests. The free use of all public places and institutions independent of caste, religion and sex.

(18) The abolition of all restrictions and prohibitions as to the use of forests by the peasants, and the collective use of forests by direct action.

(19) The demand for the return of public pastures which have been seized, and the pasturing of cattle on these lands by direct action.

(20) The demands for the return of water sources which have been taken from the peasants and their use by direct action.

(21) The abolition of the existing false weights and measures in the bazaars and a struggle against secret compacts among buyers. The abolition of bazaar fines and payments. Besides these there might be other demands too.

In the interests of the agricultural workers, the Communists should put forward such demands as:—

(1) The abolition of debt servitude and all kinds of personal slavery and all kinds of contract labour. The abolition of the forced recruiting system. Free employment through labour exchanges organised by the trade unions.

(2) The compulsory signing of labour agreements and compulsory payment of wages in money. The establishment of payment by a definite wage scale, the employers to give the worker travelling expenses and two weeks' wages if he breaks the agreement and goes away; obligatory official registration of these agreements.

(3) Wages not lower than the cost of living.

(4) The limitation of the working day and the abolition of all supplementary work for the employer by the labourer and his family. The payment of overtime work.

(5) The eight-hour day, which may be extended to ten hours at seeding-time and harvest-time with extra pay.

(6) Good housing conditions; the abolition of the debts of the workers to the moneylenders.

(7) Recognition of the trade unions.

The struggle for the freedom of all the workers' and peasants' organisations must be the basic slogan of all the work in the villages. The toilers of the village must be taught the stubborn struggle for their rights and interests.

The Labour Movement

Growing Fighting Spirit of the Finnish Working Class

By P a a v o (Helsingfors)

As a result of the fascist offensive in the year 1930, the last remnants of the political rights of the working class were abolished. The social-democratic leaders, by their disruptive policy, enabled the Lappo fascists to launch their offensive against the workers, in the course of which the representatives of the revolutionary workers' and peasants' movement in Parliament were mishandled, arrested or driven out of the country and the mass organisations of the working class suppressed.

In the first three years after the establishment of the open dictatorship the capitalists were able to carry out a great reduction in wages and worsening of working conditions without encountering the resistance of the proletariat. Thus the workers' wages were reduced on an average by 50 to 60 per cent., although they were already far lower than the wages paid in the neighbouring Scandinavian countries. At the same time the position of the peasants also deteriorated; thousands of peasants were ruined and had to abandon their land. The Finnish bourgeoisie was able by this means to enrich itself even in the period of the most severe crisis.

Thanks to the very low wages of the workers, the Finnish capitalists have practised real dumping on the international market and sold timber at ridiculously low prices. It was, before all, due to the social-democratic leaders that the capitalists were able to carry out their starvation offensive against the workers. After the smashing of the revolutionary trade union federation by the fascists the social-democratic disrupters attempted to conclude fresh collective agreements with the employers behind the backs of the workers, as a result of which the working conditions were worsened still more.

During this time the C.P. of Finland had to contend with many difficulties. Capitulatory tendencies became apparent among the broad masses of workers, as well as in the ranks of the Party, mainly as a result of the retreat without resistance of the Party in face of the establishment of the fascist dictatorship. By means of ruthless self-criticism and unwearying struggle the Central Committee finally succeeded in overcoming this mood both in the ranks of the Party and among the sympathising masses. As a result of the increased propaganda activity of the Party the fighting strength of the working class has considerably increased since last autumn.

Last winter hundreds of economic struggles, participated in by thousands of workers, were carried out. Particularly important were the strikes of the timber workers at Jacobstad, in which numerous small peasants actively participated. This struggle, which was the first since 1930 conducted under Communist leadership, created a great sensation throughout the country because the Swedish-speaking peasants of this district, who formerly adopted a hostile attitude towards the workers, participated most actively in it. It was also of importance because its victorious issue clearly refuted the assertions of the social democrats and the opportunists that it is impossible to conduct successful struggles during a period of crisis, and at the same time it furnished the workers with a practical lesson that it is possible, even under the worst fascist regime, to create the necessary fighting organs and to conduct a strike.

Following this strike, numerous other timber workers' strikes were carried out. At a strike in Myllymäki all the peasants refused to give food and shelter to the strike-breakers. Strikes were carried out in many labour service camps of the municipalities and the State authorities, most of them ending in partial victories for the strikers. In spring of this year the building workers carried out numerous smaller strikes, and in Helsingfors the building workers, who threatened to strike, thereby enforced a wage increase against the will of the social-democratic leaders.

The special feature of these struggles consists in the new forms they assume. The workers suddenly downed tools, thereby taking the employers by surprise. After the outbreak of the struggle, meetings are held, the strikers join the respective branch of the reformist trade union, which they convert into their fighting organ under Communist leadership.

The question of trade union organisation is a very delicate one in Finland. The trade unions founded by the social democrats are

generally looked upon as strike-breakers' organisations by the masses. But in the present situation the C.P.F. was faced with the necessity of penetrating these organisations in order to convert them into organs for the fight of the masses. For this reason, thousands of workers have recently joined the local branches of the social-democratic trade unions in order to influence them in a revolutionary direction.

The illegal Trade Union Federation, which is led by the Communists and organises the opposition in the reformist trade unions, has played its part in these struggles. It is based on factory organisations, mostly in the big industrial centres, such as Helsingfors, Lahti, Kotka, Jacobstad, Kemi and Yxpilä. It has not a very large membership, but its influence is expressed in the numerous struggles which the workers are now waging in all parts of the country. The Communists have penetrated the masses by means of leaflets, their illegal press, and also by oral propaganda.

The older members of the reformist unions display great sympathy for the new members, whom they often elect as their functionaries and officials. This fact has caused the social-democratic leaders to use sham-radical phraseology. The social democrats still possess great influence over the masses. They are still the main buttress of the bourgeoisie, and although the militancy of the workers is growing it would be premature to say that they had gone over to the offensive. The considerable number of votes polled by the social democrats shows that the Communists have not yet succeeded in exposing the treacherous policy of the social democrats to the broad masses. The numerous economic struggles carried out since last autumn clearly show that the masses are prepared to follow the slogans of the Communists if the latter know how to penetrate the masses and to spread their ideas among them.

Up to recently the fascists were able, with the support of the social democrats, to consolidate their rule and to enact fresh exceptional laws. The social democrats continually join in the campaigns of calumny conducted by the fascists against the Soviet Union. They approve of and support all measures of persecution on the part of the fascist authorities against the Communist Party of Finland, and in numerous cases have even encouraged the Ochrana (political police) to sharpen their persecution. They demand of the members of their own organisations that they support the Ochrana and inform them of the names of Communist workers.

The C.P. of Finland has had to suffer greatly from the persecution and the fascist terror; hundreds of its best champions were imprisoned and done to death in prison; hundreds were compelled to go into hiding or flee abroad. In spite of all these difficulties the influence of the Party has greatly increased. By preparing and leading the economic struggles the Party has been able to increase the activity of the working masses who were discouraged by the social democrats. It is true, the workers have not yet replied with a political struggle to the offensive of the fascist dictatorship, but the upsurge which is evident in the economic struggles will certainly have repercussions in the political sphere. Therefore the economic struggles are of far-reaching importance for the position of the Finnish working class.

The Working Class of Egypt Taking Up the Fight Again

By A. A.

The heroic fights of the proletariat of Egypt in 1931 were drowned in blood. British imperialism and its allies, the feudal landowners and the native bourgeoisie, thought they could then pillage the working people without meeting any resistance. The proletariat of Egypt, however, was not defeated. The period of calm which followed the fighting in May, 1931, was only a period of the gathering of forces for the fresh attack.

The imperialists and their feudal bourgeois agents in the camp of the treacherous nationalists thought that the class struggle in the Nile Valley had been abolished. They even developed a theory to the effect that the working population of Egypt were not susceptible to Marxist teachings. The working class of Egypt, by their fighting action, categorically refuted this theory.

Egypt has been very hard hit by the economic crisis; its heavy burden has fallen entirely on the workers and peasants. The imperialists and their allies, intoxicated by their temporary victory over the workers in 1931, made use of every opportunity in order to intensify their attacks against the working people and force them to bear all the burdens of the economic crisis.

The workers became the victims of widespread unemployment and short-time work. This great mass of unemployed, who received no unemployment relief, were persecuted by a new law the so-called "law against vagrancy," which threatens them with imprisonment for the "crime" of being out of work. Wages, which already did not suffice to maintain the workers, were reduced by 70 per cent. The working people were robbed of the most elementary liberties. The peasants were plunged into unexampled misery and suffered actual famine.

All these facts could not but cause the working people to unite their forces. There were constant collisions between the employers and the workers. During the year 1933 the class struggle of the proletariat was raised to a higher stage and a wave of defensive strikes set in, which was accompanied by a ferment among the peasants. During the course of 1933 there was a big strike of the busmen in Cairo, in the course of which it came to a regular pitched battle with the police. There was the strike of the taxi drivers in Port Said, of the metal workers in Cairo, the sugar workers of Hawamdieh, etc. There was also a broad aggressive movement of the peasants against the police, the killing of feudal landowners, etc.

The latest strikes of the tanners and brickmakers appear to open a new, higher stage of the fight of the workers. It is the first time since 1930-31 that an offensive fight is taking place which is arousing the backward sections of the proletariat. The brick workers have gone on strike to demand the reduction of working hours without any reduction of wages. The tanners demanded a wage increase. Both categories of workers struck on the same day and demonstrated together on the streets. They formed a united front not only against the employers, but also against the police. An officer was manhandled and severely wounded by stones thrown at him. A group of police who came to his help were likewise met with a shower of stones and were only able to break up the demonstration after they had fired on the crowd and wounded two workers.

Thus of late there has been a revival of the class struggle in Egypt which is bound to become more acute in spite of the hopes of the imperialists and their allies.

The White Terror

Against the Terror in Spain

Workers and Peasants, Toilers of all countries!

Ten thousand workers and peasants arrested in Spain in the last few days.

More than 100 workers and peasants murdered.

Thousands of striking workers sentenced daily by the Special Tribunals.

The total of strikers wounded in the last days is so enormous that it is impossible to count them all.

All the headquarters of the workers' organisations in Spain closed down.

The members of more than 100 committees of the Spanish Red Aid arrested.

This is the balance of the bloody terror measures employed by the Spanish government against the heroic agricultural strike of the Spanish toilers.

This tremendously important strike of the starving agricultural workers and poor peasants of Spain to resist the latest economic offensive against their already miserable conditions has set upset and frightened the rich landowners and their class government that the latter has organised and launched such a fury of repression against it as had never yet been experienced in this country.

This fury of repression launched by the Spanish government, representing the interests of the landowners and of all the monarchist-fascist elements in the country, is an indication of the great political importance of this strike, in which more than 30,000 toilers are participating. This struggle of the workers and poor peasants is directed not only against their miserable, starving conditions but against fascism, and it represents a formidable blow against the whole feudal economy of the Spanish agrarian bourgeoisie; this struggle is one more step forward toward the advancing revolution of the workers and peasants of Spain.

During the three years of the Spanish republic hundreds of workers and peasants have been murdered. Centuries of penal servitude have been inflicted on thousands of toilers; the revolutionary

organisations and their press prohibited, the workers' demonstrations savagely attacked by the hated Civil Guard; fascist laws, special tribunals set up; every strike of Spanish workers has been attacked with fire and bullets. But no repressive measure, no matter how brutal, has succeeded in halting the unquenchable fighting spirit of the Spanish toilers, whose class struggle goes on uninterruptedly.

Toilers! You cannot remain passive while the murderous guns and hangmen of the Spanish bourgeoisie are killing, torturing and arresting in mass your Spanish class brothers.

The struggle of the Spanish masses is a part of your struggle against hunger, against terror, against fascism, against imperialist war. The struggle of the Spanish toilers is a part of the brave struggle of the German anti-fascist workers who in the face of torture and of death resist and carry on uninterruptedly the fight against Hitler's murderous regime.

The **International Red Aid** calls upon you to join its struggle in behalf of the victims of this ferocious terror in Spain. It calls upon you to support the Red Aid of Spain which in this grave hour is making gigantic efforts to mobilise all its forces against this terror and to furnish help and defence to its victims.

Toilers! Send protests and delegations to the Spanish Embassies and Consulates of your countries demanding the immediate cessation of this terror!

Demand the immediate release of all the strikers arrested and of all the revolutionary political prisoners in Spain!

Demand the right for the Spanish workers to strike, demand the immediate re-opening of all the Red Aid headquarters and of those of all other revolutionary organisations!

Demand the immediate suppression of all the fascist laws in Spain, the suppression of the hated Civil Guard, the murderer of your Spanish class brothers!

Long live the international solidarity of the toilers of all countries with the heroic toilers of Spain!

The International Red Aid.

Alarming News Regarding Rakosi

The International Jurists' Association has issued the following statement:—

The Paris lawyer, *M. Etienne Milhaud*, has just returned from a visit to Hungary, which he made on behalf of the I.J.A. in order to obtain information regarding the fate of Rakosi. The information which M. Milhaud has brought back is sufficiently alarming.

What were the sources of information of the Paris lawyer? In the first place—as he was refused permission to speak to Rakosi himself—his Budapest colleagues, the lawyers Lengyel and Vambery, defenders of Rakosi, as well as many other lawyers, all of whom are greatly interested in the fate of Rakosi and gladly welcomed the intervention of the International Jurists' Association. Further, M. Milhaud was able to get into touch with the Hungarian authorities. He had conversations with the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Justice, and thus was able to learn from absolutely authentic sources the following:—

A fresh charge is to be brought against Rakosi, on account of penal actions which were known to the Hungarian authorities already before the trial of Rakosi in 1926. At that time an Indictment was drawn up charging Rakosi with no less than 32 crimes and misdemeanours, all of them alleged to have been committed during the time he was People's Commissar of Economy of the Hungarian Soviet Republic in 1919, many of which involved the death sentence. This Indictment was so monstrous and called forth such a strong protest in all civilised countries that the Hungarian government instructed the Public Prosecutor to withdraw this Indictment and to make only a small part of the accusations the subject of the trial. Thus Rakosi's life was saved, and instead of the originally intended death sentence he received a sentence of 8½ years' imprisonment.

Now, after Rakosi has served the whole of this heavy sentence, on a hint from the Hungarian government, the old indictment of 1926, with its list of "crimes" alleged to have been committed in 1919, is to be fetched out and made the basis of a new criminal trial which renders possible the imposition of the death sentence.

As M. Milhaud reports, there is great indignation on account of the intended judicial murder of Rakosi in Hungary itself. According to the generally recognised principle of law and justice, an Indictment, once it has been drawn up and completed, must either be made the basis of a criminal trial or be withdrawn. To allow it to drop and then to bring it forward again is a political

manœuvre which flagrantly violates all the laws of a civilised State.

It is obvious that the Hungarian authorities already feel disturbed by the attention which foreign public opinion is paying to the Rakosi case. They are endeavouring as far as possible to conceal the true state of affairs and refuse to give any information. Thus the well-known London lawyer, *D. N. Pritt, K.C.*, in reply to his enquiry at the Hungarian Legation in London, was simply informed that the Legation was not in power to ask for information regarding criminal affairs. And the Hungarian Minister of Justice himself, in a letter dated June 6 to the International Jurists' Association, described their intervention by the sending of a Paris lawyer as "superfluous and undesirable," as the "administration of justice in Hungary is on an equally high level as that of any other European country."

Dimitrov Demands Release of Mathias Rakosi

I am specially interested in the fate of Mathias Rakosi, because he is not only my comrade, but also a good personal friend of mine. I cannot express with sufficient sharpness my indignation at the fact that these politicians, after Rakosi has served the monstrous sentence of 8½ years' imprisonment, are now, under the most flimsy pretext, keeping him in prison and wish to sentence him again for his political activity in Hungary 15 years ago. This is not even what is usually described as a judicial murder; it is a downright vile murder of a political opponent.

The government obviously wants to wreak vengeance on Rakosi for the Soviet dictatorship in 1919, while the white bands who murdered thousands of workers at that time are not only at liberty but occupy government positions. The Goemboes government shows, by its fear of the release of the workers' leader Rakosi, that it does not feel by any means secure in face of the growing discontent of the masses in the country. Its monstrous attitude towards political opponents must call forth a storm of protest on the part of the public opinion of the world.

It is the duty of every worker as well as of every right-thinking person in the world to raise his voice against the arbitrary retention in prison of Mathias Rakosi, against his intended murder, and for his immediate release. (Signed) *G. Dimitrov.*

Appeal of the Accused Rumanian Railway Workers

The heroic leaders of the railway workers' strike in February, 1933, who again stand before the Military Court, have addressed the following appeal to the working people of Rumania and of the whole world:—

To all categories of exploited and impoverished masses, to the workers, peasants, artisans, small shopkeepers, intellectuals and poor students of Rumania!

To the working people of the whole world!

For 16 months we have been in the prisons of the Rumanian bourgeoisie, where we have been thrown by the government of the National Zaranists, the agents of the Rumanian factory owners, bankers, big peasants and of the foreign usurers in Rumania.

For 16 months we have been suffering the death-bringing prison regime, as a result of which we have contracted severe illnesses.

For 16 months we have been suffering for our only "crime" of having fought courageously and honestly against the wage cuts ordered by the regime of bankers and carried out by the National Zaranists, with the active support of the social democrats.

For 16 months we have been the objects of the vengeance of the bourgeoisie and landowners, the murderers of the Rumanian railway workers, because we continued the fight without interruption even in prison.

In the first instance the National Zaranist government sentenced us to 5, 12, 15, 20 years and life-long imprisonment. Thanks to the powerful protest movement in Rumania and in the whole world, these vindictive sentences had to be annulled. At the present re-trial we have no illusion that the present government of National Liberals have other intentions regarding our sentences than the National Zaranists; for this government is continuing the policy of starvation and oppression of the working people of Rumania in a sharpened form. It is reducing the wages and salaries of the workers and civil servants, imposing fresh taxes on the working people, arming for war, and continuing on the path of fascism.

The brutal sentences and the barbarous prison regime are in-

tended as a means of vengeance on the oppressed who are claiming their right to live, and to intimidate the working masses and thereby deter them from fighting against the yoke of oppression.

Now, before the fresh sentences are pronounced, you are our only hope. Only your fight can wrest us from the claws of the exploiters and factory owners. Continue the fight commenced in February, 1933, for your vital interests! Organise meetings, demonstrations and demonstrative strikes, for the judgment intended to be passed against us is directed also against you! Fight in the united front, collect signatures and send your protest to the Military Court in Craiova, to the Ministerial Council and the Ministry for War.

Demand our release! As you, responding to the call of the International Labour Defence, wrested the heroes of the Reichstag fire trial from their bloody executioners, so, we are convinced, you will fight for our release. Nothing will shake our courage and our conviction.

Long live the solidarity of all the exploited of Rumania!

Long live the international solidarity of the working people of all countries!

Constantin Doncea, Gh. D. Petrescu, Gh. Vasilichi,
Gh. Gheorgiu, Stoica, Marin Jon, Alex. Rosenberg.

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

Moscow Welcomes the Cheljuskin Heroes

By A. Komjat (Moscow)

The working population of Moscow welcomed in triumph the Cheljuskin heroes on their return from the Arctic. This welcome was an expression of joy, of consciousness of strength, of unshakable fidelity in the Communist Party and the Soviet government. It was a real public festival which would have been impossible in any other country in the world. Hundreds of thousands marched in endless processions through the streets, which were decorated with flowers and streamers, all filled with the determination to complete the work of socialist construction, to achieve the classless society, to give "a stunning rebuff to anybody who should try to put their pig's snout into the Soviet garden."

There were also to be seen marching in the procession the Austrian Schutzbundlers, to whom the Soviet Union has given protection, a home and work, and who constituted a living symbol of militant unity, of active solidarity with the revolutionary proletariat in all countries.

What struck the foreign observer was the contrast between this great people's festival and the "festivals" in capitalist countries. Here, in the Soviet country, were proud, strong workers beaming with joy, knowing no exploitation or oppression, with no cares for the morrow, marching to Socialism: workers who with every stroke of the hammer are increasing their own prosperity. There, in the fascist countries, the workers are driven by armed mercenaries to take part in "festivals," with sullen faces, shabby clothes, sinking ever deeper into misery, starving, deprived of rights and full of anxiety for the morrow.

The rescue of the Cheljuskin expedition and its reception suffice completely to smash the lies told about "hunger and misery," of "lack of culture" in the Soviet Union, of the "dictatorship of the Communist Party over the working people," etc. They suffice to demonstrate beyond doubt the superiority of the Socialist system over the capitalist system.

The members of the Cheljuskin expedition set out on a journey of scientific exploration: to open up the so-called North passage. Their ship was crushed by the ice. The crew were stranded on the ice floes. At such an immeasurable distance from any human habitation, the shipwrecked members of an expedition sent out by a capitalist country would have given way to complete despair. And why not? A society which allows millions to suffer starvation, which drives millions to the slaughter of imperialist war would certainly not bother to rescue a few members of a shipwrecked expedition. There is no money for such purpose in the capitalist countries.

The Cheljuskin people, however, did not lose courage for a moment. They had confidence in their own Bolshevik firmness,

discipline and organising ability. Even on the drifting ice floes, Stalin's slogan "There are no strongholds which the Bolsheviks cannot capture" still held good. There in the Far North, thousands of miles from their socialist fatherland, they felt themselves to be a detachment of the huge Bolshevik army, a small unit of the great company of builders of Socialism—and they acted accordingly.

There on the drifting ice floes, Socialist planning triumphed. The crew and members of the expedition left the sinking ship without any panic; they undertook an exact division of their work, built themselves barracks, distributed the stocks of provisions with special consideration for the women and children and the work which each one had to perform. In the face of enormous difficulties they built landing places for aeroplanes. They held political training courses, received and discussed every day the wireless reports of events in the Soviet Union and in the whole world. They continued their scientific research work. In a word: they established a Soviet settlement.

The Cheljuskin people relied on the helping hand of the Communist Party and of the Soviet government. They trusted in Bolshevik resolution, discipline, and organisation of the working class and the collective farm peasants of the Soviet Union. And they were not disappointed in their expectations. The Soviet press called the history of the rescue of the Cheljuskin people an heroic epic of human solidarity. It was in fact! The efficient aid rendered, the spontaneous self-sacrifice displayed, are perhaps unprecedented even in the history of the labour movement.

Everything possible was done in order to rescue the expedition. The working people of the Soviet Union followed with breathless interest every phase of this heroic fight as if their own lives were involved. The best red airmen came forward and volunteered to rescue the shipwrecked members of the expedition. And they have done so, in spite of all difficulties, the overcoming of which the bourgeois papers, bourgeois experts, bourgeois Arctic explorers declared to be absolutely impossible.

A chapter in the heroic history of the toilers of the Soviet Union is concluded, a new chapter begins.

The Week in the Soviet Union

Soviet Government Begins Its Work in Kiev

After a hearty farewell from the workers of Kharkov, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, and the government of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic, have arrived in Kiev after having been welcomed on the way by hundreds of thousands of collective peasants and workers with great enthusiasm. In Kiev a great mass meeting took place to welcome their arrival, and over half a million toilers were present and listened to a speech delivered by Comrade Petrovsky. In the evening a solemn session of welcome was held by the Soviet of Kiev. The following day, the 25th June, the government began its work in the new capital.

New Success in the Foundry Industry

The socialist competition organised at the initiative of the workers of Magnitogorsk for the iron foundries of the Soviet Union represents a new great success for the industry. On the 24th June 31,468 tons of pig-iron were produced in the Soviet Union for the first time, representing the fulfilment of the plan by 104.4 per cent. Some foundries completed their half-year production plan before the 1st July. On the 24th June the year's production plan for pig-iron in the Soviet Union had been carried out to the extent of 47 per cent.

Underground Oil-Gas Workings in North Caucasia

Attempts at the underground conversion of strata containing petrol into oil-gas were carried out for the first time on an industrial scale in the oil fields of Apscheron, in North Caucasia, a little while ago. The method used was one worked out by a group of the scientists at the Moscow Institute for Petroleum Investigation. The attempts met with magnificent results. The working of "exhausted strata" resulted in the production of gas of a high calorific quality and liquid oil.

These attempts, which have now come out of the laboratories into the field of industry, are of tremendous economic importance and of great technical interest. The methods of working at present in vogue in the oil fields extract no more than from 40 to 50 per cent. of the oil in the petrol-bearing strata. Apart from this, there are oil resources in strata which are considered to be unprofitable in working, although such strata contain hundreds of millions of tons of oil. The new method of underground oil-gas conversion

promises to make possible the utilisation of the great quantities of oil-gas which are lost to the economic system with the present methods of working.

Production of Transport Parts Makes Good Progress

Seven heavy industrial undertakings in the Soviet Union have carried out their quarterly orders for the production of transport spare parts ahead of scheduled time. The locomotive works in Kharkov has carried out its quarterly production plan by 100.3 per cent.

Biggest Cold-Storage Depot in the Soviet Union

Building operations on the second stage of the cold-storage depot in Vladivostock have now been begun. When completed it will be the biggest cold-storage depot in the Soviet Union. For the moment the Moscow Cold-Storage Depot is the largest in the Soviet Union, with a storage capacity of 9,600 tons of meat. When the new depot is completed it will have a storage capacity of 12,500 tons of meat. The ice department will produce 150 tons of ice a day, and the depot will be equipped with the last word in modern cold-storage technique. In addition, a special quay will be erected to receive fish trawlers coming from the sea with their burdens. Transport in the the depot will be by means of electro-trucks of great capacity and high speed. The cost of the building operations, including dwellings for the workers employed at the depot, will be 15 million roubles.

Second Congress of Soviet Mathematicians

The second congress of Soviet mathematicians has been opened in the Academy of Science in Leningrad. 588 delegates have arrived from all parts of the Soviet Union, and representatives from abroad are present at the congress.

Heavy Industrial Production Rises

The total production of Soviet heavy industry in the first half of 1934 amounted to a value of 9,400 million roubles, representing an increase of 28 per cent. as compared with the value of production in the first half of 1933, and a sum equal to the total production of 1930. Together with the general increase of production, there has also been a considerable increase in the productivity of labour-power to the extent of approximately 17 per cent., whilst the costs of production have fallen by an average of 5.5 per cent., whereby the progress made in these directions is steady and uniform. In the first quarter the costs of production fell by 5 per cent., but this percentage has now risen to 7.

The increase of production in the heavy industries took place as follows in the various branches of heavy industry: Compared with the first half-year of 1933, the production of coal increased by 27 per cent., the production of cast-iron by 55 per cent., the production of steel by 48 per cent., the production of rolled steel by 36 per cent., the building of locomotives by 33 per cent., the building of goods waggons by 50 per cent., of lorries by 34 per cent., of motor-cars, other than lorries, by 239 per cent., of tractors (Stalingrad and Kharkov works) by 28 per cent. The production of aluminium has been increased fivefold.

Progress Made in the Gold Mining Industry

Gold mining was one of the first industries in the Soviet Union to fulfil its production programme ahead of time in the first half of the current year. The production of gold in the Soviet Union in the first half of the current year was 41 per cent. higher than production in the corresponding period of 1933.

Beginning of the Harvest in the Southern Districts

The grain harvest has begun in all the southern districts of the Soviet Union. The first million hectares have already been harvested in the Crimea, in the Dniepropetrovsk and Odessa districts, in Central Asia, in the Asov district, in the Black Sea district, and in North Caucasia. The collective and Soviet farms are bringing in the harvest under considerably better conditions than existed last year, having at their disposal tens of thousands of new tractors, and other agricultural machinery of a modern type. The organisation and activity of the collective farmers have increased considerably.

Whilst the weather in May was very dry, weather conditions in June improved considerably in most agricultural districts. The rain which fell in June had decisive effect on the summer wheat. The spring sowings also played an important role. In many cases the early barley sowings exceeded the winter grain sowings. The harvest work has begun with great energy. The collective farms have devised numerous valuable methods for the harvest work.

In the International

National Conference of the C.P. of France

The discussion on the report of Comrade Thorez occupied the whole of the Sunday session of the national conference of the French Communist Party. The speeches of the majority of those who took part in the discussion evidenced the will to bring the masses nearer to the Party by taking up the fight for their interests and demands, even the smallest. The speeches also displayed the will of the Party to overcome the remnants of sectarianism and to find the correct attitude towards the socialist and reformist workers.

Comrade Vazeilles, a working peasant, described the desperate situation of the poor peasants groaning under a burden of debt, because the prices of their products had fallen by half. He stressed the necessity and importance of winning the masses for the struggle against fascism by defending their smallest demands.

A deputation of workers from Citroen then appeared before the conference and stressed the will of the workers to turn the factory into a bulwark of the revolutionary proletariat, with the assistance of the Party.

Comrade Walliser then spoke in the name of the Party in Alsace-Lorraine and dealt with the terrible effects of the economic crisis there as the result of national oppression.

Comrade Jean Renaud made an important declaration. He announced that he condemned Doriot wholeheartedly and without reservation. Doriot's action was a hindrance to the anti-fascist mass movement, despite his declaration that he wanted unity of action. Only the Communist Party was in a position to bring about this unity of action. The speaker approved completely of the united front proposals of the Party. He then criticised the vestiges of sectarianism which still existed and the methods of the Party leadership, which he declared did not consult the membership sufficiently in political questions. He thought that the latest united front proposals to the Socialist Party opened up a new policy of the Party in this question.

On the third day of the conference Comrade Frachon presented the trade union policy of the Party. He declared that the proposals made by the revolutionary trade union federation (C.G.T.U.) were nothing new, but insufficient attention had been paid to the point in the subordinate organisations, and this would have to be remedied. The fighting capacity of the working class must be increased by the mobilisation of the workers in very broad organisations in order to secure co-operation with those anti-fascist workers who were not yet Communists.

A delegate from Algiers spoke in his native tongue and described the mass impoverishment of the toiling population and their increasing tendency to enter the camp of Communism.

The conference received a letter from Doriot, in which the latter denied that it had been convened in proper form, and declared that its decisions would therefore be null and void. An answer to the letter was drawn up, declaring that it demonstrated Doriot's will to break with the Party. Doriot could have taken part in the discussion as a member of the Central Committee, and two of his supporters had been elected as delegates, but they had not turned up.

On the fourth day of the national conference of the French Communist Party most of the speakers in the discussion dealt with the united front work and the necessity for improving the work of the Party in the trade unions. Characteristic of the attitude of the socialist workers was an incident quoted from Narbonne (Léon Blum's constituency), where the socialist workers threatened their leaders with a split if they were not permitted to demonstrate together with the Communists. Many of the delegates pointed out with satisfaction that the February events and the discussion on the opportunism of Doriot had greatly raised the political level of the Party membership.

Raymond Guyot spoke in the name of the Young Communist League on the frequent examples of sectarianism still to be met with amongst the Communist youth. He announced that the Central Committee of the Y.C.L. intended to propose the holding of joint meetings between the young Communists and young Socialists, with a view to working out joint methods of struggle against fascism. The youth, he declared, unanimously demanded the speedy expulsion of Doriot and Barbé.

The conference was then informed that Doriot had just

resigned from the executive committee of the association of Communist municipalities, on the ground that the leadership of the Party did not respect the statutes.

Comrade Thorez then delivered his closing speech. He dealt again with the chief problem before the conference: that of organising the anti-fascist struggle of the French masses. The Party was proud of its role of advance guard and of the successes which had been obtained in drawing in the masses of the socialist and reformist workers, but it was not sufficient that the Party was in the right. The conference had taken note of the progress made by fascism in France. The Party was frankly not making sufficiently rapid progress in the race which had set in between fascism and revolution. The Party wanted victory. Under all circumstances it wanted to create a unity of action with the socialist workers, and at all costs it wanted to secure a united trade union federation. The middle classes must be won away from fascism and the millions of workers must be won who do not yet fight under the red banner of the Soviets, although they are anti-fascist. The Party must propose a joint struggle shoulder to shoulder with these workers for the defence of democratic freedom.

There was no question of any change of Party policy, but the application of the Party policy must be changed. The Party must watch still more zealously over its unity and carry on a merciless struggle against opportunism in all its forms. Only a united and disciplined Party would be able to carry out the tasks facing it, and the workers knew this very well; therefore, they demanded the expulsion of Doriot. The Party had never had a Central Committee which was so strong and so united and offered such an example of collective work to the Party as the present one, and its example must be carried throughout the whole Party.

A message of greetings was then read from the Communist Party of Germany and answered by Comrade Duclos.

The resolution put forward by the political commission was thereupon unanimously adopted, and the conference instructed the Central Committee of the Party to address an appeal to all socialist workers and to expel Doriot.

The whole conference was imbued with the will to demonstrate the unshakable unity of the Communist Party and to overcome all the remnants of sectarianism by mobilising all the masses of the workers in the struggle against fascism.

Doriot's Expulsion From the C.P. of France

The National Conference of the C.P. of France emphatically declared: "The Communist Party wishes to achieve unity of action in the fight of the masses against the bourgeoisie and fascism. The Communist Party is loyally and consistently carrying out the tactics of the united front."

The National Conference called to mind the judgment which was passed against Treint, who went over to counter-revolutionary Trotskyism and for whom the united front tactics consisted in "plucking the fowl."

The Conference condemned the disruptive behaviour of Doriot, which is directed against unity. Like Treint in his time, Doriot regards the united front as a subordinate manoeuvre and not as a real and sincere effort effectively to organise the anti-fascist fight of all toilers. He wants the proposals of our Party for common action to be rejected by the socialist party, whilst we, in the interest of the working class, want to achieve an agreement for the fight against fascism.

Doriot's hypocritical phrases about unity aim at masking the undermining work conducted by him against the Communist Party, the champion and organiser of the unity of the workers. Doriot is launching his attack against unity at a moment when the socialist workers are coming nearer to their Communist brothers, at the moment when the prestige of the Communist International and of the Soviet Union has increased enormously.

The National Conference demanded from the Central Committee the expulsion of Doriot, and thereby expressed the unanimous will of the Party.

The Central Committee declares: Doriot has crowned a long period of more or less concealed hostility to the Party and its leading organs by his open fight against the Party and against the Communist International.

Doriot has no regard for his own responsibility. He refused to carry out numerous commissions with which the Central Committee wished to entrust him (Strasbourg strike, meeting in Issoudun against the renegade Chassaigne). He refused to make

an interpellation in the Chamber regarding the Gorgulov and Stavisky affairs.

By creating the foundations of his group Doriot encouraged and supported Barbé, who refused to comply with a decision of the Central Committee.

Since his open attack on the Party Doriot has ceased to attend the meetings of the Political Bureau.

Doriot, in violation of the most elementary discipline, wrote and published numerous articles which are hostile to the Party and the Communist International. He converted the Communist journal "l'Emancipation" into a paper full of abuse of and calumnies against the Party and its functionaries. He disorganised the activity of the St. Denis district and its cells. He made it difficult and even impossible for workers who remained true to the Communist International to be present at Party meetings and to proclaim their allegiance to Communism.

Doriot resigned from his position as mayor without the sanction of the Party in order to bring about an election campaign, which was directed exclusively against the Communist Party, and in order to attempt to incite the workers of St. Denis against Communism. At the meeting in St. Denis on April 26, he prevented by force the representative of the Central Committee, Comrade Marcel Cachin, from obtaining a hearing.

Doriot has joined the renegades of Communism, the declared enemies of the Soviet Union, in order to undertake a campaign to discredit the Party and the Communist International (meetings in Rouen and Troyes).

In spite of the repeated invitation of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and regardless of his own declarations, which were intended to deceive the workers of St. Denis regarding his real disruptive intentions, Doriot refused to go to Moscow. By his hostile reply to the decision of the Executive Committee, which included the illustrious name of Dimitrov among its signatories, Doriot has exposed himself as an enemy of the Communist International.

Finally, Doriot, a member of the National Conference, expressly informed the Conference in a letter that he "could have, and still could, state his point of view from the platform," but did not condescend to appear at the Conference, and thereby expressed his determination to break with the Party.

Doriot has demonstrated that he has become an element alien to the working class and the Communist Party. He has proved that he is not fighting for the unity of the working class. He has confirmed the judgment passed by the Communist Party on his activity. He joins the counter-revolutionary Trotsky. He is slipping down to the abyss.

Through his activity Doriot does not support the united front against fascism; he supports fascism.

The Central Committee of the Party, having exhausted all means of saving Doriot, and in accordance with the unanimous will of the Party, which is demanding that all obstacles to the unity of action shall be removed, has decided to expel Doriot from the ranks of the Communist Party.

An appeal against this decision can be made to the Party Congress and to the Congress of the Communist International.

Save the Scottsboro Negro Boys!

Paris, June 26, 1934.

The Supreme Court at Alabama, on May 25, heard the appeal against the death sentences passed on Haywood Patterson and Clarence Norris. It is expected that judgment will be pronounced before July 25, as the Supreme Court at Alabama usually makes known its decisions within two months after the hearing.

This same Court confirmed the death sentence passed in April, 1931. Only a powerful protest throughout the world will compel the Court to pronounce a favourable verdict this time.

An unexampled regime of terror prevails at present in the whole State of Alabama. In May alone eight striking Negro miners and dock workers were murdered by police and fascist bands. Over 50 arrests have been made in the Birmingham district in connection with the strike.

The Supreme Court at Georgia has confirmed the sentence of 18 to 20 years hard labour passed on the nineteen-year-old Negro youth organiser of the unemployed, Georgi Angelo Herndon. His "crime" consisted in organising and leading a peaceful demonstration of black and white unemployed workers who demanded unemployment relief.

Twenty Years Ago

To the Working People of All Countries!

Manifesto of the C.C.'s of the C.P. of France, Great Britain, Germany and Poland

Workers, Working People in Town and Country!
Young Workers and Women!

The twentieth anniversary of the outbreak of the bloody imperialist world war will soon be here. The day is approaching on which the imperialist war parties will begin a new and even greater slaughter of the peoples.

Think of the imperialist war!

Think of the ten and a half millions killed, who, if buried side by side, would fill a cemetery more than 100 square kilometres in size.

Think of the 25 million wounded, invalids, widows and orphans, who together could populate a country bigger than Switzerland, Holland and Belgium together! Think of the gigantic sums of money, amounting to more than 50,000 million pounds, which were expended on immediate instruments of destruction. This huge sum would suffice to ensure a decent human existence for a long time to all the unemployed; it would relieve all the working people in town and country from all taxation for a number of years.

Think of the imperialist peace, of the treaties of Brest-Litovsk, Versailles, Saint-Germain and Trianon, which robbed the peoples of hundreds of thousands square miles of their own soil, placed millions under a foreign yoke, and imposed millions of reparations on the vanquished.

Think of these treaties, which immediately after the war sowed the seeds of fresh wars.

Think of the 16 years which have passed since the war, in which social and national oppression, chauvinistic incitement, the tyranny of the rulers and the enslavement of the ruled have reached unprecedented dimensions.

Think of the years of crisis with their boundless starvation and misery. Think of the 30 million unemployed, of the millions of people who have committed suicide in the post-war period.

Think of the millions who have been foully murdered in the time of peace so that the class rule of the exploiters can thereby be maintained and a new world slaughter let loose.

Think of the past war and fight unrelentingly against the approaching new imperialist world war!

Dozens of wars in all parts of the world have refuted the slogan with which the war criminals wanted to deafen the rebellious masses: the fraudulent cry of "No more war." The unceasing armament competition of the leading imperialist States and their vassal countries and the breakdown of the Disarmament Conference has also given the lie to the other slogan of the war-profiteers: "After the war there must be disarmament!"

Just as in 1914, the belligerent parties of imperialism occupy the leading positions in the capitalist States. They want by means of fascism to hold down the forces which are opposing imperialist war. Nationalist incitement, barbarous race persecutions, intrigues of secret diplomacy, the feverish activity of the General Staffs, lead from general economic war among the imperialist countries to imperialist war. The world is to be distributed again—for the benefit of the stronger States. Enslavement of the working class, destruction of their rights and liberties in the fascist countries, progressive abolition of these rights in the bourgeois States by emergency orders, the war legislation passed already before the outbreak of war are intended at the same time to prepare the hinterland of the future war fronts.

Modern military technique, the air forces, long-range guns, are being got ready in order to do away with the division between the war fronts and the hinterland. The bankers, the factory owners, the big landlords, their politicians and general staffs are beginning already now to obliterate the line of demarcation between war and peace in order to take the working people by surprise with the new imperialist world war.

In all parts of the world the flames of imperialist war are springing up. From Tokio to Berlin, from Berlin to Tokio the Japanese military fascists and the German Hitler fascists are

reaching out their hands to each other. The Diehards of the British imperialists form the third side of the triangle of kindlers of imperialist war against the proletarian State, against the Soviet Union. In the Far East, in Manchuria, in North China, in Inner Mongolia, the Japanese imperialists have made war with all its horrors an everyday affair. They bombard peaceful villages, they murder defenceless women and children. The big imperialist Powers support with money and weapons the hangmen of the Chinese people in the war against the revolutionary Soviet Republic of the Chinese workers and peasants. The United States of America and Japan are feverishly preparing for war for hegemony in the Pacific. In South America English and American imperialism are waging a war against each other through their mercenaries. British imperialism is arming against America. Hitler Germany is one vast armed camp from which an attack can be expected any day. The war party of French imperialism is arming for war against Germany. A new world war is plainly approaching.

Only one State is fighting unswervingly for peace, only one State has made the abolition of war its cause—the State whose leading Bolshevik Party, under the leadership of Lenin, converted the fratricidal imperialist war into the only justified war of the oppressed against the oppressors, the State whose leading principle is not capitalist profit but the well-being of all toilers, the State which is building up Socialism, the fatherland of the toilers of all countries, the Soviet Union.

The countries which are preparing for war are directing their weapons against this State. The capitalists are casting greedy eyes at this State. Those who in their own countries have most cause to fear the overthrow of their rule of oppression and exploitation of the working people are arming against the emancipated peoples of this State.

In spite of all provocations, the Soviet Union is unswervingly pursuing its peace policy, the policy of proletarian internationalism.

Proletarians of all countries! Young workers! Women!

You are the force which can save humanity from the fresh fratricidal slaughter. There is still lacking the unity of the working class in order, by the overthrow of capitalism, to put an end to imperialist wars. Only the common class struggle of the proletarians in alliance with the toilers in town and country can bring to naught all the plans of the financial capitalists, the war criminals, the war profiteers, the diplomats, the Parliamentarians and generals. To this unity in the class struggle against capitalism, against its reactionary, fascist rule, we summon all workers, all toilers, men and women, old and young in the imperialist countries, in the dependent and colonial countries. We appeal to you, no matter what the colour of your skin, no matter to what nation you may belong. We call to you, no matter to what party, what trade union organisation you may belong, whether you are organised or unorganised.

We appeal especially to the social-democratic workers, to the members of the reformist trade unions, as well as to all workers who are under social-democratic influence:—

On the basis of the solidarity of all toilers against fratricidal war, on the basis of the common interests of all oppressed against the oppressors, on the basis of proletarian internationalism against the fierce incitement of one nation against the other, all fight with us Communists and members of other revolutionary organisations against the preparation, against the letting loose of a new imperialist war.

We address to the social-democratic parties the following proposal:—

In spite of the fact that at the commencement of the imperialist world war you sided with your own belligerent bourgeoisie, in spite of the fact that you approved of the imperialist peace treaties and voted for fresh armaments, in spite of the fact that by this policy you have split the workers' movement, we propose to you:—

Organise and carry out joint demonstrations together with us on the twentieth anniversary of the outbreak of the war, on August 1st, under the slogans:—

Not a man and not a penny for armament purposes—the money now expended on armaments to be used to provide unemployment, sickness, invalidity and old-age insurance for the working people in town and country and for lightening their burden of taxation.

Not a train, not a ship must be allowed to leave which is transporting munitions and implements for war for Japan or fascist Germany.

Protect the socialist Soviet Union and its socialist construction from the counter-revolutionary war of the imperialists!

Protect the revolutionary-democratic Chinese Soviet Republic from counter-revolutionary attacks!

Protect China against its being carved up by the imperialist Powers!

Protect all colonial peoples from the robber campaign of the imperialists!

Workers and employees! Working peasants! Small business people, small shopkeepers! Young people and women!

We summon you to the common fight against those who are seeking to kindle a new imperialist war. Fight together with us against capitalism, the cause of all wars, for the overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie, for Socialism!

Down with imperialist war!

Down with fascism!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

Long live the united fight of all proletarians and toilers for the overthrow of capitalism!

Long live the world revolution!

The C.C. of the C.P. of France.

The C.C. of the C.P. of Great Britain.

The C.C. of the C.P. of Germany.

The C.C. of the C.P. of Poland.

To All Who Are Opposed to War and Fascism!

(Appeal of the World Committee for the Fight Against Imperialist War and Fascism on the Occasion of the 20th Anniversary of Outbreak of the World War)

The wounds of the last world war have hardly healed, and in spite of this the peoples of whole continents are to-day, twenty years after the outbreak of the frightful catastrophe, immediately threatened by a fresh imperialist world war.

The crisis of the capitalist system intensifies the imperialist rivalry for markets. The clash of the armed forces may occur at any moment.

China, South America, Asia Minor, India are already the scenes of imperialist invasions. Chiang-Kai-shek, the betrayer of the Chinese people, with the assistance of the imperialists, is waging a permanent war against the emancipated Chinese Soviet country, whose population is heroically defending its freedom.

The more the capitalist States are compelled to resume normal diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, which has furnished innumerable proofs of its determined struggle for the maintenance of peace, the more eagerly the imperialist Powers are making preparations for a counter-revolutionary war against it.

The shameless provocatory policy of Japanese imperialism, which has become the pitiless strangler of the Chinese and Manchurian peoples towards the Soviet Union, is being conducted in close alliance with the adventurist anti-Soviet policy of Hitler Germany. The Japanese military cliques and the warmonger Hitler are being encouraged by British imperialism to make war against the Soviet Union.

On the eve of the twentieth anniversary of the outbreak of the war, an unbridled armaments race of all imperialist States is proceeding.

The victory of fascism in Central Europe has greatly increased the extent and rate of armaments and brought nearer the danger of war. Central Europe is a powder barrel. The situation is more threatening than in the year 1914.

Nationalism dominates the actions of the imperialist governments. All the forces of reaction in the fascist, and also in the so-called "democratic" countries, which are rapidly developing towards fascism, are making nationalism the official, dominating ideology. By means of chauvinism the masses are to be made blind in face of the catastrophe of war, the fascist bloody rule and capitalist exploitation.

In view of this situation the World Committee calls upon the toiling masses to organise powerful demonstrations against im-

perialist war and fascism in all countries during the week from July 29 to August 5.

We call upon all sections of the population who have to bear the devastating consequences of war and fascism; to the workers and peasants, to the youth, to the ex-servicemen, to the women, to the middle sections plunged into misery, to the progressive intelligentsia of all countries, to the nationally oppressed peoples—to join the front of irreconcilable struggle against the warmongers and the fascist blood-suckers.

We call upon the great mass of the toilers and their organisations, regardless of their political orientation or world-outlook—only they are determined to conduct the struggle against a fresh world slaughter and against the triumph of fascist barbarism—to demonstrate in these days in all countries of the world:

Against nationalism, war incitement and fascism—for militant internationalism of the toilers of all countries.

We call upon the workers in the docks and on the railways, in the munition factories: international solidarity is more necessary than ever; boycott the transport of war material!

We call upon the toiling youth in all countries: Fill the streets with your fresh and militant phalanxes! Out in hundreds of thousands in order to fight against war and fascism, which mean profit for the armament capitalists and death for you!

Women and girls!

Demonstrate to the warmongers in these days your undaunted will to fight against the blood-thirsty enemies of the people! Come to the World Congress of Women in Paris!

Toilers of the whole world!

Defend the Soviet Union and Soviet China!

Come out in defence of the rights of the oppressed peoples!

We call upon all honest people!

Fight against fascist barbarism; wrest Thaelmann and all anti-fascists from the clutches of Hitler's hangmen!

Fight for the overthrow of fascism where it is in power and prevent its seizing power wherever it wishes to do so!

Rise for the onslaught against fascism!

Prevent war!

World Committee for the Fight Against Imperialist War and Fascism.

World Youth Committee.

Paris, July, 1934.

The Prelude to Serajevo

The first world war, which broke out on August 4, 1914, did not come like a bolt from the blue, but like a storm whose coming had been announced for a long time by the growling of thunder. With the development of a powerful system of monopoly capitalism reaching all over the world and dividing it up into spheres of influence, the antagonisms between the imperialist powers fighting for world dominance became more and more intense. In the struggle for the cheapest supplies of raw materials and for the best markets, the imperialist powers, each striving to obtain the biggest and best shares of the booty, collided with each other. The predatory activities of imperialism extended from Central Europe to South America, from Africa to Asia and Australasia. The struggle for the notorious "place in the sun" was the struggle of the ruling classes of all countries for unlimited possibilities of exploitation and profit-making, the struggle to subjugate the whole world.

This struggle of the imperialist robbers against each other rapidly developed and took on intenser forms. With increasing envy each watched the progress of its opponent, and with increasing anger and envy each attempted to snatch the prize away from the other, no matter whether it consisted of Chinese coolies or Egyptian cotton fields, African Negro tribes or Indonesian rubber plantations, South American oil wells or coal and silver mines. In order to exploit the world and protect the proceeds of the robbery from all rivals, the imperialist powers armed themselves to the teeth. The increasing bitterness of the world struggle for markets was accompanied by an increasingly intense race in armaments. In the forty-year period from 1872 to 1912 the expenditure of the biggest imperialist powers for armaments increased as follows: Germany 335 per cent., Russia 214 per cent., Italy 185 per cent., Great Britain 180 per cent., Austria-Hungary 155 per cent., and France 133 per cent.

By the beginning of the present century the two main groupings which marched against each other in 1914 had already been formed. Secret military alliances were followed by the open forma-

tion of war blocks and announced the approach of armed conflicts. The Triple Alliance formed by Germany in 1882 was countered in 1907 by the Entente Cordiale under British leadership. The antagonism between Germany and Great Britain overshadowed the other antagonisms. Following on the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, which ended with a Prussian victory and the formation of the German Empire, German capitalism made rapid progress. German finance capitalism spread far beyond the frontiers of Germany and conquered large colonial areas. The building of a powerful war fleet was intended to guarantee the line of communications between Germany and its overseas possessions. At every step of this development the young and powerful German imperialism encountered the "spheres of influence" of British imperialism. With growing bitterness Great Britain was compelled to enter into the competition with Germany for world dominance and strain its resources in an armament race.

From the beginning of the present century on, numerous crises and smaller wars marked the development to the larger conflict which was to burst in 1914. The Boer War, the Morocco War of 1905, the Turkish-Italian War of 1911, the Balkan War of 1912-13 were the easy stages which led up to the world war of 1914-18. In 1913 France extended its period of military service and Czarist Russia increased its recruiting quotas. Germany accepted the new military estimates, and Great Britain answered by enlarging its naval programme. The Peace Conference in the Hague did not stop these preparations for war for one moment. By 1914 the antagonisms between the imperialist powers had reached such a stage of intensity that the German Ambassador to France, Schoen, could do no more than shrug his shoulders and declare with resignation, "Peace is now at the mercy of chance."

In the summer of 1914 Europe was like a powder magazine. The shots fired in Serajevo, which killed the heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary and his wife, were sufficient to send it rocketing into the air. The accumulated antagonisms of years burst into open warfare on all hands. The armament programmes of the various imperialist powers were by no means completed in 1914, but the preparations already made sufficed to plunge the world into a war which ravaged Europe for four-and-a-half years. By 1914 Germany had laid down no less than thirteen double-track lines to its western frontiers, sufficient to permit 550 trains to cross the Rhine bridges in a day. In the first two weeks of the war a train passed over the great Rhine bridge at Cologne every ten minutes. When the long-expected storm finally burst in August, 1914, the rulers of Europe had to do no more than press the button, the heads of the General Staffs to open their secret safes, and the members of the various Cabinets to open their drawers in order that the whole detailed and long-prepared system of war alliances and war plans should begin to function with mechanical precision.

The Serajevo affair began as an incident between Austria-Hungary and Serbia, but the shots were the signal for the four Central European powers to swing into line against no less than 23 countries on the other side. Turkey wished to remain neutral, but the power of the Deutsche Bank and its interests in the Berlin-Bagdad railway were too strong. The entrance of Bulgaria and Greece into the war was purchased with a 15 million dollar loan from Germany and a 25 million dollar loan from Great Britain respectively.

As early as 1912 Poincaré had prophesied that the world war would break out in 1914, because he was well aware that 1914 would see the completion of a decisive stage of the various armament programmes. The war of 1914 necessarily developed into a world war because it was not merely a question of the deep antagonism between Great Britain and Germany, and of the traditional enmity between Germany and France, but of the antagonism between Russia and Austria-Hungary in the Balkans, the struggle for control in the Near East, the expansionist lust of Japan and Italy, and the world dominance dreams of young United States imperialism. The whole of the capitalist world was therefore dragged into the war. The area occupied by the four Central European powers amounted to 2,225,000 square kilometres, with a population of 158 millions and an annual income of 4,000 million dollars. On the other side was the Entente block, with an area of 37,267,000 square kilometres, a population of 1,392 millions and an annual income of 6,881 million dollars.

The shots which were fired at Serajevo were not accidental, they were not the cause of the world war. The personal responsibility of the men in office at the time—Grey in Great Britain, Sazonov in Russia, Bethmann-Hollweg in Germany, and

Poincaré in France—was not the chief cause of the war. In order to divert the attention of the masses of the people from the real causes of the war, when they rose with horror against the sufferings of the war period, the imperialists diligently blamed each other for the catastrophe. It was the biggest war guilt, lie of the imperialists that they sought to make persons and governments responsible for the war in order to save the capitalist system, the real cause of the war. The men in office were no more than the executive agents of finance capital, which bears the whole responsibility for the outbreak of the world war.

The struggle of finance capital for the division and re-division of the world is the source of all imperialist wars. The capitalist social order, developing utterly without uniformity, leads to ever new conflicts between the imperialist powers and the danger of new wars. After 1871 Germany strengthened at a rate four times in excess of Great Britain, France or Japan, and ten times faster than Russia. The process of this uneven development naturally alters the relation of forces, and the alteration of the relation of forces naturally demands an alteration in the division of the spoils, or, in other words, a re-division of the world. In his article "On the Slogan of the United States of Europe" Lenin wrote:—

"In order to test the real strength of any capitalist country there is only one means, and there can be only one means, namely, war. War is not irreconcilable with the basis of private property; on the contrary, it is the direct and inevitable consequence of this basis. Under capitalism, any uniform growth of the economic development of the individual industries and the individual State is impossible. Under capitalism there is no other possibility of restoring the equilibrium when it is disturbed from time to time, than crises in industry and wars in politics."

The fact pointed out by Lenin, namely, the uneven development of the capitalist social order, led again and again to a disturbance of the so-called equilibrium in the arena of world politics. This was the cause of the first world war, whilst the shots which were fired in Serajevo were no more than the start signal.

The Twentieth Anniversary of Serajevo

Moscow, June 28, 1934.

The press calls attention to the approaching anniversary of the Serajevo murder. The "Izvestia" writes:—

It would be perfectly absurd to see in some shots fired by a Servian youth the causes of the war of 1914-1918. Nevertheless, it is necessary to call this incident to mind in order to show how pretexes are chosen for war, how occasions are made use of, how they are created, how lies and deceit are used, how war is systematically prepared. This is particularly necessary now, because the bourgeois cliques are again placing, if not bayonets, nevertheless tanks, chemistry, bacteriology—far more devastating things—on the order of the day. The shots fired at Serajevo, continues the "Izvestia," were able to start the avalanche of the world war rolling only because the whole world was a powder barrel of imperialist antagonisms which had accumulated in 25 years of capitalist development. At present we are passing through a new period of accumulation of tremendous imperialist antagonisms, a new period of growing armaments, a new period of preparation for imperialist war.

The world bourgeoisie has not overcome the effects of the war of 1914-18; on the contrary, as capitalism has plunged it into a serious, ever-deepening crisis, it is seeking a way out in a new war. As, however, it fears this war, it is seeking to divert all antagonisms into anti-Soviet channels in the hope that it will avoid the mutual weakening which would result from the fight of the imperialist camps against each other and that it will succeed in destroying the Soviet Union, or at least in weakening it and holding back its development. The fascist dare-devils are preparing provocations which are intended to play a role similar to that of the Serajevo murder. This game, however, will end worse than the game before the first imperialist war. If the lords and masters of fascist black magic succeed in letting loose a war, it will be a world war in which the forces of the imperialist States, which are already undermined by the historical development, will collapse. Whilst the first war ended with the birth of the Soviet Republic, the new world war will inevitably bring about the victory of the proletariat in many other countries. The proletarians of the whole world, whom it was possible to deceive, in the first world war, with phrases about it being a war for democracy, a war for national emancipation, that it was a war which would clear the path for social reforms, will see

to that. The international proletariat has been able in the twenty years which have elapsed since the shots were fired at Serajevo to see what the promises of the world bourgeoisie are worth, and it has also been able to see what creative forces the victorious proletariat is able to develop. The gentlemen in the diplomatic bureaux and general staffs and in the bankers' offices would be well advised not to attempt to repeat the Serajevo trick. This time the bomb will explode in their own hands.

The twentieth anniversary of the Serajevo murder falls at the same time as the fifteenth anniversary of the Versailles system, within the framework of which, under the cloak of a fight for its revision, preparations for imperialist war and the division of the world are proceeding. Armaments are being increased secretly and openly in order, under suitable pretext and if necessary and possible without any pretext, to make use of them at a given moment. The times are past when it was still an art to find a pretext for war. The bourgeois governments carry out their material and ideological war measures already before the outbreak of war. The Japanese methods of starting wars are becoming typical. The affair of Kwantcho shows that modern imperialist technique in the creation of pretexts for a new war and new annexations has been perfected. There is no base trickery, forgery or provocation in the arsenal of imperialist diplomacy which would not be used in the fight against the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union's proposal regarding the definition of what constitutes aggression deprives all the imperialist opponents of the ground on which they can create pretexts for letting loose war. Any Serajevo that the imperialist and fascist war-mongers seek to create will prove a boomerang. But even a sudden attack, made without any pretext, on our fatherland will meet with a crushing defeat by the people of the Soviet Union, which produces heroes not only in war-time, but also in the time of peaceful, creative, socialist work.

Exhibition Against Imperialist War in Moscow

By Floriment Bonte, Moscow Correspondent of "L'Humanité"
1914-1934. In August of this year it will be 20 years since the outbreak of the world war.

Mass slaughter, devastation, hecatombs for a cause which was not the cause of the working people. The fury of capitalist war raged for more than four years.

The peoples demanded: peace, the governments ordered: kill!

The masses sought for a way out of the slaughter and attempted to end it by revolution. The leaders of the Second International, rewarded for their treachery with safe government jobs, called upon the masses: proletarians of all lands, slay each other!

Only one Party—the Bolshevik Party—showed the masses the way. It never vacillated, never yielded to the pressure from above. It showed the way out, the only means, to convert the robber and plunderers' war into the only just war, the war of the oppressed and exploited. On a sixth of the globe, in the old tsarist country, the masses pursued this path and achieved victory: they destroyed the capitalist regime and established the dictatorship of the proletariat. This was in October, 1917.

Since that time the consistent and unshakeable dictatorship of the proletariat has shown to all peoples that there exists only one State in the world which does not want war, which does not need it in order to develop all its forces. This State is the proletarian State, the land of Socialism, the Soviet Union.

And in the rest of the world, sabre-rattling is going on just as in the days of June and July, 1914. All the States are driving for war just as twenty years ago.

"It is necessary to explain again and again to the masses, how matters developed during the last war and why the issue could not be different," said Lenin: "One must explain to them the real state of affairs and how impenetrable is the secret surrounding the outbreak of war."

Guided by these ideas 23 mass organisations of the Soviet Union have decided to organise a large exhibition for mass enlightenment on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the outbreak of the world war.

Such was the information given me by Felix Kon, whom I interviewed in his office in the People's Commissariat for People's Education. The previous day he had celebrated his 70th birthday.

He is a dauntless Bolshevik, not in the least weakened by the 20 years' imprisonment he served. Since the establishment of the Polish Revolutionary Party right up till to-day he has always fought in the foremost ranks; even in the darkest days of tsarist barbarism he maintained his firm belief in the masses and his enthusiasm for the cause. This veteran of the revolution is now organising an exhibition, unique in the whole world: the exhibition of the 20th anniversary of the world war.

The exhibition will consist of 15 sections:—

- (1) Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on war.
- (2) Nature and development of imperialism.
- (3) The class struggle and the Party before the imperialist war.
- (4) The commencement of the war, the Second International and Bolshevism.
- (5) The war and the collapse of the Second International.
- (6) The war from 1914 to 1917, the front, the base, the role of the women and young workers.
- (7) The birth of the Third International, the Bolshevik, the German Lefts, the Zimmerwald and Kienthal conferences.
- (8) The conversion of the imperialist war into civil war.
- (9) The commencement of the general crisis of capitalism.
- (10) The struggle between two worlds.
- (11) The commencement of the second cycle of wars and revolutions.
- (12) The Second International, fascism and war.
- (13) Stalin, the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet Union in the struggle for peace.
- (14) The imminent war as the continuation of the politics of the imperialist States, conducted with other means.
- (15) The idea of revolution is maturing in the consciousness of the masses.

The number of organisations, institutes, academies, museums participating in the organisation of this exhibition guarantees the success of this great plan. Among the initiators of the exhibition are the International Labour Defence, the Red International of Labour Unions, the Red Army Museum, the Institute for History, the Institute for World Economy, the organisation of artists and writers.

United Front Offer of the C.P. of the Saar District to the S.P.

The District Committee of the C.P. of the Saar district addressed an offer of united action to the Executive of the social-democratic party of the Saar district. The Committee state in their letter:—

"Hitler must be defeated in the Saar district. The anti-fascist working class must prevent, by means of mass struggles, the handing over of the working people of the Saar to the Hitler fascist regime of blood and starvation. Union with Germany would mean the murdering and imprisonment of hundreds and thousands of champions of the anti-fascist working class, abolition of the most elementary political rights of the workers, complete enslavement and suppression of all toilers, wage-cuts, closing down of the mines and increased unemployment, handing over of our youth to the fascist warmongers as cannon fodder, and the ruin of thousands of toiling small traders and small peasants.

Inspired by the inflexible will to do everything in order to unite the working class in the struggle against the fascist deadly enemy and against the threatening danger of war, we propose to you a united front struggle on the basis of the following demands, slogans and measures, which are in accordance with the interests of the working class:—

- (1) Immediate adoption of fighting measures for the release of Ernst Thaelmann and all imprisoned anti-fascists.
- (2) Organisation of mass self-defence units in all localities and factories.
- (3) Fight against any restriction of the freedom of meeting, demonstrations, press and combination of the anti-fascist working class.
- (4) Joint mobilisation of the workers for the struggle for wage increases and unemployment relief.
- (5) Formation of fighting committees against union with Hitler Germany, and, in the event of an imperialist compulsory plebiscite, for the maintenance of the status quo as the relatively most favourable fighting ground for the working class."

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