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Hitler Throws the Torch Into the Powder Barrel

By J. L.

Twenty years after the outbreak of the first great imperialist war the world is again on the verge of a new European War. If the national socialist Putsch of July 25 had been successful then war would in all probability already have been on us. The "Austrian Legion" in Germany was under arms and waiting for orders to cross the frontier, Habicht and Frauenfeld had special aeroplanes waiting for them to transport them to Vienna with all possible speed to take part in the formation of the new government, and the German wireless stations supported the Putsch by sending out late into the night reports of the "victorious insurrection of the Austrian people."

Now that the national socialist Putsch has failed ignominiously, now that Italy has mobilised 140,000 men on the Austrian frontier, and now that Great Britain, France and Italy all threaten armed intervention, the Hitler government is striving desperately to destroy all traces of its complicity.

The German Ambassador to Austria, Rieth, who arrived at the scene of the murder of the Austrian Chancellor Dollfuss with the words on his lips, "What sort of a funny business is this!" in order to mediate between the putschists and the government, has been withdrawn, but the official German wireless stations are giving him opportunity to broadcast long messages to the world in which he accuses the Austrian government of having broken its word in the matter of free passage for the murderers out of the country. It is solemnly announced by Germany that the German frontier to Austria was closed in order to prevent Austrian emigrants crossing it. It was obviously an error of management that, even after this "closing of the frontier," members of the Austrian Legion in Germany succeeded in crossing the frontier into Austria

and engaging in armed conflict with the forces of the Austrian State. It is now reported that the Austrian Legion is to be dissolved. *Habicht* is being made responsible for the matter broadcast by the German wireless which supported the Putsch. *Habicht* has been deposed and, in a letter to von Papen, Hitler writes:—

"If possible you should contribute to bringing about an easing of the situation so that we may see a restoration of normal and friendly relations between Germany and Austria, relations which have been overcast for so long."

How is one to explain these wild cavortings of Hitler's foreign policy? Is it conceivable that after his negotiations with Mussolini in Stra national socialist bombs exploded daily in Austria and whole waggon-loads of arms and explosives went over the German frontier into Austria without his knowledge and without his consent? And that finally, still without his knowledge and consent, the Putsch was made which resulted in the death of Dollfuss and bloody struggles in Carinthia and Styria?

No, it is quite inconceivable. If Hitler had really wished to stop the struggle of his supporters for domination in Austria, a struggle which was conducted with the methods of banditry characteristic of the Hitler movement, then he would long ago have taken energetic steps along the lines of those he is now taking after the collapse of the national socialist Putsch and under the pressure of threats from the other imperialist powers.

The fact was that the Hitler fascist dictatorship, threatened with internal antagonisms in the camp of the German bourgeoisie, threatened with imminent economic collapse and with the rising wave of proletarian revolution, was unwilling to fling down its Austrian cards. It needed successes almost at any price. On the

economic field, with the collapse and utter failure of the "Battle against Unemployment," with mass dismissals and all-round short-time work, with rising prices and wage cuts, with acute shortage of foodstuffs, with a shortage of industrial raw materials and with the threat of inflation, there was no sort of success to be won. Not even the Minister for Lies, Goebbels, was able to persuade the German people that the mass slaughter of June 30 was a "success" for the national socialist movement. Measures such as the dismissal of all the representatives of the brown-shirted Storm Troops in official positions, and the dismissal of hundreds of officials in the national socialist party itself and in the Hitler Youth which followed hard on the heels of the June 30 massacre have inevitably increased the discontent in the ranks of Hitler's own supporters. The resignation of Thyssen from the national socialist party, which has been officially denied, but which is confirmed from various sources, announces to the national socialist leaders menacingly that even those capitalist forces which were responsible for the rise of the national socialist movement to power are beginning to lose confidence in it and are making an attempt to save themselves from the coming wreck by dissociating themselves from the national socialist party whilst there is still time.

In this desperate situation foreign political successes were to provide the key to the way out. Any person of judgment must know that national socialist Germany is not in a position to conduct a war. With the deadly hatred of the working masses in the rear, with empty State treasuries and with complete foreign political isolation, how is it possible to conduct a foreign war, even if the Reichswehr, limited to 100,000 men by the Versailles Treaty, is actually three times as strong and even if Germany has large stores of the weapons prohibited to it? Hitler knows this as well as anyone, and therefore he is now beating a panic-stricken retreat now that he observes that the danger of war frivolously conjured up by his policy is threatening to become serious.

Did not these national socialist adventurers and warmongers in high places know that a successful national socialist Putsch in Austria would inevitably increase the danger of war to breaking point? Yes, they knew it perfectly well, but in their desperation they wanted to see whether their tactic, so successful in Germany's internal affairs, of placing their opponents before a *fait accompli*, would serve them equally well on the field of foreign politics. They were deliberately playing *va banque* in the knowledge that they had not very much to lose. They are well aware that their days are numbered and that none of them will escape the ordeal of coming before the court of history to answer for their crimes when the betrayed, deceived and martyred people rise to demand an account from them.

Did not the world look on without attempting to interfere when Danzig was "incorporated" and when the national socialist terror became more and more open and more and more insolent in the Saar district, a district formally under the administration of the League of Nations? And even if after a few weeks of victory celebrations they would have had to retreat in face of a threat of foreign intervention, would they not nevertheless have obtained a certain amount of breathing space for their regime, would they not have been able to turn the attention of the masses away from the impoverishment and difficulties of Germany at least for a while, and would they not have been able to whip up a still greater wave of chauvinism and freshen up the halo of national socialism a little as "national emancipators"? This must have been the speculation of the fascist adventurers when, despite the warnings of their "friend" Mussolini, they continued their policy of provocation and conspiracy in Austria.

And now that they have jockeyed thousands of their supporters in Austria into a hopeless Putsch with bombastic phrases and promises, they are washing their hands of the whole affair and proclaiming their innocence to the world. The German government announces that any of the Austrian rebels, who seek refuge on German territory, will be arrested. Aeroplanes of the Austrian government are dropping leaflets over the national socialist positions in those districts where fighting is still going on against the federal army and the Heimwehr. These leaflets contain Hitler's letter to von Papen. In this way the supporters of Hitler in Austria who have been sent into the Putsch by the promises and demagoguery of his agents can see that their "leader" has betrayed and sold them exactly as he betrayed and sold the leaders of his brown-shirted Storm Troops three weeks previously.

Although in this way Hitler will lose the confidence of the

nationalist Austrians, oppressed by the Dollfuss brand of fascism, it is by no means probable that he will win instead the confidence of his imperialist rivals and that he will receive the breathing space for which he is working.

The internal situation of Italian fascism is not very much better than that of German fascism. Mussolini could also do with victory in a foreign war in order to consolidate his own waning power at home, and what is more, he has less to lose than his fellow fascists in Germany, because Hitler's lunatic policy has given him the chance of taking the role of the saviour of Europe from the German fascist criminals and warmongers. It would appear that Italian fascism does not regard the assassination of its vassal Dollfuss as atoned for by the capitulation of Hitler and the despatch of von Papen to Vienna as a "Special Envoy." Both the Italian and the Czechoslovakian press make no secret of their fear that perhaps von Papen is being sent to Vienna to achieve by diplomatic means what the national socialists did not achieve by violence, namely, the "incorporation" of Austria. Brown fascism of the German variety has been greatly weakened by the failure of the Austrian Putsch, but at the same time the death of Dollfuss has also considerably weakened the black brand of fascism, that brand which sought close contact with Mussolini and refused to come to an understanding with Hitler fascism.

On the other hand, the revolutionary workers who were formerly in the Austrian social-democratic party and the Schutz-bund are now going over rapidly to the camp of the Communist Party, and this process is accompanied by the equally rapid drift of the proletarian elements who have been disappointed by national socialism into the revolutionary front. As a result the forces of the proletarian revolution are strengthening. The increasing danger which is threatening Austrian fascism from this angle may result in a strengthening of those tendencies making for an understanding between the quarrelling fascist groups. For the moment, however, it does not look as though von Papen, who after the slaughter of his nearest friends and collaborators is still in Hitler's service, will be able to net many successes for his master in Austria. Once this experienced intriguer is outside the German frontiers it is doubtful whether his zeal on behalf of Hitler and Goering, whose murder bands he escaped by a hair's breadth, will be very great. Perhaps he will pay out his friend Hitler for throwing him out of the government in the same way in which he paid out von Schleicher for the same offence.

The battle which Hitler lost in Austria on July 25 cannot be made good by any diplomatic artifices of von Papen. The guardians of European civilisation and culture who looked on without interference so long as German fascism was slaughtering and torturing Communists, social democrats and Jews at home, suddenly discover that the rule of national socialism represents an intolerable danger to Europe when they observe that the methods of the gangsters, murderers and agents-provocateurs can be transferred to the field of international politics. From Great Britain, France and Italy comes with one accord the demand that in the interests of world peace and "European civilisation" national socialism must disappear from the government of Germany.

The German proletariat, the deadly enemy of the fascist rulers of Germany, sets no hope in "the conscience of the world" in whose interests Mussolini's troops are on the move. Mussolini, the man who came to power and maintains himself in power in Italy with exactly the same methods as those used by his zealous pupil Hitler, is the last man to save the working masses from the bloody terror of German fascism. The troops of British, French and Czechoslovakian imperialism are equally unfitted for the task. If a war breaks out under the slogans: "Defend the independence of Austria!" and "Free the world from national socialist barbarism!" it will be an imperialist robber war for the division of Austria and Germany, and for the crushing of the rising proletarian revolution in these two countries which are more affected by the revolutionary ferment than any other countries in Europe.

In this critical hour the class-conscious workers of Germany, Austria and all other countries, and the proletarians in uniform who are to be called upon to march in the interests of capitalism, must remember the words of Comrade Stalin at the Seventeenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union:—

"If the bourgeoisie chooses the way of war, then the working classes of the capitalist countries who have been driven to desperation by four years of crisis and unemployment will choose the way of revolution."

Politics

Foreign Political Review of the Week

The twentieth anniversary of the outbreak of the imperialist world war is called to mind not only by newspaper articles, but also by deeds which involuntarily remind one of the events which took place at the end of June and at the end of July 1914. The participation of half a dozen Servian officials and dignitaries in the murder of the Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Serajevo was child's play compared with the series of bomb outrages which were committed in Austria with the co-operation of the highest German officials and culminated in the Nazi putsch of July 25 and the murder of the Austrian chancellor Dollfuss. As a result, never since those fatal July days of 1914 has there prevailed such feverish activity in the European chancelleries as in the last July days of this year. In order to a certain extent to complete the picture, this time also there was not lacking the military action: the massing of Italian troops on the Southern frontier of Austria and the North-West frontier of Yugoslavia.

The moral indignation of the spokesmen of French, English and especially of Italian imperialism is expressed to-day in incomparably stronger language than was employed after the murder of the Archduke in Serajevo. Voices are heard in London, Paris and Rome demanding that an end must be put to political gangsterism. In order to commence with the Holy Father, the "**Osservatore Romano**," the organ of the Vatican, writes:—

"The race apostles destroy real life, they practise the craziest intolerance, commit the most beastly attacks, carry out the most cruel massacres, organise outrages, conspiracies, rebellions and treachery. Their empty and bombastic speeches echo in the clatter of their volleys, in the cries of the unhappy suicides, in the blood of the innocent victims. An end must be put to this."

And the English "**Observer**" writes:—

"The History of diplomacy does not know such a case of impudent interference in the affairs of a foreign sovereign State The isolation of Germany has assumed the form of a quarantine."

You come late, but nevertheless you come! As is known, Count Ratti, who occupies the Papal Chair under the name of Pius X., contrary to a part of the German Catholic clergy, zealously supported Hitler and saw in him the saviour from Bolshevism. He did this at a time when the race apostles practised the craziest intolerance towards hundreds of working Jews and Jewish intellectuals, at a time when they caused thousands of Communist, social democratic and christian workers to be savagely tortured and slaughtered and young workers to be beheaded, incarcerated Catholic priests in prisons and concentration camps—in a word, at the same time as the Nazis committed all the abominations which the same Holy Father to-day so sanctimoniously condemns.

And the British bourgeoisie, has it not zealously supported Hitler up to recently by the Four-Power Pact? And did it not openly side with Germany on the question of armaments etc. at a time when not only all the shameful deeds of the regime in Germany were known to it, but when it was fully informed of its gangsterism abroad; the murder of Dr. Bell in Austria, the kidnapping of the Rotter brothers in Lichtenstein, the attempt on the life of Dr. Steidle in Innsbruck and the many other assassinations which were committed long before the 25th of July.

The sharpest tone is adopted by the Italian press. The "**Popolo di Roma**" writes:

"Hitler is the only one who did not know the truth about the Reichstag fire, who did not know of the sexual perversity of Roehm. . . . One day Chancellor Hitler will discover that his Minister Goering was treated in a hospital for four or five years as a drug addict. At present he is unaware of this. One can only tremble when one thinks what will happen on the day when Hitler learns this."

And the "**Messagero**" in Rome writes:

"The "**Voelkischer Beobachter**" designates us fascists as children. And what are you, Messieurs Nazis? Sexual perverts and murderers."

One must not overestimate the importance of this criticism, but this appeal to morality is not for the sake of morality, for

not only Hitler but also the readers of the Italian papers have learnt certain things only in the last few days, as it was not so long ago that the "**Popolo di Roma**" and the "**Messagero**" were full of praise of Hitler, Goering and Roehm, the sex perverts and murderers, although the editors of these papers were quite aware of the real character of these heroes. As is known, the Italian papers were the only ones which, in their reports of the Reichstag fire trial, remained loyal to Goering, which on June 30, supported Hitler and his methods, and, in return for which they were lauded to the skies by Goebbels scarcely two weeks ago.

It is not the violation of morality which is the cause of the changed attitude of the imperialist powers of Europe towards Germany, but rather is this changed attitude the cause of the change in morality, or better said the appeal to morality. Not the 25th of July but the 30th of June was decisive for this change. The peculiar manner of getting rid of good bourgeois people, whose sin consisted of having formerly been opponents of national socialism, got on the nerves of those gentlemen who remained quite undisturbed so long as workers, Communists and social democrats were got rid of in this way. **Churchill** candidly declared in the House of Commons that it is a better system under which having done harm as a minister, after the overthrow of the government, one can go into opposition instead of into prison or to the scaffold. In the meantime, as Mr. Churchill himself knows, the world is not so nicely arranged, and it can therefore happen that individual bourgeois have to be sacrificed in order to maintain the rule of the bourgeoisie as a whole. The great crime of the Hitler system, however, consists in the fact that it has proved incapable of maintaining the rule of the bourgeoisie, that it has proved incapable of figuring as a powerful imperialist partner, because it is rapidly approaching a fatal crisis. Hence the repudiation of Hitler Germany and its morality. Mussolini's castor-oil culture must defend itself most vehemently against Hitler's barbarism. Italy had the biggest finger in the Austrian pie. Mussolini was the chief wirepuller in the gangster attacks on the workers' houses on February 12. The blow which struck down Dollfuss was also a blow against Mussolini. But this was not the chief blow against him. This blow was already foreshadowed on June 30. The one who benefited most from German fascism must also become its chief sufferer from it. The Italian papers, which up to now only vaguely hinted (according to how Hitler's stock stood on the international market) that fascism and national socialism are two different things, are now hammering this into the heads of the Italian people with drum fire and cannonades of abuse, while at the same time it is being demonstrated by means of military marches on the Northern frontiers of Italy. Mussolini is dissociating himself from Hitler in order that he shall not be drawn with him into the vortex. At the same time he is resorting to military adventures in order to restore the brilliance to his much damaged nimbus.

Will it come to common action by the Powers in Berlin? This intention is denied in Rome, Paris and London. Nevertheless it may well happen. Will Austria agree to the appointment of van Papen as German Minister in Vienna and the latter take up activity as a result of Hitler making certain concessions for the time being? These are secondary questions. The real danger to European peace in connection with Austria consists in the fact that its governing class consists of corrupt and adventurous politicians and mercenaries and has very little support in the country, with the result that Austria remains a bone of contention for its imperialist neighbours and regarding which Hitler will continue to make his claims. The chief danger lies in the fact that these imperialist neighbours are authoritarian governments inclined to adventures and wish to conceal inner difficulties by means of military adventures. The most incalculable of these governments is the Hitler government. It can therefore easily come to conflicts which will set the world ablaze.

How incalculable the policy of these adventurist governments is is shown by the attitude of the Polish and Esthonian governments which, as is to be seen from the statements of the Polish Foreign Minister, **Beck**—who was supported in his endeavours by the emissary of Hitler and Hindenburg, General **Blomberg**—do not wish to give up their opposition to the Eastern Pact, and thereby, in spite of June 30 and July 25, are still speculating on Germany as a partner in the war on the Soviet Union.

The declaration made in Moscow by the representatives of Latvia and Esthonia, which to a certain extent stands in contradiction to the declaration of the Polish Foreign Minister, does not offer any grounds for reassurance, as both countries even now expressly make their attitude to the Eastern Pact dependent upon the attitude of Germany and Poland.

Threatening danger of war, threatening danger of war of intervention, form the dark background of the great world stage.

Between Tardieu and the Chautemps

By J. Berlioz (Paris)

A few days ago there was enacted an episode in the quarrel separating the capitalist groups in France on the question of the tempo of fascisation in this country. One group wants fascisation along legal lines under the leadership of "National Unity" to be enough in order to maintain the rule of the bourgeoisie; the other group, less convinced of this, wants to hasten the destruction of the last remnants of "democracy" and to bring about more quickly the introduction of open dictatorship.

The occasion for this quarrel was some evidence given by the Minister, Tardieu, before the parliamentary commission of enquiry concerning the Stavisky case. In a passionate speech Tardieu defended himself against the accusation that he had received from the swindler a cheque for 300,000 francs and at the same time he accused the former Premier, Chautemps, of having with his family and his political friends derived advantage from Stavisky's frauds and of having done everything, with the help of high officials and a docile police, to hush up the scandal.

In spite of every effort to prevent the whole truth from reaching the light of day, the most recent investigations of the Stavisky committee have shown that since 1931 the Public Prosecutor, the Prefecture of Police and the courts of justice have possessed documents concerning Stavisky's adventurous life which—either on personal initiative or by orders from above—were kept secret by the departmental chiefs so that he might remain at liberty and carry on his swindles. It is very probable that Tardieu, and before him Chautemps, knew all about Stavisky, just as dozens of magistrates, politicians and police officials did.

Moreover, the personal responsibility of the one or of the other is of no consequence. Thus a bourgeois paper writes: "In the state of disintegration in which the political world finds itself, it is of no consequence who brings an accusation against whom, that, out of some weakness or other, he has covered up something or other." But Tardieu's outbreak has had big political repercussions. Chautemps, confronted by him, could produce but little in his political defence. He therefore accused his adversary of having broken the "truce," because he had attacked the Radical Party which had loyally respected the "truce." There was immediately a great uproar in parliamentary circles; Herriot hurried to Paris, a stormy Cabinet Council was held, the Minister of Justice, Cheron, went to Toulouse and implored the Premier to return to Paris to settle the dispute. The Stock Exchange is in uproar. Annuities and the principal shares suffer a big drop in prices, subscription to the three-milliard loan comes to a standstill and the banks begin to worry afresh about their solvency.

It is true that Doumergue was once again able laboriously to patch up the rent in the "National Unity" for a short time—but the two tendencies face each other with greater hostility than ever. To be sure the quarrel is not about the object: the crushing of the working class by means of a more powerful State authority, but solely and alone about the way in which this common object is to be achieved.

The Doumergue government's hypocritical methods of fascisation have certain results to show, but it could not prevent the economic crisis from becoming more acute, nor could it prevent the united action of the anti-fascist forces from becoming daily more firmly forged together.

The general index of production has fallen from 105 in February to 104 in March, 103 in April, and 101 in May. Most seriously hit was the textile industry, whose index fell during the same period from 76 to 66. The number of bankruptcies rose from 731 in April to 950 in May and 1,036 in June. Big industrial firms are on the verge of financial calamity. Despite arbitrary striking out from the registers, 70,000 more unemployed are now registered than at the same period in the previous year and the number receiving relief, which for several months has fallen, has again since the beginning of July been rising. The trade policy of protective

tariffs has not saved agriculture from a tremendous catastrophe. Quite on the contrary. Although the drop in the price of agricultural products keeps on, it has not led to a fall in the cost of living and trade figures have reached an unheard-of low level. The differences between the exporters and the farmers are becoming more and more acute. The presidents of the chambers of agriculture demand from Doumergue an increase in the protective tariffs, while the employers' associations in the textile, engineering and other industries storm against such a policy which "is in conflict with the general interests of the country."

Finance-capital means therefore to lower the costs of production by a still greater offensive against wages and by a rationalisation of agricultural production through the ruin and expropriation of the small peasantry. For this a policy of brute force is required.

On the other hand, however, the acceptance of the pact of united action, proposed by the Communist Party, gives to the revolutionary struggle of the masses such an impetus that the bourgeoisie is alarmed in the extreme. The "Temps" speaks of a "political event of the first magnitude," produced by the realisation of Marxist unity. The "Débats" states with rage that "the revolutionary attackers of the State are rallying and closing their ranks." The "Bulletin Quotidien" regrets that "the alliance, in spite of all precautionary measures, will lead to the socialists being driven still more along the road of violence and the anti-democratic forces." Capitalism is feeling the great danger.

Those are the two related reasons that are driving certain capitalist groups to the opinion that the preparation of fascism through "National Unity" is not rapid enough. That is why the adventurer Tardieu has given the signal for the rallying of the active fascist forces, which owing to the magnificent counter-offensive on the part of the toiling masses have begun to falter. In this, too, the differences in the sphere of foreign politics have also played a part. For the last few days the press of the heavy industry and that inspired by Deterding has showing alarm at the signing of the pact with the Soviet Union, represents the Soviet Union to be the sole world danger and demands a re-orientation towards the English policy of an anti-Soviet bloc.

Nevertheless Tardieu's violent speech found little applause, and the reaction of the Stock Exchange against him showed itself at once. Nearly all the papers have criticised him; even those that have given him most support are convinced of the necessity of the continued existence of the "National Unity." The reasons they give for this are as follows: France is still sick, the country still needs repose in order to assimilate the last reforms and to prepare for others; to break the "National Unity" would mean a leap into uncertainty, into adventure; a new crisis would be extremely damaging to France's reputation abroad. The bourgeoisie fears that the fascist provocations would be answered by an expansion of the united front and a revival of the anti-fascist action. "L'Ordre" regrets that "precisely those, who have most to fear from a revolution, are driving with insensate fury towards one." Other papers give expression to their fear that the quarrelling between the political groups is provoking Marxist propaganda. The general opinion is that the "National Unity" is required more than ever, at least in order to carry through on parliamentary lines a State reform that is purely fascist.

It is from these points of view that Doumergue's new bit of patchwork must be judged. If Tardieu had left the Cabinet, then he would be free to take over the leadership of the now leaderless fascist groups. In any case his feeler has the advantage that he, by asserting that neither the government nor the committee of investigation wants to do anything to throw light on the Stavisky affair, has discredited parliamentarism still more. Hence he has doubled the zeal of the leaders and adherents of fascism in France. His resignation would have been construed by the Radicals as a satisfaction allowing them to prove that they were not the prisoners of "reaction" in the government of the "truce." In any case the Radical Party can tell even the most die-hard capitalists that it sacrifices everything to the highest national interests, while at the same time it can calm the petty bourgeois strata behind it by still declaring itself to be a party of the "Left."

However it may be, the violent incident started by Tardieu must be of great service to us. It must inspire the working class to redouble its vigilance against the perhaps veiled danger of an open fascism. The importance which the majority of the capitalist groups impute to the "National Unity" must enlighten the masses

still more as to its pro-fascist role, of which Gignoux writes in the "Journée Industrielle": "The results achieved" (along the road to fascisation—J. B.) "must be estimated as a solid basis for the achievement of more." The present quarrel must make easier the efforts of the socialist and reformist workers to break the resistance to the unity of action which is still to be seen in their organisations; it must strengthen the struggle of the masses against the "National Unity," against the emergency decrees, their blows against democratic liberties, against the preparations for war and for the dissolution of the Chamber.

Fascism and Anti-Fascism in Greece

By Kostas Grypos

Throughout the whole post-war period in Greece there has never been a purely parliamentary democracy in existence because both the army and the navy were always more or less directly a weapon in party politics, whilst the beginnings of fascism in the State apparatus accompanied the Greek Republic from the moment it left its cradle in 1924.

Greek democracy managed to keep its feet, though uncertainly, but this modicum of success was purchased at the price of democracy. Venisélós developed his parliamentary power into a five-year parliamentary dictatorship and encouraged the development of fascism in the State apparatus with his notorious anti-Communist law, the legal gagging of the State officials, the active support of the fascist bands, etc. The successor of Venisélós, the government of the people's party of Tsaldaris, of General Kondylis, General Metaxas and Admiral Chadykyriakos, did its utmost to further this development of fascism in the State apparatus at an intensified speed.

Under Tsaldaris the anti-Communist law was used energetically and its provisions were made even more rigorous by a series of amendments facilitating the banishment of revolutionaries, practically abolishing the possibility of appeal against the sentence of banishment, placing all the banished men and women in a single concentration camp on a small island, concentrating all the banished Communists in one special fortress prison, stifling still further the revolutionary working-class press, and prohibiting all the revolutionary trade unions and all revolutionary organisations with the exception of the Communist Party itself, which is permitted at least to maintain its legal name, as this freedom is expressly provided for in the Greek Constitution. The working class and the State officials have had their wages and salaries still further reduced and their constitutional rights still further cut down.

Under Tsaldaris the fascist bands found the same protection and encouragement as they had been accustomed to under Venisélós. The fascist organisation E.E.E. (National Union of Greece), which was founded in 1928 by former officers, ex-soldiers and intellectuals, tried a march on Athens in July, 1933, and for this purpose the government supplied them with railway facilities. The failure of the march was due to the action of the working class of Athens, which lost two dead and suffered many wounded in the resultant fighting. The upshot of the struggle buried the hopes of the fascists to make their organisation into a mass one.

However, the intense economic crisis which affects all branches of the economic system and the State finances, the internal antagonisms in the camp of the bourgeoisie and the energetic resistance of the working masses under the leadership of its revolutionary advance guard, are compelling the regime of the capitalists and rich landowners in Greece to adopt an *open fascist dictatorship*. The efforts in this direction have taken two forms: on the one hand the preparations for a *military fascist dictatorship* connected with one group of the bourgeoisie or the other, and secondly, the attempts to found a *mass fascist movement* along Mussolini or Hitler lines to overthrow the old political world and create a new "non-party" national front.

The military fascist dictatorship has many sympathisers in Greece as in all other Balkan countries, because this form is the safest and is not likely to indulge in dangerous demagogic experiments, because it does not provoke the working masses to the same extent as open fascism, and because it facilitates the struggle of the capitalist groups behind it against their competitors. Thus we observe that both the government under Tsaldaris and the opposition under Venisélós are feverishly preparing their own brands of the military fascist dictatorship. The leaders of the Tsaldaris brand are to be Generals *Kondylis* and *Metaxas*, whilst

the proposed leader of the Venisélós brand of the military fascist dictatorship is *General Plastiras*, who at the moment is in banishment. The officers corps in the army, navy and air force are ranging themselves around these two opposing camps. Amongst the masses, and particularly amongst the fugitive colonies, fighting organisations are already being formed and even armed to a certain extent, such as the royalist "Political Association" of Tsaldaris, and the "Democratic Guards" of Venisélós, etc. At least once a week Tsaldaris and General Kondylis threaten their enemies with the "dictatorship," whilst in the press and in the senate the Venisélós supporters, who have boycotted parliament for weeks now, answer with the threat of civil war, should the dictatorship be proclaimed.

However, a one-sided military fascist dictatorship has the disadvantage that it does not set up any united bourgeois front against the masses of the working people and that as a result of the disruption in the camp of the ruling classes more and more toilers tend to go over to the camp of the Communists. For this reason serious bourgeois circles are beginning to call for an entirely new fascist mass movement to open up a new era of salvation for the Greek capitalists and rich landowners. About six months ago this desire was loudly expressed in the columns of the capitalist newspaper "Hestia." Big bankers like Koryzís, Loverdos (the brother of the Finance Minister), high military officers like General Masarakis, the Greek Professor Dr. Luros, and many others, form the backbone of this movement and have already contributed ten million drachmas to a fund for the purpose. It is reported that the special shirts to be worn by the supporters of this new movement have already been ordered, but what the colour is to be is not yet known. An interesting factor is that the newspaper "Hestia" maintains the closest and most friendly relations to the British Embassy in Athens. It is well known that the British government is urgently interested in securing order and internal stability in Greece, and as its direct connections with the Venisélós party are not sufficient to obtain this aim, it is also supporting the foundation of this new fascist mass movement.

All these fascist and military-fascist attempts express the wish of the capitalists of Greece, but the final word of the working masses of Greece has not yet been spoken and *the anti-fascist movement* is spreading amongst the masses of the people. The Committee against Fascism and War founded at the initiative of the Communist Party (Amsterdam movement), together with the All-Greek Youth and Women's Committee, succeeded within a few months in founding a strong anti-fascist mass movement. Not only all the left-wing unions, but many of the reformist unions, against the will of their leaders, a number of small tradesmen's organisations, and almost *all the organisations of the State officials*, are taking an active part in the anti-fascist movement. Hundreds of intellectuals, including many doctors, lawyers and whole groups of students have openly signed the anti-fascist programme, a circumstance which caused the "Hestia" to remark that the intellectuals of Greece seemed to have more to do with the police (as victims) than with the intelligentsia (the fascist capitalist brand).

The *first anti-fascist congress* was an alarm signal and mobilised tens of thousands of toilers all over the country, but at the last moment it was prohibited by the authorities. In defiance of the prohibition 2,500 delegates to the congress attempted to hold the congress. Fierce street fighting which lasted for hours took place and 400 delegates were arrested. A group of 210 delegates held a skeleton congress in a wood near Athens. Later on a number of them were arrested in Volo and Salonika on their return from Athens. The *Youth Committee* succeeded in holding its congress illegally, although the *women's conference* was prohibited. The anti-fascist weekly newspaper "*Anti-Fascistiko Metopo*" and the illustrated anti-fascist newspaper "*Anti-Fascistas*" have both reached very large editions.

Although a series of strikes has been carried out with anti-fascist slogans, for instance, the strike of 1,400 boot and shoe workers in Athens, which was definitely a political and anti-fascist protest strike, the anti-fascist work in the factories is still insufficient and is not in accordance with the other anti-fascist activities. The Communist Party and the Committee against Fascism and War are therefore concentrating their efforts on improving the situation in the factories.

This growth and popularisation of the anti-fascist struggle has compelled a number of the big capitalist newspapers, such as the "Akropolis," the "Anexartitos" and others which have worked up large circulations by anti-capitalist demagogy, to take up an anti-

fascist line in order not to lose their subscribers. As a result these newspapers contained extremely sharp criticisms of the happenings of June 30. In general the happenings in Germany have made a deep impression on Greek public opinion and it is already clear that Greek fascism, if not killed, has at least been very seriously damaged as a result. Big governmental newspapers like the "Proia" wrote of "mediaeval barbarism in Germany," etc., whilst in a leading article the biggest oppositional newspaper "Elephtheron Vima" strongly advised the Greek people to keep clear of any such catastrophe as has been brought over Germany by Hitler fascism.

It is already possible to say that as a result of the development of the anti-fascist movement and as a result of the contradictions in the capitalist camp itself, the chances for a mass fascist movement in Greece have been considerably reduced if not completely destroyed. The fascist bands of the E.E.E., the monarchist yellow-shirts, and the Pangalos "Iron Peace" clique, are already in a state of disintegration, and the movement sponsored by the "Hestia" has not dared to show its face for months.

On the other hand, the danger of a *military fascist dictatorship* is growing. It is made all the more dangerous by the fact that its agents speak of everything, "the maintenance of law and order and the State authority" and so on, but never about fascism unless to condemn it. The anti-fascist working-class movement, under the leadership of the Communist Party, is opposing military fascism as it opposes fascism in general. It exposes the fascist nature of many of the "anti-fascist" slogans which are put forward particularly by the reformist, agrarian and Trotskyist leaders, and it popularises the slogan, "*Fascism will not be permitted to succeed!*" together with the slogan, "*General Strike against military fascism!*"

The Situation in Chile

By R. G. (Buenos Aires)

On the 28th May the workers and the peasants who have been driven off their lands joined forces with the native Indian population in the South Chilean province of **Cautin**, which is the heart of Chile's agricultural district and which embraces almost 50 per cent. of the tilled land of Chile, and rose in armed revolt against their oppressors. The movement was led by the Communists with **comrade Jean S. Leiva Tapia** at their head. Leiva Tapia was the Communist candidate at the last parliamentary elections in the Bio-Bio constituency. From the very first moment of the insurrection the Alessandri government spread a wave of lies and slander about it and about its leaders. The immediate occasion for the insurrection was the dispossessing of a number of peasants from a number of "fundos" (Latifundia) in the district. These dispossessed peasants were actually faced with starvation.

The tremendous dissatisfaction which prevails throughout the whole province—the workers are for the most part unemployed and the unemployed workers receive no support of any kind—the indescribable mass misery of the population—even those workers who still have jobs are terribly exploited—flared up into open insurrection, ignited by the plight of the dispossessed peasants. A factor which greatly contributed to the general distress and dissatisfaction was the epidemic of typhus which is sweeping through the district and against which the government has done nothing whatever, deeming callously the visitation as a cheap and easy way of settling at least a part of the unemployment problem.

The armed insurrection was preceded by a series of big strikes, most of which were fought to a successful conclusion by the determined workers, for instance, the strike of the 1,200 tunnel workers in **Las Raices**, the strike of the tramwaymen in **Temuca**, the strike of the motor-car drivers in **Valdivia**, and the strike of foundry workers in **Canal**. All these strikes were organised and led by the F.O.C.H., the Chilean Federation of Labour, which is under strong Communist influence. The insurrection was thus precipitated by the militant spirit of the masses. The insurrectionaries marched on the capital town of the district, **Lonquimay**, expropriating on the way the estates of the rich agrarians. In Lonquimay they requisitioned foodstuffs from the big stores. The action embraced the districts **Ranquil**, **Nitrito** and **Rahim**.

The government speedily mobilised all its forces against the insurrectionaries and pitched and bloody battles took place. Comrade Leiva Tapia was killed in action in one of these battles at the head of the workers. He was one of the most popular and most highly trusted workers' leaders and revolutionaries in Southern

Chile. His name was a sound of fear for the bourgeoisie. Despite this great loss the movement did not collapse, but the workers fought on desperately, and only after long and difficult operations did the governmental troops succeed in suppressing the rising.

It would be wrong to consider this insurrection apart from the general situation in Chile. Apart from the big strikes already mentioned, strikes also occurred in other parts of the country, for instance, in **Santiago**, in **San Antonio** and **Valparaiso**, where metal workers, electricians, carpenters seamen, municipal workers and other categories were involved. The culminating point of this strike wave was the **political mass strike** of the 30th April, which was organised as a protest against the massacre in the headquarters of the F.O.C.H. on the 27th April. This strike made such a tremendous appeal to the indignant workers that even the trade union organisations which supported the government were compelled to join in or risk losing the support of their members. The mass political strike reached its highest point on the 1st May. Bloody collisions took place everywhere between the demonstrating workers and the police. The bourgeoisie did its utmost to split the ranks of the striking workers. It intends to prohibit the F.O.C.H. and to prepare the way to this prohibition it supports the "**Hidalgo Trotskyists**" and the supporters of the renegade **Grove** in their efforts to found new trade unions. Despite the weakness of the Communist Party the enemies of the working class have not succeeded in these manoeuvres. On the contrary, **the unity congress**, which was called by the F.O.C.H. received the support of the majority of the workers. Representatives of the railwaymen, the seamen, the saltpetre miners, the copper miners, the cold-storage workers and almost all other categories of workers took part in the congress. 180 delegates appeared at the congress from all parts of the country, a proof that the manoeuvres of the enemy had made no impression on the masses of the workers. The government answered the defeat it had experienced by abandoning its methods of intrigue and openly adopting the method of terror. Police and military surrounded the congress hall and everyone present was arrested on the pretext that a communist plot was being hatched. Apparently the government intends to bring the arrested working class representatives to trial. In preparation for this it is now spreading the lie that the congress was organised from Moscow and by the "Comintern Committee in Montevideo."

With all their violence the government and the ruling classes do not feel comfortable. First of all there was the general strike of the seamen which shook the whole of Chile, and this was followed by the formation of soviets in the period of the "**Socialist Republic**" under **Grove**. And then despite all the brutal exceptional laws, the police terror and the liberal use of military violence, came the armed insurrection in **Cautin**, supported by a wave of strikes in all provinces. Terrorism is no longer able to hold back the movement of the masses. Every plan of the government collapses owing to its own incapacity. The phrases of the traditional politicians no longer have their usual influence on the masses. And now **Grove** is being used as a tool, but even the big influence he has amongst the masses is not sufficient to split their ranks. One of the results of this new alliance is that the **Ibanists** are being exposed more and more in the eyes of the masses every day. The latest insurrection has filled the bourgeoisie with fear and it is turning more and more for assistance to the weapon of brutal terror, armed power and the support of the Chilean national socialists. The proletariat has shown its own face in Chile. The strike of the seamen, the establishment of soviets whose historical importance was not diminished by the shortness of their life and by the errors committed by the Communist Party, and the insurrection in the South of Chile are the flaming signs of the approaching victorious workers and peasants revolution.

After the "pacification" of the year 1933 the revolutionary movement in Chile has recovered its strength. The conditions for a revolutionary victory are maturing rapidly. The movement of the working masses is still too spontaneous and the bolshevisation of the Communist Party of Chile still leaves much to be wished for, but the portents for the future are favourable. In Chile as in Brazil and more than in any other South American State all revolutionary actions of the masses revolve around the question of political power. The parties of the ruling classes are shaken to the core, the government is becoming increasingly more feeble and impotent, the economic and financial difficulties of capit-

alism in Chile are intensifying rapidly, the mass movement of the workers and peasants is growing and the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade union movement are strengthening their positions. The situation of the party, particularly in the northern industrial districts, is very strong. The development of the struggles in Chile will exercise a powerful influence on the extension of the basis for the victorious revolution in the countries on the Pacific Ocean. The fighting spirit and energies of the Chilean working masses are well known and they have shown clearly during the past year what they are aiming at. The establishment of the soviets in 1932 and the insurrection in the south in 1934 showed the way to the masses. The struggle is not ebbing, on the contrary, it is increasing in strength. It will depend on the Communist Party whether the wide experience of the Chilean workers becomes a driving force in future development. In the South the workers and peasants, under the leadership of the advance guard of the proletariat, have concluded an alliance with the oppressed natives. Under the leadership of the Communist Party the proletariat of Chile can and must found an invincible block of the workers, peasants and natives for the seizure of power.

Germany

Deeper and Deeper in the Economic Morass

The bankruptcy of the national-socialist economic policy is being made more and more patent every day on every field of economic life.

After all his bold threats and proud declarations, the President of the Reichsbank, **Dr. Schacht**, has beaten a retreat and agreed to continue the payment of the interest on the Dawes and Young Plan loans to **Great Britain**. However, the economic breathing space which he hoped to gain thereby he has not succeeded in obtaining. Germany's other creditors now feel themselves more than ever scurvily treated and are beginning to bang their fists on the table. The result was a demonstration of far-reaching significance: the trustees of the Dawes loan, important representatives of international finance-capital, declared Germany's customs and tax revenues, which are securities for the Dawes loan, confiscated and refused to give their permission for these revenues to go to the German treasury. The revenues in question are derived from the tobacco, sugar, beer, and transport taxes and from the spirit monopoly. These revenues amount to about 200 million marks monthly, or about one-third of the total revenues of the German government. The sum which is in arrears with the Bank for International Payments is, however, a comparatively small one and amounted to no more than 10.5 million marks on July 15.

This step on the part of the international bankers has no more than a moral effect for the moment, because the revenues in question are not in the hands of the Bank for International Payments, but under the control of the German government in the Reichsbank, and the German government has already announced in an indignant protest declaration that it will take "the necessary means to ensure that the revenues in question are applied to their original aims." All that the German government need do is secure the instructions of Schacht, but such an order on the part of Schacht would be a violation of the international obligations which the German government formally accepted when it signed the Dawes Plan Loan agreement. It is therefore on the cards that international finance-capital will reply with economic and financial measures to back up its demands.

No agreement has yet been come to with **Sweden** in the transfer question, because the Swedish government insists on the payment of interest on the Kreuger loan. The **United States** government has brusquely rejected the German proposal that it should purchase equal treatment with regard to its share of the interest on the Dawes and Young loans as the British government has obtained by granting Germany special trading privileges. Even the **Rumanian** government has announced through its Prime Minister, **Tatarescu**, that it intends to adapt its economic policy to its foreign policy: that is to say, that it will do business with **France** rather than with Germany. The German national-socialist bankrupts wanted to obtain grain from **Hungary** to stave off the threatened food shortage at home and to pay for these imports with the credits to the value of 70 million marks which are "frozen" in Hungary, but Germany's "friends" in Hungary proved unwilling to agree to the operation.

Even the British, to whom Schacht has made the biggest concessions, are not satisfied with the state of their German business. They are lodging complaints to the effect that as a result of the German foreign currency allotment regulations the German importers of British goods are no longer in a position to meet their bills when they mature. Bills of exchange in the hands of the British against German importers which have not been met in this way already total over a million pounds sterling. The strict regulations with regard to the allotment of foreign currency for import purchases which have been put into operation in Germany have succeeded in putting a stop to the diminution of Germany's foreign exchange and gold reserves, and preventing the covering percentage of Germany's notes from falling still further, but this success is only a temporary one. It has been bought at the price of default, not only on the part of the German government, but also on the part of German importers who can no longer meet the demands of their foreign creditors. Foreign exporters, selling to Germany, are now generally adopting the practice of refusing all credit and demanding cash payments for their goods. The result of this must be a tremendous intensification of Germany's raw material and foodstuff difficulties.

The situation could be improved only by making Germany's balance of foreign trade once again active, but there is no prospect of this. In June Germany's balance of foreign trade was again passive to the tune of 38 million marks, a slight reduction as compared with an unfavourable balance of 42 million marks in May. The passive balance of Germany's foreign trade for the first six months of 1934 was 216 million marks, or a sum three times in excess of Germany's present reserves of foreign currency and gold. In 1933 Germany's foreign trade showed an active balance of 291 million marks in the first six months. The reason for this adverse balance was a double one: first of all, Germany's export trade dropped by 250 million marks (from 2,336 to 2,086 million marks); and, secondly, Germany's imports greatly increased, the increase in the imports of raw materials alone amounting to 233 million marks.

Although the imports of raw materials were greatly increased, obviously in expectation of currency difficulties, and although stores have been piled up in excess of normal, the difficulties in supplying home needs in Germany are already becoming acute. For the moment the industry chiefly affected is the **textile industry**. In order to prevent the complete paralysation of the textile industry in the near future, the Reich's Economic Ministry has ordered that no more than **36 hours a week** shall be worked in the whole of the fibrous tissue industry. There is naturally no question of any wage compensation for the textile workers—as far as they do not force such compensation by their own struggle—and these instructions therefore mean an all-round **reduction of wages** ranging from 10 to 15 per cent. The 350,000 textile workers affected by this order are already amongst the ranks of the worst-paid workers in Germany. According to figures published by the national-socialist "Labour Front," the average weekly wage paid in the textile industry was 21.47 marks a week. The effect of the new short-time instructions will be that the textile workers in Germany will go home with a weekly wage in their pockets ranging from 16 to 19 marks a week.

This order for short-time in the textile industry is obviously only the forerunner of further and still more extensive measures which will affect one industry after the other. The next industry to be involved is the leather industry. Any increase of prices for textile commodities is prohibited, but with the proviso that prices may be adapted to world market levels and that increased production costs may be taken into consideration. Naturally, with general short-time the costs of production must rise, and the result will be that textile commodities will not only become of inferior quality, but prices will rise. And when the minor boom in sales caused by anxious hoarding is past, then a still stronger drop in production will take place. The capitalists obviously realise this, for, together with the short-time order, instructions have been issued forbidding the opening up of new factories and the extension of the existing undertakings. Similar prohibitions have been issued for a whole series of industries, and new ones are continually being issued. In June the **production of steel** fell for the first time again despite the armament racket, and the figures were 38,600 tons as compared with 43,000 tons.

A compulsory cartel is being formed for the **motor-car industry**, and rubber may be purchased only with special permission. Here

also no new factories may be opened and the existing factories may not be extended. The inevitable result will be that the encouragement of production in the automobile industry carried out at such cost to the taxpayer must come to a stop. In Germany wonderful stories are sedulously being circulated about the marvellous substitute materials produced by the genius of the German chemists, encouraged by Hitler, whilst at the same time foreign buyers are being assured that the German tyres exported to them are made out of the highest quality natural rubber without the admixture of substitutes.

Not all the decrees issued by the Reich's Commissar for Raw Materials, Puppe, can alter this situation. The German exporters are to be given a guarantee against the exhaustion of their raw stuff supplies in the form that the section of the sums received for export which represent the amount of raw materials involved will be given to them as foreign currency for the purchase of raw materials for replacement purposes. This bureaucratic arrangement will not be able to prevent a further reduction of the export trade, which is already threatened from all sides, all the more so as it assumes without any basis that the prices for raw materials will remain stable.

A supplementary and extremely onerous burden is placed on the already sorely-trying economic and social situation in Germany by the serious failure of the harvest, as already pointed out in previous articles. German monopolist capital is striving to master the threatening difficulties by bureaucratic compulsion adversely affecting both the peasants and the consumers.

All grain producers in Germany and the millers and bakers are to be organised compulsorily in special grain associations, subject to the direct dictatorship of the Reich's Food Ministry. The associations formed in this way will have no democratic administration, but will be conducted according to "the leadership principle"; in other words, the representatives of agrarian and finance-capital will be at the helm, and under their control these unions will have wide powers. They will determine the grain quotas to be delivered; they will determine where grain, flour and bread is to be delivered; they will fix prices, and they will fix delivery and payment conditions. They can also order undertakings to be closed down temporarily or permanently. They will fix the contributions to be paid for the administration of the associations; they can impose fines up to a thousand marks, and they will be able to use the powers of the State to force through their decrees against the peasants and the consumers. In other words, a compulsory organisation is being formed such as is necessary only in times of war or famine.

For this year of bad harvest the grain producers have been ordered to supply 30 per cent. of last year's supplies in rye and 25 per cent. of last year's supplies in wheat by October 31. What the peasant needs for himself he may keep back. In accordance with capitalist principles, no differentiation is to be made between the peasants and the large-scale agriculturalists with regard to prices and the duty of supplying the quotas. The price of wheat is to be raised by 10 marks a ton and the price of rye by 6 marks a ton. The decree in question points out that this increase in prices will not make up for the losses which the peasant will suffer as the result of the bad harvest and "on the other hand any general increase in the price of bread will be prevented, although perhaps local corrections may have to be made to a limited extent." That is to say, the price of bread will go up, but not generally, but from district to district.

The supplies of milk, fats and meat will in all probability be poorer even than the supplies of bread, because this year's fodder yield looks like being considerably worse than the grain harvest. Cattle are being fed widely with potatoes, as a result of which the shortage of this staple article of the people's food is being intensified. During the past few weeks 20,000 head of cattle have been slaughtered in Thuringia alone under the stress of circumstances. And, as though to mock the German people in their troubles, the national-socialists declare that this compulsory organisation to plunder the toiling peasants and the consumers and to "organise" starvation is "socialism."

Writing in the "Nationalsozialistische Landpost," one of the national-socialist food dictators, Dr. Reischle, declares:—

"Considered from the material point of view, the obligations placed on agriculture may appear hard, but from the idealist point of view agriculture has won the right to declare that it has stood its socialist test."

"Socialism wherever we look!" howled the social-democratic patriots during the war when hunger was rationed and organised by the war-mongers with food tickets and working-class women and children were compelled to stand for hours before empty food shops. The worthy successors of Wilhelm II and his clique, Hitler and Co., are leading the German people back to the same stirring times.

It is high time that the workers and peasants of Germany joined forces in order to make an end of the whole system of exploitation and terror.

Undying Victims

By J. L.

The coming 1st August is a memorial day for us, not only for the millions of human beings who fell victim to the atrocious crime of imperialist war, but also for our four heroic comrades who were beheaded in Altona on the 1st August, 1933, by Hitler, Goering and Co. The ruling fascist murderers chose the international fighting day of the working class against imperialist war in order to open up the long list of their "legal" murders. Forty of our comrades have already been murdered in this fashion. Forty executions and 93 death sentences, that is the work of the judges and the executioners in Hitler's Third Reich.

Against the lowering background of fascist terror which is now sending hundreds of its own deceived and disappointed supporters to their death after the thousands of proletarian fighters one thing stands out grandly—the proletarian heroism and Bolshevik steadfastness with which our comrades faced the national socialist judges and the fascist executioners. What a comparison between the upright deaths of these men and the miserable end of cold-blooded murderers and sadists like Heines and Ernst when their turn came! Sobbing, begging and whining, the fascists who had lost the throw were dragged more dead than alive to be shot cowering and sobbing against the wall.

The fascist mercenaries, who never tired of mouthing heroic phrases, died as shamefully as they had lived. Their erstwhile friends and worthy associates accused them of common crimes, of bribery and corruption, of sodomy and perversion, rather than of political crimes.

Our comrades of Altona, Luettgens, Wolff, Tesch and Moeller, proletarians and men of the people, who took their place in the political struggle not for the joy of adventure, but in order to win a better life for their class, their families and themselves, faced their accusers and faced the fascist executioner with the proletarian heroism and fearless determination which made the fighters of the Paris Commune immortal and led the Russian working class to victory.

The "crime" was that they defended the homes of the working class in Altona from the fascist murder bands who penetrated into the working-class quarters under the protection of the social-democratic police president Eggerstaedt, that they organised a mass defence to the fascist terror. Before the court our comrades made no attempt to deny this, on the contrary, they stood by their actions proudly. On the 17th June, 1932, sixteen working-class men and women were murdered in Altona by armed fascist bands and by the armed police of the social-fascist Eggerstaedt. Two members of the fascist terrorist bands were killed in the fighting. No bourgeois court has ever bothered its head about the murderers of the sixteen working-class men and women, but four revolutionary workers were sentenced to death for the two fascists who were killed on their murderous expedition. The court did not even attempt to prove that the four workers had any direct connection with the death of the two fascists. The evidence of spies and informers to the effect that the four had borne arms in the struggle was sufficient to sentence them to death.

When the Public Prosecutor announced that he would ask for the death sentence against the accused, our heroic comrade, Luettgens, declared proudly:—

"The demand of the Public Prosecutor, that I should be sentenced to death, is the greatest honour which can be paid by a capitalist court to a proletarian revolutionary. The death sentence against my comrades and against myself will not deflect the German working class from its irreconcilable struggle against fascism. No matter how this trial may end, the revolutionary working class will do its duty in the struggle against fascism."

Comrade Luettgens expressed only one wish before the

capitalist court. He did not want to be held in the same prison as the miserable agent-provocateur who had denounced the revolutionary workers and who had also been placed in the dock for the sake of appearances.

The last letter which Comrade Luettgens sent to his parents before his execution breathes the same magnificent spirit of irreconcilable hatred against the traitors to the working class. Writing to his father, a social democrat, he declared:—

“And you, dear father, must thank your party friends. If they had not been so cowardly the situation would have been very different.”

Seventy proletarian political prisoners were lined up in the courtyard of the prison to witness the execution of their comrades by the national-socialist sadists. They were to see the heads of their comrades roll into the sand as an “example” to them. They saw how revolutionary proletarians die—proud, unbroken and without fear. They died as **Bruno Tesch** had promised in his last letter:—

“We shall die as we have lived—as proletarian fighters.”

With the shout: “Long live the proletarian revolution! Red Front!” Comrade **Luettgens** placed his head on the block.

Our comrade, **Karl Wolff**, a member of a workers' sport and athletic association, asked to be permitted to stretch his limbs for the last time before his execution. The executioners removed his bonds, and with a terrific blow he felled the nearest Brownshirt and then marched proudly to the block.

The bestial murderers had not bothered about informing the relatives of the doomed men of the executions. The right to see their nearest and dearest for the last time before execution, a right never refused to common murderers, was refused to our comrades. The old mother of Comrade **Tesch**, a member of the Young Communist League, heard of his execution on the wireless on the evening of the day the four were murdered. Almost out of her senses at the suddenness of the blow, she rushed screaming into the street. On this day, for the first time for a very long time, Altona saw thousands and thousands of working men and women demonstrating their hatred of the Hitler regime and their firm determination to fight against it to the end.

Those who experienced that day will know no hesitation and no weakness when the day of reckoning comes.

In 1908, when the wild orgies of the counter-revolution which followed on the defeat of the 1905 revolution were at their height, **Lenin** wrote:—

“Only hopeless pedants and stupid old crocks can spend their time lamenting that the people must go through this painful school. This school will teach the oppressed masses how to carry on a civil war and carry through a victorious revolution. It is accumulating in the masses of our slaves that hatred which the intimidated, indifferent and ignorant slaves repress in their own bosom, but which makes those slaves who have recognised their own slavery capable of great historic deeds of heroism.”

The German proletariat is going through a strict schooling in the fury of fascist terror, and no one can doubt that the working class which has brought forward such heroes as our comrades **Gustav Luettgens**, **Johnny Scheer**, **Richard Huettig** and hundreds of others, and which has created a firm organisation of thousands of just such revolutionaries will be capable of great historic deeds of heroism. Dozens of new fighters have taken the place of every fallen comrade. Every new crime of the Hitler dictatorship awakens undying hatred and an irreconcilable will to fight and win in the breasts of hundreds and thousands of new fighters.

Like a great political magnet, the Communist Party will draw to itself the best elements amongst the masses of the social-democratic workers who have been betrayed and left in the lurch by their leaders, and amongst the disappointed and betrayed masses of the brown-shirted Storm Troops of Hitler.

The fascist dictatorship is trying to cement the cracks in its shoddy structure with the blood of its enemies, but just this blood will shatter it completely. As Marx has pointed out, the fierce desire for vengeance is “one of the most powerful factors for energetic and passionate action in revolutionary times.”

Our murdered friends have not died in vain. Their spirit is alive in the hearts of hundreds of thousands of others who are risking their lives day after day to spread revolutionary propaganda amongst the masses, who are forging the battalions for the coming revolution in the factories, who are urging on the resistance in the

fascist mass organisations. It will live amongst the millions of workers who will come on to the streets in the General Strike and the armed insurrection which will overthrow the bloody dictatorship of the exploiters, and in the hearts of the Red Guards and the Red Army which will defeat the enemies of the proletariat and win freedom, peace and well-being for the masses of the people in Soviet Germany.

International Campaign for the Release of Thaelmann

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Further protests have been forwarded to the German Embassy in Prague by the miners of the Biehl pit, the workers employed in the Lipkovitz workers' bakery, four public meetings in the Kaaden district, and a public meeting in Bartelsdorf. A Thaelmann lecture to be held by Dr. Sekanina in Bruch was prohibited by the authorities. In protest against this prohibition, many hundred leaflets were distributed in Bruch, and slogans painted up. In Reichenberg, where another Thaelmann demonstration was prohibited, demonstrators met in the evening and marched through the streets, shouting in chorus the slogans for Thaelmann's release. The police had made great preparations for suppressing any demonstration, but could not prevent the shouting of the slogans. Similar demonstrations took place in Prague. A Red sport gala in Botenwald organised a demonstration for the release of Thaelmann. The demonstration, participated in by several hundred persons, adopted a sharp protest against the incarceration of Thaelmann and the other anti-fascists; this was sent to the German Embassy. A Thaelmann demonstration arranged in Oderberg was prohibited by the police. All the leaflets prepared for the demonstration were confiscated. A number of protests have been sent from Oderberg against the imprisonment of Thaelmann. The municipal council in Hermanice, in Silesia, adopted by 27 against 7 votes a resolution moved by the Communists against the imprisonment of Comrades Thaelmann and Wallisch. The Communists, social democrats, national socialists, people's party, etc., voted for the motion, only the national democrats against it.

SWITZERLAND

At a public meeting held in Berne for Ernst Thaelmann it was resolved to send a delegation of Berne workers to the German Embassy to demand Thaelmann's release.

SWEDEN

On the arrival of a German passenger steamer in Stockholm the German passengers landing were received by anti-fascist workers, carrying posters with anti-fascist slogans. The demand for Thaelmann's release was one of the most conspicuous. The workers also distributed leaflets in German. The police intervened and made four arrests.

In Karlskrona the main streets were painted in great red letters during the night, with slogans: “Freedom for Thaelmann,” “Down with fascism,” etc.

SPAIN

“Heraldo de Madrid” publishes a protest demanding that Thaelmann be tried by a regular court, another to the same effect from the Alicante trade union of typographical workers, a telegram from the trade union of the commercial employees of Asturia, a letter from the building workers' trade union of Bilbao to the German Embassy, further protests from the metal workers' trade union of Biscaya, from the miners' and building workers' unions of Sestao, etc.

After the conclusion of the Youth Congress against Fascism and War, the Central Committee elected at this Congress (composed of 8 socialists, 9 Communists, 3 republicans, 2 members of the U.G.T., 2 members of the C.N.T., and 3 non-partisans) met and resolved to initiate a broad campaign in order to raise the necessary funds enabling a Youth delegation to be sent to Germany to visit Thaelmann.

The Juridical Committee for Thaelmann, at its last session, held under the presidency of Mrs. Victoria Kent, former head of the general management of the Spanish prisons, resolved to make all preparations at once for the organisation of a Thaelmann counter-trial, to take place in Madrid in August. For this purpose a hall is to be demanded from the Ministry of Justice, which will be called upon to place a court-room of the Supreme Court at the disposal of the counter-trial. The court convened to judge upon the proofs and counter-proofs will be composed of judges of regular status in the Spanish law courts.

Great Britain

Mosley Fascism and Lancashire Cotton

By E. Woolley (London)

Sir Oswald Mosley has adopted a fascist programme to save Lancashire cotton capitalism. There is not a new point in it. It is the same National government tariff policy, supplemented by demagogic phrases of "sweating and slavery under the guise of freedom and democracy must be stopped and could be stopped only by strong government prepared to act."

(1) The exclusion of foreign textiles from Crown colonies.

This would give immediate employment to 11,000 workers in Lancashire.

This point of Mosley's seems very plausible. It is simple—but has not British imperialism been trying to do this all along? There is more than one imperialist pebble on the beach. The moves of one imperialist Power are replied to by the other.

The foreign policy of each imperialist country is based on this. Just as Hitler has further wrecked German capitalist economy, so is this policy, which Mosley wants to strengthen, leading to catastrophe.

The cause of the capitalist crisis is the shrinking of markets through mass impoverishment. This has paralysed capitalist production. World textile exports in 1929 amounted to 8,000,000,000 square yards, but since then they have declined to 5,000,000,000, a drop of 3,000,000,000 square yards.

Japan is the only country which has increased exports during recent years, but of the British trade lost since 1928 only about one-third has been gained by Japan, and this increase of trade by Japan has not meant better conditions for the Japanese workers—but worse. It has not brought peace, but war.

The conflict for markets is so strong that "the exclusion of foreign textiles from the Crown colonies" would be replied to by the other imperialist countries, and as most of Lancashire cotton exports are to countries outside the Crown colonies, British imperialism would be the loser in playing this game. Far from 11,000 unemployed finding work from this source, unemployment would increase and a world imperialist war would be its immediate consequence.

(2) The removal of Indian tariff barriers against Lancashire.

This would give employment to at least 25,000 workers in Lancashire. It means strong government in India and the assumption of full fiscal control by Great Britain.

"Indian tariff barriers" are higher against Japan than Lancashire, and actually are in favour of Lancashire capitalism. Mosley wants "strong government in India" to keep India a backward country.

The increase in India's domestic production has been as follows:—

	Million Yards
1920	2,959
1930	3,777
1931	3,883
1932	4,362
1933	4,870

In five years they have increased production of cloth by 1,914,000,000 square yards.

Fascist policy is simple! Blow up all the Indian mills, and right away Lancashire can work on the 4,870,000,000 square yards produced by Indian mills. Such is the reasoning of the fascist maniac Mosley.

If the 300,000,000 people of India could have their minimum requirements of wearing apparel supplied, all the mills in Lancashire, Japan, America, Germany, Poland and other countries could be put on full time for years.

The problem of India is to smash British imperialism, which prevents the development of Indian economy, with its resultant impoverishment of the workers and peasants. To maintain the large military machine of British Imperialism in India, the Indian masses are heavily taxed. To maintain India as a slave colony, British imperialism seeks the support of the Indian princes by giving them full licence to rob the masses.

The famine conditions on the land have been fully taken advantage of by the moneylender land sharks.

This extra exploitation of the Indian masses, firstly by Indian

capitalists and princes and secondly by the British imperialists, has ruined India.

Destroy this gang of bloodsuckers. Release the Indian masses from paying heavy financial tribute to British financiers in London. Smash British imperialism, and the Indian masses will be able to place orders for the things they want.

"Stronger (capitalist) government in India" will further destroy the Indian market, as brutal imperialist rule has already done.

(3) The exclusion of Japanese textiles from India would afford employment for 29,000 workers in Lancashire, is a further point of this fascist fraud of a theory.

The "exclusion of Japanese textiles from India" would bring with it further ruin of India and an accompanying shrinkage of the Indian market for Lancashire cloths, creating more unemployment in Lancashire.

A big part of the exports of India is made up of Indian short staple raw cotton. Most of this goes to Japan. Japanese cloths sold in India actually operate as an exchange for the raw cotton bought from India by Japan.

Lancashire, whose spinning machinery has not been able to adapt itself to spinning the short staple cotton from India, is one of India's worst buyers in this respect. Thus the operation of this fascist policy would mean the shattering of Indian cotton agriculture, with its consequent catastrophic effect on the whole of Indian economy.

How this would lead to the Indian masses having a greater capacity to buy cloth from Lancashire cannot be explained even by the most demagogic fascist outbursts.

Oswald Mosley wants to do the impossible. He dreams of turning the pages of history back, and attaining a situation where "Britain rules the waves," and the whole world, one big field for the free, unrestricted operations of robber-British imperialism.

Capitalist economy is world wide, with each imperialist Power rapidly building stronger and stronger armed forces, with groupings of Powers—all for the solving of the capitalist crisis along the very same lines put forward by Sir Oswald Mosley. The war situation develops too slowly for Mosley.

British fascism would waste no time. Mosley's theory is that what is wanted to save the British Empire is leaders such as the men who made the Empire—men of action.

Just as Hitler fascism, in roughshod fashion, opens every war sore, and does not even make a pretence of standing for "peace," so Blackshirt Mosley wants to wield the sword that made the Empire.

All the factors in the present economic situation are driving to war, and fascism is developed by the capitalist class to lead the way. Mosley's policy, the policy of finance-capital, the policy proclaimed under the flag of the Union Jack, leads to further ruin of the masses of India and the workers of Lancashire. It leads to further economic catastrophe and to the mass massacre of the world's workers through capitalist war, so that the armament backers of Mosley will reap their easy profits.

Sir Oswald Mosley, a Knight of His Majesty King George V, the owner of land in Lancashire upon which some of the worst slums are built, hopes to cover this open imperialist policy by wrappers more appetising to the working class—hence he completes his programme by:—

(4) To compel Indian millowners to give their workers a decent standard of life and to gut and rebuild the foul industrial slums of the East.

Mosley makes this statement at a time when the Indian textile workers are fighting heroic strike struggles for "a decent standard of life"; but Sir Oswald Mosley does not make the briefest reference to this. Neither has his Blackshirt paper even given publicity to the strike.

When Mosley uses his land ownership rights to "gut and rebuild the foul industrial slums of the West," then his statements about the East would begin to have some meaning.

The way to work for Lancashire unemployed cannot be any other than the way of class struggle. The fight against the more-loam system means a fight against more work with less workers for less pay.

Not by allying themselves with the imperialist degenerates for "stronger (imperialist) government in India," but by unity with the Indian workers and peasants in the joint fight to smash the enemy responsible for misery and poverty both in India and Lan-

cashire, is the way forward to work with shorter hours, better pay, better housing—and peace.

All experience is proving to the Lancashire workers that this progressive—revolutionary—way forward of the Communist Party is the only way for solving all the problems that have arisen out of the anarchy of capitalist production.

Austria

How Otto Bauer Wished to Prevent the February Struggles

By Gustav (Vienna)

The Second International and their parties still continue to claim credit for the heroic struggles of the Austrian workers. However, it has become clear from a whole number of statements that the social-democratic party of Austria, up to the last moment, wished to prevent any serious fight. It has become evident that the struggles broke out spontaneously and that the share of the social democracy in them consisted only in disorganising them and bringing about their defeat.

Only the events immediately preceding the February struggles, the events which took place in Linz before February 12, had not been completely brought to light. A trial of leading functionaries of the Republican Schutzbund which took place just recently in Linz has now revealed the history of the events which occurred before the February fights, in the town in which they broke out. It fits in entirely with the picture already known. It reveals the deadly contradiction between the thoughts and the will of the workers who were organised in the social-democratic party and wanted to fight, and the criminal policy of the leaders, who wished to avoid the fight at any price, and it also shows clearly how it was only the pressure of the masses, especially of the followers of the social-democratic party who had been influenced by Communist agitation and propaganda, which finally led to the breaking of the baneful social-democratic party discipline.

The trial reveals that already in the Autumn of 1933 the position of the social-democratic party organisations in many places was disastrous. The acceptance without fighting of all the blows delivered by the class enemy, the support of the fascist Dollfuss government resulted in the masses of social-democratic workers becoming estranged from the party. Several local organisations of the social-democratic party in Upper Austria collapsed because they no longer had the necessary officials and functionaries. The district organisation of Voecklabruck, for example, was faced with collapse and reported this fact to party headquarters; the Krems Valley district, and the Alm Valley district and the Wolfsegg colliery district sent in similar reports, under the heading "last warning."

Richard Bernashek, the leader of the Republican Schutzbund in Upper Austria, sadly realised how the masses were alienated by the social-democratic policy. The mood prevailing in February, shortly before the outbreak of the fighting, is clearly shown in his report dated February 5 to the national secretariat. In this report he mentions that in the period from January 1 to February 4, 1934, 48 meetings were held in Upper Austria, including three held by himself in the colliery district. The meetings were all very badly attended. Where formerly a company of the Schutzbund and 200 to 300 other people attended, there were now only 40 to 50 old people present. The Youth stayed away. It was difficult, he said, to replace the functionaries who had resigned. Indignation on account of the capitulation of the party in regard to the disbanding of the Republican Schutzbund still prevailed, especially among the most capable and determined Schutzbundlers. It was difficult to arouse a fighting mood in the meetings, and if the speaker ventured to declare that the party was still prepared for a struggle, he was met with an ironical smile. Many members declared that they would join the Communists.

This desperate situation of the middle S.P. apparatus standing between the masses, who were becoming more revolutionary, and the leadership, whose treachery was becoming increasingly open, finally led to desperate decisions. When the arrests in Vienna became more frequent, Bernashek, on Thursday, February 8, summoned all section commanders to a meeting of leaders. They awaited instructions from Vienna in order to see whether the order for the general strike would at last be given. As no news arrived, two sub-commanders were sent to Vienna in order to obtain information. Nevertheless, the party leaders still refused to give the signal for the fight.

In the meantime the indignation of the workers rose to boiling point. Bernashek gave way to this mood. On Sunday, February 11, he invited his sub-commanders to an official conference. He submitted to them the draft of a letter which was to be sent to Schorsch, the secretary of the Austrian Trade Union Federation, to General Koerner, commander of the Schutzbund, and to Otto Bauer. This letter, after describing the political situation, stated that it would be impossible any longer to permit a search for weapons in Linz without offering resistance. The fight against the State power thus became a settled affair.

Bernashek had written that he had a conference in Linz with five loyal, conscientious comrades and had adopted the following irrevocable decision:—

"This afternoon (February 11) and to-night we shall place ready all weapons at our disposal in the whole of Upper Austria in order that they shall be immediately to hand for the workers who are determined to offer resistance. If to-morrow a search for weapons should be made in any town of Upper Austria, forcible resistance will be offered, and in continuation of this resistance we shall go over to the attack. This decision, as well as its execution, is irrevocable."

The three letters were given to the retired railwayman, Anton Mayer, with instructions that he should deliver the same. Mayer duly handed over the letter to Schorsch, who was obviously disturbed by its contents and said that, as it was, there would be a meeting of the party executive next day. Mayer then went to Otto Bauer, who read the letter and then asked the bearer whether he was aware of its contents. When he replied in the negative, Bauer made the contents known to him, and declared:—

"I am not in agreement with the intentions of Bernashek and will not allow my policy to be dictated from Linz."

After further political discussions, Mayer had to return to Linz with instructions to inform the district leader that under no circumstances was any action to be taken. Bernashek was told to come to Vienna at once. Mayer returned to Linz after he had burned the letter intended for General Koerner.

Jalkotzky, who had accompanied Mayer to Vienna, went to his home and telephoned on behalf of Otto Bauer to Linz. This was at 3.30 in the morning of February 12. Jalkotzky did not get into connection with the Schutzbund command in Hotel Schiff, nor was he able to get connection with the national councillor, Baumgaertel. He finally succeeded in getting on the telephone to the local group of the "Free School and Friends of the Children." Jalkotzky demanded that Bernashek should come to the telephone. Bernashek could not be reached, but Otto Huschka took the following message: "Aunt is all right. The doctors and Uncle Otto are of the opinion that nothing should be done. Bernashek shall come at once to Vienna. Mayer is on his way back to Linz, and it is important that nothing should be done." Huschka handed over the slip of paper containing this message to Bernashek, who stuck to his decision and immediately ordered that the weapons should be got ready. After six o'clock Bernashek held the last conference. At seven o'clock Mayer arrived from Vienna and conveyed to Bernashek the instructions of Otto Bauer. At the same time a police auto drove up to the Hotel Schiff in order to carry out a search for weapons.

Bernashek attempted at the last moment, when the police already occupied the hotel where the Schutzbundlers were, to avoid a fight. He rang up the Christian Social Governor of Upper Austria, Dr. Schlegel, and requested his intermediation in the following words:—

"Herr governor! We request your intervention. The Hotel Schiff is occupied by police. Will you please have the police withdrawn, otherwise something terrible will happen." Dr. Schlegel promised to make inquiries, at the same time warning Bernashek not to do anything rash.

Bernashek replied:—

"I beg you; there is no time to lose; something terrible is happening."

When Dr. Schlegel got into contact with the police, firing had already taken place. The spark had been applied to the powder barrel and the fight had already begun.

Otto Bauer and his friends are now indulging in radical manoeuvres in order to win the confidence of the Austrian workers. We must see that the events which led up to the February fights are not forgotten.

China

The Recent Advances of the Chinese Red Army

By Chie Hua

Despite the lying reports of the Kuomintang about its "victories," the Chinese Red Army has in fact won considerable victories everywhere, from the coast of Fukien into the interior, in Szechwan.

The defeat suffered by Chiang Kai-shek on the Kiangsi front in his crusade against the Chinese Soviet districts compelled him to alter his tactics somewhat. He transferred a portion of his troops to the Fukien front in the hope of facilitating his attack with concentrated forces on the Central Soviet District from the east. However, the eastern wing of the Red Army again threw Chiang Kai-shek's plans into disorder by advancing into and occupying Yun-An and Kweihua, two important districts of Western Fukien. In the struggle for these two districts the 52nd Kuomintang Division, under the command of General Lu Shin-pu, was cut to pieces and a second division sustained very heavy losses.

At the same time the Soviet power was established in seven districts on the coast to the North-East of Fukien whereby a critical situation was created for Foochow, the capital of Fukien, which lies immediately south of the conquered districts. The districts which are now under Soviet control possess an extremely important strategic character. To the east they form a chain along the coast, and to the north they join the province of Chekiang, towards the west they form the key position for the whole north of Fukien and they represent an excellent basis for an attack towards the south in the direction of Foochow. Last year a local revolutionary committee was formed in the Fu-An district to carry on the struggle against taxes and other impositions in that and the surrounding districts. This committee represented the opening up of the struggle for the establishment of the Soviet power in the district.

In the seven new Soviet districts (Suolin, Fudin, Shiapu, Fuan, Linde, Loyien and Lienkiang) there is already a Red Guard of ten thousand men. Over 60,000 peasants and fishermen took part in the fighting. The Red Guard is organised into units of about 700 men each and is under the leadership of Comrade Sen Tie-jung. The red forces consist of both land and sea units. There are three armed steamers and 70 big junks with guns. Two arsenals are at work providing the red forces with weapons and ammunition. The peasants and fishermen who took part in the fighting are now standing by as auxiliary troops, although they are poorly armed with old-fashioned rifles, lances and swords. Apart from the Red Guard there is a political defence troop (G.P.U.) under the leadership of Comrade Hua Hsiu-in. The struggles in this district are extending and have already affected the Chang Lo district, which is also on the coast at the mouth of the Minkiang to the south of Foochow and quite near.

In the North of Fukien also, in the Putsoen district, the Red Army, under the command of Comrade Fang Tse-mien, has also made a drive forward. This drive represents support for the struggles in Western Fukien (the Eastern front of the Central Soviet District) and for the struggles on the coast of North-Eastern Fukien.

In the provinces of Hupeh and Hunan the Red Army is fighting under the command of Comrade Kao Yun-sen along the Wuhan-Changsha railway line. It has already occupied Yangluse, the frontier stations of Hupeh and Hunan. In this fighting all the Kuomintang troops engaged were surrounded and disarmed. Immediately afterwards the station Taolin in Hunan was occupied.

A division of the Red Army has occupied Shasekai in the Luyang district 30 miles from Changsha, the capital of Hunan. Apart from the victories of the Red Army in North-Eastern Hunan, the Red Army in Southern Hunan is also operating energetically. When the provincial government of Hunan was compelled to send a considerable portion of its forces to Eastern Hunan in order to meet the threat of the Red Army there, the guerilla troops, under the command of Comrade Li Chung-bao, used the opportunity to begin operations anew. They joined forces with the guerilla troops under Comrade Li Lin in Yun-Chow and, with other guerilla formations in the neighbouring districts, occupied various important points and cut the communications with the neighbouring province

of Kwantung. Kuomintang troops, under the command of General Tang Be-in, which were sent against the guerilla troops, did not dare to proceed farther than the district capital Yunshin, whilst the Kwantung troops also feared heavy losses and therefore did nothing.

In the frontier districts of the provinces of Honan, Hupeh and Anhwei, the Red Army in the district Sanchen (*Honan*) has consolidated its base and is winning back step for step the area lost to the Kuomintang troops during the fifth anti-Soviet crusade last year. The Lotien district in Eastern Hupeh has fallen into the hands of the Red Army. The investment of the neighbouring district Chisui is imminent, and the local capitalists and landowners have fled. In connection with the Red Army in Eastern Hupeh the red forces in the North and in the West of Anhwei have also showed increased activity. In the West of Anhwei they have occupied various points in the Su-Tchen and Ho-Fe districts. In the Lukiang district a section of the local militia in the pay of the landlords went over to the Red Army.

Under the influence of the Red Army operations in North Szechwan the peasants and soldiers in South-West Szechwan are being rapidly radicalised and guerilla anti-tax troops have been organised, for instance in Anlai, Pukiang, Ya-an and Min-San. In the neighbouring four districts the first armed struggles conducted by the peasants have already taken place. In the South of Szechwan the red troops are also conducting guerilla activities in the districts Kiang-An and Nashie on the Yangtze. These operations extend up to the neighbouring provinces of Kweichow and Yunnan.

Despite the carefully organised intervention on a large scale, organised by the Chinese bourgeoisie and the Chinese landowners with the direct support of the imperialist powers who have supplied the weapons and equipment as well as military experts, the Red Armies and the young Chinese Soviet Republic, with the enthusiastic support of the broad masses, are winning one success after the other. Heavy fighting against a numerically superior enemy in possession of more modern arms and equipment is still proceeding, and the struggles of the Chinese Red Army form a part of the great battle being fought by the world proletariat. The Chinese Soviets are engaged on their own front in a struggle against imperialism and the Chinese exploiters. The defence of the Chinese Soviets as a factor making for the overthrow of world imperialism must be linked up with the defence of the Soviet Union, the country of socialist construction, and with the general struggle against fascism and imperialist war.

A City in the Far North of the Soviet Union Celebrating its Jubilee

On 20th July the socialist town of Igarka, lying at the mouth of the Jenissei, celebrated its fifth anniversary. This district of the Far North, where Tsarism once banished the best proletarian fighters, is now becoming a centre of industry and culture. In the speeches delivered on the occasion of the celebrations, the functionaries and shock brigaders described the successes which have been achieved.

In the year 1927 there were not more than 43 persons living in Igarka. Now there are 22,000 persons living there. Three saw mills are working mainly for export. In addition, a graphite factory and an electricity works have been built.

There are already seven schools and three hospitals in Igarka. In the next few years a road 150 metres long will be built from Igarka to Dudinkaje, and Igarka will be connected by railway with Norilsk. A poli-clinic, a Soviet House, a bread factory and other works are being erected and a water main laid down. Igarka is of great importance for socialist construction in the Far North.

Culture and Art in the Soviet Union

The International Bureau of Revolutionary Artists is organising a Travelling Exhibition consisting of two parts: (1) the revolutionary fight of the proletariat in the capitalist countries, and (2) the work of revolutionary foreign artists in socialist construction in the Soviet Union. The exhibition will be opened on September 1, in Minsk.

Next Autumn the Moscow Philharmonic Orchestra will play not only in all Moscow workers clubs but also in many provincial towns.

Fight for the Unity of the Labour Movement

For the Unity of the Labour Movement

By Bela Kun

I.

In the fight for unity of action of the working class against fascism, against the preparations for imperialist war and against the attacks of capital, the Communist Parties were undeterred by any rejection of their united front offers by the social-democratic party leaders. The correctness of their attitude is shown not only by the increasing urge of the working class for unity of action, but also by the extension of the objects of the common struggle.

In France the leaders of the social-democratic party, after much hesitation, accepted the offer of the C.C. of the C.P. of France. The united action of the French workers for the rescue of Thaelmann, Paula Wallisch and other anti-fascist fighters has developed into a fight against the further advance of French fascism and against the government of emergency decrees. The comradeship-in-arms of the social-democratic, Communist and syndicalist workers will overcome the resistance of the social-democratic and reformist leaders, which still hinders the organisation of the strike movement against the capitalist offensive and the advance of fascism, as well as the union of the reformist and revolutionary trade unions in a great, powerful, united trade union organisation.

In Austria there exists no doubt among the broad sections of the working class regarding the necessity of united action. The Schutzbund, the organisation which so heroically conducted the fights of the Austrian proletariat, has developed from a Party guard into a common fighting organ of the whole of the revolutionary workers. Those sections of the shattered Austrian social democracy which have not joined the camp of Austro-fascism are tentatively seeking the way to the Communist International, to the Communist Party of Austria, which has already been joined by great parts of the best elements of the former social-democratic workers.

In the Saar district the Communist Party and the social-democratic party united for common action in order to prevent the extension of the fascist murder regime to the working people of the Saar district.

In Holland the united action of the working class has not only led to the building of barricades against the class enemy, but also induced many policemen to refuse to attack the workers. The united action of the working class is growing in Spain, in Switzerland, in the United States and in other capitalist countries.

What still to-day prevents the setting up of unity of action of the working class? What has, directly or indirectly, kept many social-democratic workers back from accepting the hand honestly offered by the Communist Parties in order to fight, hand in hand and shoulder to shoulder, with their Communist class comrades against the common enemy?

We cite a witness of whom no one can maintain that he sympathises with the Communists. This witness is the leader of the French social democracy and of the Second International, **Leon Blum**. He made the following confession in the "People" of July 11:—

"For years when there has been talk of united action we always thought and declared: No, no united action, organisational unity; and we endeavoured to postpone and evade any proposal for a partial or occasional unity up to the day when complete and absolute unity would be recognised as possible. I myself was of this opinion, and have expressed myself to this effect. I have the feeling that this view is no longer justified to-day, and one cannot escape from difficulty by means of this simple excuse."

This admission by Leon Blum is at the same time an admission of a system of continued acts of sabotage against the unity of action of the working class in face of the attacks of the class enemy. We wish to state that our united front tactics have always been serious and honestly meant, as the programme of the Communist International says, "as a means towards achieving success in the struggle against capital, towards the class mobilisa-

tion of the masses," and that united front tactics are a means of exposing and isolating the reformist leaders only because they prevent the class mobilisation of the masses, the successful fight against capital and the victory over capitalism. Were the proposals of the Communist Party of Germany to the A.D.G.B. and to the social-democratic party in July, 1932, and in January, 1933, the proposals for the proclamation of the general strike for the purpose of preventing Hitler coming into power, Communist manoeuvres? Was the proposal made by the C.P. of Austria to the socialist party of Austria in March, 1933, to prevent the Dollfuss dictatorship a Communist manoeuvre? Was the appeal of the Communist International of March 5, 1933, for the setting up of the united front with the social-democratic workers a Communist manoeuvre?

Leon Blum shows how these proposals were evaded by stating now, after the victory of fascism in Austria:—

"It seems to me to be impossible nowadays to revert to organisational unity as a means of evading unity of action."

"Nowadays"! A late, but not too late, confession. The united action of the French proletariat on the basis of the offer of the C.P. of France, which was finally accepted and no longer evaded by the French social democracy, is an indication that the French bourgeoisie will not be able to introduce concentration camps for the French proletariat according to the fascist model.

II.

Otto Bauer, at one time the leader of the great majority of the Austrian working class, does not raise the question of united action, but of the **organisational unity of the labour movement**. He means by this the unity of the social-democratic party of Austria, which has collapsed. Up to the February days Otto Bauer prevented united action by declaring in reply to every offer made by the C.P. of Austria that the unity of the Austrian labour movement was embodied in the S.P. of Austria. Times have changed and with them the relations of power between the Communist Party and the social democracy, a fact which Otto Bauer is compelled to recognise. But he continues the old line: Restoration of unity means for him the restoration of the unity of the bankrupt social democratic party: that is to say, the continuation of the split under the new circumstances of the fascist dictatorship in Austria.

In an article published in the Bruenn "Arbeiter Zeitung," he writes:—

"The overwhelming majority of the Austrian workers are of the same way of thinking. Ninety per cent. of the workers want an **irreconcilable revolutionary fight** against the fascist dictatorship. Ninety per cent. of the workers are convinced that the aim of this revolutionary fight must be a **dictatorship of the proletariat**, which must settle accounts with the murderers of workers, smash the governing apparatus, divide the landed estates of the aristocracy, the capitalists and the church among the land workers, small holders and peasants' sons, socialise the large works and undertakings in the possession of the big capitalists, and then, having fulfilled these historical tasks, set up a **commonwealth of freedom and equality** for all. Ninety per cent. of the workers are united in recognising this aim and the way to achieve it. **Unity in thought is there**. It demands also the **unity of organisation**. It renders possible the **unity of the party**."

We agree with those social-democratic workers who honestly believe that the working class in the various countries is confronted still more sharply not only with the question of unity of action, but also with the problem of organisational unity. If one really wants to prevent fascism, to destroy its roots—capitalism—if one wants to overthrow the rule of the bourgeoisie, it is necessary to have not only a "partial and occasional unity of action," but to organise all revolutionary workers in one Party and rally the majority of the proletariat, and, in fact, the majority of the whole of the working people, under the flags of this revolutionary workers' Party.

We Communists believe that the overthrow of capitalism is on the agenda of History. The fight for the overthrow of capitalism is being conducted in various countries and at various stages of development; the objective prerequisites for this fight are maturing everywhere.

When we called upon the workers, regardless of to what party or organisation they belonged, to carry out joint actions, we always declared: Form the united front together with us against capital, against its attacks on the working people, against fascism and against the threatening imperialist war. The unity of action of the workers against the existing misery, against fascism, which immediately threatens us all, leads also to the overcoming of the split and the setting up of the organisational unity of the labour movement. **Do you want organisational unity? Then first realise unity of action.**

We Communists are therefore for the organisational unity of the working class, for a great, united mass Party of the proletariat. We hope and believe that the overwhelming majority of the Austrian workers, after the dearly-bought lessons of the February struggles, are all of one mind. We believe that 90 per cent. of the workers in Austria are convinced that the aim of a revolutionary fight is not, as Otto Bauer writes, "a" dictatorship of the proletariat, but the dictatorship of the proletariat, which the Communist Party of Austria, in its appeal of February 10, showed to the Austrian workers as their fighting aim. This programme, the programme of the dictatorship of the proletariat and armed struggle for this dictatorship, has—as Otto Bauer himself has been forced to recognise—already organisationally, under the hardest conditions of illegality, united thousands of former social-democratic workers, including leading functionaries, for the revolutionary fight. What, therefore, stands in the way of the unity of the workers' movement in Austria? The efforts of those who are compelled to recognise the dictatorship of the proletariat, but wish to prevent the unity of the Austrian workers on the basis of the programme of the fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is recognised by the majority of the Austrian working class, and even wish to prevent unity of action for immediate aims.

In various countries the question of organisational unity of the labour movement confronts the workers in various ways. We Communists have never envisaged the overcoming of the split by the organisational unity of the workers' movement otherwise than by means of conviction and by the working masses deciding themselves what theory, strategy and tactics are correct; those of the Communists or of the social democrats.

When it is a question of unity of action of the social-democratic and Communist workers for concrete but limited fighting aims, the Communists say that the working class needs the united front in order to fight against the bourgeoisie, and not in order to co-operate with the bourgeoisie. Each remains in his party, but fights against the common enemy. When it is a question of organisational unity, the Communists say: the working class needs unity in order to vanquish the bourgeoisie, and not in order to obtain a respite, a reprieve for capitalism. In this respect also the Communists follow the words of Marx: they do not conceal their aims and intentions, they do not manoeuvre against their own class comrades; they say quite openly before the social-democratic workers that in unity of action, in the common fight they wish to convince the social-democratic workers that not the reformist but the revolutionary tactics are correct; that not coalition with the bourgeoisie leads to the power of the working class, but the armed uprising at the suitable moment; that only the dictatorship of the proletariat, which destroys the power of the capitalist class and annihilates its means of influencing the petty bourgeois and small peasants' rule, only this dictatorship of the proletariat leads to Socialism.

III.

The overwhelming majority of the working class will be able to choose between the two theories, strategies and tactics only in the common fight. We have set ourselves the task laid down in the Programme of the Communist International:—

"The Parties must lead the masses to revolutionary positions in such a manner that the masses may, by their own experience, convince themselves of the correctness of the Party line."

We have always said, and say it to-day, that he who does not understand this is a bad Communist, he who opposes unity of action of the working class in the daily fight against the class enemy, against capitalism, is an enemy of organisational unity.

It is not due to chance that Otto Bauer puts, not the question of unity of action, but the problem of restoration of the unity of the Austrian social democracy, which has been shattered. How this restoration of unity is to be realised is revealed by the fact that he does not express a word of even moral indignation against those who "have lost the confidence of our comrades by their attitude in the February fights and afterwards," but again discovers the enemy to be on the "Left." He writes:—

"It is, therefore, very much to be feared that the leaders of the Communist Party of Austria, acting on the instructions of their International, will repeat their old manoeuvre, talk very eagerly of unity and the united front, but at the same time aim at preventing the restoration of the unity of the whole of the revolutionary proletariat in one party."

Otto Bauer finds himself in sharp contradiction to palpable truth. The Communist International and the C.P. of Austria want the Austrian workers' movement to be united. They want one trade union movement, the continuation of the free trade unions as a united trade union movement, their conversion into organs of the class struggle, the continuation of the *Schutzbund* as the common fighting organ of the whole of the revolutionary proletariat of Austria; they want one party, a revolutionary workers' party, which shall unite the forces of the whole of the Austrian proletariat and all toilers and exploited for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship and capitalism, for the setting up of the proletarian dictatorship and shall lead them in these fights. The Communist Party of Austria has already gathered round it many of the most active fighters for the anti-fascist proletarian revolution in Austria. **Its doors are open to all who wish to conduct this fight to the end.** Otto Bauer's greatest concern, however, is to invent an antagonism between the Communists, who followed the correct path already before the February fights, and those who followed this path during the February struggles as a result of the experience with the social democracy. Whither does this latest theory on the unity of the labour movement lead? Briefly stated, it leads to the maintenance of the split of the Austrian labour movement and to a fresh split. The Austrian workers are striving for unity, not, however, on the basis of the Linz programme; they are striving not for unity on the basis of a programme of a former epoch. The Austrian workers are not looking backwards, but forwards. Otto Bauer is still working for a split in order to keep the way open for a union with those who during the February days and after, deservedly lost the confidence of the working class. The union which Otto Bauer proposes is unity with Karl Renner, and through him the restoration of class collaboration with the Austrian bourgeoisie.

In every country there is needed **unity of action** which unites the forces of the working class for the **immediate fight** against German and Austrian fascism and also against fascism in their own country, and for the defence of their interests against capitalist offensive. A **unity of action** which mobilises the forces of the working class against the bourgeoisie, which gives the working class the power to lead the middle classes in town and country over to the side of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. Such a united action will lead to the overcoming of the split in the workers' movement.

United Action Pact between Communist and Socialist Parties of France Signed

Yesterday morning, at a meeting of the representatives of the Communist and Socialist Parties, the Pact of United Action, as proposed by the C.C. of the Communist Party, was signed.

The "*Humanité*" points out that this is an event of paramount importance, one whose effects will be felt far beyond the frontiers of France. For the workers of all countries it is an event of the utmost significance. The French workers have permitted no obstacles to prevent their joining in this common action. The workers have already demonstrated by actual deeds that the stream of unity has swept away all splitting machinations on the part of Doriot. The Pact will give fresh impetus to the struggle for trade union unity. The bourgeoisie hopes that a split in the trade unions, as advocated by the C.G.T. leaders, will detract from the effect of the united front concluded by the political parties. But in this field of work too we are making progress. To-day the formation of two new railwaymen's unions is reported, amalgamations of reformist and revolutionary groups. These are the unity trade unions of Dax and Arras. A united front committee has been formed by the railwaymen of Romilly.

Fight Against Imperialist War and Fascism

Women in the World Action Against War and Fascism

By Gertrud Dueby (Paris)

In a few days, from 4th to 6th August, the World Congress against War and Fascism will take place. Hundreds of delegates have been elected and some of them have already arrived in Paris.

In 33 countries there exist initiative committees of women who are preparing for the Congress and are laying the foundation for a powerful movement. These committees are at work in all European States and also in the countries outside of Europe, such as Australia, the United States of America, Canada, South America. Active committees exist in Uruguay and Argentina. Nydia Lamarque, the delegate from the Latin American Committee against War and Fascism and the Red Aid, who has already arrived in Paris, reports that in spite of the terror exercised by the Justo government, a provisional committee, to which all mass organisations are affiliated and on which Communists, anarchists, socialists, non-party workers, and intellectuals are represented, is popularising the World Congress and its slogans.

Conferences, mass meetings and demonstrations have been held in all the big towns of North America. A delegation of 24 members, representing the various language groups and working women, from California, the striking factories of Boston, the great packing houses of Chicago, the Detroit auto works, Negro women from the lynch districts of the South and intellectuals are on their way to Paris.

In some countries national congresses have taken place. The Congress of the Spanish women was a great success. In spite of the appalling poverty of the toiling masses, in spite of the state of alarm existing in Spain, in spite of the brutal persecution of the anti-fascists, 74 women from all parts of the country met in Madrid. Non-party women, socialists, Communists and republican women agreed on a common fighting programme. It was decided to send a representative delegation to the World Congress. The representatives of the various tendencies, such as the socialist member of parliament Margarita Nelken, the republican lawyer Victoria Kent, the representative of the radical socialists, and the Communist Pasionaria declared their support of the World Congress of women.

The Greek women, like the women of Bulgaria, Rumania and Yugoslavia, were not deterred by the savage terror from mobilising the women for the fight. One of the Greek delegates told us that the tobacco and textile working women of Athens and Piræus frequently go on strike and fight in the streets against the brutal police. The peasant women fight side by side with their men folk in order to drive away the bailiffs who wish to seize their last bit of property. Owing to the great response which the Appeal of the Initiative Committee aroused among the working women, the housewives, employees and intellectuals, the government prohibited the national congress of the women. The women replied to this provocation by sending delegates to Paris and strengthening their struggle against fascism, which is robbing them of the few rights they possess.

In France there is hardly any district without an Initiative Committee. There are villages in which all the women without exception have expressed their approval of the Congress. The women teachers, who are very active in this movement, have mobilised the women against war and fascism even in the remotest villages. All the big engineering and munition factories of Paris will send delegates to the Congress, including the motor factories of Citroën, Renault, Rosengart, etc. Delegates were also elected in all hospitals, the tramway depots, etc.

Although in most countries the socialist women are not officially taking part in the movement, everywhere hundreds of socialist women are unofficially active in it. In addition to nearly all revolutionary mass organisations, many pacifist and also christian organisations are affiliated to the movement; in France, among others, the association of war widows numbering 100,000 members, the League of Mothers and Nurses with 80,000 members. In Holland, in addition to a number of pacifist organisations, the Catholic Youth have declared their support of the Congress. In

America, in addition to the organisations of working women, many pacifist organisations, Mother clubs, the League for Birth Control, headed by Margaret Sanger, Evangelical organisations and Sunday schools have affiliated to the movement.

Declarations in support of the Congress are arriving daily from the working women of whole factories in the Soviet Union. Their letters reveal in a striking manner the great changes that have taken place in the factories since the revolution. These letters from the working women of the Soviet Union reflect the proud consciousness of their power, the joy in their work in their own factories, the great responsibility they have towards the whole of society.

Growth of the Revolutionary Ferment in the Armies of the Imperialist Countries

By J. Bichovski

The events of the last few years, the revolt in the British Navy at Invergordon, in the Chilean navy, on the Dutch armoured cruiser "De Zeven Provinciën," in the Swedish navy at Karlskrona, as well as a number of events of recent date, such as the armed insurrection of the Austrian workers and the February events in France, are of the greatest significance.

The growth of the revolutionary movement in the army and the ferment among the soldiers is causing great anxiety to the bourgeoisie. It is endeavouring to isolate the army from the toiling masses and to avoid, as far as possible, using troops for keeping the workers and peasants' movement in check. After the numerous cases of fraternisation between workers and soldiers which occurred in France, "La France Militaire," the organ of the General Staff, wrote on February 9, 1934, that it is

"the task of the government to foresee what may happen in such cases and to adopt all necessary measures in order to avoid the use of troops for the maintenance of order in the streets."

In addition, the bourgeoisie is resorting to brutal terror against the revolutionary soldiers (numerous death sentences in Bulgaria and in other countries), passing a number of laws the chief object of which is to nip in the bud even the smallest movement in the army. Thus, for instance, the British government has introduced a measure, the Sedition Bill, according to which any person who "has in his possession or under his control any document of such a nature that the dissemination of copies thereof among members of his Majesty's forces would be an offence," may be sentenced to two years' imprisonment. The Attorney-General, in moving the second reading of the Bill, stated:—

"The 'Soldier's Voice' was a leaflet claiming to be the organ of the Communist soldier. The corresponding leaflet for the Navy, claiming to be the organ of the Communist sailor, was the 'Red Signal.' The 'Soldier's Voice' of October, 1931, invited its readers who were soldiers to understand that 'the way to victory lies not through voting but through mass struggle. What is needed is a repetition of the united strike.' The issue of May, 1932, contained this passage: 'Let us use the knowledge of arms which they give us, when the opportunity presents itself, to overthrow their rule and, in unity with our fellow-workers, to establish the free Socialist Britain.' In November, 1932, the same production said: 'We suggest to you, comrade reader, that you should make a beginning now in your unit. Get in touch with that other fellow in your lot who thinks like you. Then start in to convert the rest of your mates to your ideas. If you do not know how to begin, what about writing for advice to that Communist or member of the unemployment movement you used to know at home?'

"The 'Red Signal' of October, 1932, said: 'They will put a gun in your hands. Take it and study the art of war. Its knowledge is essential for workers in order to fight against the capitalists of their own country in order to put an end to capitalism.' In May, 1933, it said: 'If war does come, then it must be turned into a civil war against the capitalist warmongers and their bankrupt system. We urge our comrades of the lower deck to get in touch with this great movement wherever possible.'

"In 1932 there were 17 different perverse pamphlets, of which the 'Soldier's Voice' was one and the 'Red Signal' another, containing such incitements, and there were 20 different places of distribution. It was estimated that in each of

the last two years something like 50,000 copies of these pervasive pamphlets had been produced to be distributed for circulation among members of his Majesty's forces." ("The Times," April 17, 1934.)

A whole number of similar laws have been passed in other countries, but the growth of the revolutionary movement in the army cannot be prevented. This was proved by the facts of recent time. We quote only a few examples:—

In Greece, there was a revolutionary mass movement in the army and navy during the whole of 1933 and at the beginning of 1934. The anti-militarist newspapers "Kokinos Antaros" (The red soldier) and "Kokinos Siena" (Red Flag) acquired a great circulation and were passed from hand to hand in the barracks and on the ships. Soldiers often fraternised with striking workers.

In the naval port of Tatoi the soldiers refused to continue drill in the pouring rain.

On the Isle of Poros Communist recruits conducted propaganda among sailors who were stationed in the central barracks. As a result of this propaganda 1,100 recruits rejected the bad food.

One hundred soldiers of the fourth infantry detachment of Larissa contributed to the election fund of the Communist Party. In the same town, during a workers' strike as well as during a strike of the civil servants, revolutionary leaflets were distributed in the barracks. In Faliro (air base) the soldiers repeatedly found Communist leaflets on their tables.

The soldiers of the Athens tank corps signed a protest against the bloody fascist Dollfuss regime and sent the money collected by them to the Austrian proletarian heroes.

The government of Greece is now resorting to reprisals against the revolutionary soldiers. Thus, for instance, five soldiers charged with anti-militarist propaganda were tried before the Court in Salonica. Numerous soldiers are imprisoned in the military prison of Anapli on account of Communist and anti-militarist propaganda.

Last year the Swedish navy was shaken by great revolutionary unrest. In the Swedish naval port of Karlskrona this unrest spread to a number of ships. According to the report of the government organ "Socialdemokraten," the eight hundred mutinying sailors were joined by 500 recruits and they jointly demonstrated against the bad food. The "ringleaders" were brought before the military court.

Extensive Communist propaganda is being carried on in the navy of the U.S.A. Admiral Andrews ordered an investigation of the activity of Communist elements in the navy. According to his report, Communist cells are being organised on the ships and literature distributed. Thus, for instance, in San Pedro, California, a pamphlet was distributed describing in detail the Invergordon mutiny of 1931.

During their visit to Lisbon, leaflets, in Italian, were distributed on the Italian warships, calling upon the sailors to follow the example of Invergordon and "De Zeven Provincien."

There was great revolutionary unrest in the Rumanian navy. "Dimineata," the Rumanian bourgeois paper, wrote regarding this:—

"There is great anxiety in government circles owing to the increasing ferment in the Rumanian Black Sea Fleet. In spite of strictest prohibition on the part of their officers, the sailors of all merchant vessels and warships organised a number of meetings at which they adopted sharp revolutionary resolutions. The sailors demonstratively expressed their solidarity with the railway workers and demanded the raising of martial law. They demanded the recognition of the sailors' committees set up by them, better food, increase of pay, etc. In the event of the government rejecting these demands the sailors intended to declare a general strike."

Strong ferment is also to be observed in the army of Poland. This is to be seen from the reports of "Kozary" (barracks) (Communist Party organ for the soldiers. On January 10, 1934, during the general strike of the textile workers, the officers arranged for a lecture to be given in the barracks on the way in which the soldiers have to assist in crushing the strike. This called forth great discontent among the soldiers. The lecture was repeatedly interrupted by revolutionary cries.

During a similar lecture given to the 28th infantry regiment a soldier asked how would it be possible for him to fire on the strikers if his father were among them. In summer, 1933, during the

armed peasant revolt in Central Galicia, in which about 100,000 persons were involved, the soldiers of the 16th infantry regiment refused to fire on the insurgent peasants and had to be withdrawn. At the demonstration of striking forest workers in the district of Slonim, the soldiers on furlough marched in the front ranks of the demonstrators.

Such incidents have become so frequent that a Bill was introduced in Parliament for the setting up of military courts.

Unrest broke out at the beginning of this year on the flagship of the Australian navy on account of excessive work and bad food.

The Communist Party and the Young Communist League of Japan are carrying on active work in the army. They issue a special soldiers' paper "The Soldier's Friend" and a sailor's paper "The Main Mast" in the naval harbour of Kura. The "Sekki," the central organ of the Party, devotes a special column to work in the army. The work of the C.P. is already bearing fruit. It is generally known that the Japanese Command in China have had to send home whole detachments of troops owing to their "unreliability."

Only recently five soldiers of the 31st regiment in Chiro-Satti were arrested on suspicion of carrying on revolutionary propaganda.

Numerous cases have been reported from France of disaffection in the army and fraternisation by the soldiers with the strikers, especially during the events of February last.

The strikers in the furniture works in Wissembourg, Alsace-Lorraine, received the following letter from the soldiers quartered in that town:—

"In spite of the numerous speeches about the duty of the soldiers in the case of unrest, we are firmly on the side of the strikers. We are sons of workers and know what fate will await us in a few months time when we have completed our period of service: we shall have to wander about the streets looking for a job. In this case we can find ourselves in the same situation as the striking workers are to-day."

On February 6, at 8 o'clock in the evening, a demonstration of workers numbering several thousand marched into Paris from the Champs d'Elisé. A detachment of soldiers were sent against them, but they were immediately surrounded by the demonstrators, who greeted them with the cry of "Long live the Red Army!" The soldiers joined the workers in a common demonstration. On the same day, at 10 o'clock in the evening, the officer in command of a detachment of soldiers on the Alexander Bridge gave the order to his troops to stand with weapons ready against the approaching demonstrators. The soldiers, however, refused to obey this order.

It would be possible to cite numerous similar examples from other countries, including Denmark, Cuba, Bulgaria and especially China, where whole sections of Kuomintang troops have gone over to the Chinese Red Army.

London Young Socialists and the Fight Against War

By M. Raylock (London)

On Sunday, July 29, a Special Conference of the London Labour Party League of Youth was held in the Friars Hall to consider the attitude of the Labour Party League of Youth to the statement issued by the National Joint Council of the Labour Party and Trades Union Congress on the policy of the Labour Party in connection with war.

This new policy flagrantly betrays the resolutions passed by the rank and file at previous Party and Trades Union Congresses for the organisation of a General Strike against war, and proposes:—

"Labour recognises 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 (of Nations) 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."

This statement also refers to "The duty of supporting our government unflinchingly in all the risks and consequences attendant on its action in taking part in collective measures against a peace breaker."

Thus the British Labour leaders prepare in advance of the outbreak of war to repeat the role they played in 1914.

This statement aroused a storm of protest amongst the membership of the Labour League of Youth, especially in London. The League of Youth is forbidden to discuss policy as such, apart from the actual Party organisations, but, nevertheless, the militant members raised the demand for a Special Conference of League branches to discuss this statement. Headed by **Herbert Morrison**, the London Labour Party Executive endeavoured to oppose this demand, but, in spite of their pressure, the London Committee of the League of Youth organised the Conference in opposition to their Party leaders.

The Conference was attended by representatives from almost every branch of the League of Youth, and it adopted a striking declaration by a vote of 90 to 17. Opposition came from pacifist elements who were opposed to any kind of war, even a revolutionary war. Not a single member of the League of Youth in the Conference spoke in favour of the line of the National Joint Council.

The declaration adopted by the Conference reads:—

"This Conference of London Labour Party Leagues of Youth has considered in detail the published policy of the National Executive Committee on the subject of war and peace. In view of the fact that this question specifically concerns the youth of this country, the Conference states its position on this issue:—

"A situation is developing parallel to that of 1914, and we cannot see that the National Executive Committee is formulating effective proposals to meet this situation. **We do not propose to be betrayed, as was the youth of this country in 1914.**

"In no circumstances would it be to the interests of the youth of this country for the Labour Movement to support a war in defence of any capitalist State. Defence of 'Democracy and the League of Nations' might well be the excuse for another world war. Neglect to make adequate resistance to the present war drive of the National government threatens the continued existence of the working-class movement.

"The Labour Party should make it clear to the country that there can be no continuity of present foreign policy by a future Labour government, and should use every means in its power to show up the war preparations of the National government and to mobilise mass feeling against war in the way outlined below.

"If there is an immediate danger of war involving this country while the Labour Party is in opposition, a General Strike should be immediately declared and the opportunity seized to expel the existing government and institute a Socialist government.

"To render this policy effective the Labour Party, Trades Unions, and Co-operative Movement should set up immediately:—

"(a) Machinery to deal with this situation when it arises.

"(b) Anti-war Committees based on the local Labour Parties to carry out continuous anti-war propaganda and prepare for resistance in the event of war.

"We cannot accept the policy laid down by the leaders of the Labour Movement, and call upon the National Executive Committee to redraft their proposals to meet the claims of youth as expressed at this Conference."

The adoption of this declaration is significant in that behind it the great majority of the membership of the London Labour League of Youth, who are not all yet prepared to work in united front with the Young Communists and the Youth Anti-War Movement, are standing firmly for the principle of working-class action against imperialist war

At the recent Conference of the League a consistent third of the delegates have voted for the united front, and this large section of the membership is coming into united front work with Young Communists in areas all over London.

An anti-fascist movement has been established within the League of Youth which is developing actions against the Black-shirts in many places, often working closely with Young Communists. Twenty-three branches of the Labour League of Youth in some way took part in the action against the fascist meeting at Olympia, whilst the recent anti-fascist demonstration in London has seen the banners of many branches of the League of Youth.

It is reported that ten branches of the League of Youth have so far elected delegates from London to go to the great **Sheffield Youth Congress Against War and Fascism.**

Delegations from the units of the Young Communist League have been received with enthusiasm in League of Youth branches in East, West, and North London, and from all accounts there will be a considerable League of Youth section on the great demonstration in Hyde Park on August 5.

The warm welcome received by the Young Communist League when it took part in the London Labour League of Youth demonstration on July 8, together with the declaration adopted at this Conference, is a clear indication of the big move amongst the youth in London.

Hitler-Germany Arming for War

By Nemo

Germany's feverish armaments, the full extent of which the public is unaware, represent the forcible realisation of the expansionist aims of German financial capital. The less fascism is able to master the crisis at home and bring the masses the national and social emancipation promised them, the more it pursues the path of bloody foreign political adventure, by means of which it hopes to obtain new markets and sources of cheap raw material.

Apart from the mediæval hangmen's regime against the working class, Hitler and Goering are able to point to positive achievements only in the sphere of armaments. In the eighteen months of their reign of terror they have converted the whole of Germany into a vast barracks and brought it to the brink of a new war. Hitler-Germany occupies a most important place in the anti-Soviet front formed by Great Britain, Germany and Japan. It was all the easier for the fascist regime to tear up the military provisions of the Versailles Treaty, as they had already been violated by the Weimar Republic. Hitler and Goering's armament and war policy would have been impossible without Ebert's Reichwehr policy and Hermann Muller's armoured-cruiser policy.

According to the Versailles Treaty, Germany was not allowed to maintain an army exceeding 100,000 men, and these were not to be allowed heavy arms. It is an open secret, however, that the military strength of Germany far exceeds this limit. The German Reichswehr represents the most up-to-date professional army in the world. With the abolition of the S.A. as the fascist mass organisation, the Reichswehr has obtained the monopoly of military training in Germany, and is intended by financial capital to be its main support. The S.A. is being replaced by a Reichswehr 300,000 strong.

In addition to the Reichswehr, there are military bodies such as the frontier guards, the Feldjaeger Corps, the railway patrols and the water police. The police apparatus also bears a purely military character. In 1913 the police numbered 80,000 men, armed with revolvers and sabres. To-day their number is 140,000, and they are equipped with rifles, machine-guns, armoured cars, aeroplanes, mines and hand-grenades. The strength of the whole of the uniformed associations in Germany bearing a military character are estimated by the American publicist, Stowe, at 1,300,000 men, and this estimate does not appear to be in any way exaggerated.

German fascism is making great efforts in the sphere of naval armaments, in spite of the enormous expense thereby involved. The German navy, which was completely destroyed after the world war, has been rebuilt on the most modern lines, and constitutes to-day an important factor.

Specially great attention is being devoted to the building of an air-fleet, the maintenance of which, as is known, is forbidden Germany. Under Goering's leadership a special Air Ministry has been set up, which is carrying out armaments in the air at a feverish pace. The whole country is covered by a network of groups whose task it is to propagate air armaments and aerial defence. The aerial defence propaganda, which exclusively serves the interests of the armament industry, is being carried out with the greatest intensity. All house owners are obliged to provide gas-proof cellars and to clear the roofs and attics of inflammable material. Over twenty thousand teachers have been given training in aerial defence, as this has become a compulsory subject of instruction.

The number of aeroplanes which could already now be used for war purposes is estimated at 1,500. Dozens of new aviation schools are being opened, with the express provision that the new airmen are to be drawn only from the ranks of the Hitler Youth.

Germany's autarchy plans aim at providing sufficient supplies

for the country in event of a blockade. The use of substitutes in all spheres of industry serves the same purpose. The war industries are working at full pressure. The greatest attention is being devoted to the motorisation of the country, and a whole system of strategic roads is being built.

Fascism assigns an important role to the Youth in connection with the war preparations. Professor Banse demands that the idea of war shall occupy a central position in the whole of the education of the youth. As the Prussian Minister for Culture, Rust, expressed it, the real great school of the youth is not the university, but the labour service camps. Compulsory labour service constitutes a scarcely disguised military training of the youth. By means of the labour service, the merging of all the Youth associations in the Hitler Youth, and the militarising of the sport movement embracing eight millions, practically the whole of the youth is being prepared for war.

Fascism is also harnessing the women to its war chariot. It is conducting a large-scale propaganda in order to compel the women to bear children: that is to say, to supply cannon fodder. Women's labour service constitutes a sort of military training for women. The fascist women's organisation of eight million members is a counter-part of the Storm Detachments.

The military budget has been increased by 220 million marks, and now amounts to 894,323,000 marks. Half of the naval budget, amounting to nearly 250,000,000 marks, is to be devoted to the building of new warships. The expenditure of the Air Ministry has increased from 78 million marks in 1933 to 210 million marks. The total budget for military purposes amounts to 2,500,000,000 marks: that is to say, according to the faked official figures, a third of the State revenue is squandered in war preparations. As a matter of fact, the expenditure on armaments of the Third Reich is much higher than is indicated by these figures. Thus, for instance, the expenditure for the police, amounting to nearly 200 million marks, is not included in the military budget.

The spirit of rabid chauvinism and black reaction prevails in Germany to-day, just as it did twenty years ago.

As a result of the events of June 30, the military forces of the bourgeoisie of Germany have come more to the forefront and the war-mongering elements have become stronger. With the increasing inner crisis, German fascism will attempt to open the safety valve of war and seek to save itself by means of a bloody adventure abroad.

The Preparations For War Against the Soviet Union in Finland

By A. T.

The main organisers of the Anti-Soviet war—England, Germany and Japan—have recently paid particular attention to Finland. Finland, the immediate neighbour of Soviet Russia, constitutes an important factor in the preparation for the attack on the Soviet Union. The Finnish harbours and the whole coast provide excellent places for landing in the event of an attack on Kronstadt and Leningrad.

A special "English week" was organised recently throughout the whole of Finland. Dozens of prominent English army officers and military experts came to Finland in order to study on the spot the possibilities of an offensive against the Soviet Union, and to organise this offensive. At the same time the British imperialists dictated to the Finnish government a trade treaty, which even prompted some Conservative Finnish economists to declare that with the adoption of this trade treaty Finland can no longer be considered an independent country.

Fascist German circles have, likewise, developed an intensive activity in Finland. After the ending of the customs conflict the German capitalists dictated to the Finnish government a trade treaty on the basis of which Germany is granted a number of great privileges. The collaboration between the Finnish Lappo fascists and the German national socialists is particularly great. It is openly asserted that the German fascists are transferring large sums of money to the Finnish Lappo people to organise the war provocations against the Soviet Union. Even Japan has displayed great interest in Finland by sending two prominent military experts there in order to study the organisation of the Finnish army. It is a matter of course that this "study" is closely connected with the organisation of war in the Far East by Japanese imperialism.

The foreign policy of the Finnish bourgeoisie has for a long time been directed towards the preparations for war against the Soviet Union. At the Geneva Disarmament Conference Finland belonged to the block led by England. The Finnish bourgeoisie, which is supported by the social fascists, has for a long time refused to sign the non-aggression pact proposed by the Soviet Union.

But the fascists of Finland are not only the agents of the imperialists but harbour their own interventionist designs against the Soviet Union. In the first place the Finnish bourgeoisie is greedy for the wealth of timber of Soviet Karelia. The building of the White-Sea-Baltic-Sea Canal has still further increased Finland's appetite. The "extreme" fascists are openly advocating in their papers that it is necessary to capture Soviet Karelia. There are still greedier fascists who advocate that Finland's frontiers should be extended to the Urals.

In addition to the nationalist agitation, feverish preparations are being made for war. The military budget has been increased by more than 100 per cent. in the course of the last few years. New aerodromes were erected near the Soviet frontier; new high roads and strategic railways were built, as for instance the line from Rovaniemi to Kemijarvi and the line from Wilmannstrand to Elisenvaara. A munitions factory is being established in Tammersfors. All the large factories have been reorganised with a view to going over at once to the manufacture of war material on the outbreak of war. The army is being reorganised on the basis of the territorial system. The Defence Corps, numbering 100,000 men, which recently was raised to the status of reserve of the army, can thereby be more easily incorporated into the army. The women members of the Defence Corps, numbering 83,000, and the members of the recently-established girls' organisation, receive thorough military training.

The bourgeoisie is demanding of the social fascists a more active support of their policy. The leaders of the social fascists complied with this wish and voted in Parliament for the military budget; they even put forward the motion for prolongation of the service of the soldiers and for incorporation of the Defence Corps as a reserve into the regular army. The social fascists also voted for the credits for the construction of the strategic railways, aerodromes, docks, etc. The social-democratic newspapers are very much concerned about the condition of the air fleet and navy; they demand the construction of new aeroplanes. They promise their bourgeoisie to take part in the "defence of the fatherland" and even dissociate themselves from the instructions of the Second International in the question of defence of the fatherland.

The social democrats are vying with the bourgeois press in the chauvinist and anti-Soviet campaign. They liken the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union to the dictatorship of Mussolini and Hitler. They talk about the "defence of democracy against any dictatorship," which means nothing else but the support of the Finnish bourgeoisie in the war against the Soviet Union.

It is only the Communist Party of Finland which is unswervingly fighting against the war incitement in Finland, for the defence of the Soviet Union. The resolution of the last Plenum of the C.C. of the C.P. of Finland sharply raises the question of the struggle against war, and calls upon the Party to proceed to the necessary practical measures in order to check the chauvinistic propaganda of the Finnish fascists.

War Preparations in Latvia

During the last four years there has been much intense discussion in the Latvian press on the problem of war, its inevitability, and the possible attitude of Latvia. When energetic preparations for war commenced in East and West, after the first determined endeavour on the part of the imperialists to spread their tentacles to the Far Eastern frontiers of the Soviet Union (1929), the Latvian bourgeoisie abandoned its pretence of neutrality in case of war, and proclaimed through the mouth of the commander-in-chief of its army (interview with commander-in-chief General Radzinscha at the beginning of 1930) quite openly that Latvia would take an active part in a war against the Soviet Union. Somewhat later (April, 1931), this was confirmed by general staff chief General Kaleis.

At that time there was no international anti-Soviet campaign in which Latvia did not take an energetic part. It is only recently that the Latvian bourgeoisie, under the pressure of the successes of

socialist construction in the Soviet Union and its consistent peace policy, has been forced to mask its intensified war preparations by a pretence of friendly relations with the Soviet Union. In reality, Latvia is arming feverishly for the anti-Soviet war. The establishment of the fascist dictatorship in Esthonia, and the fascist coup d'état carried out with the aid of Germany in Latvia on 15th May, have signified an increasing Hitlerisation of the Baltic countries, and their profounder entanglement, in Hitler's plans of expansion in the East.

All recent facts bear eloquent witness of this.

According to official figures, the effective strength of the Latvian army in 1934 is 23,500 men (in war-time 200,000). In actual fact it is somewhat greater. Besides this, there are a number of volunteer military organisations in Latvia: Aissargen (over 40,000), Falcons (6,000), Latvian Freedom Fighters (5,000), etc. All these forces have grown considerably during the last few years: in 1932 the army consisted of 20,000 men, the Aissargen numbered 35,000, the Falcons 5,000.

In the course of one year the military budget has increased by 1½ millions: from 27.8 millions last year to 30.3 millions this year.

The most powerful of the volunteer military forces are the Aissargen, the armed organisation of the agrarian bourgeoisie. Since 1931 they have been equipped with up-to-date arms, and possess their own technical, air, and cavalry divisions. They organise their manoeuvres every year, and practice street fighting and operations against foreign enemies. This organisation is at the same time the most powerful tool of ideological preparation of the masses for the anti-Soviet war. For several years it has been organising patriotic evenings weekly in every part of Latvia, at which the heroism of the liberators of Latvia from the "Bolshevist yoke" is glorified, and the people educated in "faithfulness to their country" and in readiness for the impending war.

The Aissargen formed the force which supported **Ulmanis** during his coup d'état on 15th May.

Nationalist propaganda is growing. Lectures are held everywhere on aviation on defence against gas attacks. The whole press seizes on this material and repeats it from day to day in its columns. The "Aircraft Association," founded in 1933 for the air fleet propaganda, has equipped an aeroplane to fly to Africa, to visit the "ancient Latvian settlement of Gambia."

An unending series of sensational adventures are announced in connection with this flight, intended to lure youth. Groups are being formed everywhere for the promotion of aviation (in the youth organisations, in the schools, etc.). The Aircraft Association is rapidly increasing in numbers. The "National Youth Association" has joined it in a body. On 11th February a meeting of the Aircraft Association resolved to establish a school of aviation for the civilian air fleet, and to have aerodromes laid out in all the towns of Latvia. The Traffic Ministry has organised a special department for civilian aviation and air defence.

In February and March work was commenced on airports in Dünaburg, Gulben, Mitau, Goldingen, etc.

In the midst of all this enthusiasm for the collection of funds for aviations, the government is buying one aeroplane after another, and is employing at the same time the secret war fund subscribed by the countries backing up Latvia in its feverish war armaments. The newspapers of 30th March, 1934, reported that in Mitau alone money was collected in five weeks for the building of aeroplanes, sufficient to build four and a half planes. The Aissargen organisation possesses a flying school of its own, where about two thousand men are being trained. "**Briva Seme**," 1st March, 1934.)

Strategic roads and bridges had already been built everywhere in Latvia before this latest war propaganda, especially in those districts bordering on the Soviet Union, in Latgallia. Of late the Latvia bourgeoisie has concentrated its efforts on a strong air fleet and on the means of gas warfare. These facts, in conjunction with the technical equipment now being given the army, bear witness that Latvia is preparing to take its position as one of the places d'armes of Eastern Europe for that anti-Soviet war aimed at by world imperialism.

These war armaments of the Latvian bourgeoisie are being carried out in closest agreement with the other Baltic countries, especially Esthonia. The contact between the military and semi-military organisations of Esthonia and Latvia has been greatly strengthened. Since June of this year there has been scarcely a day on which there were not military experts from Esthonia visiting Latvia or vice versa. Whole divisions of the Aissargen visit

Esthonia. Joint festivals are arranged, cementing the "friendship concluded between the Latvian and Esthonian peoples in the struggle for emancipation in 1918-19." At the same time Esthonia and Latvia have been visited by various military experts from England and Germany. Japan has had permanent representatives in Latvia since March this year.

Social democracy has rendered much service in strengthening the military preparations of Latvia. It has done its utmost to increase the power of the army. The social democracy of Latvia carefully camouflages the real aims of the military preparations of the Latvian bourgeoisie, and even a few days before the fascist upheaval it still assured the toiling masses of Latvia that the Latvian bourgeoisie was tending decidedly towards a rapprochement with the Soviet Union, in view of the changed international situation.

Only the Communist Party of Latvia has combated and continues to combat war. It has called anti-war and anti-fascist congresses in Latvia itself, and has taken part in the international anti-war congresses and conferences. In its day-to-day work it has organised the masses under the anti-war slogans of the Communist Party, and exposes the war-mongering of the bourgeoisie and the treachery of the Latvian social democracy.

The White Terror

The Bloody Terror in Portugal

The Red trade union paper appearing illegally in Portugal, "**O proletario**," No. 4 of 1st July, publishes some harrowing reports concerning the fascist terror in this small country, to which little attention is paid in general in the international press and whose proletariat, exactly as in all other capitalist countries, is the victim of the most unheard-of exploitation, and whose political prisoners, the revolutionary workers, are subjected to the meanest tortures and ill-treatment, such as can be effected by only the fascist police apparatus.

The "Policia d'Informacao," that is to say Portugal's Secret Police, is one of the best organised police formations in the capitalist countries, which extends its spying activities far beyond the frontiers of Portugal, into Spain and the Spanish and Portuguese colonies. Its victims are over and over again the fighting workers, the most class-conscious and best elements.

Courageous and brave, as in fascist Germany and Italy, the revolutionary workers stand here, too, at the fighting proletarian front. No terror and no amount of cowardly murder is able to deter them from the revolutionary class struggle.

Five hundred prisoners, 4 dead, 5 driven mad, hundreds of maimed—that is to the credit of the fascist Portuguese police in the "New State" during the last five months.

From that may be seen what base methods, not stopping at murder, are used against our comrades. They hang our comrades up by the feet, and then beat them until they collapse unconscious, they try to blind the revolutionary workers, so as to deprive them for ever of their sight. All these dreadful crimes are carried out not only by the paid canailles of the police, but officers of the army, even officers of high rank also take part in these shameful deeds.

All this ghastly terror is necessary to-day for the bourgeoisie, so that it can carry on its implacable offensive against the working class. Between each attack by the bourgeoisie on wages and working conditions of the toilers and the most terrible tortures of the "Policia d'Informacao," there is an intimate connection which is becoming more and more difficult for fascism to hide.

This shows us more and more clearly that our fight against wage-cuts, against dismissals, against unemployment, must be closely associated with the fight against the inhuman treatment of the prisoners. We must defend our imprisoned comrades against the torture of the police gangs and snatch them out of the fascist claws. These are objects that we cannot separate from the day-to-day struggles. A few examples may demonstrate the inhuman crimes committed by the fascist police gangs. **Manoel Tomé**, organiser of the revolutionary railwaymen's movement in Portugal, for twenty years a heroic champion of the working class, was arrested at his home one morning at 5.30 by four agents of the Policia d'Informacao. One of the agents said to him at once: "You'll be 'delighted' . . ." As Tomé was about to be led away, one of these police turned to his wife, who was standing there uncomprehending, and said to her brutally: "Come on, say good-

bye, it'll be the last time." The next day the unhappy woman attempted, with the help of a few loyal friends, to find out where they had taken her husband. On the way she was spoken to by one of the four agents who the day before had arrested Tomé. He said to her, brutally: "You go home, you won't see Tomé any more . . ." Then he turned to Mme. Tomé's companion, who was standing there crying, and indicated to her that if she went on crying she, too, would be arrested. What would happen to her then she could imagine.

A few days later the news was spread by the police that Tomé had committed suicide! Tomé was murdered in a cowardly fashion.

Another revolutionary worker, **Joaquim Lourinho**, was beaten blind and made incapable of work. When he was arrested he was interrogated by a captain and ill-treated in the most brutal way possible. They struck him in the eyes, broke his spectacles and spat at him mockingly. He tried to complain and asked to have his eyes treated by the prison doctor, since he was afraid of going blind. They asked him: "Are you religious?" He said "No." Then they replied: "Pity; if you were you would have been spared going blind."

A few days later he was again interrogated and beaten till he bled. In this the agent Pinheiro was especially prominent. Lourinho received kicks in the face; they undressed him and belaboured his body with motor tyres. His eyes became worse and he asked again for medical aid. The contemptuous answer was: "You swine, it's necessary for you to go blind, then you won't know your executioners any more."

For eleven days he had to languish in the most severe confinement, in "secret," without being allowed to do anything for his eyes. On 23rd March he was discharged from prison, almost totally blind, unable to continue to earn his living.

The worker **Ernesto J. Ribeiro** was hanged by the feet and inhumanly beaten. During his interrogation he was surrounded by a number of police who for four hours did not stop beating him with thick truncheons. Nevertheless he refused to give the evidence required from him. Then they hung him by the feet at the back of the room and began again to beat him. When he was quite unconscious they poured cold water over him to make him come to himself again. Then they trickled vinegar into the wounds on his body. Later, half dead, they sent him to the "secret police," so that he should be finally "healed."

Francisco S. Mateus was tortured for 28 days running. This brave comrade was locked up for 28 days in "secret," where, suffering the most ghastly terror and the severest physical mishandling, he underwent a long interrogation. He had to endure the torture with boards, which consists in beating the soles of the prisoner's feet and the most sensitive parts of his body with boards.

What he went through is shown by the fact that to-day even he cannot yet walk, and his body will be covered with these terrible scars for the rest of his life.

Adolfo Ayala was tortured in such a way that another worker who was confronted with him was unable to recognise him. They tore his hair and beat him as if in a frenzy. The police agents behaved like wild beasts. They beat his head against the wall until, bleeding, he collapsed unconscious. He was then shut in the "secret" for 18 days, where in despair he attempted to commit suicide.

The whole world must learn what is going on in Portugal. The international proletariat must help the Portuguese workers in their struggle against these murderous beasts through fraternal solidarity. Delegations to Portugal must be organised. The entire working-class press must report the state of affairs in fascist Portugal.

Rakosi Vigilance Committee Formed

Paris, July 19.

Yesterday a Vigilance Committee was formed in Paris for Rakosi, the former Hungarian People's Commissioner, now being detained in prison in Budapest without any legal justification.

The Committee is formed of representatives of the International Juridical Association, the World Committee against War and Fascism, and the Committee of Anti-Fascist Intellectuals. Among its members up to the present are: Professors Lahy, Bahy Prenant, and Rivet, the lawyers Campinchi, Délépine, Milhaud, Bourthoumiex, Viennéy, Drugeons, and Chauvin.

Save Rakosi From the Hungarian Executioners!

Paris, July 28.

"I had the honour of being sent by the I.R.A. and the C.G.T.U. as a delegate to Hungary, in order to see for myself the conditions under which Rakosi, wrongfully kept in prison, is living.

"As soon as the traveller arrives in Budapest, which has been named the 'Queen of the Danube,' he observes that the country is under the heel of a fascist dictatorship.

"The actions and conduct of every citizen, especially the workers, are under the strict superintendence of a strongly organised and disciplined police force.

"The workers live in the depths of want and misery. Those who are fortunate enough to have work receive a miserable wage, barely keeping them from starvation.

"Poverty and want drive many women to prostitution. In broad daylight, from the earliest hours of the morning onward, these women may be seen in the main streets of the city, looking for someone who might give them some money.

"The population is intimidated. Nobody ventures a loud word. For the soldiery rule. Spies are everywhere.

"These are the first impressions of a country ruled by the knout of Admiral Horthy and his fascist bands.

"The prisons are crowded with workers who have dared to rise against the fascist dictatorship. There is one prisoner who has become a symbol: **Mathias Rakosi!**

"Our delegation made every possible and impossible effort to gain permission to visit our comrade in prison. The authorities replied by a categorical refusal. But our comrade will hear, through the walls of the prison, that the proletariat is watching over him.

"We must act quickly! His life depends on us!

"In April this year the term of eight and a half years' imprisonment to which Rakosi was sentenced expired.

"He was sentenced for returning as a revolutionist to his native country in order to lead the workers in the struggle against the regime of oppression.

"Hungarian capitalism is fully aware of the value of Rakosi. It is aware that this man is a determined fighter. Hence it is doing its utmost to annihilate him.

"Let us rise and save Rakosi!"

Becker, Paris District Woodworkers' Union.

The World Economic Crisis

"Prosperity" in Japan

By N. Terentiev

The war and inflationist boom in Japan is continuing. The war industries and all the related trades and industries are still working at high pressure, and the last annual report of "*The Japan Advertiser*" boasts that Japan is "the most flourishing country in the world."

We have already pointed out more than once in these columns that this Japanese "prosperity" is in reality nothing but a cloak for the further development and intensification of the economic crisis. The annual report mentioned above points out that in the past year the production of the twelve most important commodities in Japan increased by 9.1 per cent., and that, in comparison with 1932, Japanese exports in 1933 increased by 44.9 per cent., though naturally, this increase was reckoned in depreciated yen, and by 53.5 per cent. as compared with 1931. However, this and similar "successes" were simply the result of dumping and inflation which opened up the path to military adventurism on the Asiatic mainland and demanded increased armaments and feverish preparations for further war. Japanese imperialism is paying the price with a tremendous intensification of the financial crisis, with the growth of its budgetary deficit to 3.5 milliard yen in three and a half years, and the dislocation of the whole finance and credit system.

In this connection we are chiefly interested in the question of what effect the industrial boom in Japan has on the main classes of the population, quite independently of the real character of the boom. There is no doubt that monopolist finance capital, which controls all branches of Japanese industry without exception and which holds in its hands the great majority of all capitalist undertakings, is enriching itself tremendously as a result of the inflation and of the increased war orders. According to the half-yearly report of the Mitsui firm, the net profits of the 1,250 biggest joint-

stock companies in Japan in the second half of 1932 amounted to 270 million yen, in the first half of 1933 to 316 million yen, and in the second half of 1933 to 361 million yen. Measured in percentages of the total capital invested, the profits increased in the periods mentioned by 7.1, 8.4 and 9.4 per cent. In individual branches of industry the profit percentage was even higher. The banking groups increased their profits by 12.2 per cent., the cotton group by 15.7 per cent., the trading concerns by 21.9 per cent., and the artificial silk group by 24.4 per cent.

In 1933 the Mitsui trust made a profit of 28.1 per cent. on its invested capital. The trust Sumimoto made a profit of 20.8 per cent., the Japanese Bank 18.5 per cent., the Mitsui Bank 17.6 per cent., the Mitsubishi Bank 16.6 per cent., the artificial silk concern Toyo almost 40 per cent., the big textile firm Toyo paid out a dividend of 25 per cent. for the second year in succession. "For the moment the Japanese industrialists and traders are making money," declared the semi-annual report already quoted.

How has this industrial boom affected the *Japanese working class*? An article which appeared in the Japanese bourgeois newspaper "Asahi" in the middle of June gives us an answer to this question. The article points out that when Japan abandoned the gold standard in December, 1931, and the depreciation of the yen and the boom connected with it began, both real and nominal wages in Japan began to fall. Real wages are sinking even faster than nominal wages. By February, 1934, nominal wages had sunk compared with 1931 by 7.3 per cent. for male workers, 10.5 per cent. for female workers, and by 8.3 per cent. for the workers as a whole. In individual branches of industry the fall was even greater. In the cotton industries, which, as the article points out, are at the height of their prosperity, nominal wages have fallen by 16.4 per cent. The article also points out that this nominal fall in wages was accompanied by a speedy increase in the cost of living. Compared with December, 1931, the cost of living index in April, 1934, was 18.1 per cent. higher. The real difference is even greater than this because the staple articles of working-class consumption have increased more in price than the general index shows. In other words, in "the most flourishing country in the world" the standard of living of the working class has fallen by 25 per cent. during the past two and a half years as compared with the level of the crisis year 1931, and in some industries it has fallen by 33 per cent. Naturally, the article in question does not draw the obvious conclusions from these terrible figures. All it has to say is that, "it is a pity that in a period of such industrial prosperity the situation of the working class should not also have improved (!) although the employers are making very high profits."

The situation of the *peasantry* in Japan has also deteriorated. Unlike the industrial districts, the agricultural districts of Japan have not even had the advantage of the inflationist boom. It is generally known that the agricultural crisis in Japan is intensifying, that the silk-worm industry is paralysed and that the prices for silk cocoons, even reckoned in depreciated yen, are below the level of the first year of the crisis when the yen was at gold parity. It is undeniable that the Japanese peasantry as a whole is bankrupt and that it is sinking deeper and deeper into the morass of debt and interest payments. Even with regard to the production of rice, which has been less affected by the crisis, thanks to great State purchases to keep up the price to the tune of 700 million yen, the latest figures show that here also the peasants are in a desperate and hopeless position. The Japanese Ministry for Agriculture announces that the costs of production for a cocu of rice (about five bushels) are 22.17 yen. The minimum price fixed for State purchases of rice (through which it was hoped to force up prices) is 23.30 yen. Theoretically the peasants were to earn 1.13 yen on a cocu of rice, which would mean an average profit of about 27 yen per peasant farm per annum. This theoretical reckoning is an illusion. In the survey published by "The Japan Advertiser" it is pointed out, that in reckoning the costs of production the government economists have assumed from 3 to 4 per cent. to be the share for the payment of interest on the loans which burden the Japanese farms, whereas in reality about half of the peasant debts are from loans which bear interest at 10 per cent. per annum and even more. Further, the minimum price of 23.30 yen per cocu of rice was reached for the first time in April, 1934, at a time when most of the peasants had already sold their rice harvest. The plans of the Japanese government to raise the price of rice almost invariably work out to the detriment of the peasants and to the advantage of the wholesale buyers, as the survey mentions. The peasants are always up to their eyes in debt and are therefore

compelled to sell their rice as soon as possible, sometimes even before it is brought in. Only after this does the State begin to purchase rice, and the result is that the price of rice begins to rise at a time when the peasant has already sold his own harvest and is compelled to re-purchase rice for his own consumption. At this time only the big estate owners have still got their harvests in the barns. The poor peasant is thus between the upper and the nether millstones.

The fatal significance of the above figures for Japanese capitalism, with its feudal remnants and its arch-bourgeois and in part foreign sources, is clear. These figures show clearly the intensification of the internal contradictions of Japan, and the process which is proceeding within the war and inflationist boom, a process which makes the rich richer and the poor poorer, and results in a still further diminution of the Japanese home market, thus eating away the very roots of the Japanese capitalist regime.

The Growing Economic Crisis in Greece

By G. Zevgos (Athens)

The Supreme Economic Council have just published the results of their investigation of the economic situation during the first quarter of 1934. These results of the investigation of 91 industrial undertakings, representing 77 per cent. of the total production, show that industrial output in the first quarter of 1934 was 5.9 per cent. less than in the corresponding period of 1934.

After the disastrous decline of industrial output in 1932, practically all branches of Greek industry experienced a recovery in the course of 1933. The Ministers of the Tsaldaris government, and also the Trotskyists of various shades, hailed this recovery as a sign that the crisis had been overcome. The Fifth Party Congress of the Communist Party of Greece recorded, however, that this recovery "was due to a number of artificially created factors, to a number of favourable circumstances, in connection with the increase in armaments, and least of all to the inner forces of Greek capitalism." The resolution adopted at the Party Congress predicted an inevitable further decline of capitalist economy, thanks to the predatory measures of the ruling class.

The Supreme Economic Council have to admit that the signs of recovery are feeble, temporary and external. The present decline of production is taking place mainly in the **textile and food industries**, while on the other hand the **building, paper and chemical industries** record an improvement.

The **paper industry** plays a very important role. The improvement in the **building industry** is an indication of the further duration of the crisis, causing house and building property to appear the safest form of investment. In addition it should be remarked that **cement**, this main branch of the building industry, is protected by a high tariff wall, so that whilst the cost of production is 500 drachma per ton, it realises 1,500 drachma per ton on the market.

The chemical industry is the most important industry in Greece after the food and textile industries. It is mainly engaged in the production of war material. The textile industry would have experienced a big decline if it had not been for army orders.

It is clear, therefore, that Greek industry is able to maintain itself, thanks chiefly to army orders and the fact that it is protected by high tariff walls. If these tariff walls were suddenly abolished, Greek industry would collapse in 24 hours.

The further decline of the industrial output proves that the crisis cannot be overcome by artificial measures such as inflation of the currency. As a result of the fall of the drachma there was an increase of industrial output and exports in the past year, but after the pound and the dollar went off the gold standard Greek industry lost this temporary favourable position, with the result that there was a fresh decline in output and a stagnation of exports.

The further worsening of the crisis compels the Greek bourgeoisie to resort to new measures to bolster up industry. Should they decide on a further inflation, fresh customs barriers or a direct attack on working hours and wages; in any case all these measures will hit the working class in the first place. For this reason the capitalist State is pursuing a more definite fascist policy and making feverish preparations for war.

But the further course of the crisis and the class struggle is determined not by the calculations and measures of the bourgeoisie and their lackeys, but by the work of the Communists among the masses for the revolutionary way out of the crisis.

Twenty Years Ago

After Letting Loose the Dogs of War

On July 28, 1914, Count Berchthold, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, issued a declaration of war on Serbia. The die was already cast on June 28, the day of the murder of Franz Ferdinand, and in the intervening month only the preparatory work for the commencement of war was carried out. After this declaration of war, however, there was no going back. War had been let loose.

The whole of the Austro-Hungarian press, including the social-democratic press, immediately lined up in the war-front: here there was to be read only that news the publication of which the military authorities considered useful for the conduct of the war. The columns of the press were full of the first heroic deeds of their own troops, of the cowardly retreat of the enemy soldiers, of the atrocities committed by them. In the press of the rest of the other countries so-called freedom still prevailed—nevertheless, the whole press was already in the hands of the general staffs, which influenced and controlled the big news agencies, **Wolff, Havas, and Reuter**, and supplied them with news. On August 4 it was seen that the internationalism of the social democracy consisted solely in the fact that its treachery was international.

When, however, on July 26, at the first pro-war demonstration in the streets of Budapest, **Stephan Hári**, an upholsterer's apprentice, against the cry: "Long live war!" shouted with a loud voice: "Down with war!" this was not the act of a single hysterical person, as was stated in the police report (one must, of course, be hysterical in order to oppose war!), but the first voice of the rebellion which set in later, a voice which was not confined to Budapest, but was heard also at the same time in Belgrade, and then in Reichenberg, in Paris and in London, and especially in Petersburg, where it resounded in the streets not as a single voice, but already as a mass cry, where the organised opposition to war, the organised fight for the conversion of the war of the exploiters into a war against the exploiters commenced. Lenin's party was already working, whilst Lenin himself was still in an Austrian prison.

Lenin arrived in Berne on September 5, and immediately wrote the thesis on "The Tasks of the Revolutionary Social Democracy in the European War," and already on the following day gave a lecture on it to a group of Bolsheviks, who unanimously adopted the thesis. Lenin thereby commenced his great historical work in the first imperialist war. He showed the character of the war, in fact the whole epoch, took up the fight against social chauvinism and against those who wanted to come to terms with it and issued the slogan: Convert the imperialist war into civil war! We have already dealt in detail with this work of Lenin and have published important documents, in particular the historical documents which were betrayed by the social democracy. We supplement these documents now by an article by Karl Liebknecht: "The Chief Enemy is in Our Own Country."

The Chief Enemy Is in Our Own Country

By Karl Liebknecht

That which was to be expected daily in the past ten months since Austria's attack on Serbia has happened: Italy has entered the war.

The masses of the people of the belligerent countries began to free themselves from the network of official lies. There was increasing discernment among the German people of the causes and objects of the world war and the immediate responsibility for its outbreak. The fanatical belief in the sacred aims of the war was being more and more dispelled; the war enthusiasm has disappeared; the desire for a speedy peace increased enormously, also in the army.

This was a great source of anxiety to the German and Austrian imperialists, who vainly looked round for a means of rescue. They now seem to have obtained it. Italy's intervention in the war offers them a welcome opportunity to stir up the hatred of the people afresh, to stifle the will to peace, to wipe out the traces of their own guilt. They are speculating on the short memory of the German people, on its patience, which has been seriously put to the test.

If this plan should succeed the result of ten months of bloody experience will be destroyed, the international proletariat will again stand disarmed, completely excluded as an independent political factor.

This plan must be frustrated, so far as that part of the German proletariat which has remained true to international socialism remembers its historical mission in this fatal hour and remains worthy of it.

The enemies of the people reckon on the forgetfulness of the masses. We oppose this speculation with the slogan: "Learn everything and forget nothing!"

Forget nothing!

We have seen how at the outbreak of the war the masses were caught by the ruling classes with seductive melodies for capitalist war aims. We have seen how the shimmering soap bubbles of demagoguery have burst, the foolish dreams of August have vanished, how instead of happiness, misery and suffering have come to the people, how the tears of the war widows and orphans have flowed in streams, how the retention of plural-voting in Prussia, the canonisation of the quartet: semi-absolutism, junker rule, militarism and police tyranny have become bitter reality.

We are warned by experience: learn everything and forget nothing!

The tirades with which Italian imperialism cloaks its robber policy are disgusting, as is also that Roman tragi-comedy in which the usual grimace of civil-peace is not lacking. Still more disgusting, however, is the fact that we do but recognise, as in a mirror, the German-Austrian methods of July to August, 1914.

The Italian war-mongers deserve to be stigmatised. But they are only the imitators of the German and Austrian war-mongers, who are chiefly responsible for the outbreak of the war. Like father, like son!

Whom has the German people to thank for the new plague? Whom has it to call to account for the new victims, the hecatombs of dead which are being piled up?

There is no getting away from the fact that the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia of July 23, 1914, was the torch which set the world ablaze, even if the fire did not spread to Italy until later.

This ultimatum was the signal for the redivision of the world and necessarily brought all capitalist robber States on the scene.

This ultimatum raised the question of the hegemony in the Balkans, in Asia Minor and the whole of the Mediterranean, and thereby at one stroke raised all the antagonisms between Austria and Germany and Italy.

If the German and Austrian imperialists now seek to hide themselves behind the bush of the Italian robber policy, behind the facade of Italian perfidy, if they cloak themselves in the toga of moral indignation, of injured innocence, whilst they have found in Rome only their own counterparts, then they merit the most biting scorn.

How is it possible to forget what a game has been played with the German people, precisely in the Italian question, by the most honourable German patriots. The Triple Alliance with Italy was always a farce—you have been deceived regarding this. In well-informed circles it was always known that Italy would be a certain opponent of Austria and Germany in the event of war. Italy has been represented to you, however, as a sure ally.

The Triple Alliance treaty, regarding the conclusion and renewal of which you were not consulted, decided a great part of Germany's political fate. Up to the present day you have not been informed of a word of the contents of this treaty.

Austria's ultimatum to Serbia, with which a small clique took the majority of the people by surprise, constituted a breach of the treaty of alliance between Austria and Italy. You were not told anything about this.

This ultimatum was issued in spite of the open objection of Italy. You have been kept in the dark regarding this.

Italy had already dissolved the alliance with Austria on May 4 last. Up to May 18 this decisive fact was held back from the German and Austrian people and, in fact, denied: a counterpart of that intentional duping of the German people and of the

German Reichstag regarding Germany's ultimatum to Belgium on August 2, 1914.

You had no influence over the negotiations between the Central Powers and Italy, on which the intervention of Italy depended. You were treated like infants in this vital question, whilst the war party and the secret diplomats, a handful of people in Berlin and Vienna, gambled with the fate of Germany.

The torpedoing of the "Lusitania" not only strengthened the power of the English, French and Russian war parties, called forth a serious conflict with the United States, aroused passionate indignation against Germany among all the neutral countries, but facilitated the fatal work of the Italian war party precisely at a critical time. The German people had to accept this fact silently; the iron fist of the state of siege held them by the throat.

Peace could have been concluded in March of this year. England held out its hand, but the German imperialists, greedy for profits, rejected it. Promising efforts for peace were frustrated by the German interests in colonial conquests on a large scale and the annexation of Belgium and French Lorraine by the capitalists of German heavy industry. This also was hidden from the German people. You were not consulted in this matter.

We ask; whom has the German people to thank for the continuation of the horrible war? Whom has it to thank for Italy's intervention? Whom else than the responsible irresponsibles in Germany itself? Learn everything—forget nothing!

The Italian imitation of the German events of the summer of last year cannot be reason to thinking people for fresh war enthusiasm, but only a fresh occasion to arouse vain hopes of a dawn of political and social justice, only a new light for discovering those who are politically responsible, for exposing the whole dangerousness of those Austrian and German war-mongers, only a new indictment against them.

It is necessary before all, however, to learn and not to forget what an heroic fight our Italian comrades have fought and still are fighting against war. Fights in the press, at meetings, at street demonstrations; fighting with revolutionary boldness, braving with life and limb the waves of nationalism stirred up by the ruling class. Their fight deserves our enthusiastic good wishes. Let their spirit be our model! See that it becomes the model of the International!

If such a spirit had existed since the August days, the world would be better for it, as would also the international proletariat.

But a determined fighting spirit will never admit that it is too late. The insane slogan of "hold out" has proved disastrous and has led deeper and deeper into the maelstrom of fratricidal slaughter. International proletarian class struggle against international imperialist slaughter of the people is what the hour demands.

The chief enemy is in your own country! The chief enemy of the German people is in Germany! German imperialism, the German war party, German secret diplomacy. It is necessary for the German people to combat this enemy in its own country, to wage a political fight against it, co-operating with the proletariat of the other countries, whose fight is against the imperialists in their own country.

We are at one with the German people, but we have nothing in common with the German Tirpitzes and Falkenhayns, with the German government of political oppression, of social slavery. Nothing for these, all for the German people. All for the international proletariat for the sake of the German proletariat, for down-trodden humanity!

The enemies of the working class are calculating on the forgetfulness of the masses. See to it that they are mistaken in their calculations! They are speculating on the patience of the masses. We however raise the stormy cry:—

How long shall the imperialist gamblers abuse the patience of the people? Enough and more than enough of the slaughter! Down with the war-mongers on both sides of the frontiers! **An end to the murder of the peoples!**

Proletarians of all countries! Follow the heroic example of your Italian brothers! Unite for international class struggle against the conspiracy of the secret diplomats, against imperialism, against war, for peace in a socialist spirit!

The chief enemy is in your own country!

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

The Rapid Progress of the Food Industry and Food Trade

(By Our Special Correspondent in Moscow.)

L. F. BOROSS.

It need not be said that milk and honey do not yet flow in the streets of Moscow. And speaking of milk, there will scarcely be one of the many dairies run by the state trust "Sojuzmoloko," or of the milk-selling centres of the collective farm markets, or of the closed co-operatives, in which there is as much as a drop of fresh milk still obtainable by the evening. It cannot be said that there is any great superfluity, when the population of Moscow was supplied in 1933 with 67 million litres of milk, but none the less this is almost three times as much as in the last year before the war, when only 24 million litres were offered, and much of it was left unsold and turned sour. And when the rapid growth of the population in the Red capital is taken into account, it will be seen that the progress made is enormous. Figures for 1934 are not yet available, but it is self-evident, without figures, that the milk supply is incomparably greater than last year, especially the first half of last year. And during the last few months a product hitherto not manufactured in Russia has appeared in the state markets: condensed milk of the best quality.

It is the same with all foods. The relative scarcity of food-stuffs in the first years of the struggle for the socialist re-organisation of agriculture is now rapidly disappearing since the final victory of collectivisation. Besides the co-operative stores, which continue to ensure that the workers and employees receive the necessary food supplies and articles of consumption at low prices, a new state trade is springing up, and has already altered the external appearance of the towns beyond all recognition. Not only are there large and amply equipped department stores and special shops, but in almost every street there are well-stocked state grocery stores and state fruit and vegetable shops, with attractive show windows and polite salesmen (the new politeness, not servility), who sell to any customer any desired amount of any article.

These shops, which represent the new form of state socialist trade, are a great convenience to the buyer. They have, however, one inconvenient feature of their transitional stage: the prices are considerably higher than in the factory co-operatives, in some cases—butter, fine sorts of sausages, and cheese—several times dearer. This is not to be wondered at. The rapid development of this great network of trade, the equipment of tens of thousands of such shops with their attendant auxiliary undertakings all over the country, and the impending opening of further ten of thousands of similar centres involve enormous expense. An idea may be gained of the expense incurred when it is remembered that the trade organisations still owe the state bank 3.6 milliard roubles for investment credits, whilst the debts of heavy industry, for instance, only amount to 621 millions. Besides this, the organisation of sales is not carried out as cheaply as it might be, and as it will be after the carrying out of the decisions adopted on this point by the 17th Party Congress. Still, everything is to be had—except a few foreign articles, such as coffee beans, bananas, and the like. *And everything that is to be had has been produced in the Soviet Union itself.*

Here it is, of course, necessary to abandon the old Russian idea that food is almost exclusively an agricultural product. Even such a typically agricultural product as bread is supplied to 100 per cent. to the Moscow population by gigantic mechanised bread factories. A not inconsiderable part of the meat products sold in Moscow, Leningrad and Baku (and in the near future in 30 other towns) comes from great "meat combines" of the Chicago kind. Besides this, the food shops, both those open

to the public and the closed co-operatives, sell tinned goods and other industrial food stuffs in enormous quantities and of first-class quality.

Almost unnoticed by the general public, which had concentrated its main attention on heavy industry, a mighty foodstuffs industry sprang up during the first Five Year Plan, and was already able to boast a large number of large-scale undertakings with up-to-date equipment. It need not be said that this development has been indissolubly bound up with the development of heavy industry. During the first Five Year Plan heavy industry constructed for the foodstuffs industry alone about 400 new types of machines*, whilst in pre-revolutionary Russia the manufacture of equipment for the foodstuffs industry was practically unknown.

During the first Five Year Plan, and in the first year of the second, that is to say between 1929 and 1933, the enormous sum of three milliard roubles was invested in the food industry. Seven hundred new large-scale undertakings with up-to-date equipment are increasing the quantities of foodstuffs consumed by the toiling masses; 633 great agricultural Soviet undertakings, with an area of 1,300,000 hectares, are supplying the state foodstuffs industry with fruit, vegetables, tobacco, and other raw materials.

In order to gain an idea of the development of the food industry we may choose one example here at random: the canning industry. There is one (the largest, it is true) of the numerous new canning factories, that in Krimskaja (North Caucasia), which alone produces 86 million tins of preserved food, as compared with the 80 million tins which represented the whole pre-war production of Russia. In 1933 the whole canning industry of the Soviet Union produced 727 million tins of preserved goods of various kinds; 105 million tins of meat, 180 million tins of fish, 360 million tins of fruit and vegetables, 74 million tins of tomatoes, 4 million tins of condensed milk, 3 million tins of other preserves. In 1934 eight new canning factories will commence working, representing a capacity of 100 million tins.

The other branches of the food industry are developing at a similar rate. Whilst the capitalist countries are doing their utmost to throttle their production of sugar, the Soviet Union is developing the sugar industry, not only in its previous centres (Central Black Earth district and Kiev district), but is building a number of new sugar factories in the national border district (Kasakstan, Kirgisian Republic, and others). It would take too much space to adduce all the figures demonstrating the development of the meat and fish products industry, the tobacco industry, and other branches.

It should, however, be pointed out that the performance of the food industry up to date is only the beginning of much wider developments. The Second Five Year Plan is investing fresh capital in the food industry to the amount of 5,340 million roubles. By 1937 415 new undertakings are to be put into operation, and building commenced on numerous other large-scale enterprises. To keep to our example of the canning industry, this branch is to increase its output to two milliard tins by 1937. Under the Second Five Year Plan, the whole food industry will increase its output by over 256 per cent.

Readers in the capitalist countries who read these figures on the present development and the future plans of the Soviet industries, and learn that not only the food industry, but the textile industry, the shoe industry, the furniture industry, the manufacture of sport equipment and musical instruments, the production of books, and all other branches of industry, are growing

* These figures, as well as all others, are taken from an article by the People's Commissar for Supplies, Mikojan, "The Food Industry in the Second Five Year Plan," "Bolshevik," Nr. 9/10, 1934, Page 88.

at the same rate, will miss something in the above description: they find here no word about the *problem of finding markets*. The Soviet industries increase their production steadily. But who will buy all this? What devilish power do the Soviets possess—many a capitalist industrialist puts himself this question—that they can increase their products threefold, tenfold, twentyfold, without suffering in the least from the problem of finding markets?

Soviet economy knows nothing of the problem of finding buyers, for in the Soviet Union there are no capitalists whose profit interests erect a wall between the toiling masses and the goods which they produce. As soon as the means of production belong to the workers, the *possibility of a difficulty in finding markets* vanishes. How very simply, for instance, the question is solved in the Second Five Year Plan?

About two and a-half times more food and articles of consumption will be produced. Who is to buy them? The workers will buy them, for their real wages will be doubled by a 55 per cent. wage rise and a 45 per cent. reduction of prices, whilst at the same time the total number of workers and employees in work will be increased by 30 per cent. The collective peasants will buy them, for with every year they have greater surpluses for sale, and put greater demands on industrial production. Under socialist planned economy the solution of a production problem signifies at the same time the solution of the question of the sale of the product concerned. To state it more simply: *The more the working class and the working peasantry produce, the more they can consume.*

There are many workers in the capitalist countries who find the production statistics of Soviet economy tedious, and would rather hear "how the workers live in the Soviet Union." Under the conditions made possible by socialist economy, under which the toiling masses produce for themselves with their own means of production, it is precisely the production statistics which give the clearest conception of how the toiling masses live. The higher the production figures of food and articles of consumption, the better the toiling masses live. The higher the figures relating to the manufacture of means of production, the better the toiling masses will live to-morrow. And these two categories of figures are increasing from year to year, from month to month. The workers of the Soviet Union understand quite clearly this relation between the figures and their own well-being, therefore there is no subject which interests them so much as the statistics of production.

A unique and conspicuous feature of street life in the Soviet Union is the fact that great blank wall spaces, utilised in capitalist cities for advertisements, are painted here with production statistics in figures yards high. These are the index figures of the struggle for the general prosperity of the whole toiling masses.

Grain Delivery.

The harvest in the Ukraine is proceeding incomparably more rapidly than last year. Last year 1.7 per cent. of the cultivated area had been harvested; by the middle of July this year 49.3 per cent. The Dniepropetrovsk district has brought in 81.6 per cent. of its harvest.

The press praises certain districts, for instance the Kharkov district, for their successful fight against harvest losses. Work is proceeding busily in order to protect the harvest against rain. Pioneers are actively taking part in harvesting work. In the Crimea the grain harvest is already approaching its end.

Huge Electricity Works on the Oka.

In connection with the work on the Oka river, by which it is intended to solve the most important questions of transport and energy, an electrical power station is to be erected on both sides of the coffer dam. The works at Kaluga will be capable of generating 120,000 kilowatts, the other works about 100,000 kilowatts.