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# The Revolutionary Upheaval in Spain

By Z. Gregor

The Lerroux government was lying. It triumphed too soon. The shameful manoeuvre with Companys did not help it at all. The Lerroux government is not master of the situation. The struggle is proceeding and the Lerroux government is suffering defeat after defeat. In the few days prior to the formation of the Lerroux government the Right-wing newspapers openly called for the establishment of a dictatorship and appealed to the generals "to save the country."

The Lerroux government was destined to play the part of a cloak for the carrying out of these plans. The leaders of the Catholic Action and of the autonomous Right-wingers, both thinly disguised monarchist organisations, therefore joined the Lerroux government. The Spanish bourgeoisie, however, was quickly to learn that the experiment with fascism brought great risks with it. The experiment raised the question of power and the game became one with the highest stakes.

The Spanish proletariat realised immediately that to tolerate the Lerroux government would be to subordinate itself to fascism and to give up everything which had been won with the overthrow of the monarchy, to lose all freedom of movement and to bow its head to an incomparable and brutal aggravation of its impoverishment. The only alternative was therefore to take up the struggle against the Lerroux government. However, taking up the fight against the Lerroux government did not mean demanding the dissolution of the Cortes and submitting to the result of elections rigged by the bourgeois parliamentary machine, nor did it mean the formation of another coalition between the socialists of the de los Rios and Basteiro school with the "Left-wing" republican parties which were responsible for leading Spain to the verge of a fascist dictatorship. The proletariat of Spain was faced with the alternatives of submitting without a struggle to the establish-

ment of a fascist dictatorship or fighting for power with revolutionary means.

The proclamation of the general strike by the Workers' Alliance, which represents the recently formed united front between the Communist Party and the Socialist Party, between the reformist and revolutionary trade unions, and between the Communist and Socialist young workers, meant the immediate struggle for power, and therefore the proclamation of the general strike was immediately followed in numerous districts, particularly in North Spain, by armed struggles to occupy the barracks of the Civil Guards and of the military, the buildings of the authorities, the railway stations, etc.

As only the revolutionary proletariat is in a position to grant the full right of self-determination to the national minorities, and as the fascist monarchist reaction came forward immediately with a frank programme for the defence of "the historic unity of Spain" (this slogan was given by the ex-king Alphonso himself in a letter to "his" people), a programme which means the bloody suppression of the national minorities and the loss of the last vestiges of their autonomy, it was clear that the struggle of the Spanish proletariat against fascism must ally itself with the struggle of the national minorities for their freedom. It is a further example of the hatred of the Second International against anything revolutionary when many social democratic newspapers outside Spain immediately began to raise doleful laments about "the lost revolution" and to reproach the Spanish workers for having co-operated with the "separatist movement" in Catalonia, "for then perhaps the troops of General Badet would not have fired."

The centre points of the revolutionary struggle in the first days of the fighting were in Asturias and Catalonia. Despite all

the blatant announcements from governmental sources, the government is still powerless against the armed workers and peasants in these districts. It was certainly an error that the Workers' Alliance in Barcelona lost valuable time in persuading Companys to proclaim the independent Republic of Catalonia, instead of acting on its own. Companys utilised this time by letting General Badet mobilise his troops and then negotiating the surrender of the new "Republic" with him. The hesitation of the Workers' Alliance in the first decisive days of the struggle and the treachery of Companys, which was in any case nothing but the continuation of the policy he had pursued as President of the Generalidad, a policy of capitulation to Madrid, will cost the Spanish workers and peasants heavy losses. However, Lerroux's triumph. nt announcements have been made too soon. His government has not yet subjugated Catalonia, and the struggle is still proceeding here as in all other parts of the country.

Immediately after the capitulation of Companys a government regiment stationed in Gerona mutinied and shot the higher officers who attempted to bring it to heel. In Gijon armed workers have occupied the fort. It is hardly possible that workers armed with no more than rifles and revolvers could have stormed military defences unless the soldiers themselves had previously gone over to the cause of the people.

On the evening of September 8 the armed workers in Madrid began to use machine-guns, and obviously these weapons came from the military stores or from the captured police barracks. Fighting took place for the possession of the central electrical power station and the central telephone exchange.

In Trubia, near Oviedo (Asturias), the military arsenal was occupied by armed workers, who are now in possession of artillery. This report also indicates that the soldiers are beginning to go over to the side of the people.

Both in Madrid and Barcelona the workers are still in the offensive against the government buildings. Obviously the workers in Spain have learned from the defeat of the workers in Austria and are not limiting their activities to a defence of the workers' quarters.

Despite all the repressive measures of the government the general strike is not only still unbroken, but it is extending to the South of Spain. Bloody fighting began in Seville and Malaga as late as October 8, showing that the working class still has powerful reserves. In Madrid and in other important towns the railway stations are in the hands of the workers. The government has issued a decree ordering the calling of all railway workers

to the colours. It is very doubtful whether this decree will have any practical effect.

Up to the moment there is very little news about the situation of the movement in the agrarian districts, but this may be due to the breakdown of communications as a result of the general strike. Are the peasants in Andalusia and Estremadura in movement, are they occupying the big estates and seizing the land? This is certainly the case in some places, and if this movement becomes general, then it means the victory of the revolution, for under such circumstances the Lerroux government would lose the allegiance of the army, which is composed chiefly of the sons of the peasantry, whose chief demand is for the redistribution of the land.

All in all, therefore, these reports show that the workers are winning new successes every day, a circumstance which will strengthen the confidence of the workers in their final victory and demoralise the forces of the government.

From the beginning this great movement of the Spanish workers and peasants has revealed one weak point, the disruption of the working class by the anarchists and the syndicalists who are not affiliated to the Workers' Alliance and which are even hostile to it. Where the leaders of the anarchists and the syndicalists have issued strike orders they have done so unwillingly and only under strong pressure from their own working-class followers. In some districts they have even openly opposed the strike call and done their utmost to sabotage the strike and prevent the development of its full strength. They know that the struggle is a struggle for power and they have often enough declared themselves against a revolutionary government of the proletariat. However, it is possible to heal this breach during the course of the struggle itself, because the anarchist and syndicalist rank and file have shown that they are with their class comrades in the struggle and are prepared to go forward, leaving their leaders on the other side of the barricades.

The most important guarantee of final victory is the establishment of the hegemony of a strong Communist mass party, supported by the whole of the proletariat.

The international significance of the revolutionary upheaval in Spain is that it demonstrates that the experiment with fascism which the bourgeoisie of all countries is itching to carry out is bound up with extreme risks for its own rule. The same is true of the plans for a new imperialist war. Paris, Vienna, and Spain may serve the bourgeoisie as a mene tekel.

## The U.S.S.R. and the League of Nations

The entrance of the U.S.S.R. into the League of Nations has become a fact. In reply to the invitation of 34 countries, led by France, Great Britain and Italy, the Soviet government signified its consent, after which it was formally accepted as a new member of the League of Nations and was given a permanent seat on the Council of the League. September 18, 1934, was a date of international importance and a great victory for the peace policy of the U.S.S.R.

This event produced a very strong impression on the broad masses of workers, unemployed, peasants and the broad strata of office employees and intellectuals, the millions of whom during the last few months have been almost physically experiencing the pending clouds of war, to which they will be the first victims. This event also produced a very strong impression in the camp of the imperialists, the reformists and social fascists.

Though this event is almost universally appraised as a new and outstanding victory for the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, there are extremely divergent interpretations among the imperialists, reformists and social fascists on the one hand, and the Communists on the other hand, as to the motives which induced a number of leading imperialist Powers to invite the U.S.S.R. to join the League of Nations and the motives which induced the U.S.S.R. to accept this invitation. Especially diverse are the estimates of the results which may follow from this acceptance. In the camp of the imperialists themselves, torn by internal contradictions, there are the strongest disagreements on this question.

We find the parties of the Second International trying to interpret this step of the U.S.S.R. as the acceptance by the Bol-

sheviks of the social-democratic policy towards the League of Nations.

We find a similar self-deception in the bourgeois press (see "Temps" of September 17) to the effect that there has been a profound change "in the foreign and even in the internal policy of the Soviet Union," a supposition which merely shows how strongly the bourgeoisie hope to see a "new"—i.e., a bourgeois Russia. Comrade Litvinov emphasised in his speech of September 18 that the U.S.S.R., entering the League of Nations as a new social economic system, completely retaining her self-reliance and independence of her politics, is not giving up any peculiarities of her government and the U.S.S.R. does not bear the responsibility for former actions of the League, and will fight against those decisions and actions of the League directed towards the oppression of nations. "A new member joining an organisation can be morally responsible only for those decisions adopted with his participation and agreement." This statement was a blow against those elements living on those hopes.

We find the British Conservative organ, the "Times," expressing its sorrow that the acceptance of the U.S.S.R. into the League of Nations was not accompanied with certain guarantees against Bolshevik propaganda. The German and Japanese bourgeois press grind their teeth, which is the best proof that if this step of the U.S.S.R. is intended to put obstacles in the way of the warmongers in Berlin and Tokyo, the shot has reached its mark.

Here could be heard the shrieks and the groans of the Vatican, of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and all the obscurantists who looked on it as almost equivalent to sacrilege and the defilement

of sanctuaries to admit Communists into the holy of holies where hitherto only the stainless angels of capitalist ownership have been found, and who foretold general destruction in the flames of the world revolution which the Bolsheviks will doubtless organise from the platform of the League of Nations.

All this discordance arises from the complex web of inter-relations, from the variety of interests and strivings of various parts of the capitalist world which is groaning in the grip of contradictions and is being torn to pieces.

The false interpretation of the policy of the U.S.S.R. and the discordance in the camp of the imperialists in their estimate of the event of September 18 must serve for the revolutionary proletariat as a warning voice against drawing hasty conclusions, against unnecessary exaggeration and harmful illusions, of which the most harmful is the illusion that the entrance of the U.S.S.R. into the League of Nations will remove the war danger from the order of the day. The Soviet Union understands very well that she entered an organisation created by the capitalist States, she understands the extent of the limitations of the means and possibilities at the disposal of the League of Nations and that the limit of international co-operation and its duration, like the grouping of Powers in the camp of the imperialists, is determined by the contradictions inherent in the capitalist world.

It must not be forgotten that among the bourgeoisie not only in the countries which voted against the acceptance of the U.S.S.R. into the League of Nations, but also in the countries which voted for it, there are passionate opponents of rapprochement with the U.S.S.R.; who carried on a frantic struggle before September 18 for the organisation of war against the U.S.S.R., and will continue to do so in the future. We must not forget that **Poland** signed the non-aggression pact with the U.S.S.R. and, following which, signed an agreement with Germany, which is openly preparing to attack the Soviet Union. This same Poland, following in the steps of the three great Powers, expressed herself for the invitation to the U.S.S.R. to join the League of Nations, but stubbornly opposes the signing of the Eastern Pact. We must not forget the double game played by **England** towards the two States that are at the present time playing the role of trying to start the war—one kind of attitude towards Germany and another kind towards Japan. (Apropos of this, two days after the entrance of the U.S.S.R. into the League of Nations the London "Times" came out with a violent anti-Soviet attack.) **We must not forget all kinds of unexpected changes in the States** whose conduct depends on the most varied changes in internal and external situation of their countries, for the development of which stable time and confidence in the next day has long since passed.

It would, however, also be harmful to underestimate this big event. It would be harmful to harbour an over-simplified idea that in reality "nothing has changed." This would be simultaneously an underestimation of the possibility of a sharper and more practical struggle for peace by the U.S.S.R. and the international proletariat, thanks to the new position won by the Soviet Union.

For the tens of millions of toilers whose lives are put at stake by a new world war, even the slightest step in the direction of averting this war is a tremendous achievement. For the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat, the further guarding of the country of the Soviets is a primary task and at the same time is a necessary condition for the successful revolutionary struggle against capitalism in their own country. For the revolutionary vanguard, even a simple postponement of the approaching war, which opens up the possibility for a further struggle to abolish or to forestall it by a proletarian revolution is a big success for the entire world revolutionary front.

In order that the international proletariat will be able to utilise the new position won by the U.S.S.R. for the cause of peace and for attaining their class aims they must have a clear understanding of two questions.

**Firstly**, what new conditions, what changes in international conditions, compel the overwhelming majority of the capitalist countries, led by the great Powers—France, etc.—to seek rapprochement with the Soviet Union at the present time, despite their ineradicable hatred for the Soviet system.

**Secondly**, what causes gave rise to the consent of the U.S.S.R. to enter the League of Nations, which had been looked on by the Soviet Union as a clearly imperialist organisation in essence and whose efforts to organise capitalist "order" had been regarded as utterly fruitless.

It is easy to reply to the first question if we take into account

the danger of war which has greatly increased the sharpening contradictions among the imperialists in connection with the intensification of the crisis, and if we remember the enormously increased power of the Soviet Union, which is a very strong factor for peace. The attack of Japan on China and its seizure of Manchuria have created a danger to the American spheres, and this, together with the increasing power of the country of the Soviets, was the cause of the changed policy of the U.S.A. towards the U.S.S.R., leading to the resumption of diplomatic relations between them. Finally, the coming of Hitler to power in Germany, which greatly increased the annexationist tendencies of German imperialism, which has begun feverishly to arm Germany in spite of the Versailles Treaty, which is making great efforts to annex to itself Austria and the Baltic countries by methods of violent actions within and without, and which is trying to turn Soviet Ukraine into its hinterland by means of an anti-Soviet war. As the result of this, it has created a direct menace to the hegemony of France on the continent of Europe and the looming prospect of a war of revenge against France has compelled France to change its policy towards the U.S.S.R., and this led to the invitation to the U.S.S.R. to enter the League of Nations.

The coming of Hitler to power in Germany was likewise bound to cause serious changes in the policy of **Great Britain** and **Italy**. Britain supported Germany to the extent that this was needed to weaken the hegemony of France in Europe in favour of Great Britain and to the extent that it helped to bring Germany into the anti-Soviet front directed by Great Britain. But when German fascism carried on a frantic annexationist policy, it brought into life the danger which on the eve of 1914 had driven Britain into an anti-German alliance with France, a danger which is all the greater because, under the conditions of new military technique (the increased role of aviation), the island of Great Britain, without an alliance with France, is open to an attack. This caused Great Britain to change its front. Despite the strong contradictions between Italy and France in the Mediterranean and the Balkans, Italy was compelled to consent to draw closer to France when German fascism, by its policy of the Anschluss with Austria, became a strong menace for Italy. A number of small and medium States in Europe have good grounds to fear that in a new war catastrophe they would lose the last vestiges of their independence or would even cease to exist entirely.

French imperialism above all, and later British and Italian imperialism, were compelled to take the path of rapprochement to the U.S.S.R. not only in view of the strengthening of the German danger but owing to the fact that the greatly increased power of the Soviet Union had made it into an extremely strong citadel against war.

For many years French imperialism, as one of the chief organisers of the anti-Soviet bloc, considered that the Soviet Union was no longer the same country that, fifteen years previously, had seemed an easy prey to the interventionists. Fifteen years ago the imperialists could not cope with the Soviet Union, and now it has become an incomparably stronger force. It has turned from an agrarian country, backward in economic, technical and cultural respects and devastated by war, a poverty-stricken country, into an industrial country, a country of the most advanced technique, a country of agriculture on the largest scale in the world, a country in which an enormous cultural upsurge has taken place among the masses of the people, a country which is increasing its defensive powers to a tremendous degree. Even the class hatred of the French and of all the world bourgeoisie against the social and economic system in the Soviet Union which represented a tremendous danger for the entire capitalist system, could not conceal the obvious fact that the Soviet Union was growing from day to day absolutely in every direction. This hatred could not conceal another undoubted fact, that the Soviet Union, despite all the shouts of "red imperialism," was working for the postponement of war and conducting a struggle not only against an anti-Soviet war but against all imperialist wars in general.

Hence arose also a number of big successes for the peace policy of the U.S.S.R. during the last year, among which a prominent place is occupied by the recognition of the U.S.S.R. by the U.S.A., the conclusion of a series of non-aggression pacts, the adoption of many other States of the definition of the aggressor as proposed by Soviet diplomacy. All these events, which preceded the entrance of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations, were a preparation for it.

And no matter how the nimble political acrobats of the Second International try to explain the entrance of the U.S.S.R. into the League of Nations as a forced compromise and a concession in principle under the pressure of bourgeois countries, the revolutionary proletariat of the entire world will understand the entrance of the U.S.S.R. into the League of Nations primarily as a result of its enormous power, the pressure of which had made itself more and more clearly felt on the course of world development.

If the turn in the policy of the imperialist governments from open aggression towards the Soviet Union to a policy of rapprochement—granted that it is temporary, but nevertheless a definite rapprochement—can be one of the circumstances hindering an immediate anti-Soviet campaign, if this is a great achievement (and there is no doubt that it is), then this achievement is also the result of the uninterrupted revolutionary struggles of the broad masses of the proletarians and semi-proletarians against war and capitalism.

All these conditions together compelled the worst enemies of the proletarian dictatorship to draw nearer to the Soviet Union and seek to secure its entrance into the League of Nations.

Passing on to the question of why the U.S.S.R. agreed to join the League of Nations, we must point out first of all that the entrance of the U.S.S.R. into the League is a natural continuation of its consistent and successful policy of peace. The policy of the capitalist world, particularly in the form of the League of Nations, has suffered a defeat in respect to the Soviet Union. During the first 15 years of the existence of the Soviet Union, this policy was either to attempt to crush it on the pretext that it aimed at "red imperialism" or at best to draw it into the struggle of one group of imperialists against another. One after another the legends of the war plans of the Soviet Union broke down, the legend of its military alliance, first with Germany, then with Italy. At the same time, by its systematic exposure of the war plans of the imperialists, the Soviet Union has repeatedly succeeded in disrupting plans which were already prepared to be carried out.

In the world conditions which have arisen, when Japan, having created Manchuria as its outpost of war against the Soviet Union, is day by day provoking the outbreak of war, when German-Japanese rapprochement for war has become a fact, it is not very difficult to guess what caused the Soviet Union to accept the invitation to join the League of Nations.

The Soviet government, the proletariat of the country of Soviets and the revolutionary workers of all countries do not harbour illusions in respect to the League of Nations. They merely recognise on the one hand the significance of the changes in the attitude towards the Soviet Union which have taken place as the result of the tremendous weakening of the capitalist world and the growing power of the Soviet Union. They realise that the attitude of the League of Nations towards war depends at the given moment on who compose it. For those imperialist cliques which, like Japan and Germany, who have already placed war on the order of the day, the League of Nations, headed by those who are not aiming for war at the present moment, is a hindrance, even though small and formal, on the path towards the immediate commencement of war. In this is expressed the growing contradictions in the camp of the imperialists inside the League of Nations that led to Japan and Germany leaving the League of Nations, setting their hands free for war.

The entrance of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations will undoubtedly considerably increase the restraining role which the League of Nations has begun to play in the most recent period. In entering the League of Nations the U.S.S.R. does not in the least degree change its attitude in principle towards the Versailles system. It is still against it. At the same time it is against the use of the methods of war to revise the frontiers established by the Versailles Treaty. On entering the League of Nations it will be possible for the U.S.S.R. to struggle still more effectively and practically against a counter-revolutionary war on the U.S.S.R. and against imperialist war for the repartition of the world.

Firstly, the entrance of the U.S.S.R. into the League of Nations will increase the isolation of the chief instigators of war, Germany and Japan, and will strengthen the anti-war position of those who are against war at the present moment, but are hesitating.

Secondly, on entering the League of Nations, it becomes possible for the U.S.S.R. to organise resistance to the warmongers by multi-lateral agreements.

This policy of disrupting the war plans of the most aggressive imperialist States by correctly taking account of all the changes in international relations is the most real policy of peace, based on the interests of socialist construction, on the vital interests of the proletariat of all countries, on the interests of the proletarian revolution.

What has this proletarian policy in common with that interpretation of it given by the social-democratic press in connection with the entrance of the U.S.S.R. into the League of Nations?

Neither the uncouth provincial roughness of the newspaper of the Czech socialists "Social-Democrat," nor the velvet tones of the speech of Leon Blum in connection with the 75th anniversary of the birth of Jaurès (see "Populaire" of September 17), were able to lead astray the public opinion of the proletariat regarding the aims of the leaders of social democracy when they depicted the new act in the peace policy of the Soviet Union as the abandonment of the former Bolshevik estimate of the League of Nations and as a transition to the position of social democracy on this question.

Leon Blum designates the entrance of the U.S.S.R. into the League of Nations as a "double triumph" for the Socialist Party of France. On the one hand, he claims, this is a triumph for the French socialists over the French reactionaries, over the supporters of Barthou, who was hurling thunders a few months ago at any attempt at rapprochement with the Soviet Union, and now ("such is the revenge of history," exclaims Blum), this same Barthou is compelled to make a burning speech at Geneva in favour of the acceptance of the U.S.S.R. into the League of Nations. The second triumph—a triumph of the socialists over the Communists—is alleged to be the fact that the Communists have accepted the policy of Leon Blum's party, the policy of supporting the League of Nations and recognising its role as a fighter for peace.

In all this reasoning there is not a word of truth. First of all, the French socialists have the least right to attribute to themselves the credit of turning the French imperialists in the direction of rapprochement with the Soviet Union. They have in the past with their conduct helped the bourgeoisie carry through their anti-Soviet policy. Since the first days of the October Revolution they have helped French imperialism to hurl dirt at the Soviet Union by backing up the legend of a "red imperialism." They have helped the anti-Soviet war by voting for war credits, participating in the preparation of anti-Soviet plans, defending the wreckers in the "Industrial Party" and the Mensheviks, who were carrying out the orders of the French General Staff, and by systematically undermining the united front of the French proletariat against their bourgeoisie. If there is a "revenge of history" in respect to Barthou and his confederates, there is an equally striking "revenge of history" in respect to Leon Blum and all those leaders of French socialism who, not wishing to risk the loss of the remnants of their popularity amongst the masses, now realise the war danger (it is admitted now even by the supporters of Barthou), which they have previously denied, and together with Barthou they approve of the entrance of the U.S.S.R. into the League of Nations. As for the triumph of the socialists over the Communists, on this question neither the enthusiasm of the proletariat of France for the united front nor the agreement between the Communists and socialists to cease mutual attacks during the period of the joint struggle will prevent the exposure of the whole falsity of this statement and the disruption of the attempts of the French socialists to make political capital out of the events which have taken place. Leon Blum and his friends will not be able to convince the French workers that the Communists are now conducting the policy of social democracy in respect to the League of Nations. They will not be able by such tricks to justify their old policy nor obtain an amnesty from the workers for their party. Every thinking worker understands the difference between the present efforts of the Soviet Union to utilise the changed situation inside the League of Nations, when it has become a certain obstacle to the unleashing of war by fascist Germany and militarist Japan, and the participation of the socialists in the formation of the League of Nations at a time when it was very plain that one of the chief aims of its formation was to organise a counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union. It was the French socialists even more than their brethren in other countries who fell into the most vulgar and false bourgeois pacifism long before the formation of the League of Nations, bowing down to Wilson, whose idea it was to form the League of Nations, and even classing



him along with Jaurès. It was the French socialists above all who did everything in their power to raise the authority of the League of Nations and sent one of their leaders, Albert Thomas, to the post of leader of the Labour Office of the League of Nations, which supported all the measures of the bourgeoisie for bringing about capitalist rationalisation. The French socialists supported the League of Nations in respect to war and anti-Soviet intervention at the time when the imperialist leaders of the League were much stronger than the country of the Soviets, which was defending itself against intervention with the help of a ragged, bootless and starving Red Army. This has very little resemblance to the entrance of the powerful Soviet Union at the present day into the League of Nations, making the statement through its representative Comrade Litvinov that it takes no responsibility for the past activity of the League and that it is entering the League not for the sake of war but for the sake of **active participation in the work of the League with the idea of preserving peace**, in the struggle for which the participation of the Soviet Union under present circumstances may have decisive importance.

The German social democrats who capitulated to fascism are also wasting their efforts when they try to make an analogy between the present entrance of the U.S.S.R. into the League of Nations and Germany's entrance in 1926. The social-democratic paper "*Deutsche Freiheit*" (see issue of September 12) evidently forgot about the circumstances in which Germany entered the League of Nations, when the aim and maybe the condition of its admission into the League was its change from the policy of Rapallo to a "western" orientation, when German social democracy, the auxiliary of French imperialism, stubbornly advocated and conducted the policy of "fulfilment" on the one hand and with equal insistence drove Germany from the path of Rapallo to the path of the "western orientation," i.e., the anti-Soviet path, on the other hand. Evidently, even the lessons which it has received during the last two years since Hitler came to power have not taught it to see the tremendous difference between the entrance of the Soviet Union into the League and the former entrance of Germany. The representatives of the Soviet Union, where the proletariat is in power and are complete masters of the country, can bring pressure to bear on the League, relying for support not only on the workers of the Soviet Union but on the forces of the whole of the world proletariat. But when German social democracy was saving German and French capitalism and grovelling before them, clutching at the steps of their chariot, it sacrificed to them the vital interests of the German proletariat.

Both the French, German and Czech socialists are simply lying when they try to prove that the Bolsheviks, as represented by the Soviet Union and the Communist Parties of all countries, now look upon the League of Nations as a strong citadel of peace, a firm guarantee against war. This is not true. We Communists consider the participation of the Soviet Union in the League of Nations merely as a modest possibility of hindering the approach of war and we consider it as a crime to the international proletariat to ignore this possibility, however humble it may be. It is not the 34 States which invited the Soviet Union and not even the Powers which were the initiators of this invitation, and still less the States which voted against the admission of the Soviet Union, which could give any guarantee for the preservation of peace. Both beyond the confines of the League of Nations and inside it, imperialist contradictions will continue to grow. The relative importance of the representatives of the Soviet Union inside of the League of Nations, and consequently its possibility of having an effect on the course of events will depend on the forces which stand behind the representatives of the U.S.S.R.—growing socialist construction and the growing revolutionary united anti-fascist and anti-war front in the capitalist countries.

The entrance of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations is taking place at the moment of ever-increasing revolutionary activity of the masses. In all capitalist countries the proletarian masses are with the greatest enthusiasm overcoming all difficulties, are organising the united front and are conducting a heroic struggle under the slogans of the Communists against the capitalist offensive, against the lowering of their standard of living, against fascism and war.

The growth of the relative importance of the U.S.S.R. in the world arena, the growth of its authority not only among the workers but also among the broadest strata of the petty bourgeoisie and the intellectuals, is a very strong reinforcement for the anti-fascist and anti-war front.

At the present state of the struggle, when the victory of fascism in Germany, Austria and Bulgaria has encouraged and activated fascism in almost all countries, the struggle to eliminate the split of the proletarian ranks and the disruption of proletarian activity has become a question of life and death for the working class as never before.

If we search along all the slogans, the one which has the greatest power to unite the workers, the unemployed, the broad strata of the office workers and intellectuals, it is hardly likely that any slogan will be found stronger than the slogan of **Defence of the U.S.S.R.—the greatest stronghold against fascism and war**.

This is why the proletarian and semi-proletarian masses throughout the world will welcome the new success of the peace policy of the Soviet Union.

In struggling under the leadership of the Communists for the victory of the united anti-war and anti-fascist front, the revolutionary workers of all capitalist countries, with the full realisation of their responsibility, will treble their vigilance, will keenly watch "their own" native imperialists, will promptly expose and upset their imperialist, anti-Soviet, counter-revolutionary plans. While increasing their resistance to fascism and strengthening day by day the united front against the class enemy in their own country, they will best of all strengthen their fighting alliance with the proletariat of the U.S.S.R.

The revolutionary workers, led by the Communists, will march forward under the banner of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of Soviet power in the complete realisation that it is **not a new imperialist war but the victorious proletarian revolution which will relieve the world of the capitalist system of crisis, war and fascism, and that only the Soviets will lead to the triumph of Communism throughout the world**.

## Politics

### Foreign Political Review of the Week

The chief result of the Geneva conferences was a demonstration of the utter confusion which exists in the relations of the so-called peaceful Powers to each other: that is to say, between those powers who came out on top in the last imperialist war and were able to satiate their lust for conquests to such an extent that for the moment they can see no advantage to themselves accruing from a new imperialist war and are therefore in favour, for the moment at least, of the maintenance of peace. One would assume that Rumania would stand by France and support the latter's foreign policy without reserve, but the governmental crisis which has suddenly come to a head in Rumania indicates that this assumption is not quite correct. The Rumanian Foreign Minister, Titulescu, resigned from office because influential circles, led by the Prime Minister himself, Tatarescu, were sabotaging and opposing his foreign policy and seeking an understanding with Germany and Poland behind his back in order to link Rumania up with the anti-Soviet front.

At the moment of writing it is not possible to see how this crisis will be solved, or rather patched up. In any case, this example is of considerable importance because it shows clearly how easily the lines of the bourgeois peace policy can shift and how easily the various capitalist powers can be guided into the anti-Soviet front. If there is any country which gorged itself with foreign conquests after the last imperialist war, then that country is Rumania. It snatched so much foreign territory and so many peoples into its own maw that it is unable to digest the booty. The Rumanian bourgeoisie knows that Germany and Poland are preparing as rapidly as possible for an armed attack on the Soviet Union and that they are anxious to form a bloc of countries to support this undertaking. At the same time, however, this bloc is directed against the allies of Rumania, against France and Czechoslovakia. However, this does not disturb the Rumanian bourgeoisie. They have decided in favour of Poland and Germany, or rather in favour of an adventurist attack on the Soviet Union, at a time of peace and although Rumania, Germany and Poland are all signatories to the Kellogg Pact and to the Pact of Non-Aggression with the Soviet Union. What will the situation look like when war is really a fact?

The disintegration in the camp of the Powers which are opposed to war at the moment has caused Hitler to try his luck with a new action in Rome, reported by us last week. Since then it

has been reported that the son-in-law of Victor Emanuel, **Prince von Hessen**, has arrived in Rome as Hitler's representative and made far-reaching proposals for concessions to Italy in the Austrian question in return for Italian support in the question of German armament equality. The armaments of the Reichwehr have already increased to such an extent that the Reichwehr now wishes for their legislation, for an *ex parte* declaration on the part of the German government abolishing the armament clause of the Versailles Treaty. However, such a declaration would arouse the pro-Treaty Powers, and a solid united front of these Powers could prove very unpleasant for Hitler. Hitler is also afraid that an imperialist united front might be formed against his **Saar plans**. The moment for Hitler's demarche in Rome has not been badly chosen, because such an action is welcome to Mussolini at present owing to the fact that he is engaged in negotiations with the French government and that this action of Hitler strengthens his hand in the negotiations with France. In his recent speech in **Milan Mussolini** said nothing which might be interpreted as hostile to Germany. On the contrary, he invited Germany to co-operate with him, and although he made no direct mention of Peace Treaties, as he was wont to do in the good old days, he did declare that "peace must have justice as its basis," a remark sufficiently ambiguous to be interpreted at will. However, whether Mussolini is prepared to do anything practical for Hitler, only the future can show.

In any case, the foreign political part of Mussolini's Milan speech was deliberately couched in the vaguest terms, so that in effect he said practically nothing at all about foreign relations. Only with regard to Switzerland did he use plainer language, and then he permitted himself a shameless interference in Swiss internal affairs by demanding that the Italian character of the Tessin district should not be interfered with. In the past the federal government of Switzerland has shown itself so complaisant towards Mussolini that obviously he does not even fear a protest. Dealing with Yugoslavia, Mussolini played the role of injured innocent and complained of the attitude of the Yugoslavian press which had answered his boastful sabre-rattling speeches extolling Italian heroism by holding up the mirror of Caporetto and Tolmein to them. The applause was well organised, too well organised in fact, and the uniform bursts of cheering which greeted any reference to France were too absurd to be taken seriously. The affair became a farce when Mussolini attempted to confer diplomatic importance on this expression of "the will of the people" so carefully organised by him. The French press was not deceived and its comments were reserved.

The most interesting part of Mussolini's speech was that in which he dealt with his social aims. It is worth while recalling the speech he delivered on the last anniversary celebration of the march on Rome, as it is called. In this speech also he referred to the crisis of capitalism. The source of all evil he declared to be over-production, against which it was not possible to do anything because consumption was not keeping pace with the increased forces of production. He prophesied that the times of prosperity were now at an end once and for all, and that the people would have to make up their minds to be poorer. And his last speech in Milan? The heavens are unclouded. No longer is over-production the source of all evil, for a redistribution of wealth (about which he remained conveniently vague) would settle the problem and turn the source of all evil into the source of all happiness.

"Each citizen will participate in the highest social justice. social justice will consist in guaranteed work at fair wages, in happy homes, in the possibility of unhindered development towards prosperity."

And all this is to come about in the fascist State under the continued dominance of finance capitalism and its mercenary agents, the fascist administration and a fascist militia. They are promises which might make even a Goebbels hide his head in shame.

Mussolini has good reason for beating the demagogic drum. Less than a year ago he could still bask in the glory of international successes. Mussolini, the man who has declared again and again that fascism is not an export commodity, suddenly felt himself as the father of international fascism, "a world doctrine which is winning the most important countries in Central Europe." Fascism was apparently on the march everywhere and who could resist it? Mussolini's position both at home and abroad had been strengthened in a way that even he had never dared to hope. But

the successes suddenly changed into failures. Mussolini suddenly realised that he had encouraged an enemy with a population of 65 millions on his 400 kilometre long Northern frontier, an enemy in the throes of the wildest nationalism. Not much was in the way of the swallowing up of Austria, which formed a barrier between the hostile brothers, the insatiable national socialist State hungry for booty and the bloody State of Italian fascism. By July of this year Mussolini's international glory was at an end, and the pressing misery and poverty at home not only remained but even intensified.

Mussolini must now do something or other or his international prestige will disappear for ever. He is preparing for an **adventure in Africa**. He proposes to attack Abyssinia. The official denial issued was sent out into the world by the representative of Abyssinia in Rome and not by the Italian representative in Abyssinia, and certainly not by Mussolini. Abyssinia is to-day the centre of the negotiations between France and Italy and probably of the negotiations between Great Britain and Italy. However, the agreement of the great Powers alone is not enough. Mussolini must establish tolerable relations with his immediate neighbours, and until he has earned his laurels in Abyssinia he must establish a tolerable relationship with the masses of his own people. The foreign political plans of Mussolini explain why he is now extending the olive branch to his immediate neighbours and why he is promising to lead his own people into a land flowing with milk and honey.

Mussolini closed his speech with the words:—

"Either we shall decorate our rifles with olive leaves, or we shall carry the laurel wreaths of victory on the points of our bayonets."

However, there is a third possibility which Mussolini did not mention, namely, a situation is possible in which there is no occasion for decorating Italian rifles. When dealing with Abyssinia Mussolini should recall the shameful rout of the Italian army near **Adua** in 1896.

## The Change of Cabinet in Rumania

By Victor Zitna (Bucharest)

A great diplomatic game is being carried on at present in Bucharest which is an expression of the sharpening of antagonisms between the various fractions of the Rumanian bourgeoisie and the approaching change of orientation in foreign policy. On October 1, Tatarescu suddenly informed King Carol of the resignation of the Ministry. He was immediately entrusted with the formation of a new government, which was actually formed on October 2. Apart from the exclusion of **Titulescu**, former Foreign Minister, and one or two minor changes the composition of the new government does not differ greatly from that of its predecessor.

Rumours of a change in the Cabinet had been current for some time past. The Liberal government, at the head of which was Tatarescu, promoted the fascisation of the State apparatus, made the censorship and state of siege permanent institutions, carried through the law for the conversion of the agrarian debts, which legalised the appropriation of the land of the poor peasants for the benefit of the big peasants and boyars, introduced the campaign against the standard of living of the working class, increased the war budget and strengthened the system of pre-military training of the youth.

However, under the leadership of the **Communist Party** and of the revolutionary organisations, the working masses repelled the brutal attacks of the bourgeoisie. Important economic fights were waged by the railwaymen, dockworkers, textile workers, etc. The law for the "simplification" of the State apparatus, which means in reality the dismissal of thousands of State employees, called forth a wave of protest. In various centres of the country, above all in **Bucharest**, the workers held street demonstrations, involving collisions with the police.

The anti-fascist movement developed rapidly and drew into it considerable sections of the middle classes. A national conference of the anti-fascist movement was held at the beginning of September in Bucharest. Three anti-fascist organs, "**Clopotul**" in **Botosani**, "**Curent Nou**" in **Brassov**, and "**Ecoul**" in **Yassy**, appear regularly. After the recognition of the Soviet Union by Rumania a **League of the Friends of the Soviet Union** was formed, which is organising the first delegation of workers and intellectuals to attend the November celebrations in the Soviet Union. The

**social-democratic party**, which for a long time rejected the united front on the ground that it could only be carried by means of legal organisations, has now replied to the recent proposals of the **national anti-fascist committee** and the **Red Aid** that it is prepared to negotiate directly with the Communist Party.

This situation, which is characterised by the resistance of the working masses to the brutal attacks of the bourgeoisie, has had considerable effects even in the camp of the various fractions of the bourgeoisie. Within the **Liberal party** the antagonisms between the present Prime Minister **Tatarescu**, the confidant of the king, and the old guard, with the party leader **Bratianu** at the head, who on repeated occasions has openly opposed the government, are becoming more acute.

In the **National Zaranist party** the fight between the **Vaida** fraction, which is connected with the Court camarilla, and the **Maniu** fraction is still proceeding.

As regards the situation at home, the change of Cabinet in Rumania means an increase in the influence of the Court camarilla. It also means an intensification of the fascisation of the State, preparation for a new attack on the standard of living of the toiling masses, and increase of the terror and oppressive measures against the revolutionary movement.

From the foreign-political standpoint the exclusion of **Titulescu** from the government is of great importance. **Titulescu**, whose resignation preceded that of the government, carried out the policy of the **French Foreign Ministry**. His exclusion means an attempt of the Rumanian bourgeoisie at another orientation in foreign policy.

Whilst the traditional parties of the Rumanian bourgeoisie, the **Liberals** and the **National Zaranists**, are supporters of the pro-French orientation, in which they see the best guarantee for the **Treaties of 1919** which doubled the area of Rumania, it is equally true that for some time past the influence of **Germany** has been felt in Rumania. It is promoted not only through the **Saxon national socialist groupings** and the extreme Right, the **Iron Guard**, but also immediately by the Court camarilla. In addition there are the manoeuvres which **Poland**, which has finally gone over to the camp of Germany, is conducting in Bucharest in order to revive the friendship between Rumania and itself on another basis.

At the meeting of the League of Nations **Titulescu**, as spokesman of the **French Foreign Ministry**, replied to Colonel **Beck's** statement with regard to the treatment of minorities that his attitude meant a one-sided denunciation of the **Treaties**. It appeared that **Tatarescu** was by no means in agreement with this attitude adopted by **Titulescu**. For the rest, the representative of **Poland** in Bucharest, **Arcsiszenski**, in a statement to the press, expressed his astonishment at the attitude taken up by **Titulescu** and a part of the Rumanian press. **Titulescu** regarded this statement as an unwarranted interference in the inner affairs of Rumania, and is said to have demanded the recall of the Polish representative, which, however, was refused. **Titulescu** was also not pleased with **Alexander's** visit to Sofia, which took place without the approval of the Council of the Little Entente. **Titulescu's** resignation therefore acquires importance as constituting a protest against the abandonment by Rumania of its pro-French foreign policy.

The French press did not disguise its uneasiness in this connection. The "**Frankfurter Zeitung**" writes in a leading article that Rumania is following the example of **Poland**, and adds that in circles immediately connected with **King Carol** there are influential personalities who desired the closest collaboration of **Poland**, the best friend of Rumania. The **Hungarian papers** write in the same strain. "**Az Est**" states that Rumania is turning away from France and the Little Entente. "**Uj Nemzedek**" raises the question whether France, after having lost the support of **Poland** and **Yugoslavia**, will now also lose that of Rumania.

At the same time as **Tatarescu** changed his Ministry and threw **Titulescu** overboard, **Stepan Tatarescu**, the Prime Minister's brother and founder of the Rumanian national socialist party, commenced to publish a paper, entitled "**Curagul**" (Courage), the leading article of which is entitled: "New horizons in foreign policy," and concludes as follows:—

"While maintaining our alliance with France intact, I nevertheless believe that those of my fellow-citizens who make a speciality of abusing the new Germany and its Leader every day are rendering our country a disservice."

In spite of the declarations of fidelity to France indulged in

by the new government, and in spite of the prohibition of the "**Curagul**," it is clear that the **French Foreign Ministry** perceives that its stock is falling in Bucharest. It is certain that **French imperialism** will defend itself and use every means of pressure against Rumania. It is even possible that **Titulescu** will again take over the position of Foreign Minister, even if at the present time he has not yet returned to Rumania. Nevertheless, the conclusion to be drawn from the recent events is that the position of **Germany** and **Poland** in Rumania will be strengthened.

Thus important changes are pending on the **Balkan and Danubian chess-boards**. The **French system of alliances** is breaking up, and **Hitler's policy** is finding fresh points of support in the **Danube basin**. This regrouping of the imperialist countries under the hegemony of **Hitler-Germany** can lead to dangerous adventures and considerably increases the immediate danger of war, above all against the **Soviet Union**.

## The Dutch Bourgeoisie and the Soviet Union

By S. (Amsterdam)

The Dutch government shares with **Switzerland**, **Portugal** and **Nicaragua** the "honour" of voting against the entry of the **Soviet Union** into the League of Nations. The well-fed, parasitic Dutch bourgeoisie, who feel that their vast colonial possessions in **Indonesia** are immediately threatened by the **Soviet revolution**, have never abandoned their deadly hostility to the **Soviet Union**. They placed their hopes in the warmongers in the East and West, and therefore did not wish to support any measure which might weaken the position, no matter how little, of the enemies of the workers' State.

**Motta**, the Swiss representative at the League of Nations, served up all the stupid cock-and-bull stories about the **Soviet Union** that had ever been invented by the capitalist gutter press. The Dutch representative, the Foreign Minister **de Graef**, did not bring forward any arguments against the **Soviet Union's** entering the League. One had to seek for the motives of the Dutch government in the foreign capitalist press. Thus the Danish paper "**Politiken**" openly declared that the attitude of the Dutch government "was dictated by oil interests."

We believe that this paper has hit the right nail on the head. The Dutch bourgeoisie are closely linked up with the oil capitalists who form one of the most active of the counter-revolutionary imperialist groups. But it would be too simple an explanation to say that only the loss of the oil interests in the **Caucasus** as a result of the **Russian proletarian revolution** induces the capitalists of **Holland** to conduct an open anti-Soviet policy. Nevertheless, the present interests of **Sir Henri Deterding**, the Dutch oil king, forbid any rapprochement to the **Soviet Union** by **Holland**. **Deterding**, his **Royal Dutch Oil Company** and his **British Shell group** are striving to secure a monopoly of the German market for oil. The chances are good. **Hitler** needs credits, and **Deterding** promises credits in the event of his obtaining a monopoly of the oil market in **Germany**. Should one sacrifice such beautiful prospects by recognising the **Soviet Union**?

The situation was more delicate however in the East. **Indonesia** is more seriously shaken by the crisis even than **Holland**. Direct famine prevails among the native population in many districts of **Java**. The income of the broad masses of the native workers and peasants has sunk to less than 2½ Dutch cents per day. The ferment among the coolies and peasants is increasing. The example of the **Soviet Union** and of **Soviet China** shows the working masses the way out of their present misery. The Dutch rulers are more and more developing their dictatorship in **Indonesia**. The prisons are crowded. And in spite of the ruthless plundering of the masses the bourgeoisie are seeing their enormous profits melting away like snow in the spring sun.

All this is rendered still worse by the economic war between **Holland** and **Japan**. Negotiations between **Holland** and **Japan** for a commercial treaty have been dragging on for months past without any results. The two countries are fighting each other by means of boycott and quotas. The tension between **Holland** and **Japan** reached its highest point precisely on the eve of the **Soviet Union's** entry into the League of Nations. **Japan** made preparations to carry out a general boycott of goods against **Indonesia**. **Holland** therefore hesitated to provoke **Japanese imperialism** further by giving its vote for the **Soviet Union**.

In addition, there is the fact that **Japanese competition** is flooding **Indonesia** with its cheap goods. But "we" have oil. One of the largest oil deposits is in **Dutch Borneo**. These oil wells are

indispensable for Japanese imperialism if it wishes to wage war against the Soviet Union. It is generally believed that if it comes to a war in the Pacific one of the first acts of the Japanese imperialists will be to seize possession of these oil wells. Is it not more advantageous to be not a loser but a gainer in a war and to proceed together with Japan against the Soviet Union? Fear of the people's revolution in Indonesia, hatred of the Soviet Union, which has "stolen" the magnificent oil wells in Baku, and the hopes of fresh war profits drive the Dutch bourgeoisie more and more in the direction of open support of the Japanese robber State. And it is characteristic of this policy that on the same day on which the Dutch Foreign Minister voted against the admission of the Soviet Union into the League, the Dutch Ambassador in Tokyo had a conversation with the Japanese Foreign Minister Hirota, the chief subject of which, according to the report of the United Press, was the "Russian question." Shortly afterwards the first "results" were achieved at the economic conference between Holland and Japan.

Sir Henri Deterding dictates . . . The Dutch Prime Minister, Colijn, was for years at the head of the Royal Dutch Oil Company. The present Governor-General of Indonesia, De Jongh, was for years at the head of the "Bataafsche" Oil Company, the most important daughter company of the Royal Dutch. Oil capital determines Dutch foreign policy and is leading it, together with Hitler and Japan, in the direction of a counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union.

There is no need to point out what a tremendous danger this policy means for the working masses of Holland and Indonesia. In the coming war Holland will not be "neutral"; it is already no longer "neutral." The Dutch bourgeoisie are openly in the war front of Deterding, Rosenberg and Araki.

On the day the vote on Soviet Russia's entry into the League was taken at Geneva, 8,000 workers demonstrated in Amsterdam with the Friends of the Soviet Union against this war policy and for the recognition of the Soviet Union. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, unity of action is being realised, which is alone capable of frustrating the sinister designs of Colijn and Deterding.

## Struggle in Ireland Entering New Stage

By J. Shields (London)

The Irish Republican Congress, which met in Dublin on September 29 and 30, marks the commencement of a new significant stage in the carrying forward of the struggle for Irish national liberation and the achievement of an Irish Workers' and Farmers' Republic.

This Congress represented a rallying centre for uniting the toiling masses of Ireland in a great campaign directed towards the smashing of the British imperialist stranglehold on the country, the wiping out of the imperialist border which now divides the North from the South, and the establishment of a free, united and independent Ireland.

There were 186 accredited delegates present, elected from numerous Republican groups, from units of the Irish Citizen Army, a whole series of trade union organisations, Tenants' Leagues, the Communist Party, the Unemployed Workers' Movement, and many other bodies. The splendid character of the response to the Congress Call should give serious food for thought to the membership of the Irish Republican Army, whose leadership refused to be associated with the Congress movement.

In addition to the report submitted by the Congress Organising Bureau, the delegates present had before them a number of important resolutions for consideration. There were resolutions dealing with the agricultural situation, the struggle against fascism, unemployment, the industrial situation, the position in the Gaeltacht, and resolutions regarding future Congress policy and organisation. It was on the latter resolutions (those dealing with general policy and organisation) that the main attention of Congress proceedings ultimately centred.

In this connection two main opposing resolutions had been brought forward from the Organising Bureau almost on the eve of the opening of the Congress, in place of the original "Republican Resolution" previously submitted to the delegates. This course was necessitated as a result of difference of opinion which had arisen within the Organising Bureau itself on political and organisational questions.

One of these resolutions, known as **Majority Resolution A**,

had been brought forward in the name of the Army Council, Irish Citizen Army, and adopted by a majority of the Organising Bureau, amongst which were included Michael Price, Nora Connolly, O'Brien, and R. J. Connolly. Briefly stated, its main thesis was to the effect that the line of policy which should go out from the Congress should be that accounts must first be settled with the two existing capitalist States in Ireland and then afterwards would come the successful struggle to break the hold of British imperialism, and therefore the slogan of action must be laid down as the direct struggle for a Workers' Republic.

A further Majority Resolution was brought forward concerning the question of organisation, which proposed in effect that Congress should proceed to the setting up of a new political party.

In opposition to this line a **Minority Resolution B** was put forward in the names of three other members of the Organising Bureau, namely, George Gilmore, Peadar O'Donnell and Frank Ryan. This resolution stressed that the Congress must become the rallying centre for the mass movement expressing all the forces for complete national independence, and called for a new and decisive campaign to achieve this through building the united front of the working class and small farmers in the struggle against the imperialist and native exploiters. On the question of future Congress organisation, the Minority Group brought forward, in opposition to the proposed formation of a new party, a further resolution advocating the keeping intact of the existing form of Republican Congress organisation, and its further strengthening and extension on the widest possible united front basis.

Both the opposing resolutions on policy referred to the leading role which the working class must play in the fight, dwelt on the danger of harbouring any illusions as regards the role played by Irish capitalism, and raised demands for the repudiation of the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921, immediate withdrawal of all British troops from Irish soil, and the scrapping of the Military Tribunal in the South and the Special Powers Act in the North.

In addition, however, to the fundamental difference of line manifested between them, both resolutions strongly contrasted with each other on one other vital essential.

Whereas the Majority Resolution only referred in vague general terms to the struggle for the "needs of the small farmers and workers," without attempting to specify further on the matter, the Minority Resolution concretely laid down as follows:—

"The Republican Congress will campaign to organise the widest possible backing for all working class and small farmer struggles: it will work to achieve ever wider support for wage movements, unemployed demands, workers' housing struggles. It will back and initiate struggles of landless men for free land. The Congress raises the demand that all bank actions against working farmers must be withdrawn, that every attempt by banks to collect either interest or capital must be campaigned against with all possible energy; that working farmers be freed from Land Annuities; that wages on all work under the Land Commission and Board of Works shall be not less than 40 shillings weekly. The Congress pledges itself to support agricultural wage earners in their fight for increased wages and social insurance, and will help to organise an agricultural wage earners' union."

A keen debate on both these resolutions occupied the major bulk of the Congress proceedings.

The political resolution of the Majority Group was introduced by R. J. Connolly, who prefaced his remarks by stating that there was a distinct difference of opinion within the Congress as to what was the correct line to pursue. He pointed out how the working class was coming to the forefront in the struggle and from this drew the conclusion that the main slogan should be that of the **Workers' Republic**, claiming that this slogan had always typified the revolutionary struggle in Ireland and was the only slogan which would really arouse mass enthusiasm.

Nora Connolly, who seconded, argued that only by raising such a slogan as that which the Majority Resolution advanced would it be possible to bring the workers of Northern Ireland into the fight.

As against this, Peadar O'Donnell, on behalf of the Minority, declared that the mistake must not be made of confusing the stage of struggle which was facing the country at the moment. He emphasised that it was necessary to detach those large masses of genuine nationalist opinion who were still under the influence of De Valera, demonstrate to them that the Fianna Fail government



had betrayed the fight for the Irish Republic, and gather the whole power of the Republican masses in united front action on the basis of the line set out by the Minority Resolution to drive forward for the unity and independence of Ireland.

**Michael Price**, who spoke in support of the Majority Resolution, claimed that the Minority viewpoint was based on opportunism and expediency and ran counter to the aims for which **James Connolly** fought.

**Sean Murray**, of the Communist Party of Ireland, opposed the line of the Majority Resolution. He stated that it sidetracked the question, and that the purpose of the Congress must be to form a mighty Republican movement on the basis of an alliance between the workers and the masses of poor farmers which would smash Britain's hold. In the past, he said, the leadership of the Republican movement had been in the hands of the Irish capitalists, who had betrayed it. It was true that only under working-class leadership could the struggle for the Irish Republic be led to victory, but the Majority Resolution put obstacles in the way of this and failed to realise that capitalism could not be smashed without the smashing of British imperialism.

Many other delegates spoke in favour of one or other of the respective resolutions, and it was obvious from the nature of some of the contributions made, e.g., particularly a number of the country delegates, that quite a number were not clear as to the actual character of the differences involved.

Finally, when the vote was taken, **the Minority Resolution was adopted by 99 votes as against 84 votes for the Majority.**

At a later stage in the discussion which then commenced on the **agricultural resolution**, the Standing Orders Committee announced that the organisational resolution, proposing the formation of a new party which had been put forward, had been withdrawn.

On the conclusion of the discussion on the agricultural question, the Congress was flung open for nominations for an Executive which would be charged with leading and directing the campaign on the lines of the decisions adopted. Amongst those nominated for Executive position were the chief spokesmen on behalf of the defeated Majority Resolution—**Michael Price**, **Nora Connolly** and **R. J. Connolly**.

**Michael Price** declined to accept nomination. He stated that he had left the I.R.A. because it would not accept his slogan of a Workers' Republic as the main line of fight, and it would be inconsistent for him to accept nomination for the Executive on these grounds. He had but one place to turn to—the Citizen Army. **Nora Connolly** similarly declined to accept nomination, stating that her position was the same as that of **Price**, while **R. J. Connolly** also declined but said his position was somewhat different, as although he would not accept nomination for the Executive, he would give the Congress his unstinted support on the concrete issues of united front activity.

An Executive of 40 was finally elected to function in a national capacity, and this included in its numbers **Peadar O'Donnell**, **Frank Ryan**, **George Gilmore**, **Sean Murray**, **Cora Hughes**, **May Laverty**, **Jim Larkin, junior**, and others.

The remaining resolutions on industrial struggles, unemployment and the struggle against fascism, were adopted unanimously after they had been well debated.

The Congress delegates gave a very fine reception to the fraternal delegates who attended the proceedings, and the speeches of greeting conveyed on behalf of the **League Against Imperialism** by **R. Bridgeman**, the greetings from the Indian Political Group by **S. Saklatvala**, and also those delivered by **Frank Ryan**, delegates from the Irish Workers' Clubs in America, and **M. Raylock** of the British Youth Anti-War and Anti-Fascist Movement, were enthusiastically applauded.

**Barney Conway**, delegate representing the Workers' Union of Ireland, moved a resolution demanding the release of all anti-fascist and anti-imperialist fighters. His impassioned appeal for all support being given to the struggling workers of Austria and Germany, and for the fight for **Ernst Thaelmann's** release and the release of **Tom Mooney**, evoked a wonderful response.

The great task now facing the Republican Congress is to proceed at top speed with the carrying of its decisions into actual life. The situation in Ireland is abundantly ripe for the carrying through of the great campaign which the Congress has planned, a campaign which will sweep Ireland from end to end, will rouse the Irish masses to a new and higher level of the revolutionary anti-imperialist struggle and will carry this forward under working-class leadership to the successful accomplishment of the smashing of imperialism's grip and the opening up of the way for complete national and social emancipation.

## Germany

### What Is Happening in the German Labour Front?

Curious things are happening in the German Labour Front. The millions of conscript members of this organisation, the chief activity of which consists in the squandering of workers' funds, learn no more than that a number of leading functionaries have been dismissed, expelled and in some cases arrested; among them the clerical workers' leader **Brucker**, the propaganda director and editor of the "Deutsche" (the German), **Busch**, the Reich leader of the N.S.B.O. (national socialist factory organisation), **Schumann**. When disciplinary action of this kind was first taken, something of the political background was indicated at a meeting held by **Ley**, where it was said that the dismissed officials had been intriguing with functionaries of former trade unions and employers' organisations against the Labour Front. In a number of arrests and dismissals no charge whatever—as is usual in the Third Reich—became known. According to the "leader-principle," the subordinate leaders may be happy that they merely got the sack and not straight away a bullet, like the S.A. leaders on June 30.

In reality a conflict is developing here that in many ways provides a parallel to that in the S.A.; if it has not assumed the same forms that is certainly due to the fact that **Hitler** is with justice afraid that a second June 30 would have an even more fatal effect on his tottering system than that first crisis, which has already made a serious breach in his mass following.

Social-democratic newspapers, which apparently derive their information from circles taking a direct part in these events, represent the affair as if it were a matter of the notoriously corrupt administration of the drunkard **Ley**. The dismissed **Brucker** is supposed to have drawn up a document concerning the financial abuses of **Ley** and Co., and to have taken it personally to **Hitler**. **Hitler** seems to have promised at first a cleansing action; then, however, to have gone over to **Ley's** side and to have given him full power to start a campaign of revenge against his opponents.

That it is, however, a matter of something more than an "opposition of the honest," as the Saarbruecken social-democratic "Freiheit" (freedom) expresses itself, is to be seen from the fact that, according to the statement of this paper itself, the opposition in the Labour Front had established contacts with former trade union functionaries as well as with a group of employers. The assertion that it concerns employers who "for reasons of decency and morality refuse to sit down at a table with **Ley**" naturally belongs to the realm of fable. If **Ley**, in return for the million that he is frittering away with his drinking pals and prostitutes, could guarantee to the capitalists "peace in industry" during the more vigorous attack by capital that is being planned, if they could see in the "Labour Front" a reliable dam against the threatening flood of revolution, then they would gladly put up with **Ley's** personal debauchery.

The capitalists, however, are by no means so satisfied with **Ley** and his Labour Front because he can show, in return for the millions that he is squandering, no corresponding achievement. The superior bureaucracy is composed of incompetent and corrupt job-hunters who have no sort of authority with the masses; the lower functionaries are coming more and more under the influence of the working class and proving to be no longer such obliging tools of the employers as, according to the regulations laid down by their organisation, they should be. If the introduction of the regulation of agreements by factories which, according to the Labour Law, should have come into force on May 1, was continually postponed, finally until October 1, this was because the employers rightly saw in the organisation of the Labour Front and in the "confidential councils" no guarantee against the possibility of the opening of the planned attack on wages becoming—as during **Papen's** government in the summer of 1932—the beginning of a new wave of strikes. And the gentlemen know very well that to-day more than ever the old saying holds good: "Behind every strike there is lurking the hydra of revolution."

That is why agents of the Reichswehr Ministry, the Reich Federation of Industries, and of **Herr Seldte's** Labour Ministry, were and are on the job of preparing, with the help of "old and trusted" reformist and Christian trade union bureaucrats, for the erection of a new organisational net, that will provide more

cleverly and more firmly than the Labour Front, probably, too, with the aid of cheap "concessions" to the workers, an apparatus for holding the employees down and for keeping them quiet during the coming inevitable and catastrophic worsening in the economic situation of the masses.

The "opposition" only wants to make use of the notorious corruption and dissipation of Ley and company in order to carry through their political aims.

But apparently in this case Hitler does not feel inclined to play the apostle of morality. The main reason for this lies, as already mentioned, in the fact that with the basis of his mass influence already shaken, he is afraid of a fresh scandal that would again mean the end of a large section of his party friends; and all the more so since the national socialist party leadership is at the present moment torn at least as much as before June 30 by conflicts between cliques. A plain symptom of this is the striking fact that at the end of September, two months after Hindenburg's death, the deputy for the "Reichsfuehrer," provided for in the law of August 2, has not yet been appointed. Oskar von Hindenburg has been sent into private life as a pensioned general; also the versatile Meissner (late secretary of Hindenburg), despite his never-failing ability to change his opinions, is to get the push. Goering, as was particularly clearly shown at the Party Congress at Nuremberg, is again in Hitler's bad books. According to a statement in the organ of Otto Strasser, who no doubt still has contacts with Nazi circles, there exists at present a resolute front, Hess-Goebbels-Himmler-Ley, against Goering, who probably showed too clearly that all expedients were to him right that would place him at Hitler's side or in Hitler's place. The clique working against Goering is supposed to have aroused in Hitler the suspicion that he has allied himself with conservative-monarchist groups. And since Hitler, in spite of the exchange of declarations of love and devotion between himself and the Reichswehr, still fears these forces, he is again seeking support rather from his friends of the party. That is one reason why at the moment he will not break with Ley, and it is not impossible that in a short time the long-expected row will come.

Thus for the time being Ley can go on playing the big man, although, of course, he has to carry out obediently the orders of the finance-capitalist economic captains. When a little time ago Dr. Schacht ordered the dismissal of Dr. Schild, the general secretary of the German Handworkers' and Tradesmen's Chamber—apparently because Schild believed he could push middle-class interests, based on the Labour Front, against monopoly capital—then Dr. Ley was at once on the spot to give his blessing to this step. He lets his mad ambition go in other spheres. In Cologne he had a discussion with the municipal authorities, in order to expound to them his "gigantic" project of a "National House of German Labour." A hundred thousand people are to be accommodated in the projected magnificent building; the frontage is to run 500 metres along the Rhine. The financial resources, Dr. Ley declared, are available. The joke would cost many millions. For the relief of the unemployed and for social pensioners there is no money; in the winter the collecting bag for the Winter Aid is once more to go round; despite the ban on collections issued in July, collecting goes on undiminished. The Labour Front, however, has money in plenty, for it squeezes contributions out of many millions of workers and employees, but it pays out not the least bit of relief.

Things have gone so far, even, that some branch offices of the Labour Front want to make the payment of contributions into a compulsory tax. Thus the notoriously corrupt intriguer, *Mutschmann*, Reichsstatthalter for Saxony, gave orders that the collection of Labour Front dues was to be done through the wage offices of the factories! This extortion embitters the workers all the more since it puts a burden particularly on the old trade unionists in contrast to the Nazi workers who were mostly not organised before. Members of the Nazi organisations pay, according to the new statutes of the Labour Front, only one-third or even less of the amounts that the former trade union members have to pay, while the latter are unable really to have recourse to the rights acquired through years of payment of dues.

Up till now the working class has in the main expressed its disgust with the Ley gang only by passively remaining away from Labour Front meetings and by being as dilatory as possible in the payment of dues. It is the task of the Communists, of the revolutionary trade unionists and all class-conscious workers to pass over from this passive resistance to active struggle. Open support,

for the workers' demands at meetings of employees and at Labour Front meetings is necessary, in order to mobilise broad masses for the struggle against the capitalist class and the Brown capitalist lackeys. If the employers actually withhold Labour Front dues from wages, then that is nothing other than wage-robbery and, like every other attack on the already intolerably low starvation wage, must be repulsed by the resolute resistance of the employees and by the organisation of all kinds of protest actions right up to the strike.

For this the working class needs its uniform trade union organisation, but an organisation for the class struggle against the capitalists, not for a new class collaboration with the "honest employers." In the struggle against the main enemy, the Brown headmen's dictatorship, the working class in building up its fighting organisations must also be on its guard against false friends who, using the mendacious slogan of the re-erection of the trade unions, are doing the business of the Reichswehr Ministry and the capitalist class. The class-conscious workers will know how to prevent the mass indignation against the sink of corruption of Ley and Co. from being exploited for such a capitalist business instead of for the release of the energies of the class struggle.

## Hitler's "Harvest Thanksgiving"

This year the fascist dictators staged the "Peasants' Harvest Thanksgiving" of October 1, that supplement to the fraud of May 1, on the *Bückeberg* in the Harz. By orders from above, several hundred thousand peasants were brought thither from all parts of the Reich by the village Nazi party functionaries. By means of phrases and by consciously making a Reichswehr parade the centre-piece of the affair, Hitler and Darré tried to influence the peasants assembled on the *Bückeberg* and the peasants throughout the country.

Among the rural population, which not so long ago greeted en masse the assumption of power by Hitler, enthusiasm for the swastika has long ago made way for a growing discontent. Hitler made every conceivable promise to the peasants; but in the eighteen months of the Brown regime the situation of the peasants has become considerably worse. The interference with the import of agricultural products has brought fat profits to the big landowners. But for the small and middle farmers it has made fodder so expensive that livestock has had to be slaughtered. The rise in prices of agricultural products has resulted in the workers, whose wages are also being cut by Hitler, being able to buy less than ever. The two chief laws passed by the Brown dictatorship, the Entailment Law and the Peasants Law, have evoked great indignation among the masses of the peasants. An authentic case that recently became known is significant: a peasant made efforts to prove that one of his grandparents was a non-Aryan, in order to escape coming under the Entailment Law. The Peasants Law compels the peasants to hand over their products at low prices to central depots, which then sell them at high prices. The taxes imposed on the peasants are oppressive, and there is a rain of threats whenever a delay in payment occurs. In some cases, too, "eviction" is being carried out, whereby homestead and fields are taken away from a peasant on grounds of alleged "incapacity" and handed over to the management of some favourite of the Nazi bureaucrats. The big agrarians are rolling in money, but the rural masses are suffering more than ever before from want. In some districts, such as *Rhön* and *Spessart*, sheer starvation is the order of the day.

What had Hitler and company got to say to the peasants that day on the *Bückeberg*?

Darré and Hitler attempted to make the past decade solely responsible for the distressed condition of the peasants, and kept silent on the fact that the Brown dictatorship was continuing even more brutally the anti-peasant policy of Weimar. Darré prattled about National Socialism having seen to it that "the free peasant occupied free land" and having safeguarded the fruits of the soil. Hitler let himself go on the subject of the "tremendous effects of the re-awakening of the German man and the German woman" and of the struggle against "the demon of arrogance." He tried to intercept the indignation of the suffering peasants by talking of "difficulties," and wanted to console the peasants with promises of "a day is coming" no doubt the famous year of 2034. That was all. Naturally not a word about the actual immediate steps to be taken on behalf of the rural population.

Then came the parade of the Reichswehr. The infantry per-

formed evolutions; then followed artillery, march past Hitler, salute of 21 guns, etc. This parade had its well-considered object. It was to divert the attention of the peasants on the Bückeberg and all over the Reich from the catastrophic Hitler policy and direct it to war. Just as the organisation of the parade of hundreds of thousands was a military exercise on the part of the warmonger Hitler, so the entire "harvest thanksgiving" was in the interests of the rearmament and war preparations of German imperialism and its Hitler dictatorship.

The show on the Bückeberg is over, the plundering of the peasants and of all toilers in town and country, Hitler's terror and Hitler's war preparations go on more vigorously than before. Hitler's new measures against the workers mean that the peasants can find a market for even less than hitherto. Armaments consume untold sums, which the toilers have to pay out of their pence in taxes.

Hitler's agrarian policy serves in the first place to provide a basis of foodstuffs for the war for which he is preparing. In the meanwhile the big agrarians are pocketing fat profits and the costs are borne by the toiling peasantry.

Hitler is the agent of the big agrarians, the banking kings and the industrial barons; Hitler is squeezing the small and middle peasants dry and means to drive them and their sons afresh into the carnage of war, to sacrifice them on the battlefield for the benefit of the rich, of the big capitalists.

The Communist Party intends to make sure that neither the demagogic phrases of Hitler and Darre, nor their chauvinist jingoism shall have effect. The C.P.G. is forging a fighting alliance between the peasants and the industrial workers, and is now setting to work to strengthen revolutionary activity on the land.

In the last few days peasant disturbances have been reported from villages in Schleswig-Holstein; Hitler despatched S.S. men and had the peasants crushed by force. The disturbances are a symptom of the ferment on the land, a ferment that, thanks to the work of the C.P.G., is growing despite the terror, is spreading and, in conjunction with the workers' struggles, will assume more acute forms.

## Declaration of the C.P. of the Saar on the Question of International Police for the Saar

In view of the plans which are being prepared to send international police to the Saar, and of Barthou's speech in Geneva, in which the French Foreign Minister hinted at the possibility of French troops marching into the Saar district should there be a Nazi putsch, the Communist Party of the Saar has issued a declaration, stating:—

"No one is more anxious than the Hitler dictatorship and its German Front in the Saar that foreign police and troops should intervene in the Saar. Just as Hitler's robbery of the wages of the German miners furnished the cheap pretext seized upon by the French mines managements in their recent proclamation, enabling them to refuse the justified demands of the Saar miners by pointing to the even greater wage cuts in the Third Reich, in the same manner the Terror and the putsch plans of the fascist adventurers give the governing Commission the pretext enabling them to raise the question of outside police. The wirepullers of the German Front desire nothing so much as to be able to establish "legally," after January 13, the fascist bloody regime of rubber truncheons and steel rods, of concentration camps and destruction of trade unions, of persecution of Catholics and enslavement of youth, in the Saar district as in Germany. In order to be able to attain this end with the ignoble means of unscrupulous demagoguery and political adventurism, they would find in the drafting of foreign troops into the Saar the desired excuse for pushing forward their chauvinist agitation, for increasing their provocations, and driving the misled toilers blindly into the hell of the Third Reich. More than this: In order to anticipate a possible defeat on January 13, they would not shrink from provoking, by putsch plans, the marching in of the French troops. They would rather have war than be defeated in the Saar by the mighty vote of the people. This is the standpoint of the ruling gamblers who are driving Germany to catastrophe."

The appeal proceeds to enumerate a few of the many cases in which the fascists, though so ready to express indignation at the intervention of "foreign troops" or police, have themselves employed these against the workers. The appeal concludes:—

"Never can international police or troops from the capitalist

states and countries of fascist dictatorships protect the workers from fascist terror. On the contrary! Does the carefully staged indignation of the German Front press not furnish ample proof that Roehling, Pirro, and their consorts hope that the intervention of foreign police forces will enable them to increase their wave of filthy chauvinism and to defame the anti-fascist status quo slogan? . . ."

We call upon all the fighters in the anti-fascist front to enlighten the toiling masses as to the aims and what is behind the chauvinist agitation being carried on by the German Front leaders.

In calling upon the peoples of the Saar to frustrate every attempt made by the fascists to make the Saar the scene of a bloody civil war, the battle field of imperialist war adventurers, in calling upon the German and French workers to support by proletarian internationalism the toiling people of the Saar in its struggle against fascism and the imperialist war danger we close the mighty ranks of our joint action of the Communists, social democrats, and Catholic workers in the Saar, "for the victory of the status quo!"

## The I.R.A. on the Calling of the International Jurist Conference

To the International Thaelmann Release Committee!

To the International Juridical Association!

Dear Friends,—The International Red Aid, which is mobilising its 14 million members and the toilers of all countries in the struggle for the release of Thaelmann and all anti-fascists in Germany, Austria and in the other countries, follows with the greatest interest all actions conducted in the spirit of international solidarity for the release of all victims of the fascist justice. It therefore notes with great satisfaction that prominent jurists, without distinction of party, are placing their legal knowledge and their fighting energies at the service of the movement for the release of Thaelmann and all anti-fascists. It is with particular pleasure the I.R.A. learns that after the great successes of the London and New York counter-trials, an International Conference of Jurists will be held in Paris from 20th to 23rd October. This conference will undoubtedly be of particular importance for the international struggle against the fascist juridical barbarism.

The I.R.A., which has been conducting the struggle against the bourgeois class justice for more than a decade, and on whose behalf more than a thousand lawyers are active in all countries, expresses its thanks to all jurists fighting in the front of solidarity. It draws the attention of all these jurists to the fact that juridical barbarism is raging not only in Germany but also in the other countries of fascism. In particular it draws the attention of the world public to the case of Rakosi, who after having served eight and a half years' imprisonment, is now faced with a fresh cruel trial; to the case of the anti-fascist February fighters, numbering over a thousand, who are pining in the Austrian prisons; to the case of the courageous railway workers in Rumania; to the case of the Rueggs in China, to the case of Tom Mooney and the Scottsboro Negro boys in America. The I.R.A. is convinced that the International Jurists' Conference will devote attention to these victims of fascist justice and strengthen the struggle for their release. The I.R.A. has mobilised its 72 sections in all countries and addressed an appeal to all lawyers working for the I.R.A., requesting them to support this conference and to send delegates to it. The I.R.A. pledges itself to continue its energetic activity for the release of Ernst Thaelmann, of those who have been condemned to death, and of all other anti-fascists.

Long live international solidarity!

Long live the struggle for the release of Thaelmann and all imprisoned anti-fascists!

International Red Aid.

## THE SCOTTSBORO BOYS TO BE EXECUTED ON DECEMBER 7

New York, October 8.

The Supreme Court of Alabama has rejected the appeal of the Scottsboro boys, and fixed the date of execution for December 7. The International Labour Defence has appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States.

## Great Britain

### The Thirty-Fourth Conference of the British Labour Party

By R. Bishop (London)

It was typical of the Labour Party Conference that has just concluded at *Southport* that it should have not only rejected all suggestions of a United Front with such bodies as the Committee for the Relief of the Victims of Fascism, but also turned down every programmatic proposal of the Socialist League, whilst electing the very vocal leader of that body—*Sir Stafford Cripps*—to its National Executive for the first time.

The Labour Party has continued the steady move to the Right which has continued from 1926, but at the same time it is anxious to retain among its working-class supporters the belief that the door is open for revolutionary changes being made inside the Party.

The position is put very clearly and cynically by that mighty organ of Conservatism, the "*Sunday Observer*," which comments:

"The party have moved to the Right, and in doing so it is attempting the quite intelligent, and not unusual, experiment of taking the leader of the 'Left' with it."

It is worthy of note that even the "Observer" only regards the Socialist League as being "Left," inside inverted commas.

"Mr. Herbert Morrison and his colleagues have no reason to be dissatisfied with the results of an arduous week," continues the "Observer."

Mr. Morrison certainly has, for he and *Ernest Bevin* (the big noise on the trade union side) have once more shown themselves to be the most accomplished political party bosses, in the American sense of the word, that are in British politics to-day. Never was a conference better stage-managed or more soundly brow-beaten when occasion seemed to call for it. The Conservative Party conference, with which it coincided, was an amateurish affair by comparison, the party managers finding it a difficult task to keep their rank and file in hand.

In the days of the last Labour Government it was their proud boast that they had something for everybody. Herbert Morrison appealed to the business man "as a man and a brother," MacDonald appealed to the petty-bourgeois elements by his soulful aspirations, Thomas was the man for the more backward workers, whilst Lansbury, Cripps and (at that time) Mosley, were presented as a guarantee that the party would go "Left" the moment it had an opportunity of so doing.

Now the policy has moved still further Rightwards, but Cripps has been taken on to the Executive. At one and the same time the Labour Party can pose their programme of utter respectability (League of Nations collective peace system, public corporations, "socialism" with abundant compensation, no contact, however remote, with Communists, etc.), to the middle-class elements on whom they rely to give them the Parliamentary majority they crave, and Cripps on the executive—as proof that the militant section of the working class—whose support must be retained whilst bourgeois support is won—shall not go uncatered for.

As with the T.U.C. so with the Labour Party Conference, the attitude of the bourgeois press is, in the main, one of contemptuous amusement. They know that they need fear no embarrassment from this quarter.

The "*Observer*" very carefully debunks the various "Left" gestures made by the conference. Commenting on Henderson's statement that: "a Labour Government would promote legislation in order that its fundamental principles should be placed on the Statute Book," it says:—

"This has been hailed by some observers as another move to the 'Left.' But the speech by Mr. Ernest Bevin made it clear that in declaring for the collective peace system through a League of Nations empowered to apply sanctions, the Labour Party has at least completely discarded its old tendency towards Pacifism in principle and in all circumstances. . . .

The Socialist League proposals . . . were rejected by overwhelming majorities. . . . It is true that Dr. Dalton has promised 'to make the next Labour Government a very different thing from the last,' but neither the friends nor the enemies of the party would be inclined to complain about that."

Let us glance at some of the achievements of the conference. The first item to come up was the question of the *United Front*. This was raised on three clauses of the Executive's report. The

first debarred a number of organisations alleged to be part of the "Communist solar system," and forbade association with them, whether by membership or speaking on the platform, by Labour Party members. The second rejected similar united front proposals as have proved so successful in their application in France and elsewhere. The third made specific reference to the Committee for the Relief of the Victims of German and Austrian Fascism, from which members were decisively barred from all association. This latter body has done sterling work and has rallied to the victims of fascism support from a wide circle of people, including Bishops, scientists, literary men and others who normally play no part at all in political life.

Nine years ago, at the Liverpool Conference of the Labour Party, the Communist Party was solemnly excommunicated with bell, book and candle, after which the bureaucrats heaved a sigh of relief and declared that as the C.P.G.B. was (in their opinion) only a parasitic body battenning on the Labour Party, its final extinction was now only a question of weeks.

The nine years that have passed have proved the falsity of this conception. To-day there are tens of thousands of workers, where there were but hundreds before, prepared to work with the Communists, and to follow their lead in the great struggles against war, against fascism and against capitalist slavery. So once again the question of the united front becomes a burning issue at the Labour Party Conference.

The reformist machine is well-oiled. It won the day with comparative ease. Only a handful of votes were cast against the Executive on the issue, because after all the union whose votes are controlled by Mr. Bevin casts alone more on a card vote than the whole of the Divisional Labour Parties put together. But in the constituencies, in the trade union branches the volume of support for the united front is growing, and all the decisions of the Labour Party and General Council bureaucrats will not stop its continued growth.

The next debate of importance was on the *question of war*. The Executive had to get out of the position created by the Conference decision of last year in favour of a general strike against war. Henderson was put up to tackle this delicate job. The Executive, he said, had given serious consideration to the position and was of the opinion that the trade union movement alone could not be expected to bear the responsibility for stopping war. . . . Any organised action for that purpose must be based on the duties of citizenship, not of trade unionism."

He then went on to advocate the League policy, including the placing of national forces under international control. To conciliate the "Left" he assured the delegates that the General Strike proposal was not vetoed, but would have to be considered on its merits, as and when war broke out. The Labour Party, however, would support a capitalist government in a defensive war. The Labour Party, when it next became the government, would pass an Act of Parliament outlawing war "as an instrument of national policy," and pledging the British government to submit all disputes to arbitration.

A number of rank and file delegates broke through this pious humbug of pacific declarations intended to conceal warlike preparations, but nevertheless the Executive's policy was endorsed by 1,519,000 card votes against 673,000. This was by far the largest opposition vote of the conference.

The *Socialist League policy* was debated at considerable length. The Leaguers' proposition that the House of Lords should be disbanded forthwith—the League leader, Cripps, has declared himself a fervent supporter of the monarchy—was defeated and it was decided that the next Labour Government shall deprive the Lords of all legislative powers, and, if it become obstreperous, be abolished.

The method proposed for the abolition of the Lords is comical in its nature. The House of Commons would pass an Abolition Bill, which would then be submitted to the Lords—who would reject it (being in an obstreperous mood). The King would then be asked to create 800 Peers, nominated by the government, from the Universities and the trade unions, who would then go in and dutifully extinguish themselves. Thus is the Labour Party revolution to be carried through—by gracious permission of His Majesty the King!

And in the meantime nothing must be done to antagonise the Lords. Clynes, in moving the official resolution on this subject, condemned the Socialist League motion for abolition forthwith on the grounds that it would be bad to threaten the abolition of the Lords unless they first of all become obstructive.



The Socialist League resolution on socialisation—itsself a typical piece of demagogic compromise—was turned down in favour of the Executive proposition that as industries are nationalised, the owners shall be provided with an income for a number of years (roughly equivalent to the dividends they were earning at the time of socialisation), at the end of which time they would be paid a "fair" purchase price. Lucky owners!

The Socialist League proposition was that the owners should be paid the same annual dividend as was proposed by the Executive (also for an indefinite period), but that they should have no capital repayment made to them.

Herbert Morrison declared that this would be theft. A fine old capitalist sentiment. Lees-Smith painted a fanciful picture in lurid colours of the flight of capital from the country that would then occur.

The big block vote of the powerful unions were cast for the Executive resolution to the tune of 2,118,000 to 149,000, and then, an hour or so later, the same votes returned Sir Stafford Cripps to the Executive Committee.

On the *Unemployment Act* and the *Sedition Bill*, the conference resisted all efforts on the part of rank and file delegates to secure a rousing national campaign to secure action. On *India* it strenuously opposed incorporating even so moderate a demand as that for a Constituent Assembly to be included in the new constitution.

A few demagogic and programmatic declarations in regard to housing, etc., and the conference came to its predetermined end, with the Executive triumphant on every issue, but having to face growing opposition and hostility in the country.

At a time when the whole working-class struggle is daily becoming more intensified, when the menace of fascism and imperialist war is acutely threatening, the Labour Party leadership has point-blank refused to give lead and direction to the workers' fight, preferring, on the contrary, to align themselves with the capitalists for the splitting of the workers' ranks.

The lessons of German and Austrian social democracy are plain for all to see. Southport has proved, if further proof were needed, that unless the same course of events is to be followed in Britain a great drive has to be made to draw the Labour Party and trade union rank and file into united working-class activity against fascism, war and capitalism, and, if necessary, against that Labour leadership which can lead only to disaster.

#### THE AUSTRIAN SCHUTZBUND AND THE QUESTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL

*The following is an extract from the report given by the Committee of the Schutzbund at the recent Second Conference of the Vienna Schutzbund on the question of the Internationals:—*

"Our attitude towards the Second International follows inevitably from the political developments taking place in our ranks since the events of February. In breaking away from reformism, we at the same time pronounce our judgment on reformism on an international scale.

"In taking our stand for the armed uprising against the bourgeoisie and for the dictatorship of the proletariat, we left the Second International and approached the Third International. Our ideological unity with the Third International is greater than with the Second. It may be that some comrades, for various reasons, continue to advocate this or that connection with the Second International. But there can be no consideration, no feeling, which can weigh against the dearly bought recognition of the fact that reformism means certain defeat, and that the working class *must* needs take the path of proletarian revolution. And the proletarian revolution is written only on the banner of the Third International. . . .

"We declare that the programme of the Second International is not our programme, that we do not wish to place our fate in the hands of the Second International. But at the same time we declare our sincere readiness to establish the unity of the working class on a national and international scale for struggle together with every proletarian tendency, for any demand in the interest of the working class. We are also prepared to keep to the obligations arising from the joint struggle with other militants. We wish to establish the united front in Austria and in the other countries. We are glad to see that in the Saar district and in France the united front has been established between the Communist Party and the socialist party. We regret to see that this united front is being frustrated in Czechoslovakia, Switzerland and in England."

## Fight Against Imperialist War

### The Militarisation of the Italian Nation

By D. Ciufoli

The emergency order adopted on September 18 by the fascist government, on the proposal of Mussolini, clearly shows that the Duce is pursuing a policy of careful preparation for war. The deceitful demagogic peace-talk and the reference to the Four-Power Pact which, according to Mussolini, would secure peace for ten years, have been followed for some months by a feverish campaign which has exposed the real countenance of fascist Italy. Mussolini already declared on a former occasion that "war is to a man what child-birth is to a woman. The time in which we are living is the epoch of heroism of war." In the speech he delivered during the army manoeuvres in August, Mussolini openly and brutally declared that it is necessary to prepare for war to-day and not wait till to-morrow.

The emergency order which has been accepted states "the function of the citizen in the fascist State is inseparable from that of the soldier." That means that from his eighth year the Italian citizen will be given moral and physical military training. He is subject to the provisions of the military law; he is a "soldier" not only in the barracks but also in the factory, in the fields, in the school, in the office. The boy, the youth, the father, the worker, the unemployed, are all under military discipline.

Article 3 provides that military training shall be carried out in three stages.

The first phase is the pre-military instruction, the task of which consists in giving mental, physical and technical military training to the citizen before he is called up for military service. The second phase is the actual training in the army. The third phase embraces the post-military training, the purpose of which is to keep the soldier on permanent leave up to the level of his military training in accordance with his tasks in the event of war.

Article 4 assigns the work of pre-military and post-military training to the fascist youth organisations, Balilla and Fasci giovanili. These organisations have to collaborate with the army and the Ministry for Education.

Article 6 includes the following provisions: Pre-military training is obligatory for all boys and youth from the age of 8 to 21 and is of a continuous character. The first period of pre-military training lasts to the age of 18, the second from the age of 18 to 21, i.e., until called up to serve in the army. The first period of training is carried out in the Balilla, the second in the M.V.S.N. (voluntary militia) and the Fasci.

As regards post-military training, the law stipulates that this is compulsory for all former soldiers for ten years after having been discharged from military service. The post-military training is to take place mainly during holidays, and sometimes for longer periods. The post-military training has a thoroughly practical character and is carried out by the M.V.S.N.

The decree definitely states that children from the age of 8 to 14 years shall receive in particular a moral preparation for the purpose of developing a military spirit in the nation. The task is to inspire the boys with enthusiasm for the life of a soldier by means of frequent contact with the army and to fill their minds with heroic traditions.

From the age of 14 to 18 the pre-military training is to be brought into harmony with sport activity. The task consists in training the youth so that they will be able to take their places in the ranks of the pre-military formations of the M.V.S.N. and special detachments. Paragraph C states that the youth from the age of 18 to 21 shall receive training of a technical-professional character.

Article 8 states that the Italian citizen who is included in the recruiting list and is fit for military service, becomes a soldier from the moment he takes his place in the fascist formations, i.e., at the age of 18. From then on he is under military discipline and his service is divided into two periods: from the age of 18 to 21 in the fascist organisations, and from 21 in the regular army.

The decree adopted on September 18 aims at converting Italy into an outspokenly militarist country. The practical result of the decree consists in the complete militarisation of the male population from the age of eight years onwards. It completely abolishes the voluntary principle and renders membership of the Balilla, Avanguardias, Fasci and Militia, compulsory. It fixes a period of military training for 4½ years.

With an unbridled chauvinist propaganda, complete fascisation of the youth, militarisation of the whole of the population, with 7 milliard lira expended yearly on war preparations, with a further 2 milliards for new warships and for modernising the air fleet, fascism is rapidly heading for war.

All these measures will increase the resistance of the Communists and the working people generally to the fascisation and militarisation of the population and rouse the masses to fight against imperialist war and for the defence of the Soviet Union and Soviet China.

## The Collusion Between Japan and China in the Light of War Preparations Against the Soviet Union

By Feng (Shanghai)

It is obvious that in the last few months there has taken place a certain change in the policy of China towards Japan. Japan has been striving with every means to enter into direct negotiations with China. Hitherto this was impossible owing to the attitude of the Chinese public.

The subjects on which the Japanese wished to negotiate were their interests in Fukien and Shantung and the question of North China. The Japanese exerted tremendous pressure on China by demanding the payment back of the loans granted to it.

Regarding these loans, "Osaka Mainiki" reports that in the course of 30 years Japan has granted loans to China amounting in all to over 1.2 milliard yen. The Chinese government received loans to the value of 550 million, and private concerns 177 million. The securities given to Japan are worth 64 million yen.

The Nishihara loans play a special role. These loans, amounting to 300 million yen, were granted by Japan in 1928 to the Anfu clique, which was in power at that time and wished to develop the railway and telegraph system of North China.

Japan is now making the most unscrupulous use of this economic dependence of China. By means of force, by seizing the territory and railways for which these loans were granted, Japan is securing itself against China, which is insolvent. Japan is making use of her economic domination in order to use North China as a basis for a war against the Soviet Union.

It was the aim of Japan to secure the "benevolent neutrality" of China in the event of such a conflict. The prerequisite for this was to bring about a certain change in decisive circles of Chinese finance-capital and to arrive at an agreement in the direct negotiations already mentioned.

These prerequisites seemed to be fulfilled. There set in an intensive propaganda on the part of Japan, the most important points of which are: In the event of a war between Japan and a European Power (Soviet Union), and in the event of a defeat of Japan, Chinese finance-capital would be exposed to ruthless attacks. Further, Japan's attacks on China since 1931 are "excused" on the ground that they were directed not against China but against the interests of the Western Powers. According to this wonderful theory, Japan marched into Manchuria in order to prevent the penetration of Russian interest and, in particular, of Communist ideas. The invasion of North China and the fight for Shanghai were therefore not against China as has been assumed hitherto, but for China.

A further point, which was enthusiastically received by the military leaders and bankers, was the necessity of "co-operating" in suppressing "Liberal and democratic" ideas among the masses of the people. And finally—a very important propaganda point—the leaders of China are told: No Western country will intervene against an armed attack by Japan against China in order to rescue China. Therefore, unite peaceably with us!

The second set of questions deals with the direct negotiations between Japan and China. At the conferences now taking place in Dairen and Kuling, according to well-informed sources, it has been agreed, in view of the tension between Japan and the Soviet Union, that China shall grant certain assistance to Japan. The Japanese army will be allowed to use the railways of the Chinese government for military operations in North China against the Mongolian People's Republic.

The Chinese authorities in North China, above all General Huang Fu, the leader of the Political Office in Peking, is playing into the hands of the Japanese imperialists. Above all it is a question of the Peking-Suijuan railway, which is to be linked up with the Manchurian railway from Jehol and extended from

Paotoven along the Southern frontier of the Mongolian People's Republic to Sinkiang or Chinese Turkestan. Japan would thereby extend its influence to Central Asia and be in a position to send troops to the Mongolian People's Republic and to the frontiers of Soviet Turkestan. In order to make the Peking-Suijuan line suitable for military purposes, the Japanese Railway Ministry, already at the end of May last, granted a loan of 5,200,000 dollars to the Japanese Oriental Development Association.

Shahar, the Eastern province of Inner Mongolia, has been partly occupied for some time by Japanese. Garrisons have been stationed in Dolonor and three other places which have also been connected with Manchuria by motor roads. A wireless station has been set up in Wutchomoschin.

But also in other spheres there is to be seen an increasing tendency towards Sino-Japanese co-operation. Two years ago Japan built for China a 3,500 tons cruiser. A few weeks back this cruiser was sent to Japan in order to take part in the funeral celebrations of Admiral Togo. And although officially strained relations exist between Japan and China on account of Manchuria and other questions, the cruiser remained a considerable time in Japanese waters and Japanese officers and engineers were allowed to inspect the ship.

Soon afterwards the Chinese Ministry for Marine announced the building of some new cruisers, a fact which led the U.S.A. press to assume that Japan was building China a fleet which should nominally belong to China, but in the event of war would be merged in the Japanese fleet. As if to confirm this assumption, the "North China Daily News" of August 24 published a report to the effect that the Japanese Admiralty had sent 50 engineers to China in order to take part in the construction of the second cruiser. This is to be the largest warship that China has built. In addition, a third cruiser is to be built for China in Japan. Of great importance is the fact that the Chinese government has requested the Japanese Admiralty to send an instructor to the Chinese Naval Academy in Sutchan. Captain Teraoka was promptly appointed to this position.

While we thus have to record a complete exclusion of British instructors from the fleet in favour of Japanese instructors, the same thing is to be seen in regard to the army. It is a well-known fact that Japan's influence in the Chinese army has increased to such an extent that the greater part of the German military experts in Nanking have been dismissed by Chiang-Kai-shek and Japanese appointed in their place. Troops armed with Japanese weapons and instructed by Japanese officers are employed in the campaign against the Chinese Soviets in Kiangsi. It is in the interest of Japan, in the approaching war against the Soviet Union, to have in Central China a flank which is free from Communism.

But Japanese imperialism has not succeeded in making headway either in Manchuria or in Central China. The Chinese bourgeoisie may ally themselves with the Japanese imperialists against the Soviet Union. But the Soviet Union also has allies, namely, the armed Red Guards of Soviet China, the insurgent peasants and the international proletariat, all of whom will have a decisive word to say in the approaching conflicts.

## Activity in Defence of the Soviet Union in France

By Ferdinand Grenier (Paris)

For several years the Friends of the Soviet Union in France have made uninterrupted progress. By means of thousands of meetings held during the years 1932, 1933 and 1934, at which worker and peasant delegates who had returned from the Soviet Union spoke, the Friends of the Soviet Union were able to increase their membership from 4,300 in the year 1932 to 9,035 in the year 1933, and to more than 12,000 at the present time. In the course of the last year the number of local and factory groups increased from 107 to 310 and the number of district committees from 4 to 15. Sixty per cent. of the members are completely unorganised and 80 per cent. of them do not belong to any political party, 9 per cent. of the members are women, 20 per cent. of the members belong to the middle classes (retail traders, artisans, professors, teachers, etc.).

The illustrated monthly organ of the Friends of the Soviet Union, "Russie d'Aujourd'hui" (Russia To-day), has increased its circulation from 12,000 in January, 1933, to 50,000 at the present time; the number of subscribers increased from 2,700 in January,

1934, to 5,000 on July 15, 1934. In an important town in the colonies a socialist postal employee induced about a hundred of his colleagues to subscribe to the paper. There are villages in which the paper is read in a third of all the households.

This great growth in the activity of the Friends of the Soviet Union manifested itself particularly during the last few months as a result of the acute situation in the Far East and the innumerable provocations of Japan in Manchuria. On August 17 the National Committee of the Friends of the Soviet Union sent a letter to a number of organisations calling upon them to set up a broad united front with the Friends of the Soviet Union for the purpose of organising a protest against the Japanese machinations.

This appeal met with a favourable response from a number of organisations: socialist committee of the Seine district, International League against Anti-Semitism, International Red Aid, League of Pacifist Ex-Servicemen, Workers' Sport League, Radical Union of Ex-Servicemen, Workers' Sport League of Alsace-Lorraine, Association of Revolutionary Writers and Artists, Socialist Youth of the Seine district, Amsterdam Committee, Revolutionary Trade Union Federation of France (C.G.T.U.), Women's League against War, Workers' International Relief, Communist Party, Young Communist League, Tenants' League, National Union for Culture and Organisation, Radical-Socialist Party Camille Pelletan.

These various organisations, numbering about 850,000 members, signed an appeal in which they declare they are

"determined to launch a campaign in the whole of France against the Japanese government, which, by realising the annexationist plans of Baron Tanaka, wishes to plunge the whole of the Far East into war and destroy the land of Socialism. They accuse the Japanese government of the monstrous crime which is being prepared in the Far East, which, if carried out, would be the prelude to a world war."

A delegation representing all these organisations went to the Japanese Embassy to hand in a protest, and to the Foreign Ministry in order to draw the attention of the French government to the provocations of Japan.

At the same time the national committee of the Friends of the Soviet Union sent an appeal to all its local branches to collect money for the purpose of issuing a large number of leaflets and pamphlets. In the course of a few days more than 4,000 francs were collected, enabling the national committee to issue 350,000 leaflets which were distributed in all the industrial centres of France. These leaflets aroused the population and resulted in the sending of thousands of protests to the Japanese Embassy, in the collection of numerous signatures to petitions, etc. In a water-works in the Paris district alone 1,780 signatures were collected. In a town near Paris, at an open-air stall displaying a poster: "For the defence of the Soviet Union," 800 signatures were collected to a petition in a few hours.

In addition, the local branches organised big meetings, the largest of which was held in Paris in Salle Bullier, at which more than 10,000 toilers voiced their protest against the provocations of Japan and pledged their support of the peace policy of the Soviet Union.

A manifesto issued to the members of the Socialist Party has already been signed by more than 500 members of the Socialist Party. This manifesto records that the Soviet Union is building up Socialism, that it is promoting culture and scientific development on a scale hitherto unknown, that it is unswervingly fighting for disarmament and for peace. It pledges the members of the Socialist Party to join the Friends of the Soviet Union in order to secure the defence of the socialist fatherland of all toilers.

The preparations for sending a large delegation to the November festivals in the Soviet Union will give the Friends of the Socialist Union further possibilities of extending the influence of the organisation and winning fresh forces for its further work.

#### Comrade Hofmaier Released!

After seven years of rigorous imprisonment in Mussolini's jails, the Swiss Communist Hofmaier has been released. He was sentenced to 15½ years' penal servitude in 1927 by the Roman Special Court, on charges of anti-fascist and Communist propaganda. His sentence was shortened some years ago by an amnesty, and now the last amnesty has released him. The fact of his release is, however, due solely to the steadily growing protest movement against his incarceration, and against the imprisonment of other political prisoners in Italy.

## Fight for the Unity of the Labour Movement

### On the Way to a United C.G.T.

By J. Berlioz (Paris)

The two trade union federations in France, the revolutionary C.G.T.U. and the reformist C.G.T., have just held meetings of their central councils. These meetings represent an important stage on the path of the French workers towards trade union unity.

For the first time since the split in 1921 direct relations were established between the two federations by the reception of delegations. Resolutions were compared, and although no agreement was come to, despite the concessions made by the revolutionary C.G.T.U., the discussion has not been broken off. On October 9 the reformist C.G.T. will meet a commission elected by the meeting of the C.G.T.U., to discuss the question of trade union unity.

The workers of both camps certainly expected more. In their impatience to see the establishment of a united trade union front in the struggle against the offensive of capitalism on the wages and working conditions and on the political rights of the workers they hoped that the reformist C.G.T. would clear away the hindrances which certain of its leaders have placed in the way of unity.

Capitalism in France is filled with anxiety at the prospect of working-class unity of action. The recent speeches of *Tardieu* and *Doumergue* were full of savage attacks on the developing working-class united front. Finance-capital has everything to gain from the perpetuation of the split in the ranks of the workers. A month ago "*l'Usine*," the mouthpiece of the industrialists, wrote:—

"Up to the moment the C.G.T. has remained clear-sighted and has refused to walk into the unity trap prepared for it by the Muscovites."

The discussions at the two trade union meetings have shown that the industrialists triumphed too soon. Since the events of February a powerful mass movement has rapidly developed in favour of trade union unity on the basis of the practical proposals of the revolutionary C.G.T.U. The systematic work of the C.G.T.U. to obtain unity of action amongst the lower officials threatened with wage cuts and dismissals has had similar results. The conclusion of a unity of action pact between the French Socialist and Communist Parties contributed to the strengthening of the movement for trade union unity although the socialist party leaders showed no particular desire to mobilise their followers in favour of it.

During the course of the summer, relations were established in many districts between the local officials of the reformist and revolutionary unions and of the various autonomous unions which exist. At the initiative of the *railwaymen* in *Marseilles* the first united union was founded to include the members of both the C.G.T. and the C.G.T.U. Both unions moved their administrations into the same office without, however, ceasing to be members of their respective federations. This preliminary form of trade union unity was so popular amongst the masses that the *Marseilles* example was followed in over 200 other cases, chiefly amongst the railwaymen and the workers in the public services.

This powerful mass movement from below quickly won over a number of department associations of the C.G.T. and even the majority in one or two federations. The conferences of the postmen, the teachers and the workers in the public services which took place recently all expressed the opinion that the reformist C.G.T. should now pay heed to the demand of the masses and make a definite step in favour of organisational trade union unity.

The hindrances in the way of trade union unity were erected chiefly by those reformist leaders of the C.G.T. who fear that their policy of class collaboration, which has done so much harm to the fighting strength of the French workers, will prove impossible of continuance in a united trade union federation. On the other hand, the revolutionary C.G.T.U. immediately did its best to give a practical form to the will of the masses by drawing up concrete proposals for trade union unity and joint action on a national scale.

The chief idea of these proposals was *the amalgamation of the reformist and revolutionary unions from below and throughout the various stages of organisation, the amalgamation to culminate in a national congress of both federations to elect the new leadership*

of the united C.G.T. and to lay down its programme and tactics. The congress itself to be elected on the broadest possible democratic principles, with the complete freedom of expression and proportional representation of the minorities in all trade union bodies. This plan to be carried out by the leaderships of the C.G.T. and the C.G.T.U. jointly and under their control. The most recent proposal of the C.G.T.U. was for a joint session of both central councils and the joint issue of instructions for the amalgamation of the two federations.

However, a section of the leadership of the reformist C.G.T., led by *Jouhaux* and his friends who maintain close relations with the so-called neo-socialists so worthily represented in the government of National Union by Marquet, maintained their old and unbending attitude of hostility to all the unity proposals and declared that any unity could take place only on the basis of the so-called Japy resolution adopted by the C.G.T. in 1931 which demanded the unconditional return of the members of the revolutionary C.G.T.U. to the reformist C.G.T., the acceptance of the Statutes of the C.G.T. without any guarantee for the freedom of revolutionary expression within the C.G.T.

This crowd control "*le Peuple*," the central organ of the reformist C.G.T., and the paper has conducted an energetic campaign in favour of their standpoint. The polemics in "*le Peuple*" have revealed the main idea which lies in the back of *Jouhaux's* mind, namely, to prevent at all costs the ideology of the proletarian class struggle from getting a hold on the reformist C.G.T. and to close its ranks against all those workers who do not hold the same political opinions as *Jouhaux* or are not prepared to tolerate them.

This was the situation in which the meetings of the two trade union councils were opened. A delegation from the C.G.T.U. went to the meeting of the C.G.T. to present the proposals published by the C.G.T.U. on August 24. The atmosphere at the meeting of the C.G.T. revealed obvious sympathy for the delegation on the part of the representatives of many of the C.G.T. bodies. A discussion followed which grew very lively, and the supporters of placing the whole question before the unions themselves for decision fought against those who were determined to maintain the split.

The pressure of the masses was reflected in the discussions at the C.G.T. Congress. The secretary of the reformist miners' union was compelled to admit that many members of the C.G.T. were of the opinion that its leaders had not made sufficient concessions in the interests of unity. Many of the speakers in the discussion demanded that the idea of amalgamation should be accepted without reservation. However, the remnants of the stiff-necked Old Guard mobilised all their forces to stem the tide of unity. One or two of them even threatened a further split if the proposals of the C.G.T.U. were adopted, whilst *Jouhaux* sought to pacify the opposition with the promise that in the future the C.G.T. would take "still more energetic measures" against fascism. In the end the *Jouhaux* elements succeeded in securing the adoption of a majority resolution in favour of "the complete restoration of the old C.G.T.," but without the offer of any guarantee for trade union democracy. This resolution was brought to the meeting of the revolutionary C.G.T.U. by a delegation from the C.G.T. whose members were greeted by the C.G.T.U. delegates with the singing of the "International."

As the leaders of the C.G.T. had refused to guarantee the right of self-determination to its unions, the meeting of the C.G.T.U. adopted a resolution regretting that the leaders of the C.G.T. had shown themselves unwilling to make concessions in the interests of trade union unity, and calling on the trade unions of both federations to proceed to amalgamation without any further loss of time.

However, the sharpness of the discussions at the meeting of the C.G.T., the difficulty experienced by the old reformist leaders in drafting resolutions which would be acceptable by their own members, and the fact that official relations have now been established between the two federations for the continuation of the unity discussion, all show the progress being made by the idea of trade union unity amongst the masses of the French workers and strengthen the confidence of the masses in the final overcoming of all obstacles in the way of unity as many apparently insurmountable obstacles have already been overcome.

Amalgamation congresses are to take place in four railway districts in France in the near future. The revolutionary C.G.T.U. will continue its struggle for trade union unity by organising mass action for the withdrawal of the government emergency decrees, for the improvement of wages and working conditions, and for the defence of the democratic freedom of the working class. The

C.G.T.U. has therefore decided to draw up a programme of demands on behalf of the masses and to examine the best ways and means of carrying through these demands.

In mass action the fraternal alliance between the workers of all organisations will be strengthened and the impotence and danger of the policy which the reactionary leaders of the C.G.T. still wish to pursue will be clearly revealed as the path which led to the defeat of the workers in Germany and Austria. A big step on the way to trade union unity has been taken in France. The French masses must continue their advance along this path until a united C.G.T. has been formed in which all members have the right to express their opinions, a strong and powerful trade union federation which will win those workers who have been driven out of the trade union movement altogether by the split.

## The Fight for Trade Union Unity in Czechoslovakia

By G. Friedrich (Prague)

The struggle for the unification of the revolutionary and reformist trade union organisations in France has aroused great interest amongst the trade unionists of Czechoslovakia. In Czechoslovakia vital interests of the working class, the very existence of their organisations and the remnants of those social and political rights won by the workers in long years of struggle are now being threatened by fascism, and as a result the desire of the Czechoslovakian workers for unity of action is rapidly growing. The revolutionary trade unions in Czechoslovakia have always been in the van of the struggle for the improvement of the situation of the workers and they have always been in favour of unity of trade union action. In the question of organisational trade union unity they are once again to the fore and have taken the initiative.

Agreements for joint action have been come to in numerous districts throughout Czechoslovakia and in numerous factories, etc., both large and small, between reformist and revolutionary trade union groups. The following are a number of examples of recent date: the joint action of the iron-ore workers in Trinec, the joint action of the glass workers in Gablonz, and the strike of 2,000 workers engaged on the railway line in Margecan which was jointly organised by the revolutionary and reformist trade union groups and ended with a victory for the workers. A meeting of over 200 miners of the Franz pit in Ladowitz near Dux adopted the following resolution which is typical of the spirit of the Czechoslovakian workers:—

"This joint meeting dealt with all the questions of working-class activity and decided to act jointly in the fight against the attacks of capitalism for our common interests, and for the maintenance of democratic freedom as a basis for the setting up of trade union unity. The meeting called upon the joint committee of action composed of the representatives of all trade union organisations to work in this spirit."

This resolution is signed by two Czech socialists, two German social democrats, two members of a former Hakenkreuz union, two members of the red trade union and two unorganised workers. At the Praga pithead in *Kladno* a meeting of miners took place called jointly by the revolutionary and the reformist trade union groups. A joint committee of action was elected, consisting of representatives of all the trade union organisations having members in the pit and two unorganised workers. It was decided to issue an appeal to all miners to work for trade union unity. A conference of the reformist woodworkers' trade unions took place in *Prague* and 165 delegates were present. The speeches were delivered by the secretaries of the organisations. In the discussion all the delegates condemned the anti-proletarian policy of the reformist trade unions. One of the worker delegates expressed the feelings of the masses when he declared:—

"You say that you are too weak to do anything against the reactionaries, but if you would really act like working-class leaders you could soon have a united and powerful working-class army in action which would settle the reactionaries once and for all."

All the worker delegates at this conference declared themselves in favour of unity of trade union action. These examples taken from a host of others show the increasing will of the workers to trade union unity.



The co-operation between the revolutionary and the reformist trade unions is taking place in various ways. Beginning with joint meetings of the various trade union groups, the collaboration proceeds to the election of joint committees of action and to the carrying out of joint action for the common interests of the masses. These are the first shoots of coming trade union unity, and the idea of organisational trade union unity on the basis of the class struggle is rapidly gaining ground amongst the trade union workers. The iron-ore miners of *Trinec* began by agreeing to joint action in their own district and then decided to raise the question of trade union unity on a wider scale. The workers adopted a resolution calling on the committees of the revolutionary and reformist trade unions:—

“To prepare the way for the election of a joint committee for trade union unity which shall not only lead our struggle, but which shall also prepare the way for the formation of a united trade union organisation embracing all the workers on the basis of the class struggle and the application of the fundamental principles of revolutionary working-class action.” This fine example from *Trinec* must not be left to stand alone.

The Central Council of the revolutionary trade union federation has therefore addressed an appeal to all other trade union bodies in Czechoslovakia to take steps to bring about organisational trade union unity on the basis of the class struggle. As a basis for the carrying out of this organisational unity the revolutionary unions propose the adoption of the following programme of action:—

(1) Resistance to the depression of working-class standards either by direct wage reductions or by the increase in the prices of articles of daily necessity. For four years the standards of the workers have been systematically depressed. To-day it is no longer sufficient to defend the standards as they are to-day, but a drive must be made for increased wages all round, particularly in view of the steadily rising cost of living;

(2) Resistance to any further attempts to reduce the support granted to unemployed workers and their families, to any attempt to cut down the distribution of foodstuffs, and to the systematic depletion of trade union funds. For the withdrawal of the emergency decree passed last year reducing the rates of unemployment support, for increased grants of foodstuffs to the unemployed workers, for investments in public works, for the confiscation without compensation of the food hoards of the rich and their distribution amongst the unemployed workers, and in favour of systematic unemployment support for all unemployed workers at the cost of the State and the employers;

(3) Against the swindle of the 40-hour week which is nothing but an indirect means of reducing wages and intensifying rationalisation, and in favour of the seven-hour day (the six-hour day in the mines) and the 40-hour week (36 hours in the mines) with a weekly wage not lower than the former wage for a week of 48 hours;

(4) Against all attempts to limit or reduce social benefits, and in particular against the attempts to increase the contributions of the workers to the health insurance scheme whilst reducing benefits, and against the proposed deterioration of the miners' insurance scheme. For the withdrawal of the governmental emergency decree regulating the health insurance scheme to the detriment of the workers, and in favour of the financial support of the health insurance scheme and the miners' insurance scheme at the expense of the State and of the employers;

(5) Against the attempts to limit the democratic and trade union rights of the workers, in favour of the complete freedom to meet and to organise, for the complete freedom of the working-class press and for the complete right to strike;

(6) Against the formation of yellow and company trade unions in the factories as an instrument of oppression against the workers, and in favour of united class trade unions embracing all workers; and

(7) Against armaments and against all militarist adventures. Against the export of arms and ammunition to Japan. For peace with the Soviet Union. For the defence of the Soviet Union, its policy of peace and its construction of socialism.

The struggle for trade union unity demands that all workers and in particular all Communists should be perfectly clear about

all the questions connected with trade union unity. Many workers ask why the Communists are in favour of organisational unity for the trade unions, but not for the working-class parties. It is not difficult to answer this question. The Communist Party is an organisation embracing all those workers who have the same political convictions and the same political aims. It can therefore not take members into its ranks who do not hold these political convictions and who do not approve of these political aims. Experience has shown that the proletariat can be victorious in its political struggle for power only under the leadership of a united and homogeneous party free from all traces of political opportunism. The trade unions, on the other hand, organise the workers not according to their political opinions, but according to their occupations and according to class. A Communist Party can have no other workers for its members but convinced Communists, whilst, for example, a miners' trade union should organise all the miners irrespective of what particular shade of political opinion they may support, though naturally it should organise them on the basis of the class struggle and for the prosecution of the class struggle in the interests of the working class. Naturally, such a trade union needs a correct leadership and the various parties are divided as to the nature of this leadership. However, the interests of the working class demand that the parties should not seek to force through their particular ideas as to that leadership by means of disruption and disunion which would weaken the trade unions, but by means of conviction and winning the majority of the members of the union round to their point of view whereby the opinions of the majority of the workers in the trade unions must find their unhindered expression in the leadership of the unions. The unification of the trade unions on this basis would tremendously increase their power. This is the trade union unity for which the revolutionary trade unions in Czechoslovakia are working.

We Communists are of the opinion that the trade unions have a higher task than that of fighting within the framework of the capitalist system for “a fair day's work for a fair day's wage.” We are of the opinion that the trade unions, whilst fighting for the economic improvement of the situation of the working class and for the necessary conditions in which to pursue this struggle, must also do their part to win the complete freedom of the proletariat from capitalist exploitation, to secure the victory of the proletarian revolution. The trade unions must also be revolutionary and not reformist. Just because we desire this and work to bring it about we are doing everything possible to establish the unity of the trade union movement on the basis of the class struggle.

The examples of joint trade union action which have already been given in various parts of the country must be increased in number and in extent. They must be developed into a mass phenomenon. This unity of trade union action is the best instrument to secure organisational trade union unity. The idea of unity of trade union action and of organisational unity must draw group to group in the factories, and factory to factory. Joint conferences must be organised in the districts. Joint programmes of action should be drawn up and joint actions carried out. Joint committees for trade union unity should be organised in the factories themselves and on a district scale. That is the path along which we can secure trade union unity for the working class. In this way the trade unions in Czechoslovakia can be developed once more into powerful weapons in the hands of the working class in the struggle for its emancipation. For many years now the leaders of the reformist trade unions have led the trade unions farther and farther away from these aims. They have propagated class collaboration in the trade unions and put this idea into practice in joint conferences and committees with the capitalists and the capitalist organisations and in the bourgeois parliament. One of the effects of this policy can be seen in the Ghent system which hampers the freedom of movement of the trade unions. The binding nature of collective agreements, compulsory arbitration and the nationalisation of the trade unions under the control of the State which is now being propagated are also fruits of this policy, as also are a series of measures which have led in Germany and Austria to the complete destruction of the trade unions as working-class organisations. Therefore all workers must realise that the principles of trade union unity, as propagated by the revolutionary trade unions, are the only correct ones and the only possible ones in the interests of the workers.

## To the Socialist Workers' Sports International

### To all Worker Sportsmen!

We have seen in the press that on October 6-7 the Congress of the Socialist Workers' Sport International will be held in Carlsbad, and will discuss the basic questions of the further policy and tactics of the Socialist Workers' Sport International.

The events of 1933-34, and especially the fascist coups in Germany, Austria, Latvia, Bulgaria, have shown very plainly that the further continuance of the split in the working class and the division of the workers' sport movement greatly weaken the power of the working class as a whole. In order to carry on a struggle against the capitalist offensive, against the fascistisation and militarisation of the masses through bourgeois sport, against the attack on the workers' sport, it is necessary to restore the unity of proletarian sport. If the forces of the two internationals are united, workers' sport will not only form a big power in opposition to bourgeois sport, but will do a great deal to strengthen the common front of struggle against fascism, the capitalist offensive and the preparations for imperialist war.

The sporting meet held in Paris in August, 1934, on the initiative of the Red Sport International showed that all the workers' sport organisations are prepared to carry on this struggle together. At this meet the workers of 19 countries with the greatest enthusiasm showed their determination to struggle against fascism and war, and welcomed the sportsmen of the U.S.S.R., who form the foremost sector of workers' sport throughout the world, the main section of the Red Sport International, having in their ranks over six million sportsmen and physical culturists.

The organisational committee which prepared for the Paris meet sent invitations to all workers' organisations to participate in the meet. The committee sent a special invitation also to the Bureau of the Socialist Workers' Sport International.

In reply to the invitation, the organisational committee received a letter from the Bureau of the Socialist Workers' Sport International at the beginning of August, in which the latter declared that, despite the political disagreements which exist, it did not refuse to carry on a joint struggle against fascism and war.

This reply makes it possible for us to raise the question of establishing constant contact between the organisations of the Red Sport International and the Socialist Workers' Sport International. On this basis we propose to start immediately to discuss and carry out a number of practical measures directed towards the establishment of the united front of all worker sportsmen so that, in the course of these joint actions, it will be possible to bring about the unity of all workers' sport organisations in a single Workers' Sport International.

The Executive Committee of the Red Sport International sees no reason why relations cannot be established between the two Internationals and their organisations on a district, national and international scale such as will permit all actions to be taken together.

We propose that in districts where there are R.S.I. and S.W.S.I. clubs, meetings of the members of these clubs should immediately be called, and also meetings of representatives of the organisations of the R.S.I. and the S.W.S.I. on a national scale, for a joint discussion of our proposals.

We propose the following forms of joint activity: Joint sporting matches and competitions, joint relay races, joint meetings and demonstrations, the support of all the general class actions of the proletariat in their struggle against the class enemies, including not only meetings and demonstrations, but also other forms of struggle, such as strikes, help for strike committees by active participation in workers' self-defence and strike pickets, the collection of money for the striking comrades, the prevention of the dispatch of arms to the Far East, etc.

We propose that representatives of the two Sport Internationals should meet together to draw up a single calendar of international sporting events and matches. We propose to take as the basis of this calendar the preparations for the World Spartakiade in Moscow in 1936.

As a preliminary stage towards it we make the proposal to hold two international workers' sport gatherings in 1935 in Europe and America similar to that held this year in Paris.

All these joint actions will help to bring the two sport internationals nearer together and will hasten their unity. The Executive Committee of the R.S.I. sees no special hindrances to prevent the unity of all workers' sport organisations being brought

about at once. We welcome the statement of various organisations and individuals from the Socialist Workers' Sport International which support the slogan of the Red Sport International on the unity of workers' sport. In particular we welcome the statement of the Vice-President of the S.W.S.I., Gulevik, at the Pershing sport grounds in Paris, where, in his speech at the sporting meet organised at the initiative of the Red Sport International, he stated that he would raise the question of unity at the next Congress.

The Executive Committee of the R.S.I. considers it possible to give directives to its national organisations to begin immediate negotiations on unity with the corresponding national sections of the S.W.S.I., carrying on these negotiations hand in hand with the strengthening of the general anti-fascist and anti-war proletarian front. Workers' democracy, the freedom of political opinion and proportional representation of all existing tendencies must be ensured in all the leading organs in the united workers' sport organisations. In order to ensure greater success in bringing together and uniting the two sport Internationals, the R.S.I. declares its readiness to limit itself to comradely discussion on unsettled questions of the united front and in the matter of forming a united workers' sport International. The Executive Committee of the R.S.I. will, of course, reserve to itself the right to criticise persons and organisations in the S.W.S.I. (and likewise its own workers and organisations) if they undermine the unity of workers' sport and violate the agreement which is arrived at, or if they are caught by the manoeuvres of the class enemy.

In order to give more detailed arguments regarding our proposals and to bring about a more rapid practical discussion and solution of possible disputed points, the Executive Committee of the R.S.I. requests you to admit a delegation of the R.S.I. to the forthcoming congress of the S.W.S.I. in Carlsbad.

Secretariat of the E.C. of the Red Sport International.

## The White Terror

### Save the Leaders of the Rumanian Railwaymen!

#### Appeal of Boris Stefanov

*We have received the following appeal from Comrade Boris Stefanov, a former Communist member of the Rumanian Parliament, who after having served a sentence of eight years' hard labour, recently went abroad in order to restore his completely shattered health.*

Workers, peasants, artisans and intellectuals of the world!

Your energetic campaign of protest, under the leadership of the International Red Aid, compelled the bourgeoisie and the landowners of Rumania to cancel the first sentence against the heroic leaders of the railway workers, *Doncea, Petrescu* and others, and to hold a fresh trial.

Your energetic protests saved the comrades *Averbach, Rado-sovetzkaya* and *Dori Goldstein*, who were delivered over in a shameful manner by the Czechoslovakian government to the Rumanian hangmen's justice, from being murdered "while attempting to escape."

The Rumanian government, however, intend gradually to murder in prison the heroic railway workers' leaders together with the other 2,000 political prisoners. During the last few weeks it has considerably worsened the prison system, which was already barbaric enough.

The prisoners are actually starving; they are subjected to physical and moral tortures. On the strength of a simple order of the Central Prison Commission the political prisoners are permanently confined in their cells. The prisoners have to serve their prison sentences in cells measuring 2½ metres wide and 3½ metres long. The floor and the walls of the cells are of cement and the ceiling of stout sheet-iron. The cells are cold and damp. There is no heating arrangement whatever. The prisoners suffer from hunger because the officials shamefully steal from the rations of the prisoners. A new decree issued by the Central Prison Commission forbids prisoners to be supplied with food from outside.

Prisoners are not allowed to have their trunks or other luggage in their cells. They have only one set of underwear at their disposal. They are only allowed to write once a month to their relatives, and then during exercise-time and under the supervision of the prison warders. As "food for the mind" they are allowed to have once a week a book of a religious, patriotic or fascist character.

All requests that the food parcels sent by their relatives be handed over are punished with mishandling and confinement in the Section H for months. Section H means a dark cell without ventilation, sleeping on the wet cement floor, half food ration and two fast days during the week. As a result of this regime most of the political prisoners have contracted tuberculosis or are slowly dying as a result of under-nourishment.

The first victim has already fallen: *Franz Pantor*, a worker, died recently, and three other prisoners—*Selenco*, *Decei* and *Ivascu*—are dying. The women comrades *Averbuch*, *Radosovetzkaya* and Comrade *D. Goldstein* are likewise to be sentenced by the Court of the liberal government to long years of imprisonment.

Workers, peasants, artisans and intellectuals!

The liberal government intends to murder the best revolutionary champions of the Rumanian toilers. It intends to rob the Rumanian working class of its best leaders and prevent by its murderous terror the organisation of the struggle against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and of the landowners and against the increasing fascist terror.

On the initiative of the Red Aid, the toilers of Rumania are at present conducting a big campaign against the mediæval prison regime. They have risen in defence of the comrades who had the courage to fight for their interests. It is now up to you to support this campaign and not rest until a better political regime has been enforced for the political prisoners of Rumania. The slogan of the toilers of all countries must be: freedom for all political prisoners with the heroic leaders of the railway workers' strike at the head.

Only a mighty storm of protest can save our comrades from being murdered by the liberal government of Rumania. Only an energetic protest action can prevent a fresh trial being staged against our comrades *Averbuch*, *Radosovetzkaya* and *Dori Goldstein* and enforce their release. Raise your voices in powerful protest!

Demonstrate in front of the Rumanian Embassies!

Send your protests by letters and telegrams to the Rumanian government!

Demand the release of all political prisoners, and in particular the leaders of the railway workers' strike and of the three victims extradited from Czechoslovakia!

Demand a political regime for the political prisoners of Rumania!

## Save Mathias Rakosi!

"Solidarity," the organ of the Dutch Section of the International Labour Defence, publishes an impressive description of the heroic struggle carried on by *Rakosi* during the eight and a half years of his imprisonment in jail, and which he is still obliged to carry on, as he is still kept incarcerated in spite of the fact that his sentence has long since expired.

"After the Soviet Republic was crushed in Hungary, *Rakosi* was the first Communist sentenced to penal servitude in the renewed struggle taken up by his Party. He had to fight for even the smallest rights of the political prisoners. In this field he performed truly pioneer work. During the first period of his imprisonment he was not allowed any books whatever. The manager of the jail was of the opinion that the only literature permissible for convicts was "religious or patriotic books." All prisoners were forced to attend chapel service. *Rakosi* refused, and was imprisoned in the dark cell for many weeks. By means of a hunger strike he and his friend *Weinberger* gained the right to have books of their own, and to remain absent from chapel. During the eight and a half years spent by *Rakosi* in jail he carried out six hunger strikes, lasting a total of 54 days. *Rakosi* received eleven "disciplinary punishments" during his term of imprisonment, totalling three years in all. These penalties involved months of solitary confinement, without the right to write letters, without permission to write, and without exchanging a word with anyone. Only those who have learnt self-control in the revolutionary proletarian struggle can retain a hold of their nerves under such conditions.

In April of this year *Rakosi's* term of imprisonment expired. But he was not released. The Hungarian government intends bringing him up for trial again, on the basis of matters already dealt with at his first trial. The whole working class and all progressive intellectuals must raise a mass protest against this. Only this mass protest can save *Rakosi* from the clutches of the Hungarian executioners.

## In the International

### The Twelfth Party Congress of the C.P. of Austria

#### Statement of the C.C. of the C.P.A.

The Twelfth Party Congress of the C.P. of Austria was held in Salzburg at the end of September. The following items were on the agenda:—

- (1) The fight against fascism and the unity of the working class.
- (2) Organisational work and work in the mass organisations.
- (3) Election of the Central Committee.

Under the conditions of the fascist terror great difficulties were encountered in holding the Congress. The strength of the C.P. of Austria is shown by the fact that it overcame all the difficulties connected with the journey of the delegates, numbering about 70, to the meeting place, and the holding of the Congress, which lasted for several days.

The organisational work and the political importance of the Party Congress can be properly appreciated only when one takes into account the campaign preceding the Congress. Not only the printing and distribution of thousands of leaflets and newspapers dealing with the questions of the Party Congress, but above all *the election of the delegates* should be specially mentioned. About 750 comrades attended the preparatory conferences at which the delegates to the Party Congress were elected. These comrades in turn were elected by the lower organisations, which are based on the cells. Thus more than ten thousand took part in the preparation of the Party Congress.

The composition of the Party Congress showed the change which has taken place in the C.P. of Austria. More than two-thirds of the delegates had joined the Party since February. In addition to the delegates from the Communist Party organisations, representatives of the trade unions, of the *Schutzbund*, the Red Aid, the Young Communist League, as well as of socialist groups and of the lower organisations of the revolutionary socialists, took part in the Congress. Of the delegates, 70 per cent. were workers, the rest employees and women. Despite the enormous difficulties more than a quarter of the delegate workers came straight from the workshop and factory to the Congress.

The main subject of the chief report delivered by the secretary of the Party, Comrade *Koplenig*, as well as of the whole discussion, was the question of the way to the proletarian revolution, that is to say, the *organisation of the daily fight against fascism and the realisation of unity of action of the proletariat*. The Party Congress was unanimously of the opinion that the Communist Party will do everything in order to achieve a genuine united front of struggle.

The Party Congress dealt exhaustively with the question of the organisational development of the Party, of establishing a firm basis in the factories, of forming new cadres, of consolidating the organisational structure of the Party. The Party Congress especially stressed the importance of rebuilding and developing the trade unions and the *Schutzbund*.

Twenty-nine speakers took part in the debate on the first item on the agenda, and 32 on the second item. The decisions of the Party Congress were adopted unanimously. In addition to the *political resolution*, resolutions were adopted on the *trade union question*, on the *organisational question*, on *work among the Youth*, *work among the women* and on *sport organisations*. The Party Congress addressed an appeal to the whole of the Austrian workers and issued special appeals to the working peasants and the proletarian supporters of the Nazis. Comrade *Koplenig* received a spontaneous ovation as the leader of the Party.

The new Central Committee was elected unanimously. About half the members of the Central Committee are comrades who joined the Party after February last and who were formerly social-democratic party functionaries. Forty per cent. of the members of the C.C. have been members of the Party for over 15 years; 70 per cent. are workers, the rest employees and women.

The Party Congress, in its work as well as in the newly-elected C.C., showed the sound welding together of the old and the new cadres of the Communist Movement, and its decisions give directions to all Party organisations with regard to the line to be pursued and the work to be performed.

At the conclusion of the Party Congress there took place a meeting of the newly-elected C.C. at which the Political Bureau was elected.

#### REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT THE PARTY CONGRESS

*We have received the following report from a leading member of the Communist Party of Austria:—*

"The Party Congress constitutes a historic turn in the history of the C.P. of Austria and in the history of the whole of the Austrian proletariat." These are the opening words of the political resolution which was adopted unanimously at the *Twelfth Party Congress of the C.P. of Austria*. These words are no exaggeration. All delegates who took part in the deliberations and for two days earnestly and passionately discussed the problems of the Austrian labour movement, profoundly realised the historical importance of the gathering at which they were present. The circumstances under which the Congress was held, its composition and its decisions, rendered the Party Congress an unusual and unforgettable event.

*The circumstances:* persecuted by the State power, pursued by the bloodhounds of the counter-revolution, overcoming innumerable difficulties and obstacles, the 70 delegates came together to lay down the line of the Party. In spite of conditions of strict illegality, they were all elected at mass conferences or sent by mass organisations, and each of them expressed the feeling and wishes of thousands of Party members.

*The composition:* twelve delegates from district organisations have been members of the Party for many years, 26 delegates from district organisations have joined the Party since the February fighting. Two representatives of mass organisations (Schutzbund, trade unions, etc.) are "old" Communists, seven representatives of mass organisations are "young" Party members. But not only the Party but also the Central Committee has completely changed its composition. Up to the time of the Party Congress the C.C. consisted of 11 "old" and two "young" Communists. The new C.C. elected at the Party Congress consists half of old and half of new Party members (exactly 52 per cent. old and 48 per cent. new). Sixty-six per cent. of the new C.C. are workers and 34 per cent. are employees. These figures reflect the character of the Communist Party of Austria; *it is a proletarian Party, filled with a new mass strength*. But what is still more characteristic is its development: 40 per cent. of the C.C. have been members of the Party for over 15 years, 48 per cent. broke away from the social democracy only after the February fighting: the old guard of the Communist Party of Austria is being amalgamated with the most mature and revolutionary workers of the old social democratic mass organisations.

#### The C.P. of Austria is Becoming a Party of the Masses

The figures quoted above are the reflection of a historical process: *the Communist Party of Austria is becoming the Party of the masses, the leader of the Austrian proletariat*. For fifteen years it was unable to penetrate the masses; it was overshadowed by the huge social-democratic party and was regarded as an insignificant sect in the Austrian labour movement. The fact that in these 15 years of struggle to win the masses of the proletariat the Party did not lose heart, and in spite of crises and mistakes unswervingly propagated a fundamentally correct policy, has been of decisive importance for the Austrian labour movement. *After the February fighting the Communist Party was the only organised and organising force of the Austrian working class. It has saved the revolutionary workers much confusion and setbacks on the road to a revolutionary Party. It has become the centre around which the workers are uniting on a revolutionary basis.*

#### The Amalgamation with the Red Front

Immediately after the February fighting big sections of the former "Left" opposition united with the Communist Party. Other groups of the former "Left" opposition organised themselves in the *Red Front*. In the Red Front there were elements which opposed unity with the Communist Party. But these elements were quickly overcome and in June the Red Front united with the Communist Party. Only a few small groups stood aside and allied themselves with various splinter groups in order to maintain the existence of the Red Front. However, at the Party Congress, as a result of the speech of Comrade Kopenig and the discussion, in which fighting enthusiasm was united with a sense of responsibility, the delegate of the Red Front declared that he wished to

join the Communist Party and that he would call upon his comrades to follow his example. *The complete merging of the former "Left" opposition with the Communist Party will take place shortly.*

After the February fighting, in addition to the Red Front, groups of "Revolutionary socialists" were formed everywhere. The social-democratic functionaries and Party employees have gathered together in these groups the most active cadres of the workers who, for sentimental reasons, hesitate to break with the social democracy. They receive the "Arbeiter-Zeitung," advice and slogans from the social-democratic leaders who have emigrated to Bruenn; without, however, deciding definitely for the Bruenn leaders and the Second International. They pronounce themselves in favour of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and maintain that they do not differ from the Communists either in regard to aims or tactics. Most of their supporters wanted to have nothing to do with the old leaders; they discarded reformism and called for the union of all revolutionary workers in a party with a definite Communist programme. In this situation the Communist Party put the question of *the organisational unity of all revolutionary workers*. The proletarian supporters of the Revolutionary Socialists were prepared to answer this question in a positive sense, but their leaders dragged out the negotiations and allowed their attitude to be dictated by the Bruenn emigrants. Disgusted with these temporising tactics, *the strongest group of the Revolutionary Socialists, the Floridsdorf group, after a vote of all its members, which resulted in a majority of 90 per cent. for unity, united with the Communist Party*. Several provincial groups of the Revolutionary Socialists followed the example of their Floridsdorf comrades.

But the initiative of these district groups is not sufficient. We have succeeded in uniting the advance-guard of the Austrian working class in the Communist Party. In addition to this, however, it is necessary to realise *unity of action with all socialist organisations*. The Vienna organisation of the Revolutionary Socialists has "united" with the emigration centre and the Second International. The Bruenn emigration centre and the Second International, which have hitherto been the chief obstacle to revolutionary unity, will continue to do everything in order to deepen and maintain the split. All this, however, must not prevent us from proposing, honestly and without reservation, to the "United Socialist Party of Austria," the successor of the old social democracy, the common fight against fascism.

#### Problems of Unity of Action

*The problem of the united front was the main subject of discussion at the Party Congress*. In his speech laying down the line of the Party the Party secretary, Comrade Kopenig, said:—

*"The united front is for us not a manoeuvre but a necessary condition of the revolutionary class struggle. After the February events the Party has done everything in order to set up proletarian unity on a higher stage. We clearly realise that, in spite of the experience of the past, there will still exist for a long time groups and organisations which are not prepared to break with the old social-democratic organisations. We have therefore proposed to these groups, and in particular to the Revolutionary Socialists, an honest fighting alliance for the common fight against fascism, and at the same time suggested that they enter into negotiations with us on the question of uniting in a uniform class party on the basis of the Programme of the Communist International.*

"Unfortunately, we have to record that these negotiations have not led to any practical results, a fact which is due to the intervention of the Bruenn emigration centre and the Second International, which have influence on the leadership of the Revolutionary Socialists and are working against the realisation of the united front. . . .

"The Communist Party, however, must not relax its efforts to bring about unity of action with the Revolutionary Socialists and with all social democratic groups. We shall repeat our proposals and put them in a more concrete form. But success will depend upon our own work among the masses and on how far we are able to convince the social-democratic and socialist workers of the absolute necessity of the united front, to develop their initiative in this direction and carry out joint struggles and actions with them against fascism."

During the discussion much vagueness was overcome and many doubts dispelled regarding the nature of unity of action.



Some speakers expressed their impatience with the prolonged negotiations with the Revolutionary Socialists, and reported bitterly of the malicious attacks and slanders by the social-democratic functionaries, who are attempting to poison the atmosphere, and demanded that the Party should abandon the united front from above and concentrate exclusively on its own growth. The Party leadership and the overwhelming majority of the Congress opposed these views. Indignation, often quite understandable, on account of the two-faced attitude of the Revolutionary Socialists on the question of the united front must not divert the Party from its path. At the same time, it was pointed out that much of the criticism expressed by various speakers was correct. Here and there our Party comrades have relied too much on negotiations from above and not displayed their own initiative in setting up the united front from below. Negotiations and agreements for unity of action can only lead to fruitful results when unity of action is actually set up in the lower organisations and is realised afresh every day in joint struggle. *Without the initiative of the masses, who are striving for unity and immediately setting up the united front, without intimate contact and friendly co-operation of the Communists, socialists and non-party workers in every sphere, all pacts and agreements will remain on paper.* Further, we must take care not to mix unity of action and organisational unity together. Although we continue to strive for the organisational unity of the working class in a Party standing on the basis of Communism, we must not impatiently repel class fighters who belong to another party. We shall work unweariedly to convince the workers of the correctness of Communism, to win them for Communism, but we shall work together with any party, with any group, with any organisation, which is prepared to carry out common actions with us against fascism. We have not yet succeeded in realising the highest form of unity, the inclusion of all revolutionary workers in one class party, but this must not discourage us in our efforts to realise unity of action. On the contrary, this must spur us on to realise unity of action, honestly and indefatigably, in spite of all difficulties. The Party Congress therefore pledged all its members to leave no stone unturned in order to bring about fighting unity with the Revolutionary Socialists; not to endanger but to strengthen friendly relations with all militant workers. The words which the representative of the Comintern addressed to the delegates should serve as a guiding line to all of us: *"The chief enemy is not the social democracy. The chief enemy is capitalism, fascism."*

#### The Question of Partial Action

The question of partial action is closely linked up with the question of unity of action. The Party Congress devoted the greatest attention to this question. Our aim is the proletarian revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat—no discussion is needed to prove this. But which path must we pursue in order to lead the masses to this goal?

Immediately after the February fights putschist tendencies prevailed among the most active part of the Austrian working class and before all in the cadres of the Schutzbund. The burning desire to avenge the murders, the unbroken fighting determination of the proletarian elite groups, took the form of a strong inclination to sweep away the government by means of a bold coup de main of a small death-defying minority and thus to achieve victory. In addition to these putschist tendencies, there was to be seen a *wrong appraisal of individual terror*. Many of the most courageous proletarians were of the opinion that it would be possible to shatter the basis of fascism by means of blowing up bridges, by bomb attacks and revolver shots, and to drive the bourgeoisie into a state of panic and thereby bring about its overthrow. These tendencies, which were encouraged in an irresponsible manner by certain circles of the social democracy, have become gradually weaker, especially since the Nazi putsch, but they are not yet completely overcome. The other side of these putschist illusions is the passivity and waiting attitude of a section of the toilers. Reformism has called forth both the one and the other tendency. Demoralised by the collapse of all legal possibilities of fighting, the faint-hearted were of the opinion that the class war is now impossible, it is now necessary to wait for the collapse or the self-destruction of fascism, it is impossible to carry out any action against the class enemy. This mood of despair is frequently concealed behind very radical phrases. Do not let us waste our forces on partial struggles, for individual reforms and concessions; our one and only aim must be the revolution. We must reserve our forces for the revolution.

This sounds very radical, but if one asks these radical despisers of the difficult struggle for the day-to-day demands how they envisage the path to revolution, they reply with general phrases that "this regime cannot last long," etc. This theory of impotency, which is masked with radical phrases, was fostered by the old social-democratic leaders. The Bruenn emigration centre at first issued the slogan that trade union organisations and trade union struggle are impossible under a fascist regime; first the revolution must be carried out and then the trade unions will be restored.

The Communist Party energetically combated all these harmful views. The Party Congress recorded that the best sections of the working class are discarding these views. The Party Congress has shown the masses the way to the proletarian revolution. Comrade *Koplenig* characterised the prerequisites of the revolution in Austria:—

*"In the first place the determined readiness of the masses to fight—at least the decisive sections of the proletariat, and the leadership of these masses by the Communist Party. . . ."*

*"Of decisive importance for the proletarian revolution in Austria is the maturing of the forces of the revolution on an international scale. The Austrian proletariat, in setting itself its revolutionary aims, cannot rely on the assistance of any of the imperialist Powers and capitalist governments, but upon the solidarity of the international proletariat. . . ."*

*"The Party of the proletarian revolution, which desires the revolution not merely for the sake of revolution, but in order to achieve victory, must consider calmly and soberly all the factors in order to achieve and maintain this victory. It must never play at armed revolt; it has to consider very exactly all the facts, but as soon as the revolt has commenced, then it must be carried to its end regardless of the consequences."*

#### The Path to Revolution

*"There exists enough hatred and bitterness to let loose the new proletarian storm, but it cannot arise if the working class passively waits for it; it can only grow out of the economic and political daily struggles, partial actions, strikes, demonstrations and the opposition displayed to the measures of the fascist regime. . . . I think that the Party Congress must set itself as the most important task to get the masses to realise the necessity and possibility of partial struggles, to make them the guiding line for the revolutionary activity of every Communist, of every Party cell and every organisation of the whole of the working class."*

The Party Congress unreservedly approved this programme. All the possibilities of carrying out partial actions were dealt with in a thorough debate which followed Comrade *Koplenig's* report. Several strike movements in which the strikers put forward both political and economic demands, the struggle of the tenants against the increased rents, street demonstrations and manifestations of the Red Aid, especially in the provinces, have set the example. It is not necessary, however, to lay down definite fighting forms, but to develop all new fighting forms arising from the initiative of the masses, to transform them from spontaneous movements into organised fighting actions. It is necessary to take advantage of the contradictions in the fascist camp and to force concessions from the unstable regime. Whilst sharply opposing the illusion that the fascist forces would decline of themselves, we must realise that the more determined the working class comes forward with its own demands, the sooner the fascists will attempt to pacify it by means of concessions. If we enlighten the masses regarding the character of these concessions they will not "pacify" the masses, but encourage them, facilitate our struggle and contribute to the weakening of fascism, *It is impossible to carry out the proletarian revolution without this mobilisation of the masses and the simultaneous undermining of the basis of fascism by means of partial struggles; we shall create the preconditions for the revolution if we know how to organise successful partial struggles.*

Therefore the Party Congress issued the slogan: Fight against the worsening of your working and living conditions, fight for the democratic workers' rights which have been filched from you! Fight for the free election of your shop stewards, for the right to strike and the right of combination! This is not a fight for the phantom of bourgeois democracy, this is preparation for the proletarian revolution! The Party Congress decided to launch a broad movement against the *cuts in social insurance and against*

increase of house rents, and to concentrate the forces of the Party on these immediate tasks. In order to carry out these struggles it is necessary to set up the unity of action of the proletarian party.

### Mass Organisation of the United Front

The mass organisations of the united front are of decisive importance for all these actions. The Party Congress therefore devoted great attention to the problem of the trades unions, of the *Schutzbund* and the sport organisations. At a time when the leaders of the social democracy still declared that the building of illegal trade unions was "impossible," the Communist Party issued the slogan of retaining the free trade unions and converting them into revolutionary fighting organs. In order to be instruments of the will of the masses, the leading bodies of the free trade unions must be elected by the workers, they must be developed in the factories and must oppose the principle of workers' democracy to the principles of fascism. The resistance of the workers to the fascist unity trade unions, which was manifested in numerous factories, has often led to the reconstruction of the free trade unions, and in some very important factories about 50 per cent. of the workers are organised in the free trade unions. As soon as the old trade union bureaucrats realised that the workers did not agree with the leaders of the old social democracy on the question of the trade unions, they attempted to oppose the provisional leading bodies of the trade unions which were elected on the basis of the united front. They attempted to split the free trade unions. Some of the Communists committed the mistake of not sharply distinguishing between Party and trade union. The Party Congress criticised these mistakes and emphatically declared that the free trade unions are not the organs of a party, but the organs of the whole of the working class, and that it is necessary to unite in the free trade unions the workers of all tendencies. In spite of considerable successes among the metal workers, the textile workers, the municipal workers, and the railway men, our work in the trade unions is not yet by any means satisfactory. Having regard to the fact that even under the fascist regime the factories constitute the decisive centres of strength of the working class, the Party Congress pledged all the Communists to approach the work in the factories with the greatest seriousness and conscientiousness. We must make a modest beginning with protest meetings, collection of signatures, delegations to government bodies, etc., until we succeed in launching a strike. In this process of activation of the workers there will take place at the same time the process of organisation.

The *Schutzbund* is also an organ of the united front. The delegates from the *Schutzbund* reported to the Party Congress on all the problems of the *Schutzbund*. The Revolutionary Socialists have demanded that the *Schutzbund* be subordinated to their leadership, but the Communist Party, right from the beginning, has considered the *Schutzbund* as an organ of the united front and exerted every effort in order to prevent its being split up into a Communist and socialist organisation. The slogan of the united proletarian defence has overcome all splitting tendencies and met with warmest approval by the *Schutzbund*. At present the *Schutzbund* is the bearer of the glorious February traditions, a powerful and firmly-welded instrument of the Austrian working class. The *Schutzbund* is fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Communist Party for the proletarian revolution, for the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is now necessary to draw this efficient organisation, whilst preserving its character as a defensive organisation, into the daily struggles of the working class, to connect it with the factories and to prevent any isolation from the broad masses. The Party Congress suggested the setting up of factory and village defence organs and developing the *Schutzbund* into a cadre organisation of the mass revolt.

The sport organisations have lately developed into an important factor of the proletarian united front. Thousands of athletes have united in an illegal organisation and declared their agreement with revolutionary principles. Therefore the Party Congress dealt exhaustively with the question of sport organisations and decided to support the worker athletes and worker sportsmen in every way in the reconstruction of their organisations and propagate among them the idea of unity of action.

### Organisational Tasks

The Communist Party of Austria, which since the February fights has developed from a small Party into a force which embraces and leads the masses, is faced with tremendous organisa-

tional tasks. Tens of thousands of workers display great sympathy for the Party. This sympathy will develop into firm confidence if the Party overcomes all its organisational shortcomings and weaknesses in persistent work. Therefore the Party Congress devoted particular attention to the organisational questions. The excellent report of the organisational secretary on the organisational tasks of the Party was followed by a discussion in which the self-criticism by the delegates found expression. It was emphasised that the recruiting of new members must not proceed along the line of least resistance; the Party must concentrate on the factories and must base itself on the factory cells. The lower organisations and the factory cells must be trained to become more independent; they must not wait for directives from above; they must react rapidly and independently to local events. The factory cell is the Party organisation in the factory; to the extent that it wins the confidence of the workers, the influence of the Party will increase. Everybody must take to heart the words uttered by Comrade Kopenig in his report:

"We hate blind obedience, we expect that every Party comrade shall openly express his opinion. But strictest discipline is necessary within the limits of the Party programme. Everybody who has chosen the path of the Party, the path of the proletarian revolution, must as a soldier of the revolution subordinate himself to the Party and its laws."

### The Standard of Victory

The Party Congress also dealt with the question of the Youth, the allies of the working class among the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie, the training of the Party comrades and agitation. The Party Congress formulated the results of the discussion in a number of appeals and resolutions. Two days of thorough discussion, and what a wealth of proletarian experience, recognition and fighting energies are the result; More than half of the delegates were attending a Communist Party Congress for the first time. They have returned to their comrades in the happy and proud consciousness "That is our Party, flesh of our flesh and spirit of our spirit!" One of the "young" Party comrades made the following statement during the discussion:—

"At this Party Congress two things were a disappointment for me—the report of Comrade Kopenig and the level of the discussion. Yes, comrades, a disappointment, but the finest and most agreeable disappointment I ever experienced. In the old social democracy we were told a lot of bad things about Kopenig. And to-day I have seen and heard Kopenig for the first time. I now realise: this worker, this proletarian is a genuine leader of the proletariat, a man in whom I have the greatest confidence. And the discussion—I have taken part in many discussions in the social-democratic party, but never were our discussions carried out with such earnestness, such frankness and such a feeling of responsibility. I now realise that we were perfectly correct when we decided to join the Communist Party."

This is what all former social democrats experienced at this Party Conference: it is our Party; we shall grow through it and it will grow through us. It will fill us with its strength and we shall make it great with our strength. It will give us the flag of victory, and we shall carry the flag of victory at the head of the working class. Not at any moment was there any antagonism between the "old" and the "young" party members. There was only a great fighting unity, the amalgamation in an indestructible monolithic bloc of the Communist Party. The strength, the determination, the readiness to fight of each single one was multiplied and charged with revolutionary energy. We can be convinced, therefore, that tremendous energies will proceed from this Party Congress; that with this Party Congress there has commenced a new, victorious period of the Communist Party of Austria and of the Austrian working class.

### Workers' Conference for Thaelmann and Rakosi

Prague, October 5.

A workers' conference in Dablice, near Prague, attended by representatives from all surrounding municipalities, resolved to send protests to the German and Hungarian Embassies, demanding the immediate release of Thaelmann and Rakosi.

## Proletarian Commemoration Days

# The Birth of the First International

By Karl Radek

Seventy years have passed since the day when the First International Workingmen's Association was founded at a public meeting, which was attended mainly by French and English workers. The occasion for the founding of the International was provided by the protest movement of the French and English proletariat against the suppression of the Polish insurrection in 1863, and the movement for the organising of assistance for the textile workers who suffered from the cotton crisis arising from the American Civil War. But this was only the outward occasion.

The reason for the founding of the International Workingmen's Association was a deeper one. The crisis of the years 1857 and 1858, which put an end to the boom following the discovery of gold in California and forming the basis of the counter-revolution, brought into movement the working masses who had been crushed in the year 1849. In spite of the repressive police regime of Napoleon III, in spite of the split-up character of the British Labour Movement, caused by the decline of chartism, in spite of the fact that in Germany there existed only individual groups which had remained faithful to the ideas of the Communist League, the **Labour Movement again raised its head.**

The capitalist world was passing not only through an economic, but also a political crisis. In Western Europe the question of the national unity of Germany and Italy was on the order of the day. In Eastern Europe Tsarism, which had been shaken by the Crimean War, was seeking for means to adapt itself to rising Russian capitalism. In America the war between the capitalist North and the slave-owning South was being prepared. The conflicts of the capitalist world, together with the misery called forth by the economic crisis, began to rouse the workers from the torpor into which they had fallen since the defeat of 1849.

Marx immediately grasped the historical importance of the confused tendencies to create an international association of workers, which became apparent among the English and French workers. These tendencies were represented by people who had nothing in common with modern Communism, as it had been created and founded by Marx before the revolution of 1848. The initiative for founding the International Workingmen's Association in England was taken by the **trade unionists** who, out of fear of the competition of cheap labour attempted to get into contact with workers of the Continent and Humanists from the bourgeois intelligentsia who were sympathetic to Labour. The representatives of the French workers were for the most part **Proudhonists**, who aimed at saving the working class without a political fight and rejected the idea of the revolutionary seizure of power. The Italian advocates of an international association still followed in the wake of the petty-bourgeois national movement, led by **Mazzini**. In Germany a struggle was proceeding in the Labour Movement between the followers of **Lassalle**, who were endeavouring to make use, in an opportunist manner, of the fight between the Liberals and the Bismarck government, and the **workers** who followed in the wake of the Liberal bourgeoisie. Bismarck was not averse to the unification of Germany under the leadership of the Junker government in order to win the sympathy of the working class.

Marx perceived that after a long period of calm a new wave of the workers' movement was rising. He took part in the most energetic manner in the first attempt to create an International, in order, supported by the revolutionary tendencies of the working class which had increased numerically and becoming industrialised, to lead it forwards. When Marx, before the revolution of 1848, founded the Communist League and unfolded the banner of socialist revolution, he reckoned on a rapid development of the democratic revolutionary movement into the socialist revolution and endeavoured to create a basis for the revolutionary movements of the proletariat. He could not commence with the unfolding of a completely worked-out proletarian programme and the creation of a Communist Party. He did not leave out of sight the possibility of revolutionary events in the near future. Nevertheless, he had to proceed from the fact that the ruling classes, for the time being, had prospects of solving those tasks which the revolution of 1848 had not solved. He had to reckon with the

slowing down of the pace of development, and therefore his main task consisted in **separating the workers' movement from the bourgeois democratic movement and overcoming those ideologies which prevented the proletariat from coming forward independently on the basis of this workers' movement.**

"Uniting the Labour Movement of various countries, **striving to direct into the channel of united activities the various forms of the non-proletarian, pre-Marxist socialism** (Mazzini, Proudhon, Bakunin, Liberal trade unionism in England, Lassallean Right vacillations in Germany, etc.), fighting against the theories of all these sects and schools, Marx hammered out the **common tactics of the proletarian struggle of the working class—one and the same in the various countries.**" (The emphasis in this and the following quotations is mine.—K. R.)

That is how Lenin, in his little work *The Teachings of Karl Marx*, defined the line of procedure of the founder of modern Communism at the inception of the First International.

In the Inaugural Address drawn up by Marx on the occasion of the founding of the First International, we clearly see this tactical line of rallying the forces of the proletariat. Marx gives at the commencement an exact picture of the worsening situation of the proletariat, basing his statements on official documents and on facts which no worker could deny. From these facts he draws the fundamental conclusion:—

"Everywhere the broad masses of the working class have sunk deeper, at least to the same extent to which the classes which stand higher than they have climbed up the social ladder. **Neither the perfecting of machinery, nor the application of science to production, neither inventions in the sphere of means of communication nor new colonies, neither emigration nor new markets, neither free trade nor all this taken together will abolish the misery of the toiling masses. On the present faulty basis every further development of the productive forces of labour must intensify the social contradictions and sharpen the social antagonisms.**"

This thesis should later cause the class-conscious workers to arrive at the conclusion of the necessity of the proletarian revolution. But Marx did not hurry with this conclusion. He turned to those forms of the Labour Movement which were most widespread in England at that time and had called forth great hopes among a part of the working class of Germany and of France. This was the **Co-operative Movement**, which embraced millions in England, which in France was supported by the Proudhonists, which in Germany had been declared by the followers of Lassalle to be the chief means for the emancipation of the working class. Marx emphasised that the development of co-operative factories had proved the possibility of production on modern lines without capitalists, and this was "a considerable victory of the **political-economy of Labour over the political-economy of property.**" But at the same time he pointed out to the workers that it is impossible to abolish capitalism by means of the Co-operative Movement.

While calling upon the working class of the whole world to combine their efforts and to create an international brotherhood of the workers, he pointed out to the workers, precisely at the moment of the founding of the First International, that they must not confine themselves to the fight for improving their own position, for creating workers' parties which would be capable of fighting for power in the future. He called upon the working class to interfere in the **international policy of the bourgeoisie**, which is a means of enslaving the masses. He called upon them

"**to make themselves familiar with the secrets of international politics, to follow the diplomatic activity of their governments, and where necessary to oppose it with all the means at their disposal.**"

Marx advocated that the proletariat should unite on the basis of those principles which alone are capable of guaranteeing a real union—on the basis of the principles of modern Communism.

If one follows the history of the activity of Marx in the First International, the leadership of which he immediately took into

his powerful hands, one perceives everywhere this cautious approach aiming at rallying the broadest possible masses of the workers, combined with a fundamental ruthlessness which could make concessions in words but never in principles. Whether it is the agrarian question, the attitude to parliamentary elections, or to revolt, the fight for power, Marx always fought all who endeavoured to drag the working class back or land it in the quagmire of Bakunist putchism, Proudhonist repudiation of politics, or Lassallean bargaining with the Junker reaction. One can in a certain sense describe these tactics of Marx as **united front tactics**. While pursuing these tactics Marx never for a moment forgot that the aim of these tactics should be to separate the proletariat from the bourgeoisie, from petty-bourgeois tendencies and to weld it into a force capable of waging the fight for power.

Whilst Marx was able to perceive the immediate interests of the proletariat, whilst he passionately supported every strike of the workers, at the same time, when circumstances demanded it, he knew how to go over quickly from these peaceful means and forms of the movement to revolutionary solutions. The war of 1871 produced the Paris Commune. Marx foresaw the defeat of the Commune, but this did not prevent him, when the ruling classes compelled the Paris workers to take up arms, not only from standing at the side of the workers, but from supporting the fight with great enthusiasm and defending it before the whole world.

Marx was able to see in the Paris Commune, which was calumniated by the bourgeoisie, the first step to the coming proletarian world revolution. He attentively studied its experiences in order to deliver them to the future generation. The importance which this study of the first attempt of the proletariat to seize power and the first brief experience the proletariat had after seizing power, was shown by the **socialist October revolution of 1917**, in which the gifted scholar and follower of Marx, **Lenin**, made Marx's analysis of the lessons of the Commune one of the main pillars of the strategy of the Russian and international proletariat.

The first International fell because in many countries (Spain, Italy, South France) the economic development had not yet created the conditions for the rise of proletarian parties capable of welding together the ranks of the proletariat, achieving new positions and developing the forces for the coming fight for power.

The artisans, the lumpen-proletarian elements, which were capable of outbreaks of despair but not of stubborn fight, went over to Bakunin. Bakunin disintegrated the First International. The savage persecution which raged against the working class of France after the suppression of the Commune delivered blows to the International not only in France. The Commune called forth a panic within the bourgeoisie and a persecution of the Labour Movement in all other countries.

The opportunist elements who were at the head of the English trade unions were intimidated by the bourgeois slanders and left the International. The Labour Movement in Germany, which had passed through the period of faction fights between the followers of Lassalle and the Eisenach group, was not yet capable of taking up the task of strengthening the International. The First International proved to be an historical experiment.

"This experiment could not be successful so long as the socialist parties of the various countries were not welded together and consolidated, but the activity of the First International rendered the workers' movement in all countries a great service and left traces behind it." (Lenin: Collected Works.)

The Franco-German war in 1871 became an historical dividing line. It brought to an end the period of the national-revolutionary, bourgeois-democratic movement in Western Europe. At the same time united Italy and united Germany arose. Capitalism consolidated itself, increased in extent by industrialising backward countries. The workers' movement consolidated itself, workers' parties arose, the proletariat organised itself on the basis of slogans and tactics which had been worked out by Marx.

Marx did not live to see the rise of the Second International which aroused such joyful hopes in his comrade in arms, Friedrich Engels, during whose lifetime the Second International to some extent fulfilled its revolutionary task, even if already at that time the opportunism of Vollmar, Brousse, Hyndman and others had commenced to eat its way into it. The commencement of the **epoch of imperialism**, which bred the labour aristocracy, and the labour bureaucracy, led to the full growth of opportunism. The mass organisations of the proletariat which arose under the banner of the Second

International not only proved incapable of developing the revolutionary tendencies of the proletariat, but in the hands of the majority of the leaders of the Second International became the best means of throttling these tendencies. And only the **Bolshevik Party**, which right from the first moment of its existence fought against opportunism, by restoring, under the leadership of Lenin, the real teachings of Marx and Engels, became a force which was capable not only of taking up the fight against international imperialism, but also of taking on the **task of organising the Communist International**. At the moment of the collapse of the Second International, Lenin, in a letter written to Shlapnikov on October 17, 1914, said:—

"One must exert every effort to uphold the just hatred of the class-conscious workers for the hideous conduct of the Germans, one must draw from this hatred political conclusions **against** opportunism and **against** every concession to opportunism. This is an international task. It devolves upon us, there is nobody else. One cannot shirk it." (Lenin: Collected Works, volume XVIII, page 74.)

After the Bolsheviks, under Lenin's leadership, had seized power, they raised once again the flag of the International Workingmen's Association. At the time of the founding of the Third International, Lenin wrote:—

"The First International laid the foundation of the proletarian fight for socialism.

"The Second International was an epoch of preparation of the ground for a broad mass extension of the movement in a number of countries.

"The Third International gathered the fruits of the work of the Second International, discarded its opportunist, social chauvinist, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois rubbish, and **commenced to realise** the dictatorship of the proletariat. The international association of parties which is leading the revolutionary movement of the world, the movement of the proletariat for the overthrow of the yoke of capital, has now a basis which is firmer than any that ever existed before: some **Soviet Republics** which embody on an international scale the dictatorship of the proletariat, its victory over capitalism." (Lenin: Collected Works.)

Fifteen years have passed since Lenin wrote these words. The combined efforts of the international bourgeoisie succeeded in overthrowing the Soviet Republics in Hungary, Bavaria and Finland. **But the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics exists as one of the most powerful States in the world.** With the help of the dictatorship of the proletariat it has laid the foundation of socialism, it is erecting the edifice of socialism, and it has created a powerful Red Army for the protection of this great work of construction. On the 70th anniversary of the founding of the First International, which called upon the proletariat to penetrate all the secrets of the foreign policy of the bourgeoisie, this international bourgeoisie, organised in the League of Nations, was compelled to reckon with the strength of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. **In Asia, the Chinese Communists** are at the head of large Soviet territories and are leading the emancipation fight of millions of toilers. The Communist International has created **in the whole world cadres of revolutionary workers** who have acquired, mastered the teachings of Marx and Lenin, who have already acquired experience in the fight against the bourgeoisie and against the social democracy—cadres of fighters who are fighting unswervingly in face of the most savage terror.

And precisely because the rise of the Communist International coincides with the commencement of the period of the proletarian revolution, Lenin was able from the first moment of the activity of the Comintern to **unfurl the banner of Marxism-Leninism** and openly **inscribe on it the slogans of civil war and the dictatorship of the proletariat**. These slogans **immediately rallied round them millions and millions of workers**. Whilst Marx's concern was to rally the first detachments of the working class, Lenin's concern was to erect barriers against **those opportunists** who, in order not to lose contact with the masses, were prepared to enter the Communist International.

The four years of economic crisis which is developing on the background of the post-war crisis of the capitalist system, the bankruptcy of the social democracy, the victory of fascism in Germany, the danger of a new imperialist world war, the building up of socialism in the Soviet Union, the strength of the country which, under the leadership of Stalin, is realising the teachings of Marx and Lenin, all this makes the Comintern a great lighthouse for the international working class and the colonial peoples.



# Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

## Kramatorsk

By L. F. Boross

### I

"You are dreamers, you Russian gentlemen"

Kramatorsk, End of September.

We shall not forget that! That was the first big argument against the proletarian revolution, that they can only destroy but cannot build up. Here in Kramatorsk, in the courtyard of the largest machine construction plant in the world—in the factory courtyard which with its gay flower beds, bushes and fountains differs from the courtyards of capitalist barracks for workers just as the free life of the creators of socialism differs from the life of the wage slaves—precisely here we have to recall this argument. We must not forget this for although this "argument" is no longer the fashion, the capitalist press constantly invents new "arguments" in its place which have the same relation to the truth as that first argument has to the marvellous work in Kramatorsk.

At the foot of the huge mountain of socialist creative force which the Soviet proletariat climbed during the last five or six years, the following comical scene took place:—

It was in 1929. A few Soviet engineers and proletarian leaders of industry went to Germany in order to draw German specialists in to consult on the work of designing the Kramatorsk machine construction plant. At one of these consultations the well-known chief of one of the largest German machine building plants declared:—

"My Russian gentlemen! I know all the classical literature of Europe. But still I have never read a more entertaining tale than your Five-Year Plan. I showed you my factory only because I am convinced that you, gentlemen, are wonderful dreamers and will never be able to imitate in a practical way what I have created."

At that time there was only a small windmill on the spot where the new factory was to be built. Right around it there were a few hectares of potato fields and the rest was neglected meadowland. Cows made themselves at home in the wild grass and openly showed their lack of desire to be driven away from the meadow when the space was needed for a meeting of the workers of the old Kramatorsk factories (a foundry, an out-of-date machine factory which had already been renewed, a cement factory). At this meeting the project of the new immense plant was placed before the mass of the workers.

Many workers asked to speak. Among them was Morosov, an old steel worker. He did not know the entire classical literature of Europe, but he knew the power of his class, he knew what they could do when they had at their head a party like the Bolshevik Party. And he gave an entirely different opinion of the whole project than the learned director in Berlin:—

"Every Bolshevik word—said the old man in closing his speech—is a political document. If the Bolsheviks say that we can build this plant, then all talk must cease, for we shall build it!"

And they have built it, the shock brigaders of Kramashstroï (Kramatorsk Machine Construction)!

They not only had the doubts of the learned capitalists abroad against them but also the active resistance and secret sabotage of various old Russian specialists who were connected with imperialist governments and general staffs.

At the famous trial against the members of the so-called "Industrial Party," one of the accused, Prof. Charnovsky, declared:—

"The construction of machine building factories, especially the plant at Kramatorsk, was also hindered (through the activity of the wreckers) so that machine construction could not fulfil the demands of the iron and steel industry and in order to hamper the development of these branches of industry which are necessary for the rapid economic advance of the country and for strengthening its defensive capacity."

Through various machinations, the building of Kramatorsk was to be delayed for two years. The wreckers hoped that in the meantime the imperialists would begin a military attack upon the Soviet Union.

All these representatives of the old world believed in their superiority, believed that the world would have to go under if the masses of the workers would no longer slave their lives away for the fine gentlemen and capitalist exploiters, would no longer drudge so as to fill their coffers of profit. They confused the decline of capitalism with the decline of the world.

The world did not go under. The world is being reborn. The first thirteen vast departments of the Kramatorsk plant and the 165 completed blocks of houses in the new socialist town which surround it stand proudly on the spot where only a few years ago stood a small, abandoned windmill on neglected meadowland.

### II.—Magnitude

It is only with difficulty that one can conceive of the size and the significance of this immense plant, "the Stalin Machine Construction Plant in Kramatorsk." Perhaps the following figures will at least give a slight idea of the size of this plant.

A perfectly straight avenue, one and a half kilometres long, with a few parallel and cross streets and immense works on both sides embedded in about 7,000 square metres of flower beds—this is the outward picture of the plant. It occupies a surface of 160 hectares—the buildings alone occupy 120 hectares. It is the surface of a middle-sized estate, upon the fields of which grow not wheat or rye, but iron and cement constructions.

The pride of the plant is the steel foundry. We can get an idea of its size if we compare its output with other similar works: When fully occupied, Krupp produced 24,000 tons of castings annually. The output of the steel foundry at the Sverdlovsk "Uralmash," which was completed last year, amounts to 25,000 tons of castings; the largest American steel foundry can produce 35,000 tons, and the foundry of the Kramatorsk plant has a capacity of 43,000 tons of castings.

Thirteen large shops, including three machine shops, two iron foundries, the steel foundry, a machine assembling department, a blacksmith shop, a pattern-making shop and other departments have been completed up to the present. Two hundred thousand cubic metres of reinforced concrete, 50 million bricks, 28,600 tons of iron construction, 2,300,000 cubic metres of excavation work were required for the shops that have already been completed. 173,000 car-loads of building materials were conveyed to the site, and besides that, 9,000 car-loads of local building materials were used in a rational way so as not to overburden transport. In order to get an idea of this mass of building materials, we can visualise ten freight trains, with 40 to 50 cars each, rolling in every day for a whole year.

The cost of the construction up to the present amounts to 230 million roubles, and the rest of the construction will still require a further 200 million. Up to the present a round sum of 8,700,000 working days have been used in building the plant. With the 7-hour day this amounts to 61,000,000 working hours. Looked at from the point of view of a foreign unemployed worker, this means a year's work for 30,000 workers. One-third of the building work was done in severely cold weather.

Up to the present 25,000 trees and 11,000 bushes have been planted in the "factory courtyard," and by the end of autumn a further 8,000 trees will be planted. But the main work of the "greenery department" is to be found at the outskirts of the plant, where 100,000 trees are being planted this year in order to surround the works with a green wall of protection against dust.

The second unit of the plant, the construction of which is also already advanced and which is to be completed in about a year and a half, comprises, among other things, two immense stamping shops, a second blacksmith shop, a power house with a capacity of 65,000 kilowatts, a fourth machine shop, etc. Most of the similar plants in Europe and America do not have their own foundries, nor

their own stamping shops. The Kramatorsk plant shows unexampled unity in the process of production.

The total annual capacity of the Kramatorsk plant is as follows:

- 6 sets of blast furnace equipment.
- 30 sets of open hearth furnace equipment.
- 3 blooming mills.
- 16 rolling mills.
- 16 air compressors for blast furnaces.
- Cranes lifting 20,000 tons.
- 2,600 tons of coking oven equipment, etc.

What do these figures signify?

Kramatorsk alone can cover half of the equipment requirements of the iron and steel industry of the Soviet Union.

The Magnitogorsk iron and steel plant is the pride of the industrial construction of the Soviet Union. Magnitostroi serves as a model with which to compare anything that is immense and beautiful. Thus, for example, the aim of Soviet writers is to create a "Magnitostroi of literature," that is, a work that in beauty and completeness of technique will be similar to the Magnitogorsk plant. Now the Kramatorsk plant can every year equip an entirely new Magnitogorsk. This is perhaps the most characteristic way of showing the capacity and the magnitude of the new plant.

Together with the Ural machine plant, Kramatorsk can cover 75 per cent. of the entire equipment requirements of the Soviet iron and steel industry. If in addition to that one takes into consideration the smaller factories of this type, then the construction of Kramatorsk signifies the following: Soviet industry has essentially become completely independent of capitalist economy.

That of course does not mean an abandonment of the advantages of an international exchange of goods. But it does mean that every attempt of the imperialist bourgeoisie to use trade relations as a weapon against the Soviet Union is doomed to failure in advance. No economic blockade, no economic war can from now on seriously endanger the construction of socialism. The new plant also denotes a tremendous increase in the ability of the Soviet Union to defend itself, and with that a great strengthening of the positions of the proletariat in the international class struggle.

The following case gives a small example as to how the industrial independence of the Soviet Union is to be understood. The urgent setting up of a portal crane, with a lifting capacity of 150 tons, is required for the building of the Volga-Don Canal. The Soviet Union wanted to place an order with a foreign firm for the first of these immense cranes. But as this firm was apparently of the opinion that the new Soviet industry would be unable to manufacture such a complicated machine, it demanded the enormous sum of 200,000 gold marks for the designing alone. The Soviet Union did not want to place the order on that basis and gave the order for the crane to the new Kramatorsk plant. So we see that it is not a question of autarchy, not a question of national aloftness when we speak of the independence of Soviet industry, but a question of a very powerful position in the development of international economic relations, a powerful position, as a result of which the capitalist suppliers of the Soviet Union cannot dictate conditions.

There is still one more factor which is characteristic for the new plant. There is neither mass nor standardised production, but exclusively the individual production of hundreds of thousands of machine parts weighing from a kilogramme to three hundred tons each. The greatest difficulty which the factory has to overcome lies in supplying this complicated production with appropriately skilled workers. There are no unemployed in the Soviet Union, and still less is there a surplus of skilled workers. Consequently, there is schooling, uninterrupted training, beginning with the factory courses and ending with the technical school for machine construction which trains engineers for the new plant.

With the same enthusiasm with which the marvellous technical works at Kramatorsk were built, the workers of the plant are now mastering the new technique. And they are doing it successfully: in June they succeeded for the first time in completely fulfilling the very tense plan of production. The official opening of the plant is therefore not the beginning of work—some of the shops have already been working for a year. It does not only mean that the plant is ready for work but it also means

that its workers and engineers are ready for work and are capable of doing this work.

### III.—From the History of the Origin of the Socialist Plant

In the new large machine construction plant there is a special "editorial board for the history of the plant."

Let us just turn the pages of the "chronicle of the struggles and the victory" of the immense Kramatorsk plant, for a while. Between the first two entries there is a long period of eleven years.

December 24, 1918.—Kramatorsk is in the claws of the White bands of the Cossack General Krasnov. On the morning after an extremely cold night the Red Partisans appear from the village of Rajgorod beyond the windmill (the only building which there was at that time in the part of Kramatorsk where the immense buildings of the new plant and the hundreds of houses of the new socialist city now stand). In the shade of the windmill Velitchko, the Commander of the Partisans (a peasant from Rajgorod), gathers his troops and puts before them the question: What now? There are 79 of us and the enemy is 250 strong. The Partisans raise their weapons as a sign that they are in favour of an attack. In unevenly matched battles thirteen Partisans fell under the machine-gun fire of the enemy. But the Red Partisans did not surrender, and after a vigorous attack they beat the whites back towards the South.

Eleven years later:—

October 3, 1929.—"A meeting of 4,000 people at the same windmill. The shock brigaders of the steel works, the cement factory and the old machine factory appeared so as to lay the foundation stone of the new plant."

At that time the preparatory work proceeded more slowly than the workers had hoped it would. They soon learned the reason for this:—

November 14, 1930.—"The newspapers publish the indictment in the case of the wrecking organisation of the so-called Industrial Party. The evidence given by Professor Charnovsky that the construction of the Kramatorsk plant was to have been postponed by the wreckers for two years called forth intense indignation among the building workers. In large masses they decided to reply to the machinations of the class enemy by pledging themselves not to change their place of work until the end of the First Five-Year Plan."

The idea behind this decision must have been difficult for the workers in the capitalist countries to understand. There, it does not depend upon the workers as to how long they work at any particular place; they work as long as the employers do not throw them out on the streets. In the Soviet Union, where there is no unemployment, the workers have the possibility of choosing between various places of work and of changing their place of work at any time. Young workers, especially those who have but recently come from the villages and are not yet firmly linked up with their factory, often utilise this opportunity. But this frequent changing of jobs does a great deal of harm to production; it disorganises it and a struggle is therefore being carried on against the evil of the fluctuation of workers, through a corresponding wage policy which favours those who work for a considerable period in the same factory and through the voluntary decisions of the workers themselves.

However, not only the building workers, but also the workers of the whole town and its environs, reacted very energetically to the activity of the wreckers. They came to the aid of the building workers in numerous "subotniks" (voluntary work in the evening or on free days). In the chronicle, among other things, we find the following regarding these "subotniks":—

March 30, 1931.—"Two thousand people turned up to-day for the voluntary 'labour campaign.' During the past twenty days 11,000 workers, employees, housewives and collective farmers participated in the campaign. They did 7,000 cubic metres of excavation work, moved 10,000 tons of building materials to the building site, etc."

April 20, 1931.—"At five o'clock in the evening, after work, 1,200 Y.C.L.ers turned up for voluntary work. . . ."

July 21, 1931.—"Five hundred Red Army men arrived from the division of N. . . . They worked for two weeks on the excavation and concrete work, and showed the building workers splendid examples of comradely co-operation."

August 16, 1931.—“The workers of the Steel foundry asked for the organisation of a new campaign. . . 6,895 people took part in voluntary work in the course of the ten-day campaign.”

On September 4, 450 Red Army men came again. In October there were again campaign weeks, with 6,189 participants, and so it continued. Collective farmers came from the neighbouring districts in order to help along in building the plant and, vice versa, on July 25, 1933, for instance, 448 workers went to the collective farms, on instructions from the whole body of workers, so as to help along with the harvest for a month.

At the same time socialist competition was developing on all the building sites. As to what effect this competition had upon increasing the work done and upon the training of unskilled forces for accurate work can be seen from the following records:—

The brigade of concrete mixers, led by the Ukrainian worker Tkatchenko, made 90 mixings of about  $\frac{1}{4}$  cubic metre each with the Kaiser Concrete Machine in one shift on May 20, 1931. On May 28 the brigade of the Tartar Jevlitchajev made 130 mixings. On June 8 the same brigade made 212 mixings. Then a so-called “towing” brigade, under the leadership of the Y.C.L.er Movlov, came from Kharkov, from the tractor plant. Under its influence the work of Jevlitchajev brigade increased to 240 mixings on June 10, while Movlov’s brigade of young workers made 672 mixings, and on July 5 it made the world record of 1,166 mixings. Then all the three shifts made a total of 3,200 mixings, i.e., 800 cubic metres, on November 15.

What is recorded on **October 26, 1932**, is interesting: “Yakov, Pavlovitch, **Velitchko**, the leader of the group of Partisans composed of peasants from Rajgorod which had driven the Whites out of Kramatorsk in December, 1918, came to work at the plant. He was appointed assistant building chief of the steel foundry.”

**November 7, 1932**.—“The whistle of the new factory sounds for the first time. It calls the workers to the demonstration on the occasion of the fifteenth anniversary of the October Revolution.”

Then we find records of a different sort:—

**May 6, 1933**.—A group of well-known writers from Moscow and Kharkov, such as Vera Inber, Vsevolod Ivanov, Kirilenko, Lugovskoy and others, came to Kramatorsk in order to read from their works to the building workers and the workers of the already completed shops.

**August 5, 1934**.—The Chelyuskin heroes, Bobrov, Reschetnikov, Molokov and Pogosov, report to the workers of Krammachstroy on the Chelyuskin expedition and their rescue.

The extent to which the entire working class of the town participated in the building of their plant can be seen most strikingly in the fact that from the beginning of the construction work alone up to the fifteenth anniversary of the October Revolution (November, 1932) 80,000 voluntary working days had been given. And to-day we also see: Almost every day about three or four o’clock in the afternoon, after the first shift has ended, workers appear in the courtyard of the factory or in the town itself to do various kinds of work for which there are not sufficient workers. There is so much to be done in also bringing the old parts of the town of Kramatorsk into a condition that will be worthy of the new plant. On rest days or on the evenings of working days the workers come along and simply help voluntarily. One is reminded of how some workers in the capitalist countries who have a small garden put in their free hours in order to plant flowers or vegetables in this garden. They sacrifice their free time, their glass of beer, in order to cultivate their small gardens—perhaps that is the only thing that belongs to them. If one pictures to oneself that here it is not a question of small gardens (although the workers of Kramatorsk also have their small gardens), but of large factories, that here it is a question of such immense plants like Krammachstroy, which belongs to the working class and only to the working class, only then can one really understand the pride of possession which the Kramatorsk workers feel and their readiness to give up their leisure. One can then understand their readiness to beautify their property, to develop their property in the only country where the working class has become the possessing class.

In order to avoid misunderstandings we want to state that in the town of Kramatorsk 23,000 workers’ families, which is by far more than half of all the workers there, already have their own vegetable gardens, the land which was placed at their disposal by the proletarian State, free of charge.

## Mitshurinsk

Do you know the most interesting towns in the Soviet Union? Ten years ago it was comparatively easy to answer this question. In most cases the person addressed would have replied: “Of course I know them. I know Moscow, Leningrad, Tiflis; I know Baku, Odessa, Kiev.” And then the names of a few more towns would have followed, according to the person asked: Novgorod or Uglitsch if we were speaking to artists, Yalta and Suchum if we were speaking to enthusiasts of the Southern sun. A few more towns and the list would have been exhausted.

And anybody would have been surprised if we had followed up with the question: Do you know Koslov? Have you ever been there?

“Koslov? That tiresome and dirty little one-eyed town, where the foxes bid each other good-night? There is nothing to take me there. Koslov is a place for flour dealers and railwaymen, whose business takes them there, but for nobody else.”

I thought of this quite recent past whilst sitting in the train on the way to Koslov on September 19. But no, this is inaccurate. The train was not going to Koslov, but to Mitshurinsk, as the place is now called. We were guests invited to take part in the 60th anniversary celebrations of the scientific activities of Mitshurin.

Unending plains. No forest, no grove, nothing all around but the mown fields. We are in the middle of the fertile Black Earth District, where every rod of ground is cultivated. In the midst of the great plain there is a smart-looking, clean, medium-sized railway station with a comfortable waiting-room. An inscription, simple and impressive, gives the greeting to Mitshurin, and his motto—one which we shall find in many places later on—“We need not expect favours from Nature; we must wring her gifts from her.”

We leave the station and drive into the town. The impression of cleanliness continues. White houses, clean streets, and the autumn sun shining on the crowds which have gathered in the streets since early morning. September 20 has been declared a holiday, and the whole population of the town is out walking and looking at the visitors. Among the guests are the People’s Commissars for Agriculture, the heads of the district Party organisations and of the Soviet authorities, academicians, journalists, Mitshurin’s followers old and young, peasants and pioneers, come from far and near to attend these celebrations. An old American, the 70-year-old Professor Hansen, welcomes us, and says: “I am very pleased that on my seventh visit to the Soviet Union I am able to attend these festivities.”

We put endless questions: “What is that beautiful building?”—“The Mitshurin Institute.” “What is the old monastery being used for?”—“That is the Mitshurin Exhibition.” “Where does this road lead to?”—“To the Mitshurin orchard.” “Where do all these trees come from, giving the whole town such a pleasant framework?”—“Mitshurin’s town has to be made green and pleasant!”

The window of the bookshop is full of books. Academic editions of Mitshurin’s works in the magnificent binding of the state publishing office, then a popular pamphlet: “How should a Mitshurin fruit-growers’ circle work?” Biographies of Mitshurin and the like fill the whole window. The town does not bear this name for nothing.

But who is Mitshurin? Who is this octogenarian, whose clever and austere face looks out at us from that window? His life is one characteristic of our history. The son of a railwayman, himself a railwayman, he has spent his whole life in Koslov, his native town. Long before the revolution he commenced to take an interest in fruit-growing. A small piece of ground which he contrived to buy with his savings was devoted to the growing of fruit trees. He has given 60 years of scientific work to the problems of fruit-growing.

The tsarist government showed no understanding for the modest scientist. And up to his 63rd year he was faced with the constant danger of having his life’s work destroyed. He had set himself the life task of transplanting fruit trees to the North, that the broad masses of the people might have fruit even in the Northern regions. The ruling class took little interest in this problem. Mitshurin endeavoured to produce new varieties of fruit trees by crossing the Southern plants with the most Northern representatives of their kind. He crossed a wild Siberian apricot, growing in the mountains at the altitude of Edelweiss, with the large-fruited apricot of the South, and obtained a hybrid which could stand the cold. By means of these crossing methods he

succeeded in growing grapes out of doors in Mithshurinsk, where the temperature runs down to 35 degrees of frost in winter. Mithshurin's vines can stand these winters.

Mithshurin's theory was thus brilliantly proved, but he met with violent resistance from the Church. (What God hath put asunder let no man join.)

The tsarist ministry of agriculture took no notice whatever of Mithshurin. The rich had their fruits from the Crimea, and that sufficed. The United States recognised Mithshurin's value, however, and before the revolution he had already received an invitation to go and settle in America. He refused, however, and worked in loneliness and disappointment until the time of the revolution. Though already 68 years of age, Mithshurin grasped that a new world had risen. He went at once to the village Soviet and placed himself at its disposal.

But the young Soviet republic had no time for fruit-growing during the first years of its existence.

But after the civil war was ended, Lenin sent a telegram to Koslov in 1921, stressing the importance of the new plants. Comrade Kalinin came personally to Koslov, and the town became the centre of scientific fruit-growing. The Soviet government placed every required equipment at the disposal of the aged scientist. He needed nothing for himself personally, he remained in his little wooden house, his way of living remains as simple as ever, his days and nights are devoted to his work.

His dream is being fulfilled. He himself, in a speech to the fruit and vegetable growers, stated:—

"The magnificent successes of socialist construction have enabled the workers of our country to put into actual practice the slogan issued by Comrade Stalin with regard to prosperous and cultural lives.

"Daily and hourly I receive proofs, in the visits and letters from workers from the works and factories, the mines and the railways, that the urge for culture finds expression not only in the desire for a good book, good clothes, wholesome and ample food, but in the love of flowers, and of flower and fruit gardens."

"The workers decorate the socialist towns which they have created, giving them parks, flower-beds reproducing the pictures of the great leaders and builders-up of socialism, artistically created from the most carefully selected plants and flowers. The collective peasants lay out enormous collective gardens, orchards, with bee-hives, and bring flowers into our houses."

"Five years more and the towns and villages now exposed to the burning rays of the sun will be interspersed with parks, flower-beds, and gardens. All this will render the climate milder, purify the air, fill it with the song of birds, and will teach the great masses of the people to recognise that the plant is the friend of man."

In Mithshurin's garden there are many wonders to be seen: Techa raspberries, with berries seven centimetres long and four centimetres wide. Mithshurin has cultivated a number of bushes capable of supporting the protective snow covering. There is, for instance, a low cherry tree, with widely ramified branches, holding the snow excellently, and at the same time extremely fruitful. The experimental garden in which Mithshurin works is six hectares in area. This is the pivot on which everything turns. Who are the workers in these many-sided scientific undertakings? The revolution has given Mithshurin a great following of disciples and students. The students have to carry out the most complicated scientific work, and at the same time the simplest household work. Every day peasants and workers arrive from all parts of the Soviet Union. Everyone is received. Everyone is furnished with the plants he requires. They return to their homes, plant Mithshurin's fruit trees. In the Soviet Union there are already 22 experimental stations, each of which gathers around it further smaller fruit-growing enterprises. These continue the work. These scientific institutions are all in closest contact with foreign countries. In Mithshurinsk there is a special office maintaining contact with abroad. This office corresponds with 236 experts in 21 different countries! The man at the head of this office is an Austrian, a fruit-grower, Comrade Mildner, who came to Mithshurinsk as a wanderer, without party, came under the magic spell of the vast revolutionary changes and remained here. He had a difficult time at first. There was no proper accommodation, food was poor and scanty. His wife and child found it difficult to

accustom themselves to the severe winter. Now, after three years, he proudly shows us his three-roomed dwelling, his collective vegetable garden, his allotment garden; he is freed from all daily cares, and devotes himself with eager enthusiasm to his scientific work.

According to the second Five-Year Plan, three and a half million hectares are to be planted with fruit trees. Without the new varieties created by Mithshurin this would be impossible, for there is not so much fallow land in the South. But now millions of hectares of Northern land too can be used for fruit-growing. These millions of hectares will supply us—and above all our children—with fruit. Our children, the new generation, are the greatest adherents of the new fruit cultivation.

The school-children of the villages of Argamakov in the Central Volga district, of the village of Darreyevichi in the Starodubsk district, the children of the numerous villages of the Autonomous Chuvash district, of North Caucasia, of the Ukraine, of distant Siberia, are organising circles in which they study the achievements of the model gardens of Mithshurinsk. They plant experimental gardens of their own, carry on correspondence with Mithshurin, and undertake excursions to him, though in many cases they have to travel thousands of kilometres. This new generation, devoting itself to fruit-growing in order to make life pleasanter and healthier, shows that every scientific discovery meets with a great response in the land of socialism. The future of science is secure only under socialism.

Our stay in Mithshurinsk has brought us further proof of this.

## The Week in the Soviet Union

### The Grain Delivery Campaign

Up to October 5 thirteen Republics and regions had concluded their grain deliveries according to plan and fulfilled their obligations towards the State. Thousands of collective farms and whole regions were able to place grain on the collective farm market after having delivered their quota of grain to the State and put aside grain for sowing and reserve fund purposes. These successes of the leading districts are a stimulus and example to the more backward districts like Western Siberia, Eastern Siberia, the Cheljabinsk district.

In regard to the Cheljabinsk district, the Council of People's Commissars and the C.C. of the Communist Party adopted a special decision calling upon the responsible organs to organise work better in this district. If the backward districts follow the tempo of the leading districts, the grain deliveries will be concluded throughout the whole of the Soviet Union in the shortest possible time.

### Directives for the Soviet Elections

The Soviet press published on October 5 the directives for the Soviet elections of the R.S.F.S.R. Of particular interest are the clauses fixing the constituencies and on the election commissions. The directives provide the broadest representation of the trade unions and of the working men and women, of the collective peasants and peasant women, as well as of the national minorities in the election commissions, which are conducting the whole election campaign, beginning with the central commission right down to the district and village commissions. In accordance with the Constitution of the R.S.F.S.R., all citizens have the franchise who earn their living by productive or social useful work, as well as all those who are engaged in domestic work, who thereby enable other persons to perform productive work, further the members of the Red Army and the Red Navy, as well as all persons coming under the above categories who have lost their capacity to work. Persons who are not subjects of the F.S.F.S.R., citizens from other Soviet Republics and foreigners who are working in the R.S.F.S.R., also have the right to vote and stand for election, as also all peasants who do not employ wage labour. The franchise is granted from the age of 18. Already at the last elections foreign workers were elected as Soviet delegates in Moscow and Leningrad and other towns of the R.S.F.S.R. and other Soviet Republics.

### Development of the Production of Electricity for Heating Purposes

In addition to the progressive electrification of transport and the development of the electricity supply to the factories, the output of electricity for heating dwelling houses is increasing. During the year 1932, 20.4 million roubles were invested in electric power works for heating purposes in Moscow alone.

Great progress has been made in this sphere in Leningrad. Ten years ago, when an electric heating system was set up for the first time, the length of the cables was 180 metres and the



electric energy supplied was 65 million calories. The length of the cables has increased to 70 kilometres and the supply of energy to 450 million calories. The development of the system of electric heating is considered a necessary precondition for the transformation of Leningrad into a model socialist town.

#### New Technical Progress in Agriculture

Machines are more and more replacing heavy manual work in the fields. New machinery has been introduced for the harvesting of economic plants. In Asov-Schwarzmeergau combines for the harvesting of sunflower seed were employed this year for the first time. The saving of labour effected is very great. Hitherto about sixteen workers were necessary in order to gather in and beat the sunflower seeds on one hectare in one day. With the help of the combine three workers can gather the crop from fourteen hectares in one day. On the collective farms of the machine and tractor station Mikigskaja 400 hectares of sunflower seeds were harvested with the help of five combines. On an average a machine will harvest fourteen hectares a day.

#### International Children's Week in the Soviet Union

International Children's Week was held in the Soviet Union from October 1 to 8. During this time many new children's clubs were opened and sport and games organised. Children's Week was celebrated in the spirit of international education, making the children and their parents acquainted with the life of the children in the capitalist countries. During Children's Week closer connections were established with the pioneer organisations of the numerous peoples of the Soviet Union. An International Children's Festival was held in Moscow on October 6.

#### The Achievements of the Technicians in the Oil Industry

The competition which the engineers and technicians of the oil industry in Azerbaijan have engaged in has led to excellent results. The first place in the competition was won by the engineers and technicians of the oil refinery works in the Shauman district by increasing their qualification and mastering the technique of production. In the period of four months during which the competition lasted, no less than fifty valuable inventions and rationalisation proposals were carried out in the refinery works of the district, resulting in a saving of a million roubles a year.

#### A Model Provision Stores in Moscow

A model provision stores, "Gastronom No. 1," was opened on October 4 in the building formerly occupied by the Yelisseyev Stores, which before the revolution was a high-class grocery stores patronised by the rich in Moscow. In the first two hours after it was opened 3,500 persons visited the stores. The working people of Moscow were delighted with the quantity and the quality of the best goods: sausages (28 varieties), cheese (28 different sorts), fish, dried fruit, pastry, confectionery and fruit, all indicating the increasing prosperity and wealth of the country.

Three hundred and fifty assistants are employed in "Gastronom No. 1." Prices are considerably lower compared with last year. Fruit is half the price it was last year. By the end of the year there will be thirty similar shops in Moscow. These are results of the Second Five-Year Plan.

## Proletarian Women's Movement

### The Toiling Women Under the Yoke of Japanese Imperialism

By Etienne Constant (Paris)

The provocative policy of Japanese imperialism towards the Soviet Union is encountering increasing resistance on the part of the exploited toiling population. The women constitute the majority of the workers toiling in the industrial hells of Japan. This fact is even admitted by the Ministry for Trade and Industry, which in its official statistics reveals the outstanding role of women's labour in Japan.

Of the 67,318 factories in Japan 31.6 per cent. are textile factories. Of the 881,459 textile workers 81.7 per cent. are women. The total number of workers engaged in industry in Japan is 1,735,511, of whom 848,307 are men and 887,204 women. Japan is the only country in which the number of the working women exceeds that of the men.

The working men and women are exploited in the Japanese industry from their early youth. Of the 881,459 textile workers

140,471 are under 16 years of age. The number of children exploited as workers in Japan is still greater.

The working women are recruited mainly from the rural districts. Their parents sell them to the recruiting agents of cheap labour forces in order to pay their debts. These poor girls, owing to the dire poverty of their parents, have to toil eleven hours a day for two years until they have paid off the sum advanced to their parents, and only then do they receive a miserable wage.

If the working woman is very skilful she gets a daily wage of 75 sen. But as she has to live at her work-place, the larger portion of her wage goes on her upkeep. She has to pay 5 sen for breakfast, 9 sen for lunch, 8 sen for dinner, 11 sen for her lodgings, so that only 42 sen are left her, from which 4 sen are deducted for medical care and medicines. Thus in reality the wages of the most skilful working woman never exceed 38 sen.

The working woman of Japan lives like a prisoner in a state of perfect isolation. She is not allowed to leave her work place under any pretext whatever. If she ventures to escape from her prison she is caught by the police and brought back to the factory. The conditions under which she has to work are appalling, twelve and even seventeen working women have to live in a room of ten metres square. The rooms are dirty and when the working women leave them in the morning they go to the factories which are dark buildings full of dust and dirt. There exist no ventilation or safety devices against accidents. Tuberculosis is prevalent among the working women of Japan. Cases of women fainting, being seriously ill or dying at their machines occur daily in these murderous workshops.

The Japanese imperialists realise that they need the support of the women in their robber-war in China. For this reason the women are being pressed into patriotic organisations. The Patriotic Women's League has 1½ million members, the Japanese Young Women's League 1,600,000 members. The military organisations are being developed. The Women's League for the Defence of the Fatherland has 1,400 branches with 500,000 members, among them 140,000 working women. The working women are pressed into these organisations and the police authorities supervise their activities. The peasant women are forced to give to the collections for the defence of the fatherland. According to a government decree the working women and school girls must undergo compulsory military training and learn to shoot. The women even take part in the military manoeuvres.

Of course, all these organisations are led by reactionary women. Thus, the Congress of the Women's League for the Defence of the Fatherland, which took place on April 10, was conducted by the wife of General Araki and the wives of other high officers of the General Staff.

But the working and peasant women are realising that they are to be made into obedient tools of Japanese imperialism for the carrying out of its sinister designs, and therefore they are courageously participating in the struggle against war and the Japanese imperialists.

In the hosiery factory in **Onitabi** 200 young girls who had refused to contribute their share to the war fund were arrested. In the village of **Karaschini** the peasant women likewise refused to contribute anything to this fund. In a military hospital the women conducted anti-war propaganda among the soldiers.

In **Tokyo**, in the **Kogo** district, 3,000 persons, most of them women, demonstrated against the war. In another district 1,500 persons, also mostly women, likewise demonstrated against the war. A woman teacher was arrested on account of her anti-militarist propaganda among the Manchu soldiers.

The reactionary cliques and parties of Japan, which are preparing for war against the Soviet Union, the country of the emancipated women, must realise that the toiling women of the whole world will offer resistance to their criminal plans. In the first place they will encounter the resistance of the working women of Japan.

#### Workers' District of Prague for Thaelmann

Prague, October 6....

In the course of the collection of signatures for Thaelmann, 900 signatures were collected in one day in the Prague workers' quarter of **Zizkov** for the release of Thaelmann.

## Obituary

### Franz Welti

Comrade Franz Welti, one of the founders and for many years the chairman of the C.P. of Switzerland, died on September 30 in Basle in his 55th year. He suffered from ill-health for many years, but nevertheless kept to his post and conscientiously fulfilled his duty. Three months ago his illness compelled him to take to his bed, from which he never got up.

Comrade Welti was known and appreciated far beyond the confines of the Communist Party of Switzerland. As a young bourgeois radical, he took to the law with the firm decision to serve humanity as a judge. When, however, he realised that as a judge he could only serve capital, he abandoned his office and dignities, became a practising lawyer and joined the Labour Movement.

He soon occupied a leading position in the Labour Movement. During the years of the war he found his way to Communism. The victory of the October revolution had a great and permanent effect upon him. From that moment he became a staunch supporter of the Bolsheviks and the Soviet Union.

Two facts in the life of Comrade Welti deserve special mention. First, the leading role played by him in the nation-wide **General Strike in 1918**, and also in the **General Strike in Basle in 1919**. Among the leaders of the Swiss social democracy he was one of the few who wanted to give to the General Strike in 1918 a clear **revolutionary** character. These struggles, under the leadership of Comrade Welti, brought about a profound radicalisation of the Basle working class. The workers of Basle, the majority of whom could be described up to then as petty bourgeois, stood suddenly at the head of the revolutionary extra-parliamentary fight against the class enemy.

Having firm confidence in the working class, Comrade Welti fought for the affiliation of the Swiss social democracy to the Communist International. His speeches at the two Swiss Party congresses, when the question of affiliation to the Comintern came up for discussion, were masterpieces of the revolutionary fighter. He did not, however, content himself with speeches at Party congresses, but organised the Left-wing. When the great majority of the social-democratic party in Basle decided for the Communist International, this was in a large measure due to the fact that Welti was able to convince the workers of the correctness of the revolutionary policy.

Comrade Welti acted as workers' counsel in a great number of political trials. We mention the trial in connection with the **General Strike**, the trial in which he acted as counsel for the **widow of the Soviet Ambassador, Worovsky**, who was assassinated by the White Guardist, Conradi. The class court which acquitted this vile murderer had Comrade Welti removed from the court by the police on account of his courageous denunciation of class justice. When he was already seized with illness, which was to result in his death, he defended the **twelve accused soldiers** in Zurich in the most brilliant manner.

For 23 years he was representative of the working class in the Federal Council; for seven years he represented the Communist Party in the National Council.

Comrade Welti was an internationalist not only in words but in deeds. This is expressed in the work he performed for the international movement. He took part in several congresses of the International, where he performed active work in the Commissions and fought side by side with the Bolsheviks for the correct line.

### LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE BANS THAELMANN SUPPORT London, October 9.

After having promised under pressure that the Furnishing Trades Union would be given an opportunity to move an emergency resolution demanding the release of Thaelmann at the Labour Party Congress in Southport, the Congress managed to sidetrack the issue. At the last minute, Gossip, Secretary of the Furnishers, was told that the matter could not be taken as a separate resolution, but he should introduce it in the general debate on fascism.

Gossip made repeated efforts to speak on this issue, but on each occasion the Chairman managed to evade his eye and he was never called upon. Consequently the question of Thaelmann was never raised.

## Book Reviews

### Foreign Trade in the U.S.S.R.\*

By Jack Cohen (London)

This little book by Comrade Yanson, former Chairman of Arcos, is no abstract collation of facts and figures, charts and tables, although these have their place, of course, in his exposition. "Foreign Trade in the U.S.S.R." is a clear, systematic, and above all *live* account of the growth and development of Soviet foreign trade, as a complementary to the growth and development of Socialist construction in the U.S.S.R.

This being the case—foreign trade being part and parcel of Socialist construction—we are brought face to face in this book with the struggle between the two world systems, the unceasing hatred of the capitalist world against Soviet Russia, the repeated efforts to strike blows at the Soviet Union through attacks on its trade after military intervention had been temporarily abandoned. Soviet foreign trade is thus a kind of mirror reflecting on the one hand the persistent anti-Soviet activities of the capitalist countries, and on the other the tempestuous growth of the Socialist industry and construction.

Comrade Yanson's book, by its scientific exposition of the aims, principles and tasks of Soviet foreign trade, effectively exposes the real factors behind all the anti-Soviet campaigns, trade boycotts, embargoes, etc. He shows that in no case can Soviet imports be regarded as menacing home production, that the Soviet Union sells to other countries articles which are, in the main, not produced by home industry, and that quality and price are of the utmost advantage to home buyers. Nevertheless, a handful of monopolists, actuated by motives of deepest political hatred, have not shrunk from jeopardising the interests of manufacturers, business men and, most important of all, thousands of workers who might find employment on Soviet orders.

Boycotts against Soviet trade only harm the trade of the country engaging in such a course. Comrade Yanson makes this point clear when he analyses the root difference between Soviet foreign trade and that conducted by capitalist countries. Foreign trade for the latter is based on the export of goods *which cannot be sold* in the home country, no matter what the real need of the masses may be. They represent profit-making aims, and serve to promote imperialist expansion. For the Soviet Union, which has never, and will never, pursue imperialist designs, foreign trade serves a completely opposite purpose—that of building up home industry on a Socialist basis, serving the needs of the continuously rising standard of living which this brings in its train, freeing Soviet Russia from political and economic dependence on capitalist countries.

As Comrade Stalin says:—

"Our economy must be developed not as an auxiliary undertaking of world capitalism, but as an independent economic unit *based chiefly on the home market*, on the union of our industry with the peasant economy of our country." (My italics.—J. C.)

This home market represents the greatest market in the world, and boycotts and embargoes on the part of one country merely serve to destroy for it any share in this market.

Comrade Stalin's definition gives the key to the distinctive features of Soviet foreign trade—i.e., foreign trade which serves the end of building Socialism in the Soviet Union. These are, firstly, the regulation and planning of foreign trade centred in the State monopoly of foreign trade, without which there would have been, as Comrade Yanson says, "a pillage of the resources of Soviet Russia." The State monopoly is one of the corner stones of Soviet economy. Its operation has made possible the colossal industrialisation of the country, has prevented economic and political subjugation of Russia. The second feature is the development of Soviet exports to cover Soviet imports. These imports, which have grown to a colossal extent under the two Five-Year Plans, must be paid for, and the Soviet Union, "the safest debtor in the world," seeks to continue its well-known practice of the most punctual payment of all obligations, by assuring sales of its own goods to balance those bought by it.

The gigantic development of the Soviet Union, the changes wrought in the standard of living of the masses, and the domi-

\* "Foreign Trade in the U.S.S.R." By J. D. Yanson. Vol. VIII. in the New Soviet Library. Price 3s. 6d. Victor Gollancz.

nating importance now assumed by the Soviet Union as a market for products of heavy industry—all these are illustrated by Comrade Yanson in some revealing tables.

Under Tsarism, two-thirds of the goods exported were agricultural products. Forty per cent. of the entire export was grain. The value of eggs and butter exported amounted to 140 million roubles a year. This in spite of the notorious decline in the standard of life of the Russian masses, the frequent famines, etc. Its imports were one-fifth raw materials for light industry, one-fifth machinery and equipment, and three-fifths finished articles and goods of consumption. On the basis of the starvation of the masses at home, on the basis of economic, financial and political subserviency to the "Great Powers," the Tsarist government procured a "favourable" balance of trade, which was devoted, not to the advancement of the country, but to paying off interest on loans, financing the enormous apparatus of Tsarist oppression, etc.

There is a different picture under the Soviet government in the period of the first Five-Year Plan. Whereas agricultural exports in the years 1909-1913 amounted to 70.6 per cent. of the entire exports, they were only 39.4 per cent. of the total export in the period 1929-32. Similarly, industrial exports in the pre-war period which has been taken, amounted to only 29.4 per cent. of the total. In the period of the first Five-Year Plan they had risen to 60.6 per cent.

The existence of the Soviet Union has become of cardinal importance for industries in capitalist countries. *Snowden* was compelled to admit that the British engineering industry was occupied (in the time of the second Labour government) 80 per cent. with Soviet orders. In 1931 86.3 per cent. of the total British exports of bismuth, 82.1 per cent. of exports of machine tools, 78.4 per cent. of steam and water engines, 84.4 per cent. of boring instruments, 54.3 per cent. of air compressors, 70.4 per cent. of tractors and parts, 83.8 per cent. of internal combustion engines went to the Soviet Union.

There are still unbounded possibilities for trade with the Soviet Union. *Stalin* can say to the American correspondent *Durrant*: "We are ready to place orders worth 1,000 million dollars. We are the biggest market in the world." But the policy of the capitalist governments, particularly the National government of Britain, is the hindering factor. Comrade Yanson devotes a considerable part of his book to tracing the history of the trade relations of the Soviet Union with Britain and other countries. The same story is everywhere repeated—first blockade, then trade, accompanied by difficulties, credit obstacles, anti-Soviet campaigns, raids on Soviet institutions and the like. The Five-Year Plans do not mean that Russia ceases importing goods; on the contrary, Comrade Yanson shows that increased industrial development will mean an increase in the import of certain classes of goods. Fair credit arrangements, normal business relations would mean an unbounded leap forward in British trade with the Soviet Union.

A survey of the Soviet trade laws, and of Soviet chartering of foreign shipping for its increasing and world-wide trade, concludes this most valuable and informative book. This book is a veritable arsenal of facts and data for all Friends of the Soviet Union, and all workers who desire to fight against the bitter anti-Soviet policy of the National government, which is hindering and restricting trade between this country and the U.S.S.R.

### Victories of Chinese Red Army

Peiping, October 8.

A number of sources of information confirm the fact that 10,000 men of the Chinese Red Army, advancing across the provinces of Hunan and Kwaichow, have defeated the 3rd and 4th divisions of the government troops, advanced into the province of Szechuan, and have now occupied the entrances to the great city of Chungking in the South-East of Szechuan. The Nanking troops are retreating all along the line. That Chungking has been occupied by the Red troops is extremely possible, for the whole staff of the German Consulate, as also many representatives of foreign firms, and members of the rich population of the city, have arrived in Hankow. According to the latest reports, the Red troops marching into the province of Szechuan have joined the divisions of the Red Army already operating there, and are continuing the offensive under Holun's command.

## Health Protection in the U.S.S.R.\*

By Jack Cohen

With the ravages of preventable disease in all capitalist countries fresh in our minds we can turn to Comrade Semashko's book and become acquainted with one of the most magnificent accomplishments of Socialist construction in the U.S.S.R.—the development of the Socialist Health Services.

Comrade Semashko, Commissar of Public Health for twelve years, now Editor-in-Chief of the Soviet Medical Encyclopædia, gives in this book, not merely a fascinating history of the whole course of this vast experiment, but a detailed account of the workings of the whole Medical System and Public Health Service in the U.S.S.R., in all its ramifications.

In the sphere of Public Health, as in all other spheres, the Soviet Government inherited from the Tsarist Government a terrible legacy. Disease, bred from the foul insanitary conditions in town and village and the low cultural and material level of the broad masses, was rampant. There was an entire absence of any medical service whatsoever in many large territories. Hence the fearful prevalence of epidemics—and the real cause of the "počk-marked Russian" of popular fiction. Comrade Semashko quotes figures relating to the situation in the sphere of health in Tsarist days. In 1914 23 million people were registered as patients, including nearly 12 million cases of typhoid, tuberculosis and syphilis—entire villages being infected with this last disease. Child mortality reached the appalling figure of 260 per thousand, the general mortality rate reached the exceptionally high figure of 30 per thousand. The war, with its hunger and starvation, its colossal losses for Russia, the general breakdown of all medical and other services, intensified this terrible situation. It was in this unpromising situation that the Soviet Power set to work to build up a Socialist Medical Service.

Comrade Semashko describes vividly how not only this initial chaos was tackled and conquered, but the super-added difficulties of the opposition and sabotage of the medical profession, the enormous problems raised by the famine and blockade (in which the British Government played such a dastardly part), the elementary lack of medical supplies, etc., were solved. Order gradually emerged from the chaos. Leading members of the medical profession were won over, beginnings were made with sanitary education, an economical and rational system of medical supplies was organised, and the basic features of Socialist Health Service began to be developed.

An interesting section of the book describes the basic principles of the Soviet Health Service. In contrast to Britain, where health services for the masses are not only inadequate, but dependent on private charity—the organisation of prophylactic (preventative) and medical treatment is regarded as one of the basic duties of the Soviet State. A health department exists in every organisation of the State from the central Soviet Government down to each Soviet. These departments have entire charge of medical care, anti-epidemic measures, inspection of food, housing and utility services, maternity and child welfare, health resorts, etc., etc., within the orbit of their own particular sphere of activity. All the local health departments are linked with and directed by the Central People's Commissariat of Health, unity in the entire health services being the distinguishing feature of Soviet health organisation.

A further important feature of Soviet health is the mobilisation of the masses themselves for the fight against disease. Plans

\* Health Protection in the U.S.S.R., by Semashko. No. 2. The New Soviet Library. Gollancz. 3s. 6d.

for health service are discussed in factory meetings, decided on and transferred to the local Soviet, and then embodied in the general health plan. This point is very important. The struggle for health is no mere haphazard attempt to give superficial treatment while leaving fundamental social causes untouched. On the contrary, the health services are a basic part of the general plan for the industrial and cultural advancement of the country. The incidence of disease is studied. Statistics for each area are carefully tabulated, and in the same precise way as the construction of so many new industrial giants can be planned and carried into effect, so the planned elimination of disease is tackled. By means of yearly and five-year plans, the restriction and elimination of disease, the raising of the health level is planned. Based on careful study of natural and social conditions, plans are worked out for the establishment of hospitals, sanatoria, clinics, etc., the extension of sanitary inspection, etc., etc.

The question, "Where does the money come from?" receives detailed attention. No pestiferous flag days, no nauseating appeals to charity are necessary for the maintenance of the Soviet Health Service. The chief source of revenue for the health services are the grants from the Budgets of the Local Soviets, State medical institutions and services receiving grants from the State itself. The Social Insurance Fund also bears a large portion of the financial cost of the health services.

A particularly instructive part of the book deals with the social efforts to raise the standard of health. Sport is regarded as being of the utmost importance in this connection. Not sport as we have it here, with the majority of people as spectators, but mass sport consciously aiming at improving the health of the masses and facilities for which are developed on a gigantic scale. At the end of the first Five-Year Plan there were no less than six million physical culturists in the country.

The question of maternity treatment and the protection of children has, from the very commencement, received special and tireless attention in the Soviet Union. The unique treatment afforded to expectant mothers is well known and is unequalled in any other country. Six weeks leave before and after childbirth, with pay is the right of every woman. Special "Consultation Beaufeaux" in relation to maternity exist; every effort is made to see that every child is born under conditions of the best medical attention. The creches for children whose mothers are working in the factories are well known. There are now no less than 4½ million of such creches throughout the length and breadth of the U.S.S.R.

What is the result of all these measures? The figures of the achievements of Soviet Medicine and the Health Services speak more eloquently than any verbal or written description. The social diseases have been enormously reduced. Venereal disease has decreased from 114.7 cases per 10,000 in 1914, to 45.2 per 10,000. Infantile mortality shows a continuous downward trend; the average mortality has declined from 28.5 per thousand to 19.8 per 1,000, taking the periods of 1911-13 and 1926-29 as comparison. During the first 5-Year Plan occupational diseases in the major industries decreased from 10.9 to 2.9 per 1,000 workers. In general, disease decreased by 16 per cent. and children's ailments by 22 per cent.

This book is of tremendous value. One could only wish it were possible to place a copy in the hands of every working woman in the industrial centres of this country. It would be a magnificent illustration of what Soviet Power means from the standpoint of a question always near to them—the health of themselves and their families.

## Proletarian versus Bourgeois Democracy\*

By Robert Julien Kenton (New York)

Seventeen years ago the international proletariat scored a great victory over world capitalism—the setting up of a proletarian dictatorship by the Russian workers and peasants under the leadership of the Bolsheviks.

It is seventeen years since world capitalism began spreading the legend of democracy versus dictatorship; the legend that proletarian dictatorship means the dictatorship of a party over the masses of people; the legend that "democracy" means freedom and equality for all, irrespective of one's economic status.

We know that this "democracy" is bourgeois democracy; a device which the ruling class uses to hoodwink the masses while they are being exploited. This device is useful to the capitalists in "normal" times; the workers have the illusion that they control the policies of the government while the rulers have the reality of power.

Capitalism is now in a state of decline, in a state where a portion of world capitalism is already dead. Crises to-day do not result in new periods of greater prosperity, of growth; they spell the death of a system. Capitalism in its desperate strivings to maintain its exploitation throws off more and more the mask of capitalist democracy. Germany, Italy, Bulgaria and others have completed the process. Fascist terror, the open dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is evident. Other capitalist nations are travelling the same road, are trying to set up fascist governments.

The United States is using the N.R.A. as its "open road." When the N.R.A. was enacted last year it was hailed by the Socialist Party and leading liberals as a "revolution," as a "new era," as a "new kind of new civilisation," as a step towards socialism. Only the Communist Party correctly appraised it as a significant move toward fascism. One year later this appraisal is being accepted by wide masses of the population. No less a personage than W. O. Thompson, of the National Recovery Review Board (the so-called Darrow Board), an agency created to lull the petty-bourgeoisie into believing that the government was behind their struggle against finance capital, has characterised the N.R.A. as a fascist move on the part of the government. (The Darrow Board was subsequently dissolved for its sharp criticism of N.R.A.'s encouragement of monopoly.) Thompson's statement is reprinted in full in the pamphlet *The N.R.A. From Within*. It contains also an analysis of the National Labour Board, by Mary Van Kleck, noted social worker, who also notes the fascist tendencies of N.R.A. A clear Marxian analysis of the N.R.A., by Comrade Browder, secretary of the Communist Party, completes the booklet.

In her pamphlet, *Dictatorship and Democracy in the Soviet Union*, Anna Louise Strong, noted author and journalist, shows simply, very clearly, the workings of the government and the party. This pamphlet is a brilliant refutation of the lies about the Soviet Union. She relates instances from her years of experience in all parts of the Soviet Union, showing the working class governing itself, making decisions. She explains the role of the Communist Party. She answers the questions so often raised, including: "Is Stalin the boss of the Soviet Union?" explaining by concrete illustrations the precise position and part played by Comrade Stalin.

Both of these pamphlets were prepared under the direction of Labour Research Association. They contain the kind of hard, factual propaganda material that should be especially effective in reaching and persuading tens of thousands of workers who are just beginning to be disillusioned by the N.R.A., who are hearing for the first time about the tremendous accomplishments of the Soviet Union.

\* *Dictatorship and Democracy in the Soviet Union*, by Anna Louise Strong. International Pamphlets, New York City, No. 40, 5c.

*N.R.A. From Within*, by Mary Van Kleck, W. O. Thompson and Earl Browder. International Pamphlets, New York City, No. 41, 5c.

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