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A Brilliant Mass Organiser

To the Memory of Comrade Kirov

By Knorin

One of the best leaders of the Leninist Party, a brilliant mass organiser, one of the most prominent collaborators of our great Stalin—Sergej Mironovitch Kirov has fallen at the hands of vile murderers. The name of Kirov calls to mind the whole history of the struggle of the working class for the October Revolution and for the construction of socialist society. Illegality, imprisonment, exile, work again in the building up of the Bolshevik Party; then organising of the October Revolution, civil war in Astrakan, Zariczin, Baku. Then the construction of Soviet Azerbeidjan, construction of Soviet Transcaucasia, triumph over all opposition, first Five-Year Plan, building up of Socialist Leningrad. This is the life story of Kirov, but it is also the history of the Bolshevik Party.

The hard, difficult struggle against the class enemy, against the Russian and foreign bourgeoisie, trained Kirov and placed him into the first ranks of the Bolshevik Party, in the first phaloux of the comrades-in-arms of our great Stalin. As an irreconcilable enemy of the least deviations from Bolshevism, Kirov fought in Transcaucasia for the Leninist line of the Bolshevik Central Committee. The Party placed him, as the best mass organiser, at the head of the Leningrad organisation. He became a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and its secretary.

"Each of us must be imbued with the firm discipline of the Party, every member of the Party must give the Party everything he possesses, and everything that he receives in the way of training and self-education must serve the cause of the Party," declared Kirov two months ago, at the Plenum of the Leningrad District

and Town Committees of the C.P.S.U. He was filled with that spirit of Bolshevik discipline which must serve as a model to hundreds of thousands of Bolsheviks. He was filled with the greatest determination and joy of life.

When at the Seventeenth Party Congress of the C.P.S.U. he declared with enthusiasm that it was "a joy to live in these days," the foreign agents, the Russian White Guardists and their hangers on, asked: How is it possible for a worker to say that it is a joy to live at a time when thousands of proletarians are pining in prisons, when death sentences are daily occurrences? However, Kirov was fully justified in declaring that it is a joy to live in these days, for we live in a time when the old is passing into oblivion and in the whole world a new order of society—the order of the proletarian dictatorship—is being borne to the accompaniment of the greatest birth pangs. Kirov was justified in saying that to-day it is a joy to live, for the past is disappearing, and with it everything that for centuries oppressed the peoples of the largest country of the world. Kirov was able to say that it is a joy to live to-day, because he was creating with his own hands a new society, a new happy life for the 160 million people of the Soviet country.

This joy of life was and is an expression of Bolshevik confidence in Socialism.

Kirov was bound by the closest ties to the broad toiling masses of the Soviet Union. He embodied its flaming enthusiasm, its great belief in socialism, the firm will of the working masses of the Soviet country to fight for the setting up of the new society.

Placed at the head of the great proletarian State of the Soviet Union, Kirov did not allow himself any rest; he devoted all his forces to working for the benefit of the toiling masses. Read Kirov's speeches! There is not a single problem of the Bolshevik Party on which Kirov has not expressed his opinion. There is not a single question concerning the masses which he would not have decided. The example of Kirov shows what great deeds every Bolshevik is capable of who bases himself upon the will of the toiling masses and upon the theory of Lenin and Stalin, and dedicates himself unreservedly to the service of the Party.

Kirov was a brilliant organiser. Only such an organiser was able to lead the Red Army to victory in Astrakhan and Baku. Only such an organiser was able to restore industry in Baku. Only such an organiser was able to weld together with a firm hand the Leningrad Party organisation, restore the Leningrad industry and secure the brilliant successes of the collective farms of the Leningrad district.

Kirov was a brilliant propagandist and agitator, who knew how to talk in Bolshevik language to the masses about their misery and to lead them forward. Only such a propagandist and agitator was able to explain to the masses of the Red Army men the necessity of fighting against White Guardist Denekin bands to the last, to rouse the masses of Turkish workers and peasants and rally them round the Party, completely shatter the influence of the Trotskyist opposition in Leningrad and weld together the Leningrad working class into a Bolshevik whole for the struggle for the victory of Socialism.

Kirov has fallen at the hands of a vile murderer. The defeated and shattered class enemy is no longer able to frustrate socialist construction; he is already incapable of waging an open fight against the power of the working class. The foreign bourgeoisie is supporting the remnants of the class enemy who are attempting to take revenge on the victorious Bolshevik Party. These remnants of the class enemy are incapable of destroying the work of the Bolsheviks, but they attempt to kill individual men who led the country to victory.

Great is the sorrow of our Party, of the country, of all workers and peasants engaged in building the socialist society. However, Kirov's death will rouse fresh sections of the working class to take up the ruthless fight against the remnants of the hostile class, and strengthen still more the will of the toiling masses for the struggle for the construction of the classless socialist society. The secret agents of the Russian and of the international bourgeoisie will be ruthlessly annihilated. Kirov's life aim will triumph. Close the ranks still more firmly round the Leninist Party! Rally still more closely round our great leader Stalin!

Guard Vigilantly the Proletarian Fatherland!

By O. W. Kuusinen (Moscow)

Comrade Kirov was one of the best leaders of the proletariat of the Soviet Union, this invincible fortress and support of the socialist world revolution. It is therefore not by chance that the enemies of the revolutionary working class fired the bullets into his heart. By his self-sacrificing, heroic struggle Kirov summoned millions of toilers and exploited in the capitalist countries to the decisive struggles. All Communists in the capitalist countries must learn from the example of Kirov, who fell at his fighting post, the Bolshevik art of fighting in closest contact with the masses, as this is the guarantee of victory over the enemies of the working class.

Kirov's fellow workers in the international Communist movement deeply mourn the loss of their comrade-in-arms, leader and friend. At the same time they are filled with the proud conviction that the millions of workers of Lenin's glorious town, as well as of the whole of the Soviet country, who stood behind Kirov will continue to hold aloft the flag of world Communism and carry on his life-work to a victorious conclusion.

Kirov's death is a warning signal. It shows in an unmistakable manner that the sworn enemies of the Soviet power do not shrink from any crime in their struggle against the victorious proletarian dictatorship. The workers of all countries must therefore keep a sharper watch over the inviolability of their socialist fatherland! May the steel-hard workers' arm crush with an annihilating blow those who shoot down the heads of the leading group of the world proletariat!

Politics

Foreign Political Review of the Week

Although very much has become known since the Marseilles assassinations regarding the activity of the terrorists on Hungarian territory, the Yugoslav Memorandum to the League of Nations contains a lot of fresh details. The statement that the leading terrorists came from those circles of Croat officials and officers who were formerly in the service of Austro-Hungarian imperialism is deserving of special mention. The Habsburgs made use of the Croats for the purpose of crushing the movement for freedom not only in 1848; with the occupation of Bosnia and Hercegovina in 1878 there commenced an influx of Croat officials and officers, and also of merchants and financiers, into these captured provinces, where they gradually formed the framework of Austro-Hungarian imperialism. Catholics allowed themselves to be played off against the orthodox Serbian original inhabitants, whose language they spoke but nevertheless used another alphabet. With the overthrow of the Habsburgs and the setting up of Great Serbian imperialism these creatures of Habsburg imperialism were unable to adapt themselves to the new conditions and were left stranded. Magyar revisionism sought and found in them its allies; many of them were former garrison friends of the present rulers of Hungary, as, for instance, the notorious Captain Percie, who knew Captain Goemboes from the time of his military service in Agram.

The numerous crimes which are enumerated in the Yugoslav Memorandum leave no doubt whatever that we have to do here with a whole system of criminal acts as chief instrument of foreign policy, from the organising of political murders to forging money. It is characteristic of the present situation that the Italian papers are unable to bring forward any other excuse for the Magyars than that other people are no better. The "Giornale d'Italia," of November 30, writes:—

"Various terrorist movements of refugees have been organised on Yugoslavian territory with the aid of the State. There are "White Russians," mostly former Tsarist officers and active opponents of the Soviet Government. These White Russians are received, armed and maintained by the Yugoslavian Government. Further, in Yugoslavia there are Albanians, enemies of the Albanian Government, who organised the attempt on the life of King Zogo in Vienna. . . . There should also be mentioned the emigrant Hungarians who in August, 1921, at the evacuation of Baranya and Pecs, followed the Serbian army; among them is Adalbert Lander, the former Minister for War in the Karolyi Government, at whose disposal the Servian authorities placed half a milliard dinars for the purpose of carrying on anti-Hungarian propaganda. Mention should also be made of the thousands of national socialists who fled from Austria after the attempted putsch last summer and are organised in military units, are partly armed and are concentrated in several camps which have been only recently dissolved."

The Italian paper holds up the register of sins of the German and French Governments in this respect, but carefully refrains from mentioning what Italy has done and is doing for the Croat terrorists.

The sensation which the Yugoslav Memorandum created would have been much greater if its publication had not coincided with the great debate in the English House of Commons on German armaments. This was the great foreign-political event of the week. For the first time Germany's secret armaments were dragged into the light by one of the leading Versailles victors. It is not the first time that Churchill has come forward with charges against Germany. The rival German imperialism has always been a thorn in the flesh of this thorough going English imperialist. Churchill does not trust the Germans.

"Germany is a country fertile in military surprises," he declared in his great speech. "The great Napoleon was completely taken by surprise by the strength of the German army which fought the war of liberation. Similarly, when the Great War broke out, the French General Staff had no idea of the reserve divisions which would be brought against them. They expected to be confronted by 25 army corps; actually more than 40 came against them." Churchill, however, trusts Hitler least of all, although the

latter has repeatedly declared that he renounces any claims to colonies.

In another part of his speech Churchill stated:—

"I will not dwell on the character of the present German Government because the House knows it all, and there is no need to repeat all that. I will content myself by saying that the decision of a handful of men—men of June 30—is all that is required to launch an attack upon us; if such an attack were possible and that only the shortest notice, or no notice at all, could be counted upon."

In his reply Mr. Baldwin, speaking on behalf of the Government, declared:—

"As a net result of nearly two years of that (Hitler) regime in Central Europe, we have a condition of nervous apprehension running through from one country to another which bodes ill for the peace of Europe, or anyway ill for that mentality in which peace can be maintained."

Baldwin mentioned that Germany rejects the Russian suggestion for a German-Polish guarantee of the Baltic States, and finally described Germany as a dark Continent. But what conclusions did he draw? In the first place that it was necessary to increase the English airfleet so that it should always be superior to that of Germany—and on the basis of this superiority to conclude an armament agreement. If Hitler agrees to this, then he will be given economic advantages which will enable him to escape from his serious economic situation.

The result of the big discussion on German armaments, therefore, is that the old policy which England has hitherto pursued toward Hitler remains: encouragement of German armaments by legalising them, and in addition economic aid for financing these armaments. The secret reasons for this policy were divulged by Lloyd George, when he declared:—

"I will not mind predicting that in a short time, perhaps in a year or two years, the Conservative forces in this country will be looking to Germany as the bulwark against Communism in Europe. If Germany breaks down and is seized by the Communists Europe will follow."

That is the essence of the whole affair. They are afraid of Germany's armaments, they are afraid of hysterical attacks of men of June 30, but they are still more afraid of Communism.

There is no doubt that the French Government is following in the footsteps of the English Government, and hopes on the basis of this policy to conclude an agreement with Italy and also with Germany. Laval declared that he could not agree to a violation of the military clauses of the Versailles Treaty—but what else can he say in regard to this question? It is what he will do that is important! He has again invited Germany to join the Eastern Pact instead of saying what he intended doing against Germany's rejection of the Eastern Pact. But the most important thing is that Laval is prepared to make far-reaching concessions in the Saar question and in this way comes to the rescue of Hitler. M. Laval, as he declared to the German Ambassador, does not intend to pursue a policy of "internationalists and Jews" (a policy which Pertinax said was the best policy at the moment for France), and therefore he carries out the policy of Hitler, the main aim of which is the creation of an anti-Soviet bloc.

It is clear that this policy cannot prevent war. Armaments are the result of antagonistic interests among the imperialist Powers. They do not constitute an end in themselves, but are only a means to an end: the achievement of foreign-political aims. In the countries with reactionary dictatorships the achievement of foreign political successes is one of the essential pre-conditions for conducting a successful home policy.

By propping up the Hitler Government the war danger is enormously increased, in spite of all armament agreements, in particular the danger of war against the Soviet Union.

Contradictory Imperialist Manœuvres

By J. Berlioz (Paris)

In the talks at Geneva, in the innumerable visits of Ministers from capital to capital, in the repeated diplomatic interviews, everybody is playing a double game, without actually rushing into military combinations, the crystallisation of which would mean immediate war under conditions that many imperialist powers would not regard as favourable.

If M. Laval's policy, in particular, "confuses the observer," this is due to the fact that France is faced with a complete collapse of the Versailles system that had seemed to be everlasting, and is hesitantly searching for a substitute system. At the same time she

tries to preserve as much as possible of the European organisation, created by the peace treaties of the post-war periods and convulsed by the crisis, that assures her political and military leadership. *The French bourgeoisie often manœuvres simultaneously in various directions.* And therein lies the secret of what M. Fernand de Brinon describes with forced praise as "M. Laval's cautious wariness."

M. Barthou considered that the preservation of the present state of peace and opposition to attempts to revise the treaties of 1919 were in the best interests of French imperialism. Compelled to recognise the Soviet Union as the greatest force for peace in the world, he adopted, in spite of inward disinclination, the course of diplomatic co-operation with the U.S.S.R. His greatest fear was the Hitlerian adventurist policy, that is prepared to do anything to atone for its wretched collapse at home at least through success abroad.

Is M. Laval going the same way as Barthou? Certainly he says so. But certain events of recent date allow one to ask whether he is really so decidedly in favour of consolidating relations between France and the Soviet Union. In Berlin one likes to talk of an "easing" in the relations with Paris. The speech made by the War Minister in the Chamber, in which he declared that "it would be pitiable to see two great nations tearing each other to pieces for the sake of questions that could be settled otherwise," was well received in Berlin, and in the Sportpalast Goebbels replied that the Reich was ready to make concessions, without, however, saying what these would be. It is said that the Laval-Koestler interviews have contributed to a certain reassurance. Goy, the deputy for Paris, leader of the former front-line soldiers, brought from Berlin a "pacific" message from Hitler, and one may wager that he did not undertake the trip without at least the concurrence of the Quai d'Orsay. It is reported, too, that Ribbentrop arrived on the banks of the Seine.

Germany wanted to settle the Saar question in a tête à tête with France, if possible without a plebiscite, and the Comité des Forges was absolutely in favour of such a discussion, in order to secure an advantageous compromise for the repurchase of its holdings in the Saar industry, and a "discussion" which in case of need would be supported by the pressure of the military forces concentrated in Lorraine. The fascist papers, some of which receive direct "aid" from Hitler, stress the fact that the French government could not countenance the United Front in the district of the Saar, which "would avenge Thaelmann" and was "in the service of the Third International." A radical deputy states: The Saar for Germany quickly!—on the pretext of combatting the French armaments death-merchants. Laval avoids an encounter with Max Braun and takes care not to approach the League of Nations for a definition of the *status quo* in accordance with the demands of the United Front and for a guarantee of a fresh plebiscite later. Nothing but disquieting plans for some shady bargaining.

All this is certainly not free from contradictions. Certain politicians go on emphasising with all their might that the overheated German imperialism represents a danger of immediate war. There is strong criticism of the Third Reich's manœuvres to get Poland away from France, to cajole Belgrade, and of its intrigues in Bukarest to dissolve the Little Entente, etc. At the same time one has to admit that the French government seems to be much more reticent in its relations with the Soviet Union.

Is it not influenced by the numerous campaigns in the press, emphasising the dangers of an "alliance with Bolshevism" with the *leit motif*: "The Bolsheviks have always regarded their theory as an export article. In order to bring it to Europe, do they make use of the diplomatic attaché-case?" We recall that *Flandin* is the author of the decrees of October, 1930, through which the trade boycott of the Soviet Union was introduced. We recall further that at the last congress of his Party his friend *Leredu* attacked the Soviet Union without encountering opposition, that *Flandin* is a great friend of the British conservatives, and that one hears much too much about the understanding with Moscow being likely to irritate London. . . .

One can only be surprised by the leisurely way in which the French government has set about obtaining the agreement of Poland to the Eastern Security Pact. Is it not whispered that it has made the rulers of Warsaw big concessions—such as that the frontiers between Poland, Lithuania and Czechoslovakia are not finally fixed—in order to obtain from the Foreign Minister Beck more tolerance in Geneva with regard to the Saar problems and the Marseilles outrage?

Finally, the most bombastic statements of M. Archibaud,

reporter for the military budget, which have evoked considerable excitement in Great Britain and in Poland, have—in spite of official denials—struck many people as bordering on provocation.

These attacks of bad temper are at least the result of the bitter struggle between groups of French capitalists whose divergent interests are expressed in the aggravation of the crisis. The clique that holds the opinion that the best way of doing away with the German menace is the conclusion of a compromise with the Reich, on the strength of which it shall behave quietly in the West but receive freedom of movement in the East, seems to be gaining ground in France, where the anti-fascist popular front is advancing and where the erection of a firm dam against Bolshevism is regarded as the most important thing.

France is seeking a rapprochement with Mussolini, which with regard to the Saar and to armaments would be of use to her in the discussions with Germany. She asked Yugoslavia not to compromise the Duce in its memorandum, and she did not join in the *démarche* of the Little Entente supporting Yugoslavia. She is in favour, too, of a settlement of the disputed African questions. Mussolini, however, does not let pass this chance of exerting pressure on France, in that he appears to be definitely on the side of Goemboes, who for his part would be happy to compromise Rome in order to injure the French-Italian rapprochement. This in its turn is disquieting to French imperialism, because it does not know whether it is letting go the spoils in return for a shadow, by bringing about a weakening of Serbian loyalty!

All these manoeuvres, this confusion, these hesitations in leadership, which are natural to the capitalist powers—the Soviet Union alone follows resolutely the same path always, that of peace—only go to show how feverishly the imperialist powers are searching for the best combinations, in order to carry out a fresh partition of the world, in which each wants to secure the biggest portion. The difficulties in securing this lie precisely in the fact of the aggravation of international contradictions, in the watchful policy of the proletarian State, in the fear of the bourgeoisie that an imperialist war might turn into civil war for the liberation of the working masses.

At any rate, when Pertinax anxiously inquires "What actually is M. Laval's foreign policy?" he cannot mistake the fact that France is directing all her efforts to minute preparation for war. In the actual budget the military credits have been slightly reduced; supplementary credits, however, are added, which are covered by loans (this year more than four milliards). The General Staff is strengthening the professional army and preparing to prolong the period of service. Discussion on the budget consisted in a description of the armaments of foreign powers, so as to justify the surplus armaments at home. There are noisy congratulations on the "deep current in Parliament in favour of national defence," in which, among others, the radical leaders are also swimming.

The *Bulletin Quotidien* of the Comité des Forges can provide a conclusion for this article in the following estimate by experienced experts: "Let us not shout too soon, that thanks to the existence of the League of Nations the Europe of 1934 has nothing to fear from the blows that convulsed it so terribly in July, 1914." We would prefer a different conclusion: Acceptance by the League of Nations of Litvinov's proposals, which could be an obstacle in the way of war, and, at least so far as France is concerned, decided co-operation in the peace policy of the Soviet Union and fewer amorous glances at anti-Soviet Hitlerism.

The London Naval Conference

By Yeruchimovitch

I.

The conversations on naval armaments in London are officially described as preliminary negotiations. The initiators of the Conference wanted the "Conference of Naval Experts" to prepare for the approaching naval conference in 1935, as in that year the Washington and London treaties will expire. Three great naval Powers, the United States of America, Great Britain and Japan took part in the preliminary negotiations.

The Japanese delegation came to London with a clear and definite programme: Abolition of the Washington Naval Agreement, naval parity between Japan, Great Britain and the U.S.A., limitation of the negotiations exclusively to questions of warships, mainly to technical problems.

The American delegation came with a programme containing quite opposite demands: Maintenance of all the decisions of the

Washington Conference, general reduction of naval forces by 20 per cent., with the maintenance of the ratio 5:5:3 between the United States, Great Britain and Japan.

The British delegation has no formal objections to the United States proposals or to the various demands of Japan. At the same time it is endeavouring to adopt a favourable intermediate position in order to derive the greatest possible advantage from the struggle of the two opponents.

The main point of the discussion was not technical-war questions. The complicated political antagonisms dividing the U.S.A., Great Britain and Japan immediately came to the fore-front. What else is behind the Japanese demand for parity than the great political question whether Japanese imperialism shall or shall not be undisputed master of the Western part of the Pacific and of East Asia?

The London negotiations must be regarded as a large-scale reconnaissance manoeuvre of the great imperialist Powers against each other. They want to obtain an answer to the fundamental question: What is the character of the relation of forces at the decisive points of the struggle, and how is this relation of forces expressed? A liberal London journal wrote recently:—

"While the admirals wrangle over global tonnage and the relative merits of 12-inch or 16-inch guns, the real issue will be whether the world shall rush into the struggle for the Empire of the East or surrender it without a contest to Japan." ("New Statesman and Nation," October 20, 1934.)

Questions of tonnage, of calibre of guns, etc., of course also play an important role, but it is quite clear that the main problem of the London negotiations is not technique but politics, which, in turn, is a question of the relations between Great Britain and Japan, Great Britain and U.S.A. and Japan and the U.S.A.

The Japanese programme was ably set forth in the columns of the American periodical "Current History," by Captain Gumphe Sekine, a high official of the Japanese Admiralty. Sekine wrote as follows:—

"Japan is by no means opposed to the policy of the Open Door. But the Japanese realise that in order to carry out this policy peace is necessary, for without peace the policy of the open door is useless. What other country is prepared to engage in this essential task, the maintenance of peace in the East. . . ?

" . . . Japan seized the initiative in order to establish harmonious relations between the races of the East, and thereby fulfils its national mission by promoting the well-being of humanity."

Japanese imperialism needs this sort of talk in order to appear before the whole world in the guise of the good fairy which is striving to rescue humanity! Japanese imperialism appears to have no other cares! An American weekly journal, which appears in Shanghai, remarked not without humour in this connection that the best illustration of how Japanese imperialism fulfils its sacred task of maintaining peace could be given by the ruins of Chapel.

II.

The aims which Japanese imperialism wishes to achieve in London can be summed up briefly in the following points:—

1. Retention of that which Japan has seized by force of arms in Western Asia and in the Pacific.
2. Dividing up of the Asiatic Continent, Japan having the largest share.
3. Dividing up of the most important spheres of influence outside of Asia in favour of Japanese imperialism.
4. To obviate the possibility of joint action by Great Britain and the United States, which could prevent Japan achieving its aims; creation of a reliable hinterland for fresh conquests on the Asiatic mainland and of guarantees against any imperialist anti-Japanese coalition.

This programme is expressed concretely in a decisive condition. Renewal of the Anglo-Japanese alliance and creation of a new and sufficiently strong grouping of imperialist forces.

Against whom, in the first place, would such a coalition be directed? In the leading circles of Japanese imperialism there are differences of opinion as to in which direction the main forces should be concentrated, in a North-Western direction (against the Soviet Union), or in a South-Eastern direction (against the U.S.A.). But all groups in the Government camp agree in their estimation of the importance of renewing the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. In

the opinion of the ruling circles the alliance with Great Britain decides the main problem of Japanese strategy: the possibility of concentrating all forces in one main direction and avoiding the risk which a fight on two fronts would bring with it.

Supporters of the Anglo-British alliance insist that Japan cannot engage in a great war alone so long as it is not sure of the support of Great Britain. About two years ago the well-known Japanese military writer, Hirota Sinsacu, devoted a long article to this question. Of course, he argued, Great Britain is a villain who has seized possession of Asia, and the freeing of Asia must commence with an attack against Great Britain. But, Sinsacu continued, Japan is confronted with the choice either of risking its head or accepting the friendship of England and securing its hinterland in the broadest sense of the word, as was the case during the war against Tsarist Russia.

"The situation in the Far East," wrote Sinsacu, "renders the Anglo-Japanese Alliance necessary. We have four possible enemies: The Red Army of the Soviet Union, the Chinese Army, the American Fleet and the British Fleet. It is absolutely impossible to commence operations against the most powerful military-naval forces in the world at the same time. And such an undertaking will never be commenced so long as our diplomats retain their senses and the general staff has not become stupid. War is a serious thing. There is a difference between the Chinese troops and a powerful enemy who has modern means of warfare at his disposal. When Japan finds itself faced with the Red Army then it will see what war means. I emphasise that at such a time the tactics of Great Britain will be of the greatest importance."

"The Anglo-Japanese Alliance," continued Hirota, "will certainly suffice to prevent a war between Japan and the U.S.A. But even if a naval war with America is unavoidable we have no need to fear it so long as the British fleet maintains friendly neutrality. . . . We are deeply desirous of a military alliance with Great Britain. This military alliance would increase our power many times over. If only Japan has determination Great Britain will certainly become our ally."

About two years have passed since Hirota's article appeared, but it remains as fresh as if it had been written at the present time, as the problem of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance is more important to Japanese imperialism than formerly. And to the extent to which the ruling circles of Japan recognise the difficulties at home and measure the risks of the foreign-political situation of the country, so they increase their efforts to win the support of British imperialism.

The ruling groups in Japan realise quite well how greatly the present situation differs from that which existed at the time of the conclusion of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in 1902. In the first place the new situation gives a new content to the propaganda for a new Anglo-Japanese Alliance; an Anglo-Japanese Alliance would now have in the first place an anti-Soviet character. The Japanese imperialists are obviously speculating on this.

Secondly, the ruling circles in Japan have repeatedly given the English Government to understand that Japan, if the worst came to the worst, would do everything to bring about a compromise with the U.S.A. It is believed in Tokyo that such a compromise would be easier to achieve than a definite treaty between Great Britain and U.S.A. The Japanese delegation in London confronted the British delegates with the choice: Either an alliance, which would give Japan a free hand, or Japan would obtain freedom of action at the cost of Great Britain. It must be said that in the United States there are very influential bourgeois groups which would very willingly take part in an anti-British combination.

It is impossible to underestimate the importance of such a danger. Tokyo knows that British imperialism does not wish to lose the friendship of Japan, for it regards the U.S.A. as its chief enemy.

III.

The tactics of the Japanese delegation in London are adapted to the main task of preventing an agreement between Great Britain and America and creating the best possible conditions for a renewal of an Anglo-Japanese Alliance.

The Japanese delegation began with the categorical demand for naval parity. But this demand encountered the joint resistance of Great Britain and the U.S.A. In order to isolate the United States, the Japanese delegation commenced, unofficially, to recommend a plan for changing the relative strengths of the

fleets. Instead of the ratio of 5:5:3, which was laid down in Washington, a ratio of 5:4:4 was proposed. Great Britain would receive the highest norm (5), whilst Japan would have naval parity with America.

But even this plan, so it seems, did not win the support of Great Britain, and the Japanese delegation hastily withdrew it. At the same time they declared they could not accept any proposals which were directed against parity. Thus, the negotiations ended where they started. The Japanese delegation commenced a third move by bringing forward a project providing for the conclusion, not of a general naval agreement, but bi-lateral treaties. This move was made obviously in order to ascertain how far British imperialism was prepared to meet Japan. The conclusion of such a bi-lateral treaty between Japan and Great Britain would, at bottom, be tantamount to a renewal of the old alliance.

But this whole problem is not so simple that it can be solved by means of this or that diplomatic move. The British imperialists realise that a renewal of the alliance with Japan would bring the danger of war disastrously nearer and would bring a decisive change in the international situation. The ruling circles in Great Britain will think it over several times before they take such a step.

The main reason for the caution displayed by the British imperialists lies in the fact that it is not convinced of the political good faith of Japan. The representatives of Japan therefore have to conduct a hard fight for English "friendship." All means are being employed, but contrary forces are also at work which render it difficult for Japan to realise this task.

Fresh Attacks on the Polish Working Class

By J. Rada (Warsaw)

Under the title of "Flaws," the government organ *Gazeta Polska* has tried to explain the sudden slump in Polish State and municipal loans on the Warsaw and New York stock exchanges. The paper rejects the assumption that these "disquieting flaws" are to be sought in Poland's currency or industry. The flaws are there, but only in the international gold bloc. Pointing to the "fears for the fate of the Swiss franc, the Dutch gulden, and even the Belgian franc," the government organ wants to explain away the fact that the Polish loans have temporarily "fallen head over heels." This explanation, ingenious as it is illuminating, has even evoked the modest objection on the part of the government-fascist *Ilustrowany Kurjer Codzienny* that in this case the Swiss, Dutch and other loans must surely also have suffered, which, however, is in no way the case.

The circuitous glance of the fascist economists seems to have averted itself deliberately from those flaws that are to be found in great numbers in the finances and economy of fascist Poland. Whatever the indirect cause of the slump may be, the facts that have recently come to light are enough to feed the disquietude of the stock exchange. The budget speech of Professor *Zawadzki*, Finance Minister, in the Sejm predicted a deficit of 150,000,000 zloty for 1935-6. It is quite evident from the Minister's speech that the revenues from the compulsory loan of 1933 (the so-called National Loan) have already been used for filling up the gaps in the budget for the previous and current years—337 and 223 million zloty respectively. The Minister sought to console his audience with the hope that the balancing of the budget could be achieved in three years. Naturally the present budget difficulties are only an expression of the economic situation of Polish capitalism. To be sure the Minister could register an increase in the production index during the last year from 58.8 to 62.9. But each day brings fresh proofs that the most important branches of Polish industry are in a precarious position. Further closing down of pits are reported from the Dombrova Basin; closing down of all zinc works from Upper Silesia; from Lodz, the chief textile town, the premature beginning of the dead season.

The bourgeoisie seeks a way out of this dangerous situation in a further reduction of the costs of production, by raiding social insurance, by prolonging working hours and cutting wages. The place of the partial attacks in individual factories existing hitherto is being taken at present by a large-scale attack in the most important industries. The capitalist offensive is headed by the fascist government.

Koslovski, the Prime Minister, is directing renewed attacks against social insurance, this "bewildering phenomenon, based upon

a fiction and organised on doctrinaire principles." He announced that the government is again about to carry out a "fundamental reform" of the insurance system. A decree concerning the abolition of the remnants of the tenants' protection law is now, just before the winter, in preparation. Unemployment insurance has been hit hard by the decree concerning fusion of the unemployed fund with the so-called labour fund. This is leading to the abolition of unemployment insurance: payment of relief is to be made dependent on compulsory labour service. The number of unemployed on November 1 admitted in statistics was 297,000, about 50 per cent. more than in the previous year.

The government is also leading the capitalist plundering campaign where it appears in the capacity of employer. A blatant example of this is provided by recent events in the town of **Vieliezka**, near Cracow, where the famous salt works, the biggest in Europe, are situated. The administration of the State salt monopoly has announced wage-cuts there from 13 per cent. to 42 per cent. When the workers resisted this and proclaimed a strike at some stormy meetings, a lock-out was declared and the mines were closed by the police. This led to serious collisions with the enraged masses of the workers. Thus the reduction in the price of monopoly goods announced noisily by Kozlovski, the Prime Minister, turned out to be a direct attack on wages in the State undertakings. Here it must be taken into account that, as the workers themselves told the correspondent of the government-fascist **Ilustrovany Kuryer Codzienny**, the retail price of salt has even risen.

The new broad offensive by capital is welding the working class more and more closely together.

The strike struggles last month were, it is true, mostly waged by single groups of the working class; in numbers, however, they were on a large scale: official statistics give, for the second quarter of 1934, 288 strikes (an increase of 65 per cent. compared with the previous year), with 68,630 taking part. This time the Statistical Office found itself compelled to register specially the strikes accompanied by occupation of the factory (so-called political strikes). For 1933 it gives the number of these in the textile industry alone as 27.

The proved tenacity and sacrifice of the Polish proletariat came to light prominently in these strikes. The silk workers of Lodz, for example, struggled for 13 weeks, the Warsaw building workers for 8 weeks. The fact remains, however, that the bourgeoisie, by avoiding broad frontal attacks, managed to prevent labour conflicts on a large scale in the most important industries.

During the last few weeks the strikes have begun to cover large groups of workers. For the first time for many years this was the case in the Warsaw metal industry. A few days ago a strike in all the foundries in Warsaw ended with the signing of a collective agreement. The strike, under the leadership of a strike committee, lasted three weeks—seven even—in the foundry of the big Lilpop works.

Political factors have characterised the recent strikes in the textile industry. In the industrial town of **Zgierz**, near Lodz, all the spinning mills were solid in carrying out a strike against the refusal of holidays provided for in the collective agreement. At **Czenstochau**, where the heroic strike in the Peltzer factory has just taken place, and numerous other strikes are in progress, 2,500 textile workers in the "La Czenstochovienne" factory went on strike on account of the arbitrary dismissal of a woman worker. Soon after, the management closed down the factory. In Upper Silesia the workers at the **Laura foundry** carried through a protest strike against the favouring in the engagement of fresh workers of members of the fascist Rebels' League and of the government-fascist trade unions.

The swelling strike-wave is making its impression in the political consciousness of the working masses. The echo of the Communist slogan of the United Front in the struggle against capital and fascism is becoming louder and louder.

Recently a constantly increasing tension has become noticeable within the P.P.S. organisations in Lodz. The membership and a section of the subordinate functionaries are beginning to resist the stubborn sabotage of the united front by the P.P.S. leaders. The leaderships of four big sub-districts in Lodz are steadfastly carrying out the united-front agreement. The political police tries in vain to make "Left" speeches against the united front by means of their splits smuggled into the workers' meetings. Evidence of the mood of the workers and lower functionaries of the P.P.S. and the Free Trade Unions is also provided by the fact

that the delegate meeting called by a section of the delegates from the Textile Workers' Union for November 7 was so well attended that the officials of the union had to make an appearance, if only for the purpose of adjourning the meeting. Nevertheless, speeches were made on the Seventeenth Anniversary of the October Revolution.

A large number of Left wing comrades are being elected to the executives of the local organisations of the Miners' Union in the Dombrova Basin. In Upper Silesia certain organisations of disabled soldiers and workers have formed a united front with some thousands of members. The united-front action has found an echo there even in some organisations of the government-fascist trade union Z.Z.Z.; the workers have deposed their leaderships and elected new ones.

Under pressure of these opinions, the Warsaw leaderships of the P.P.S., the "League" and the Free Trade Unions have announced a conference of delegates. At this conference a decision is to be come to with regard to the latest attacks of the fascist government and especially to the attempts at incorporation. The calling of this conference without the concurrence of the C.P. of Poland has the purpose of holding back the social-democratic and free trade union workers from the united front with the Communists.

The Warsaw organisation of the C.P. of Poland proposes to the organisations that have been summoned that they shall form a joint preparatory committee, and puts forward the slogan of delegate elections at workers' meetings in all undertakings and at all trade union meetings. It summons the working class to a joint struggle against the offensive of capital, against the liquidation of social insurance, against the incorporation of the trade unions, for the liberation of political prisoners, for the defence of the Spanish revolutionaries and of Comrade Thaelmann. The C.P.P. is carrying this struggle also into the other industrial towns and districts of Poland.

An Arbitrary Act Against the C.P. of Luxemburg

By Jean Kill

The Parliamentary elections on June 3 and the municipal elections on October 14 resulted in considerable successes for the Communist Party of Luxemburg. For the first time since its foundation the Party secured representation in Parliament and on the municipal councils in the big industrial centres. The Luxemburg government, with its pliable clerical-liberal majority in the Chamber, is now preparing to carry out a fascist arbitrary act against the Communist representatives elected by the workers, the sole purpose of which is to annul all the Communist mandates and place the Party outside the law.

When the newly elected Parliament met on November 6 the government suddenly challenged the mandate of the Communist deputy Comrade **Bernard Zenon**, making use for this purpose of an old pre-war law, according to which the recipients of poor-law relief are not entitled to the franchise and therefore cannot be elected. Comrade Zenon, who has been unemployed for years, has in fact been in receipt of unemployment relief for a long time. But it had been expressly declared that the recipients of unemployment relief should not come under this notorious "charity" paragraph. Hundreds and thousands of workers in Luxemburg have drawn relief without any of them being deprived of the right to vote.

At the nomination of candidates at the Parliamentary and municipal elections no objections were made by the authorities to the Communist lists. The government is therefore obviously making use of this pretext in order to exclude the leader of the Party, the only Communist deputy, from the Chamber. The State Council (a sort of Senate) also opposed the recognition of our comrade's mandate.

In order the better to manoeuvre, the final settlement of this matter was postponed and referred to a commission, which of course consisted of government deputies. It is declared that the Communist deputy can be present in the Chamber, but he may neither speak nor vote. In this way the debate on home and foreign political questions was carried out without the intervention of the Communist representative. Not only that, without waiting for the decision of the Commission and the final vote of the Chamber, the government has already on its own account deprived the same comrade of his seat on the Esch municipal

council because with the vote of the Communist there would have been a Socialist-Communist majority on this council. This fascist and completely unlawful action of the government has called forth the greatest indignation among all sections of the working population.

The bourgeoisie themselves realise that their attempt to stigmatise recipients of unemployment and other forms of relief as citizens of a second rank is condemned by broad sections of the population. A proof of this is the protest declaration of the Chamber of Labour, where all representatives, including the Catholics, denounced the government measures. Thereupon, the clerical rulers at the last minute resorted to other tactics. They proposed in the special commission to drop the former thesis and to put the question whether representatives of a revolutionary subversive party can be permitted to take the parliamentary oath. Should the reactionary chamber majority support this standpoint, then not only Comrade Zenon but all other supplementary candidates on the Communist Party list would be deprived of their mandates. In addition, there is every likelihood that the government will not stop at depriving Comrade Zenon of his seat on the Esch municipal council, but also the other Communist municipal councillors will lose their seats. Their seats will then be distributed among the other parties.

There is no doubt that this open violation of the law and the Constitution by the Luxemburg government is intended to give our Party the stamp of illegality and to prepare the way for the general prohibition of the Party and its press. The Communist Party has called upon the working people to demonstrate on the streets and called upon the Labour Party to demonstrate together with the Communists against the arbitrary act of the government. The leaders of the Labour Party, however, are continuing their disruptive activity by replying that Parliament and not the street is the best place to fight against the clerical-fascist dictatorship.

These machinations of the Luxemburg bourgeoisie betray their fear of the constantly growing influence of the Communist Party. The capitalists intend, by increased suppression of the advance-guard of the Luxemburg working class, to clear the way for a fresh general attack on the rights and on the standard of living of the working people. The government intends, before the New Year, to obtain special plenary powers from the Chamber, according to the Belgian pattern, and then to govern by means of emergency decrees without consulting Parliament. A new fascist labour law is being prepared, the trade unions are to be subjected to State control and compulsory arbitration is to be introduced. The industrialists are demanding with increasing vehemence that the cost of production shall be reduced. For the first time since the crisis there is no budget surplus. Fresh tax increases are pending.

But it is not only home-political considerations that are playing a part here. It is known that Luxemburg possesses a modern and important iron industry and strategically very important railways. The heavy industry and the railways are in French and Belgian hands. The Hitler government also is exerting strong pressure on the home policy of the Luxemburg government. There is no doubt whatever that not only the Luxemburg bourgeoisie but also the neighbouring imperialist States have given the Bech government orders to rid the country of Communists.

But all these arbitrary acts of the bourgeoisie will only help to increase the prestige of the Communist Party among the masses and strengthen its influence. The Communist Party of Luxemburg is approaching serious struggles. The workers of other countries and of other parties must seriously face the question of what they can do and must do to support the fight of the small Communist Party of Luxemburg.

* * * * *

Luxemburg, November 28.

Against all the provisions of the Constitution, the Luxemburg Parliament has resolved not to recognise the Communist list, to expel the only Communist deputy, Bernhard Zenon, and to refuse to recognise the mandate of his deputy. The clerical-liberal majority has not provided for a by-election for the seat, but has arbitrarily handed it over to the Social Democrats. The reason given for the expulsion is the "anti-constitutional" nature of such a revolutionary party as the Communist Party.

Spain

The Recent Revolutionary Events in Spain

By R. F. A. (Madrid)

The Spanish monarchy was overthrown on April 14, 1931, by a powerful and widespread uprising of the masses. The republican-socialist coalition diverted the revolution of April 14 from its aims. Nevertheless, the revolutionary movement still continued in town and country.

On May 11, 1931, a month after the establishment of the republic, the anti-clerical movement known as the "cloister war" broke out. Some months after, at the commencement of 1932, there took place the rising in Catalonia, accompanied by a revolutionary strike and armed collisions with the government forces in numerous provinces.

In January, 1933, an anarchist putsch called forth a mass movement in which the poor peasants of Andalusia played a very active part. They proclaimed Communism in many villages and disarmed the forces of the republican-socialist government, which resorted to the most brutal methods culminating in the notorious massacre of Casas Viejas.

A fresh anarchist putsch in December, 1933, thanks to the activity of the Communist Party, developed, like that of January, 1933, into a broad insurrectionary movement of the exploited masses against the fascist danger, against the bloody government of Martínez-Barrios and against the power of the bourgeoisie and the big landowners.

All these revolutionary actions were accompanied by a constantly increasing strike movement—3,000 strikes in 1931, more than 4,000 in 1932, and about 6,000 in 1933—as well as by a rising anti-fascist movement.

In the present year the strike and anti-fascist movement continued on an ascending line, and there took place the anti-fascist general strike of April 22, the general strike of the peasants on June 5, and the anti-fascist strike in Madrid and in Asturias on September 8 and 9.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE WORKERS' ALLIANCE

The small Communist Party, with less than 1,000 members in 1931, grew in numbers and strength in the fight. At the commencement of 1934 it already had 25,000 members. It created the Partit Comunista de Catalunya (Communist Party of Catalonia) and the C.G.T.U., which is affiliated to the R.I.L.U., whilst its influence on the masses far exceeds the rate of its organisational growth.

Its slogan of the united front, for which it fought indefatigably, was eagerly taken up by the workers, who demanded its realisation. The socialist party then founded the so-called Workers' Alliance. As the anarchist, syndicalists and the Communist Parties refrained from joining it the Workers' Alliance remained a more or less lifeless body. The socialists, however, stubbornly replied to every proposal for unity of action or the united front of the Communists with the demand that before they would negotiate with the Communists the latter must join the Workers' Alliance.

The Communist Party, in the interest of the revolution, made a fresh tactical concession and joined the Workers' Alliance in order to overcome its weaknesses and shortcomings. The most serious of these shortcomings was the failure to recognise such a driving force of the revolution as the peasants represent. In some districts, including Asturias, the Party succeeded in converting the Alliance into an outspoken revolutionary organism.

Thanks to the indefatigable and distinterested work of the Communist Party, the Communist and socialist workers were finally united.

The Workers' and Peasants' Alliance led and carried out the recent revolutionary actions as a reply to the shameful offensive of the reactionary and fascist Lerroux government. This is true in spite of the fact that in many places, including Madrid, only the Communist Party was on the streets on the two days which witnessed the highest point of the movement.

None of the "Left" republicans such as Azana was to be seen in the movement. Nevertheless, the fury of the fascist reaction was let loose against them, because they declared that the formation of the present Lerroux government meant that the republic had fallen into the hands of its enemies.

SETTING UP OF THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS POWER IN ASTURIAS

The three movements with an insurrectionary character which preceded those of October gained from one to the other in clearness of aim in depth and, above all, in extent. This movement already assumed the character of a movement on a national scale and seized the whole country from one end to the other, from Madrid to the remotest village. The general strike broke out in the whole country, and the collisions with the government forces in most provinces, especially in Leon, the Basque Provinces, in Guipuzcoa, San Sebastian, Madrid, Gerona, Tarragona, Seville, Malaga, Alicante, etc., from the night of the 4th to the 12th of October were of an extremely fierce character. In numerous villages in the Basque Provinces, in Leon, Barcelona, etc., the revolutionary forces defeated the government and proclaimed the workers' and peasants' power.

In Asturias the heroic fight of the proletariat achieved its aims in that a Workers' and Peasants' Republic was set up which was maintained for 15 days and, as the miners generally expressed it, has been defeated but not vanquished. A bourgeois journalist, in an article entitled "Here is the Soviet," published in the "Estampa," the organ of the Right, described the fighting in Asturias as follows:—

"The general strike was proclaimed in Asturias at ten o'clock in the evening on October 4. On the same evening the miners of the whole district, as soon as they left the pits, gathered together at the local premises of their organisations in a sort of uniform—red shirts and black arm bands—and, well provided with weapons and cartridges, proceeded to carry out concrete orders. The unanimity displayed in this sudden action was complete. On Friday morning, the 5th, the whole of Asturias belonged to the new Workers' and Peasants' Republic.

"The war committee gave the Red Guards the slogan: 'Do not drink, do not rob, respect the lives and the property of the population!'

"The revolutionary committee was divided into three branches: war, supplies and politics. And the three bodies functioned perfectly. The war committee brought a well-disciplined and well-armed army of 30,000 men on a war footing. The movement was led by the Communist Party even in syndicalist districts such as Gijon and Oviedo, or in socialist districts such as Oviedo and Mieres."

The Asturian miners, on their part, in the midst of the fight, sent a report to the Central Committee of the Communist Party with their own courier. This report was summed up in the following passages:—

"The whole district is in our hands. We Communists, socialists and anarchists have created the organs of revolutionary power. We have proclaimed the Socialist Republic of Workers, Peasants and Soldiers. We are keeping 100,000 toolers and a shock troop of 10,000 men under arms. We possess weapons of every kind. All of us from 16 to 50 years of age are under arms. The factories, which are in our hands, are producing war material. The bakers are working day and night. The peasants have joined in the fight and are providing us with food. On Tuesday the Vega factory in Oviedo, with 6,000 rifles, surrendered to the revolutionaries. On the same day we took Oviedo after a five days' siege. On Friday the workers', peasants' and soldiers' power was proclaimed. We confiscated all the weapons of the enemy. We decreed the abolition of private property and prohibited the sale of alcoholic drinks. We have surrounded all the barracks of the storm guards and of the civil guards. A number of enemy machine-gun squads which advanced from Leon on Friday was surrounded on Saturday in Campomanes and surrendered after a fight lasting two days. On Monday we fiercely bombarded the enemy aircraft; we brought down two aeroplanes by machine-gun fire and drove off the rest. The enemy's forces are camping in Burdongos and Villamarin. They do not venture to advance. The troops of General Ochoa, who forced their way into Aviles, bombarded the houses of the inhabitants in a ruthless and cruel manner. They murdered women and children. They could not, however, advance one step against the interior. The women fought like heroines in the front ranks. We have released the prisoners. We have filled the prisons with capitalists, whom we are holding as hostages. The soldiers who have been sent against us are coming over to our

side in crowds. We have disarmed the police who have surrendered and are employing them on mechanical work and repairing weapons. In spite of the bestiality of the enemy towards our women and children we have not yet resorted to red terror. We possess sufficient material to hold out for three months."

From these two reports from different sources it is possible to judge the achievements and the mistakes of the revolutionaries in Asturias. It must be recorded that the revolutionary committees were not narrow conspiratory committees, but broad-based committees with 20, 25 and 30 members, and that in many cases they had the character of genuine Soviets. As regards the peasants there is no doubt that they did not offer any resistance to the revolutionaries, but even supported them with food, sheltered them and that they themselves, especially the young peasants, were the first to join the Red Guards. Nevertheless, owing to the influence of the socialists and especially of the anarchists, they did not take part to a sufficient extent in the revolutionary committees. In regard to the fighting in Catalonia one can say little. There—as Marx said in regard to the class struggles in France in 1848—"it is not the revolution that is beaten but the traditional rubbish of the pre-revolutionary period."

The fighting in Catalonia offers a splendid example of how the petty bourgeoisie cannot make a revolution or play an independent role between the big bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

The treachery of the anarchists towards the revolutionary masses reached its highest point in Catalonia. The anarchist leaders who hastened to throw themselves at the feet of General Batet in order to broadcast over his wireless the immediate order to resume work have covered themselves with shame and disgrace.

THE OUTLOOK AND INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

In a manifesto which was distributed in the streets of Madrid on October 9, the Communist Party examined in the following manner the reasons why the movement was not victorious:—

"Among all the exploited there was no lack of will and courage, determination and firmness, devotion and sacrifice. Why, then, did we not win the victory? Because, as our Party has repeatedly declared, there was not sufficient political and organisational preparation for the revolution, because its programme was not brought to the knowledge of the whole of the working masses, because the advantages which the revolution will bring to the workers, the peasants, the soldiers and all exploited had not been popularised. The fact that the revolution cannot be simply made but must be organised, that the organisation of the revolution cannot be confined to groups of volunteers who are 'ready for everything,' but that all the forces of the working class and the immediate allies of the revolution, the peasants, must be drawn into the fight—all this was ignored."

In the resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, which was published in the "Mundo Obrero" on September 27, it is stated:—

"The Workers' Alliances, as their name implies, arise as the organ of one of the main driving forces of the revolution, namely, the proletariat, which is a guiding force—but they fail to recognise the second driving force, represented by the peasantry, without the alliance with which there can be no guarantee of the socialist revolution.

"This is the reason why the army, except in a few isolated cases, did not also join in the fight. The overwhelming majority of the soldiers are peasants, and they will only go over to the side of the revolution if it satisfies their requirements. As they did not know what the revolution would give them, as they were denied their own personality, the tremendous force of the village, for the far greater part, did not join in the fight.

"The problem of power, the main question of every revolution, was not presented plainly and clearly to the proletariat and the masses of the peasantry. The great majority of them therefore did not know into whose hands and to what organs they had to give power and what power meant for them. There was lacking a programme, this force which when it becomes embodied in the masses causes them to defy death in order that the programme shall be realised in life.

"This was the reason for the terrible mistake that the general strike was not carried out before the formation of the hangmen's government of Lerroux. This meant that the initia-

tive was left in the hands of the enemy. Another terrible mistake was to entrust the issue of the fight to such vacillating persons as Companys and his like, who, out of fear of the development of the people's revolution, capitulated to the forces of the enemy or the republican army commanders, instead of the united masses of the workers."

The Manifesto of the Communist Party indicates the perspective with the same clearness with which it points out the mistakes:

"The battle which has been fought is not decisive. The hangmen of the working people should not exult too early over their victory. We have returned to work, but we are ready to rally our forces again and to take up the fight at a more favourable moment and with more belief in victory than ever. Let us learn from the events and collect experience. This will strengthen us on the sure way to victory.

"The great battle for bread, land and freedom has not yet been fought. The Workers' and Peasants' Alliances are being formed in the working-class centres. We shall convert every factory into a stronghold of the revolution. We have fought unitedly and we shall advance unitedly more firmly than ever. We shall discuss in a brotherly manner the experiences, the positive sides and the mistakes of the past fight, but nothing can destroy the unity of action of the Communist and socialist workers. And we shall continue in our endeavours to draw to our side the anarchist workers who have so clearly perceived the disgraceful attitude of their leaders in this movement.

"Comrades all, keep a stout heart! To-day let us more than ever maintain faith in victory! Let us close our ranks firmly, courageously and calmly, collect our forces, maintain discipline! Let us extend our battalions. Strengthen the advance-guard of the fight, come into the Communist Party! Workers, peasants, soldiers, gather round our flag and let us march in firm ranks to victory!

That the language of the manifesto corresponds to the real situation is proved by the fact that a few days after the movement had been choked in blood the workers of Saragossa went on strike again in order to protest against the death sentences carried out by Lerroux. It is also proved by the panicky fear of the government of a possible repetition of the movement in Asturias, where the workers have not yet delivered over their weapons. It is further proved by the great influx which has taken place in the last few days into the Communist Party, the membership of which is increasing enormously.

Catalonia has shown the masses the path which must not be followed. It has revealed to the masses the weakness of the socialists and the monstrous, unpardonable treachery of the anarchists to the Spanish revolution.

Asturias has indicated the right path. Its short-lived Workers' Republic will bear fruit in a coming stable Soviet Spain.

The Fight in the Basque Provinces

We have taken from the Bulletin of the C.P. of Spain the following description of the revolutionary struggles in the various provinces:—

BASQUE PROVINCES

In these provinces the strike lasted eight days. The socialists made it impossible for one sole united committee to be formed, participated in by organisations of various tendencies. Not even the Young Socialists were permitted to take part in the leadership of the struggle. The socialist leaders also opposed the formation of a Workers' and Peasants' Alliance.

For six days the workers were the masters of the factories and mines. The C.P. issued the following slogans to the Communist, socialist, anarchist and Basque national workers:—

Immediate organisation of Workers' and Peasants' Alliances. to be converted into Soviets in the course of the struggle. All arms to be commandeered, hostages taken. Armed divisions to be organised to march on the capital. Banks and printing offices to be seized. Contact to be established between the separate local alliances, and an alliance to be formed for the zones, which shall be the leading organ of the movement.

The forces of the Government were concentrated in the capital towns of Biscaya and Guipuzcoa.

On November 7 the Regional Committee of the C.P. of Euskadis (Basque Provinces) issued an appeal to the workers calling upon them to take up the offensive, and clearly emphasising the antagon-

ism of the C.P. to the tactics hitherto pursued by the socialist leaders of the movement.

On the same day news arrived that 600 miners from Arboleda, armed ready to fight, had advanced to within 7 kilometres of Bilbao. After the C.P. had commissioned comrades to go out to speak to these miners, the socialist leaders persuaded them to turn back again.

On October 9 the C.P. issued a further manifesto, exposing the lies broadcast over the wireless and urgently demanding the arming of the workers.

FACTORY ZONE

In Portugalete the struggle assumed the character of an actual insurrection from the very beginning. On October 5, thanks to the initiative taken by the C.P., the Revolutionary Committee of the local Alliance was formed, and participated in by Communists, socialists, Basque nationalists and anarchists. An advance was made against the Civil Guards, and all arms in the possession of bourgeois were confiscated. The great department stores were also seized. The workers were the masters of the district till October 10.

In Sestao, too, the power was in the hands of the workers. The socialists prevented the formation of a Workers' Alliance and the participation of other workers' organisations in the leadership of the struggle.

In Barcaldo a Workers' Alliance was formed with a large socialist majority. The workers were masters of the town till October 10.

In Erandio the united front with the socialists was formed, but no special organ of the Workers' Alliance was organised. Here again the workers were masters of the place until October 10.

Arenas records the same. The workers fought with the utmost militancy everywhere.

MINING ZONE

The Alliance was formed in Callarta, but followed the tactics of the socialists. Our comrades failed to oppose these tactics effectually, although the majority of even the socialist workers were in opposition to their leaders. The socialist and Communist fighting groups were led by Communist comrades. They did not, however, march on Bilbao, but let themselves be misled by the socialist leaders.

In Pucheta an Alliance was formed with a Communist majority. The unemployed were drawn into the movement by issuing a decree on the distribution of food. A Red Guard was formed and arms commandeered. The Alliance was converted into a Soviet. Since there was no leading committee for the zone, the group waited for orders to march on Bilbao in company with the groups from other places. In order to effect this delegates were sent to Ortuella, Gallarta, and Arboleda. In spite of the bombardment from aeroplanes, the Government troops could not take Pucheta till October 14.

In Ortuella events took much the same course as in Callarta. The Communists were the driving force, but did not succeed in making the Alliance fulfil its mission as leader of the struggle.

In Galdames no Alliance was formed, but there was unity of action among the Communists and the Basque nationalists, who predominate here, as in Pucheta. The workers resisted till the last moment.

In Arboleda an Alliance was formed with a socialist majority. Red militia was organised for the march on Bilbao. When the socialists succeeded in inducing the force to turn back, when only six kilometres from Bilbao, the Communist comrades committed the error of resigning their posts on the committee, instead of resisting the decision of the socialists.

One Million Two Hundred Thousand Moscow Workers Send Declaration of Solidarity to their Spanish Brothers

On 28th November, the Plenary Session of the Red Aid organisation of Moscow, opening on this date, sent hearty fraternal greetings to the Spanish proletariat in the names of 1,200,000 members. The Plenum called upon the whole of its organisations and members in the Moscow district to organise an immediate action for the material aid of the victims of the White terror in Spain. Great demonstrations for the Spanish proletariat were held on 28th November in the works and factories of Leningrad and Moscow.

Germany

Herr Goebbels Holds a National Press Conference

The battalion of brown and near-brown newspapermen called the "National Union of the German Press" was paraded on November 18 in the house of the Prussian Diet in Berlin. The function was called the "First National Press Congress," and Goebbels himself, Dietrich (head of the press department of the national socialist party), Weiss (Chairman of the Union) and several other important Nazi officials spoke both at the public and later in the private session. Their speeches dealt with the increased support to be given by the press to the Hitler régime and its capitalist backers, the increasing difficulties of which run parallel to the increasing difficulties of the brown press.

Immediately after its accession to power the Hitler government completely banned the press of the Communist Party of Germany, a press that had already been persecuted by the various capitalist governments, sometimes with and sometimes without the co-operation of socialist Cabinet Ministers. The newspapers of the C.P.G. were banned, its printing offices occupied and the machines stolen. The next step was the prohibition of the trade union press and the prohibition of the socialist and various "Left" radical newspapers—always accompanied by the confiscation of their premises and machines. The Hitler government also banned a number of other bourgeois papers competing with its own, or if this was impracticable, such papers were ruined by financial and administrative measures. Numerous bans of shorter or longer duration were imposed especially on the Catholic press. The funds of the stolen workers' printing shops, the subsidies given by big business and state grants were used to improve the quality of the national socialist papers and to "bring into line" the rest of the bourgeois press.

The picture presented by the legal press to-day is in truth worthy of the Third Reich.

The legal press is completely in the hands of the capitalists. They rule the Nazi press through the party officials, through advertisements and direct subsidies, and they rule the other papers through advertisements and through the capitalist publishers who, according to article 16 of the law regulating the status of journalists, "decides what the attitude of the paper on questions of principle" is to be.

The wages of workers employed in the print shops, the roundsmen, etc., have declined rapidly; working conditions have been worsened and another cut is being prepared.

The party press of the Nazis, such as the "Voelkischer Beobachter," is full of pompous phrases, lies, demagogic and jingoism. The "Angriff" and the "Rote Erde" (the former published in Berlin, the latter in the industrial West) are specialists in social and anti-Semitic demagogic. Herr Goebbels calls this "accommodating the press to the speech of the people."

Those not very numerous bourgeois papers which have been "brought into line" vie with the Nazi press in emptiness, mendacity and chauvinism. Against a background of absolute and emphasised vindication of Hitler's policy some of these papers occasionally bring in a veiled form a criticism of some isolated incident partly in order to keep their readers, but chiefly in order to bring into relief the interests of one of the capitalist groups (e.g., of export trade or export industry); sometimes also, in a fashion incomprehensible to the general run of readers but perfectly intelligible to the exclusive groups of politicians and economists for whom it is intended, they lift a corner of the veil covering the truth about economic facts or home and foreign political events. It is sometimes possible also to find a particle of the truth in the economic and trade journals of the "gleichgeschaltet" variety, if one looks at them through a magnifying glass, but even such particles of truth often lead to a ban on the paper.

The comparatively largest circulation has been retained by the sensational and advertisement press such as the "Morgenpost," "12-Uhr Mittagblatt," etc. Only they can have been meant by the passage in Goebbels' speech in which he referred to "the monotony about which so many complaints have been made," having been "to a great extent surmounted," so that the press was now "topical, interesting and spirited." The "interesting" part, however, is only the usual "liberalist" publicity stuff and the "topical and spirited" part consists of a sensational writing-up of crime in the Third Reich, where crime is beginning seriously to

outdo the exploits of the Chicago gangsters. By boosting crime, the newspapers seek to divert public attention from the politico-criminal activities of fascism, and they couple their sensational crime reports with eulogies of the policy of Hitler.

The attitude of the Catholic press is no less "patriotic." From time to time it ventures to utter a mild word of sham criticism, set off by copious protests of loyalty, in respect of the religious persecution practised by the fascists. This is needed in order to canalise the indignation of the Catholic workers and to strengthen the hand of the Pope in the conflicts between the Hitler government and the Vatican.

The cultural level of the Nazi press can be judged by the fact that one reads in an article of the "Berliner Tageblatt," formerly one of the leading liberal newspapers of the country, that the seat of the intellectual faculties was not the brain situated in the head, but the "astral brain," or that one finds in an article of the "Berliner Boersenzeitung" definite scientific proof that cancer can quite certainly be cured by spiritual influences transmitted by national socialism.

Despite all pressure and all demagogic, the Nazi daily press has not succeeded in penetrating the workers' ranks to any great extent. The compulsory subscription to Nazi journals forced upon the workers in the shops has also had an adverse influence on the circulation of the Nazi party papers and other "co-ordinated" dailies. According to figures given by the Post Office, the number of papers carried by the post has dropped from 1.6 milliard copies in 1932 to 1.4 milliard copies in 1933; it must also be noted that the number of papers coming from foreign countries and sent abroad has increased. The drop in circulation of the papers delivered by hand is much greater still.

The growing opposition of the workers to the Hitler régime extends to the fascist press. During the last few months the defection of the readers of the Nazi press has taken on a mass character. In the shops the resistance to the compulsory subscription to fascist journals is on the increase.

The dissatisfaction of the working-class members of the national socialist party with the Nazi press finds expression in the cancellation of subscriptions, in "grousing and grumbling" in the meetings and in letters to the press.

The differences within the bourgeois ranks are also naturally reflected in the press. There is a divergence of opinion as to the extent to which capitalist policy and its demagogic smoke-screen should find expression in the press, how far the difficulties of the system should be mentioned and in the interests of which capitalist group they should be commented upon; a problem which recently led to a vague discussion between Schacht, Governor of the Reich Bank, and several newspapers.

At the Reich Press Congress the big wigs of the press discussed the loss of their readers and the difficulties of the régime at a private session and only a little of it was reflected in the official speeches.

In his speech Goebbels attempted to stimulate the newspapermen and to engender new confidence in the press by praising it in the public eye. He declared that much had changed in the press, that most of the changes were for the better and that the German press again had a character of its own. One of the changes for the better was that a new impartiality has taken the place of indiscriminate enthusiasm. He praised the great discipline shown by the press in supporting the "labour battle," the winter relief scheme and the foreign policy of Germany, or, to put it in other words, the wholesale deception practised upon the nation and the war preparations. The press should not be disciplined in small matters. The press must help Germany to fulfil its historical mission.

Supplementing Goebbels' speech, Herr Dietrich, the head of the press department of the national socialist party, said that the unity of opinion must be complemented by a unity of feeling, for the newspaper readers of to-morrow want a press imbued with national socialist feeling. Weiss, chairman of the union, declared that it was better to keep back news than cause a national misfortune by publishing it, recommended firmness towards the hecklers and know-alls and concluded by saying: "We are political soldiers of Adolf Hitler."

The legal press of the Third Reich is thus required to do more than hitherto in deceiving the nation, in supporting exploitation, in exalting the bloody terror, in whipping up jingo sentiment.

To this end the press is given a certain narrow field of operation where, in consideration of the difficulties of the Hitler régime,

they are to canalise and deflect mass feeling, impartially admitting some of the difficulties that can no longer be denied, but compensating this by an ingenuous whitewashing of Hitler and at the same time taking into account the special interests of one or the other of the capitalist groups to the extent to which this is compatible with the interests of capitalism as a whole and of the Hitler system which is its representative. The marching orders of the Press Congress include the increased support to be given to the fascist policy of impoverishment, terrorism and war-mongering and the further "totalisation" of the kept press.

The illegal Communist press alone carries on the struggle against the Hitler régime and its press battalion. It does so with unprecedented revolutionary heroism in face of the most brutal persecution, showing itself to be the true champion of working-class interests.

While the central organ of the social democrats, the "Vorwaerts" (the circulation of which is very small), preaches patience, offers its services to the bourgeoisie against Communism, splits the working-class ranks and thereby helps fascism, the C.P. of Germany enlightens the masses, promotes the formation of the united front and mobilises and organises the workers for resistance, for the struggle for their economic and political demands, for freedom of their press and for a Socialist Germany.

The illegal Communist press is increasing in circulation and influence. In Berlin there are published at present, in addition to the central organ of the C.P., the "Rote Fahne" and the Berlin edition of that paper, 125 duplicated papers. Of these 27 are factory papers. The Communists are by no means content to rest on their laurels; they are making continually fresh efforts to increase the number and the frequency of publication of the illegal revolutionary press, the importance and influence of which are very great. They are doing especially good work towards rendering the papers more concrete and practical and to develop the factory papers to a deeper understanding and a greater revolutionary drive.

The New Phase in the Struggle of the Saar Workers

Herr Hermann Roechling, the foundry-king of the Saar, has met with a little accident. It has come to the public knowledge that he has supplied French imperialism during the present year with the following munitions: a large shipment of high pressure steel tubes tested in Voelklingen for a pressure of 300 atmospheres to the French State Arms Works at St. Etienne, further, glycerine brake drums for heavy artillery and strip iron and steel 500 millimetres wide, suitable for machine-gun parts and fittings for heavy and light guns.

It is obvious that these facts, now made public, represent only a tiny fraction of the armaments supplied to French imperialism in the past and present by Hermann Roechling, the same Hermann Roechling who is a member of the Leading Council of the German Front in the Saar. It is no less obvious that the demagogic efforts of the German Front have the object of diverting the attention of the indignant workers from this unscrupulous profit-grabbing of the Saar manufacturers whose loyalty to Germany is based on the hope that, in the event of a reunion of the Saar with Germany, they would get even larger armament orders from Germany than they could hitherto secure from France. This is why they resort to certain manoeuvres, which we will briefly describe here.

There is in the first place the declaration of *Joseph Buerckel*, now styled "Saar Commissar," but formerly a spy in the service of the French secret police during the occupation of the Rhineland. This gentleman and no other was the one to announce that in case of a return of the Saar to Germany the trades unions of the Saar would not be destroyed "within the next ten years" because they were needed to fight "international capital" existing in the Saar territory. By this information the former French spy has, of course, let the cat out of the bag. He admits that the Saar trades unions are to be destroyed sooner or later, and that if they are allowed to exist for a while, it is because they are required to support the German capitalists in their struggle with foreign competition. In practice Buerckel's announcement is tantamount to a ban on wage demands and strikes in the works of Roechling, Wolf and all "Aryan" exploiters. The workers understand this and Buerckel's declaration has had quite the opposite effect to the one intended.

The second manoeuvre was carried out by Roechling himself.

He ordered a number of partial stoppages in his Voelklingen foundry, a measure naturally entailing mass dismissals. His agents spread the rumour in the shops that it was all due to "customs difficulties." As the experts of the Voelklingen foundry go mainly to France and to Germany and as there is no customs duty on goods going from the Saar to France, the "customs difficulties" that have cropped up so suddenly can only come from the German frontier. And that is what Roechling wishes to convey. In other words, this is veiled propaganda for reunion with Germany. But he forgets that the workers know perfectly well that the French customs do not levy export duties and that in consequence difficulties could only have been raised by the German customs authorities.

All this is, of course, mere humbug. Inasmuch as there really are economic reasons—in addition to political reasons—for such a limitation of output, they are obvious enough, and from the point of view of the German Front unpleasant enough. All the world knows that the Third Reich is short of foreign exchange, and if Roechling on that account restricts his shipments to Hitler Germany he only shows that as a shrewd business man he has little hope of a plebiscite result favourable to Hitler and in consequence of a payment in Reichsmarks. But in the first place, of course, this manoeuvre is directed against the wage demands and the unity of action of workers of the Voelklingen foundry.

Roechling has, it must be admitted, every reason for fearing them. The fact that a united shop meeting was called by the Socialist and Catholic Metal Workers' Unions in compliance with the demands of the anti-fascist metal workers, is an indication of this. In the debate and in a resolution carried with only three votes against, the meeting declared itself in favour of a rise in wages and of the formation of united action committees in the works and passed a vote of censure on the members of the shop stewards' committee who had allowed themselves to be "brought into line." It is interesting to note that the press of the German Front made no mention at all of this meeting, the importance of which consists mainly in the fact that it is a further essential step towards the formation of a united fighting front of the Saar metal workers. Because this first united meeting called by both unions is only a prelude to further similar meetings in the great foundries of Neunkirchen, St. Ingbert, Dillingen and Erebach, the struggle for the necessary increase in metal workers' wages is growing into an acute and serious menace to the profits of those money-bag patriots, Messrs. Roechling and Co. We can judge of the necessity of this struggle and of the deplorable conditions of the Saar metal workers, exploited by their "fellow-countrymen," by two pay envelopes we have received. One belongs to a foundry worker at the Voelklingen works and shows a monthly wage of 748.53 francs for 28.5 shifts; the other belongs to a miner of the Velsen pit and shows a wage of 743.10 for 19 shifts. This shows that the undoubtedly low wages of the miners are reached by the metal workers only if they work nine shifts per month more than the miners. The wages paid by Roechling are thus considerably lower than the low wages paid by the French mine administration.

This, of course, is a point on which the Roechling front prefers to say little. They are against wage demands in the mining as well as in the metal industry because they know that wage demands in the mines would strengthen the wage demands of the metal workers. It was because the metal workers put forward a demand for higher wages that the Catholic Metal Workers' Union was attacked, an attack which was beaten off by the united front of the Catholic and anti-fascist workers. The German Trade Union Front has now expelled *Pick*, the chairman of the Catholic union, together with the branch secretaries of Neunkirchen, Voelklingen, Homburg, St. Ingbert and Dillingen (i.e., of the decisive localities of the foundry industry). The expelled officials are the same who have been recently given a vote of confidence and who have come out in favour of a wage increase.

The growing unity of action of the metal workers in the struggle for higher wages and in the defence of the trades unions has led to the increased recognition, on the part of the Catholic metal workers, that the question of the January plebiscite plays a decisive part in this struggle and that the workers must vote for the maintenance of the status quo. It would indeed be strange to demand higher wages and at the same time to vote for Hitler, i.e., for wage cuts. It would be madness to deliver up the trades unions, which the workers have defended just now with such great success, to the tender mercies of Roechling, Ley, Buerckel, etc., by voting for reunion with the Third Reich. It would run contrary to

the vital interests of the metal workers if, despite the scarcity of raw materials and foreign exchange prevalent in Hitler Germany, they were to vote for the erection of a tariff wall between the Saar and the Lorraine ore fields from which the metal industry of the Saar draws its raw materials; it would be tantamount to voting for mass dismissals and starvation wages.

The German metal workers, fighting against Hitler fascism together with the whole German working class, expect their brothers in the Saar to help them in their struggle by maintaining the status quo and by themselves taking up the struggle against the fascist rulers of the Third Reich, in order to overthrow them and reunite the workers of Germany and of the Saar, after a second plebiscite, in a liberated Germany. Some time ago the workers of the Hoesch works in the Ruhr addressed a letter on those lines to the metal workers of the Saar, and now the young workers of the Hamburg metal works Heidenreich and Harbeck have written similar letters containing reports on their struggle against compulsory labour service.

Resolutions from Switzerland (especially interesting is the resolution sent by the mechanics' branch of the Zurich local of the Swiss Metal Workers' Union, numbering 700 members), from Czechoslovakia, from France and other countries call upon the metal workers of the Saar to strengthen their struggle for higher wages, for the defence of their trades unions, and for the status quo. In several countries delegates have been appointed to attend the international conference of metal workers convened by the International Committee of Metal Workers for December 1 and 2. The decisions of this conference will increase the international support given to the united anti-fascist struggle of the metal workers in the Saar.

The Cry of the Prisoners: "United Front in Germany"!

A series of fresh manoeuvres have been initiated by Goering and Goebbels with the aim of confusing and frustrating the international release action for the anti-fascist prisoners. Out of the endless rumours spread by the fascists, we draw attention to three only:—

In connection with the interview in which Hitler engaged the French ex-service man Goy for Goebbels, and succeeded in imposing on the French press, the statement has been spread in France that Thaelmann is not to be brought up for trial at all, but is "only" to be kept in preventive custody.

At the same time an alarming report was circulated in Switzerland that the Thaelmann trial would probably begin between Christmas and the New Year, on December 27.

In Berlin itself, leading Nazi lawyers declare that no Thaelmann trial is to be expected in the next few months; the great Communist trial will probably commence in February, perhaps in March.

There is only one possible answer to this deliberate confusion: we must not let ourselves be diverted for an instant from intensifying, broadening, and deepening the action under the slogan: **Immediate and unconditional release of Ernst Thaelmann.**

At the same time the contradictory character of these rumours betrays a certain lack of certainty among the fascists, a divergence of opinions. This fact gives additional reasons for the utmost vigilance. We must not permit Goebbels' cowardly plan of having Thaelmann unexpectedly sentenced to 10 or 15 years' imprisonment, without public trial, by a summary court, to be suddenly carried out under cover of the intensification of the Saar struggle, of the excitement over the discussion on the Yugoslavian Note, of the concentration of interest on the monstrous massacres in Spain.

The fascist courts are working at high pressure. Mass trials are being held in every part of Germany in order that "preventive custody prisoners," that is to say, hostages, may be converted into "legally sentenced convicts." We name one case out of many: the former deputy Karl Olbrisch, together with 15 other anti-fascists, whose names are not even published for the most part, has been sentenced to a long term of hard labour by the so-called "People's Court."

Olbrisch is one of the bravest. After his arrest in July, 1933, he was so frightfully beaten and tortured that he had scarcely a sound spot on his whole body. For weeks he lay on a water bed, in frightful pain. He has set an example of courage and faithfulness. The Nazis are mistaken if they hope to dupe the world, to damp down the excitement, by burying our best comrades away in their dungeons.

More and more "trials" are announced. At the very time when the Propaganda Ministry is issuing its Christmas slogans of the "Festival of love," "Peace on earth," and so forth, Frau Steinfurth, whose husband was murdered together with John Scheer, is to be brought before the fascist court. And at the beginning of December revolutionary anti-fascists are to be sentenced because they allegedly committed the "crime" of leading the workers' organisations. The People's Court is holding a monster trial of 25 members of the Socialist Workers' Party, including 7 women.

But pressure generates counter-pressure. In the non-fascist countries abroad the super-party Release Committees are gaining members among ever wider strata of the population, and are co-operating with the organisations affiliated to them in forming the united front and creating a broad anti-fascist front of the people.

We are now able to report that not only in Berlin, but in Hamburg, Wurtemberg, and Saxony, Thaelmann committees are working, release committees, defence committees, composed of Communist, social-democratic, and non-party workers and anti-fascist students. We are able to report with much satisfaction that the "Angriff," the "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung," and the "Berliner Boersenzeitung" have been raging for weeks at the inundation of "vile" postcards and letters received by their editors. These papers are, however, finding it advisable to cease their idiotic outcries, for this postcard action has been taken up joyfully in the Labour Front, and the number of "obscene" communications has only increased, and the Thaelmann slogans on the walls and fences have grown in number and size.

As in other countries, in Germany, too, the defence of the anti-fascists threatened with murder, the solidarity actions with the prisoners, have proved a powerful instrument in forming the united front, for the realisation of anti-fascist unity of action.

All the collaborators in the International Release Committee therefore heartily welcome the initiative of the C.C. of the C.P.G. in placing the question of the release of Thaelmann, Mierendorf, and all the other prisoners in the forefront of its united front proposals to the social democratic and free trade union workers groups, and organisations. Powerful echoes will be aroused all over the country. Our release action will develop with greater energy in Germany itself. And this will throw more difficulties in the way of fresh executions and murder sentences.

Georg Dimitrov has emphasised again and again that he would not have been able to carry out his victorious action at the trial with such success had he not had behind him the struggle in Germany, the sympathy, the agitation, the propaganda. The mighty international protest movement, acting reciprocally with the struggle in Germany, gave him the power enabling him to checkmate Goering and enforce the acquittal. And this was the way in which the position developed enabling the mighty Soviet Union to go further and enforce his release.

Hence, every anti-fascist must gladly welcome the united front now forming in Germany. And therefore we call for the immediate removal of all obstacles from the path. We cannot permit the united front to be sabotaged. In the "Neuen Weltbühne" much attention is being accorded to the discussion on the Communist-Social Democratic united front. But what do we read in an article by Toni Sender ("Neue Weltbühne," No. 47), under the title "Unity of Forces"? The Communists of Germany "irresponsibly persuaded the workers that we might let Hitler come into power first, and our turn would then follow."

The International Release Committee has all the articles, pamphlets, and speeches of Ernst Thaelmann at its disposal for reference. We have been able to examine all the material compiled on the wishes of the non-Communist members of our Committee. In a word: There is not one single line, one utterance which might even be construed into such an idea. On the contrary, quite on the contrary: the whole struggle carried on by Thaelmann and the C.P.G. was concentrated on preventing the Hitler dictatorship. And more than this: Ernst Thaelmann combated with his utmost energy those who proposed to the German workers the tactics of "letting the fascists in" and "make a mess of things." It would have been more tactful for Frau Sender to preserve silence on this point, for the politicians who wanted to let Hitler get into power were leading members of her own party. We have taken the trouble to find out in what muddy waters Frau Sender fished for this slander. In 1932 the S.P.G. press published some "revelations" on an E.C.C.I. session at which Manuilsky was said to have made some such assertion. Within 48 hours the

whole report on the alleged session, including the alleged Manuilsky speech, had been exposed as a clumsy falsification. With the exception of this proved falsification, there is no statement, no quotation, no proof, anywhere in the whole international Social Democratic press, that a "Communist of Germany" or of any other country ever made this or any similar utterance.

We consider this correction necessary for four reasons: **Firstly**, Ernest Thaelmann is to-day the symbol of militant anti-fascism among the social-democratic and other workers of Germany and other countries. We shall not allow the pride of the international working class in one of its leaders, who worked his way up in 30 years of struggle from a porter to a workers' leader following August Bebel in popularity in Germany, to be undermined by any such irresponsible assertions.

Secondly, the mighty action for Thaelmann is closely bound up with the struggle for the release of the imprisoned socialists. A striking proof of this is the fact that on October 21, 1934, the great demonstration organised by the Thaelmann Committee in the Buffalo Stadium, attended by 30,000 workers of Paris, demanded enthusiastically the release of Mierendorf, Seitz, and Caballero. We shall not permit this united front of real action to be disrupted by untrue assertions.

Thirdly, at the International Jurists' Conference, proposed by the Release Committee and welcomed by all, there will be four social-democratic lawyers among the speakers promoting the action for the release of Thaelmann, Mierendorf, etc. We hope and expect that these speakers will advance arguments which will strengthen and extend the united front struggle in all countries, especially Germany.

Fourthly—for who can be happy whilst our heroes, friends and comrades are martyred and threatened, and whilst our murdered heroes are not yet avenged—we are throwing our utmost energies and determination into the effort to protect all anti-fascist prisoners from the murderer's dagger, the executioner's axe, the slow death in the dungeon. With the aid of powerful international action we can perhaps prevent for the majority the worst of all: execution, murder. But the key which will open the gates of the prisons, the door of the condemned cells, lies in the mighty development of the united front in Germany. This is the force which will overthrow the stronghold of fascism and give our brothers life and liberty.

Therefore we send out our appeal for the concentration of all forces on the realisation of the united front in Germany.

Great Britain

A New Phase in War Preparations

By R. Bishop (London)

A new phase in British war preparations was ushered in at the House of Commons on November 28, when Winston Churchill moved an amendment to the Address from the Throne, demanding an increase of armaments. Churchill, that notorious man of blood, was at pains to paint in lurid colours a picture of the German menace, reminiscent in all respects of many a parliamentary debate in the pre-1914 days.

The Labour Party, through the mouthpiece of its leader, Lansbury, emphasised that they would not embarrass the government in its war preparations. Said Lansbury, with all the unction at his disposal:—

"The Labour Party have no desire to make peace a party issue. The last thing we want to do is to make the question of either disarmament or peace a party issue."

One thing emerged very clearly from the debate—British capitalism is preparing for an unprecedented acceleration of its war preparations and is driving ahead to a new imperialist war, by the side of which the war of 1914-18 will prove to have been mere child's play.

Herr Ribbentrop—Hitler's most confidential envoy—has been in England for some little while, holding confidential conversations with the Foreign Office, trying to get their sanction for what is an accomplished fact, German re-armament in defiance of the Versailles Treaty. The British government prefer to make no open declaration one way or the other—French sympathies must not be wantonly antagonised—so the debate in parliament affords a very pleasant path to accomplish two things—the initiation of British armament on a larger scale than ever before, and encouragement to Germany to proceed with her re-armament. At

the same time the criticisms of the latter remove any possibility of open reproach by the French.

Under the plea of "defending our democratic institutions" and attacking Hitler Germany, a new and larger era of war construction opens.

The parliamentarians talked about Germany, but their thunder was directed to their rivals in the world at large—to the U.S.A., to France, and, above all, to the U.S.S.R., towards whom the savagery and ferocity of intervention days has not abated one whit.

In actual fact the re-armament of Germany called forth more condonation than condemnation. It was received as a heaven-sent opportunity for Britain to frame a background of piety to its war-like intentions. What in regard to Germany was previously a wink has become a nod.

After Churchill had made the hair of his auditors stand on end by talking of the vast strength of the new German re-armaments, Baldwin, as leader of the House, was at great pains to minimise this: "Most of the accounts given in this country and in the press," he said, "are much exaggerated." Nevertheless, he made it clear Britain was not going to lag behind in any armament race that might be going on: "Should an emergency develop," he boasted, "we shall not be caught unprepared."

He announced that in view of the "rapid progress that has been made" in British air armaments a supplementary estimate would be introduced within three months. Already Britain's war Budget for 1934 reaches the colossal sum of: Air Force, £22,600,000; Army, £39,600,000; Navy, £56,600,000. He revealed that in addition to the four new air squadrons formed this year, twenty-five new squadrons are to be formed next year. Since July more than ninety sites for aerodromes had been inspected by the Air Ministry and eleven had been approved and constructional work started. Baldwin also made it clear that no less activity was being shown in army mechanisation and naval building.

It was Lloyd George who took upon himself the task of openly defending the Nazis. He said:—

"In a very short time, perhaps in a year or two, the Conservative elements in this country will be looking to Germany as the bulwark against Communism in Europe. She is planted right in the centre of Europe, and if her defence breaks down against the Communists—only two or three years ago a very distinguished German statesman said to me: 'I am not afraid of Nazism, but Communism'—and if Germany is seized by the Communists, Europe will follow; because the Germans could make a better job of it than any other country. Do not let us be in a hurry to condemn Germany. We shall be welcoming Germany as our friend."

The official Labour Party speeches were conciliatory in the extreme. Very, very anxious were they to impress bourgeois opinion with their determination to make no fundamental change in the direction of British war policy. Thus we had the following footling nonsense from Mr. Lansbury, the leader of the party:—

"Let us go to America, France and Russia and say: 'Let us put everything in the common pool, let us lead the way in saying we will throw down our arms.' Then neither Germany nor Italy will say no."

Mr. Lansbury has cultivated the reputation for himself of being a political innocent, but there is more guile than innocence about this suggestion, which aims at side-tracking the resistance of the working class to the war preparations of British capitalism, and at hiding the complete capitulation of the Labour Party to the warmongers.

One Labour member alone—Aneurin Bevan, who has several times placed himself in opposition to the official viewpoint—exposed the game that was being played. He said:—

"The issues have been made clearer this evening than I have ever known them to be. The issues are whether you are to have Socialism or war, and honourable members, having looked at them, have decided that war is preferable."

The "Times," as ever the mouthpiece of British capitalism, dots the i's and crosses the t's of the debate. Its leading article of December 1 says:—

"It is a fact that Germany has re-armed. Therefore let us recognise it and continue to allow her to do so. France will not bow before the fait accompli. But unbridled competition in arms is the only practical alternative to an agreement based upon re-armament of Germany above the level of Part V of the Treaty of Versailles."

Naturally the German press is not at all displeased at the turn events have taken and openly express themselves that the debate was a new feeler towards preliminary negotiations for an arms agreement.

As far as British arming is concerned, the whole thing is astonishingly reminiscent of the pre-1914 manoeuvres that took place in parliament. The recently published letters of Lord Esher contain one dated March 20, 1909, in which he wrote:—

“Meanwhile we have been in the throes of a Navy scare.

Well engineered, it will bring us eight Dreadnoughts.”

So, at the present time, a scare about German air armaments, well engineered, will bring twenty-five new air squadrons next year.

To-morrow there opens an Arms Inquiry in London, forced by pressure of public opinion as a sequel to the astounding revelations of the Inquiry which has recently concluded in the U.S.A. But the British government is making sure that no similar revelations will sully the reputation of Britain. If there are any skeletons in the cupboard Sir John Simon is determined that they shall stay there and not indelicately obtrude themselves. The terms of reference are carefully framed with this end in view. But the smoke screen of peaceful-sounding speeches, arms inquiries, and German menace are being thrown up to hide the fact that Britain is indulging in the most intensive armaments construction on land, sea, and in the air of her whole career, and that the Sedition Bill has just been passed to muzzle all attempts to make the workers in the fighting services realise that they also are members of the working class, with no interests apart from the interests of that class.

The Labour Party have announced in advance their determination to support “our” government in a “defensive” war, and when has any government ever admitted participation in other than a “defensive” war? No opposition can be expected from that quarter.

There is no such thing as a capitalist “defensive” war. But it is clear that unless the working class is aroused to the most vigorous action against “our” own capitalist war makers, another savage outburst of imperialist war will spring upon the world.

In the factories, the trade unions, the Labour Party branches and every other place where workers meet together the campaign against war and the war makers must be waged with the utmost energy. Here, once more, is shown the need for a broad united front of all who toil. In action against fascism a basis for united front activity has been developed in Britain. In action against war and war preparations, its basis can and must be broadened until the last defences of the reformists against the determination of the workers have been broken down, and a movement has been developed capable of challenging the whole force of capitalism and waging successful war upon the war makers.

China

The New Situation and the New Tactics in Soviet China

By Wan Min

The Japanese agency “Simbun Rengo” reported from Shanghai on November 14:—

“The main contingent of the forces of the Chinese Red Army, changing their positions in the direction of Sse-tchuan, on November 10 left the city of Shui-king, which up to now had been the capital of Central Soviet China. The city was abandoned according to a plan drawn up beforehand. All civil and military offices, including the Central Bank and the Military Academy, were completely evacuated. The strategic points Ju-ti and Hwei-chang to the west of Shui-king are still in the hands of the Red Army.”

Although this report of the news agency of Japanese imperialism has not as yet been confirmed by our own sources of information, it is probably correct. This tactical measure of the Chinese Red Army does not surprise us. Such a measure has, according to our informations, been long contemplated by the Supreme Command of the Chinese Red Army. It is in fact one of the most essential elements of the new tactics resulting from the new conditions of the struggle.

The first circumstance to which these new tactics of the Chinese Red Army are due is the necessity of fighting the new

military plan followed by Chang-Kai-Shek and General Seeckt in their sixth campaign against the Chinese Soviets. The chief feature of this plan is that Chang-Kai-Shek and Seeckt are attempting to drive the Red Army from its immense territory into a narrow zone. Their method is an extensive aerial and land bombardment, coupled with the erection of fortifications as their forces advance. Their aim is to surround the Soviet territories from all sides and gradually wear out their human material. The point against which Chang-Kai-Shek's and Seeckt's sixth campaign is mainly directed is the Central Northern district, against which Chang-Kai-Shek alone has mobilised 76 divisions of regular troops. This includes nearly all the troops of Chang-Kai-Shek himself and over two-thirds of the officially registered divisions of all China (numbering 99 in all). These troops possess 300 military aeroplanes, half of which bombard the Central Northern district every day. They also have 200 guns.

Military operations and military technique are directed by hundreds of German and Japanese military experts and American, Italian and other airmen, partly recruited by Chang-Kai-Shek and partly placed at his disposal by various imperialist powers.

During a year of heroic struggle the Chinese Red Army has won splendid victories over its enemies, among others in the Central Northern district. Chang-Kai-Shek's army lost over 100,000 men, i.e., about 45,000 to 50,000 killed, 40,000 to 50,000 wounded and 12,000 to 15,000 prisoners. The fourth army corps of the Red Army in Sse-tchuan had grown from 15,000 to more than 100,000 men, but owing to its technical weakness (lack of aeroplanes and artillery) it could not break through the fortified front of the enemy quickly enough to destroy the decisive forces of Chang-Kai-Shek surrounding the Central Soviet territory. In order to frustrate Chang-Kai-Shek's and Seeckt's plan of a complete investment of the Central Soviet territory and the slow destruction of its man-power, and in order to create all necessary preconditions for a decisive and complete victory in the sixth campaign and for the final victory of the Chinese Soviet revolution, it had been decided some months ago to apply a new tactical method.

The first practical application of these new tactics was the successful change of position carried out in July of this year, when the 7th corps of the Red Army left the Central Soviet territory for the provinces of Fukien and Chekiang and by the common efforts of the seventh and tenth army corps and of red partisan detachments established a new Soviet and partisan territory on the borders of Fukien, Chekiang, Kiangsi and Nganwei. This constitutes a serious menace not only to the north-eastern lines of communication and the flank of the enemy troops, but to the main military and financial base of Chang-Kai-Shek, i.e., to the province of Chekiang.

The second practical application of the new tactics was the successful manoeuvre executed in August of this year by the Sixth army corps of the Red Army, which moved from the Central Soviet territory to the provinces of Hunan and Kweichow, thus rendering possible an immediate connection between the Second army corps of the Ho-lun Red Army and the Sixth Army on the one hand and between the Second, Sixth and Fourth Army on the other. This again created favourable conditions for the operations of all large units of the Red Army from Kiangsi and Fukien to Shensi and Ssechuan.

The third practical application of the new tactics is the recent change of position of large forces of the Red Army moving from the Central Soviet territory towards the west—according to Japanese and other imperialist sources towards the province of Ssechuan. Kuomintang and imperialist newspapers report that these important units of the Red Army, led by Comrades Mao-Tse-Dung, Chu-Dai and Pei-Dei-Chuje, have already victoriously broken through the fortified front Hunan-Kwantung, routed several divisions of enemy troops in Kwantung and Hunan and are now marching towards the eastern and central regions of Kwei-chow. During the coming months these new tactics will be applied to a greater extent and will doubtless bring even better results than hitherto.

The leaders of the Communist Party and of the Red Army were fully aware that the application of the new tactical methods not only may but must lead to temporary, in part considerable losses of territory in the Central Soviet region. The temporary abandonment of several Soviet towns in our decisive old strongholds is naturally a not unimportant blow, a not unimportant loss. This loss is compensated, however, but the occupation of new extensive territories by the Red Army and further by the creation of the preconditions indispensable to winning a new mighty victory

for the Soviet revolution in China. Our enemies are well aware of this, and this is the reason why the Kuomintang, pro-imperialist, and white guard newspapers, when reporting "victories" of the Nanking troops, such as the occupation by white bandits of the former Soviet capital, Shuiking, in the same breath always give a pessimistic estimate of the future prospects of Chang-Kai-Shek. Thus, for instance, the Shanghai correspondent of the Japanese agency Simbun Rengo, remarks, in his report on the occupation of Shuiking by Nanking troops, that the operations against the Red Army in the Shuiking district have cost the Nanking government the round sum of one milliard Chinese dollars. Five campaigns had to be undertaken against this Soviet district and up to 600,000 troops mobilised.

Or let us take another instance. The newspaper "Osaka Mainitsi" comments on the occupation of Shuiking by Nanking troops in an editorial article, saying that the Chinese Red Army was not beaten and that having abandoned Shuiking, and taking advantage of the differences existing between the Nanking and Canton governments and the Hunan troops, it is now rapidly advancing towards Szechuan in order to effect a junction with the other units of the Red Army and to develop Szechuan into a new stronghold. According to "Osaka Mainitsi" the occupation of Shuiking by Nanking troops can by no means be considered to indicate a stabilisation of the Nanking government, but will, on the contrary, lead to a sharpening of the struggle between the different coteries of Kuomintang China.

The second circumstance giving rise to the new tactics of the Red Army is the necessity of national defence against the dismemberment of China attempted by Japanese imperialism in connection with the renewed Japanese offensive against Inner Mongolia and Northern China. It is common knowledge that already in the beginning of 1932, i.e., during the heroic defence of Shanghai by the Nineteenth Army and the workers, the Chinese Central Soviet government openly called for a sacred national revolutionary defensive war against Japanese imperialism. Chang-Kai-Shek and Wang-ting-wai chose, however, to attack the Nineteenth Army and the workers from behind and force them to retreat, while on the other hand they kept and keep the Red Army away from the banks of the Yang-tse river and the large cities in order to prevent it from making war on Japanese imperialism. The only popular army, the only national-revolutionary army of China, the Red Army led by the Communist Party and the Soviet government, is waiting with enthusiasm and impatience for the moment when it can fulfil its glorious destiny and fight Japanese imperialism in order to save the Chinese people from the fate of final colonial slavery. This is why the Red Army itself and the whole Chinese nation regard the fight against the anti-Soviet campaigns of Chang-Kai-Shek as a fight for the creation of the immediate preconditions of a war of the Chinese nation against Japanese imperialism.

To-day, Japanese imperialism, assisted by the traitors Chang-Kai-Shek, Wan-Ting-Wai, Yan-Yun-Tim and Chuan-Fu, is carrying on undisguised military operations with the object of occupying Tchachar, Sin-Kiang and Northern China. In consideration of the difficulties entailed by simultaneous warfare against the Japanese army of occupation, the fortified strongholds of Chang-Kai-Shek in Northern Kiangsi and the forces operating in Northern and Central China, the Red Army and the Soviet government have decided to mobilise further strong military forces in addition to the seventh and tenth army corps, which are to serve as shock troops of the Red Army against Japan. This measure is intended to speed-up operations against Japanese imperialism in Northern China. The attack is to be pushed forward through other provinces in order not to make the home provinces into a battlefield. For this reason the Red Army did not hesitate to evacuate for a time some of the oldest Soviet towns, among them the former capital, Shuiking.

The third circumstance leading to the application of new tactical methods by the Red Army is the necessity of surmounting the material difficulties arising for the army in the Central Soviet region. The incessant military operations stretching over a number of years, the continual aerial and artillery bombardment, the direct pillaging expeditions of white bandit gangs, the severe economic blockade enforced by Chang-Kai-Shek and the imperialists have recently led to a lack of munitions and articles of first necessity for the Red Army, despite the whole-hearted support and assistance on the part of the civilian population. Experience has shown that a successful change of position of the troops of the

Red Army from old to fresh territories is accompanied by a rapid replenishment and increase of the material reserves and manpower of the army. This was the reason why the Red Army of the Central district moved its most important unit to break through the fortified fronts of the enemy and to create new Soviet and partisan territories in the provinces which offer the most favourable conditions for the military operations of the Red Army.

The new tactics of the Red Army, better adapted to the new conditions of the present phase of the war, have already resulted in considerable new successes in the last four or five months, although they were applied only in part. A correct and consistent application of these new methods by the Red Army will not only enable us to defeat the sixth campaign of Chang-Kai-Shek, but will also help us to win a final victory in the greater struggle for the triumph of the Soviet revolution in all China.

The Chinese Soviets on the Cultural Front

By Chie Hua

The fundamental political and economic transformation brought about by the victory of the Soviet power over wide territories in China created at the same time the basis for a great cultural advance. The new factor introduced by the cultural work of the Soviets, unprecedented in China, is that the whole toiling people has become the bearer of the new culture, whilst in Kuomintang China even the most primitive of cultural achievements, even reading and writing, all school education, are the monopoly of the owning class.

In Kuomintang China, economically and politically torn to pieces, many of the few existing schools and colleges have had to be closed on account of the financial bankruptcy and the squandering of funds intended for the schools on civil war. In the young Chinese Soviet republic, in spite of the continued state of revolutionary war, in spite of the ceaseless repulsion of hostile attacks, considerable progress has already been attained in combatting illiteracy and in raising the general cultural level. This has been the case especially since the establishment of the central "Commissariat for Culture and Education," and the development of the cultural sectors in the various Soviet districts (after the Second Soviet Congress at the beginning of this year), which have enabled elementary schools to be opened even in the smallest villages. Besides these elementary schools, named "Lenin Schools," a large number of secondary schools have been organised. Newly-founded Leninist institutions for the training of teachers ensure a large teaching staff ready to meet the needs of the many new schools. In Suikin, the present capital of the Chinese Soviet Republic, the first university has been established (called the University of the Soviets). This university has become the meeting-place of the progressive scientists and professors from every part of China, who have responded to the appeals of the Soviet government. Besides these cultural centres, there are numerous evening schools, reading circles, and cultural clubs for the workers and peasants, who had no opportunity whatever for schooling under the Kuomintang power. There are also many technical and vocational schools.

Let us take for instance the Soviet village of Chang-Gon, with its 1,464 inhabitants. Here there are four "Lenin elementary schools," taking in all the children between the ages of 7 and 13; nine evening schools for adults, whose scholars are 70 per cent. women; a large number of reading circles, and many wall posters in the public streets and squares. The village has at the same time four clubs for cultural purposes.

Another example: In the village of Tsaichi, with 5,000 inhabitants, there are nine "Lenin elementary schools," ten technical and work schools for children from 13 to 15 years of age, twelve evening schools, fifty reading circles, two culture clubs, twenty public places with instructive posters.

Reading circles are also formed in the Red Army, in the Soviet institutions and in the mass organisations. Even the Red Army soldiers on active service are given the time to learn reading and writing. Instruction posters are frequently set up on the high roads. Thanks to this systematic work in all the organisations and institutions, in all towns and villages, the number of illiterate persons is decreasing steadily.

In the Red Army, in the Soviet institutions, in the Communist Party and the Young Communist League, and in almost all the

mass organisations, scientific circles provide instruction; lecture and discussion evenings are organised, interspersed with musical and literature evenings. Most organisations possess a "Lenin hall," where literature may be had for the study of Marxism-Leninism. The culture clubs also play an important part in the cultural and educational work developing steadily in the Red Army, the Soviet institutions, the mass organisations, the schools, and the works and factories.

The training of qualified Party functionaries is the task of the great central Party school and of the local schools of the Communist Party in every town. Under the leadership of the central revolutionary war council, a university of the Red Army has been established where the officers of the Red Army are trained, from the regiment commanders and the members of the Political Commissions of the Red Army upwards. The officers in training here are the best elements from the worker and peasant masses, who have gained wide experience in actual fighting and come direct from the front to the university, only to return immediately to the fighting line as soon as their course of study is ended. Subordinate to this Red Army University there are two military schools for infantry and four for special departments for military-technical and military-political work. There are always 3,000 students at the university and the military schools.

Whilst in the White districts there are newspapers only in the large towns, in the Soviet districts newspapers are now being published everywhere, several in each place. The Communist Party, the Young Communist League, the Red Army, the Soviet, the trade unions, and the mass organisations, all issue their own papers. Among the largest newspapers there may be mentioned: "The Struggle," organ of the C.P.; "Red China," organ of the Central Soviet government; "The Red Star," organ of the Central Revolutionary War Council. Besides these there is the illustrated paper of the Red Army; the central organ of the Y.C.L., "The True Word of Youth"; and the organ of the trade union federation, "The Worker under the Soviets." The Red Aid, the League against Imperialism and for the Defence of the Soviets publish periodicals. A newly-published paper is the "Red Stream," which deals especially with the questions of revolutionary literature.

Many Marxist-Leninist works and many military political writings have been translated into Chinese. A number of publishing offices and bookshops have been established in the towns and villages. The prices for books and newspapers are, as a rule, considerably cheaper in the Soviet districts than in the White districts. Large public libraries are being organised.

The proletarian theatres and Agit-Prop troupes contribute greatly to the work of enlightenment and education. In the Central Soviet District there is a Workers' and Peasants' Theatrical Association, with wide connections in the Soviet provinces and sub-districts. The theatrical, musical, and dance performances are received enthusiastically by the masses of the population. Many organisations have their own Agit-Prop troupes. The best known is the Agit-Prop troupe of the "State Protection Bureau" (G.P.U.) and that belonging to the "Red Army University." Theatrical groups can always be hastily assembled in any village or factory if a celebration or other occasion requires it. In the field of music, the town of Suikin occupies the leading place. Here there is a musical college. A number of revolutionary song books have been issued and collections of peasant songs from the different districts.

Physical culture, sport—scarcely known to the workers and peasants of the White districts—are extremely popular among the toilers of Soviet China. Besides the public sports grounds, all towns and villages and all organisations and institutions have their own sports grounds. This is the first time that Chinese workers and peasants have learned to play tennis, football, and net ball. The largest stadium is in Suikin, near the buildings of the Central Soviet government. Here a first Olympiade has already been held, attended by representatives from every part of Soviet China. A Lenin park has been laid out at Tingchou, and this example is being followed in many other places.

Here, on the cultural front, the emancipated Chinese workers and peasants—whom the capitalists, landowners and imperialists delight in calumniating as "robbers, barbarians, murderers and incendiaries"—are once more giving proof of their creative powers, as they have already proved them in the spheres of politics and economics.

Fight for the Unity of the Labour Movement

The Discussion at the Paris Conference of the Second International

By Ferretti

The Executive of the Second International which met in Paris on November 13 to 16, a month after the Communist International proposed to organise speedy assistance for the heroic revolutionary fighters in Spain, rejected unity of action against fascism on an international scale. On the other hand it rescinded its former resolution prohibiting any joint action with the Communists even on a national scale, thereby only declaring its approval of united front actions which had already been carried out in defiance of this resolution. Every section of the Second International is now entitled to accept or reject the united front proposals of the Communist Party; the Socialist International is no longer concerned about it.

This International, which declared during the world war that it is only an "instrument of peace" and thereby allowed its sections to conclude a holy alliance with their own bourgeoisie, is now adopting the same position in regard to fascism. It thereby admits that it is incapable of serving as an international weapon in the struggle of the working class against fascism.

"Nuovo Avanti," the Paris organ of the socialist party of Italy (Section of the Second International), publishes interesting details regarding the discussion at this meeting of the Second International and its drafting committee, of which we give the following summary:—

Leon Blum, the leader of the minority, seemed somewhat half-heartedly to have demanded unity of action on an international scale; he warned the Executive not to sharpen the contradictions within the International, even if it were considered impossible for the moment to establish unity of action on an international scale. On the other hand, he categorically declared that the Second International cannot criticise those actions which were carried out in the past and will not tolerate any disavowal of them.

Otto Bauer was of the opinion that in the present circumstances of the fascisation of Western Europe and the imminent danger of war, it was necessary to negotiate with Moscow.

One of the representatives of the Italian socialist party, Nenni, when speaking of the conference which had taken place in Brussels, emphasised that one might have assumed that Vandervelde and Adler would have borne in mind that in Spain Communists and socialists had fought together. With regard to the attitude of certain socialist leaders of North European countries, their criticism of the socialist party of Spain showed that they have vulgar-democratic conceptions, that they have made a fetish of Parliamentarism, and therefore are unable to understand the meaning of the events in Spain. Replying to the statement of the Dutch representative Alberda that the united front pact between the Socialist and Communist Parties of Italy possesses only an academic and literary value, Nenni declared that he attached greater value to the spirit of the Italian workers, who welcomed this pact with great enthusiasm. Nenni expressed his great astonishment that some comrades are so much concerned about the effect which the united front would have on the elections, whilst it is a question of discussing means to avert the threatening danger of fascism and war.

After making some very challengeable statements regarding the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the policy of the C.P. of Germany, the Italian representative rejected the arguments of the opponents of the united front and emphasised the necessity of its realisation on an international scale by means of a conference of the two Internationals.

The opponents of unity of action brought forward their arguments against the followers of the idea of the united front.

Alberda (Holland) considered unity with the Communists in his country to be a catastrophe which would facilitate the fascists coming to power. According to his opinion the same is true of France.

Soukup (Czechoslovakia) declared that the C.P. in Czechoslovakia is an insignificant minority, that we must have patience and rely on democratic methods.

Andersen (Denmark) stated that the Brussels negotiations had gone too far. In regard to the united front nothing can be done in Denmark. With regard to Germany and Italy, fear of Bolshevism had been the only basis of the fascist victory.

Gillies, delegate of the British Labour Party, is a determined opponent of the united front. He is against any negotiations with the Communists and in addition holds that the present moment is not suited for this purpose.

We can pass over in silence the other "arguments," such as put forward by the Georgian socialists and the Russian social revolutionaries.

The contrast between the two arguments is big enough to explain the low level of the discussion. And we can understand that Vandervelde, Grimm, Adler and others, although they oppose unity of action in their countries and attempt to hinder it on an international scale, endeavoured to prevent a split in the Second International. On the other hand, they realised that it would not be advantageous for them to come forward openly against unity of action in view of the fact that "this question is confronting the whole world," as de Brouckère expressed it.

The "reconciliation" brought about by the leaders of the Second International was not an easy affair. We quote the concluding part of the report from the "Nuovo Avanti":—

When the Executive reassembled on the eve of November 16 they had not yet found a basis of agreement. The text of the letter addressed to the drafting commission was unanimously adopted so far as its first part was concerned, but the last section called forth two diametrically opposed opinions in the discussion: one group declared it to be impossible to advocate a general application of united front pacts, the other proposed a joint conference of the two Internationals.

The last section of the discussion was held in an extremely tense atmosphere. It was obvious that everybody was afraid of a vote being taken, as the Executive would have been split into two parts with a probable majority of about 20 (out of 250) for the opponents of unity of action.

In this situation Vandervelde suggested, and the Executive accepted his proposal, that the disputed passage be deleted.

But what importance attaches to differences of opinion of such magnitude for the existence of the Second International, a difference of opinions which, at least for the moment, is covered over by such an admission of impotency. We referred to this at the beginning of the article.

But will not the tremendous pressure of the masses for the establishment of unity of action bring about a change in the attitude of other parties and other socialist leaders?

As regards the Communist International it will not slacken its efforts to rally the working class for the struggle against fascism and against war. Only a working class that is united in the struggle and unites all sections of the exploited, which is well organised and led by the revolutionary party, the Communist Party, will bar the way to fascism, prevent war and overthrow capitalism.

The White Terror

Rakosi to be Tried by a Special Court!

The Public Prosecutor Brings Forward the Charge of Murder and Demands His Execution by Hanging.

The Hungarian Government is proceeding to carry out its barbarous threat. Comrade Rakosi, after having served eight and a half years' imprisonment and after being kept under arrest since April, 1934, as a so-called prisoner on remand, is again to be brought to trial. The Public Prosecutor has now brought in the indictment against him and arranged that the trial shall take place according to the so-called accelerated proceedings, which means that the ordinary rules of procedure are suspended and the Court possesses almost the same rights as a court martial.

When Comrade Rakosi, after having served his sentence of eight and a half years' imprisonment in Szegedin, was conveyed to Budapest, he was informed by the Public Prosecutor that apart from his responsibility for the acts of the Hungarian Soviet Government, special proceedings would be brought against him for 21 acts of murder, 367 acts of unlawful imprisonment, 21 robber attacks, etc., which Rakosi, it is alleged, personally instigated and for which he must therefore answer. The investigation was actually commenced; the police were mobilised, as well as all the authorities who had anything to do with Rakosi. And

now the Public Prosecutor announces that he has discontinued the inquiry on account of these crimes, and is charging him only on account of his participation in the Hungarian Soviet Government.

In the indictment all cases are cited in which the Revolutionary Courts pronounced death sentences; in which individual Commissars caused counter-revolutionaries to be executed after having been defeated in an armed fight. But not only that: simple arrests, which had no harmful results for the persons arrested, are enumerated as crimes. Finally, the issue of money by the Soviet Government, the printing notes, is designated as forging money. Rakosi is made answerable for all this, and is described as the "chief instigator," "instigator," or "accomplice," and in accordance with the corresponding paragraphs of the criminal code the death penalty by hanging is demanded. The Public Prosecutor proposes to summon 110 witnesses, partly in order to establish Rakosi's political responsibility. These witnesses consist mainly, however, of persons who have suffered personal damage or injury under the revolution, or whose relatives were killed. They are therefore to appear before the Court in order to create an atmosphere hostile to the hated People's Commissar.

Fifteen years have passed since the overthrow of the Soviet Government in Hungary. A number of former People's Commissars who belong to the social democratic party are living in Hungary at the present time quite unmolested. On the other hand, Rakosi has already been tried and sentenced, and according to old legal usage, the sentences ought to have been merged before he served his monstrous sentence of eight and a half years' imprisonment on account of his organisational activity. There has never been a case where a person, after serving a long term of imprisonment, has again been brought to trial and sentenced to death. The fact that in spite of all this the Hungarian authorities have brought forward this fresh case against Rakosi shows that they do not bother about the rules of ordinary human justice, but that they rely on another legal rule, namely, that here it is a case of a *res judicata*—a matter already settled, a matter in which the death sentence has already been decided on. Rakosi will be brought before an Exceptional Court, but judgment has already been pronounced.

One might ask, why does Hungary need a political trial at the present moment when it is posing as a protector of victims of political persecution as against Yugoslavia, and why, above all, does it stage a trial for forging money when it knows very well that one should not talk about ropes in the house of a hangman? Obviously the Hungarian authorities think: a Communist, that is something quite different. By persecuting him Hungary will be better able to pose as the saviour of Society. Of what cruelty the present-day rulers of Hungary are capable is shown by the case of our brave comrades Sallay and Fuerst, who were handed over to the executioner although they were completely innocent.

The life of our Comrade Rakosi is seriously threatened. He can be saved only if a powerful international protest movement gives the Hungarian rulers to understand that this time they cannot with impunity strangle an innocent man who has already suffered ten years' torment in prison, and for whom millions and millions have raised their voices in protest.

When, in April, it was learnt that Rakosi was not to be released, there was a great outburst of indignation in every country. The danger threatening him was already realised then. This danger has now become imminent. The indignation of the masses must now develop into a storm. Only then can we rescue Rakosi. And we must rescue him!

Last Groups of "Red Front" Join Austrian C.P.

In June this year the former Left-wing social democrats, who carried on under the name "Red Front" after the collapse of the S.P. in February, joined the Austrian C.P. A small group continued an independent existence. This group did not yet possess sufficient faith in the C.P. and was under Trotskyist influence. A guest delegate attended the C.P. Congress in September. This delegate, impressed by the Congress and its decisions, personally joined the Austrian C.P. at once, and undertook to report to his comrades in the "Red Front" and to endeavour to obtain their affiliation. The "Red Front," in a declaration expressing its confidence that the Austrian C.P. is on the road to become a Bolshevik mass party, now formally joins it.

For Marxism

Interview Between J. Stalin and H. G. Wells*

July 23, 1934 from 4 p.m. to 6.30 p.m.†

Wells: I am very much obliged to you, Mr. Stalin, for agreeing to see me. I was in the United States recently. I had a long conversation with President Roosevelt and tried to ascertain what his leading ideas were. Now I have come to you to ask you what you are doing to change the world. . . .

Stalin: Not so very much. . . .

Wells: I wander around the world as a common man and as a common man observe what is going on around me.

Stalin: Important public men like yourself are not "common men." Of course, history alone can show how important this or that public man has been; at all events you do not look at the world as a "common man."

Wells: I am not pretending humility. What I mean is that I try to see the world through the eyes of the common man and not as a party politician or a responsible administrator. My visit to the United States excited my mind. The old financial world is collapsing; the economic life of the country is being reorganised on new lines. Lenin said: "We must learn to do business," learn this from the capitalists. To-day the capitalists have to learn from you, to grasp the spirit of socialism. It seems to me that what is taking place in the United States is a profound reorganisation, the creation of planned, that is, socialist, economy. You and Roosevelt begin from two different starting points. But is there not a relation in ideas, a kinship of ideas, between Washington and Moscow? In Washington I was struck by the same thing I see going on here: they are building offices, they are creating a number of new state regulation bodies, they are organising a long-needed Civil Service. Their need, like yours, is directive ability.

Stalin: The United States is pursuing a different aim from that which we are pursuing in the U.S.S.R. The aim which the Americans are pursuing arose out of the economic troubles, out of the economic crisis. The Americans want to rid themselves of the crisis on the basis of private capitalist activity without changing the economic basis. They are trying to reduce to a minimum the ruin, the losses caused by the existing economic system. Here, however, as you know, in place of the old destroyed economic basis an entirely different, a new economic basis has been created. Even if the Americans you mention partly achieve their aim, i.e., reduce these losses to a minimum, they will not destroy the roots of the anarchy which is inherent in the existing capitalist system. They are preserving the economic system which must inevitably lead, and cannot but lead to anarchy in production. Thus, at best, it will be a matter, not of the reorganisation of society, not of abolishing the old social system which gives rise to anarchy and crises, but of restricting certain of its bad features, restricting certain of its excesses. Subjectively, perhaps, these Americans think they are reorganising society; objectively, however, they are preserving the present basis of society. That is why, objectively, there will be no reorganisation of society.

Nor will there be planned economy. What is planned economy? what are some of its attributes? Planned economy tries to abolish unemployment. Let us suppose it is possible, while preserving the capitalist system, to reduce unemployment to a certain minimum. But surely, no capitalist would ever agree to the complete abolition of unemployment, to the abolition of the reserve army of unemployed, the purpose of which is to bring pressure on the labour market, to ensure a supply of cheap labour. Here you have one of the rents in the "planned economy" of bourgeois society. Furthermore, planned economy presupposes increased output in those branches of industry which produce goods that the masses of the people need particularly. But you know that the expansion of production under capitalism takes place for entirely different motives, that capital flows into those branches of economy in which the rate of profit is highest. You will never compel a capitalist to incur loss to himself and agree to a lower rate of profit for the sake of satisfying the needs of the people. Without getting rid of the capitalists, without abolishing the principle of private property in the means of production, it is impossible to create planned economy.

Wells: I agree with much of what you have said. But I would like to stress the point that if a country as a whole adopts the principle of planned economy, if the government, gradually, step by step, begins consistently to apply this principle, the financial oligarchy will at last be abolished and socialism, in the Anglo-Saxon meaning of the word, will be brought about. The effect of the ideas of Roosevelt's "new deal" is most powerful, and in my opinion they are socialist ideas. It seems to me that instead of stressing the antagonism between the two worlds, we should, in the present circumstances, strive to establish a common tongue for all the constructive forces.

Stalin: In speaking of the impossibility of realising the principles of planned economy while preserving the economic basis of capitalism I do not in the least desire to belittle the outstanding personal qualities of Roosevelt, his initiative, courage and determination. Undoubtedly Roosevelt stands out as one of the strongest figures among all the captains of the contemporary capitalist world. That is why I would like once again to emphasise the point that my conviction that planned economy is impossible under the conditions of capitalism does not mean that I have any doubts about the personal abilities, talent and courage of President Roosevelt. But if the circumstances are unfavourable, the most talented captain cannot reach the goal you refer to. Theoretically, of course, the possibility of marching gradually, step by step, under the conditions of capitalism, towards the goal which you call socialism in the Anglo-Saxon meaning of the word, is not precluded. But what will this "socialism" be? At best, bridling to some extent the most unbridled of individual representatives of capitalist profit, some increase in the application of the principle of regulation in national economy. That is all very well. But as soon as Roosevelt, or any other captain in the contemporary bourgeois world, proceeds to undertake something serious against the foundation of capitalism, he will inevitably suffer utter defeat. The banks, the industries, the large enterprises, the large farms are now in Roosevelt's hands. All these are private property. The railroads, the mercantile fleet, all these belong to private owners. And finally, the army of skilled workers, the engineers, the technicians, these too are not at Roosevelt's command, they are at the command of the private owners; they all work for the private owners. We must not forget the functions of the State in the bourgeois world. The State is an institution that organises the defence of the country, organises the maintenance of "order"; it is an apparatus for collecting taxes. The capitalist State does not deal much with economy in the strict sense of the word; the latter is not in the hands of the State. On the contrary, the State is in the hands of the capitalist economy. That is why I fear that, in spite of all his energy and abilities, Roosevelt will not achieve the goal you mention, if indeed that is his goal. Perhaps, in the course of several generations it will be possible to approach this goal somewhat; but I personally think that even this is not very probable.

Wells: Perhaps I believe more strongly in the economic interpretation of politics than you do. Huge forces driving toward better organisation, for the better functioning of the community, that is, for socialism, have been brought into action by invention and modern science. Organisation, and the regulation of individual action, have become mechanical necessities, irrespective of social theories. If we begin with the State control of the banks and then follow with the control of transport, of the heavy industries, of industry in general, of commerce, etc., such an all-embracing control will be equivalent to the state ownership of all branches of national economy. This will be the process of socialism. Socialism and individualism are not opposites like black and white. There are many intermediate stages between them. There is individualism that borders on brigandage, and there is discipline and organisation that are the equivalent of socialism. The intro-

* Text approved by Mr. H. G. Wells.

† From No. 17 of the theoretical organ of the C.P.S.U. "Bolshevik."

duction of planned economy depends, to a large degree, upon the organisers of economy, upon the skilled technical intelligentsia who, step by step, can be converted to the socialist principles of organisation. And this is the most important thing. Because organisation comes before socialism. It is the more important fact. Without organisation the socialist idea is a mere idea.

Stalin: There is not, nor should there be, an irreconcilable contrast between the individual and the collective, between the interests of the individual person and the interests of the collective. There should be no such contrast, because collectivism, socialism, does not deny, but combines individual interests with the interests of the collective. Socialism cannot abstract itself from individual interests. Socialist society alone can most fully satisfy these personal interests. More than that; socialist society alone can firmly safeguard the interests of the individual. In this sense there is no irreconcilable contrast between "individualism" and socialism. But can we deny the contrast between classes, between the propertied class, the capitalist class, and the toiling class, the proletarian class? On the one hand we have the propertied class which owns the banks, the factories, the mines, transport, the plantations in colonies. These people see nothing but their own interests, their striving after profits. They do not submit to the will of the collective; they strive to subordinate every collective to their will. On the other hand we have the class of the poor, the exploited class, which owns neither factories nor works, nor banks, which is compelled to live by selling its labour power to the capitalists and which lacks the opportunity to satisfy its most elementary requirements. How can such opposite interests and strivings be reconciled? As far as I know, Roosevelt has not succeeded in finding the path of conciliation between these interests. And it is impossible, as experience has shown. Incidentally, you know the situation in the United States better than I do as I have never been there and I watch American affairs mainly from literature. But I have some experience in fighting for socialism, and this experience tells me that if Roosevelt makes a real attempt to satisfy the interests of the proletarian class at the expense of the capitalist class, the latter will put another President in his place. The capitalists will say: Presidents come and Presidents go, but we go on for ever; if this or that president does not protect our interests, we shall find another. What can the President oppose to the will of the capitalist class?

Wells: I object to this simplified classification of mankind into poor and rich. Of course there is a category of people which strives only for profit. But are not these people regarded as nuisances in the West just as much as here? Are there not plenty of people in the West, for whom profit is not an end, who own a certain amount of wealth, who want to invest and obtain profit from this investment, but who do not regard this as their main object? They regard investment as an inconvenient necessity. Are there not plenty of capable and devoted engineers, organisers of economy, whose activities are stimulated by something other than profit? In my opinion there is a numerous class of capable people who admit that the present system is unsatisfactory and who are destined to play a great role in future socialist society. During the past few years I have been much engaged in and have thought of the need for conducting propaganda in favour of socialism and cosmopolitanism among wide circles of engineers, airmen, military-technical people, etc. It is useless approaching these circles with two-track class war propaganda. These people understand the condition of the world. They understand that it is a bloody muddle, but they regard your simple class war antagonism as nonsense.

Stalin: You object to the simplified classification of mankind into poor and rich. Of course there is a middle stratum, there is the technical intelligentsia that you have mentioned and among which there are very good and very honest people. Among them there are also dishonest and wicked people, there are all sorts of people among them. But first of all mankind is divided into rich and poor, into property owners and exploited; and to abstract oneself from this fundamental division and from the antagonism between poor and rich means abstracting oneself from the fundamental fact. I do not deny the existence of intermediate, middle strata which either take the side of one or other of these two conflicting classes, or else take up a neutral or semi-neutral position in this struggle. But, I repeat, to abstract oneself from this fundamental division in society and from the fundamental struggle between the two main classes means ignoring facts. This struggle is going on and will continue. The outcome of the struggle will be determined by the proletarian class, the working class.

Wells: But are there not many people who are not poor, but who work and work productively?

Stalin: Of course, there are small landowners, artisans, small traders, but it is not these people who decide the fate of a country, but the toiling masses, who produce all the things society requires.

Wells: But there are very different kinds of capitalists. There are capitalists who only think about profit, about getting rich; but there are also those who are prepared to make sacrifices. Take old Morgan, for example. He only thought about profit; he was a parasite on society, simply; he merely accumulated wealth. But take Rockefeller. He is a brilliant organiser; he has set an example of how to organise the delivery of oil that is worthy of emulation. Or take Ford. Of course Ford is selfish. But is he not a passionate organiser of rationalised production from whom you take lessons? I would like to emphasise the fact that recently an important change in opinion towards the U.S.S.R. has taken place in English-speaking countries. The reason for this, first of all, is the position of Japan and the events in Germany. But there are other reasons besides those arising from international politics. There is a more profound reason, namely, the recognition by many people of the fact that the system based on private profit is breaking down. Under these circumstances, it seems to me, we must not bring to the forefront the antagonism between the two worlds, but should strive to combine all the constructive movements, all the constructive forces in one line as much as possible. It seems to me that I am more to the Left than you, Mr. Stalin; I think the old system is nearer to its end than you think.

Stalin: In speaking of the capitalists who strive only for profit, only to get rich, I do not want to say that these are the most worthless people capable of nothing else. Many of them undoubtedly possess great organising talent, which I do not dream of denying. We Soviet people learn a great deal from the capitalists. And Morgan, whom you characterise so unfavourably, was undoubtedly a good, capable organiser. But if you mean people who are prepared to reconstruct the world, of course, you will not be able to find them in the ranks of those who faithfully serve the cause of profit. We and they stand at opposite poles. You mentioned Ford. Of course, he is a capable organiser of production. But don't you know his attitude towards the working class? Don't you know how many workers he throws on the street? The capitalist is riveted to profit, and no power on earth can tear him away from it. Capitalism will be abolished, not by "organisers" of production, not by the technical intelligentsia, but by the working class, because the aforementioned strata do not play an independent role. The engineer, the organiser of production does not work as he would like to, but as he is ordered, in such a way as to serve the interests of his employers. There are exceptions, of course: there are people in this stratum who have awakened from the intoxication of capitalism. The technical intelligentsia can, under certain conditions, perform miracles and greatly benefit mankind. But it can also cause great harm. We Soviet people have not a little experience of the technical intelligentsia. After the October Revolution, a certain section of the technical intelligentsia refused to take part in the work of constructing the new society; they opposed this work of construction and sabotaged it. We did all we possibly could to bring the technical intelligentsia into this work of construction; we tried this way and that. Not a little time passed before our technical intelligentsia agreed actively to assist the new system. To-day the best section of this technical intelligentsia are in the front ranks of the builders of socialist society. Having this experience, we are far from underestimating the good and the bad sides of the technical intelligentsia, and we know that on the one hand it can do harm, and on the other hand it can perform "miracles." Of course, things would be different if it were possible, at one stroke, spiritually to tear the technical intelligentsia away from the capitalist world. But that is Utopia. Are there many of the technical intelligentsia who would dare break away from the bourgeois world and set to work to reconstruct society? Do you think there are many people of this kind, say, in England or in France? No, there are few who would be willing to break away from their employers and begin reconstructing the world.

Besides, can we lose sight of the fact that in order to transform the world it is necessary to have political power? It seems to me, Mr. Wells, that you greatly underestimate the question of political power, that it entirely drops out of your conception. What can those, even with the best intentions in the world, do if they are unable to raise the question of seizing power, and do not possess power? At best they can help the class which takes power, but

they cannot change the world themselves. This can only be done by a **great class** which will take the place of the capitalist class and become the sovereign master as the latter was before. This class is the working class. Of course, the assistance of the technical intelligentsia must be accepted; and the latter, in turn, must be assisted. But it must not be thought that the technical intelligentsia can play an independent historical role. The transformation of the world is a great, complicated and painful process. For this great task a great class is required. *Big ships* go on long voyages.

Wells: Yes, but for long voyages a captain and a navigator are required.

Stalin: That is true, but what is first required for a long voyage is a big ship. What is a navigator without a ship? An idle man.

Wells: The big ship is humanity, not a class.

Stalin: You, Mr. Wells, evidently start out with the assumption that all men are good. I, however, do not forget that there are many wicked men. I do not believe in the goodness of the bourgeoisie.

Wells: I remember the situation with regard to the technical intelligentsia several decades ago. At that time the technical intelligentsia was numerically small, but there was much to do and every engineer, technician and intellectual found his opportunity. That is why the technical intelligentsia was the least revolutionary class. Now, however, there is a superabundance of technical intellectuals, and their mentality has changed very sharply. The skilled man, who would formerly never listen to revolutionary talk, is now greatly interested in it. Recently I was dining with the Royal Society, our great English scientific society. The President's speech was a speech for social planning and scientific control. Thirty years ago they would not have listened to what I say to them now. To-day, the man at the head of the Royal Society holds revolutionary views and insists on the scientific reorganisation of human society. Your class-war propaganda has not kept pace with these facts. Mentality changes.

Stalin: Yes, I know this, and this is to be explained by the fact that capitalist society is now in a *cul de sac*. The capitalists are seeking, but cannot find, a way out of this *cul de sac* that would be compatible with the dignity of this class, compatible with the interests of this class. They could, to some extent, crawl out of the crisis on their hands and knees, but they cannot find an exit that would enable them to walk out of it head raised high, a way out that would not fundamentally disturb the interests of capitalism. This, of course, is realised by wide circles of the technical intelligentsia. A large section of it is beginning to realise the community of its interest with those of the class which is capable of pointing the way out of the *cul de sac*.

Wells: You, of all people, know something about revolutions, Mr. Stalin, from the practical side. Do the masses ever rise? Is it not an established truth that all revolutions are made by a minority?

Stalin: To bring about a revolution a leading revolutionary minority is required, but the most talented, devoted and energetic minority would be helpless if it did not rely upon the at least passive support of millions.

Wells: At least passive? Perhaps sub-conscious?

Stalin: Partly also the semi-instinctive and semi-conscious, but without the support of millions the best minority is impotent.

Wells: I watch Communist propaganda in the West, and it seems to me that in modern conditions this propaganda sounds very old-fashioned, because it is insurrectionary propaganda. Propaganda in favour of the violent overthrow of the social system was all very well when it was directed against tyranny. But under modern conditions, when the system is collapsing anyhow, stress should be laid on efficiency, on competence, on productiveness, and not on insurrection. It seems to me that the insurrectionary note is obsolete. The Communist propaganda in the West is a nuisance to constructive-minded people.

Stalin: Of course, the old system is breaking down, decaying. That is true. But it is also true that new efforts are being made by other methods, by every means, to protect, to save this dying system. You draw a wrong conclusion from a correct postulate. You rightly state that the old world is breaking down. But you are wrong in thinking that it is breaking down of its own accord. No, the substitution of one social system for another is a complicated and long revolutionary process. It is not simply a spontaneous process, but a struggle, it is a process connected with the

clash of classes. Capitalism is decaying, but it must not be compared simply with a tree which has decayed to such an extent that it must fall to the ground of its own accord. No, revolution, the substitution of one social system for another, has always been a struggle, a painful and cruel struggle, a life and death struggle. And every time the people of the new world came into power they had to defend themselves against the attempts of the old world to restore the old order by force; these people of the new world always had to be on the alert, always had to be ready to repel the attacks of the old world upon the new system.

Yes, you are right when you say that the old social system is breaking down, but it is not breaking down of its own accord. Take fascism for example. Fascism is a reactionary force which is trying to preserve the old world by means of violence. What will you do with the fascists? Argue with them? Try to convince them? But this will have no effect upon them at all. Communists do not in the least idealise methods of violence. But they, the Communists, do not want to be taken by surprise, they cannot count on the old world voluntarily departing from the stage, they see that the old system is violently defending itself, and that is why the Communists say to the working class: answer violence with violence; do all you can to prevent the old dying order from crushing you; do not permit it to put manacles on your hands, on the hands with which you will overthrow the old system. As you see, the Communists regard the substitution of one social system for another, not simply as a spontaneous and peaceful process, but as a complicated, long and violent process. Communists cannot ignore facts.

Wells: But look at what is going on in the capitalist world. The collapse is not a simple one, it is the outbreak of reactionary violence which is degenerating into gangsterism. And it seems to me that when it comes to a conflict with reactionary and unintelligent violence, socialists can appeal to the law, and instead of regarding the police as the enemy they should support them in the fight against the reactionaries. I think that it is useless operating with the methods of the old rigid insurrectionary socialism.

Stalin: The Communists base themselves on rich historical experience which teaches that obsolete classes do not voluntarily abandon the stage of history. Recall the history of England in the seventeenth century. Did not many say that the old social system had decayed? But did it not, nevertheless, require a Cromwell to crush it by force?

Wells: Cromwell operated on the basis of the constitution and in the name of constitutional order.

Stalin: In the name of the constitution he resorted to violence, beheaded the king, dispersed Parliament, arrested some and beheaded others!

Or take an example from our history. Was it not clear for a long time that the tsarist system was decaying, was breaking down? But how much blood had to be shed in order to overthrow it?

And what about the October Revolution? Were there not plenty of people who knew that we alone, the Bolsheviks, were indicating the only correct way out? Was it not clear that Russian capitalism had decayed? But you know how great was the resistance, how much blood had to be shed in order to defend the October Revolution from all its enemies, internal and external.

Or take France at the end of the eighteenth century. Long before 1789 it was clear to many how rotten the royal power, the feudal system was. But a popular insurrection, a clash of classes was not, could not be avoided. Why? Because the classes which must abandon the stage of history are the last to become convinced that their role is ended. It is impossible to convince them of this. They think that the fissures in the decaying edifice of the old order can be mended, that the tottering edifice of the old order can be repaired and saved. That is why dying classes take to arms and resort to every means to save their existence as a ruling class.

Wells: But there were not a few lawyers at the head of the Great French Revolution.

Stalin: Do you deny the role of the intelligentsia in revolutionary movements? Was the Great French Revolution a lawyers' revolution and not a popular revolution, which achieved victory by rousing the vast masses of the people against feudalism and championed the interests of the Third Estate? And did the lawyers among the leaders of the Great French Revolution act in accordance with the laws of the old order? Did they not introduce new, bourgeois-revolutionary law?

The rich experience of history teaches that up to now not a single class has voluntarily made way for another class. There is no such precedent in world history. The Communists have learned this lesson of history. Communists would welcome the voluntary departure of the bourgeoisie. But such a turn of affairs is improbable; that is what experience teaches. That is why the Communists want to be prepared for the worst and call upon the working class to be vigilant, to be prepared for battle. Who wants a captain who lulls the vigilance of his army, a captain who does not understand that the enemy will not surrender, that he must be crushed? To be such a captain means deceiving, betraying the working class. That is why I think that what seems to you to be old-fashioned is in fact a measure of revolutionary expediency for the working class.

Wells: I do not deny that force has to be used, but I think the forms of the struggle should fit as closely as possible to the opportunities presented by the existing laws, which must be defended against reactionary attacks. There is no need to disorganise the old system because it is disorganising itself enough as it is. That is why it seems to me insurrection against the old order, against the law, is obsolete, old-fashioned. Incidentally, I deliberately exaggerate in order to bring the truth out more clearly. I can formulate my point of view in the following way: first, I am for order; second, I attack the present system in so far as it cannot assure order; third, I think that class war propaganda may detach from socialism just those educated people whom socialism needs.

Stalin: In order to achieve a great object, an important social object, there must be a main force, a bulwark, a revolutionary class. Next it is necessary to organise the assistance of an auxiliary force for this main force; in this case this auxiliary force is the Party, to which the best forces of the intelligentsia belong. Just now you spoke about "educated people." But what educated people did you have in mind? Were there not plenty of educated people on the side of the old order in England in the seventeenth century, in France at the end of the eighteenth century, and in Russia in the epoch of the October Revolution? The old order had in its service many highly educated people who defended the old order, who opposed the new order. Education is a weapon the effect of which is determined by the hands which wield it, by who is to be struck down. Of course, the proletariat, socialism, needs highly educated people. Clearly, simpletons cannot help the proletariat to fight for socialism, to build a new society. I do not underestimate the role of the intelligentsia; on the contrary, I emphasise it. The question is, however, which intelligentsia are we discussing? Because there are different kinds of intelligentsia.

Wells: There can be no revolution without a radical change in the educational system. It is sufficient to quote two examples: The example of the German Republic, which did not touch the old educational system, and therefore never became a republic; and the example of the British Labour Party, which lacks the determination to insist on a radical change in the educational system.

Stalin: That is a correct observation.

Permit me now to reply to your three points.

First, the main thing for the revolution is the existence of a social bulwark. This bulwark of the revolution is the working class.

Second, an auxiliary force is required, that which the Communists call a Party. To the Party belong the intelligent workers and those elements of the technical intelligentsia which are closely connected with the working class. The intelligentsia can be strong only if it combines with the working class. If it opposes the working class it becomes a cipher.

Third, political power is required as a lever for change. The new political power creates the new laws, the new order, which is revolutionary order.

I do not stand for any kind of order. I stand for order that corresponds to the interests of the working class. If, however, any of the laws of the old order can be utilised in the interests of the struggle for the new order, the old laws should be utilised. I cannot object to your postulate that the present system should be attacked in so far as it does not ensure the necessary order for the people.

And, finally, you are wrong if you think that the Communists are enamoured with violence. They would be very pleased to drop violent methods if the ruling class agreed to give way to the working class. But the experience of history speaks against such an assumption.

Wells: There was a case in the history of England, however, of a class voluntarily handing over power to another class. In the period between 1830 and 1870, the aristocracy, whose influence was

still very considerable at the end of the eighteenth century, voluntarily, without a severe struggle, surrendered power to the bourgeoisie, which served as a sentimental support of the monarchy. Subsequently, this transference of power led to the establishment of the rule of the financial oligarchy.

Stalin: But you have imperceptibly passed from questions of revolution to questions of reform. This is not the same thing. Don't you think that the Chartist movement played a great role in the reforms in England in the nineteenth century?

Wells: The Chartists did little and disappeared without leaving a trace.

Stalin: I do not agree with you. The Chartists, and the strike movement which they organised, played a great role; they compelled the ruling classes to make a number of concessions in regard to the franchise, in regard to abolishing the so-called "rotten boroughs," and in regard to some of the points of the "Charter." Chartism played a not unimportant historical role and compelled a section of the ruling classes to make certain concessions, reforms, in order to avert great shocks. Generally speaking, it must be said that of all the ruling classes, the ruling classes of England, both the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie, proved to be the cleverest, most flexible from the point of view of their class interests, from the point of view of maintaining their power. Take an example, say, from modern history: the general strike in England in 1926. The first thing any other bourgeoisie would have done in the face of such an event, when the General Council of Trade Unions called for a strike, would have been to arrest the trade union leaders. The British bourgeoisie did not do that, and it acted cleverly from the point of view of its own interests. I cannot conceive of such a flexible strategy being employed by the bourgeoisie in the United States, Germany, or France. In order to maintain their rule, the ruling classes of Great Britain have never foregone small concessions, reforms. But it would be a mistake to think that these reforms were revolutionary.

Wells: You have a higher opinion of the ruling classes of my country than I have. But is there a great difference between a small revolution and a great reform? Is not a reform a small revolution?

Stalin: Owing to pressure from below, the pressure of the masses, the bourgeoisie may sometimes concede certain partial reforms while remaining on the basis of the existing social-economic system. Acting in this way, it calculates that these concessions are necessary in order to preserve its class rule. This is the essence of reform. Revolution, however, means the transference of power from one class to another. That is why it is impossible to describe any reform as revolution. That is why we cannot count on the change of social systems taking place as an imperceptible transition from one system to another by means of reforms, by the ruling class making concessions.

Wells: I am very grateful to you for this talk which has meant a great deal to me. In explaining things to me you probably called to mind how you had to explain the fundamentals of socialism in the illegal circles before the revolution. At the present time there are in the world only two persons to whose opinion, to whose every word, millions are listening: you and Roosevelt. Others may preach as much as they like; what they say will never be printed or heeded. I cannot yet appreciate what has been done in your country; I only arrived yesterday. But I have already seen the happy faces of healthy men and women, and I know that something very considerable is being done here. The contrast with 1920 is astounding.

Stalin: Much more would have been done had we Bolsheviks been cleverer.

Wells: No, if human beings were cleverer. It would be a good thing to invent a Five-Year Plan for the reconstruction of the human brain which obviously lacks many things needed for a perfect social order. (Laughter.)

Stalin: Don't you intend to stay for the Congress of the Soviet Writers' Union?

Wells: Unfortunately, I have various engagements to fulfil and I can stay in the U.S.S.R. only for a week. I came to see you and I am very satisfied by our talk. But I intend to discuss with such Soviet writers as I can meet the possibility of their affiliating to the P.E.N. Club. This is an international organisation of writers founded by Galsworthy; after his death I became President. The organisation is still weak, but it has branches in many countries and what is more important, the speeches of its members are widely reported in the press. It insists upon this—free expression of opinion—even of opposition opinion. I hope to discuss this

point with Gorki. I do not know if you are prepared yet for that much freedom here. . . .

Stalin: We Bolsheviks call it "self-criticism." It is widely used in the U.S.S.R.

If there is anything I can do to help you I shall be glad to do so.

Wells: (Expresses thanks.)

Stalin: (Expresses thanks for the visit.)

(Recorded by C. Oumansky.)

Students' World Congress

Problems of the Students

By A. Robert

The students of to-day, for the most part, were born either shortly before the war or during the war. They know capitalism only from its period of decline and so can have no trust in this system. On the other hand, the high schools allege—and in general this is the conception of their functions—that the students form the leading functionaries of the social system. This contradiction between the stated purpose of the high schools and reality is an important reason for the "crisis in the world outlook of life" among the students in all capitalist countries.

The bourgeois university, according to its own programme, is an institute for "research and learning." It has no direct, planned relationship to social production. This relationship, normally, is regulated through the market: the labour market, and economic possibilities to utilise inventions and scientific work. The separation of science from production corresponds to a society in which there is a class of producers and a class of exploiters. The students, who are to take over the technical management of the system of exploitation of the ruling class, who therefore must devote themselves loyally to the ruling class, receive a special education which divides them from the broad masses of the exploited, and is not accessible to them.

From this system of separation of science and production and the apparent independence of science from social life, follow the theories of "freedom of science," "freedom of the high schools," "freedom of students."

In the period of the decline of capitalism these theories have been fundamentally destroyed. Economic misery teaches the students that they are in no way independent of economic conditions; the economy measures taken to reduce the expenditure for the high schools, refute the thesis of the freedom of the university. The crisis developing in science in connection with the economic crisis shows the dependence of science on social affairs.

A very large percentage of the students come from petty bourgeois strata. While, in general, one can say, in connection with this strata that, in the crisis, they have been completely deprived of their role as an independent factor of social life, the students have never played such a role. Actually the student has no place of his own in the process of production, he has two points at which he touches social life: First, through his parents, who keep him; secondly, through the social position which he thinks of entering. In the future, he wants the bourgeoisie to give him a good position, or he hopes himself to rise into the ranks of the bourgeoisie. Thus the ideology arises that the student has a specially responsible role to play in social life.

In the crisis, the premises for the ideology, so favourable to the bourgeoisie, is shattered. On the one hand the petty bourgeoisie is ground down as an independent class; on the other hand, there is no further room for hopes of the future. In the period of decline the forces which are academically educated are, to a large extent, replaced by a parasitic army of overseers and defenders of the system, which directly serves the bourgeoisie. This army consists of the mass of the lower executive officials whom the bourgeoisie uses for the maintaining of their rule, and, on the other hand, in wide sections of factory overseers, who are brought into the factories by the system of rationalisation. If there is any hope for the students it is to enter this parasitic apparatus, which gives them no possibility for independent activity. To a large number of university men such activity appears as a stop gap and cannot in any way satisfy them. A long period of education stands in contrast to comparatively simple work, which creates the feeling in the university man, that he has become a "superfluous being," who is only tolerated in the process of production. And so the student becomes more than ever rooted up by the crisis.

The post-war generation of students has grown up with bour-

geois ideas of love of the fatherland, of national pride. The fathers of many of them fell in the war. Thousands of the students of war time sacrificed themselves for the idea of the fatherland. The students of to-day are justified to ask whether it has led. They are faced with a world pregnant with war, as never before; they recognise the catastrophic effects of the so-called peace treaties, they see the oppression of numberless peoples. All conceptions of bourgeois foreign policy have been thoroughly shaken. The post-war students are asking themselves whether they want a repetition of the bloody experiences of their fathers and of the students of 1914.

These are the most important reasons for a crisis in the outlook on life among the students. The problem of a world outlook is a practical question for them. They know that difficult decisions are to be faced, and they are therefore enrolling in political groups. All know that something must be done. The conditions for their political decisions have their roots in their social position; this means on the one hand a loosening of their connection with the ruling class but, on the other hand, makes the recognition of class relationships more difficult.

The fascists declare that they have found the patented solution of all these questions. Actually their demagogic arguments fit in in many respects with the conceptions of petty bourgeois students.

To the uncertainty and the vacillating attitude of the students, who would like some firm point to hold on to they answer with the theory of "the young, strong man," who through his iron will will bring everything on to the right lines: the Führer (the leader). By this means they achieve two things: First, the students are given a mystical belief in a better future, without coming to understand the conditions of this better future—the overthrow of the exploiting class. Secondly, the conception of the fight of the generations is brought in—it is stated that the "old men" have done everything badly, and now the new "young" man must put everything right. This conception of the fight of the generations has only the purpose of bringing the youth into opposition to their parents, and putting the blame for poverty, not on to the system, but on to the older generation.

Since the idea of the "freedom" of science, of the high schools and of students, has been destroyed once and for all, the fascists declare science to be "allied with the people." or in the "service of the State." "Libro e moschetto" (book and musket), that is Mussolini's slogan for schools and universities. "National Socialist High Schools," say the Nazis. The crisis of science is veiled, in the place of the conception of "freedom" is put a mystical "alliance" of science. The blame for the phenomena of crisis in intellectual life is put on the shoulders of "liberalism." At the same time the battle cry of "political science" serves as a cover for militarist measures.

The fascists also want to solve the question of war or the "reformation of Europe," and of the world. Fascism declares that questions of foreign policy can only be solved when one is strong at home. This is the chief argument for militarisation. Important tasks fall to the students in this process of militarisation. They serve as technical special troops, and as lower officers in the fascist mass army. Apart from that, almost all fascist movements have a programme for the "reorganisation of Europe," or something similar, i.e., the fascist revision of the treaties and intervention in the Soviet Union, programmes which naturally change, according to the country and conditions. They say that the youth of the university are called to prepare for such "reorganisation." In practice mutual visits of fascist students of certain State groups or minorities are staged, the purpose of which is the establishment of alliances for the creation of certain revisionist blocks.

In this way fascism attempts, with the help of demagogic manoeuvres, to utilise the difficult position of the students, to rope them in for the interests of the bourgeoisie. They cannot succeed in one thing: They cannot abolish the crisis on the basis of which has arisen the intellectual crisis of the students. Now, as before, the student is demanding to be drawn into the social process of production; he saw his function as a "political soldier" as temporary, and expects, with the ending of the "national revolution," possibilities to be created for the employment of academically trained forces. He knows that science allied with the people is only a phrase, which in most cases only hides the crassest ignorance and only serves political purposes.

These facts must continually be brought before the eyes of the students. Anti-fascist students understand the fight of the

youth for a world outlook which offers a practical solution of the problems of the present. The World Congress of Students will give plenty of opportunity for the discussion of all these questions.

The students of the Soviet Union will also report to the World Congress of Students on how they have solved these problems. They will show that the question of a new world outlook is solved in the moment when the parasitic class of the bourgeoisie is overcome. They will show that science and culture flourish where they grow in close connection with the process of production of a rising society. The question of world outlook cannot be solved of itself alone. Bread, peace, profession—these are what the student demands, and for which he fights, that is the meaning of the search for a world outlook.

Trade Union Movement

Bankruptcy of Fascist Trade Unions in Austria

By G. Grau (Vienna)

The Austro-fascist dictatorship, unlike that in Germany, was not set up by an oppositional party; in the course of a lengthy process of fascistisation it grew directly out of bourgeois democracy and was established by the parties of the Christian Socialists and the Heimwehr, that had been governing in Austria for years. Responsible and made responsible for the capitalist policy of plundering the masses, they could make use of social demagoguery only with difficulty and with slight success.

Only in Vienna, where social democracy was governing, did the fascist demagogues make the most of their oppositional positions on behalf of "anti-Marxism." But that alone did not enable them to create a mass organisation in Austria, and in winning the discontented masses they were outstripped by their national socialist competitors.

When, with the suppression of the February rising, the Austro-fascist dictatorship developed fully, its first care had to be the creation of a mass basis. In this, the decisive matter was the attempt to win over large sections of the working class. A wave of "conciliatory speeches" and promises of social measures swept over the workers. To crown everything, the Austrian Trade Union Federation was finally established, with the monopoly right to conclude collective agreements and the task of catching those who had been organised in the Free Trade Unions and win them over to Austro-fascism under the slogan of "Collaboration for the Fatherland."

From the first moment the Communist Party began mobilising the working class for the fight against the fascist trade union federation. It issued the slogan of the strictest boycott of this organisation and revealed the true character of the fascist experiment. The boycott slogan fell on fertile soil. Not even the enlistment of social-democratic trade union officials for collaboration in the fascist united trade union succeeded in confusing the workers. On the contrary, the workers combined their hatred for the fascist oppressors with contempt for the cowardly social-democratic deserters. Let Privy Councillor *Palla*, the social-democratic director of the Labour Chamber, get himself a soft job in the fascist trade union; let a few dozen social-democratic secretaries be taken over for various functions; let Kogler and Company crown their treachery even by bringing back trade union funds that had been taken abroad for safety—the workers were not allowing themselves to be caught. Despite police and spies, they have come out openly in hundreds of meetings against the fascist trade unions.

To-day, as the conference of the C.P.A. stated in a resolution, one may speak of the "obvious failure of the attempt to organise the working class in fascist unity trade unions." The figures published by the trade unions themselves concerning their membership could not be plainer. The Trade Union Federation gave its membership as 132,869. This is considerably less than the numbers of the yellow trade unions (Christian-Socialist, Nazi and Heimwehr), which decided to go over to the Federation. Thus not even the whole membership of the yellow unions has been got hold of, which shows how deeply the mistrust of the government trade

union has penetrated already even into those sections of the working class which favour peace in industry. Of the round 500,000 formerly organised in the Free Trade Unions, 70,214 are supposed to have joined the Federation—not even 15 per cent., that is. The picture becomes still clearer when it is realised that the Federation numbers no fewer than 73,512 unemployed among its members. More than half its membership is unemployed. The unemployed, however, have only joined the Federation in order to claim trade union unemployment relief; for the unity union they are purely a "business loss." There can here be no question of political sympathy among the unemployed: on the contrary, they generally drop out again when their claim to relief has come to an end. It is also significant that only 101,694 persons are paying dues; 30,000, nearly one quarter, are not paying any dues. These are primarily the workers who, through pressure of various kinds, have been forced to join the united trade union so as not to lose their jobs. But they systematically avoid payment of dues.

Under these circumstances it is not surprising if the Trade Union Federation suffers from a serious financial deficit. In the first six months of this year its income amounted to 373,200 schillings, expenditure to 745,000 schillings. This expenditure was made up almost entirely of salaries (189,000 schillings), agitation (434,000 schillings), and press (118,000 schillings). For relief and legal aid there remained 6,500 schillings.

In view of the obvious bankruptcy of this manœuvre the government must keep a look-out for fresh plans and fresh forms of demagoguery. And it is a main part of the critical state of affairs that the fascists are unable to agree among themselves. Starhemberg and the Heimwehr want to give up all attempts to win over the class-conscious working class for the Austro-fascist system, in order at least not to irritate the workers further.

Schuschnigg and the Christian Socials are not disinclined to regain the collaboration of the old reformist leadership (also for the sake of forming a reserve against their momentary allies of the Heimwehr). Delicate feelers in this direction were put out round about 25th July. The government did not meet with absolute refusal in this respect. Indeed, *Otto Bauer*, who has flirted with the dictatorship of the proletariat, himself writes: "An understanding with the working class would be incomparably more difficult to-day than it would have been before February" (our italics)—"Kampf," August, 1934. "Incomparably more difficult": not out of the question, then! And certainly not out of the question for trade union bureaucrats, if only one makes them a few concessions that enable them to deceive the workers with something about "successes" or "democratic relaxation of the dictatorship." The trade union bureaucrats will not be wanting if only Austro-fascism will give them the chance of resuming the thread of what they were saying before February—that they were ready to collaborate in the corporate system of society.

But the working class will be wanting. For the workers have got beyond the first phase of their resistance, beyond the mere boycotting of the fascist trade unions. Under the leadership and slogans of the Communist Party the workers are rebuilding their old Free Trade Unions. In a number of important undertakings the Free Trade Union cells are considerably stronger than the fascist sham union. In the most important industries, among the metal workers, the railwaymen, the chemical workers, the employees of the City of Vienna, there exist well-organised Free Trade Unions, which are beginning to mobilise the masses around them for the struggle for their daily interests up to the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship. In the Free Trade Unions Communists, Social Democrats and non-party men are working together. Despite all attempts to split them the workers are sticking together in their organisations and they have also resisted all attempts to bring the Free Unions back under the yoke of social democracy. The working class of Austria will also resist the attempt, by bribing their former leaders, to bring them under the yoke of the fascist dictatorship. For the working class there is only the unrelenting, uncompromising struggle against the fascist dictatorship.

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

Speech of Comrade Molotov on the Abolition of Food Cards

Moscow, December 1.

All the newspapers are publishing the report given by the chairman of the Council of People's Commissars at the Plenum of the Central Committee, on the abolition of the card system.

Molotov declared that this question has now matured and must be dealt with accordingly. Six years ago the system of food rationing by means of cards was introduced, for the reason that the industrialisation of the country, at the speed laid down by the Party, was to be assured in face of the then extreme backwardness of agriculture. The card system was not introduced at a moment when national economy was depressed, for the upward trend had already commenced but was threatened by the backwardness of the small individual peasant farm. In order to prevent a fiasco of industrialisation in consequence of this backwardness, we were obliged to devote special attention to the bread supplies for the workers in the towns, and in the rural districts supplying the raw materials for the light industries. We succeeded in achieving the steady advance of the industries in these six years. We accomplished the first Five-Year Plan and are now carrying through the second with equal success. We have made it possible for the industries, in the course of their advance, to create for themselves an increasingly firm basis in socialist large-scale agriculture. All this would have been impossible without the organisation of the bread supplies, without the card system. We now abolish the rationing of bread at a moment when the industries are not only striding confidently forward, but agriculture, too, is on the path of rapid progress. The collectivisation of agriculture now enters the epoch of real upswing, and is in a position to ensure supplies of bread much more efficiently than in former years—this has been demonstrated in particular by grain collecting and grain purchase of 1934.

What has been the organisation of the bread supplies in the period just elapsed, the six and seven years in which we had our bread rationed? In spite of the enormous growth of the towns in this period, and in spite of the steadily increasing supplies of industrial plants from the rural districts, we have been successful in securing the bread supplies for the industrial centres and for the districts cultivating industrial plants. When the card system was introduced the grain collection made from the crops of 1928 amounted to 650 million poods. With this quantity we could not rule the grain market and abolish grain speculation. This year the State will have at least one and a half million poods of grain at its disposal. With regard to other foods, the contrast is even greater. In 1928 there were 416 million poods of foodstuffs available, in 1934 we may calculate that there will be about one milliard poods in the hands of the State. These figures speak for themselves. How closely bound up these figures are with the transformation of the village may be seen from the fact that at that time the individual peasant farmers were growing 86 per cent. of the grain collected by the State, and the collective and Soviet farms, only 14 per cent. Now it is the large-scale undertakings which are raising 92 per cent. and the individual farmers only 8 per cent. It is solely due to the fact that the Party has fought with the utmost energy for the collectivisation of agriculture and for the securing of industrialisation, that we have been able to attain this success in the collection of grain. We can now advance further in the organisation of food supplies.

When we introduced the card system our enemies immediately prophesied the inevitable collapse of the Soviet Power. But reality now laughs at these prophets. The introduction of the card system was one of those circumstances which greatly promoted the vacillations of the Right and left elements in the Party. The alarms and protests of the Right-Left opportunists against the determined course taken by the Party towards the collectivisation of the village, and against the whole policy pursued for the extermination of the last remnants of capitalism,

increased with the introduction of the card system. The Party remained firm and proceeded on its successful path, so that we are now able to abolish the card system—a fresh victory, which will find expression in the greater upsurge of socialist economy and in the further improvement of the provisioning of the toiling masses.

Molotov dealt in detail with the purposes of the card system, and with the manner in which its abolition has been prepared.

At the present moment the total number of persons provisioned from the centralised and local reserves is over 50 millions. The increase during the last few years may be seen from the following figures: In the towns 25 million persons were supplied with bread in 1930, 33.2 millions in 1931, 40.3 millions in 1932, 38 millions in 1933, and 40.3 millions in 1934. The falling off in 1933 is due to the organisation of factory departments for the immediate supplying of the workers, enabling the lists of workers and employees to be cleared of persons who had nothing to do with the undertakings, and had obtained cards without being entitled to them. If the total number of persons provisioned from State sources is counted, including those supplied by the local centres, the number now being provisioned is considerably greater. The number of workers, employees, students, pensioners and other groups total 25 million persons. To these there must be added 24 million members of families and one million handicraftsmen. Thus the total number of persons supplied from the centralised and local reserves is 50 millions and more. The apparatus called into being to organise the rationing on cards was tremendously inflated, caused enormous expense, and suffered from many bureaucratic excrescences. Nevertheless, it accomplished its main task—it secured supplies to the workers and employees at low prices, although the prices in free trading were extremely high for bread and other foods in the towns. The State also required large quantities of grain for the provisioning of the rural population in districts cultivating technical plants. Expenditure for various types of goods increased from year to year. But without this it was impossible to secure increased supplies of these goods. How these increases were achieved may be seen from the following figures. 1928-1934 the cotton supplies increased by 65 per cent., flax fibre 70, yellow tobacco 70, wood 124, peltry 128, fish 41 per cent. Comrade Kleiner, well versed in these matters, is of the opinion that in the industrial plant regions the provision of goods from the State funds has enabled about 24 million persons to be provided with bread. It will be seen that large amounts of grain are required to provision these rural areas. We have, however, been obliged to ensure supplies from the State grain reserves at low prices, so that the raw materials required by the light industries might be secured. The Government has carried on a constant struggle for the improvement of the organisation of the supplies of bread and other foods. For this purpose decentralised provisioning has been greatly developed, and the works and factories have organised food supply centres of their own for the workers, foremen, and employees. The increased goods turnover and the extension of trade have been of great importance for the preparations for abolishing the card system. The number of State and co-operative shops and centres, numbering 123,000 in 1928, has increased to 283,000. Private trade has dwindled correspondingly. In 1928 there were still 215,000 private businesses and shops; private trade is now almost non-existent. The retail trade turnover, amounting to 15.5 milliard roubles in 1928, is estimated at 61 milliards for the present year.

Points of special importance for the preparations for abolishing the card system have been the development of commercial trade, which already extends to one-quarter of the goods turnover, and the increase of collective farming trade. The amounts of agricultural products brought on the markets of the 28 largest

towns have increased by about 75 per cent. in 1934 as compared with 1933. Thanks to the development of commercial trade it has been possible to lower the high market prices of bread and other foods very considerably. If the prices demanded in September, 1934, are compared with those of 1933, it will be seen that the price of rye bread has dropped by 37 per cent., rye flour by 33, wheat bread by 25, wheat flour by 47, millet by 44 per cent.

Molotov then stressed the great importance of the People's Commissariat for Home Trade, formed this summer. The role played by this institution in the State regulation of trade increases greatly with the abolition of the card system. Molotov showed how the card system had been utilised to secure the advance of the industries and the socialist transformation of agriculture. The grain resources of the State have increased unprecedentedly. Hence the day has come to abolish the card system for bread and some other products. The day has come to free ourselves from this burden and to organise afresh. The transition to the general free sale of bread and flour may be rightly claimed to represent a fresh great victory of Bolshevik policy, and a pre-condition for the further progress of industry and agriculture—an important pre-requisite for the improvement of supplies.

And what about the grain distribution next year, when there will be no card system? asked Molotov. The reply: In 1935 the State will have at its disposal grain reserves greater by 120 million poods than this year. We are fully supplied with grain till the fresh crops come in in 1935. We have made our calculation of grain reserves for next year, so that we are secure even if the unlikely possibility should arise of a considerable increase in the demand for bread in the towns and the industrial plant districts. Molotov then read the data issued by the State Commission on the crops of grain in 1934. These data may only be taken as temporary, but must none the less be accorded due consideration. According to these figures, the grain crop is about the same as last year. Thanks to the improved organisation of harvest work, the population will, however, have 250-300 million poods more grain at its disposal than last year. All this has enabled Stalin to raise the question of the abolition of the card system. The Political Bureau of the Central Committee has fully approved Stalin's proposal, and has submitted it to the Plenum of the Central Committee for confirmation.

The abolition of the card system must be carried out in such a manner that the supplies for the workers are improved, and at the same time the interest of the peasants in the production of industrial plants is increased. The decision to abolish the card system for bread, flour, and barley groats, from January 1 onwards, will pave the way for the abolition of the rationing of all products and goods.

The fixing of a uniform price will put a stop to speculation in bread, which has been promoted by the existence of high commercial prices and low rationed prices. Speculation with bread obtained from the villages will be eliminated by the meeting of demand on the markets by the bread trade of the State and co-operative shops, which enable considerably lower prices to be demanded than the present commercial ones. Molotov further dealt with the necessity of fixing uniform prices, according to district. For this purpose the Soviet Union will be divided into eight bread price districts. Since the abolition of the card system will be accompanied by a slight increase in prices, the wages of the workers and employees must be correspondingly increased. According to the May decisions of the Council of People's Commissars and of the Central Committee, the wages of the lower paid categories of workers and employees only were raised, but the present wage rises will apply to all categories. These increases in wages will differ in the different zones. In those places where the bread supplies have been entirely rationed up to now, the wage rises will be higher. The sum total of the increased wage expenditure will be 4.2 milliard roubles, or more than 10 per cent. of the present annual wage expenditure. Since the price of bread will be fixed at an average of 30-35 per cent. lower than the present commercial prices, these sections of the city populations will gain considerably by the abolition of the bread rationing, apart from their wage rises.

Molotov then stressed the necessity of increasing the prices of cotton, flax, hemp, tobacco, and other agricultural products, in order to spur on the collective farmers to cultivate technical plants. Molotov pointed out that these increases in prices will

cause great additional expense to the State. The expenditure must be compensated with the aid of the higher price for bread, but not in a manner reacting on the industrial prices. Our task is to carry out the decision in such a way that the expenditure does not exceed the receipts. The present estimates show that the projected reform can be carried through on lines ensuring a balancing of expenditure and revenue. We cannot, however, make it our aim that the State is to gain any extra revenue by means of the reform. Molotov went on to describe a number of practical tasks to be accomplished in improving bread supplies, the necessity of developing the trade network, etc. The replacement of the card system by trade is one of the best symptoms of the increasing powers of the Soviet Union, a sign of the successful reorganisation of agriculture, and of the fresh successes of socialism in our country. We have become stronger and can therefore abolish the card system. The present decision will be of enormous importance for the whole people, and will take its effect in the whole economic life of the country and its further political consolidation.

The Party invariably regards the policy of lowering prices as the foundation for the development of trade. Favourable pre-requisites are now offered for the carrying out of this policy. The substitution of the much lower State prices for the high commercial prices will have an immediate effect in lowering the market prices. Not only the prices of bread, but the prices of other food-stuffs will sink. The considerable reduction in the market price of bread will result in a considerable lowering of the market prices of other products. There can be no doubt that we shall now have the possibility of further reducing the prices now fixed for bread, flour, and barley groats. We shall certainly attain a lowering of the commercial and market prices of industrial goods. The rises in wages are not to lead to any increase in the prices of industrial goods. We are now creating the preconditions for lowering the prices of food and industrial goods. The Soviet rouble too will be thereby consolidated. The dual prices weakened the rouble, the uniform bread prices will consolidate it.

This consolidation of the rouble is in the interests of the toiling masses. It will ensure the carrying out of our plans, place the State apparatus on a sounder footing, strengthen the alliance between the workers and peasants, and facilitate the further upswing of national economy—the development of socialism in our country. The stability of the rouble will increase the value of wages in industry. Wages will become the main regulative factor, and wage increases will give fresh impetus to the efforts of the workers and employees. The most important prerequisite for the development of our socialist country consists of the development of trade and the consolidation of the rouble.

Now not only all industry is in the hands of the State, but agriculture too has practically completed its socialist reorganisation. All the essential factors of agriculture are now in the hands of the collective and Soviet farms. And finally, the goods turnover in both town and country are in the hands of the State and of the co-operative system indissolubly bound up with it. When we speak of the development of trade, we speak of the goods turnover between the socialist town and the collectivised village. The development of trade now projected is the trade without private traders, without capitalists, and without speculators: the development of Soviet trade. Its large-scale development has become one of the decisive preconditions needed by our whole economic advance, and the consolidation of the alliance between the workers and peasants. Even during the years of the New Economic Policy, when private dealers and capitalists still existed, trading enabled us to promote our alliance with agriculture. We provided our agricultural undertakings with machinery. In this way the path was smoothed for the reorganisation of the village. Even then the development of our trade was of great importance. Under the present conditions, now that the Soviet trade is being developed without capitalists, the development of the goods turnover between town and country is of no less importance for the further socialist advance of our country. We have initiated the abolition of the card system, beginning with bread, and open up thereby broad possibilities for the development of Soviet trade. Under new conditions, and by new ways, trade and money will be made to serve the cause of Communism. There is no doubt that they can be made to serve us better than before. May they serve our cause well. We are striding forward rapidly and certainly. Here again the correctness of the policy of our Party is exemplified.

Science in the Soviet Union

By Kolman

The victory of socialism in the Soviet Union is the most outstanding feature in present-day history. The energy and will of the working class in power has, in an astonishingly short period, transformed one of the most backward countries into a modern industrial State with collectivised agriculture—a land of culture where is developing a new type of human being to form the countless cadres of the new proletarian intelligentsia.

By means of the technical revolution in the Soviet Union, the era of the steam engine and of capitalism has been replaced by the era of electricity, of socialism. The overwhelming majority of the technical intelligentsia of the pre-revolutionary period have joined in the active struggle for the new technique. Strong cadres of specialists have arisen from the ranks of the working class. Millions of toilers have set themselves as their life task the mastery of science and technique. The technical revolution in the Soviet Union became possible only by means of the rational utilisation of the technical experience of the leading capitalist countries, the establishment of a wide-flung network of scientific institutes and laboratories, and the gigantic expansion of scientific thought within the country. The mighty achievements of science are the very basis of that which we term the cultural revolution, which in its turn is an important factor in that great process of the transformation of the country.

The Soviet Union, in which at present fifty million persons are studying—every third or fourth Soviet citizen is engaged in some form of organised study—can point to the following advances in the field of science: In the beginning of the First Five-Year plan there were 222 institutes of scientific research; now there are over 800. There were then twenty thousand scientific workers, and now fifty thousand. In 1934 the total appropriation for cultural development amounted to 13.8 milliard roubles. One must here take into account the fact that in tsarist Russia there were but 18 scientific institutes, while to-day the Soviet Academy of Science alone has 80. Under the Soviet power academies of science were established in the Ukraine, in White Russia and in other republics. Together with these must be mentioned the Communist Academy with its institutes for sociology and economics, an Agricultural Academy, etc. In contrast to tsarist Russia and the capitalist countries, scientific work is not only done in the chief cities. Scientific institutes are coming into existence more and more in districts that were formerly "god-forsaken" and uncivilised, in the distant frontier districts of the Soviet Union, in the Caucasus, Siberia, etc., to say nothing of the growing network of factory laboratories. These latter bring science closer to production, encourage the movement of worker inventors, take men and women workers from the ranks of the employees and train them for scientific work.

The results of this application to science, which is part of Socialist construction since it, in contrast to all social systems existing hitherto, represents the scientific social order, are to be seen in every field of science.

In tsarist Russia the natural sciences were in a pitiful condition. Theory was inert, detached from practice and possessed a miserable material basis. Thus, for example, S. I. Vavilov describes physics in tsarist Russia in the following words:

"Fundamentally physics did not exist in Russia. It developed episodically, without the various phases being connected one with the other. Only now and then, very seldom, some discoveries or other were made in the country which at home were noticed by nobody and abroad were generally noted too late as historical curiosities."

In the Soviet Union to-day there exists for physical research a whole network of newly built institutes with the most up-to-date equipment. In Leningrad alone there are four, one of them being the Physical-Technical Institute, which under the direction of Professor Joffe has achieved world renown and has no equal in all Europe. The network of physics institutes extends throughout the whole Union. They exist in Kharkov, Tomsk, Sverdlovsk, etc. They have already performed outstanding work which has been published in foreign scientific journals as well as at home. As far as the amount of published scientific work containing original results is concerned, the physicists of the Soviet Union have already worked themselves up to second place among the countries of the world. With regard to the production of precision instruments for scientific work, the Soviet Union has achieved

an indisputable position. The Soviet workshops for the production of delicate instruments and optical apparatus, as well as the laboratories, produce the most complicated and accurate apparatus and tools.

To this account of successes in the field of physics may be added those in physical chemistry, organic and inorganic chemistry and several branches of biology, including the well-known achievements of Soviet biologists in the branches of genetics and selection, and the researches into reflexes with which the name of Professor Pavlov and his school is connected.

In the field of medicine must be mentioned the establishment of the important Institute of Experimental Medicine in the Soviet Union. Abandoning the rule-of-thumb methods and semi-quackery of the medicine of tsarist Russia, Soviet medicine and psychology sought new paths, utilising all the latest discoveries of modern physics, chemistry and biology.

The work of the Soviet geologists has materially assisted the Five-Year Plans through the discovery of hitherto unknown mineral resources in this vast land.

All this has been accompanied by a struggle for the transformation of the theory of science. The struggle of the materialistic dialectical viewpoint against the idealistic conclusions drawn from modern work in the natural sciences is by no means terminated. To extract the sound kernel from the natural sciences and to fling away its idealistic husk is a task which may only be accomplished when one has studied in the practical philosophical school, upon the basis of the concrete content of the particular science concerned. Such a task requires long and diligent study, in the course of which the scientist must apply himself to philosophy, and the philosopher to science. In the Soviet Union both of those are applying themselves successfully to this task. Both practical scientists and theorists in the Soviet Union realise that one does not go far with the conceptions which bourgeois science has given us. The philosophers realise that dialectics cannot be injected into the natural sciences from without, but must be derived from nature itself.

While the natural sciences have centuries of development behind them, the sociological sciences, as real sciences, are only a few decades old. But it is precisely in regard to sociology and economics that Marxism-Leninism occupies the leading place, so much as concerns scientific cadres as method and content. In the philosophical sphere dialectical materialism successfully overcomes all distortions deriving from various groups which would like to substitute something else for it; it develops the struggle against all idealistic schools of bourgeois philosophers and works out the philosophy of Marxism with regard to the new epoch and the new tasks.

Marxist-Leninist philosophy was able in the Soviet Union to overcome mechanistic teaching—a tendency that has remained on the metaphysical (that is to say, anti-dialectical) level of eighteenth century materialism. It overcame, too, Menshevik idealism—a school of thought which divided theory from practice, philosophy from politics, and thus arrived at bourgeois "objectivity."

Soviet philosophers are occupied with the analysis of a series of new problems arising in connection with the abolition of the last remnants of capitalism in the national economy and in human consciousness. They study the process of fascisation which has gripped a number of capitalist countries; they present the history of science and technique and that of philosophy from a new point of view.

Similarly, a struggle against the distortions of Marxism-Leninism had also, as in the sphere of philosophy, to be carried on by the Soviet economists and historians. The economists of the Soviet Union now have the task of studying the laws underlying the development of the present stage of Soviet economy, of establishing its periods, of solving the problems that arise in the reconstruction of all branches of economy, the problems of the assimilation of technique, of transport and the circulation of commodities, etc.

Soviet historians are performing a great work. In the struggle against the bourgeois writing of history—which sees in history the struggle of the classes, but in its place the deeds of "great men," emperors and heroes—certain exaggerations crept in, that personalities, concrete events and other particulars were crowded out by the sociological structure. Soviet historians have now made good this error and are now diligently engaged in the

study and presentation of both Russian and world history from the earliest periods to the present time.

All the achievements of Soviet science and its entire development have been attained under the immediate leadership, and receive the powerful support, of the Communist Party. The Party pursues a policy, as outlined in its programme, of "increased material support by the State for the development of science." With its programme and its actions it defends the Leninist principle of the class character of science; it propagates and broadens the scientific-revolutionary philosophy of the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism. This teaching of Marx and Engels, which Lenin enriched and developed still further, is carried on yet further in the works of Stalin. In his theoretical and practical activity is embodied the creative power of the Communist Party, the Party of militant materialism.

A New Masterpiece of Soviet Film Art

The film art of the Soviet Union celebrated the Seventeenth Anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution and its own Fifteenth Anniversary, which is shortly approaching, by the creation of "*Chapaev*," a wonderful inspiring film, created by the *Vasiliev* brothers, young Leningrad directors. From the political, the artistic and the technical point of view, "*Chapaev*" belongs to the greatest treasures of Soviet film art. Within the framework of an animated and thrilling description, the film truthfully portrays one of the most important phases of the civil war.

In 1918 the iron ring of interventionists and White Guards tightened more and more closely around the young Soviet Republic. The Soviet Republic could oppose the White Army, which was well-equipped by the imperialists, only by the poorly trained, hungry and barefooted worker and peasant troops who were strong only by their boundless courage, readiness to sacrifice and will for victory.

Chapaev, a poor peasant from a Volga village, is one of the bravest commanders of one of the bodies of partisans which in 1918-19 fought against the Czech Legions who operated in the Volga district, against Kolchak and the White Guards bands of the Ural cossacks. Together with his military ability, Chapaev possessed outstanding intelligence and an iron will. He was very much loved by his men and by the poor peasants, from whose ranks new fighters kept streaming into his body of men, which later grew into one of the best divisions of the Red Army. Up to the present day this Division is still called the "*Chapaev Division*."

However, apart from these excellent qualities, Chapaev was prone to fall into the mistake of conducting partisan warfare in an undisciplined manner. But the Party of Lenin, in the person of Commissar *Furmanov*, understood how to direct Chapaev's energy into the right and correct channels. (*Furmanov*, the dead Communist poet, is the author of the book "*Chapaev*," which served the directors as material for the scenario.) Step by step, carefully, and with a delicate sense of tact, *Furmanov* directs Chapaev's steps, and this "peasant army commander" is gradually transformed from a spontaneous partisan fighter into an ever more conscious fighter for the cause of the proletariat. While *Furmanov* works in this way to re-educate Chapaev, he at the same time becomes a pupil in the art of warfare.

A big part of the film is devoted to these mutual relations between the partisan commander and the Communist Commissar. Besides that the film also reflects the subject of the role of women in civil war.

In 1919 Chapaev fell at *Lebitchensk* in a battle against the Whites. This was the last card of the White Army of the Ural cossacks. Still, the enemies miscalculated—*Kutyakov*, Chapaev's best pupil (at present a corps commander in the Red Army and who was drawn in as a consultant by the film directors), defeated the cossacks and soon after that occupied *Guryev*, the last base of the White Ural Army.

Chapaev was not permitted to live to our day, but still, his memory lives in the songs and the legends of the people alongside of the names of the best fighters for the revolutionary cause.

That this is so is shown by the reception which the film received from the public in the Soviet Union. Hardly any other film, with the exception of "*Potemkin*," has had such a tremendous success here. Again and again the showing is interrupted by stormy applause, which shows how very close this highly artistic heroic epic of the civil war is to the heart of the broad masses of the people.

Quite apart from its content, the film "*Chapaev*" is a rare masterpiece of theatrical knowledge and collective acting, even for Soviet film art. Without exaggerating, it can be said that no film actor has ever done such fine work as the young Soviet actor, *Boris Babotchkín*, as "*Chapaev*." One forgets that he is an actor who appears on the screen. His art possesses the rare quality of being able to obliterate the barriers between the art of acting and the highest type of presentation in portraying the figure of the hero. With every mien, with every rejoinder, with the mimicking of every characteristic figure, *Babotchkín* raises the central figure of the film higher and higher, thereby making it into the leading figure of the film.

The film "*Chapaev*" has been running in Moscow since Nov. 7 in 17 large picture houses at the same time. Despite the fact that the Moscow cinemas run from 12 o'clock noon until late at night, the tickets are always sold out. From the morning hours, onwards, there are "queues" of people who want to see "*Chapaev*" standing before the cashiers' boxes in the theatres. In the first ten days alone approximately 1,200,000 people saw the film in Moscow and Leningrad.

The film calls forth the most tense interest from its audiences.

The Week in the Soviet Union

Decision of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. on the Political Departments in the Countryside

Moscow, November 29.

In the resolution of the Plenum of the C.C. of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on political departments in agricultural economy it is stated: In the last two years 3,368 political departments have been formed in the machine and tractor stations and 2,021 political departments on Soviet farms. The 17,000 workers of the political departments of the machine and tractor stations and the 8,000 workers of the political departments of the Soviet farms, carefully selected under the control of the C.C., have carried through a tremendous piece of work. In the fight against the class enemy, for the fulfilment of the duty towards the State, for the protection of social property, a strong and active group of collective peasants gathered around the Party. Socialist competition and shock work was greatly developed among the collective farm workers. With the help of the political departments saboteurs and wreckers hostile to the Soviets, rich peasants and their agents, who tried to disintegrate the Colhoses from within, were removed from the collective farms. The Colhoses (collective farms) now form three-quarters of the peasant economy with 90 per cent. of the land.

At the present time 240,000 collective farms and 5,000 Soviet farms have at their disposal more than 281,000 tractors, 33,000 combines, 34,000 motor lorries, and numerous other agricultural machines. The wheat plan of 1933 was carried through six weeks earlier than that of 1932; in 1934 it was carried through one and a half months earlier than in 1933, i.e., three months earlier than in 1932. Millions of collective farmers have recognised the necessity of fulfilling their duty towards the State. The fight for Bolshevik collective farms and for a higher standard of life was taken up by the collective farmers and occupied the daily life of millions and millions of the collective peasantry.

In spite of the unfavourable weather conditions in some of the southern districts the harvest of the Soviet Union is not less than that of last year. The political departments, as a special organisation, supported by the power and authority of the Bolshevik Party and on the economic strength of the machine tractor stations, were able to achieve real success in the work on a backward sector of socialist construction—agriculture. The tasks have nevertheless increased, and at the present time the political departments are no longer sufficient for the leadership of the whole economic and cultural work in the village; therefore a strengthening of the

Party and the Soviet organs is required, which will take over all the work in the village—administrative, economic, cultural, social, financial, etc. The Plenum therefore resolves once again to affiliate the political departments of the machine and tractor stations to the usual organs of the Party, and to this end to merge the political departments with the existing district Party committees and to divide large districts into several new districts, the political departments to be made part of their organisation. The leadership of all the basic Party organisations in the district is to be taken over by the district Party committee. In consideration of the fact that all existing functionaries of the political departments must definitely be used in the country districts of the area, they will be used either as the first secretary of the district committee or as deputy director of the machine and tractor stations for political work or in other leading positions in the district. The newspapers of the political departments of the machine and tractor stations are to be converted into organs of the district committees in the newly formed districts; in the other districts they are to be combined with the district press.

Further, the Plenum emphasises that through the re-organisation of the political departments the responsibility of the district, local, regional and central committees of the national Communist Parties for the further strengthening and consolidation of collective farms, their bolshevising and the raising of the standard of living of their members, is considerably increased.

Advance in Electrification

The production of electric current in all the power stations of the Soviet Union was 20.2 milliard kilowatts hours in 1934, in comparison with 8.3 milliards in the year 1930. Particularly in the last few years the productivity of the grid power stations has risen; they produced 4.5 milliards k.w. hours in the year 1930 and in the present year 13.3 milliards.

Four years ago the Soviet Union occupied eighth place in the world in regard to the production of current. This year she has already moved up to the third place. A number of new grid power stations have started to work, which at the same time supply thermal electricity. In the present year the capacity of the thermal electricity works is round about 800,000 kilowatts.

Hydraulic power stations have continuously increased their production. The total supply capacity of the hydraulic power stations to-day is 718,000, compared with 71,000 k.w. in 1931, i.e., they have increased their capacity tenfold in three years. A short time ago the power station on the Swir was enlarged. By the erection of a dam the water level was raised one metre. The three powerful turbines of the station can now produce 100 k.w. hours more than previously. The station is overtaking the production plan, as it had produced 61 per cent. of the proposed amount of current by the middle of the month.

Different grid systems have been joined up recently. For example, the cables which connect Chelyabinsk and Sverdlovsk with the Northern Urals. Work is in progress to connect the grid of the Dnieper with the Donetz Basin. The present length of high tension cables is 14,000 kilometres.

The increased output capacity of the power stations in the Soviet Union makes it possible to produce and distribute more electrical appliances for household needs. The factory "Electric" in Leningrad is producing on a mass basis new electric heating apparatus, cooking ovens, etc. Models for electric water heaters (which can be attached to the water system), water condensers, and small electric welding apparatus are being constructed.

Exhibition of the Work Achieved by the Moscow Soviets

The Moscow Soviet is holding an exhibition which differs from other exhibitions in being a pictorial report of the Soviet. It shows what has been projected and accomplished in four years (since the present Soviet took office).

The first department of the exhibition is devoted to technique. There are to be seen: high tension switches from "Dynamo," artificial sunlight apparatus, and electric micrometers, aeroplane models, 84 varieties of ball bearings (four years ago only twelve varieties of ball bearings were known in the Soviet Union), bicycles, boats, wireless, etc. Among the objects of the exhibition are the projects which depict the further building of the greatest works in Moscow.

Of course, the Moscow Underground is given a special place. It shows how far the work has progressed, the plan of the finished underground. Great attention is given to the department depicting the Volga-Moscow canal. This canal will change the whole of the map and the character of a large area.

The town plan of Moscow which is hung up shows, next to the well-known streets, squares and roads, also the new quarters, docks, roads which are under construction or projected. The projected water system, which is connected with the building of the canal, will enormously increase Moscow's water supply. This is of the greatest importance, for the consumption of water in the Red capital is continually increasing. It has risen from 99 to 154 litres per head between 1929 and 1934.

An extensive department of the exhibition shows how the standard of living of the Moscow workers has changed for the better in the last four years. Comparative tables show that, for example, the daily consumption of bread of a Berlin worker is 360 grammes and that of a Moscow worker 800. The consumption of meat of a Berlin worker is 126, of a Moscow worker 150-190 grammes. Fish, 19 for the former, 80-90 grammes for the latter; confectionery, 1.5 and 8 grammes respectively.

The sale of articles of general consumption in 1921 in Moscow was 2,800 million roubles, and in the present year 6,000 million, etc.

The exhibition shows, among other things, how local industry and agriculture in the Moscow district has developed in the last four years and by what organisational measures the further development of the capital is regulated on a planned system. The exhibition has also the duty, as a correct report, to show the weaknesses—which it has not failed to do. It reports, and at the same time gives the assurance that all existing weaknesses and mistakes will be quickly overcome.

The Production of Scientific Books

The Soviet publishing house for science and technique has enlarged its publishing programme for physics and mathematics from 10 to 15 per cent. for the year 1935. Next year 350-400 of such books, mostly school books, are to be published in an edition of 4½ to 5 million copies. The following are proposed for publication: "Theory of Tensile Energy," by Love; "The Mechanics of Viscous Liquids," by Mueller; "Theoretical Mechanics," by Lambas, etc.

A number of important works on the history of the above-mentioned sciences are to be published, and for the first time popular scientific literature is to appear in mass editions; the publication of 75 books on mathematics, physics, mechanics, astronomy, geophysics and the history of technique has been planned.

Re-organisation of the Red Professors

The committee of scientists of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union has decided, in connection with the resolutions of the Party on historical and geographic teaching, also thoroughly to revise the teaching plan of the Institute of Red Professors. The three-year course in history is to be lengthened to four years. Apart from that, chairs are to be founded for special questions of agriculture, of the history of the middle ages and of new Russia, as well as the history of the peoples of the Soviet Union. Similar chairs for Latin and Greek, and for students of Russian history. A course in old Slav will be obligatory.

The Austrian Schutzbundlers

Immediately before the revolutionary holidays a new group of 34 Schutzbund emigrants from Czechoslovakia arrived in Moscow after two contingents had already arrived in October. What is particularly interesting with regard to this last contingent is the fact that it includes 11 Schutzbundlers from Steyr, who originally fled to Yugoslavia and now, after great difficulties, finally found their new homeland in the land of the workers and peasants. Most of the Schutzbundlers had fought with *Koloman Wallisch*.

The "Letts" are also already in the Soviet Union. This is the small group of Schutzbundlers whom the Brünn Foreign Commission of the Austrian Social Democratic Party persuaded to go to Latvia, to Riga, in order to prevent them from emigrating to the Soviet Union. At that time Riga and Latvia were still, so to say, a second "Red Vienna" or Austria. The Latvian Social Democratic Defence organisation was entirely organised according to the model of the Austrian Schutzbund. Still, the bankruptcy of its Latvian pupil soon followed the bankruptcy of Austrian social democracy. There, too, the Schutzbundlers were arrested and deported. Once again disillusioned by the social democracy, they returned to Czechoslovakia. Now, they are finally in the proletarian fatherland and in absolute safety. They are now in the Soviet Union, in the land where workers have the right of asylum.

In the International

The Thirteenth Congress of the C.P.G.B.

By Harry Pollitt (London)

The Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain will take place on February 2nd to 5th, 1935, in Manchester. The Agenda for the Congress is as follows: (1) The United Front and Next Tasks; (2) Work in the Trade Unions; (3) Party Programme of Action; (4) Building the Communist Party.

The Congress is already creating a lively political discussion throughout the Party, as is evidenced by the way that contributions to the Party discussion are pouring in. It is very significant that the majority of these articles are all around the questions of the **united front**, and what is needed to strengthen the building of it, and also what steps should be taken to extend it to cover new phases of working-class political activity.

The last Congress of the Party took place in the Autumn of 1932, and was noteworthy for the clearing up of issues connected with the Trade Union questions. Since 1932, of course there have been a whole series of political events of the greatest importance. The whole line of the National Government; the strike struggles; the emergence of the Mosley Fascist Movement; the temporary triumph of fascism in Germany, Austria and Spain; the rapid drive to war; the attacks on the British workers' standards by the employers and Government, in their drive to lower costs of production and enable British capitalism to defeat its trade competitors. It is also noteworthy for the big encroachments that have been made on the rights and liberties of the working class, and for the character of such legislation as the new Unemployment Act and Sedition Bill.

In all the class struggles since 1932 the Communist Party has played a leading role, and there has undoubtedly been a marked improvement in the mass work of the Party and its work in the trade unions and united front activities. This has led to the Party gaining increased influence in some of the principal cities of Britain, but it has not been accompanied by a corresponding increase in the numerical strength of the Party. This fact is doubly alarming when it takes place at a time when there is a left swing amongst the vast majority of the working class, when there is greater interest in Communism than was ever before, and when the workers so magnificently support the work of the Communist Party out of their meagre financial resources.

The hatred of the masses for the National Government reveals itself on every possible occasion, and especially in the recent municipal elections, but it is accompanied also by strong reformist illusions, that in Britain power can be won and Socialism established in other ways than by the revolutionary solution advocated by the Communist Party.

The Thirteenth Congress of the C.P.G.B. will therefore have to face the questions and problems outlined in the Congress Agenda in the light of this background.

In connection with the first point on the Agenda, it is a weakness of the Congress discussion up to now that there has been a lack of contributions dealing with the practical experiences of the Party in the mass united front campaigns that have been carried out recently. But there is a rather important political reason for this, namely, that while splendid activity has been carried out, especially in connection with the anti-fascist movement, we have so far failed decisively to break through the ban on united front activity imposed by the Labour Party and Trades Union Congress leaders. Which means that there are big sections of workers under the influence of the reformist leaders, that we have not yet drawn into mass activity, and that, in spite of certain united front successes, it is still seriously limited in its scope and influence.

The main cause of this weakness is that in the daily united front activity it is still confined to general political issues and campaigns, and not sufficiently concretely related to the local circumstances that exist in particular factories, industries, and working-class localities.

Recently a drive has been made by the Central Committee to overcome this defect in our work, and at the municipal elections in November an important extension of united front activity was agreed upon, as a means of still further strengthening the united front of the whole working class against the representatives of capitalism in the local elections.

Whilst the Party put forward its own candidates in those

places where it had a mass basis, it made important proposals for united front action in other districts to Labour Party candidates around certain united front demands.

The experiences gained in this connection are now exceedingly valuable when considering the further question of the need for the extension of the united front and the line to be decided upon, in order to carry forward further developments, to win the broadest masses of the workers, still under the influence of the reformist leaders, into the daily mass activity alongside the Communists and militant workers.

At the forthcoming Congress of the Party this question will occupy a very important place in the discussion, because the question of the extension of the united front will not only have to be discussed in relation to the local elections, but with a view of working out a clear line in preparation for the coming General Election.

In the statement opening the Party Congress Discussion the Political Bureau indicated some of the problems that will have to be discussed in this connection as follows:—

"It is clear that the Communist Party has not changed its views of the Labour Party, of the character of its programme, or of the policy which the Labour Party leaders would endeavour to carry out in a future Labour Government.

"Since this is so, what is the basis of the new extended united front tactics in the elections? The correct understanding of these questions is the key to our whole line in the coming period.

"We need carefully to judge the situation in the Labour Party, its relation to the developing process in the Second International, the line of the Labour Party Executive, the role of the various Left elements, of the Socialist League, etc.

"What is our attitude to the Labour slogan of a Third Labour Government? What should be the tactics of the militant workers at the coming General Elections?"

The Congress will approach the question, not from the point of view of a united front of a platonic character, or from the point of view of unity as an abstract thing in itself. But, that the united front means the development of all available working-class forces in a fighting movement, with its main basis in the factories and trade unions and working-class localities, taking part in every phase of the daily class struggle, and that the stronger this becomes, then the stronger becomes the power of the whole working class against both their capitalist enemies and those who are at present practising a policy of class collaboration with the capitalist enemies. The Congress will undoubtedly work out a clear line, sharply emphasising that there is no change in the views of the Communist Party either of the Labour Party, of its character, its programme, or of the policy which the Labour Party leaders are carrying out now, and will endeavour to carry out in a future Labour Government. It will, on the contrary, emphasise the Left mood of the masses in Britain and the need for the Communist Party giving daily lead and direction to these workers in order that they can be definitely organised for the class struggle and not for the policy of strengthening reformism.

There is a heavy responsibility on the Communist Party at this stage, because of the undoubted fact that the Labour leaders of Britain are now not only the strongest section of the Second International, but are that section which leads the fight against the united front both in Britain and on an international scale. This is in violent contrast to the demands of the British working class, and upon the Communist Party rests the task of being able to organise the mass desire for united action, along concrete lines which can effectively develop the widest possible mass campaign. The Party's decisions at the Thirteenth Congress in connection with the development of the united front and the extension of its policy in the elections can undoubtedly lead to a big acceleration of the fight for united action, which can have important repercussions throughout the working-class movement.

The whole success of this fight for the united front, however, depends upon the recognition that it is not a tactic that is only developed at elections, but that it is the essential way forward and most urgent task for the whole working class, if it is successfully to defend and protect its immediate interests and demands in every phase of the daily fight against the National Government and the employers, and developing the mass movement against fascism and war.

On the Trade Union question important discussions will take

place, because the Party has now many rich experiences since the last Party Congress. It is correct to state that a big turn has been made in the work in the reformist trade unions, but a turn that is entirely insufficient and not commensurate either with the demands of the situation or the possibilities that lie before us. The good results that have been achieved are infinitesimal compared with what can be achieved if the whole Party membership available for work in the trade unions was fully mobilised, and the Party Congress will have the task of ending once and for all any further hesitation and neglect of this work on the part of our comrades.

It is no accident that since the Party really got down to work in the reformist unions in the last years that there have been such significant developments of militant activity in many important Unions, and in many cases strikes, and that the Trades Union Congress leaders have replied to this by new proposals to the Trades Unions and Trades Councils to strengthen their rules and constitution, the aim of which is to prevent the Communists in future holding elective posts in these organisations.

The circular which the Trades Union Congress leaders have issued since their **Weymouth Congress** in September has been aptly dubbed "**the black circular**," and it has met with the fiercest resistance in many important Unions and Trades Councils, and has been flatly turned down in a number of important cases. The fact that these reformist leaders are prepared at this moment, when the workers desire united action more keenly than ever before, to initiate proposals that not only deny the necessity of united action, but are deliberately attempting to split the forces of the working class, is a factor which is not being lost sight of by big sections of the rank and file of the trade union movement, who recognise since our Twelfth Party Congress the splendid work the Communists have done in the trade unions and in the economic struggles.

In discussing the Trade Union question, the Congress will have to take note of the experiences and weaknesses of the Party's work in the economic struggles, and particularly will it have to criticise the inability of the Party to develop so far a really effective campaign that can lead to the unification of the big wages movement which has been a marked feature of trade union events in the last twelve months. There has not been for many years past so many unions demanding wage increases, and absolutely no common lead, strategy or policy whereby the whole of this movement could be co-ordinated around the common demand, backed up by the organised force of the trade union movement as a whole. One of the tasks of the Congress will be to face up to this position, in order that it can clearly be seen that the Communist Party alone fights for the united action of the trade unionists and for their closer consolidation and organisation in their trade unions.

The Congress will have the task, not only of stating in words, but demonstrating in deeds, that the Communists are in the forefront of the struggle for the unity of the trade union organisations of the working class as organs of its class struggle against the employers and National Government, and for the securing of this aim recruiting every available man and woman into the trade unions, as conscious fighters for the carrying out of this task.

If the Congress gives such a lead, it will undoubtedly be warmly welcomed by big sections of trade unionists all over Great Britain, and can lead to a rapid development of mass work in the unions, and the successful carrying through of economic struggles.

The Thirteenth Congress will also have before it a Communist Party **Programme of Action**, around which there will be very important discussions. This Programme of Action will be the Party's reply to the various programmes and policies that have been brought forward by the capitalist and reformist political parties. It will give an outline of what the Communists would carry through and can be made an invaluable means for strengthening the Party's appeal to those tens of thousands of workers who are now interested in Communism, but have not been finally won to the Communist Party. The Programme of Action, when adopted, will have to be popularised in all the daily work of the Party, so that we avoid the all too common mistake in our work, i.e., not linking up the fight for the immediate demands of the working class with the revolutionary aims of the Communist Party.

Finally, the Congress will give considerable attention to the **outstanding problem and weaknesses** of the work of the Communist Party in Great Britain—the neglect of building the Party and recruiting for the Party. Never since the formation of the Party

was the disparity between the influence of the Party and its numerical membership so striking as now.

The reasons for this are not to be found in the objective factors of the situation; they are to be found entirely within the ranks of the Party itself and its methods of work. It is no exaggeration to say that, tireless and unceasing as the work of the majority of the members of the Party undoubtedly is, the last thing that occurs to the comrades is that the value of this work is nullified when it is not accompanied by a steady building up of the Party in the factories, in the trade unions and localities. There are many experiences recently which go to show that, especially when the factory cells set themselves the task to recruit from amongst the workers with whom they are daily in contact, that success immediately attends their efforts, and if this can be done in one case it can be done everywhere. This lack of the will to recruit, this lack of an appreciation that the Party must be built up, as a result of the daily work of Party members, is fatal both for the development of a mass united front firmly bedded in the factories, trade unions, working-class localities, and to the perspective for carrying through the struggle for power.

From top to bottom of the Party this is a fundamental defect in our work which must be eradicated at this Congress. The problem of **Party organisation** must no longer be looked upon as a job for one or two of the more enthusiastic comrades, who are often described as "not being political," but the building of the Party organisation must be looked upon as a political task of the first importance; in fact, it is the only test of the correctness of our political line, our leadership, and our methods of organising campaigns, and the carrying of them through.

The Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain will thoroughly discuss all the problems that the present situation places before the Party, it will discuss them with Bolshevik self-criticism and with a sense of the responsibility of the Communist Party to the British working class and to the toiling millions held in bondage by British imperialism.

Our Martyrs

The Murder of Comrade Kirov

Communiqué of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.

Moscow, December 2.

The Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. makes the following announcement:—The Central Committee, with great grief, informs the Party and the working class, all toilers of the Soviet Union and the workers of the whole world, of the death at the hands of a traitor, of **Sergei Mironovitch Kirov**, the outstanding functionary of our Party, the fiery, steadfast leader, the beloved leader of the Bolsheviks and of all the workers of Leningrad, the Secretary of the Central and Leningrad Committees of the C.P.S.U., the member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. The loss of Kirov, beloved by the whole working class of the Soviet Union, the sincere Bolshevik and Leninist, unshakeable, steadfast Comrade, who gave his whole, bright glorious life for the cause of the working class and of Communism, is in recent years the most serious loss for the whole Party of the Soviet Union. The Central Committee is convinced that the memory of Comrade Kirov, the brilliant example of his steadfast, tireless fight for the proletarian revolution and for the building up of Socialism in the Soviet Union, will inspire millions of proletarians—all toilers, for the further fight for the triumph of Socialism and for the final extermination of all enemies of the working class.

Obituary Article of the Central Committee in Memory of Comrade Kirov

Moscow, December 3.

The following article "In memory of Kirov" was signed by **Stalin, Orjonikidze, Molotov, Kalinin, Voroshilov, Kaganovitch** and many other members of the Central Committee. It is stated:

Our Party has met with a great misfortune. On December 1 Comrade Kirov died at the hand of a murderer sent by the class enemy. Not only for us, his friends and comrades, but for all who know him in revolutionary work, to whom he is known as a fighter, comrade and friend, the death of Kirov is an irreparable loss. A man who devoted his whole life to the cause of the working class, to Communism for the freeing of mankind, has fallen at the hand of an enemy. Comrade Kirov was a model of a Bolshevik, who

knew neither fear nor difficulties when it was a question of achieving the great aim of the Communist Party. His uprightness and steadfastness, his astonishing qualities as the fiery orator of the revolution, were combined with that cordiality and kindheartedness in every personal and comradely relationship, with that radiating warmth and modesty which are the attributes of every genuine Leninist.

Comrade Kirov worked in different parts of the Soviet Union during the period of illegality and after the October revolution. In Tomsk, Astrachan, Vladikavkas, everywhere he held high the banner of the Party and through his tireless, energetic and fruitful work won millions of toilers for the revolutionary cause of the Party. In the past nine years Comrade Kirov led the Party organisation in Lenin's town and in the Leningrad district. It is impossible in a short memorial article to describe his activity among the workers. It would be difficult to find in our Party a leader more suitable for the working class of Leningrad, who so skilfully gathered all Party comrades and the whole working class around the Party. In the whole of the Leningrad organisation he created that atmosphere of Bolshevik organisation, discipline, love and devotion for the cause of the revolution, by which he himself was so distinguished. You were close to all of us, Comrade Kirov, as a true friend, beloved comrade, faithful brother in arms. We will remember you, dear friend, to the end of our life and our fight, and will feel the pain of your loss. You were ever with us; in the years of hard struggle for the triumph of Socialism in our country you were ever on our side; in the years of vacillation and difficulties in our Party you were with us. With us you went through all the difficulties of recent years, and we have lost you in the very moment when our country achieved great victories. In this whole fight, in all our victories, your part, your energy, your power and flaming love for the cause of Communism was great. Farewell, dear friend and comrade Sergei.

The Sympathy of the Executive Committee of the Communist International—Letter to the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. and the Leningrad Party Leadership

The letter of the Executive Committee of the Communist International to the Central Committee and the Leningrad Party leadership is as follows: The E.C.C.I., together with the proletarians and collective peasants and all the toilers of the Soviet Union, together with the proletarians of the whole world, is filled with the deepest sorrow at the death of Comrade Sergei Mironovitch Kirov, one of the best leaders of the C.P.S.U., a pupil of Lenin and Stalin, who has been done to death by the hand of a scoundrelly agent of the enemy of proletarian dictatorship.

The model of the life of Comrade Kirov, of the life of this high-minded, unbending, proletarian revolutionary—of the internationalist, of the eloquent proletarian speaker, will enthuse millions of toilers and oppressed throughout the world for the fight against fascism, reaction and imperialist war under the banner of the Communist International.

The Life of a Proletarian Revolutionist

Sergei Kirov was born in 1886 in the small district town of *Urschum*, in the then Vyatka Gubernia. Here he passed the first years of his life. His childhood was hard and joyless. Early orphaned, he and his two little sisters were left to the care of the grandmother. The bitter poverty of these years made a profound impression on Comrade Kirov's memory. The family starved; every penny was turned over twice. In spite of all efforts the grandmother was unable to support the children, and the little grandson, then seven years of age, had to be taken to an orphanage, where he spent a year. Here his sharp intelligence and extraordinary talents became conspicuous at once. He passed through the elementary school and the secondary school. Kirov was a good scholar, and after leaving the secondary school he was able to attend the technical school at Kasan. Kasan was a university town, with a revolutionary student group. Here the first stage of Kirov's independent life began. Here the first threads were woven which later bound up his life indissolubly with the revolutionary struggle.

The little town of *Urschum* was one of the numerous places in the Vyatka Gubernia to which the tsarist government banished revolutionists. These exiles were Kirov's first teachers, for he knew many of them personally from his earliest youth. Later, when at home on holidays, Kirov developed this acquaintance with

political exiles, who supplied him with illegal literature, and talked with him for hours. This was the political school in which Kirov, when a student at the Kasan technical school, was prepared for his further political activities in the circles of the Kasan revolutionary students. At this time Kirov was only seventeen, but his revolutionary views were already in process of formation.

In the autumn of 1904 Kirov went to Tomsk to study at the technological institute. As a student at the continuation courses of instruction, Kirov made contacts here with the Tomsk social democratic organisation. This was a landmark in Kirov's life. It soon became evident that his whole life was to be one devoted to the revolution. In Tomsk, Kirov was soon the centre of all revolutionary work. He took part in the organisation of the armed uprising in January, 1905, in reply to the "bloody Sunday" in Petersburg. The tsarist henchmen began to track him down. On 2nd February, 1905, Kirov was arrested at an illegal Party meeting. He remained several months in prison on remand, without any legal examination. This ordeal by fire, as Kirov liked to term it, was the beginning of his real revolutionary work. Kirov had already joined the little Bolshevik group in Tomsk, and worked indefatigably, distributed illegal literature, spoke as agitator in small groups of the workers, etc. He became well known in the Tomsk revolutionary circles, and was soon a member of the Tomsk committee of the Social Democratic Labour Party of Russia. The Party Committee entrusted him with most responsible work, such as the management of the illegal Party printing office. Kirov spent the whole of 1905 in Tomsk and at the Taiga railway station. Here he organised a successful railwaymen's strike. In 1906 the Party Committee gave Kirov the following urgent commission: A good printing press was to be obtained for the Tomsk Party printing office from Moscow or Petersburg. It proved impossible, however, to carry out this commission, as Kirov was followed by spies. On the day of his departure he was arrested and imprisoned. He was indicted on the grounds of the "famous" Section 126 of the tsarist legal code. One year of Kirov's life and work was lost in prison. But as soon as the young proletarian fighter was at liberty again he set about carrying out the commission of the Party.

In collaboration with a group of comrades, Kirov organised in Tomsk, in an underground vault, an excellently camouflaged secret printing office. Again his arrest interrupted the almost completed task. Long months of detention awaiting trial followed. The secret police had no proofs whatever, but felt that in Kirov they had got into their hands a "dangerous criminal against the state," and kept him in prison. At last the trial came on (first indictment). Kirov was sentenced to three years fortress detention. The solitary confinement cell in the prison at Tomsk was to Kirov a high school of revolution. Fully convinced that he would leave the prison sooner or later and take up his revolutionary work again, he utilised his term of imprisonment for self-education. These were hard years. Punitive expeditions were made everywhere by the police, the gallows threatened. Solitary confinement in Tomsk prison was the last stage before the scaffold for many revolutionists. The stillness of the night was often broken by the parting greetings of those condemned to death. These three years steeled Kirov's nerves and will.

After serving his sentence, Kirov went to Irkutsk. Here, in the capital of East Siberia, the blackest reaction raged. The organisation was shattered, and by accident the police obtained further evidence against Kirov, in their discovery of the Tomsk printing office. He was obliged to leave Siberia. He went to Vladikavkas. Here there was no organisation, only a few scattered comrades. Kirov spent several years in Vladikavkas as an illegal Party functionary. Then the war broke out. In 1915 Kirov was arrested for the fourth time, and taken by the police to Tomsk. Again he was sentenced to a year's imprisonment. His banishment to the Narymer district in the Far North was impending, but was prevented by the February revolution, in which he participated as a member of the Vladikavkas committee of the

social democratic organisation. Kirov worked in Vladikavkas the whole of 1917. But when the flames of the October revolution swept across the Caucasus, Kirov was an organiser of the Soviet power and a leader of the armed struggle against the White Cossack bands. The Bolshevik organisation sent him to Moscow to fetch arms for the growing Caucasian Red Front. Bringing with him large quantities of arms and munitions, Kirov commenced the return journey in 1918, via Zaryzin to Caucasia. But he was unable to reach his destination. The White Guardist bands had succeeded in driving back the scattered Partisan groups of the Caucasian Red Army.

The Party knows Kirov as a tried and undaunted fighter. It knows his clear insight, his quiet determination, his self-sacrificing faithfulness to the proletarian revolution. He was placed in the most responsible sector of the struggle against counter-revolution: the defence of Astrachan. Kirov added one of the most brilliant pages to the history of the civil war. Here, on the Lower Volga, Kirov organised the mustering and reorganisation of the Second Corps of the Red Army. Astrachan remained in the hands of the Soviets, for the revolutionary war council of the Second Army Corps, which was defending the Soviet stronghold on the Lower Volga, was supported by the inexhaustible energy of Kirov. At the head of the Second Army, Kirov aided in shattering Denikin's forces and restoring the Soviet power in North Caucasia—in Baku. The period of strained relations between Soviet Aserbeidjan and Menshevist Georgia commenced. The Soviet government sent Kirov as its envoy to Tiflis. Shortly afterwards he received another responsible commission. He was sent to Poland as a member of the Soviet delegation to the peace negotiations. There followed Party work in North Caucasia, and further activity in Aserbeidjan as secretary of the Central Committee of the Aserbeidjan Communist Party and as member of the Trans-Caucasian Regional Committee of the C.P.S.U.

Kirov has many notable achievements to his record as a brilliant Party leader in initiating and consolidating work in North Caucasia and Trans-Caucasia. The proletariat of Baku knew, appreciated, and loved its leader and friend, Comrade Kirov.

The Party, too, held him in high esteem. At the Tenth Party Congress he was elected as candidate to the Central Committee, at the eleventh he was elected a member. An impassioned revolutionist and an irreconcilable enemy of even the slightest deviation from Bolshevism-Leninism, Kirov was an excellent fighter for the Party, for the Central Committee, for the victory of socialism in the Soviet Union.

Kirov stood in the foremost ranks wherever the Party, under the leadership of Stalin, fought against counter-revolutionary Trotskyism, against the Zinoviev opposition, and against the Right opportunists. Kirov was the closest colleague, disciple and friend of Stalin. In 1926, after the Zinoviev opposition was shattered, Kirov became the secretary of the Leningrad district committee and of the North-West Bureau of the Central Committee; he was also made a candidate for the Political Bureau of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. Kirov was the secretary of the Leningrad Regional Committee from 1928 onwards, member of the Political Bureau of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. from 1930, and member of the Political Bureau from 1934. He was also secretary of the Central Committee and of the Leningrad District and Municipal Committee of the C.P.S.U. For many years he was a member of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union. He was one of the most popular leaders among the Leningrad workers, and was held in great respect by them.

Kirov was a true representative of the people, and his whole life forms a glorious page in the story of the heroic years of the

proletarian revolution and its mighty achievements. For 30 years Kirov fought as a true Bolshevik for the cause of the working class, and as a true Bolshevik he has fallen at his post.

Book Reviews

Russia's Iron Age*

By A. A. Heller (New York)

Lenin once remarked that a fool can ask more questions than a dozen wise men could answer. This can apply very well to the book under review. William Henry Chamberlain, for twelve years a correspondent in Moscow of the "Christian Science Monitor," apparently kept extensive files and a carefully assembled card index. He listed every bit of information and gossip that came his way: statistical tables, anecdotes, quotations, conversations, articles in the Soviet and European press, current rumour. It was easy enough to string these together, after leaving the Soviet Union, into a book and sell the book to an eager publisher.

"Russia's Iron Age" attempts to demonstrate that "Lenin was . . . obsessed with the idea that 'capitalism' . . . was the root of all human ills. . . ." That the Communist International is "a missionary organisation" to spread the gospel of Marx and Lenin; that Stalin is a second Peter the Great, whose "eyes are turned toward America, as Peter's eyes were turned toward Europe"; that the agrarian policy of the Soviet Government is all wrong and that the dreadful policy of the Soviet Government is all wrong and that the dreadful "Gay-Pay-Oo" eats everybody alive. Also the hackneyed references to Communism as a religion, to Bolshevism as having "paved the way for fascism," to "the incompetence and blundering of the Communist International," etc. Such fables have long been discredited. But there is purpose in Chamberlain's madness. Immature and superficial as the book is, it is nevertheless of substantial service to enemies of the Soviet Union, especially at this time, when the imperialists are marshalling their forces for an attack on the Workers' Republic. "At any time during the last few years," says Chamberlain, "the acute food shortage, the disorganisation of railroad transport, more important of all, the depressed moral of the peasantry . . . would have been serious negative factors. . ." And, again: "Crushing military defeat is the one conceivable factor that might bring the whole Soviet edifice . . . tottering to its fall." If the Japanese militarists, but had this assurance, how much sooner they might have carried out their plans of attack.

To reside in a country for a period of twelve years, to have opportunities to travel through the length and breadth of the land and to study conditions at first hand, to question people in all walks of life—despite their pretended fear of the "Gay-Pay-Oo" and "lack of freedom" to express themselves—and to come away without an understanding of the aims and objects of the Revolution, this may be permissible to a petty-bourgeois writer. It may be permissible for him to assert that "The Soviet Union has struck out on a path which no other country is likely to follow." It may be permissible for him to minimise Soviet Russia's achievements, as he does in the profound statement: "When nature provided Russia with extensive national resources it marked out the country for ultimate industrial development." And yet Chamberlain cannot escape the conclusion, perhaps dictated unconsciously:—

"The Soviet system may be considered the most dramatic and most spectacular effort to solve, along new lines, what seems likely to be the major social problem of the twentieth century: to ensure economic security for the masses while preserving a reasonable measure of liberty for the individual."

Surely the toiling masses in the capitalist countries, suffering all the pangs of capitalist oppression and being threatened with imperialist war, will welcome a Soviet system which ensures economic security and liberty in a classless society.

* "Russia's Iron Age." By William Henry Chamberlain. Little, Brown and Co.; 4 dollars.

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