

INTERNATIONAL PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 14 No. 59

24th November, 1934

CONTENTS

Politics	
Foreign-Political Review of the Week	1570
Sean Murray: Growing Mass Movement in Ireland .. .	1571
E. P. Greene: Shaky Position of the Mendieta Government in Cuba	1572
Germany	
Goerdeler To Save Hitler From Economic Catastrophe .. .	1572
Richter: People's Front in the Saar	1574
Open Letter of the C.C. of the C.P. of Germany .. .	1575
United States	
The Result of the Elections in U.S.A.	1577
A. G. Bosse: Unemployed Struggles in the U.S.A. .. .	1577
A. G. B.: An Official Negro Lynching	1577
Spain	
A Report on the Course of the Revolutionary Movement in Catalonia	1579
Fight Against Imperialist War	
C. U.: The Anti-War Demonstrations on Armistice Day .. .	1580
Herbert: War Preparations in Austria	1581
Fight For the Unity of the Labour Movement	
G. Dimitrov: The Struggle for the United Front .. .	1582
Harry Pollitt: United Front in Support of the Spanish Toilers	1584
R. Bishop: The United Front in Britain	1585
Letter of the Labour and Socialist International to Cachin and Thorez	1587
Fight Against Fascism	
Estella: The Struggle of the Italian Workers in the Fascist Trade Unions	1588
Proletarian Youth Movement	
Walter: A Change in the Mass Work of the Y.C.L. of Germany	1589
T. Harvey: I.L.P. Youth and the Y.C.I.	1590
Resolution of the C.C. of the C.P.G. on Some Urgent Ques- tions of the Toiling Youth	1591
The White Terror	
P. M.: The Fight for the Right of Asylum	1592
Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union	
O. Saslavsky: Marriage and Family in the Land of the Soviets	1593
L. F. Boross: Letters from the Soviet Ukraine .. .	1594
The Week in the Soviet Union	1595

Now for a Real United Front!

By Bela Kun

The Second International has made its decision regarding the Communist International's united front offer. The Executive Committee of the Communist International, on October 10, had proposed to the Labour and Socialist International and to the workers of all countries, "to organise immediate joint action in support of the fighting Spanish proletariat, and also of the fight against support of the Lerrox Government by other capitalist countries."

The heroic workers of Asturias are still armed in order to defend their bare lives against the troops of the monarchist-fascist counter-revolution. The revolutionary fight is continually flaring up again in various parts of Spain. The monarchist-fascist counter-revolution is still murdering thousands of the best sons of the working people. Every day of fascist terror demands fresh victims. The Portuguese government is handing revolutionary fighters over to the Spanish hangmen. Spanish revolutionaries—social democrats and Communists—have to hide themselves like hunted wild animals from the police in the capitalist countries, whose governments received the dethroned King Alfonso with open arms.

After four days' negotiations the leadership of the Second International, on November 17, gave its answer to this urgent appeal for the establishment of international unity of action.

From this decision we can only conclude that the Second International rejects the international united front in support of the Spanish proletariat.

Our first word on this rejection is:—

"Now for a real united front on a national and international scale for support of the heroic Spanish workers."

In its decision regarding the offer of the Comintern, the Executive of the Second International removed the ban of March

18, 1933, in which it forbade its sections any unity of action with Communist Parties against the Fascist Hitler Government in German. The Executive thus abolished a decision which had been abolished months before through the fighting united front of Communist and social-democratic workers, and even of Communist and social-democratic parties and organisations.

The ban could no longer bar the way to the united front already taken by a number of social-democratic parties. It was removed in order to sanction the rejection of the united front by a number of other social-democratic parties.

The second thing we have to say to this decision is that the removal of the united front ban for social-democratic parties is undoubtedly a victory for the fighting united front of the jointly fighting Communist and social-democratic workers, and in this light it is a step forward on the path of the struggle for unity of action, which was what the Comintern proposed, and which the leaders of the Second International tried to hinder.

The pretext under which unity of action was sabotaged by the social-democratic party leaderships, namely, the ban on united front agreements on a national scale until an agreement had been arrived at between the Second and Communist Internationals, has thereby been done away with.

During the Paris negotiations the whole depth and acuteness of the crisis in the Second International was expressed.

The Second International could only make a unified decision by acknowledging that it is incapable of leading and participating in international action by the working class against the bourgeoisie.

It could not be otherwise in an international organisation where the determining principle is not the class struggle of the workers against the bourgeoisie and where no unified decision can

be taken on the question of the unity of action by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie.

In Sweden, Denmark and Czechoslovakia the social-democratic parties carried through the united front with their own national bourgeoisie. In England, Belgium and Holland they are fully prepared to enter the Government. In Poland, Hungary and other countries, where Fascism gives the social-democratic parties a monopoly of legality in the Labour movement, they carry out a united front with their national bourgeoisie without Government posts. In France and in Spain, where the Fascist danger is a direct menace, and likewise in the Saar, they are compelled, as Vandervelde himself writes, to enter into united action with the Communist Party.

In Austria, Germany and Italy, where Fascism organisationally broke up the social-democratic parties, their separate sections form a united front to ward off fascism on the basis of the anti-capitalist struggle.

The third thing we say to this decision is that if at the time of the outbreak of war in 1914, Kautsky still said regarding the collapse of the Second International that it was an instrument of peace, then to-day every attentive observer of its policy must say the Second International of the post-war period is not even an instrument of peace.

The failure of the Second International as an instrument of peace against Fascism and against the menacing danger of imperialist war, must induce every worker who is prepared to fight against Fascism and war and who will not abandon proletarian internationalism even in the case of war, unhesitatingly to enter jointly with the Communists the struggle for the proletarian united front.

The representatives of a number of social-democratic parties who already recognise the unavoidable necessity of the united front against fascism but rejected unity of action in their own country, such as the Swiss social democrats, and also such a counter-revolutionary group of emigrants as the Russian Mensheviks, after the decision of the Second International had been adopted, expressed their special point of view in a separate statement, in which they declared they welcome the removal of the ban on united front agreements with the Communist Party, which ban, however, had already been abolished in actual fact. They announce their wish and expectation that the results of action in different countries will induce the Socialist and Labour International as a whole also to conclude a united front on an international scale.

To this special declaration we say: The Spanish workers are not helped by hopes for the improvement of the Second International. In order really to help them we must act immediately. The Third International can carry out unity of action, though in a limited manner, without the permission of the Second International, just as unity of action in France, Austria and the Saar was realised despite the Second International's ban.

The united front of the social-democratic workers with the Communists has achieved its first modest success on an international scale. On the basis of this success the struggle for the united front will receive a new impetus.

The Communists will continue to spare no effort for a close united front against Fascism based on agreement between Communists and social-democratic party leaderships.

All their energy will be exerted to forge a united front from below of all organisations, of Communists and social-democrats, of reformists and revolutionaries, everywhere where the fascist danger threatens, and where the danger of fascism is still in embryo.

The working class should not wait until fascism develops. The rejection of unity of action against capitalism and against the bourgeoisie opens the way to fascism. A new imperialist world war is being prepared with no less high pressure than the fascist methods of rule with which the bourgeoisie fight against the capitalist crisis.

Unity of action of the working class against fascism and imperialist war is the most successful means, on a national as well as international scale.

The Communists have foretold that an approach to international unity of action is through a united front on a national scale. They were right. They will continue to struggle for unity on a national scale, until international unity of action of the workers of the world has been achieved.

Politics

Foreign Political Review of the Week

Everybody still remembers the famous visit to London last year of Herr Arthur Rosenberg. The victorious Nazi party was still enjoying its honeymoon—if the expression "honeymoon" can be used in connection with a party whose leaders are filled with feelings of indescribable repugnance towards the fair sex. Hitler's emissary was to have brought the foreign political message of German national socialism: Abandonment of claims to colonies, but instead, expansion towards the East. By slaying the Bolshevik dragon—to acquire further territory. A programme which was bound to have a miracle-working effect on England, as it granted it a double freedom: Freedom from a rival on the sea and freedom from the Bolshevik nightmare. England, however, did not display any enthusiasm for these plans.

Instead of the Baltic knight, this time the champagne manufacturer, Ribbentrop, went to London as Hitler's emissary. His mission was more modest than that of Rosenberg. His task was to influence feeling—Mr. Eden and Sir John Simon both declare that no concrete proposals have been made. Ribbentrop therefore had to influence feeling in favour of a legal arming of Germany for purposes of so-called defence, for approval of the setting up of an army of 300,000 men, etc. These demands are not new. Strange to say they were advocated by England at the full meeting and also in the commissions of the so-called Disarmament Conference. In Germany, therefore, great hopes were placed on this journey of Ribbentrop. But times change. A number of events showed the English bourgeoisie that the government of Germany is in the hands of incalculable, hysterical persons, who might one fine day arrange an air attack on London, drop explosive bombs, poison gas bombs and microbes on the capital with its 7 million population. The Rhine was suddenly declared the frontier of England. Not the arming of Germany, but the strengthening of the British air force is now the slogan of British foreign policy. The emissary of the Fuhrer has met with a severe rebuff.

This diplomatic skirmishing, which can become of great importance for the future, has receded into the background for the time being. Yugoslavia's move against Hungary creates a very serious situation. It is not by chance that shortly before the meeting of the League of Nations the general staffs of the Little Entente met together in Prague for a consultation. Yugoslavia, which has collected more evidence proving the complicity of Hungary in the Marseilles assassinations than the Austro-Hungarian authorities in their time collected in proof of the complicity of Servia in the Serajevo assassinations, does not come forward itself against Hungary, but hands over this task to the League of Nations. The League is to constitute itself as a Court and carry out the investigation against Hungary in Hungary, a proceeding of which in itself would mean a great humiliation for Hungary. The violation of Servian sovereignty was the only point in the Austro-Hungarian ultimatum twenty years ago to which Russia refused to agree, and to which it replied with mobilisation. The Hungarian press has already set up a howl of rage. It will hardly be possible for Italy to remain silent here, not only because it is also involved in the affair, not only because Hungary is its vassal, but because a victory of Belgrade diplomacy over Hungary would too greatly strengthen Italy's Adriatic rivals. The Little Entente and France seem to be standing unconditionally behind Yugoslavia. Thus Belgrade diplomacy has given a severe blow to the promising rapprochement of Italy to France.

The rapprochement of Italy to France was promoted, in the first place, by the sharpening of the German-Italian antagonisms. By collaboration between Italy and France the German danger threatening both countries was to be banished. Italy would have been ready to agree to the *status quo* in South-East Europe for a longer time, i.e., to abandon its revisionist policy (revision of the Treaty of Trianon which separates Slovakia, Transylvania, etc., from Hungary) along the whole line, and not only in regard to Germany. Mussolini, having in this way secured the safety of his rear in Europe, wanted to realise his long-cherished dream of an African adventure: to conquer Abyssinia, which borders on Italy's African colonies. The "Times" of November 19 reports that

the King of Italy's visit to Somaliland had as one of its objects to enable **General De Bono**, who accompanied the king, to judge the strategic situation of the country. The foreign-political spokesman of the French General Staff, **Pertinax**, in the "Echo de Paris" of November 17, again reveals to us something of the African memorandum in which Mussolini's demands are enumerated. He speaks of "territorial concessions and of the renouncement of interests in the coast of Somaliland" without prejudice to France's sphere of influence. The departure of the King of Italy as well as of the drawing up of the Memorandum took place before the Marseilles assassinations. How far things were already prepared is shown by the recent attack on the Italian Consulate in the capital of Abyssinia. This was obviously a provocation directed less against Italy than against the Abyssinian government, which is anxiously seeking to avoid any conflict with Italy. The spirits which have been called up cannot be banished, although the situation to-day is quite different: confronted with a Yugoslavia in which the general staff is rattling the sabre, Mussolini can hardly embark on an African adventure.

The commencement of the meeting of the League of Nations, when Yugoslavia will come forward against Hungary, when the Saar plebiscite and the Saar Constitution are once again to be dealt with, will probably coincide with the conclusion of the London Naval conversations. Already two weeks ago the representatives of Japan declared that the 5:5:3 ratio agreed upon at the Washington Conference was intolerable for them, and that they insisted on complete equality. Thereupon England proposed to recognise equality in principle, but that each of the three governments should undertake to inform the others before completing any new naval programme. Only after having informed the other government could a commencement be made with the new constructions. Japan's reply was received in London last Saturday. It flatly rejects England's proposal.

England, however, does not give away. It has a second proposal. If agreement cannot be arrived at in regard to quantity, then agreement should be arrived at as regards quality. England has an enormous fleet. This fleet could soon be rendered valueless by the extensive building of new types of ship. Therefore, England wishes to retain influence in determining the type of new ships, but for Japan and for the United States, which are now extending their fleets, it is a question of quality, of the building of ships of a new type. Here they wish to have a free hand. As things are it is generally expected that the London Naval conversations will soon be broken off.

The foreign-political surveys wish to show only the most important events of foreign politics, and to indicate what lies behind them. They, to a certain extent, help to create a wrong impression, that sharp antagonisms, which conjure up the danger of war, exist only between the imperialist Powers. On the other hand, however, according to these surveys, there exist at the moment no sharp antagonisms between the imperialist Powers and the Soviet Union, as if the Soviet Union were not threatened by war. As a matter of fact the Soviet Union is constantly in danger of being attacked by the imperialist Powers. We will only point to the attack by the "Corriere della Sera" on the Soviet Union, which we cited in our last week's review. In the last few years Mussolini was among those bourgeois politicians who do not wish to quarrel with the Soviet Union prematurely, and in the meantime wish to profit from the hostile attitude of various Powers to the Soviet Union. Now the Duce's most prominent paper declares that it is time to speak out: the Russians are stirring up rebellion! It is time! For these gentlemen it is just a question of time to set up a front against the Soviet Union. The more the inner political difficulties in the various countries increase, the more the workers are driven by these circumstances to fight, the greater becomes the fear of the bourgeoisie and at the same time the more strong their desire to attack the red stronghold.

The increasing threat to the Soviet Union lies not behind us but before us. With all the antagonisms among the imperialist Powers, with all the sharpening of these antagonisms, we must always keep in mind to draw from them the necessary conclusions.

Growing Mass Movement in Ireland

By Sean Murray (Dublin)

The Irish working class is steadily overcoming the factional and bureaucratic obstacles which have obstructed united action against its imperialist enemies. **Dublin** has recently witnessed large mass demonstrations of workers in opposition to fascism, the British imperialist cliques and in favour of the claims of the workless.

Following the publication of an extensively signed letter on behalf of **Ernst Thaelmann**, by leading literary people, the revolutionary workers demonstrated on October 29 against the reception to the new German Minister in Dublin. On November 2 a united march of Republicans, unemployed and Communist workers demonstrated against the fascists' meeting in the Mansion House, which was held under the protection of a powerful force of police. On November 11 the Armistice Day celebrations were completely overshadowed by the anti-imperialist procession and mass meeting in the centre of the city.

For the first time since the war, ex-British Army men themselves published a manifesto in the daily press exposing the imperialists and numbers of them marched in the Republican-worker demonstration, which was addressed by the leaders of the Republican Congress, ex-British servicemen and representatives of the Communist Party.

The hardships endured by the unemployed workers, in consequence of the miserly relief scales given out by the de Valera government, have now become a source of widespread discontent and increasing mass activity. For several months the **Irish Unemployed Workers' Movement** has been carrying through a campaign for increased scales. This culminated in a big central meeting on November 13, a march of the workless to the Dail (parliament) on the afternoon of November 14, and a widely representative united front demonstration on November 16.

The important feature of the workers' mass activity is the **growth of unity** for purposes of common action between the workers and all sections of the Republican movement.

The Military Tribunal recently passed a savage sentence of five and three years' penal servitude on two members of the Irish Republican Army for being in possession of arms and resisting arrest. This brought the Republican Army to the streets against the de Valera Party Convention in a joint demonstration with the Unemployed Workers' Movement on the 13th. The Republican Army leaders declared for support for the unemployed march to parliament. The leaders of the Labour Party agreed to introduce the deputation to the Ministry.

The government replied by a blank refusal to meet the unemployed and the latter proclaimed the march through the city. Cordons of police invested the workers as they assembled, but all efforts to prevent the demonstration forming up and marching proved unavailing. The workers swarmed into the business quarters adjacent to parliament under their banners and to the accompaniment of such slogans as "Work or maintenance," "Down with de Valera," "Down with fascism." The police finally attacked the procession in one of the narrow, busy streets, batoning right and left and making arrests. Thus does the government of de Valera honour its promises to the Irish unemployed workers.

The reply to this outrageous action by a government which lavishly professes anti-imperialism and concern for the welfare of the workers was a powerful **united front demonstration** on the 16th. The platform of this demonstration was made up of speakers from such important trade unions as the Transport and General Workers, the Workers' Union of Ireland, Irish Garment Workers, Army Council, Irish Republican Army, Republican Congress, Communist Party, Unemployment Workers' Movement and rank and file trade unionists. By an intensification of this united front activity the unemployed workers will compel the government to hearken to their demands, and the entire struggle against imperialism and fascism will rise to a higher level.

This growing unity and mass activity has still to contend with the fettering influence of reformism within the labour movement. **The Labour Party Conference** made a gesture to the growing workers' militancy by declaring its resolve to combat fascism "by every available means" and setting as its goal "a workers' republic of equal rights and opportunities for all who accept its democratic constitution." But it simultaneously replied to the united front offer of the Communist Party by a resolution repudiating Com-

munism on religious grounds (there was, however, a large opposition vote).

The workers' striving for unity was further manifested in a request from the **Workers' Union of Ireland** (Larkin) for affiliation to the Dublin Trades Council. All trade unionists are increasingly desirous of overcoming the split in the trade union movement, which followed the political divisions arising from the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921 when the official Labour Party took the side of the Treaty-ite bourgeoisie. But a section of the reformist leaders are bent on making permanent the divisions in the working class. The heads of the Irish Transport Union, regardless of the wishes of the union members, met the affiliation demand of the Workers' Union with a threat to disrupt the Trades Council if it were agreed to. In this manner they secured a majority for rejection. The pressure for working-class unity will, however, break through the barriers with which a diminishing circle of the reformist leaders are endeavouring to hold back the workers' advance.

The fight of the **Irish Communist Party** and all revolutionary elements for united action on the burning economic problems of the masses and in opposition to political reaction is taking shape in Ireland.

Shaky Position of the Mendieta Government in Cuba

By E. P. Greene (New York)

In the face of the continuous and increasing strike wave, which it is more and more unable to crush, the **Mendieta-Batista** government is powerless and in a state of demoralisation and disintegration. Murder, arrest and martial law are not able to stop the movement of the masses. The ruling classes, which supported the coalition government when Mendieta came into power last January, have now started to quarrel bitterly among themselves. On September 30 Antonio Guiteras, demagogic Minister of Interior under Grau San Martin, and Oscar de la Torre, a leader of the fascist A.B.C., were arrested, charged with conspiracy against the government. On October 26 Carlos de la Torre and Medardo Vitier resigned from the Cabinet, hurling denunciations at Mendieta. Last August twenty army officers, led by Major Echevarria and Captain Erize, were arrested and court-martialled in Havana "for conspiring to force out Mendieta and to set up in his place a military dictatorship, headed by Batista."

On October 8 commenced the great **24-hour general strike**, called by the C.N.O.C., revolutionary trade union, against the attempt of Batista to outlaw all trade unions. In **Santiago** all means of transport and communication were paralysed. In **Havana** many parts of the city were occupied by the armed forces and the street cars could be run only by soldiers. Martial law was declared in Santa Clara Province, where all railroads were at a standstill. All sugar mills in the regions of Guantanamo and Gomez Mena in Oriente were on strike. The toll of the strike was: 4 dead, 12 wounded, 250 arrested. These murders closely followed that of October 1, when police fired on a workers' demonstration in **Nuevitas**, chief sugar port of Oriente, killing one and wounding scores. Mendieta at once suspended all constitutional guarantees in Havana and Oriente Provinces in an attempt to smash the actions of the masses, aroused by this bloody act.

The general strike was given a great impetus by the events which occurred at **Realengo**, in Oriente, during the first days of October. On October 3 the large landowners in the region attempted to expropriate 5,000 peasants from their land for the benefit of the Corralillo Co., which is owned by the Royal Bank of Canada, main agency of British imperialism in Cuba, which has now in its control about 15 per cent. of the sugar industry. The peasants took up arms and successfully defended their land, forcing these bandits to withdraw. During this period **Soviets** were set up at Realengo and also at **Guantanamo**. The struggle in Realengo is the struggle of the whole toiling population for bread and land, to put an end to exploitation and hunger, destroying the bourgeois-landlord regime and setting up in its place their own local government, the Soviets of workers, peasants and soldiers. With the movement in Realengo, led by the **Communist Party**, which at once issued a manifesto calling upon the soldiers to enter the Soviets together with the workers and peasants, the anti-imperialist agrarian revolution in Cuba enters a new and higher stage.

Faced with this new upsurge in the revolutionary movement, the American finance-capitalists, now fearing that Mendieta is no better "saviour" of their interests than was Grau San Martin, are again searching for a new lackey to carry out their policy in Cuba. **Mr. Caffery**, U.S. Ambassador, is again very busy behind the scenes. Mendieta has "promised" to resign on December 31. The date for the many-times postponed election for the Constituent Assembly has been fixed for December 30. Neither loans from the United States, the abrogation of the Platt Amendment, nor the Reciprocity Trade Treaty with the U.S. have succeeded in strengthening the bourgeois-landlord regime as Roosevelt and Wall Street had hoped.

Of great interest is an obviously inspired article in the **Literary Digest** (October 20, 1934), a New York magazine, in that it very openly voices the wishes of American finance-capital. Following are some excerpts from this article:—

"The consensus in Cuba points to the man behind Mendieta as the sole visible hope in the situation. He is **Fulgencio Batista**. . . . While civil government in Cuba under Mendieta has practically collapsed, Batista has stepped in. . . . He has more than 25,000 men disciplined, equipped, and subject to his will. . . . Under Batista, the army budget is a third larger than it was under Machado (!); equipment is better; discipline sterner; and there are more secret police. . . . The army controls Cuba, and will for a long time to come—and Batista controls the army. He will name the next President."

Batista—Wall Street's newest candidate, upon whom it is preparing to place the bloody mantle of Machado.

The bourgeois-landlord parties are presenting the proposed Constituent Assembly as the "salvation" of the Cuban people. In opposition to this the Communist Party, the only party fighting for the liberation of the Cuban people, has put forward the slogan: "Forward on the road to our liberation, the road of Soviet power, the only road for winning bread, land and freedom; the only road for winning national and social liberation for the oppressed people of Cuba."

Germany

Goerdeler to Save Hitler From Economic Catastrophe

The desperate situation of the German economic system and the helplessness of the national socialist dictators are clearly revealed by the appointment of the former German nationalist reactionary **Goerdeler** as price dictator for Germany. It is reported that the supreme economic dictator of Germany, **Schacht**, demanded Goerdeler's appointment. In December, 1931, Goerdeler was appointed to a similar position by **Bruening** about three months before the latter was overthrown. Goerdeler was one of the chief protagonists of Bruening's deflationist policy whose main factors were a brutal attack on the wage standards of the German workers in order to increase the competitive capacity of German industry and a ruthless cutting down of unemployment and other public support in order to balance the State Budget and maintain the stability of the currency. This policy culminated in Bruening's notorious wage-cutting decree which was issued in December, 1931, the pill being sugar-coated with a promise of all-round price reductions. The reformist trade union leaders throttled the movement which began in favour of a general strike against the wage-cuts, which ranged from 10 to 15 per cent., and declared that the workers must wait to see whether after all the promised price reductions would not cancel out the wage-cuts.

However, a few months later, when Goerdeler followed his master Bruening into the desert, the prices for staple foodstuffs were as high as ever. The policy of wage-cuts was continued under **von Papen** and **Schleicher** and with redoubled energy under **Hitler**, whilst under von Papen the "work provision" scheme was begun with tax remissions for the bourgeoisie and opened up the way towards inflation and still higher prices.

It is a notorious fact that during the past few years wages in Germany have sunk steadily, and this fact even finds confirmation from time to time in official statistics; for instance, the last Quarterly Report of the official Institute for Economic Research

gives us the following figures concerning the wages of the German building workers: (1928=100):—

1930	1931	1932	1933	1934
108	100.4	80.1	73.3	72.9

Since 1930 therefore the nominal wages of the building workers in Germany have fallen by a third. Taking into consideration the fact that in the same period the prices of staple foodstuffs have increased by about 25 per cent., we find that the real wages of the building workers have thus been practically halved.

This picture is true more or less of the workers in all other branches of industry, whilst in many—for instance, the textile industry—the situation is made worse owing to the fact that short-time work has been introduced on a wide scale as the result of the acute shortage of raw materials, thereby causing a further wage-cut of about 16 per cent. Another source of loss to the workers in many industries apart from the textile industry is the use of substitute raw materials. This substitute material being inferior to the genuine article, there is more wastage and a greater percentage of rejections whereby the wages of those workers on piece-work are appreciably reduced. Add to all these factors the further wage-cuts caused by forced “voluntary” contributions to the Winter Relief scheme, the dues to the various national socialist organisations, and the innumerable collections which harass the workers, and some picture is obtained of the alarming low level of working-class standards in Germany. Even so, however, these standards are now to be depressed still further by a new deflationist drive to be carried out by means of the “Factory Regulations” issued as from factory to factory on October 1.

Goerdeler has in fact been appointed to-day with a very similar end in view to that with which Bruening appointed him three years ago. At the moment, however, it is still less possible to stop the rise of prices than it was then, not to speak of any reduction of prices. A few demonstrative and demagogic measures will be taken in the hope of pacifying the workers and making them submit without resistance to the new wage-cuts on the ground that a price-reduction campaign is on.

However, even none too critical bourgeois observers are beginning to doubt whether such an experiment at the cost of the working masses can be carried through successfully a second time. The “Neue Zuercher Zeitung” of November 6 writes:—

“We shall have to wait to see whether it is possible to achieve the aim of this policy, particularly in view of the intensification of inner-political tension which is feared as the result, and the effect it is likely to have on wage standards. The whole problematical nature of German economic policy is revealed here, particularly as it is impossible to abandon completely the ‘work provision’ scheme and because a rapid advance in the price of raw materials is expected.”

The Swiss observer is right, once the policy of inflationist “work provision” and of “autarchy” in foodstuffs and raw materials has been commenced it is not possible to change the whole trend of economic development as though a sergent-major were ordering a batch of recruits about on a parade ground. It is true that the prices for foodstuffs could be practically halved at one blow if the usurious and fantastically high import duties were abolished, but in such a case the Junkers and the rich peasants would be ruined, and they represent an important social prop for German fascism. And, further, it would be possible to obtain cheap raw materials from abroad once again, but this would necessitate the abandonment of the feverish rearmament policy, the stopping of raw material imports for this purpose, the distribution of the accumulated war reserves for peaceful purposes, and a radical breach with the provocative anti-Bolshevist foreign policy of Hitler in order to create the conditions for a large-scale commodity exchange with the Soviet Union. However, that would be demanding the impossible from German fascism: the abandonment of its *raison d'être*, and for that very reason the inflationist measures taken under the title of “work provision” will not stop. These measures consist chiefly in the State subsidisation of the war industries by means of a reckless policy of borrowing. For instance, without such measures the production of substitute materials would be impossible. At the moment it is not an economic proposition and probably never will be. The capitalists are sabotaging with might and main all Hitler's attempts to harness capital profits into the financing of the “work provision” schemes, or, in other words, armaments. The profit hunters absolutely refuse to give their good money away for such purposes; after all, the tax-

payers and if necessary the printing works are there for that purpose.

In the speech with which he opened the “battle against unemployment,” since miserably deceased, Hitler thundered against those capitalists who were exploiting the “work provision” schemes to increase their own profits. A law was then issued prohibiting the increase of dividends beyond 6 per cent. unless a corresponding sum were placed at the disposal of the government for loan purposes. The “Frankfurter Zeitung” discusses the practical effects of this law as follows:—

“In the days immediately following its promulgation this law exercised a temporary depressing effect on the share markets, but in the meantime it has been seen that it is of little practical effect. Only very few companies have been affected by it and the contributions which have resulted to the loan funds have been very small.” (Commercial section of the “Frankfurter Zeitung” on November 11, 1934.)

The German capitalists placed Hitler in power and financed him in order that he should raise their profits, not diminish them, and they have told him so plainly.

The lignite coal concerns which are partly in the hands of foreign capitalists—for instance, the Czechoslovakian industrialist Petchek—are now being compelled to contribute a part of their profits to the financing of a German works for the high temperature carbonising of coal. The capitalists reacted very sourly to this State interference with their right of “private initiative,” although the intervention was made in the interests of the preparations for war and was thus a matter of the foremost “national importance.” Share quotations began to fall, and this tendency was increased when a drop in the potash prices took place and threatened the cartel profits of another group of German monopolist capitalists.

Hitler's inflationist policy scooped profits into the pockets of the capitalists whilst prices rose and the cost of production fell, thanks to the depression of wages and the increased utilisation of basic capital. According to a list published by the “Frankfurter Zeitung” the number of joint-stock companies which were compelled to declare no dividends as a result of the losses suffered during the crisis fell in the period from 1932 to 1933 from 163 to 128. That referred only to those companies which concluded their balance-sheets at the end of the year. Out of seventy companies which have published their balance-sheets since January 1, 1934, only 21 were compelled to declare no dividend for the year 1933-34, as compared with 35 in the year 1932-33.

The Stock Exchange opinion of the profit prospects under the Hitler dictatorship was shown in the share quotation index, which rose from 94.57 at the end of 1933 to 109.74 at the end of September, 1934. However, the index has since sunk to 102.95; in other words, the “improvement” which took place in nine months was practically halved in the subsequent six weeks.

The capitalists themselves are not very optimistic about the prospects for industry of the substitute system and the State price dictatorship. The endeavours of the national socialists, who have primarily to please their capitalist masters, to cut down wages ruthlessly, must therefore increase.

In order to confuse the workers and atomise their powers of resistance a wild campaign of demagoguery is now being conducted, and for the moment it is chiefly at the expense of the lower middle classes. From Breslau it is reported that 24 butchers' shops have been closed down by the authorities for “impermissible price increases.” A day or so later the official communiqué of the price war authorities announced that three butchers' shops had been closed down in Upper Silesia for “impermissible price increases” and eight bakeries in Cassel for “underweight.” The Bavarian Economic Minister, Esser, announces that the prices for bread and sausages are about to be reduced. The meat, sausages and fat prices are to be reduced to their August level, and this would, as the official statement points out, result in a decrease of prices for various categories up to ten pfennig a pound, and of twenty pfennig for pork fat and dripping.

Quite incidentally therefore the authorities admit the tremendous increase in food prices which has taken place during the past few months, and at the same time the workers are shown quite clearly that the utmost the official price fixers can do is to abolish, perhaps only temporarily, one or two of the more blatant price increases, but by no means to abolish the steady rise of prices which has characterised the tendencies of the past few months.

The new Price Commissar Goerdeler has begun his official activities with a statement which promises an investigation into all price increases which have taken place since June, 1933, and which warns the general public against hoarding, for the nonce with "shrewd" arguments instead of threats. He points out that there are large supplies of raw material at the disposal of the world and that when they came to Germany prices would fall, whereby those would suffer who had hoarded goods purchased at high prices and thus driven prices still higher.

However, Goerdeler failed to explain how the raw materials in the possession of the outside world are to come into the possession of Germany in view of the fact that Hitler and his expert Schacht have frittered away Germany's means of foreign payment and ruined the German export trade and Germany's foreign credit. Goerdeler concludes his wise exhortations with the following illuminating remarks:—

"Particularly the present generation which has experienced the war and post-war economic stresses, stresses which none of us wish to experience again, must know that with a little devotion to society as a whole and with a little discipline a tremendous amount can be achieved in this respect."

Such exhortations to discipline will utterly fail in their effect even if discipline is backed up by volleys against demonstrating and hungry masses. The hoarding which is going on everywhere in Germany is not the effect of wild rumours, though naturally, in a country like fascist Germany where no one believes a corrupt and lying press, rumour plays a big role in the formation of public opinion, but rather the effect of the facts which any housewife can see every day on her shopping excursions.

When staple commodities disappear from the market from one day to the next, or their prices suddenly begin to rocket, then everyone with a little ready money to spare begins to think of laying in supplies just because he or she can remember only too well the bitter experience suffered by the German people in the war and post-war years.

When textile firms and wholesale dealers send out circulars to the retail traders informing them that during the next few months orders for yarn will be executed only in part or not at all, then it is clear that the retail traders begin to husband their supplies and that the housewives who are unable to obtain what they want in one shop go from shop to shop in an effort to obtain even a little of the disappearing stocks. Or, to take another case, when the authorities threaten the retail traders with draconic measures in the event of their daring to raise prices although they know that they cannot obtain the same goods again at the same price, then these goods inevitably disappear from the open market. The closing down of small retail shops can ruin their middle-class owners and throw whatever employees they may have on to the streets, but it cannot prevent prices rising nor can it secure the normal functioning of supplies for the population.

All the threats, proclamations and violence of the authorities only increase the prevailing confusion, the panic and the bitterness. For instance, in Weimar great excitement and indignation has been caused amongst the population by the demand of the local national socialist mandarin for the surrender of all "hoarded goods" and by his threat to carry out mass searches to discover such "hoards."

The demagogic trumpeting and the bureaucratic and police measures of the authorities are not making the workers less hungry or more content. The discontent which has been latent amongst the lower middle class for a long time is now gradually swelling into open and indignant bitterness against national socialist misrule.

In this situation it is the task of the class-conscious vanguard of the working class to mobilise the toiling masses for joint resistance to the new hunger drive of the national socialists, to foil the attempts of the national socialists to play off one section of the working people against the other, and to draw the disappointed and embittered lower middle class masses into the struggle against fascism.

Determined resistance must be offered to every form of wage-cuts: a struggle must be carried on for wage increases in accordance with the rise in prices, against the intimidation carried on in connection with the Winter Relief swindle, for the provision of the needy with all necessities from the existing stores, against the exploitation and terrorisation of the lower middle classes and the peasantry, for the confiscation of the food and other supplies in

the hands of the rich, the capitalists, the Junkers and the rich peasants, and for strikes and demonstrations against rising prices. We are well aware that the national socialist dictatorship will not break down automatically as the result of the economic catastrophe which it has brought about. Need, declared Marx, is "the practical expression of necessity," the necessity to throw off the yoke of fascist dictatorship and capitalist exploitation, and thus abolish want for ever.

People's Front in the Saar

By Richter

We are in the midst of the decisive struggle which will be fought out on January 13. The toiling people of the Saar district will decide its own fate. If it votes against union with Hitler Germany, then it will vote in the interests of the Saar population. The struggle for the *status quo* must become the cause of the whole of the toiling people in the Saar.

The supporters of unity of action in the Saar district must realise that victory for the *status quo* can be achieved and developed further to the extent that that cause of the *status quo* becomes the cause of the majority of the toiling people in the Saar. For this end the united front between the Communists and the social democrats has seized the initiative for setting up the people's front against Hitler. This step imposes upon all the Communists, the social democrats and the members of the free trade unions, all the existing factory and local unity committees the duty of drawing the Christian workers, the Catholic Youth, the peasants and the middle strata into the people's front, of endeavouring to set up joint committees with their best representatives and functionaries, with their organisations in all localities, for the victory of the Saar people over Hitler, the destroyer of the people, for the victory of the *status quo*, for a second plebiscite.

We are therefore prepared to join hands with any organisation and any group which is in favour of the *status quo* and against union with Hitler Germany, no matter what political or ideological views are represented by these organisations or groups. We therefore in the first place call upon the toiling Catholic population to set up the people's front for the *status quo*. The Catholic toilers must not engage in any bargaining with the Hitler agents, but conduct an energetic fight against them. For a victory of Hitler means the certain end of the legal, free and Christian trade unions in the Saar. The legal existence of the trade unions and of all mass organisations of the working class is at stake! Hence all forces are necessary in order to organise the people's front.

The anti-fascist Youth drawn together in the united front have the task of supporting the organisation of the people's front with all their forces. It is of decisive importance to draw the Catholic Youth into the common front. The common threat by the common enemy, the threat of having to serve in imperialist war, the threat of barrack drill, of being sent away to work to the rural districts, of increased exploitation confront the whole of the Youth, and on these questions the Catholic Youth are fully in agreement with us.

In its struggle for freedom, the Saar people can reckon on the sympathy of the toilers of Germany, who are conducting the fight against the Hitler dictatorship, and of the toilers of the whole world. The issue of the plebiscite on January 13 will be decided solely by the action of the toiling people of the Saar themselves. Any speculation on the interference by the League of Nations will prove harmful for the struggle. Experience hitherto clearly shows this. The struggle for an unfalsified vote must be conducted not only against the German Front but also against the majority of the Plebiscite Commission set up by the League of Nations. We have only to call to mind the constant chicanery and prohibitive measures, suppression of newspapers, etc., by the Governing Commission appointed by the League of Nations. Any hope of support on the part of the League of Nations must prove illusory and lead to an underestimation of our own forces, and thereby give an advantage to our opponents. This does not mean, however, that the supporters of the *status quo* are not to submit any demands to the League of Nations. On the contrary, the supporters of the *status quo* demand of the League of Nations that the Saar population shall be allowed to vote a second time in the future. This demand has already called forth a great outcry in the Hitler camp. In the struggle against the *status quo* Hitler and his people come forward as the defenders of the Versailles Treaty. These people who make out that they

want to emancipate Germany from the chains of the Versailles Treaty could not expose themselves more plainly than by this demand. But they oppose a second plebiscite also for another reason. Large sections of the Catholic population of the Saar district are in favour of union with Germany although they are opposed to Hitler. If they could be sure they would have the possibility of voting a second time, after the overthrow of the Hitler dictatorship, that union with Germany is not rejected once and for all, they would vote for the *status quo* on January 13. Hence the great outcry of the Hitler gang against a second plebiscite. The clarification of the question of a second plebiscite is of great importance for the victory of the *status quo*. We want union with Germany, but with a free Germany. The struggle for the *status quo* is a part of the struggle which the toilers of Germany are waging for the overthrow of the Hitler government. A victory for the *status quo* must entail the right of a second plebiscite. This victory, however, is only possible by the force of the developed mass movement.

The Saar district is by no means only a bone of contention between imperialist Germany and France; it is also an object of bargaining in the great international formation of war fronts. The concentration of French troops on the Saar frontiers throws a vivid light on the situation. Hitler fascism is feverishly endeavouring to improve its position in the international arena. Hitler is seeking an escape from the foreign-political isolation in which the Third Reich is at present by forming a coalition of States which are interested in letting loose imperialist wars, against the other States which are interested in maintaining peace.

The Saar plays an extraordinary and daily increasing role in the calculations of Hitler fascism. It is plain to all how in the last few days and weeks the Saar problem has come to occupy first place in the whole of the international press.

What is the reason of this great and daily increasing interest? The fact, which is becoming more obvious every day, that the Saar question forms the focal point of serious imperialist antagonisms.

Hitler wants to obtain possession of the Saar district in order to strengthen the war basis of fascism and to overcome inner political difficulties, and at the same time to divert attention from increasing prices and wage-cuts which are arousing indignation among the working people of Germany. Hitler wants to obtain possession of the Saar district in order to carry out the imperialist plans of the German bourgeoisie. The "German Front," the organ of the national socialists in the Saar district, is unscrupulously making use of the natural feeling of kinship existing between the population of the Saar and the population of the Reich in order to conceal the actual aims of Hitler's policy in the Saar. On the other hand, the Saar question is being used in the Reich in order to win the support of the masses for the fascist policy of armaments and war. We must make plain to the masses that in advocating the *status quo* we are in reality defending the real national interests of the working population of the Saar. It is exceedingly important that we fulfil these tasks now that the possibility of French troops marching into the Saar district is being openly discussed.

The declarations of **Buerckel**, which are full of spurious indignation regarding the withdrawal of the Storm Troops (S.A.) and the Special Troops (S.S.), actually reveal the bad conscience of the Nazi incendiaries who are preparing to commit acts of violence in the Saar district. The secret plans of the national socialists against the Saar have alarmed the whole world public. Marshal **Pétain** has made use of the plans of the national socialists as a welcome pretext in order to justify the demand for an increase in the French military budget. The armaments of the German fascists have resulted in strengthening the aspirations of French imperialism. Thus fascism constitutes an ever-increasing threat to the working masses.

The whole of the working population of the Saar must stand firm in the face of this threat on the part of fascism and imperialism. The Hitler government clearly realises the great importance of the issue of the Saar struggle for its imperialist aims, for its home and foreign policy. Our view that the Saar fight forms a part of the great fight which the working masses of Germany are waging for the overthrow of the Hitler regime is confirmed by the policy of the Hitler government itself.

The decisions in the Church conflict, the tactical retreat of

Hitler in face of the strong opposition movement is to be attributed not only to the discontent of broad sections of the population, which is finding increasing expression, but also represents an attempt to deceive the working population of the Saar, especially the Christian workers, regarding the character of the Hitler government. The Nazis are attempting to veil the policy of wage-cuts, of abolition of collective agreements, smashing of the trade unions and the whole campaign against the workers' organisations in order to prevent a victory of the *status quo*. They attempted to bribe Pick, the leader of the Christian metal workers' union, in order to create the impression that in the event of the Saar being united with Germany Hitler would leave the trade unions and other workers' organisations undisturbed. The fact that this attempt failed shows the strength of the anti-fascist unity of action.

The law on the Labour Front which has just been published by Hitler and Ley has the same object in view. The increasing conflicts between the workers and the employers are to be concealed behind the veil of an alleged community of interest between the workers and the employees, and alleged socialist measures. The fight for concrete demands in the factories is to be prevented.

The frantic attempts of **Schaecht** to conceal the fact of inflation, the depreciation of the mark, the so-called fight against increasing prices are likewise intended to influence the Saar plebiscite in favour of Hitler.

All this, however, will not deceive the working population of the Saar regarding the true state of affairs. The appointment of a Price Commissioner by the Hitler government is the best proof that prices are rising whilst wages are falling and unemployment increasing. The call to the workers to keep "discipline" and to be satisfied with the law on the Labour Front shows clearly enough the amount of discontent prevailing among the workers.

The fact that we are fighting for the *status quo* does not in any way mean that we support the present League of Nations regime. In the course of their fight the working people in the Saar have had sufficient object-lessons regarding the present regime.

Our fight for the *status quo* means not only rejection of the Hitler regime in Germany; for us it is the starting point for the complete and real emancipation of the working people in the Saar. We want to put an end to the Saar population being an object of the robber plans of the imperialists and capitalists. We want real freedom for the people of the Saar.

The unity of action of the Communists and social democrats is already able to record considerable successes. It has created the best prerequisites for the victory of the *status quo* provided we now extend the united front. The victory of the *status quo* in the Saar will accelerate the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship. The mass movement for the *status quo* has also led to successful fights for the material demands of the workers. Unity of action must now become an instrument for the realisation of the people's front against fascism in the Saar.

All the workers and employees, the intellectuals, peasants and small traders, the toilers in town and country, must rally together in the people's front for the *status quo*. The broadest front of the toiling people in the Saar must be set up in the struggle for the *status quo*, for a plebiscite carried out without any falsification, for the right of self-determination of the Saar population, for a second plebiscite, for a Saar Parliament elected on the basis of general, universal, direct and secret suffrage, for right of combination and the right to strike, for freedom of the press and demonstrations.

Forward under the slogan: People's front against Hitler, for the *status quo* and for a second plebiscite.

Open Letter of the C.C. of the C.P. of Germany

To all social democrats! To all trade unionists and trade union groups! To all fellow-workers in the "Labour Front"!

Fellow-workers! A fierce struggle is going on in the factories. The fascists are endeavouring, by means of wage-cuts, plundering of the whole toiling people and by warlike chauvinistic adventures to prolong the life of dying capitalism. By means of the fascist factory regulations the exploiters are proceeding to a fiercer attack against us workers. The law for the replacement of the Youth, which means the dismissal of the young workers from the factories, is an attack upon the wages of all workers. This anti-labour law means a concealed calling up of the factory Youth for

the threatening imperialist mass slaughter. The bourgeoisie is speculating on the maintenance of the disruption of the working class. We must oppose it by our united force, by unity of action. All the efforts of the fascist rulers, including Hitler's recent decree regarding the reorganisation of the "Labour Front" and of the N.S.B.O. (national socialist factory organisation), are concentrated against this menacing power of proletarian unity of action. The brown propagandists in the pay of the trusts and combines are emitting a smoke-screen of phrases in order to glorify this reorganisation as the "crowning of the gigantic work of construction of the German community of the people." The rank and file of the "Labour Front" are to be kept from realising that this decree of Hitler robs them of the last possibility of having any say in material questions. The exploiters intend, by means of the replacement law and the fascist factory regulation, to acquire legal sanction for their provocative position as masters in their factory. The fascist community of the people brought milliards in subsidies and fat dividends for the employers. But the working class is supposed to be satisfied by the "ideal of the people's community," by pompous speeches over the wireless, parades and speeches inciting to war.

Fellow-workers in the Labour Front, social-democratic comrades and trade unionists!

During the last eighteen months the capitalist robbers have stolen 20 to 30 per cent. of our wages. By means of the new labour law they now wish to rob us of every guarantee of a minimum wage and introduce the speeding-up principle of payment according to work performed. They wish to drive our Youth out of the work places in order to be able to force the wages of the adults down still lower. They are coming again with their collecting boxes to cage money out of us. We have to put up with substitute material. Prices are soaring.

The workers in the factories are filled with hatred and indignation. Our fellow-workers are secretly clenching their fists. But this sullen hatred must be transformed into determination to take joint action. We Communists, social democrats and trade unionists must, as helpers, advisers and organisers, organise and develop in an exemplary and inspiring manner the resistance of the workers, the activity of the masses. If we are united among ourselves and set up unity of action, this will have an inspiring effect upon all workers. Let us, therefore, formulate in all departments and workshops and factories the demands and wishes of the workers. Let us raise these demands by word of mouth, by means of leaflets and factory newspapers. Let us propose to the workers in the factories to send joint delegations to the Confidential Councils, the factory management and to the leaders of the Labour Front in order to submit the demands of the workers of the factory. Let us break the blind obedience imposed by the fascists by organising resistance to the military propaganda in the factory, by initiating discussions of the workers' demands at the work places, by raising the demand for the calling of factory and labour front meetings and by courageous and skilful speeches at these meetings. Let us set up unity committees, fighting organs from the midst of our work mates. Let us strengthen step by step the fighting determination of the workers right up to mass discussions in the factories, slowing down of work, passive resistance, up to the stopping of the machines, to the strike! Let us rally the masses of workers in unity of action for the struggle for the defence of the interests of the workers, against short-time work and the dismissal of young workers, for allowances for increased prices, for higher wages and better conditions of work, for the right of the workers to elect their shop stewards, for the right of combination and the right to strike!

Social democrats and trade unionists in the "Labour Front"!

The fascist dictators are trembling at the possibility that the millions of workers who are pressed into the Labour Front may unite to act in a class-conscious manner. Together with you, social democrats and trade unionists, we wish to organise this front of the masses. Let us create a broad opposition movement in all the links of the "Labour Front" for the right of self-determination of the members, for the right to elect functionaries, for the right to hold meetings and demonstrations, for the right of the members to control expenditure, for the realisation of the demands of the young and adult factory workers. Let us be inspired by the numerous examples of factory officials of the "Labour Front," who make use of their positions as dues collectors, confidential councillors, etc., in order to unite in loose groups the members of the "Labour Front" and thus win them over for

various forms of protest and resistance. We are confronted with the task of setting up such groups on a mass basis and developing them into organisational centres of resistance.

Social-democratic class comrades and groups, former members of the free and Christian trade unions! The fascists have destroyed our trade unions, but they have been unable to destroy our trade union class traditions. In many localities the former free trade unionists, social democrats and Communists, have jointly and determinedly proceeded to build the free trade unions up again as illegal class organisations in order to be able to wage the struggle the more resolutely against the attacks of the capitalists and for the demands of the factory workers. We Communists welcome the initiative of these our fellow-workers and declare our firm determination to support and promote this work of reorganisation with all the forces at our disposal. We Communists will do everything and adopt all measures in order to oppose to the employers, who are protected by the fascist State power, the mass force of the proletariat organised in the trade unions. Every step on the path of resistance to the capitalist offensive in the factories, every expression of opposition, every protest against, every rejection of the policy of the fascist bureaucrats in the "Labour Front" will render the working masses more bold and more determined to organise their own fighting forces in the trade unions. On the other hand, the reconstruction of the free trade unions will constitute a powerful support of the working class in its struggles against the capitalist offensive and capitalist class rule. Basing ourselves upon the class traditions of the free trade union movement, we wish to give to the workers the fighting weapon which defended the rights of the workers by means of mass strikes and repulsed the attacks of reaction.

Social-democratic workers, trade union colleagues! We Communists emphatically declare our determination and absolute readiness to realise unity of action with you and your groups, with the free trade unionists and their groups, and to proceed to the reconstruction of the free trade unions. We also make this proposal to all former trade union committees which are ready to carry out these fighting tasks jointly with us. Let us link up the establishment of unity of action for the enforcing of the daily demands of the workers in every factory with the reorganisation of trade union groups in the factories, trade union functionaries and Youth sections. Let us realise trade union unity everywhere where revolutionary opposition groups, red unions and social-democratic trade union groups exist side by side by merging them all in a united trade union organisation. The joint struggle against fascism and the capitalist offensive must become the uniting bond to which all differences of opinion which still exist must be subordinated.

We appeal to you Christian colleagues to set up unity of action and trade union unity! Where larger Christian trade union federations formerly existed the question of the name of the trade union must of course not become a hindrance to the realisation of trade union unity. To secure the fighting strength of our organisations against the common enemy and the democratic right of the members to decide matters in these organisations—this is the spirit which must fill us in our joint work of reconstruction.

N.S.B.O. colleagues, S.A. workers! You have already taken active part in many movements in the factories and in actions of resistance. The number of those among you who have seen through the swindle of the community of the people and the leadership principle and who refuse to play the role assigned to them as spies for the employers and as eulogists of exploitation is growing. We call upon you to join the united fighting front. Oppositional N.S.B.O. and S.A. comrades, join the factory groups of the free trade unions!

Workers of Germany! Let us unite in a large brotherly community of action! We are powerful if we are united and act unitedly!

Down with the fascist labour law, the fascist factory regulations and the law for the replacement of the Youth!

Long live unity of action of the Communists, social democrats and trade unionists!

Long live the fighting unity of the million masses in the "Labour Front"!

For work, bread and freedom!

Long live socialism!

Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany
(Section of the Communist International).

Berlin, middle of November, 1934.

United States

The Result of the Elections in the U.S.A.

There is no reason to attempt to minimise the extent of the parliamentary victory which President Roosevelt has just won in the United States elections which were held for the whole of the congress, one-third of the Senate, for many governorships and other high administrative posts in many of the federal States, and for a number of elective bodies throughout America.

Roosevelt's *democratic party* has now a two-thirds majority both in the Senate and in Congress. For the first time since 1862 the party in office has more than a clear majority in the Senate. The democrats have also achieved big successes in other elections which were held simultaneously.

Naturally, Roosevelt's victory is a parliamentary one only and his victory does not alter the real relation of class forces in the United States at all. It will have no influence whatever on the steady decline of the capitalist economic system in the United States and it will not do away with the discontent of the masses or stop them protesting against the intensification of their privations which is in such blatant contradiction to the tremendous growth of the profits of the industrial magnates of the United States.

Naturally, Roosevelt's victory was won with the usual means of "parliamentary persuasion." The electoral machine worked smoothly, and this time it was strengthened by the fact that various "administrations" such as the Industrial Recovery Administration and many others provided funds over and above the usual funds at the disposal of the electoral machine and provided a supplementary staff of paid election agents to influence the masses.

Further, this or that majority in Congress or in the Senate is not of tremendous importance even from the parliamentary standpoint, for the Constitution of the United States, as Hoover demonstrated unambiguously, gives the President the power to use the whole force of the Executive at his own will even if the majority of the deputies are opposed to him. However, all these considerations cannot close our eyes to the fact that the masses of the electorate in the United States have given a clear and definite answer to the question: Roosevelt or the republican party. In the eyes of the masses Roosevelt represents the search for new ways out of the economic crisis whilst the republican party represented the old conservative policy, using the old "reliable" capitalist methods.

The elections have demonstrated convincingly that the overwhelming masses of the United States electors prefer a daring experiment to the old "sturdy individualism" which, as experience has shown, leads to general catastrophe. However, even "business circles," the bourgeoisie in the shape of its more far-seeing representatives, realised that a return to the old regime, a return to Hoover, would lead not to "prosperity," but to complete breakdown.

Information concerning the votes cast in the elections for the candidates of the *Communist Party* is not yet complete, but, as a number of examples which we shall give later will indicate, considerable progress seems to have been made as compared with the votes cast for the Communist Party at previous elections. However, there is no doubt that even this increased poll does not give a real picture of the strength and the obstinancy of the strike struggles which have taken place in the United States in recent years and embraced millions of workers. This was due to the extraordinary pressure of the electoral machine, a pressure which developed into positive terrorism in a number of States, and also to the fact that whole categories of workers and still more of unemployed workers have lost the right to vote or have often not had the opportunity of exercising their right.

However, factors of another kind must also be mentioned. The bureaucratic leaders of the reformist *American Federation of Labour* are still able to persuade many workers that the Roosevelt government is neutral in the struggles between capital and labour. Roosevelt also made a bid for working-class support before the elections by promising to introduce a system of State unemployment insurance and by making minor concessions to various groups of workers. The task of the reformist trade union leaders was also facilitated by the fact that the American Communists concentrated their attention on the work in the revolutionary trade unions and failed to strengthen and consolidate their positions in the unions affiliated to the A.F. of L., although experience has

shown that the A.F. of L. extends its influence to a great mass of unorganised workers also. In this way the workers who were fighting magnificently against the increasing attacks of the employers were left to the mercy of the reformist officials.

With regard to the votes cast for the Communist Party in the elections, we must mention first of all the very considerable success achieved in *New York*. In comparison with the elections which took place in 1932 the Communist candidates for the various posts received an average increase in their poll of 70 per cent., in figures, mostly an increase of from 16,000 to 18,000 votes. Some of them received polls of over 45,000. On the other hand, the votes cast for the candidates of the socialist party in New York have decreased in number in many cases as compared with 1932, and still more as compared with 1930. Only in a few cases have the socialist candidates shown any increase over the 1932 figures, and even then the increases were not more than 15 per cent. The lead of the socialist party over the Communist Party in New York has been very considerably reduced. In some of the constituencies the Communist candidates overtook the socialist candidates.

Only very incomplete information is available concerning the votes cast for the Communist candidates in other States, but even this information shows considerable gains. This is true in particular of *Ohio*. In *Cleveland* the Communist candidate for the governorship received 5,568 votes, or more than five times as many as the socialist candidate, and all the Communist candidates in the town received an average of 40 per cent. more than at the last elections. In *Cincinnati* the Communist poll increased from 433 in 1932 to 1,258 this time. In *Toledo* the Communist poll increased from 266 in 1933 to 944 to-day. In *Cuyahoga* the Communist poll increased from 2,514 in 1932 to 3,476 in 1933 and 7,653 to-day, thus exceeding the total votes cast for the Communist Party throughout the whole State in 1932. The total Communist poll in this State at the recent elections will be in all probability around 13,000.

In an article entitled "*The Roosevelt Landslide*" the central organ of the Communist Party of the United States, "*The Daily Worker*" of November 8 writes:—

"The central feature of the elections, and the landslide for the New Deal candidates, was the almost unanimous support Roosevelt received from all ranks of the ruling class, from the big trusts, the bankers, the press, the radio and utilities interests. No matter what differences among certain sections of the bourgeoisie, the richest and most powerful groups basically supported the New Deal policies. . . .

"Roosevelt, besides the almost unanimous support among the ruling forces of the country, has built up a tremendous political machine, a bureaucracy firmly entrenched which can wield widespread influence and pressure. . . .

"The Communist Party is the only serious organiser of the mass struggles and resistance against the New Deal, and its failure thus far to win the large section of the basic proletariat explains the still powerful influence of Roosevelt's fraudulent promises, even when hundreds of thousands of workers in strikes have been struggling against the effects of these promises. . . .

"Now the tasks are set more clearly before us. The tremendous landslide shows the continuation of the Roosevelt illusions, though the blow to the republic "opposition," and the huge vote of the "Left" supporters of the New Deal, shows its increasingly demagogic character.

"Our fight especially must get to the roots of the main industrial centres, where great battles are coming.

"The mask must be ripped off the face of the New Deal. It is up to us to do it."

Unemployed Struggles in the U.S.A.

By Bosse (New York)

With over sixteen million persons in the United States still jobless, and with prices and the cost of living rising sharply and greater rises planned for the winter, the plight of the unemployed is desperate. Through various emergency relief measures the national and State governments have been providing in some measure for many of the unemployed. Now, with the national elections almost over, the government is brutally attacking the unemployed, in the expectation of cutting down on relief and saving money for the capitalists. Corresponding to the great wave of strikes, the struggles of the unemployed are rising, and these must be beaten down.

At Albany, capital of New York State, in Denver (Colorado),

Cleveland (Ohio), Springfield, capital of Illinois, and elsewhere bloody attacks have been made on demonstrations and strikes of the unemployed. In Cleveland the police clubbed 2,500 men, women and children demonstrating before City Hall for relief. Under the leadership of the Unemployed Councils and Small Home Owners' Federation, they were fighting for increased winter relief, enactment of the Workers' Unemployment Insurance Bill, against discrimination against Negroes, etc.

In Denver unemployed workers on special relief projects struck against a cut from 45 dollars down to 18 dollars a month. Police attacked 1,000 of them, firing into the mass picket line and shooting two, wounding several, and beating scores. The entire force of police was mobilised and a drive of terror begun against the C.P. and other militant organisations. A mass meeting of several thousands, protesting against the attack upon the strikers, was set upon and beaten.

The strike had stopped all relief work on nearby projects, the workers coming to Denver to spread the strike. Their demands were: the restoration of the cut; a 30-hour week under union conditions; no evictions or shutting off of electric light, gas or water; no discrimination against Negroes, Spanish or foreign-born workers; the right to organise and elect grievance committees on all relief jobs; enactment of the Unemployment Insurance Bill; and a special session of the Legislature to enact winter relief appropriations.

In Springfield 800 delegates of the unemployed of the State held their convention surrounded by police. Many of the delegates were arrested, but in spite of the terror they marched to the State Capitol, which was like an armed fortress. They demanded of the governor the release of the arrested delegates and won it. Returning to the meeting hall they went on with their order of business and completed it.

In Toledo 5,800 unmarried unemployed men were cut off from relief at the end of August. They organised and began a struggle for reinstatement, holding mass meetings, marches and demonstrations and forcing some concessions. Over 200 picketed in a "death march" day and night for six days. They stormed the County Court House, and took over the offices of the police chief, telephoning at his expense to the "Daily Worker," telling their story. Among the county commissioners who refused relief was an ex-representative of the Central Labour Union, the city A.F.L. body. The C.L.U. overrode him, endorsing the workers' demands and supporting them financially. Other A.F.L. locals (dairy, mill-workers and switchmen) supported the strike, and farmers aided with food. An effective fighting front was established between the C.P., S.P., Y.C.L., Y.P.S.L., Mustettes, and all unemployed organisations. One worker died in the struggle, and three dropped unconscious in the "death march."

In New York the attack on the hunger marchers of the State Capitol was fiercest. In town after town they were refused permission to pass through, or were attacked. When the New York City delegation of 180 came to the outskirts of Albany they were set upon by police in ambush, and viciously beaten up when they refused to turn back. The leaders were beaten unconscious, 50 others injured, 21 of them badly, and 100 arrested. Later some of them were beaten in the police stations till their bandages ran with blood.

A flood of protest telegrams from workers' and liberals' organisations poured into Governor Lehman. Even his Republican opponent for the governorship had to refer in his speech the next day to this brutal attack.

The 200 delegates (100 more were still jailed) marched through the streets of Albany, led by Comrade **Amter**, Communist gubernatorial candidate and leader of the national unemployed councils. Thousands of workers crowded the streets and the lawn of the capitol to greet the hunger marchers, despite the mobilisation of all the police and State troopers in the city. The delegates demanded an appropriation of 200,000,000 dollars for winter relief in a special session of the Legislature, stating that the two million jobless in the State would fight for it until they got it. They demanded the enactment of the Unemployment Insurance Bill, of the Farmers' Relief Bill, and of the Small Home Owners' Bill.

In New York City a delegation of Communist electoral candidates visited Lehman in his expensive Park Avenue home. They demanded the release of the 100 arrested delegates, while workers picketed the house on the sidewalk below. Thousands of other workers picketed the State office building in New York City, de-

manding that the governor return to Albany to meet the delegates and free those arrested.

This fascist attack by the State authorities on the defenceless, starving unemployed was not merely a local police department's opposition to a workers' march. It expressed the policy of the Roosevelt government to beat down the amount of relief the unemployed are receiving and to starve the workers further in order to save profits and taxes for the bankers and industrialists. It is part of the campaign against the jobless workers to attempt to make them face quietly a Winter of great suffering, of sharply decreased relief expenditures and rising cost of living—the capitalist way out of the crisis at the expense of the masses.

Roosevelt's Federal Emergency Relief Administration, after the bloody attack, pretended to bewail the fact that the beaten and bloody workers had to sleep out on a cold hillside. They tried to hide the fact that the attack was part of a nation-wide onslaught upon all militant jobless workers.

The New York State hunger march was organised by the United Action Conference on Work Relief and Unemployment; the C.P. played a leading role in mobilising the workers for the march, and was the only party to endorse it. It was the only one to rally the workers' organisations to the support of the marchers, and to protest against the murderous attack upon it. Its election platform contains all the demands of the marchers. The needle trades unions, under the influence of the socialist party and led by prominent socialists, made their united front with millionaire Governor Lehman, endorsing his candidacy. Although many needle workers were among the marchers, the socialist unions did not lift a finger to support them. At its final election rally of 15,000 in the largest hall in New York City, Madison Square Garden, the C.P. greeted the returning hunger marchers enthusiastically when they marched in.

An Official Negro Lynching

By Bosse (New York)

The Southern ruling class has lynched another young Negro, after terrible torture, and under such conditions as to make it almost a national scandal. Government officials, from local deputy sheriffs to Roosevelt's attorney-general, co-operated in as bloody a conspiracy as the country has ever known. This case has a direct bearing on the **Scottsboro case**, which is before the U.S. Supreme Court in Appeal; as the treacherous lawyers and reactionary Negro misleaders try to smash the I.L.D. (International Labour Defence), the terror against the Negro masses is intensified with brazen openness.

Claude Neal, a 24-year old youth, was accused of raping and killing the daughter of a farmer in Marianna, Florida, who was probably killed by her white lover. There was no direct evidence, and what there was could easily have been planted near Neal's house. For a week he was transferred from one jail to another, including those in comparatively large cities, such as Pensacola. The fourth one was at Brewton, Alabama, from which he was taken by a Florida mob, in violation of state and federal laws. Meanwhile the officials and businessmen of Florida tried to whip up a lynch spirit. He was held by the mob for 36 hours and barbarously tortured to force a confession. During a great part of this period news was broadcast throughout the country that he was to be lynched; the U.S. Attorney-General, the press, the Governor of Florida, the local officers, clubwomen, etc., were notified. For hours before thousands of people gathered, some of them women with babes in arms.

It should be noted that the jailers at Brewton exacted confession from Neal and broadcasted it the same night he was taken by the Florida mob. He was mutilated with knives, then shot and dragged miles behind automobiles to the farm of the murdered girl's father and dumped into the yard. The thousands who had gathered for the spectacle were disappointed. The old father did not so much grieve as complain, "They done me wrong about the killing. They promised me they would . . . let me have the first shot."

The frame-up pogromist character of the lynching can be seen from the part played by all officials concerned. The jailers at Brewton said, according to a report in the "Mobile Register" (October 27), ". . . no attempt was made to follow" the lynch mob. The invitation "to all white folks to witness the slaying" was published in the capitalist press of several counties and sent by courier for miles around. While Neal was held in prison the

"Dothan (Alabama) Eagle" published the place where he was held; several local officers admitted knowing where he was. Attorney-General Cummings in Washington virtually gave his approval, saying that no federal action was contemplated because "it did not involve a kidnapping for ransom." Since the kidnapping was an inter-state matter, the federal government could act, but Cummings' attitude shows that the law protects only bankers and other rich men, since Negro and white workers are never held for ransom.

How quickly the forces of law and order worked when they wished to do so is seen from the dispatch with which they sent troops when the situation threatened to get out of their control, and it became possible that the Negro workers might mobilise to defend themselves against the lynchers. The state adjutant-general sent an airplane loaded with tear gas and the Governor ordered the National Guard out to patrol Marianna. The lynch mob was chasing Negroes from the streets and threatening to dynamite the jail in which Neal's mother and aunt were held after their arrest. The two women were taken from one jail to another allegedly to protect them. Another Negro was threatened with lynching for hitting a white man.

The flood of protests was such that the Associated Press had to write, "Criticism of State and County Authorities echoed from all parts of the country." The Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching telegraphed to Cummings urging federal prosecution. The Commission on Inter-Racial Co-operation telegraphed Roosevelt, stating that forty Florida lynchings in twelve years without a single conviction "indicates that there is no hope of action from the authorities of that state." Although the lynching was marked by unmistakable torture and mutilation, "local officials were apparently indifferent throughout." The president of the Florida Council of the Association of Southern Women had telegraphed the Governor before the lynching: "Expected cold-blooded lynching of Negro in Jackson County tonight too horrible to contemplate . . . will you not call out troops to prevent crime? Remember your words to me last January, 'Give me two hours' notice and I'll call out troops. . .'" (N.Y. "Herald-Tribune," October 27). The National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (N.A.A.C.P.), a reactionary organisation of liberal Negro and white intellectuals, urged Roosevelt to check lynchings, "as did your fine pronouncement last year." The fact is that during the year and a half Roosevelt has been president there have been 45 authenticated lynchings, probably more than at any similar period in recent years.

Senator Costigan, a liberal Senator who introduced an anti-lynching Bill that lapsed in the Senate, stated that while the Bill was pending there was not a lynching for months, but as soon as it died they began again at the rate of one lynching a week. This bill provided for trial in federal courts for lynchings, for fining the county where it occurred, and for prosecution of local officials guilty of laxity. Forty million people endorsed the Bill (the Wagner-Costigan Bill), but it was defeated.

The League of Struggle for Negro Rights (under the influence of the C.P.), the I.L.D. and other Left wing organisations, denounced bitterly the lynching and the part played in it by the authorities. The League started a move to get Negro churches, workers' bodies and intellectuals in Harlem, New York's Negro quarter, to protest and to voice its demand for the arrest and prosecution of the lynchers and officials, including the sheriffs of Brewton and Marianna.

The Harlem section of the C.P. held a protest demonstration of over 1,000 Negro workers, in connection with an all-day Scottsboro protest. They voted to send telegrams to Roosevelt and the two Governors, condemning their complicity in the lynching of Neal and demanding the death penalty for the lynchers and officials involved. The speakers made it clear that this latest attack of the white bourgeoisie was directly prepared by the attempt to betray the Scottsboro boys by Leibowitz and the N.A.A.C.P. As one Negro worker said in filling out an application to join the C.P., "Claude Neal is the tenth Scottsboro boy, and I'm not going to be next."

The press played its characteristic role in this lynching. The N.Y. "Times" called the lynch mob a "group" of "unruly citizens." The liberal N.Y. "World-Telegram" pretended indignation: "Lynchings are almost impossible without the connivance, open or tacit, of the local officers of the law with the mobs." It would probably be satisfied with quite legal lynchings. The

Miami (Florida) "Herald" wrote editorially that "Civilized man is never far from the primitive." It said that Neal was the "victim of a maddened crowd," this laughing, joking, curious crowd of sightseers which waited while the real lynch mob did its work. It called lynchings a process that blackened the name of the state, but argued that "the mob may be more effective than the law." Neal "deserved death. And his sensational killing will serve as a warning to others."

This voice of the ruling class was the real organiser of the lynching, and its attitude expresses fully the determination to keep the Negro enslaved, politically and economically, at all costs. It is against this civilisation and democracy that the fight for the Scottsboro boys is being waged, summing up the entire struggle.

Spain

A Report on the Course of the Revolutionary Movement in Catalonia

The "Information Bulletin" of the Communist Party in Spain publishes the following report on the development of the revolutionary movement in Catalonia:—

On October 4, at 11 o'clock at night, the representatives of the Workers' Alliance assembled at various important points in Catalonia and awaited instructions to prevent the entry of the Catalan nationalists into the government. When the general strike order was given to the provincial representatives they returned to their posts at about 3 a.m., taking with them detailed instructions for the declaration of the general strike. By 10 a.m. the general strike was effective in all the important districts of Catalonia.

In Villanueva the Catalan Republic was proclaimed the same morning and also in Sitges and Sabadell, where, despite the fact that the local municipality was in the hands of the Catalan left-wingers, the Workers' Alliance acted on its own initiative and besieged the barracks of the Civil Guards. In Barcelona the picketing was carried out by members of the Workers' Alliance and by non-party workers. The Estat Catala (the left-wing republican national organisation) provided its own pickets. In many cases Communist workers picketed with these Estat Catala picket groups. By 10 a.m. the whole public life of Barcelona had come to a standstill.

The Attitude of the Generalitat Government on Friday

Naturally, the general strike was carried out in agreement with the Generalitat government, and here and there the strike work was assisted by the governmental troops, who, however, otherwise maintained passivity. Attempts were made to test the spirit of the army, and high hopes were placed on the reports from other parts of Spain. On Friday morning Dencas, the Police President of the Generalitat, requested that a delegate from the Workers' Alliance and a delegate from the Estat Catala should be sent to Sabell, in order to raise the siege of the barracks of the Civil Guards, in order, as he said, to avoid a conflict, because the Commandant of the Civil Guards otherwise intended to send reinforcements to raise the siege. The request of Dencas was rejected, and finally he ordered the Civil Guards in Sabell not to leave their barracks without express orders.

Saturday, October 6

In the morning news came that the general strike was complete throughout the whole of Catalonia, that the railway lines had been ripped up in many places, that all trains had been held up in Taragona, Lerida, Manresa, Villanueva and other towns, that all the municipalities in which the Liga (reactionary Junker party) had the majority had been seized by the workers and the municipal buildings occupied, that a Workers' Republic had been proclaimed and that the Workers' Alliance was in command of all the municipalities.

In the afternoon news finally arrived that Companys was at last about to proclaim an independent Catalan Republic. The Workers' Alliance sent delegates to all the important districts in Catalonia with instructions to seize and distribute the land of the rich, to arm the masses of the workers and peasants, to disarm all reactionaries, to arrest the Kaziks, the representatives of the rich landowners who terrorise the Spanish villages, and to proclaim a Catalan Republic.

On the same day the Workers' Alliance seized the building of the Institute for National Labour, and established its headquarters. Motor-cars were seized and did service for the Workers' Alliance, bearing placards with the words "Workers' Alliance." About 600 workers were provided with armbands bearing the same inscription. At 6 o'clock in the afternoon a great demonstration of the Workers' Alliance took place in the Plaza de Catalunya in front of the buildings of the Generalitat to demand the proclamation of a Catalan Republic. About 2,500 workers took part in this demonstration, including about 1,000 with red armbands and in military formation. The demonstrating workers were cheered by the general public on the streets in the centre of the town.

The comparatively small size of the demonstration was due first of all to the fact that insufficient propaganda had been conducted for the meeting, and, secondly, that the streets were already occupied by armed groups of the Estat Catala. The spirit of insurrection was abroad, and only those persons prepared to fight were left in the streets in the centre of the town. The demonstration marched past the leaders of the Workers' Alliance with fists raised, and many cheers sounded for the Catalan Republic and shouts of "Death to Fascism!" and "Down with the Lerroux government!" The committee of the Workers' Alliance was received by Companys who read the draft of a proclamation, which he intended to issue at 8 o'clock the same evening.

Saturday Night

The Catalan Republic was proclaimed by Companys at 8 o'clock that evening. By 10.15 the troops had occupied the Plaza de la Republica and martial law was proclaimed. The troops were attacked from the building of the Generalitat, but a battery of artillery, stationed in the Calle de Jaime, a little way off, advanced into the Plaza de la Republic and took up its position opposite to the buildings of the Generalitat and the Town Hall. The Generalitat was in the defensive from the beginning and showed no initiative whatever. It confined its activities to a lame defence against the attacks of the troops. When the firing began in the Plaza de la Republica all the streets which led from the Plaza de la Republica to the Ramblas (main street of Barcelona) were unoccupied, and apparently the Generalitat had no serious intentions of putting up a defence by occupying these streets and the overlooking houses. The forces of the Estat Catala, which were fairly strong, held the entrance to the Rambla, the Plaza de Catalunya, the Paseo de Cortez and other points. However, the main body of the Estat Catala was engaged in defending barricades which no one showed any signs of attacking.

The headquarters of the Workers' Alliance were surrounded with barricades, which were erected chiefly in order to give the 600 workers who were stationed there something to do, for none of them were armed.

Sunday, October 7

After the capitulation of the Generalitat government demoralisation rapidly spread through the ranks of the Estat Catala. The men threw away their rifles and went home. There were some exceptions to this and these exceptions joined the members of the Workers' Alliance, who continued to resist throughout the morning and did their best to reorganise the struggle, but for various reasons that was not possible.

Our party is at present working with great intensity in Barcelona, as in most other parts of Spain. Our casualty list at present is two dead, three wounded and five sentenced to hard labour for life. In addition a number of comrades are missing and we do not know their fate.

In Barcelona the anarchists were opposed to the movement from the beginning, and they had to be compelled to take part in the general strike. On Monday the anarchist leaders issued a broadcast from the headquarters of the 4th Division calling on all workers to return to work.

Solidarity Action for Spanish Proletariat

Prague, November 15.

A protest resolution, demanding the release of Caballero and the other Spanish anti-fascists has been forwarded to the Spanish Embassy by the Municipal Council of Komorn, near Brüx. During the division on this resolution, the social democratic councillors abstained from voting. Further protests have been sent by 400 participants in a public meeting in Prague-Holesovice, and by 198 workers from Klattau, who signed the written protest with their own hands.

Fight Against Imperialist War

The Anti-War Demonstrations on Armistice Day

By C. U. (Paris)

The appeal of the World Committee against Imperialist War and Fascism to hold mass demonstrations on November 11 met with a great response among the masses. Some of the national committees succeeded in extending the mass movement against war and holding street demonstrations bearing a militant character.

The demonstrations in France were incomparably larger than in the past years. The National Committee succeeded in winning 28 republican and pacifist associations of the ex-servicemen, comprising more than half a million members, for joint demonstrations with the committees against war and fascism. In the Paris district the socialist party and the district committee of the C.G.T. endorsed the appeal. Thus it was possible to mobilise 100,000 people in a demonstration, among them being about 10,000 ex-servicemen and a great number of women. In Lille there was held for the first time a great united front demonstration of the toilers with the co-operation of the socialists and the trade unions and participated in by 60,000 people.

The number of demonstrators in the provinces, such as Nancy, Le Havre, Dunkerque, Lyons, Marseilles, Bordeaux, Toulouse, can be estimated at about 100,000.

In Great Britain and Ireland the demonstrations on armistice day resulted in a great rally of the anti-war forces. Several demonstrations took place in London, of which the women's meeting organised by the Women's Committee against war deserves special mention. For the first time 2,000 dock workers, students and other toilers demonstrated in the important harbour town of Southampton. In addition, demonstrations took place in Newcastle, Glasgow, Dublin, Oxford and Cambridge. In the last two towns the students' committees carried out the preparations for the demonstrations. It is significant that also in England fresh strata of toilers participated this year in the anti-war demonstrations. In Oxford, for instance, the demonstration was supported by the local Labour party, the trade unions, the League of Nations Union and the Society of Friends, and representatives of these bodies spoke at the meeting. In Dublin a great number of ex-servicemen took part in the demonstration.

In Austria several demonstrations of workers took place in the working-class quarters of Vienna, where it came to collisions with the police, in the course of which several hundred workers were arrested.

In the United States the call for mass demonstrations on armistice day was issued by the National Congress Against War and Fascism, which had recently taken place in Chicago. Meetings in which a large number of students participated were held in several centres. The Federation of Socialist Students, the pacifist students, the Union of Christian Students, as well as the revolutionary Students' League formed a joint committee for carrying out the demonstrations and issued joint proclamations.

The Australian Committee against War and Fascism for weeks conducted a campaign against the imperialist centenary celebrations of the State of Victoria, which culminated in a Congress on November 11, attended by numerous delegates. At the same time great mass demonstrations against imperialist war, against Japanese and English imperialism, for the defence of the Soviet Union and the Chinese people, took place in all parts of the country. In this connection mention should be made of the fact that the Australian government, in collaboration with the British government, refused to allow the Czechoslovakian writer Egon Erwin Kisch, the representative of the World Committee, to land in Australia. A great campaign conducted in Australia and supported by the British national committee secured at last his release from the ship and permission to land.

In Holland a great anti-war demonstration organised by the Anti-War League took place in Amsterdam; it was so well attended that two large halls were filled to overflowing.

In the Saar district three conferences, organised by the national committee, took place. These conferences were of a broad united front character: 30 per cent. of the delegates were socialists and 30 per cent. came from the ranks of the Catholics and unorganised workers. At the same time a number of meetings took place, for instance in St. Wendel, where 600 peasants demon-

strated against war and for the *status quo*. This campaign gave a great impetus to the political struggle which is being waged in the Saar between the followers of the "German Front" and the front of the anti-fascists for the *status quo*.

Summing up, we can say that this year we succeeded to a greater extent than in former years in drawing the ex-servicemen, the women and the students into the movement. In addition, a big participation of socialist and pacifist organisations is to be recorded. Of particular importance is the mobilisation of the masses in some harbour towns, as for instance, Southampton, Bordeaux, Marseilles, Le Havre, etc., where the dockers formed the bulk of demonstrators.

We must record as a weakness of the campaign the fact that the national committees omitted to link up the mobilisation of the masses against imperialist war with the economic demands of the various sections of the population and with the struggle against fascism at home. The great shortcomings in the preparations made by the national committees for armistice day are due to the fact that the national committees, owing to an underestimation of the militant determination of the masses against imperialist war, displayed a certain passivity. This weakness in the work of the national committees must now be overcome with all energy.

War Preparations in Austria

By Herbert

Austria is regarded by the international public as a relatively pacifist and peaceful State. Whilst the open and covert armaments of Germany and Hungary and the danger of war resulting from them are everywhere clearly realised, there is hardly any mention of the war preparations of Austrian fascism. In most cases these armaments are represented, and thereby justified, as mere measures of defence on the part of Austria against the national socialist danger. In reality, however, Austrian fascism is no less eager for war than Hitler Germany and Horthy Hungary.

The frantic attempts of Austria to increase its armaments, as well as numerous proclamations by its present rulers, clearly show that Austria is making all preparations for going over to an "active foreign policy" and extending its military apparatus to such an extent as to be able to intervene effectively in the future military conflicts. In this respect Austria is receiving the support of Italy, for whom Austria is a buffer State against Germany and the Little Entente, as well as place d'armes in the Danube Basin. Under the protection of Mussolini, Austrian armaments are directed just as much, if not more, against Yugoslavia as against Germany.

The immediate aims of the Austrian government in regard to armaments are the introduction of general compulsory military service and the achievement of autarchy in the sphere of the manufacture of armaments. Great progress has been made in this respect since February last. Needless to say, the Austrian government, just like that of Germany and Hungary, does not consider itself bound by the provisions of the Versailles Treaty, although, on the other hand, the pressure exerted, above all by the States of the Little Entente, has hitherto prevented the carrying out of a number of measures in the sphere of armaments.

According to the Peace Treaty of Saint Germain, Austria is permitted to have an army of at most 30,000 long-service soldiers. Short-term military service is forbidden. Up to recent years the Austrian army never or hardly ever reached this maximum limit; owing to financial reasons, the number of soldiers amounted to no more than 20,000. It was only in 1933 that the Austrian government received permission to extend its army up to the limit of 30,000 men allowed by the Peace Treaty by "volunteers" serving with the colours for a short time. The 8,000 men comprising the so-called "A" formation were taken from the volunteer defence organisations. At the same time there was set up as "B" formation the so-called volunteer defence corps recruited from the Heimwehr and other fascist military organisations. Since August Austria has had a State Secretary for the volunteer defence formations in the person of the former monarchist General *Koenigsbrunn*, who works in close connection with the army.

The Federal army and the volunteer defence corps number together over 100,000 men, or over three times the strength of the army allowed by the Peace Treaty. The military value of these forces is at present reduced by reason of political friction between the army and the defence corps, as well as between the various fascist groupings within the defence corps. The army authorities are therefore aiming at the complete incorporation of all armed forces in the army and their subordination to a uniform command.

One of the points of the programme which Schuschnigg wished to put through in Geneva was that the signatory Powers should agree to the strength of the army being increased to 50,000. This request, however, was rejected owing to the opposition of Yugoslavia, which was supported by France. The inner-fascist antagonisms are now to be bridged over by doing away with the diversities between the various defence organisations and setting up a uniform command.

Simultaneously with the numerical increase in the army, weapons and munitions are being manufactured at a feverish pace. The Hirtenberg munitions factory is working at full capacity. A part of the shares which since the collapse of the Creditanstalt were in Swiss hands have recently been bought back. A new department for the manufacture of explosives has been set up in the State munitions factory in Blumau. The Steyr motor and cycle works, which, as is known, produced munitions during the war, is being developed as the third centre of the Austrian armaments industry. The increase in the number of workers from 600 to 2,500 is due almost entirely to the works having taken over the production of munitions. There is already talk of increasing the number of workers in this factory to 10,000 in the next weeks. The Steyr works is at present engaged on orders placed by the federal army as well as with armament orders from abroad (Germany, South Africa, Japan). In this connection mention should be made of the efforts to buy back the majority of the Alpine Montan shares, which are at present in German hands.

Special importance is attached to the air defence. An air defence association, enjoying the fullest support of the State, has existed for some time. According to recent newspaper reports, the government is planning to render membership of the air defence association compulsory. In the last few months a number of large-scale air defence manoeuvres, in which the army and the defence organisations took part, were carried out. It is intended next spring to carry out such an action in Vienna itself. The government, however, is not confining itself to defensive measures against air attacks. Austria has for a long time been in possession of military planes which were placed at its disposal by Italy. Italian pilots and flying officers have given instructions to Austrian army airmen at the Thalerhof aerodrome near Graz.

Just as in Germany, the government's programme for providing work mainly serves military purposes. The modernising of roads and building of new ones is being carried out mainly from a strategic point of view. Thus, for instance, the newly built Pack street renders it possible to transport troops from Carinthia to Styria by the shortest route, and will be of great importance in the event of a war between Yugoslavia and Italy.

Parallel with the incorporation of the volunteer defence corps in the army there is taking place a militarisation of the gendarmerie and police. Even if this is intended in the first place for the purpose of holding down the Austrian workers, its military importance must not be left out of sight. The technical equipment of the police is being constantly improved; they already have their own aeroplanes, armoured cars, etc. The flying squads are being equipped with machine-pistols; tear-gas is to be introduced shortly.

The ideological preparations for war correspond to the technical and organisational. Military parades, war monuments and monarchist propaganda are intended to popularise the idea of the "old monarchy" and of the "old victorious Austrian army." Even if Austrian fascism has achieved little in this direction its efforts should not be underestimated. It is necessary for the Communist Party to increase its activity among the members of the defence corps, the more so as the antagonisms between the various parts of the armed apparatus and the consequent increased discontent of the soldiers, members of the defence corps, etc., greatly facilitates the penetration of our propaganda. As a matter of fact there have been numerous cases in the last few months of insubordination, mutiny, etc., in the defence corps. In some cases detachments of the defence corps have had to be dissolved because Soviet stars and other revolutionary emblems were found in their barracks.

The international working class must support the fight of the Austrian workers against the fascist dictatorship, which is at the same time a fight against the Austro-Italian warmongers. In this connection the joint appeal of the Italian Socialist and Communist Parties, which emphatically protested against the Italian imperialist policy in Austria, deserves special welcome.

Austria, as the weakest point of the capitalist system, can become the scene of the outbreak of war forming the commencement of the next world war. It can, however, become the point from which, as the weakest imperialist country, the new triumphant advance of the revolution may commence.

Fight for the Unity of the Labour Movement

The Struggle for the United Front!

By George Dimitrov

For the advanced workers of capitalist countries, to celebrate the anniversary of the October victory means, first and foremost, that it is necessary to learn, and to make use of, the lessons of the socialist revolution for the struggle of the international proletariat.

In the October revolution the **dictatorship of the proletariat**, set up by the Russian working class under the leadership of the **revolutionary proletarian Party**—the Party of the Bolsheviks, triumphed in a fierce struggle against Menshevism. The October revolution was victorious owing to the **alliance of the proletariat with the peasantry** in which alliance the political leadership belonged to the proletariat. The armed insurrection of the workers in October, 1917, was victorious because it based itself on the **Soviets** as organs of the insurrection and the seizure of power, as organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The toilers of the U.S.S.R. defended the achievements of the October revolution because, being a part of the world proletarian revolution, it based itself upon the **support of the international proletariat**.

The vast achievements during the seventeen years of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U.S.S.R., brought about under the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, are now recognised by the whole world. The dictatorship of the proletariat, uniting millions of toilers around itself, transformed a backward agrarian country into an industrial country, completely doing away with unemployment and poverty. Owing to the socialist reconstruction of agriculture on the basis of collective farms, the U.S.S.R. has become a country of big mechanised, collective farms. The constant rise in the material standard of living of the toiling masses in town and country and the rapid development of a new, socialist culture, is taking place on the basis of a more and more rapid improvement in the economic situation of the country. Russia, the former prison of nations, has become transformed into a fraternal union of Soviet Republics of various nationalities. The Soviet Union is the main point of support of the world proletarian revolution, the stronghold of socialism, the bulwark of peace between nations, the socialist fatherland of the toilers of all countries.

At the same time, in the capitalist countries, severe economic crisis, which is unparalleled in history in depth, profundity and duration, has doomed millions of people to poverty and starvation. Even in those countries where the crisis has gone over into a depression of a special kind, accompanied by a certain improvement in industry, the situation of the broad masses has not improved, but got worse. Millions of workers remain without work and without hope of getting it. The bourgeoisie is reducing wages, doing away with the last remnants of social insurance, ruining the peasant masses and condemning millions of toiling youth to unemployment, to physical and moral degradation.

In trying to find a way out of the crisis by means of a new division of markets, sources of raw materials and spheres of influence, the bourgeoisie is increasingly preparing a new war for the redivision of the world. A feverish growth of armaments is taking place, the productive apparatus of the country is being adapted to the tasks of war, new military slavery is being organised for the workers.

The economic offensive of the bourgeoisie and the preparations for war impel the broad toiling masses to ever-increasing resistance. In a number of countries the masses of the workers, under the leadership of the Communist Parties, are more and more taking the path of revolutionary struggle.

In order, under these conditions, better to carry through its policy of plundering the toiling masses and preparing for war, the bourgeoisie in all countries is more and more intensifying its dictatorship and is more frequently resorting to the **fascist** form of the bourgeois dictatorship, liquidating the last remains of democratic rights and liberties. The fundamental task of fascism is to destroy the class organisations of the proletariat, physically to annihilate the revolutionary proletarian vanguard, to establish a

regime of terror, lawlessness and degrading slavery for millions of toilers.

Being the representative of the most imperialistic and the most chauvinistic elements of the bourgeoisie, fascism, in its search for a way out of the crisis by means of a redivision of the world, strives to dupe the broad masses by nationalist or race propaganda, to incite one nation against the other and to unleash a new imperialist war. True to its fundamental class task—to destroy the labour movement—fascism is endeavouring to unite the most reactionary forces of the bourgeois world for an attack upon the vanguard of the international proletariat—the U.S.S.R.

For the time being the bourgeoisie in a number of countries is still succeeding, by making use of the division of the forces of the proletariat, to **strike at the working class one section at a time, and to do this with the help of a section of the peasantry**. The bourgeoisie either crushes the vanguard of the working class, isolated from the rest of the proletariat and from the peasantry, as was the case in Austria, or with the aid of a peasant army, it defeats the insurgent city workers who have not set up a fighting alliance with the peasantry, as is taking place in Spain; or it establishes a fascist dictatorship in one country without the working class of the neighbouring countries being able to give active support to its class brothers who are being attacked by fascism.

Why was the October Revolution of the Russian Proletariat victorious and why were the proletariat of the European countries not victorious during their revolutionary activity in 1918-20? Why were the Soviet Republics of Hungary and Bavaria, the revolutions of Germany, Austria and Finland, the seizure of the factories and plants by the workers in Italy—why were these movements broken, crushed and drowned in blood? Why was it possible for fascism to come to power in Germany and Austria? Why does fascism now menace the working class in other countries, in even the apparently democratic countries?

These questions now confront every thinking worker. These questions are being persistently put by the workers, the members of the social-democratic parties, the reformist trade unions and other organisations.

All this took place because the overwhelming majority of the European workers followed social-democratic leadership, followed the policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie, believed the social-democratic theories that by collaborating with the bourgeoisie it is possible, by means of the bourgeois-democratic republic, to achieve socialism painlessly and peacefully. This took place because the European proletariat did not have a strong, united revolutionary party. This took place also because the European proletariat was not able to rouse the millions of peasant reserves to the struggle.

The historical responsibility for the failure of the revolutions of 1918-20, for fascism coming to power, thus rests upon the social democracy and its policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie. Millions of workers who followed the social-democratic party are more and more clearly recognising this responsibility.

In all the capitalist countries the workers are more and more beginning to understand the necessity for restoring their unity and are more and more supporting the initiative of the Communist Parties in the organisation of the united front. **The question of the united proletarian front is becoming the central question and the most urgent task of the working-class movement of all countries.**

The question of the united front brings internal differentiation and struggle into the ranks of the social-democratic parties and other non-Communist workers' organisations. The Right wing elements in these parties who are closely connected with the bourgeoisie are exerting every effort to prevent the organisation of the united front. The advanced social-democratic workers, on the other hand, are more and more boldly coming to the united front, to the struggle together with the Communists. The "Left" ele-

ments of the social-democratic parties are trying by means of demagogic phrases to keep the hesitating social-democratic workers from realising the united front and thus to hinder the further revolutionising of the social-democratic masses.

As the united front develops and extends, this more or less lengthy process of differentiation inside the social-democratic parties will develop, the internal struggle in the ranks of the social-democratic parties will become more intense, in some cases going as far as the splitting away of Right wing groups and drawing still closer to the bourgeois parties, and, on the other hand, leading to the uniting of some of the groups and organisations of the revolutionising social-democratic workers with the Communist Parties.

We have already seen the fact of tremendous importance, which was not to be observed during recent years, that the social-democratic workers and the social-democratic organisations in a number of countries are marching together with the Communists even to the armed struggle against fascism. We have seen how the advanced social-democratic workers in **Austria**, having rejected the conciliatory policy of social democracy, took up arms hand in hand with the Communist workers and at the last moment tried to stop the offensive of fascism. At the present time the Austrian working class, taking to heart the lessons of the February fight, are establishing unity on the path of the revolutionary struggle. In **Spain**, the Communists, socialists and anarcho-syndicalist workers took up arms against the attack of fascist reaction. Not long before the beginning of the armed struggle the Communist Party entered the **Workers' Alliance**, making it into an organisation of the united front. It was solely the united front, which was commenced to be carried out only in the course of the struggle itself, made it possible for the working class of Spain, even without drawing in the reserves of the peasant revolution, to carry on such a stubborn, such a lengthy struggle, which in some districts led to the establishment of the power of the workers and peasants.

During the last few months a rapid development of the united front has taken place in **France**. The Communist Party and the Socialist Party concluded a pact for a joint struggle against fascism and the bourgeois offensive. Rallying in the united front and beginning to combine in united trade unions, the French working class is successfully beating back the provocative onslaught of fascism. The strivings of the workers towards unity in the struggle are growing in all countries.

But these are only the first steps. In spite of the resistance to the united front by the leaders of the Second International and of a number of social-democratic parties, it is necessary to go further towards widening and strengthening the united front among the masses. The united front is first and foremost **the wide mobilisation and uniting of the masses from below**, in the factories, around the united organs of struggle formed by the masses themselves. The immediate task of the united front is now to form **elected organs of the united front** from below, chiefly in the factories and mills. An equally important task for the further widening of the united front is also the **uniting of the trade union organisations** of the working class, as organs of its class struggle against the bourgeoisie.

The further successes of the united front depend primarily on the all-round strengthening of the Communist Parties, on the correct policy and energetic mass work of the Communists themselves, because it is precisely they who are the real initiators of the united front and its chief organising force.

When carrying out the tactics of the united front, two kinds of hindrances are met with, which make themselves felt to a greater or less extent, according to the concrete conditions in various countries. **Firstly**, there is a failure to understand the importance and urgency of organising the united proletarian front, a sectarian fear of the masses, a fear of wide mass political action. Consistent and lengthy work among the masses for the organisation of the united front is sometimes reduced merely to formal approach to the social-democratic party. The refusal of the social-democratic leaders to undertake joint action merely causes some comrades to breathe a sigh of relief, instead of making them work with redoubled energy, utilising this sabotage by social-democratic leaders and in spite of their resistance, to draw closer to the social-democratic workers and lead them to the united front.

Sometimes the whole tactics of the united front are looked upon by some comrades simply as the immediate transition of the social-democratic workers into the ranks of the Communist Parties.

However, it is a more or less lengthy process for the social-democratic and other non-Communist workers to come over to the path of the revolutionary struggle, and during this process we must fight for each individual worker.

Secondly, in their efforts to reach an agreement with socialist parties or to preserve an existing agreement, our comrades may sometimes slur over the difference in principle between our ideology and that of the social democrats, or may restrict the struggle of the united front simply to the limits of the agreement, not making the mobilisation of the masses themselves the chief centre of the united front. It must be understood that the struggle for the organisation of the united front, for its strengthening and widening, does not exclude but on the contrary presupposes constant ideological work for explaining to the working masses the difference in principle between the Communists and social democratic parties, between Communism and social democracy, between the line of irreconcilable class struggle and the line of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, between the path of Bolshevism, which led to the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R., and the path of social-democracy, which led to the victory of reaction and fascism in a number of countries.

The conclusion of an agreement with the social-democratic parties for a joint struggle against the capitalist offensive, against fascism and war, which is one of the means of practically carrying out the united proletarian front, by no means signifies that we shall stop or weaken our struggle against social-democratic ideology—the ideology and practice of compromise with the bourgeoisie.

On the contrary, in the interests of the united front itself, this ideological struggle must be intensified. Our propaganda must be linked up with our proletarian policy. It is necessary to avoid the replacement of a concrete policy by abstract propaganda. It must not be forgotten that the Communist Party is the **political party** of the proletariat, and not a society for the propaganda of Communism. While fighting for the formation of the united proletarian front, the Communists must not for a moment lose sight of their revolutionary perspective, must be able to link up the tactics of the united front with the strategic task—the struggle for the victory of the proletarian revolution, for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Successful work for the formation and widening of the united proletarian front is impossible unless a constant struggle is carried on against the above-mentioned two chief hindrances. The chief blow must be directed against the hindrance which, at the given moment and in the given concrete situation, at the given stage of the struggle, is the **chief hindrance** towards carrying out and strengthening the united front. It is particularly necessary to avoid the schematic application of the tactics of the united front, without taking into account the correlation of class forces and the concrete conditions in each country, the mechanical transfer of the experience of one country—France, for example—to other and sometimes absolutely different conditions in another country—England, for instance. Such a stereotyped, uncritical transfer of political and organisational experience from one country to all others, has frequently led to failures which have cost the working class very dear.

The **Communist International**, taking as its basis the growth and consolidation of its sections, the revolutionising masses of workers in the social-democratic parties, the reformist trade unions and other organisations, considers the most important task of the day to be the organisation of the joint struggle of the Communist, social-democratic, anarcho-syndicalist and other workers against the offensive of capital, against fascism and the war danger. For the formation and strengthening of the united proletarian front is now the **main link** in the preparation of the world proletarian revolution.

The Hundred and Fourteenth Blast Furnace in the Soviet Union

The first blast furnace has now been lighted in the new foundry in Novolipetzk, which is rapidly approaching completion. This furnace will produce 900 tons of pig-iron a day. The feeding of the furnace with ore, coal and chalk is carried out mechanically. The finished pig-iron is then carried mechanically into the casting department. With the opening up of this latest blast furnace the Soviet Union has now 114 blast furnaces at work, most of them modern.

United Front in Support of the Spanish Toilers

The following is a report of the speech made by Comrade *Harry Pollitt* at the united front demonstration on behalf of the Spanish workers, held in the Memorial Hall, London, on November 16.

The events which have taken place in *Spain*, and are taking place in *Spain* to-day, are all the more remarkable because they represent the highest point reached in the struggle which has now been going on continuously since 1931. A struggle taking place in a country where incredible poverty is rampant, which is not a highly industrialised country like Britain or Germany, but where more than 60 per cent. of the people are land and forest workers, more than 1½ million peasants are devoid of all land, where a further million have exceptionally small quantities of land, where there is an unemployed army, which for *Spain* is a tremendous number considering its size, of 1½ million, and when in spite of all these things we have seen a unity between the workers and peasants that has not been equalled in any country since the pre-revolutionary struggles in *Russia*, prior to 1917.

The movement that kicked Alphonso out in 1931 has been steadily developing ever since, particularly against fascism. It has expressed itself in a variety of ways. Not least by continual seizure of land and property. For example, in the first three months of this year alone, the landless peasants banded themselves together and made 264 seizures of land and 306 seizures of other forms of property. In the first four months of this year over 1,900,000 workers took part in some of the most militant and bitter strikes that *Spain* has ever seen, and all these have revealed the developing class and militant character of the struggle in *Spain*.

In 1931 a coalition government was formed, the leadership in the hands of the "Left" republicans and the socialist party, who were absolutely under the domination of the big bankers and landlords, employers and representatives of the church. The Coalition did nothing at all to better the conditions of the workers as a result of the transition from a monarchy to a republic, and the result was a deep-seated disillusionment expressing itself in many phases of the economic and political life in *Spain*, which continually got stronger as the open fascist representatives also grew bolder, in their attempts to crush this rising militant movement.

In September, 1933, they felt strong enough to remove this "Left" coalition government, and replace it by one in which open fascist tendencies had all the most important posts. Immediately that government came to power they had to endeavour to get a "democratic sanction" for the proposals they attempted to put across. They therefore organised a new General Election, which for forgery, wangling and corruption has not been equalled in modern politics. It was such a despicable example of capitalist corruption that even the Minister of Justice resigned his position as a protest against the fact that his colleagues had gone a little too far. One or two facts will show you the type of "democratic sanction" which was achieved as a result of that General Election. The fascists gained 3,345,000 votes, and for that number they had their seats increased from 42 to 212 in parliament. The socialists gained 1,627,000 votes, and their seats were reduced from 291 to 98. In the General Election in 1931 the Communist Party got 60,000 votes, at the last election they got 400,000 votes, and the Communist Party was granted one representative in parliament.

When the General Election was over, of course, the big cry in *Spain* was "that the will of the people had expressed itself," and that now there was sanction given to the line that this new fascist government was endeavouring to carry out. In order to get a true perspective, it is necessary to state that the conduct of the socialist leaders in the first coalition government, like the Labour governments in this country, had, by their proposals, prepared the way for the more repressive acts that this new fascist coalition now began to put into operation. Because it was the socialist Ministers in the first coalition government which, in order to dampen down the rising revolutionary wave, introduced measures preventing the right of demonstration, restricting the liberty of working-class organisation, making it illegal to carry fire-arms, and in this way they naturally prepared the way for what was to come immediately their services were no longer required for *Spanish* capitalism, and a more open and brutal policy was necessary. How far in this first period of a coalition government the repressive policy was carried out the following facts will tell, and we should take note of them because what happened since makes them all the more remarkable.

In the period from 1931, when Alphonso was dethroned, to the General Election 360 *Spanish* workers had been killed, 2,000

wounded, and 9,000 had been put into prison. These figures are eloquent testimony as to how far the *Spanish* workers and peasants were moving in their efforts to secure improvements in their conditions and fight against fascism.

From the moment Alphonso was dethroned, right down to the present time, the leaders of the *Anarchist party* in *Spain* have done nothing but carry out a disruptive role which has rendered enormous assistance to the fascist enemies of the workers and peasants. A role which, the more it is analysed, the more terrible it is in the betrayal not only of the socialists, trade unionists, and Communists, but even of their own rank and file, who, particularly in the *Asturias* events, fought side by side with the rest of their fellow workers.

This year the repressive measures have increased month by month. In the first three months of this year 1,500 workers were jailed, and their sentences amounted to over 3,500 years. This gives some idea of the character of the reaction that the comrades had been fighting against. And still it failed to damp down the anti-fascist movement, and when the *Austrian* events took place they had perhaps the most important repercussion in *Spain* of any European country, and led to an enormous development in anti-fascist activity, at the same time as it encouraged the fascists in *Spain* itself to go forward to try to consolidate their rule.

There is an interesting parallel between the fight of the *Spanish* workers and our fight here against fascism. On April 20, 1934, the fascists staged a big demonstration in *Madrid*, exactly like the Hyde Park demonstration on September 9 in this country. The Communist Party in *Spain* issued a call for a one-day general strike, particularly in *Madrid*, in order to register the opposition of the *Spanish* workers to fascism. Just as the labour leaders here said "Don't go to Hyde Park, stay at home," so the *Spanish* labour leaders said "Don't provoke the fascists, it will only encourage them." And in spite of that (and this was the danger signal to the fascist leaders) the general strike was a splendid success, and the fascist march was a fiasco, and from that victory the whole militant working-class movement and the peasants gained enormous encouragement.

Since then there has been a steady upward impetus which received a further drive forward in August of this year, when at the socialist party conference in *Asturias* the motion for united front with the Communists was carried by 65 votes to 9. From this we had a strengthening of the *Workers' Alliance*, uniting on the basis of common action every section of the *Spanish* working-class movement. It represented a tremendous achievement because there is no country in Europe where the working-class movement is so split as in *Spain*, and the formation of this *Workers' Alliance* movement represented a very important step forward for all who participated in it.

The cause of this last gigantic struggle in *Spain* was that the existing government desired to establish in *Spain* a complete fascist dictatorship on the lines existing in Italy, Germany, and Austria. The masses understood this, and they therefore prepared their resistance. Now we all know of the wonderful struggle that has been put up. We know particularly the magnificent struggle of the miners of the *Asturias* district, and the iron and steel workers of the *Bilbao* area, and it was in that northern part of *Spain* that most of the fighting took place. It is already clear from the documents which are being published from the *English* press and from the *French* press which is carrying great information about *Spain*, that the *Spanish* events of October represent the highest point of the revolutionary struggle since the October days of the *Russian* revolution in 1917.

If the *Spanish* workers and peasants had been successful it would have altered the whole of the entire international situation. We would have seen the same attempts at intervention on behalf of the *British* and *French* governments against the successful *Spanish* revolution as we saw in the course of the *Russian* Revolution, because *French* and *British* capital is very largely invested there, and because the iron ore which is one of the principal industrial exports is so vital for the armament firms both here and in *France*, and therefore we can be quite sure that in spite of the so-called declarations of neutrality, both the *French* and *British* governments were not merely keeping a watchful eye on the *Spanish* situation, they would also be assuring the *Spanish* government of all forms of material help if their own resources failed to crush that uprising.

It has not been successful. It has been temporarily defeated, not because of the superior military technique of the *Spanish* govern-

ment, not because of the superior military forces and the way they used the colonial and other troops. The defeat has been brought about because of the disunity that existed in the ranks of the working class. I would like to read this extract from the Madrid correspondent of "The Times" which he wrote on November 3:—

"It may even be doubted whether the Lerroix government would have gained the upper hand if the proletariat of Andalusia, Valencia, Estremadura, and Aragon had been able to come out in force simultaneously with Catalonia and Asturias, or if the full strength of anarcho-syndicalism in Catalonia had broken loose."

"It will only be a question of time, however, for Marxism to reorganise."

In spite of the fact that the workers were badly armed, that they were isolated from most of the other important parts of Spain, it is a historical fact that we shall read about for many years to come that for 14 days the miners of Asturias established local Soviets, that for 14 days the Red Flag flew triumphant in Asturias. That all the military forces and technique for that period could not crush that rising, and even the English capitalists tell us that it could not have been crushed if the rising had been general, and there had not been that disunity that existed in the ranks of the Spanish workers and peasants as a whole.

The important lesson for us to draw is that we must build up our energies in order to build up a united fighting movement against fascism at home. The character of the Soviet Decrees that were issued by the Soviets in Asturias are not only remarkable because they called for no violence, looting, etc., but because for the first time in Spain there was unfolded a programme of action showing what it was going to do, which will be the inspiration of millions of Spanish workers for days to come, and that will have an enormous effect upon them, to hasten the time that these Soviet Decrees shall become part and parcel of the Soviet life of millions of Spanish workers and peasants.

Spain hitherto has not been a country where the women have taken part in the struggle in the same organised way as the women of Germany and England have done in the past. But now the women have not merely taken their place with the men, but were even in the streets, fighting and assisting in every way possible, in order to try to achieve this common victory.

This was the situation when the Communist International made an appeal to the Second International for joint action. A delegation of the Communist International met a delegation of the Second International. The Second International representatives stated that they were not empowered to come to any agreement, but that they would report the matter to the full meeting of their Executive, due to take place on November 13 and 14. They have now been meeting in Paris for two days. Let us face the issue. First, the refusal to take part in immediate action was simply assisting the Spanish fascist reactionaries in their endeavours to crush the Spanish workers. Secondly, it was striking a blow against this passionate desire for working-class unity which is now the coming issue in every country in the world.

Why are the Second International so long in making a decision? Because of Britain. The British Labour party and its delegation, who are now in Paris, together with the Scandinavian leaders of the Labour party there, will split the Second International from top to bottom rather than come to any understanding with the Communist International regarding joint action. Why is that? Because in the Scandinavian countries and in Britain the movement to bring mass pressure to bear on the labour leaders is not yet strong enough, that it is only in its infancy, but we have not yet brought in the millions of organised workers deep enough in the factories and trade unions, and we must have the perspective that if we can force the National government to do things as we have forced them to do during the last year, we can force the Labour party leadership also to do things. And therefore in every local Labour party, in every trade union branch, in every place where workers are meeting, we should be passing resolutions insisting that the labour leaders in this country agree to united front action at home and abroad.

Because unless we do this, I quite frankly have the view that the working-class movement is in serious danger, and that the approach to every political question to-day has to be made from that angle. United action alone can bring victory. This is what is written in Germany, Austria, Spain. Written in the blood of the workers, written now in the concentration camps, now in the most

appalling suffering modern civilisation has ever seen. Lack of unity has led to the temporary triumph of fascism. Where any sort of unity has been established on a mass basis, then the advance of fascism has been stemmed as it has in France. There it is not only a question of having prevented an open fascist government coming into power in France this last week, but it is a question where on the economic field the French employers have been forced to give more concessions to the French working class since the Communist Party and the socialist party made a united front against fascism.

The workers of the world rescued Dimitrov twelve months ago. The workers of the world can to-day exert their pressure in Spain if only the movement is big and militant enough.

What are our immediate tasks?

First to demand the release of all working-class prisoners; that freedom of the trade unions to carry on with their work be granted, as well as freedom to all other working-class organisations; the end of the courts-martial and the firing squads.

We can do it in every town where there is a Spanish Consulate. It should be made the centre of unceasing activity. In every part of the country where a Spanish ship is coming in, we should be greeting the sailors, sending greetings to the workers, giving them fraternal greetings, giving them duplicated leaflets and telling them what we are prepared to do in the way of practical assistance.

We must get this movement for the food ship going on a much wider basis.

Another glorious page has been written in the struggle of the working-class movement. Five thousand who have fallen have not fallen in vain. Everybody knows that Austria was a challenge and that whilst thousands died in Austria in February, their very death has enormously strengthened and quickened the anti-fascist fight and movement of every country all over the world. We have a duty to those who are left behind, to those in Spain, we have the duty of common international solidarity. Let us send an armada of food ships to Spain. They will not merely be taking food, they will be taking the practical symbols of international working-class solidarity. This is what this meeting was called for. Called in a hurry, this meeting is a magnificent tribute to the solidarity of the workers.

I will conclude by asking every one of us here to see that this is not merely another pious meeting, but that it will be a meeting that will give a new impetus to the development of the united front in Britain and of such a campaign on behalf of the Spanish workers that long before Christmas the first ship can leave the London Docks, and when it leaves, let it leave with thousands of us lined up on the quay side. Let it be the ship that leaves London to the strains of the International, because one day it will be the International that will unite the human race in the struggle against fascism and war and in our efforts to build up socialism in every country in the world.

The United Front in Britain

By R. Bishop (London)

At the Southport Conference of the Labour Party, the struggle of the Spanish workers was "welcomed" as evidence that "the workers' organisations are prepared to resist the threatened attempt to establish a Fascist regime."

It was omitted to mention the fact that in Spain the heroic resistance of the workers had only been made possible by the broadest united front between Communist and Socialist organisations, such a united front as the Labour Party chieftains had done their damndest to prevent maturing in Great Britain.

At Southport, and at the twin gathering of the Trades Union Congress, the united front was outlawed with bell, book and candle. All those who fraternised in any way with united front bodies were warned of the consequences of their actions—excommunication and exile to outer darkness.

No sooner were the conferences out of the way than the officials of the reformist labour movement drafted their circulars to trade union executives, to local Labour Parties, to trades Councils and similar organisations, instructing them that (as far as trades councils and Labour Parties were concerned) no Communist must be admitted to membership or as a delegate, nor must any person suspected of association with united front bodies, and (as far as the trade unions were concerned) the rules must be altered to prevent such persons being elected to hold any official position.

Those leading labourites who had participated in the work

of such bodies as the Committee for the Relief of the Victims of Fascism, the Committee Against War and Fascism, etc., were solemnly warned that any future activities of such a character would lead to condign punishment—expulsion.

Some delegates wanted to know why the Communist Party and bodies of which Communists were members were singled out for such treatment. If Labour members could appear on League of Nations Union platforms with Tory and Liberal politicians, if others could hold office in industrial peace organisations, why was it a crime to consort with Communists? The answer was obvious before the question was asked. The united front with capitalism is preferred to the fighting united front of the working class. And the answer was given by no less a person than Mr. **Herbert Morrison**—the “Prime Minister of London,” as the “Daily Herald” refers to him—the most likely tip as Premier of the next Labour Government. Mr. Morrison did not beat about the bush. He said bluntly:—

“The Communist Party is singled out for exceptional treatment because it is an exceptional political Party. It is the only political Party that sets out to make trouble for the Labour Party, the trade unions and the co-operative movement.”

Tories and Liberals do not do so. The basic enemy is the Communist Party. Here we have the capitalist outlook of the Labour Party chieftains clearly outlined. Here we have it clearly stated that the purpose of the Southport Conference, in the minds of the bureaucracy, was to consolidate capitalist control in the Labour Party and bring an end to the period of Left talk and confusion which followed the debacle of 1931.

But, despite their threats the reformist chieftains are not finding their struggle against the united front to be all plain sailing. Many trade unions and trades councils have not yet considered the splitting circular from Transport House, yet enough have done so to show that strong resistance is to be offered to the tactics pursued, as well as to the capitalist policy that has been adopted.

Two great national trade unions—the **National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers** and the **National Amalgamated Furnishing Trades Association**—have flatly refused to be brow-beaten as to whom they shall choose to hold office in the union and to represent it on outside bodies.

The letter from the Furnishing Trades was particularly definite. **Alex. Gossip**, the General Secretary and a fine old fighter, replied to the General Council that:—

“On no account whatever are we prepared to discriminate in the manner suggested. It is a matter for our branches to select the particular member or members who, in their wisdom, they consider best suited to fill any particular official post in the union, or as a delegate to trades councils, etc.”

Many of the most important trades councils in the country have taken similar decisions, as have many trade union branches. Whilst a number of leading Labourites, who previously collaborated in united front work, have held back since Southport from similar activity, it is a nasty rebuff for the pundits that two such well-known figures as the **Earl of Listowel** and **Ellen Wilkinson** should have gone on a mission to Spain on behalf of the Committee for the Relief of the Victims of Fascism, and should be addressing a meeting in London this week for the same organisation, which has for its purpose the furthering the campaign for sending a **food ship to the Spanish workers**—an idea promulgated by the Communist Party and the I.L.P., but turned down by the Labour Party Executive. It is significant that the Labour Party's attitude has strengthened the attitude of many non-party intellectuals, such as **Professors H. Levy** and **J. B. S. Haldane** (two of the best-known names in British science), and that people like **David Low** (the well-known cartoonist) and **Joseph McCabe** should have been persuaded to participate in the work of the Fascist Relief Committee, from which Labour Party members are excluded, unless they defy the ban of the reformists.

The Communist Party of Great Britain is preparing for its **Thirteenth Congress**, and in the discussion that has already started in the Party press the question of the united front has been brought well to the fore. The statement opening the discussion declares:—

“In the two years since the Twelfth Congress the advance of fascism, the temporary victory of fascism in Germany and Austria, the wide fascist offensive in France, Spain and other

countries, including Britain, has become the burning issue before the working class.

In the international sphere the reformist bureaucracy are finding it as difficult to avoid the issues of the united front as are the Labour Party and the T.U.C. at home. The “Daily Herald” admits how near the Labour and Socialist International was, at its recent executive meeting, to a split on the question. Heaving a deep sigh of relief, the “Herald” leader writer chronicles how such a split was avoided and “it was even found possible to achieve unanimity on a letter which is to be sent to the delegates of the Communist International.”

The British reformist representatives were hoping that at the Paris meeting they would be able to push still further back the cause of unity by banning the united front agreements already entered into in France and elsewhere. But they were defeated in the international field. Now they are back in England, pursuing their splitting game here.

The new decision of the Paris executive meeting will give renewed impetus to the united front fight in Britain. It exposes more clearly than ever before the real motive of the British Labour leaders in standing aloof and hostile to all moves that make for unity.

The British Labour Party looks forward to once more becoming the governing party—a prospect which many of the most loyal of their supporters view with grave anxiety, not to say perturbation.

With their eyes on the Government benches the “statesmen” of the Labour Party are anxious to remove any lingering doubts that may exist among the less intelligent members of the bourgeoisie as to their fitness for, and reliability in, high office.

This is their chief reason for the drive against the Communists and all who show themselves as organised militants. They hope to still the voice of militant working-class struggle in all organisations associated with the Labour Party.

But inside the Labour Party that voice will still be heard—it must not be forgotten that one-third of the constituency Labour Parties represented at the Southport Conference cast their vote in one way or another for united action front activity, and that the overwhelming majority vote was largely cast in huge blocks by the officials of the big unions who dominated the conference. But even more than in the Labour Party, the voice of the militants will be heard in the trade union branches, on the trades councils, in the factories and at the Labour Exchanges—calling for united action against war, against fascism, against wage-cuts, against the Sedition Act, against slave camps for the unemployed, against capitalism.

Inside and outside the Labour Party and the trade unions the fight must go on. Despite the bludgeonings, the bans and the prohibitions of the reformist leadership, heartening successes are being won, but still on too small a scale.

The Thirteenth Congress of the C.P.G.B. will do much to clear the issues. Already active workers all over the country are pouring in their views to the Party organ. From the Congress will emerge a clear and concrete programme of action, an essential to the fulfilment of which will be the building of a broad mass united fighting front despite all the obstacles put in its way by the open enemies of the working class and their agents in the workers' ranks, the reformist leaders of the Labour Party and the Trade Union Congress.

To this task all efforts must be bent, for in its successful achievement lies the key to success in the struggle against war, the struggle against fascism, against wage-cuts and all the evils of capitalism, the struggle for the establishment of a free Soviet Britain.

Californian Organisations Demand Thaelmann's Release

Oakland, November 6

A delegation sent by eleven organisations has submitted to the German Consul in San Francisco a number of resolutions demanding the release of Ernst Thaelmann, leader of the German working class.

The leader of the delegations declared to the Nazi Consul that the population of Oakland and Berkeley protested against the detention of Thaelmann for eighteen months without trial, and demanded that the protest be forwarded to the Hitler government in Berlin.

Letter of the Labour and Socialist International to Cachin and Thorez

On October 15 Comrades Cachin and Thorez handed the proposals of the Communist International to Vandervelde, the President, and Adler, the Secretary, of the Second (Labour and Socialist) International.

The Second International has now sent them the following reply:—

Citizens,

In the discussion that the undersigned had with you in Brussels on October 15 last we informed you that we should report to our Executive Committee concerning your proposals.

During the course of a debate which lasted four days our Executive Committee discussed the situation in the international working-class movement and the discussion which we had with you in Brussels. It has now instructed us to give you the following information:—

As you know, the solidarity action in support of the Spanish proletariat was already under way when we received your proposal that it should be organised jointly with the Communist International. In the meantime we have received very detailed information concerning the situation in Spain, and our comrade **Vincent Auriol**, who was sent to Spain to study the situation there at first hand, has since returned and made a very important report to our Executive Committee. This report, which is extremely instructive, will shortly be published.

In our joint session with the Executive Committee of the International Federation of Trade Unions we received reports on the situation in Spain from our comrades **Prieto** and **de Vayo**. On the basis of these reports we are organising our relief action, which is in its initial stages only, on behalf of the victims of oppression, and, above all, on behalf of the thousands of prisoners who are now threatened with brutal reprisals and amongst whom is our comrade and a member of our Executive Committee, **Caballero**.

Demonstrations of sympathy with the proletariat of Spain and of protest against the brutal actions of its enemies will be held in all countries in accordance with the given situation of the working-class movement in them.

In France, for instance, joint demonstrations of socialists and Communists have taken place, whereas in Belgium, where there is no Communist Party of any magnitude, the great demonstration on behalf of the Spanish workers, at which the undersigned President of the Labour and Socialist International spoke, was organised by the Belgian Socialist Party. A few days later the Belgian Socialist Party arranged an impressive demonstration in connection with its congress against the death sentences and the executions in Spain.

You informed us during the course of our discussion in Brussels that the only question on which you were authorised to open up discussions with us was the question of a solidarity action on behalf of the Spanish workers.

On the other hand, in its resolution of March 18 and 19, 1933, which referred to the proposals made to the Communist International for the organisation of a joint pact of defence against fascism, the Executive Committee of the Second International advised its sections not to conclude any local pacts with the Communist Parties until the Communist International had answered the proposals mentioned. Since then, however, new facts have arisen, particularly in Austria, and these have caused various sections of the Second International to take the initiative to conclude unity pacts according to the given situation in their countries.

Whilst unity of action was established in France and in other countries, Communist proposals for such unity were rejected in Great Britain, Holland, Czechoslovakia, the Scandinavian and other countries. The reasons for the rejection were put forward by the Socialist Parties in question and they are known to you.

Under these circumstances the recommendations contained in the resolution of the Executive Committee of the Second International of March 18 and 19 has lost its validity and it is left to our sections to decide the question for themselves at their own discretion.

Vandervelde, President.
Friedrich Adler, Secretary.

Other Resolutions Adopted by the Second International

At the conclusion of the session of the Executive Committee of the Labour and Socialist International which took place from November 13 to 16 a resolution was adopted on the Saar question.

The Second International and the International Federation of Trade Unions have also sent a letter to the President of the Spanish Republic protesting against the decision to place Largo Caballero and Teodomiro Mendenez before a court-martial.

Declaration of the Minority of the Executive Committee of the Labour and Socialist International

The undersigned delegates of seven Socialist Parties wish to express once again their conviction that under the given circumstances and in view of the growth of fascism, the increasing danger of war, and the fact that spontaneous movements have taken place amongst the workers for unity of action, the Second International should reiterate its proposal of March, 1933, and ask the Communist International whether it is prepared to join in a discussion of the conditions for joint action on an international scale, and on the basis of complete equality, against war, for the defence of democratic freedom in all countries in which such freedom still exists, and for a revolutionary struggle in all countries in which fascism has destroyed democratic freedom.

The undersigned express their satisfaction at the fact that the Executive Committee has left it to all sections to organise the struggle against fascism and against war in accordance with the particular conditions existing in each country. They further express the fervent and confident hope that the results of joint action in all those countries where such unity pacts have been concluded will soon convince the Second International of the necessity of establishing working-class unity made necessary for the international proletariat by the dangers of the existing situation and by the interests of the international struggle.

Sig.: Blum, Bracke, Longuet (France), Grimm (Switzerland), de Vayo (Spain), Menni, Modigliani (Italy), Ehrlich, "Bund" (Poland), Dan (Mensheviks), the three Austrian delegates.

For International Trade Union Unity

The following letter was sent on November 2 to the Norwegian Trade Union Federation by the Executive Bureau of the R.I.L.U.:—

Comrades,

The events of the recent years—the fascist coup d'état in Germany, Austria, Bulgaria and Spain, the ever-growing war danger, the offensive of capital on the living standards of the working class—all this has shown most convincingly that the further continuation of the split in the trade union movement but helps the atrocities of fascist reaction and war adventures and leads to a further worsening of the workers' material conditions. In order successfully to conduct the struggle of the working class against fascism and war danger and for an improvement of the working conditions it is necessary to build trade union unity in various countries and internationally. The ever-growing trend towards the united front of the workers of all countries proves that trade union unity can be carried out in the immediate future.

The Red International of Labour Unions and its sections, as you know, are waging a stubborn and tireless struggle for the united front and trade union unity in all countries.

Since the Norwegian trade unions are not affiliated to either of the existing Trade Union Internationals, they can, in our opinion, play a great role in building international trade union unity provided they take the initiative of setting up an international committee of struggle for trade union unity. The Red International of Labour Unions is prepared to establish contact with the Norwegian trade unions on this question.

We hope that the next congress of Norwegian trade unions will discuss this question and declare itself for the restoration of international trade union unity on the basis of the class struggle.

—Comradely yours,

Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions,
Secretary General of R.I.L.U. (A. Losovski).

Fight Against Fascism

The Struggle of the Italian Workers in the Fascist Trade Unions

By Estella

There is at present a certain revival of the strike movement in Italy to record. This strike movement is of importance as characterising the situation, and also by the fact that everywhere the workers organised in the fascist party are taking an active part in it.

Let us take a glance at the recent strike struggles: In Brescia 1,200 workers of the Mechanical Workshop downed tools and struck against a wage cut. The 800 fascist party members of this factory fought together with the anti-fascist workers.

In the Fiat Works in Turin three departments fought by a stay-in strike against the wage cut, and this movement also was participated by the fascists.

In Genoa a group of 600 dock workers carried out a protest strike against the withdrawal of allowances granted to recipients of low wages. All the strikers are members of the fascist trade unions, and a part of them also of the fascist party. The workers elected a commission to submit their demands to the dockowners, but the delegation was arrested. Martial law was declared for the whole port. All striking fascists were expelled from the fascist party for the period of a year as a punishment.

In Ravenna 300 working women of the sack factory carried out a protest strike against the wage cut of 3 lira per day. One hundred of them were forced to resume work by hunger and the police, but the remaining 200 working women are still on strike.

In many cases the Italian workers are applying a peculiar fighting method: they stay in the factory but refuse to work, whilst their struggle is supported by a demonstration outside of the factory arranged by the dismissed workers of the factory. In such demonstrations the fascist workers have taken part, and the re-engagement of the dismissed workers was achieved by this means.

The class conscious workers, led by the Communist Party and the Confederazione Generale del Lavoro, are beginning to realise that it is necessary to draw the workers organised in the fascist organisations into the struggle. This doubtlessly means a step forward in the struggle against fascism.

Although the fascist trade union leaders are using all sorts of demagogic means in order to influence the workers and to exert pressure upon them, the latter are displaying more and more openly their opposition to fascism.

In Spezia 900 out of 1,500 workers in a spinning mill refused to take the membership card of the fascist trade union. They gave as a reason for this refusal that the fascist trade union agreed to and carried out a wage cut. In Cesena all the agricultural workers refused the membership card of the fascist union, and thus preferred to be unemployed rather than join the fascist trade union. Ten agricultural workers were arrested and two of them handed over to the Special Court. Thereupon the remaining land workers carried out a protest strike against the arrests of their fellow workers.

More frequently militant actions of the workers were carried out in the form of demonstrations in front of trade union premises, oppositional speeches in the meetings, election of commissions and delegations who submitted the demands of the workers to the employers and the trade union leaders.

Several of these demonstrations deserve special mention: for instance, many thousand workers were requested to appear in front of the trade union house in Turin in order "to discuss on the 7 per cent. wage cut" threatening the workers. The invitation was issued by means of handbills, which were secretly distributed in the most important factories of Turin. Thousands of workers gathered in front of the trade union house on the evening fixed in the handbills. The bureaucrats were taken by surprise, and when they learnt that the workers wanted to discuss the threatening wage cuts and had gathered as a result of illegal distribution of handbills, they called for the fascist police in order to disperse the crowd. But the fascist militia made common cause with the workers and declared the latter were perfectly justified to protest against the wage cuts. The bureaucrats were compelled to call for the carabinieri in order to clear the trade union house. This

union was carried out amidst fierce protests on the part of the workers. One of the indignant workers tore his membership card up and threw it on the floor. The demonstrations of the workers in front of the trade union house were repeated every evening during two weeks, and the police had their hands full in order to disperse the crowd. Also, in the factories the police were stationed for six weeks, and the employers succeeded only after two months to enforce the wage cut.

Another important demonstration of the workers took place in the Brown Boveri Works, in Milan. These workers received word from the fascist trade union bureaucrats that 308 skilled workers of the factory were selected for a wage cut. The workers expressed their disapproval, so that the fascist trade union representatives recommended them to send a delegation to the trade union secretariat. The workers, however, decided to make a mass demonstration. They appeared in front of the trade union house, but were prevented from entering it. They managed, however, to enter and soon filled the halls and corridors of the house. The chief of the fascist militia thereupon recommended the workers to elect a commission which should proceed with him together to the trade union executive committee. We have not yet been informed of the issue of this action.

During the last elections to the trade union committees the workers succeeded in some localities in electing officials who pledged themselves to represent the interests of the workers. Thus in one of the most important factories of Italy two class fighters were elected to the administrative body of the trade union. In this factory the fascist workers displayed great militancy, and declared their readiness to fight together with the other workers for the enforcement of their daily demands.

In another large factory a letter bearing the signature: "A group of trade union members," was distributed among the workers. The letter commenced with the following sentences:

"Dear fellow worker! In the last meetings of the Metal Workers' Union some workers stigmatised the repeated violations of the wage agreement. . . . Our leaders promised that this practice would be stopped. But it is not for the first time that such promises have been made. . . . (The letter then describes the working conditions in the various departments, and continues): They have repeatedly demanded sacrifices from us workers, and again and again forced sacrifices without our having received anything in return for these sacrifices. . . . The dividends of the employers are continually rising. We protest that the consequences of the crisis are exclusively placed on our shoulders, we are fed up with making sacrifices, and we demand that the promises to improve our position be fulfilled. . . . (The letter enumerates the demands of the workers and then concludes): We must elect a delegation which is to submit, together with the fascist official, our demands to the management. The result of their negotiations must be discussed in a meeting of the whole of the factory staff."

This letter shows that the workers are displaying a certain initiative, that they find means to come to some understanding among themselves in order to organise their opposition to the fascist trade union policy.

The above-mentioned examples indicate that the masses are inspired by a fighting determination which finds expression in various fighting forms. It is the main task of the Communists in Italy to see to it that the struggle within the fascists trade unions and against the fascist trade unions is being developed and raised to a higher level.

Thaelmann Action in Mexico

Paris, November 15.

At Tampico (Mexico) the arrival of a German ship was the signal for the local revolutionary organisations to arrange a fraternisation celebration with the German seamen. The representatives of the Mexican organisations undertook in the presence of the German seamen to exert their utmost efforts for the release of Ernst Thaelmann and all political prisoners. The International Release Committee is informed further that the Mexican organisations are sending through the German seamen their revolutionary greetings from Latin America to their brothers in Europe.

Proletarian Youth Movement

A Change in the Mass Work of the Y.C.L. of Germany

By Walter, Member of the C.C. of the C.P.G.

Fascism intends to drive three million young workers from the shops and factories. The youth of the working population is to be subjected to military drill and "educated" in the art of trench-digging in the "Labour Service" and later to be conveyed to the battle-fields of the next imperialist war over the new Reich motor roads.

What has happened to the ideals of millions of young people who dreamt of a free and secure development of their abilities after the victory of Hitler? How many young people had hoped that they would then be sure of a proper professional training? Others wanted to qualify as technical specialists, and others again had hoped that their artistic abilities would now be seriously developed.

What happened in reality is the exact opposite of such expectations. How many youthful ideals has Hitler trodden down into the mire of the Labour Service camps? How many fathers and mothers has he disappointed? And the young people who had looked forward to the holidays promised to them have found themselves bundled into mass transport trucks and not allowed to spend their holidays according to their own wishes.

Millions of young people wanted capitalist reaction to be swept away, wanted to see the end of capitalist rule; but what really happened was only that a new set of officials was substituted for the old, and the working population subjected to atrocious terrorism. The capitalists and great landowners who batten upon the blood and sweat of millions of workers are still lording it in Germany. All that Hitler has done is to re-name them "fellow-countrymen."

In the Soviet Union—where proletarian revolution won a final victory through the heroism of young revolutionaries, where the rule of the capitalists and great landowners has been overthrown—the abilities and talents of youth are given free scope for development. We refer to the splendid performance of Soviet airmen, to the enthusiasm displayed by the youth in connection with the construction of the underground railway in Moscow, to their opportunities as young engineers in the giant enterprises or as creative artists. This is how it will be in Germany also, once Hitler fascism is overthrown and all power vested in the Councils of Workers, Peasants and Soldiers' Deputies.

The Goering plan and the new labour legislation that drive the young workers from the shops and banish them to the Labour Service camps have now openly revealed the true nature of fascism as the instrument of big business. They also expose fascist policy as hostile to the interests of the working-class youth. The sons and daughters of the working class are deprived of all prospect of a sound professional training, they are separated from their parents or betrothed, they are banished from the cities and the girls especially are handed over to the tender mercies of the country squires and their sons. The working class must not allow its sons and daughters to be delivered into the hands of fascist martinets and war-mongers. The struggle for the defence of the young generation is one of the most important issues in the fight of the working class against fascism. Our Party has grave responsibilities in regard to this. It is our duty, the duty of every official and every unit of the Party to spare no effort in mobilising the millions of the working class to resist the blows aimed by the fascists at our young people.

The enrolment of young people in the Labour Service is one of the main preparatory measures for the next war. Under cover of the Labour Service conscription is to be re-introduced in Germany. It is necessary, therefore, that the C.P.G. and the Y.C.L.G. and all anti-fascists carry on, in the glorious tradition of Karl Liebknecht, the struggle against militarisation, and specially that they win the masses of young workers in the shops and mass organisations for this struggle. We must not, with bureaucratic complacency, rely upon issuing instructions regarding youth work, but should always remember the advice given by the leader of our Party, Comrade Ernst Thaelmann, who said: "Leadership in the Y.C.L. can be made effective only by fraternal guidance and active assistance."

This advice of our Party leader means, applied to the present situation: fraternal guidance and active assistance in bringing

about unity of action; in working out the demands and methods of mass struggle that render ineffective the measures outlawing the revolutionary movement; in transmitting the experiences of our Party regarding work in the hostile organisations, in order to enable the Y.C.L.G. to carry on serious cell work among the young members of the Labour Front, of the Hitler Youth organisation and of the sports clubs.

This is the best method for overcoming the tendency of merely copying the work of the Party in the activities of the Y.C.L.

The members of the .C.L. and countless anti-fascists are fighting like real working-class heroes. Young Communists are to an increasing extent taking united action with social-democratic and Catholic youth groups in order to prevent the dismissal of young workers from the shops, their banishment to rural areas, or the further curtailment of their rights. In a number of cases young workers have sent delegations to the management demanding that no young worker be dismissed. In other cases young workers have answered the announcement of dismissal by stopping the machines and going on strike. They have refused in a body to sign their names to the recruiting lists of the Labour Service or refused to submit to the medical examination prescribed for Labour Service recruits. All such attempts at resistance proved that the young workers could always achieve their object if they stood by each other and if the adult workers gave them their active support. It is therefore the most important task of the Y.C.L. to bring about *unity of action* and to demonstrate by deeds to millions of young workers that the Y.C.L. is the champion of their day-to-day interests and that the struggle for socialism based on the liberation programme of the Y.C.L. would ensure a better future for the youth of Germany.

We do not wish to disguise the fact that the unity of action still meets with considerable *sectarian obstacles* in certain groups of the Y.C.L. We must not forget that up to now the unity of action was limited to such groups of the social-democratic youth organisation as had progressed farthest along the path of the proletarian class struggle. But that is not enough. We need unity of action with all groups of young social democrats, including those who do not as yet see eye to eye with the Y.C.L. on many questions and still give their allegiance to the Socialist Youth League. There are leading officials of the Socialist Youth who disagree with the policy of Ollenhauer, but are not ready to join the Y.C.L. We must achieve unity of action with such young workers, who want to fight fascism.

It would be a mistake to make united front activities dependent on conditions tantamount to demanding of the Socialist Youth that they should first cease to be social democrats. If they were all Communists there would be no need to raise the issue of a united front. Many of these Socialist Youth are really eager to carry on the fighting traditions inaugurated by Karl Liebknecht. Let them find out for themselves, in the course of united action, which organisation is the one really carrying on this heroic tradition. But stressing the unity of action against Hitler fascism must on no account lead to our neglecting our recruiting work for the Y.C.L. It is precisely in the interests of united action that we must strengthen the Y.C.L. cells and recruit new members. But such a mass policy of the Y.C.L.G., while affording the possibility of turning the Y.C.L. into the mass organisation of working-class youth, demands at the same time a strong development of the inner life of the Young Communist League, a building up of cell work so as to increase the attraction exercised by our organisation. The young workers who come to us must see that they are admitted with equal rights and that they are assisted in developing the greatest possible initiative in the struggle for their emancipation.

A feature of great importance in this struggle of working-class youth against exploitation and enslavement, against the Goering plan and the new labour legislation, is the *rebuilding of the youth sections of the old trades unions*. The greater progress we make in bringing about unity of action in the shops, the better use we make of our legal possibilities, especially among the young people in the Labour Front, the sooner we shall succeed in building up the youth sections of the old reformist trades unions as youth sections of the new united unions. On the other hand, if we draw together again the young workers formerly belonging to the reformist trade unions youth sections, we shall have gained a considerable organising force for the creation of unity of action. We all know that many young people—be it of their own free will or under compulsion—are members of the Labour Front. We also know that the employers and the officials of the Labour Front are afraid of these

young workers holding meetings in the shop. Why should we not demand meetings of the young members of the Labour Front, just as we demand factory and workshop meetings for the adult workers? Why should we not make use of this opportunity for fulfilling our duties as trade unionists? *We can thus create a broader basis for looking after the interests of the young workers in the small day-to-day issues arising in the shop; we can get the young people interested in such matters as the appointment of the youth representative in the shop "confidence council" (the Nazi version of the shop stewards) by the young workers themselves, the improvement of the training given to the apprentices; as the introduction of rest periods on conveyor work, the improvement of the safety devices on the machines, the extension and improvement of the ventilation arrangements, the demand for a holiday bonus and a longer holiday for young workers, etc., etc. All our demands must be directed towards the extension of the rights of young workers. This is the way to win the freedom of assembly, of speech and of organisation. A short time ago certain comrades declared that they were only 17 among a staff of several thousand and that for that reason "they could not call any meetings" and "couldn't do much at all." True, if we are unable to learn how to work in the fascist mass organisations, we shall certainly not be able to do anything. But if there is only one single comrade in the shop who has been able to win the confidence of the workers and of the members of the Labour Front by standing up for their interests, and if then this comrade suggests that a meeting should be held in order to get information concerning certain legal regulations, wage computations or the like, then it will be possible to get the support of the workers and not only hold such a meeting, but dominate in it by our questions, proposals and demands. Was not the fact that we neglected and in part negated work in the reformist and Catholic trade unions one of the main reasons why the social democrats and the reformist trade union leadership succeeded in preventing a general strike?*

We must get this quite clear among ourselves: the Y.C.L. will only be able to win the millions of young workers if it carries on a persistent, persevering, purposeful work in those mass organisations in which these young workers are to be found. We must therefore put an end to the opportunist indifference existing in certain groups of the Y.C.L. towards work in the youth sections of the Labour Front, in the "Strength through Joy" organisations, in the Hitler Youth, in the sports clubs and the Catholic youth groups. The better our comrades can hike and swim, climb and jump, the easier they will gain the attention of the young workers for our proposals, for the struggle against fascist slavery, for the emancipation of youth.

Once we have got this clear, we must also draw the proper conclusions from it for our work in the Hitler Youth organisations. Millions of young people are organised in these groups. A very great number of them honestly want to fight against reaction, for Socialism. The Hitler Youth leaders try to win the young people not only by compulsion and jingo propaganda, but also by an extensive social demagoguery. Take, for instance, the demands of the Berlin group of the Hitler Youth published before Hitler took power. We find there such demands as:—

Three weeks' holiday every year with full wages.

No night or piece work for young workers. Rest periods for young workers in rationalised (conveyor) shops.

Continuous pressure on the employers to give their apprentices a thorough and disinterested professional training. No employing of apprentices for non-professional work.

Enforcement of the youth protection measures through a thorough supervision and control of all places of work by youth protection committees.

Would it not be very useful if in connection with the struggle against the Goering plan in Berlin, we were not only to remind the workers of these promises of the Hitler Youth, but also to organise, inside the Hitler Youth itself, the struggle for the winning of these their own demands? The Hitler Youth groups organise social evenings from time to time. How many interesting questions could be put there bearing on our anti-capitalist demands. How many questions can be put there which will induce the young workers to draw the conclusion that the system has remained and only the bureaucrats have been changed and the oppression of the working population increased. *Through their own experiences in the struggle against the ban on the employment of workers under 25 in the shops, etc., we want to convince the young workers that Hitler fascism is compelled to adopt such*

measures because it is incapable of ending unemployment and overcoming the general crisis. No government is able to do so as long as the capitalists and big landowners are the real rulers of Germany. And was it not the officials of the Hitler Youth who, at the orders of big business, announced that there was no privilege for the young generation? Was it not Hitler himself who wrote in his book "My Struggle":—

"A young healthy boy ought to learn to stand a beating."

It is against this enslavement of youth that we want to fight, through our cells, inside the Hitler Youth itself. *Youth must resist this medieval corporal punishment. We want to get the young workers to fight for their right of appointing their own leaders or stewards and of spending their holidays in their own way. Why must the marches of the Hitler Youth be reported weeks beforehand? Are not matters much simpler without such previous reporting? If the Hitler Youth is now forming shock brigades, we will see to it that such brigades be formed to supervise the youth protection regulations in the shops, the conditions prevailing in the Labour Service camps, the professional training of apprentices and the like.*

It is not enough to carry on an agitation from the outside or to commission certain specially appointed comrades to work inside the Hitler Youth. What must be done is to form cells in such mass organisations. *Who, instead of doing so, looks down upon the young workers organised in the Hitler Youth and refuses to "bother about them," makes himself partly responsible for the fact that these young workers, who by their social status and living conditions belong to us, remain under fascist influence and follow the war-mongers.*

We want the Y.C.L.G. to become the leader of the millions of young workers in Germany. The liberation programme adopted by the Y.C.L.G. is being acclaimed with enthusiasm by ever-growing sections of working-class youth. We can turn this programme into a reality only if the factory cells of the Y.C.L.G. get into closer contact with the masses of young workers through the struggle for their interests and if all members of the Y.C.L. belong to a mass organisation and organise a broad oppositional movement inside it.

Carry on courageously the mass struggle against the new labour legislation and against the curtailment of youth privileges, do your utmost to bring about unity of action, penetrate more deeply into the millions of young workers—these are the next steps in the fight of the Y.C.L.G. to win over the majority of the working-class youth.

I.L.P. Youth and the Y.C.I.

By T. Harvey (London)

At Derby on November 18 a further development took place in the efforts of the I.L.P. Guild of Youth to maintain its right to remain affiliated to the Young Communist International—a development which showed the determination of these young workers to defend their independence in the struggle for socialism, and which at the same time contained some of the elements of a political comedy.

The I.L.P. leaders had marshalled all their forces behind a threat to split the Guild unless it withdrew from sympathetic affiliation to the Y.C.I. And at Derby, at a special conference, the Guild gave its answer. That answer was a firm rebuff to the attitude of the I.L.P. leaders, a declaration of confidence in the Y.C.I. and an effective move to defeat any attempt at splitting.

The events leading up to this are worth recounting. The Guild is autonomous, and this year's annual conference of the I.L.P., at York, last Easter, expressly gave it the right to decide for itself the question of its international connections. At Norwich six weeks later the Annual Guild Conference took its affiliation decision. The I.L.P. leaders were immediately placed in a quandary. The issue of the "New Leader," in which the affiliation decision was reported, has a leading article, the keynote of which is regret:—

"The I.L.P. has deliberately given political autonomy to its youth section and it cannot now complain because the annual Guild conference has reached a decision on international affiliations which is contrary to that of the I.L.P."

That was the expression of official sentiment on May 24.

Actually the N.A.C. were just flummoxed. They had had no time to reach a decision. But by the week-end of June 10 they had rallied to the extent of declaring that "sympathetic affiliation was incompatible with the Guild remaining the Youth Section of the I.L.P." From now on the Guild had to pursue its affiliation policy conscious that it did so under a threat of splitting and disbandment. Working under these conditions the Guild was nevertheless able to carry on energetic joint activity with the Young Communists, activity which bore excellent fruit for the working-class movement in Britain and internationally. Only thus was it possible to organise the **Sheffield Youth Congress**, which rallied 630 delegates and gave a great impetus to the struggle against war and fascism. Only the close and comradely relations established made possible the anti-fascist work of the Guild and Y.C.L. in **Leicester** and **Manchester** and the record joint sales of anti-war and anti-fascist literature in **Glasgow**.

The summer and autumn of this year have seen a big break through of the Labour League of Youth into independent working-class activity and united front actions. The Lancashire and London Federations of the L.L.Y. have condemned the "war" policy of the Labour Party; 23 branches of the London League supported in one way and another the anti-Mosley action in Hyde Park on September 9. This development has all the earmarks of having been influenced directly by the bold forward line of the I.L.P. Guild of Youth. And by declaring for sympathetic affiliation the Guild gave an international lead to those Left Socialist Youth organisations on the Continent which stand outside either the Y.C.I. or the Young Socialist International; while now both the French and Spanish Young Socialists are considering following the lead of the Guild by breaking with the Y.S.I. and associating with the Y.C.I.

Despite this, the I.L.P. leaders continued their opposition. During October a deputation of the N.A.C. attended the meeting of the National Guild Council. The N.A.C. brought along five of its biggest guns—Brockway, McGovern, Smillie, Leckie, and Stephenson—for a prestige display with a suggestion of **force majeure** in the background. They succeeded in getting the Guild Council to decide by three votes to two to call a special national conference which would be recommended to terminate affiliation.

This is the conference which was held at **Derby** on November 18. From the point of view of the N.A.C. the worst happened. They aimed at the rejection of affiliation. Thirty-three delegates attended—good representation indeed considering that the conference was called at a month's notice.

At the conference Brockway said that the Communist International was determined to destroy any organisation that withstood its policy. The Guild delegates answered him with facts. And the N.A.C. was defeated decisively and in such a fashion as to make any new attempt at splitting very nearly impossible. It was a decision for **youth unity**. Here is the resolution, which was adopted by 21 votes against 11:—

"This Special Conference of the Guild of Youth notes that since the decision of the Norwich Conference to affiliate to the Y.C.I. as an organisation sympathetic with Communism the united front of the working youth in Britain has been tremendously strengthened (Sheffield Congress), the movement in the Labour League of Youth (for united front). Also the Norwich decision was an impetus to the Socialist Youth in France, Austria, Spain and other countries who are moving nearer to the revolutionary youth movement.

"Contrary to certain prophecies, sympathetic affiliation has not weakened the Guild organisationally. Where the Guild branches were strongest in support for sympathetic affiliation the Guild has strengthened its own organisation and in many places is the most active force for the I.L.P.

"We therefore condemn the attitude taken up by the N.A.C., which is leading to a split in the I.L.P. and Guild,

and is disrupting the youth unity development both in Britain and the Continent.

"We declare our wholehearted support for the Norwich decisions to affiliate as a sympathetic organisation to the only revolutionary youth international, the Y.C.I. But owing to the attitude of the N.A.C. we are prepared to suspend the actual operation of affiliation until the Conference of the I.L.P.

"This Conference makes it clear, however, that it will appeal to the Annual Conference of the I.L.P. as to the validity of the N.A.C.'s ultimatum; we pledge ourselves to work with all energy and enthusiasm for the building of a powerful I.L.P. and Guild of Youth.

"We do this not as a retreat, but only to prevent the N.A.C. splitting the I.L.P. and Guild and to strengthen the united struggles of the young workers.

"The Conference notes that the 20th November is the 15th anniversary of the Y.C.I. and sends its warmest greetings to the revolutionary youth of the world in the fight under the banner of the Y.C.I. Finally the Conference decides to accept the invitation of the Y.C.I. to be represented at the World Congress in the spring of 1935, and will work for a representative delegation."

The Y.C.L. and the Guild will now proceed to a strengthening of their joint work and to the establishment of better and closer relations, which will result in a further development of working-class youth activity in Britain and a reinforcement of united action with the members of the L.L.Y. and the Co-op. Youth. And the next six months, leading up to the I.L.P. Annual Conference, will see a rallying of all those forces in the Guild and the I.L.P. who want to see the Guild fortified in its freedom to decide for itself on an international policy that aids such unity.

Resolution of the C.C. of the C.P.G. on Some Urgent Questions of the Toiling Youth

The Central Committee of the C.P. of Germany calls the attention of the Party and of the whole of the working class to the seriousness of the situation resulting from the deliberate intentions and the measures adopted by the fascist government for the organisation of imperialist war. The fascist government, which is calculating on war, and is promoted by the desire to check and suppress the development of the forces of the proletarian struggle for emancipation, is concentrating on militarising the youth.

All the measures of the government in the sphere of youth policy, such as labour service, assistance for the peasants, community camps, professional schools, State Youth Day, "strength through joy," etc., are intended to serve this political aim of preparing for war and civil war against the toiling people.

All these measures, and especially the law for the combing out of the young workers from the factories, are directed against the whole of the working class; they are intended to play the adult and young population off against each other and to facilitate the offensive against the standard of living of the whole working class.

The Party, as the leader and the representative of the interests of the whole working class, has the task of mobilising the whole of the working class, including the young workers, in a united front with the social democratic and Christian workers, trade unionists and their groups and organisations and to organise the struggle against these reactionary measures.

Our Party bears full responsibility towards the working class for the organising and carrying out of these tasks. It has the responsibility of seeing to it that the Young Communist League receives from the Party comradely leadership and instructions for the carrying out of these tasks.

The Party must seize the initiative in order to promote and accelerate unity of action by our Party and youth groups approaching the social democratic and trade union members and functionaries, the local and district organisations and youth groups, as well as the Christian youth groups.

The aim and purpose of unity of action must be: Bold defence of the material interests of the young toilers, in particular a struggle against the law for the combing out of the youth, against the reactionary assistance to the peasants and the labour service,

for the joint setting up of youth groups of the free trade unions. Joint struggle against the ideological befogging of the youth by chauvinism, race incitement, social demagogic phrases, fascist swindle of a comradeship and people's community, for breaking through the fascist machine-like discipline, for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship and the emancipation of the toiling youth.

The Party and the Young Communist League must perform systematic work in the fascist mass organisations, in the sport and defence organisations, and in particular in the Hitler Youth, in order to set up a broad opposition and to draw these strata into unity of action. This work is to be raised to a political level by a broad propagation of our socialist point of view and our real perspective for the future.

The enthusiasm which lies dormant in the masses of the youth, their readiness for sacrifice and their joy in games and military exercises must be diverted into the path of ideological and physical strengthening of the youth and their preparation as fighters for the emancipation struggle of the proletariat.

The Party will be able to fulfil these tasks only if it overcomes its isolation from the masses of the youth and the Young Communist League, as well as the sectarianism in the Party and in the Y.C.L. towards the members and groups of the socialist youth and the former trade union members, as well as towards the Christian young toilers and their organisations.

Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany.

The White Terror

The Fight for the Right of Asylum

By P. M.

The Administrative Council at the League of Nations for German Emigrants, the leadership of which is in the hands of the High Commissioner for German Refugees, Mr. MacDonald, an American, met in London on November 1 and 2. The Red Aid made use of this occasion in order, by means of a delegation consisting of representatives of several countries, to submit to Mr. MacDonald a Memorandum containing concrete demands on behalf of the anti-fascist emigration.

This Memorandum rightly stated that the International Red Aid is the first world-embracing organisation which has interested itself on behalf of political emigrants who have been persecuted on account of their revolutionary activity, and has afforded them material assistance. During the last twelve years, i.e., ever since its inception, it has spent approximately ten million Swiss francs in relief for political emigrants. This is a tremendous testimony to the active solidarity of the proletariat, the more so as this really international work has no splendidly equipped propaganda apparatus at its disposal, as has Mr. MacDonald, the present Refugee Commissar. On the contrary, this relief work has had to be performed in the face of savage persecution by the capitalist governments, and with the pennies collected by the workers under the greatest difficulties. The twelve years' history of the existence of the Red Aid is a history of a constant tenacious fight against the expulsion, extradition and persecution of political emigrants.

The enormous increase in the number of emigrants since Hitler seized power in Germany, which includes people who have been compelled to leave the country not only for political but also for economic reasons, and extends to the Catholics and even to oppositional Nazis—and which in addition has been constantly augmented by thousands of revolutionary emigrants from Austria, and now also from Spain, has tremendously increased the task of rendering aid to emigrants. The I.R.A. is paying out regular and occasional relief to about 10,000 German emigrants, one-sixth of the total emigrants.

The Memorandum, while pointing out these facts, at the same time denounced numerous measures of persecution to which the emigrants are subjected and which, in spite of all the paper decisions of the League of Nations, are being continually worsened. Even those governments which have sent their representatives to the Administrative Council for German Emigration are brutally persecuting anti-fascist emigrants. Abundant evidence has been collected, especially from Holland, where German anti-fascists have often been extradited to Germany and thereby delivered over to certain death. The methods of persecution employed in the various countries is exposed in detail. The practice in Switzer-

land of not only persecuting and hunting down emigrants, but in many cases quietly tolerating agents of the German Secret Political Police who carry on activity in Switzerland under the cloak of private detective bureaux, the recent practice adopted by the French authorities of expelling emigrants who, while not taking any active part in politics, ventured to form an organisation among themselves for mutual support; the usual practice of the authorities of refusing necessary hospital treatment to anti-fascists who have crossed the frontiers seriously wounded or seriously ill; the fact that, in spite of all the alleged League of Nations decisions in regard to emigrants' passports, political refugees who are without a passport or have been deprived of their citizenship by their native country are expelled, whilst, on the other hand, international profiteers and speculators can at any time obtain citizenship in any country provided they are ready to pay the necessary cash; finally, the practice obtaining in all capitalist countries of refusing worker emigrants permission to perform any work in the country—all this was set forth in the Memorandum submitted to Mr. MacDonald.

The Memorandum further pointed out that only the Soviet Union grants full right of asylum to anti-fascist emigrants, recognises them as citizens and gives them the possibility of taking part in the work of socialist construction, as well as in the whole life of the Soviet Union.

The Memorandum contained the following demands: complete right of asylum for all emigrants who have been compelled to leave their own country for political or economic reasons; that they shall not be expelled or extradited; they shall be allowed to enter all countries without documents or visas; they shall be given identification papers valid in all countries; unrestricted right to stay in any country; full right to work and to relief in case of unemployment; immediate cancellation of all expulsion and extradition orders; the release of all arrested emigrants; and, finally, the right to take part in the political and trade union life in the country in which they have found an asylum.

In a personal conversation between MacDonald and the representatives of the I.R.A. the High Commissioner claimed to be personally in sympathy with the demand that special political privileges be granted to emigrants, but in his official capacity he anxiously avoided interfering, as he expressed it, in the inner political affairs of any country. This means in actual practice that all the fine-sounding decisions of the League of Nations Administrative Council for Emigrants are only "recommendations" which bind nobody.

Nevertheless, one must record at least one positive result of the interview. The High Commissioner, when directly asked if in the event of his receiving telegraphic information that an anti-fascist is threatened with extradition to Germany, he would be prepared to make immediate representations to the government in question, he replied in the affirmative. That is a promise of which use must be made by all the organisations and committees of the Red Aid.

The interview which the Red Aid delegation had with refugee commissioner MacDonald only goes to confirm the fact that the decisions which at the first glance seem favourable to the emigrants remain on paper unless the force of a united mass movement is employed to secure their being carried out. Only if a constant and real check-up of the position of the emigrants by the proletarian organisations of each country takes place, only if a constant campaign for the emigrants is conducted in the press, only if a broad united front movement, based on the factories and trade union organisations and extended by the participation of all freedom-loving people, is developed for the demands of the refugees, only then can the terror against the emigrants be broken by international solidarity.

"Bandera Roja," the Illegal Newspaper of the Communist Party of Spain

Madrid, November 16.

Since the suppression of the whole legal press of the C.P. of Spain, the illegal organ "Bandera Roja" is now appearing in a mass edition. The second number has already been issued, and is devoted to the anniversary of the Russian revolution. "Bandera Roja," like all other illegal publications of the C.P. of Spain, is being received enthusiastically by the masses of the population.

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

Marriage and Family in the Land of the Soviets

By O. Saslavsky

Sixteen years ago, when international capital sent its armies against the land of the Soviets, it at the same time circulated the foul lie of the "nationalisation of women" by the Bolsheviki. Clergy, police, and rascals shrieked in chorus that Communism destroyed marriage and the family. International counter-revolution assumed as one of its many guises the role of defender of the sacredness of the foundations of marriage and the family. It endeavoured to work on the imagination of the petty bourgeoisie by the wildest fairy tales about the destruction of marriage. God-fearing old women and virtuous married ladies of the bourgeoisie raised their hands in horror at the mere mention of this godless and sinful Soviet State, where the workers—how shocking!—were said to have resolved that wives were common property.

To-day there is not a single organ of the capitalist press with any claims to "decency" that would venture to repeat this slander. Strangely enough, however, the calumny was resurrected three or four years ago in the land of the Soviets itself, at the time when the collective farming movement commenced its mighty advance. The kulaks and their agents, in their savage resistance against collectivisation, disseminated the fantastic tale of a "tremendous blanket 20 metres long, under which all collective peasants and their wives had to sleep in one common bed." The big peasants endeavoured, by means of the spectre of the annihilation of the family, to frighten the older and more ignorant villagers in remote places, and in fact they succeeded in gaining some opponents to collectivisation. It need not be said that this slander was dispelled after hanging over the villages for a time like an evil-smelling vapour. But the obstinacy with which this lie persists is as old as Communism itself, for the bourgeoisie accused Communism of "destroying the family" at a time when the theory of Communism was still in its infancy.

Does Communism do away with the bourgeois family? Undoubtedly it does. But does this mean that it destroys the family as such? No; on the contrary, it creates for the first time the possibility of a real family among the toiling masses.

At the time when the "Communist Manifesto" exposed the bourgeois family as a form of prostitution, the Communists were only able to oppose their relentless criticism to the deception committed by the bourgeoisie. At that time Communism existed only in theory, only in the movement of still small groups of the working class, only in the organisation of its vanguard. But to-day the family of the toiler in the Soviet Union can be opposed to the bourgeois family as an already existing and developing fact. What is left of the accusations of the bourgeoisie? Have the gloomy prophecies of the priests and gendarmes proved true? Does the family exist in the Soviet Union, or has it been dissolved, to be replaced by a disorderly community of men, women, and children, as among the hordes of primitive mankind?

We shall reply to this question. But first a few words on the family as it still exists in the capitalist countries, and as it existed in the towns and villages of tsarist Russia.

Even the bourgeois publicists cannot but admit the profound crisis in the family under the bourgeois state of society. How can they do otherwise? This crisis stares us in the face everywhere: in the frightful and constant increase of prostitution, in the increasing numbers of destitute children, in the dwindling number of marriages consequent on unemployment. Human beings who do not know where and how they are going to spend to-day and to-morrow cannot afford a family. The family becomes a superfluity if children have become a burden. The family becomes a dangerous leap in the dark when even young workers in employment are threatened daily with dismissal, unemployment and starvation.

We see that the growing collapse of the family among the toiling masses of the bourgeois countries is becoming a danger to the State. The capitalist state of society is involved in an inextricable contradiction. Every new-born proletarian child is another hungry mouth, and the clerical press is calling upon the

workers to exercise continence and chastity. But, on the other hand, the bourgeois State needs soldiers. The declining birth-rate is causing the greatest perturbation. France and Germany are endeavouring to promote marriage by every available means, a fact which in itself affords sufficient proof that the question of the family has become a burning one in the capitalist state of society. Among the upper sections of bourgeois society the family is corroded by vice and perversity. Among the toiling masses it is undermined by unemployment. In vain the petty bourgeoisie clings frantically to the "sacred" main pillars of its social being. Only a few miserable remnants are left of the patriarchal marriage. Parents are endeavouring to sell their daughters, their children, but it is just as difficult as it is to sell goods in a market where there is a lack of buyers. The over-production of marriageable daughters threatens to become overwhelming, and the price of a woman's body has diminished correspondingly. This is what the bourgeois family looks like to-day in the capitalist countries.

In spite of the backwardness of pre-revolutionary Russia, all these phenomena were very familiar to it. Moscow was once one of the great centres of cheap prostitution, and could compete with Constantinople as a white slave market. The streets of Moscow were crowded with prostitutes. Foreign writers repeatedly pointed out the cheapness and accessibility of Russian prostitutes as a special attraction of pre-revolutionary Russian life for the bourgeois foreigner. Unemployment and the impoverishment of the rural districts supplied a superfluity of prostitutes for home markets and for export.

As to the family life of the Russian workers at that time, the old textile workers of the greatest textile mill in Moscow, the "Treichgornaya Manufactory," can give a graphic report. The owners of this factory, the Prochorovs, were known in Moscow as God-fearing gentlemen, extremely concerned for the morality of their workers. They mainly engaged as workers the fathers of families, as a rule from the neighbouring villages. But their real motives were very different. Female labour was much cheaper than male, and the employment of workers with large families secured for the Prochorovs a constant supply of cheap female labour.

Workers with families were housed in "barracks," where, however, the separate families were not given separate rooms, but were all huddled together in common dormitories. They had no beds, but common bunks erected in two layers all along the dormitory. The married couples were divided from one another by calico curtains. The children were herded together with the adults. Under these conditions there was no semblance of family life whatever. Newly arrived married couples, especially if recently married, were given places on the floor underneath the bunks, and had no privacy whatever. Dirt, drunkenness, fighting—this was the manner in which the Prochorovs and their paid henchmen, the priests, cared for the "sacredness" of marriage and the family.

In the rural district the patriarchal marriage prevailed, a form which even bourgeois literature designates as everlasting slavery for the woman. The folk songs of the country describe the marriage of a Russian peasant woman as imprisonment, jail with hard labour, life with a hated man, premature old age, hate from the mother-in-law, molestation from the father-in-law, as unceasing ill-treatment. "Love your wife as your soul and shake her like a pear-tree"—this is the wisdom produced by hundreds of years of the "patriarchal" peasant family. The childhood of all the prominent Russian writers who came from the peasantry or working class offers a dreary picture; in their own families they found as a rule neither love nor joy. Hence the frequent flight from their homes, the vagabond life, the inclination towards a wandering life. The famous Russian poet Nekrassov has sung of his mother's hard and sad life. The memories of the well-known Russian writer Saltykov-Shchedrin (read with great interest by

Marx, as showing him real Russian life) are a heart-rending picture of a brutally cruel family life.

This "marriage," based on the enslavement of the women, the exploitation of children, on misery and bitter tears, has indeed been destroyed by the proletarian October revolution. The soil has been prepared for new forms of marriage and the family.

Above all, there is no prostitution in the Soviet Union. Not only because it is forbidden by law. In many capitalist countries, too, there exists a formal prohibition of prostitution. But there it is merely a tribute paid to hypocrisy. A phenomenon caused and maintained by the existing social conditions cannot be abolished by legislature. The laws of the U.S.A. prohibited the manufacture and sale of intoxicants. The result is notorious: such an enormous development of the "illegal" drinking of alcohol, of the "bootlegging," such a disastrous increase of vice and crime, that the government was forced to repeal the "dry" laws. Prostitution flourishes in the capitalist countries in spite of prohibition, for unemployment and private profits are stronger than any law, for they subjugate all laws to themselves.

In the Soviet Union there is no prostitution, for there is neither unemployment nor private gain. A girl does not go on the streets if she has work and secure earnings. Nobody can open a brothel in the Soviet Union, any more than he can a factory with wage workers. In the Soviet Union woman is not a commodity. But this means that hundreds and thousands, millions of women have in the Soviet Union that family life which capitalist Russia denied them.

A young Austrian engineer, a social democrat, working in the giant Rostov agricultural machine-building works, complained to me, with a naive lack of shame, of the "sufferings to which a foreigner is exposed in the Soviet Union." Imagine! He is young and single, but neither in the town nor in the factory are there any prostitutes. All attempts to seduce the young working women by means of presents are severely condemned by both the women themselves and the public opinion of the factory. The poor "socialist" has indeed to "suffer" in the inhospitable land of the Soviets. . . .

No unemployment, no private profits—this fact fundamentally alters all relations in marriage and the family. A girl does not need marry the first man who presents himself, whether she loves him or not, merely in order not to become an "old maid," a burden on her parents, and finally ending in starvation. Now she can choose a husband after her own heart, as the young men choose their wives.

In the Soviet Union there is no marriage "problem" as we know it in the capitalist countries. The Soviet Government has no need to be anxious on the score of a declining birthrate. The birthrate is higher than in any other country in the world. In the Soviet Union a child is not a "hungry mouth," but a desired member of society. The registry offices registering the marriages do not by any means suffer from lack of occupation. The number of weddings is incomparably higher than in pre-revolutionary Russia. And what about the family in the land of the Soviets? But why recite figures? Any sunny day spent in a culture park in the Soviet Union shows us the Soviet family—the husband with the child on his arm, the wife walking by his side. The demand for household goods of every kind is enormous.

In the Soviet Union the family not only exists, it flourishes and thrives. But it is not an old-time family. It is a community resting on entirely different foundations from those of the bourgeois family, which in most cases is based on lies and deception. The Soviet family still has its inner problems, for it is a new sort of community, one which the world has never seen before. It is still in course of construction. It is making its own laws and is seeking for new and better forms. Lively discussions are going on as to what the Soviet family should become; the faults and errors are pointed out, new suggestions made. The positive historical elements of the old family are critically valued, the forms based on slavery are rejected. Relations between the various members of the family are changed. The parts played by the husband, the wife, the parents, the children, and the old people, differ from the old ones. Everything is not yet clear. But one thing is certain—the main thing: The foundation of the Soviet family stands firm, for it is the security of its social existence. Neither man nor wife, neither children nor old people are threatened by unemployment. Nobody is economically dependent on anyone else. The family is not a small general shop, where family relations are objects of trade, where family happiness is

purchaseable, where the fruits of family life are bought and sold. The wife does not need to fear her husband or to be obedient to him merely because he is her husband. The children are not forced to show blind obedience towards their parents. The mother need not fear that the father of her children will desert her, leaving her helpless. Neither priests nor police poke their noses into family affairs.

In a later article we shall describe in detail the positions of husbands, wives, children and old people in the Soviet Union, compare them with former conditions, and show the lines along which the Soviet family is developing.

The women will have the first word.

Letters From the Soviet Ukraine

By L. F. Boross

Light and Shadow, Joy and Trouble

In some of our former letters we endeavoured to give an idea of how the workers and employees of the greatest Kiev industrial undertaking were able to meet their most elementary needs: food, clothing, housing. The results of the inquiry showed that the working class, when it has the power in its own hands and itself determines the distribution of the goods produced, eats, lives, and dresses better than it is able to do when the bourgeoisie determines how much the worker is to eat, where he is to live, and how he should dress. This would appear to be a platitude. But it is not our fault if we are obliged to waste the time of our readers on self-evident facts; it is the fault of that anti-working-class press which actually ventures to-day, in the 17th year of the proletarian dictatorship, to write about the "hunger" or "distress" of the masses in the Soviet Union.

But the needs of the ruling class do not consist solely of food, clothing and houses. And although we see how the workers read and learn, and how tens and hundreds of thousands have climbed the highest summits of intellectual education, still it need not be supposed that the Soviet workers all sit with their heads buried in books from the moment they leave the factory till they go to bed. The building up of socialism, and the exertion of force which this demands, does not transform the workers into ascetics. On the contrary, it deepens and broadens in the working class all human emotions, the will to joy, the love of the enjoyment of life, of entertainment, pleasure. If we leave the factory and go down to the Dnieper after working hours, we see the workers of our factory spring into the 90 rowing boats belonging to the best-equipped boat club in the place, which belongs quite naturally to the workers of the best and largest factory. A visit to the theatre in the evening shows the audience to consist mainly of workers. The best tailoring workshop belongs, of course, to the best workers of the largest factory. At the aerodrome we see youths practising flying and parachute descents, but these again are not bourgeois who do not know how to kill their time, but young men and women from the factories. And when 30,000 spectators enthusiastically applaud the best woman parachutist in Kiev, the enthusiasm of the "Order of the Red Flag" factory is dimmed solely by the fact that the heroine of the day, though a fellow-worker, a metal worker, does not belong to their factory, but to another metal working undertaking in Kiev, the "Lenin Smithy." The women of the "Order of the Red Flag" factory are making up their minds that at the next aviatic gala their performance will beat even that of to-day. But the thousands looking on at their aeroplanes up in the air, and witnessing this evidence of the forces of their class, are so filled with the mighty consciousness of force and power that they break spontaneously into a mass dance. During the first difficult years of socialist construction there was but little scope for the lighter forms of entertainment—but to-day there is more dancing and singing in the Soviet Union of the Second Five-Year Plan than there is anywhere else in the world. And this expression of the joy of living does not come as a substitute for the urge towards serious cultural and intellectual pastime; not as a substitute for the theatre, literature, reading, visits to museums, social work; it comes in addition to all this, as an expression of a kind of new Soviet joyousness, the joyousness of the ruling working class.

This joyousness must not be imagined in any caricatured form, not a smile which never vanishes from the face of the worker. It is a joyousness interposed between tremendous exertions. There may be hearty laughter at a demonstration where posters depict a pig endeavouring to insert its snout in the blooming Soviet garden, and a Red Army soldier kicking it out; but

everybody knows that this imperialist pig is a serious reality, and that it is forcing thousands, tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands, of Soviet proletarians, who would rather be employed in planting more trees and fruits in the garden, to build more fences to keep out the pig.

Besides, there are still many small daily discomforts.

The city of Kiev is experiencing the birth pangs of a new capital. Everything is too small and narrow for the new requirements. The trams and telephones are so overworked that it is often better to go on foot to settle one's affairs. Much time is lost all along the line. New means of traffic are being rapidly built, but until they are ready there is not much pleasure in using the present trams and buses. At 12 o'clock noon I mounted a tram, line 20, in order to ride to a resort about 15 kilometres from the town "Puschchevodiza." At the point where I changed to line 12 I had a wait of 50 minutes, as the power station was overworked. Finally, about half-past two, I reached my destination, a distance which could have been covered in 30 minutes according to plan.

In reply to a question from one of my fellow-travellers, who asked if the trams abroad run as unsatisfactorily, I was obliged to admit that the Kiev tramway was the worst I had ever travelled on. I felt some surprise that those anti-Soviet correspondents, who have concocted so many idiotic fairy tales about conditions in the Ukraine, have not rather described a real journey on a Kiev tram. To be sure they would not have seen any starving people here either, for at the junction excellent apples and pears were obtainable for a few copecks, and cakes and sweetmeats for those prepared to spend a little more. Still it must be observed that it was the **workers and employees** themselves who were annoyed at the delay and poor service and who did not think of concealing their dissatisfaction.

But even these anti-Soviet writers, once arrived at our destination, would have rather returned their fountain pens to their pockets, and left the job of inventing atrocity reports from the Ukraine to their editorial friends in London, Berlin, or Prague. For any correspondent who decided to tell the truth for once in his life would have had to report as follows on the rest homes for workers reached at last by the tram: Most of the tramway passengers went at once to the rest home provided by the "Red Banner Order" factory for its workers and employees. Here they commenced their fortnight's to four weeks' recuperation with a generous supper. Everything is free: every kind of sport and entertainment, handball, tennis, boating and swimming, concerts, dancing, camp chairs, books, and careful and thorough medical treatment. Older workers with "old-fashioned" ideas can enjoy the pleasure of their pre-revolutionary Sundays: a skittle alley has been provided. It is possible to fetch a bottle of beer—though not from the rest home, and at the cost of a lecture from some of the physicians on the advisability of relinquishing alcohol, at least during the period of recuperation.

It must be pointed out that this rest home is by no means the "best" offered for the recuperation of the proletariat. Those seriously in need of treatment and the best shock brigaders spend their holidays in the Southern health resorts. This home is chiefly for persons in good health, and there are only a few patients here for whom there is not yet room in the sanatoriums.

A little to one side, in the forest, there is a group of houses surrounded by flower beds: a sanatorium for tuberculous children. This is fitted with the latest medical apparatuses. There are no great mass wards, but light, airy rooms for two to four patients. On every storey there are club rooms, school and play rooms for the sick children. To-day's dinner consists of: broth, roast chicken with vegetable, fruit, in one department, and of vegetable soup, roast pork with potatoes, and compote, for the other department. After dinner one and a half hour's complete rest, the "dead hour"—no reading or talking, only lying still. And then out in the forest.

No doubt there are such sanatoriums in the capitalist countries, but only for those who can pay well. Therefore, for us it is not the organisation and equipment of the sanatorium which attracts our special attention, but the book containing the list of patients, showing whose children are being restored to health in this magnificent institution. Let us look at the last page. Eleven new arrivals. Who are the parents?

(1) Miner. (2) Collective peasant. (3) Building worker. (4) Employee in X-ray institute. (5) School teacher. (6) Foundry worker (Donetz-basis). (7) Seaman from Dnieper shipping. (8)

Miner. (9) Metal worker. (10) Red Army soldier. (11) Building worker.

This last page is fairly typical of the whole book. The parents of 88 per cent. of the children received into the institution this year are workers "from the bench." Their children have a right to the best sanatorium in the Ukraine. The sanatorium does not cease to keep an eye on the children after sending them away cured. Their well-being is controlled for many years afterwards; the sanatorium gives them every aid in continuing in their homes the cultural and cleanly methods which they have learnt in the sanatorium and in influencing others with whom they come in contact to adopt these methods.

The "Pioneer Camp" belonging to the machine-building factory before mentioned lies in another suburb, Boyerskoye. Here children of ten and twelve years of age and upwards spend their holidays. The maintenance of the camp costs the factory 180 roubles per child. The parents of the children pay nothing if they belong to the lower-wage categories, and a small sum if in a higher category, up to a maximum of 80 roubles for workers earning the highest wages or salaries. The remainder forms part of those numerous additions to the real wages of the workers of the Soviet Union, not included in the nominal wages.

Near the factory itself there is a cleanly kept kindergarten for children between the ages of four and ten, with a sanatorium attached for weakly children. Here there is good and ample food, an attentive staff, ingenious work games and other toys, and a number of devices for developing the artistic tastes of the children.

But best of all are the members of the youngest generation among the children of the workers of this factory—those up to the age of four. These children are not only better off than the proletarian children of their own age in the capitalist countries, it may be stated without exaggeration that they are better off than the little bourgeois children, and probably than even many other children of this age in the Soviet Union. The words of one of the leaders of the Ukrainian workers: "The care of the children must be our greatest socialist pride" have been actually put into practice here. The "crèche" is a newly built palace, whose erection cost the factory half a million. There is one nurse to every three children. The furniture, the toys, the hygienic arrangements, the treatment given these children of metal workers, office workers, charwomen . . . this is more than the care of children, it is the dreamed-of luxury created by the ruling working class for the happiest children in the world.

The Week in the Soviet Union

The Elections to the Village Soviets

The elections to the village Soviets throughout the whole of the Soviet Union took place in the period from November 1 to 20. The final results are not yet known, but the results already announced clearly show the tremendous advance of the collective peasants, the proportion of seats now held by them on the village Soviets having doubled. The Central Election Commission of the U.S.S.R. announces the following provisional election results:—

In four Federal Republics (R.S.F.S.R., the Ukraine, White Russia, Transcaucasia) 2,698 village Soviets had been elected up to the 16th November. The number of collective peasants elected has increased to 74.8 per cent. compared with 33.7 per cent. in 1931. The Communists elected now comprise 16 per cent. of the village Soviets. 23.5 per cent. of the candidates elected are women.

In a number of districts the percentage of collective peasants elected to the village Soviets is even higher: in the Central Volga district 78.3 and in Voronesh even 82.2. According to the results announced so far, first place in this respect is held by the Mordwinish Autonomous District, where 86.8 of the candidates elected are collective peasants.

In regard to the number of women elected the Baskiran Soviet Autonomous Soviet Republic holds the leading position: 38.2 per cent. of the candidates elected to the village Soviets in this Republic are women.

Everywhere the polling has been very heavy. In many cases over 90 per cent. of the electors recorded their votes. In the German district of Halgstadt the percentage of electors who went to the poll was 93 and in the Great Tomak region and in the village of Nesteleyevo even 100.

Foreign Workers' Delegates Received By the Trade Union Council of the Soviet Union

The delegations of foreign workers which came to the Soviet Union to take part in the seventeenth anniversary celebrations have had the opportunity, during the last ten days, of learning something about the factories and works of Moscow, the lives of the workers, and the activities of the Moscow District Soviet, etc. The delegates, before leaving for the Ukraine and other parts of the Union, were received by the Presidium of the Central Trade Union Council.

The secretary, Weinberg, greeted the delegates on behalf of the Soviet trade unions, and stressed that the visit of foreign workers' delegations to the Soviet Union is the best means of establishing contacts and of informing the toiling masses of the capitalist countries about the great land of socialism.

During the conversation with the members of the Presidium, the delegates received exhaustive information on the role and influence of the Soviet trade unions, on the relations between the trade unions and the State, the statutes, the workers' control, the collective agreements, the budget of the Central Trade Union Council and social insurance, the educational work carried on by the Soviet trade unions, the methods of trade union work, etc. This friendly conversation between the leaders of the Soviet trade unions and the foreign worker delegates lasted over three hours. The replies given by the members of the Presidium of the Central Council, accompanied by figures on the victories and achievements of the working class of the U.S.S.R., were frequently interrupted by the enthusiastic applause of the guests. In conclusion representatives of the delegates expressed their thanks for the invitation given the foreign workers, who have thus been given the opportunity of seeing with their own eyes the mighty successes of the working class of the Soviet Union. An old textile worker, a member of the British Labour Party, one of the English delegates, observed in his speech that they had often heard of the successes of the Soviet Union, but what they now saw with their own eyes surpassed all their expectations and made an unforgettable impression on them.

Development of Food Trade in the Soviet Union

The steadily increasing prosperity of the toiling masses in town and country is evidenced by the uninterrupted rise in the goods turnover. During the first nine months of the current year the turnover of individual trade increased by 27.3 per cent. as compared with the same period last year, and in the third quarter of 1914 by 34.3 per cent. as compared with the third quarter of 1933.

Thanks to the consolidation of the collective farming system, the state was able to collect its quotas of grain this year much more rapidly and on better organised lines than in all former years. The amount of grain being brought in and purchased by the co-operatives gives every reason to assume that by the time of the next harvest the Soviet Union will have great reserves at its disposal. Equal success has been attained in the production of other agricultural products and foodstuffs and in the output of the light industries. All this has furnished the basis for a considerable increase in the goods turnover. The Plan envisages for the fourth quarter of this year an individual trade turnover of 17,251 million roubles—almost 4 milliard roubles more than in the fourth quarter of last year and over 2 milliard roubles more than in the third quarter of the current year.

Enormous quantities of foodstuffs and industrial goods are concentrated at the present time in the hands of the State and the co-operatives. The centralised food funds (that is to say, all goods sold to the organised population at fixed prices) have 20 per cent. more goods at their disposal in this fourth quarter of 1934 than in the fourth quarter of last year. Large reserves of the most important foodstuffs have been set aside. The meat reserves

exceed last year's by 25 per cent., butter reserves by 30 per cent., cheese by 111 per cent. The stores of canned goods are ten times greater than last year. Millions of tons of potatoes and large quantities of eggs and other provisions are being stored. The sources of food supplies at the disposal of the Soviet Union enable not only the closed co-operatives to provide the organised population with goods, but have made it possible to increase the number of open provision shops once more in this fourth quarter of 1934. In these shops goods are sold freely at what are known as commercial prices. This commercial trade in food has already attained considerable importance. The quantity of goods sold in these shops compared with the quantity distributed to card holders is 44 per cent. as regards bread, 25 per cent. sugar, 30 per cent. confectionery, and 28 per cent. tinned goods. The prices of these most important products, bread, sugar, etc., are being steadily lowered in these shops. These shops invariably offer a good selection of high-class products, and are attracting an ever-growing circle of buyers. The systematic opening up of new sources of supply, the development of Soviet trade, and the reduction of prices in the open food shops, are exercising a decisive influence on the market prices, lowering these considerably.

The most important source of supply continues to be the collective farming markets. Last year the turnover of the collective farm markets in Moscow amounted to 512 million roubles; in the first nine months of the present year to 474 million roubles. The output of industrial goods for daily consumption has increased proportionately. As compared with the third quarter of this year, this output has increased in the fourth quarter by 24.4 per cent. This includes 42 per cent. more cotton materials, 11.6 per cent. more stockinet and knitted goods, 8.7 per cent. more shoes, 68.1 per cent. more soap, and 10 per cent. more cigarettes.

The increased production of goods meeting cultural needs is especially characteristic. The fourth quarter of 1934 sees 18 times more bicycles on the market, over 5 times more gramophones, and one and a half times more cameras. The enormous reserves of foodstuffs now concentrated in the hands of the State permit the raising of the question—as to-day's "Pravda" reports—of reorganising the distribution of bread among consumers, and of abolishing the system of bread cards.

The Polar Shipping Plan Has Been Fulfilled

In connection with the seventeenth anniversary of the October Revolution the administration of the Institute for Polar Transport, led by the Cheliuskin hero, Professor Schmidt, has presented its report to the Central Committee of the Communist Party. The report shows that the year's plan of the Institute was completely fulfilled.

During 1934 85 Soviet vessels journeyed in the Arctic regions and carried a total of 80,000 tons cargo. Twenty-eight vessels carrying timber from the Far North had increased their capacity. A particularly fine achievement was the journey of the three vessels of the Lena expedition, which carried 7,500 tons of foodstuffs and other requirements to the mouth of the Lena for the use of the Autonomous Yakutian Soviet Republic. All three vessels returned undamaged to Archangelsk. The ice-breaker "Krassin," which has been decorated with the Order of the Red Flag, not only fulfilled its year's plan, but also performed valuable scientific work.

The achievement of the Soviet vessel "Littke" was particularly noteworthy, for the first time in history it made the North-East passage in one journey.

The economic expeditions in the Far North, the report declares, have carried out large building works. The first section of the new shipbuilding yards had been completed on the mouth of the Lena. On the River Yenesei a canning factory, with an annual capacity of 3 million tins a year, had been erected. The shipbuilding yard on the Dvina had been reconstructed and a new yard built on the River Oka. The production of coal in the Far North is making such rapid progress that in 1935 it will be in a position to supply all the fueling needs of Polar shipping.