

MAY 1936

# THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

**EDITORIAL: TWO POLICIES,  
TWO RESULTS**

**THE INDUSTRIAL UNION  
BLOC IN THE A. F. OF L.**

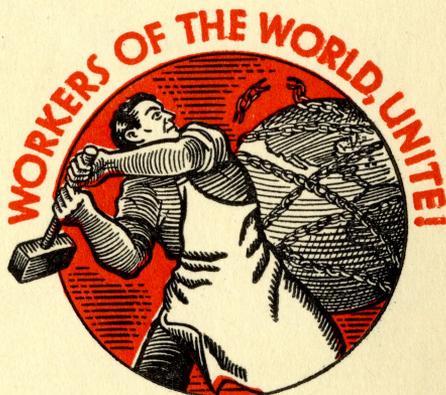
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# THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

ORGAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE  
OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

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# May Day Appeal of the Communist International

**P**ROLETARIANS OF ALL THE COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD:

The First of May, the day of the review of the revolutionary forces of the international proletariat, must be a day this year of imposing demonstrations of the unity of the working class and the broad masses of the people of all countries in defense of peace, against the warmongers.

Peace is in the utmost danger.

In the west, peace is threatened by German fascism, which, having marched its troops into the Rhineland next to the French frontiers, causing an immediate danger of war for France and Belgium, is preparing to destroy Czechoslovakia as an independent state, to incorporate Austria, and to occupy Memel and Lithuania, with the object of involving Poland in a war on its side and establishing an armed base from where it can make its attack on the great Land of the Soviets.

In the east, the fascist military camarilla of Japan seizes upon one province of China after another, with the object of subjugating all the peoples of Asia, of seizing the Philippines and Australia, and of making ready for the decisive struggle with the United States and Great Britain for the hegemony of the Pacific, and immediately threatening the frontiers of the Soviet Union.

These leading war incendiaries, German fascism and the Japanese military camarilla, are supporting one another in their aggressive plans, and aim at involving the countries of the whole world in an annihilating war.

The magnates of financial capital are endeavoring to save the capitalists by establishing the dictatorship of the most reactionary and warmongering elements of the bourgeoisie, the fascists.

And in the countries where fascism has secured its power by bloody terrorism, and has thrown the toiling people into chains, now it is seeking frantically for a means of escape from the increasing inner difficulties, it is seeking salvation from the growing indignation of the people by means of war on other people, which it threatens openly with national subjugation.

At any moment, the fascist rulers may plunge humanity into the immeasurable disaster of a fresh massacre of the peoples.

For fascism, the maintenance of peace is a deadly danger. Fascism is the enemy of peace, fascism means the war of conquest; all who want to fight for peace must fight against fascism.

*Workers in town and country, all friends of peace!*

It is not yet too late to bar the way to the warmakers.

Peace may be saved if the broad masses of the people longing for

peace everywhere will unite their enormous forces without delay for the maintenance of peace, against the fascist warmongers.

The formation of the broadest possible front of the masses of the people for the struggle for the maintenance of peace is at the present time the leading task of the international proletariat and all friends of peace.

This task can be accomplished.

The danger of war is great, but the forces too are great which can be opposed to the war danger.

In the capitalist countries indignation and militancy are steadily growing in the ranks of the proletariat, of the peasantry, of the whole of the toiling masses, against the capitalist aggression, reaction, and fascist violence.

The toiling people, closing their ranks in one great united front, take up with growing determination the struggle for bread, freedom and peace.

The proletariat, overcoming the splits in its own ranks, advances with increasing boldness to the place as the leading class of the whole toiling masses against the hated capitalist slavery and imperialist oppression.

The best and highest intellects of mankind are joining the fighting proletariat.

The situation is different from that of 1914.

Today it is not only the working class, the peasantry, and the whole of the toiling masses who stand for the maintenance of peace, but at the same time the subjugated nations and weak peoples, whose independence is threatened by a fresh war; the Soviet Union, the unconquerable stronghold of the world proletariat and of the oppressed of all countries is the focus of all forces fighting for peace. At the present stage there are also a number of capitalist states anxious for the maintenance of peace, hence the possibility of forming a broad front of the working class, of the whole of the toiling masses and of whole peoples, against the danger of imperialist war.

It depends on the extent to which this world front is realized and made effective whether the fascist and imperialist warmongers will be able to bring about a fresh imperialist war conflagration in the immediate future, or whether their criminal hands will be stayed by the mighty anti-war front.

*Workers!*

Do not let yourselves be taken in by those reformist leaders and pseudo-pacifists who are endeavoring, on various pretexts, to restrain the masses from the independent struggle against the war danger.

Do not believe that the League of Nations is able to replace by its measures the independent struggle of the masses of people for the maintenance of peace.

The antagonism of the egoistic interests of the imperialist powers belonging to the League of Nations makes it extremely difficult for the League to take effectual measures against the aggressor; this has been

strikingly demonstrated in the question of the application of sanctions against Italian fascism for attacking the Ethiopian people, and it has been shown again in the attitude of the League of Nations with regard to the recent provocation on the part of Hitler fascism.

Remember that if the international proletariat had acted in unison, and had made sure by means of strikes and other measures that not one single steamer, not one single railway train had been permitted to leave Italy or to leave for Italy, then Italian fascism would have long since been deprived of any possibility of continuing the robber war in Ethiopia.

The international fighting front of the toiling masses, backed up by the peace policy of the Soviet Union, is capable, hand in hand with the collective security measures of the states anxious to maintain peace—of warding off a criminal onslaught on peace by aggressors who have gone mad.

The most important factor of all—the decisive factor—is the independent action of the masses in defense of peace against the actual war incendiaries.

The toiling masses of France and Spain have shown the peoples of the other capitalist countries in an exemplary manner how it is possible successfully to bar the way of fascism by forming the People's Front. In the same manner the front for the defense of peace must be built up internationally, enabling the war intentions of the fascists to be frustrated. The agreements for joint action made by the Communist and Socialist Parties in France, Spain, Italy and Austria; the unification of the trade unions achieved in France; the unification of the trade unions being accomplished in Spain—these are mighty strides on the road to abolishing the split in the ranks of the international proletariat. The further development of the united front of the international labor movement still encounters, however, the resistance of the reactionary leaders of the Labor and Socialist International, and of a number of Social-Democratic Parties. The overcoming of this resistance is the urgent task of the whole working class and above all of the Social-Democratic workers themselves.

*The Communist International appeals to all workers, irrespective of convictions and party membership, to all Social-Democratic Parties, trade unions and cooperative societies, to all workers' organizations; and calls upon them to join fraternally with the Communist Parties and organizations, with the Communist International, in the joint struggle to bar the path to capitalist aggression and fascism, and to the fascist war incendiaries.*

The proletariat must go forward unitedly and determinedly in face of all hindrances and difficulties, and must achieve the carrying out of a united international policy in the interests of the maintenance of peace.

*The Communist International calls upon all the millions of the peasantry, upon the working intelligentsia, and upon all sincere friends of peace, to work hand in hand with the proletariat.*

*Working men and women! Toilers of all countries!*

Fight with your utmost powers for the maintenance of peace, against the fascist war incendiaries; by so doing you accelerate the overthrow of fascism, and at the same time you prepare the overthrow of capitalism—the main cause of war. And you bring nearer the victory of socialism. Look at the great Land of the Soviets, where the proletariat, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, the Party of Lenin and Stalin, has gained the final and decisive victory of socialism.

The dictatorship of the proletariat has put an end to the exploitation of human beings by human beings. The Soviet workers and collective peasants are forging for themselves a life of prosperity, culture and joy. They are completing the structure of the classless state of society. The glorious movement of the Stakhanov workers, the champion of Socialist surplus, is furnishing the prerequisites for the transition from socialism to communism.

While the fascist reactionaries and barbarians are destroying the last vestige of democracy in their fear of the masses of the people, in the Land of the Soviets the true democracy of the masses flourishes.

The Soviet power is the firmest, most popular, and the most democratic power which mankind has ever known.

In the countries of capitalism there are millions of workers and peasants, women and youth, condemned to poverty and unemployment, to extinction. In the Soviet Union, in contrast to this, the Soviet power has abolished unemployment, and has opened to all toilers a broad path to a life of prosperity and culture.

In the Soviet Union the most valuable capital is the human being, the builder of socialism.

The Land of the Soviets is a great fraternal federation of the peoples. Surrounded by the love and care of the peoples of the Soviet Union and of the toiling masses of all countries, a threat to the aggressor, the invincible Red Army of workers and peasants stands guard over peace and socialism.

The prophetic words spoken by Marx more than 60 years ago have come true: in contrast to the old state of society with its economic misery and its political madness, there arises a new society, whose international principles will be peace, for in every nation the same principle will rule—work.

*Workers of the World, Unite!*

Unite beneath the banner of the struggle against the capitalist offensive and fascism, beneath the banner of struggle for the maintenance of peace against the war incendiaries, for the support of the peace policy of the Soviet Union.

Unite to aid the German people in their great and hard struggle against the barbarous rule of fascism; the struggle of the German people against Hitler fascism is the struggle for the cause of peace, a struggle in the interest of all mankind.

Unite to aid the Chinese people in their devoted and self-sacrificing struggle to save their native land from Japanese imperialism.

Protest against the bloodthirsty oppression of the proletariat of

Poland by the Polish fascists, the lackeys of German fascism. Proclaim your fraternal solidarity with the heroic workers of Cracow and Lvov.

*Comrades!*

We lower our May Day flags in honor of the memories of those best sons of the working class who have fallen in the fight for the cause of all workers!

We must rescue from the clutches of Hitler's executioners the best of the best of the proletarian fighters—the worthy son of the great German people—Ernst Thaelmann.

We must gain the release of Rakosi, Gramsci, Prestes, Itsikawa, Antikainen, Ossietsky, Tom Mooney, and of the thousands and thousands of prisoners of capital and fascism.

On the First of May—raise higher than ever the banner of international proletarian solidarity!

*All out to the demonstrations*, to show the irresistible unity of the working class.

*All out to the demonstrations*, as a threatening warning from the people to the fascist aggressors and warmakers!

*For bread and freedom!*

*For the maintenance of peace!*

*Down with German fascism, the leading warmonger in Europe!*

*Out of China with the Japanese troops! Long live a democratic Japan!*

*Out of Ethiopia with the Italian invaders! Long live the liberation of the Italian people from the yoke of fascism!*

*Long live the Union of Socialist Republics, the great fatherland of the toiling masses of the world!*

*Workers and peasants of all countries, follow the path trodden by the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union!*

*Down with fascism!*

*Down with capitalism!*

*Long live Soviet Power all over the world!*

*Under the flag of Marx-Engels-Lenin, forward to the victory of the Socialist World Revolution!*

*Workers of the World, Unite!*

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

# The Struggle to Maintain Peace

THE GERMAN INSTIGATOR OF WAR AND HIS  
ENGLISH DEFENDERS

**T**HE bandit onslaught of German fascism against the peace of Europe in the Rhineland passed off without any loss to German fascism. The Council of the League of Nations was convened in London; it investigated and discussed the situation, but proved to be incapable of adopting any measures. The leading bodies of the Second International and the International Federation of Trade Unions also held a conference in London; they also investigated the situation and discussed the question of the international united front of the working class movement against war and fascism, but they were unable to adopt any decision on this question: their ability to take any action was paralyzed to the same degree as was that of the League of Nations Council.

This is the most dangerous consideration from the viewpoint of the maintenance of peace, for it can become a most serious spur to the insolent adventurism of the fascist warmongers.

The atmosphere in London, it was clear, was particularly unfavorable for all kinds of decisions concerning action against the aggression both of the Germany and of the Japanese warmongers. One of them, namely, German fascism, now constitutes a direct military menace to France and Belgium, and is preparing to destroy Czechoslovakia as an independent state, to annex Austria, and to occupy Memel and Lithuania, while striving to draw Poland into war on its own side and to create a jumping-off ground for an attack upon the Soviet Union. The second, Japanese military fascism, in its efforts to become the omnipotent master in Asia is seizing territory after territory in China, and means to seize the Philippines and Australia, preparing for a decisive conflict for hegemony in the Pacific, *i.e.*, war against the United States and Great Britain; at the same time, the Japanese militarists, hand in glove with German fascism, are a direct menace to the frontiers of the U.S.S.R.!

In these circumstances, the maintenance of universal peace in a fundamental degree depends upon whether England will agree, together with France and the U.S.S.R., to secure that effective measures are taken by the League of Nations to prevent any attacks being made by German fascism and Japanese imperialism against other countries. But the British government has adopted an entirely different role; it has defended the Hitler government against any punishment; it has determinedly rejected all thought of economic or financial sanctions; it has paralyzed the ability of the League of Nations to act, and in general played a double game, which could only serve to encourage the violators of the peace of Europe, to be found in Berlin.

Things came to such a pass that even the central organ of German

Social-Democracy (the *Neue Vorwaerts* of March 28), which only a few weeks ago depicted British democracy as an exemplary form of democracy, was compelled to write the following:

“British policy has favored the policy of violating agreements. It has become of the *strongest assistance to Hitler* in his attempt to draw attention away from economic difficulties at home, by means of an adventure in foreign politics. . . .”

Corresponding to this fatal role of the British imperialist government was the role played by the *reactionary leaders of the Labor Party*: while the government made it impossible to create a solid peace front of the League of Nations, these labor leaders made it impossible to set up a solid peace front of the British and international working class movements.

These reactionary leaders of the Labor Party immediately *took up the defense of Hitler* against the French and Belgians. They asserted that Hitler does not want war.

“I believe that there is not a single government that wants war”, Attlee, the leader of the Parliamentary Labor Party reassured the English workers. Dalton, another leader of the Labor Party, who plays a big role in the leadership of the Labor and Socialist International, so openly defended Hitler that one of the Swiss Social-Democratic newspapers (the *Freier Aargauer* of March 11), for instance, had full grounds for writing the following:

“If Hitler had been searching in England for an ally among the opposition, he could not have done his work better than did this representative of the British Labor Party. . . .”

But the central organ of the Labor Party, the *Daily Herald* went still further.

“Out-and-out madness!” it shouted, they want “to attack Germany”, they want “a preventive war” against Germany! (March 23).

This is how this paper, day in and day out, conducted its campaign in defense of Hitler Germany, just as though it was not German fascism menacing France and Belgium with war, but, on the contrary, the latter who were menacing the unfortunate Hitler government with war. But even this was not enough for such a “Left” reformist as Fenner Brockway, the leader of the “Independent Labor Party”, who wants nothing less than to represent the Communists (!) as the instigators of war. He wrote literally the following: “The French capitalist policy and the French Communist policy will lead Europe to war.”

This is how they lied unmitigatedly in England, only to help Hitler. It is not surprising that the Nazi press in Germany greeted this lie in the British labor press, with its watchword “Heil!” and made wide use of it to mislead the German people.

\* \* \*

We must examine the arguments which have been used, and are

still being used, by the British (and some of the Scandinavian) reformists, in their effort to dissuade the people from taking up any sort of struggle against Hitler aggression. Although these arguments are fundamentally nothing but gross sophisms, it would be a big mistake to underestimate the effect they have upon the masses. These are *dangerous* sophisms, for they all appeal to the natural hatred of the masses of the people for war; they clothe themselves in the toga of pseudo-pacifism, which can mislead the masses, if what is really happening is not patiently explained to them.

Let us begin with the chief sophism of the allegedly most radical reformists, the leaders of the "Independent Labor Party". They assert (see the *New Leader* of March 27) that "the present situation is like the one which existed during the war", *i.e.*, during 1914-18. If the Communists today on behalf of France and other countries demand that peace be defended against the aggression of the Hitler government, then, according to the *New Leader*, this is exactly the same line as that defended in 1914 by the French and English social-chauvinists who joined the "national alliance with the capitalist class of their countries with a view to defeating the Kaiser". And the *New Leader* in this regard even makes a reference to Lenin, who quite correctly rejected the argument of the social-chauvinists: "We were attacked, we are defending ourselves."

It is a well-known fact that the French Communists are fighting to maintain *peace*, while the social-chauvinists in 1914 were supporting the imperialist *war*, and that the French Communists have not concluded any pacts with the capitalist class of their country, but together with the Socialists and radicals have set up a people's front against fascism and war. However, the editorial board of the *New Leader* is not the least embarrassed by the denial and distortion of this fact. The most important thing for the *New Leader* is to make its readers believe that France and the other states are no less a menace to Hitler Germany, than Germany is to them; that all governments, allegedly, are engaged in inciting war today, *i.e.*, that no special *aggressors* as such exist at all. Precisely in order to prove this, in order to justify the Hitler government, precisely for this purpose, the advocates of the fascist aggressors in the editorial office of the *New Leader* needed to make the comparison, that "the present situation is like the situation which existed during the war".

During the war of 1914-18 it was actually wrong to counterpose certain states as the instigators of war, as against others as merely defending themselves. At that time the world was divided into two military-imperialist coalitions, which equally strove to set up their own world hegemony, and equally prepared for and provoked the imperialist war. Then there was no country where the proletariat were victorious, no countries under fascist dictatorship. But today the position is different. Now the following exist: first, the proletarian state which is the greatest bulwark of peace; second, definite fascist aggressors (Germany, Italy and Japan); third, a number of countries which are directly

menaced with being attacked by the fascist aggressors and with losing their national and state independence (Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Austria, etc.); fourth, other capitalist states (France, U.S.A., etc.) which are interested at the present moment in maintaining peace. Consequently, it is absolutely wrong to put all these states in one category in this respect today.

Of course, today, just as on the eve of the last World War, the main cause of the war danger lies in capitalism, in its imperialist, annexationist manifestations. Comrade Stalin established this fact most clearly in his interview with Roy Howard:

“You remember how the first World War arose. It arose out of the desire to redivide the world. Today we have the same background. There are capitalist-states which consider that they were cheated in the previous redistribution of spheres of influence, territories, sources of raw materials, markets, etc., and which would want another redivision that would be in their favor. Capitalism in its imperialist phase is a system which considers war to be a legitimate instrument for settling international disputes, a legal method in fact, if not in law.”\*

Which are the states that hold the opinion that they were cheated during the previous division of territories, and that today want to divide the world up again to their own advantage by means of war? Everybody knows that they are Germany, Japan and Italy. It is the fascist rulers of these states who today are the instigators of war! Anyone who wants to gloss over this fact, who does not want to carry on a struggle for the maintenance of peace against *these concrete aggressors*, and replaces this struggle by general declamations in favor of peace, *is deceiving the people* so as to cover up the real war culprits.

During the last World War, it was precisely Lenin who most categorically condemned it as an *imperialist, robber war*, and at the same time stressed the point that during the imperialist epoch *national-liberation wars* are also possible. All the more true is this *for the present period, with the existence of the fascist aggressors*. It is the fascists who are the most imperialistic and most chauvinistic elements of finance capital. Italian fascism has attacked Ethiopia, and so the war being waged by the Ethiopian people is a justifiable national-liberation war. Japanese military fascism has attacked Manchuria, and the struggle of the Manchurian partisans is a national-liberation struggle. The defensive struggle of the Chinese people against the Japanese troops of occupation is also a national-liberation struggle. Every people attacked by an aggressor has the elementary right to defend itself, and all honest friends of peace will take their stand on the side of the people which is defending itself.

This would appear to be clear. But it is just this obvious fact which the reformist supporters of the fascist aggressors like least of all. They want sophisms.

“One state’s defense is another state’s menace,” writes the *Daily Herald* of March 6. It is wrong, they say, to assert that there is any

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\* *The Stalin-Howard Interview*, p. 6, International Publishers, New York.

state at all which maintains armaments not for war, but for defense: "That is what Herr Hitler says, so does Voroshilov, so do the Japanese, so do all the rest." This is how the central organ of the British Labor Party, under the guise of struggling against armaments, supports the counter-revolutionary thesis of the fascist war instigators, that the defense of the Soviet Union and the strengthening of the Red Army are a menace to the peace of other states, and that they must therefore arm themselves. Why, this is just the lying yarn which, as is well known, Hitler peddles around. But, fortunately, the workers of the capitalist countries are able to understand that the Soviet Union with its heroic Red Army is the strongest *factor making for peace*.

Open *justification* of the aggressive acts of the Hitler government was the main theme of many articles published in the *Daily Herald*. The main slogan spread about by the paper in the given case was directly borrowed from Hitler, and was the demand for "equal rights for Germany".

On March 9, the *Daily Herald* explained the occupation of the Rhineland by stating that Hitler had only liquidated the inequality created by Versailles. These arguments are used in an effort to cover up the *aggressive purpose* of the occupation of the Rhineland, and it is this that is decisive. If Germany were a *democratic* country, which supported the *maintenance of universal peace*, then not a single friend of peace would have condemned Germany's claim to sovereign rights in the Rhineland, such as France enjoys in her frontier regions. The German *people* have the right to full and equal rights. But the German people must not be identified with *Hitler Germany*. Everybody knows that the German people in Hitler Germany, and not only in the Rhineland but in Berlin as well, have no freedom of action or even the most elementary opportunity of influencing the solution of the question of war or peace, but are subjected to the rule of the Hitlerites and their clients, the big capitalists.

If the German people were free from the fascist yoke, and had democratic sovereign rights, the toiling masses of the people of Germany would have a chance to influence the policy of the German government; that would be a real guarantee of peace. But the Hitler government, which has destroyed the freedom of its own people, meets with no obstacles to its adventurist aggression. The occupation of the Rhineland was an act of aggression which *constitutes a menace to other states* and calls forth the direct danger of a *world slaughter*. This is the main point which the reactionary leaders of the Labor Party tried to gloss over.

These Laborites defend equal rights for Germany in principle in the same sense that Hitler demands it, namely as *imperialist* equality of rights. In particular they demand that Germany be afforded the right to armaments and the right to colonial domination.

In the interests of the maintenance of universal peace, it is essential that the claims of the Hitler government to both these rights be categorically turned down. The right to possess weapons of attack must

not be afforded to one who is clearly an aggressor. If an ordinary robber is deprived—and rightly so—of the opportunity of freely using arms, then how many more times more just is it to tie the hands of one who is the instigator of a world war!

It is indisputable that the peace now in being, which over the greater part of the world is based upon the imperialist peace agreements, is a poor sort of peace. But it is an equally indisputable fact that it is better than war. And it is an irresponsible act to make it easier for a crazy adventurer to set alight the flames of a world conflagration.

It goes without saying that the oppression connected with the existing peace treaties must be removed. But this cannot at all be achieved by way of a new imperialist war, by means of which the instigators of war are striving to create a situation where peoples will be oppressed still more than before. Only a successful struggle by the masses of the people for the maintenance of peace will facilitate the strengthening of the positions of the proletariat and of all supporters of freedom and peaceful collaboration between the peoples. And it is clear that the chances of victory for the liberation movement of all oppressed peoples will thereby be considerably increased.

The Labor leader, Dalton, also defended Hitler's claim to a new division of the "sources of raw materials" in his speech in Parliament. This means a redivision of the colonies. And this demand was also defended in the name of "equality of rights". The idea of equal rights to suppress and rob the colonial peoples is really one which only a person imbued through and through with imperialist ideology could arrive at. It is hardly conceivable that Mr. Dalton had any intention of offering Hitler Germany *British* colonies. But he has in mind the consolidation of the imperialist position of Germany at the expense of other powers. And since these other imperialist powers are not inclined to give up their colonies to Hitler voluntarily, no other method remains but *war*, for a new redivision of the globe. This is precisely the method that Hitler wants to try.

Both in England and in the other countries the proletariat must fight against this. It is not the business of the proletariat to declare itself in favor of this or that redistribution of colonies and mandates, but it is their task to support the struggle of the colonial peoples on behalf of their interests and rights, and for the final emancipation of these peoples from the imperialist yoke. In this case, the colonial peoples, on their part, will support the struggle of the international proletariat against fascism and war.

The subsequent arguments of the reactionary Labor leaders followed the same line: "Since we are advocates of universal peace, we want peace with Hitler Germany as well." But the Hitler government does not want peace; it is conducting feverish preparations for war against some countries, and would like to come to an agreement about war, but not about peace, with the governments of other countries. In order to ensure the maintenance of peace, what is wanted is to bridle the aggressiveness of the Hitler government and not to undertake secret bargaining with

it, thereby helping it to become strong and free its hands for war.

"We are for pacts with Hitler, we are against sanctions," these people have reiterated, "for these measures intensify the war danger and lead to war." On the contrary, what increases the war danger is the fact of leaving the aggressor *unpunished*. The more states, and especially big states, joining the collective security pacts, and the more unanimously and consistently, under the constant pressure of the masses of the people, they really operate these measures, the less boldness will German fascism display in launching war, for the greater will be the risk for German fascism connected with it.

Hitler's jealous guardians in England put the question in this way after the occupation of the Rhineland:

"There are only two policies. . . . The one is to accept the fact. . . . The other is to go to war with Germany, to drive, or seek to drive, her troops out of the Rhineland. . . ." (*Daily Herald*, March 9.)

No, *both* these policies must be rejected, and this whole construction put upon the affair is required by the Labor press so as to denounce the Communists and the friends of peace, who demanded that serious measures not of a war character be adopted to bridle the aggression of the Hitler government, as supporters of a "preventive war" (*Daily Herald*) and of the "military encirclement of Germany" (*New Leader*). No, honorable gentlemen, not a single Communist proposed that war be started against Hitler Germany or that military sanctions be adopted to drive the German troops out of the Rhineland.

But what the Communists did demand, and what they are demanding in the interests of peace, is *financial and economic sanctions*, as well as the conclusion of *pacts of mutual assistance* against every aggressor. As these pacts are open to all states, including Germany, it is a tremendous distortion of the truth to present these pacts as some kind of a basis for "military alliances" or the "encirclement of Germany".

Sanctions and mutual assistance pacts, which are a menace to the aggressor, are an effective means against those who intend to violate peace. True, sanctions have been severely discredited in connection with the Italo-Ethiopian war. But it would be wrong to conclude therefrom, as Otto Bauer does, that measures of one kind or another of collective security are absolutely illusory. No, they are ineffective only so long as the working class organizations launch no independent broad mass struggle, and do not compel their governments and the League of Nations to adopt serious measures. We must fight to secure that *sanctions are really operated*, and against the hesitation and passivity of the League of Nations, against the imperialists who, for the sake of their mercenary interests, sabotage the security of universal peace. The energetic application of financial and economic sanctions (complete refusal to supply credits, stoppage of trade and supply of raw materials) will not only create serious difficulties for the fascist regime, but will also, without a doubt, *help the German people to throw off the yoke of this regime*.

Finally, the slogan of "neutrality" was put forward. "We, at any rate, declare," said these people, "that we shall not take part either in war or in sanctions or in any form of struggle against the foreign policy of Germany, and thus our country will be delivered of war." But this conclusion is also erroneous. War menaces *every* country, because, in view of the existing tensivity of imperialist contradictions, a war unleashed by the fascist warmongers will not remain localized, but will develop into a world war.

The following statement which appeared in the Swiss Social-Democratic paper *Volksrecht* on March 9 corresponds to the real situation:

"Hitler is trying to present Bolshevism as the danger. This is a means to the end. . . . The end is described in the *program of conquests* of German fascism, and the goal is still German hegemony in Europe. This compels Europe to prize the principle that peace is indivisible."

And from this point of view, neutrality towards the foreign policy of German fascism is incompatible with the maintenance of peace. It would mean the rejection of all efforts whatsoever to prevent war, it would mean complete capitulation before the fascist warmongers, *i.e.*, the given "neutral" state would be promising, for its part, to guarantee the fascist aggressor, that it would not hinder it in its war of aggression. And yet it could not help itself from being drawn into the war.

Only *an international fighting front of the peoples* against aggression, and not capitulation to the warmongers, can safeguard peace for all countries. The fascist aggressor must be made to know that the country which attacks another country, no matter which one, will be confronted by the determined resistance of the proletariat and the toilers of the whole world.

But it should not be thought that the broad masses of the people in each individual country already see the need for this international fighting front to safeguard peace. No, in England and in the U.S.A., the danger, first and foremost, is that the desire of the masses of the people to maintain peace is still not free from national limitedness. In order to overcome this, what is imperatively essential is that a considerable amount of unflagging explanatory work be carried on.

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It must be admitted that the resolution passed by the London Conference of the Second International and the International Federation of Trade Unions does not quote the above-mentioned sophisms of the English supporters of Hitler, but neither does it say anything in condemnation of them. It declares against Hitler's aggressiveness, for the maintenance of universal peace, and for collective security.

Generally speaking, there is very little bad, but very little good in this resolution. First and foremost, there is a tremendous lapse in the resolution on the most important question as to what needs to be done in the face of the excessively intensified war danger. It is clear that

the League of Nations must adopt definite measures, that the individual states which are interested in maintaining peace must also adopt some measures. But what must the *working class movement* do? What steps must be taken by the Social-Democratic Parties and the trade unions in connection with this vital question of peoples?

Futile questions. The Conference of the Socialist International and the biggest trade unions in the world gave no *answer whatsoever* to them. They were passed over in silence. *This* is the achievement of the reactionary Labor leaders and of the extreme Rights at this conference. This is a *success for them*, and a big one. They allowed others to write a resolution unfriendly to Hitler, but on condition that the resolution contained no *decisions as to action of any practical importance*.

Again the Socialist International relies exclusively upon the League of Nations. We are not among those who, like certain of the "Left" Social-Democratic leaders, consider it quite useless to demand that the League of Nations adopt measures to maintain peace. And we consider all the pseudo-radical slander now being concentrated against the League of Nations by a number of Trotskyist and semi-Trotskyist elements to be definitely harmful. This slander, at bottom, differs very little from the struggle of the fascists against the League of Nations (only under a different guise). But one thing is clear: if they want to secure any useful action from the League of Nations in the interests of safeguarding peace, the toiling masses, and, first and foremost, the working class organizations, must most energetically launch out with their own activities on behalf of peace. This was recognized by the leader of the Italian Socialist Party, Nenni, who declared at the London Conference of the Second International that "The League of Nations will march forward only if driven by the masses of the people".

It is useful and essential to demand that the League of Nations adopt serious measures to bridle the aggressive actions of the concrete instigators of war. In each capitalist country a struggle must be carried on for the demand that the official representatives of the country in the League of Nations adopt a determined stand for the acceptance and operation of these measures. These practical demands can draw very wide masses of the people into the movement to maintain peace.

But in so far as the leaders of the Socialist International urge the masses to expect everything from the League of Nations without themselves taking up action, we say that this is the fatal line adopted by reactionary Labor leaders who are sabotaging the struggle of the proletariat for the maintenance of peace.

Only a powerful movement of the people can prevent war, and if this movement is to be successfully organized, what is required, first and foremost, is *united action by the working class movement*. This has never been so crystal clear as today.

The growth of aggression by German fascism and the Japanese military clique is connected first and foremost with the fact that the working class throughout the world have not been able to break down the resistance of the reactionary section of the leaders of the Socialist Interna-

tional and of the International Federation of Trade Unions to the establishment of the united fighting front against the warmongers. And the London Conference of the Second International produced no results in this respect.

But the merit of the representatives of the Socialist Parties of France and Italy lies in the fact that this time they raised the question of the international united front as a practical task. This was the important question around which a struggle went on at the London Conference, and it is to be hoped that sincere supporters of united working class action in the ranks of the Second International will not allow the reactionaries to postpone for long the solution of this vital question facing the international proletariat and the peoples fighting for peace.

The following statement written by Zyromski, one of the leaders of the Socialist Party of France, is indisputable:

“Just as real universal peace is impossible without the Soviet Union, so real proletarian international action is inconceivable without the fusion of all the forces of the Labor and Socialist International and the Communist International.”

The transition of fascism to military aggression, using the disharmony which exists in the positions adopted by the parties and organizations of the working class of the different countries, the support afforded to fascism by the reactionary leaders of Social-Democracy under the guise of hypocritical care for the “maintenance of peace”, the disunion among the proletariat cultivated by them which leads to international proletarian solidarity being sacrificed to the interests of the national bourgeoisie of the various countries, all these urgently demand that the working class movement in all countries conduct a *united international policy of the working class in the interests of maintaining peace.*

What does this united international working class policy demand? It demands the following:

1. The restoration and consolidation of real international working class solidarity, in defense of the interests of the widest masses of the toilers; a determined *rupture* of relations between the Social-Democratic Parties and the *imperialist interests of the bourgeoisie of their respective countries.*

2. *The utmost support to the peace policy of the U.S.S.R., the proletarian state which is the firm guardian of peace between peoples. And this presupposes first and foremost a determined struggle by the working class parties against the counter-revolutionary attempts to identify the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. with the policies pursued by the imperialist states, to identify the Red Army of the U.S.S.R. which is the bulwark of peace, with the armies of the imperialist states, attempts which play into the hands of the fascist instigators of war.*

33. A specific, concentrated blow to be directed on each given occasion against the fascist aggressor, and this presupposes that every attempt to gloss over the difference between the fascist and non-fascist

states be unmasked, and requires that a different attitude should be *adopted towards the aggressor, on the one hand, and the victims of this aggression, on the other.*

4. An *independent* struggle by the working class, independent both of capitalist governments and of the League of Nations, to maintain peace, one which excludes any possibility of the working class movement being subjected to the secret intrigues of imperialist governments belonging to the League of Nations.

This is what is required by a united international policy of the working class in the interests of maintaining peace.

*The central task* of the whole of the international proletariat today is to *bridle the fascist warmongers, to struggle for the maintenance of peace.* While fighting to preserve peace, the working class is not only defending the interests of all peoples and of the whole of mankind, but is also accelerating the defeat of fascism and guaranteeing their own final victory.

The maintenance of peace is a mortal blow against fascism, for, by increasing its difficulties at home, this leads to the overthrow of the fascist regime, and the overthrow of the fascist regime will stabilize the cause of peace.

The peoples do not want war. The peoples are thirsting for peace. And, however menacing the direct danger of war, we declare with complete confidence that peace *can be* maintained. It is not too late to prevent war, if the international working class will unite all its forces for this purpose, and organize an international anti-war front, basing itself on the peace policy of the Soviet Union and upon the desire for peace of millions of toilers.

*"The extent to which this world-wide front is realized and put into action will determine whether the fascist and other imperialist war incendiaries will be able in the near future to kindle a new imperialist war, or whether their fiendish hands will be hacked off by the ax of a powerful anti-war front."* (From the speech of Georgi Dimitroff delivered at the close of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International.)

## Two Policies—Two Results

**O**N the basis of the new wealth of fighting experience, the successes of the people's anti-fascist front in Spain and France are making it easier for the workers and the toilers throughout the world to correctly solve the question as to which road they are to take if they are to conduct a successful struggle against fascism, and for peace and bread.

When the wave of fascism swept through Europe, when Hitler came to power in Germany, Dollfuss in Austria, and Gil Robles in Spain, the workers and toilers throughout the world were given an object lesson as to where the path taken by international Social-Democracy, namely, that of coalition with the bourgeoisie, leads. In particular the bankruptcy of the leading party of the Second International, namely, German Social-Democracy, which by the whole policy it pursued facilitated the victory of fascism, increased the disillusionment of very wide masses of workers in the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie.

The victory of socialism in the Soviet Union under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party has shown the workers in the capitalist countries that the Bolshevik road is the correct one. The great historic dispute as to which of the two roads—the road of Lenin and Stalin, and the road of Social-Democracy—should be taken by the working class movement has received exhaustive arguments enabling it to be solved.

What, however, is needed if the whole of the working class and the broad masses of the toilers and oppressed in all capitalist countries are really to become convinced that the road of irreconcilable class struggle is the correct one, and to draw practical conclusions for themselves therefrom, is that these masses undergo their *own* all-round political experience. The defeat of the working class as the result of the policy of coalition with the bourgeoisie, and the successful resistance offered to fascism *in individual countries as the result of the policy of the united working class front and the people's anti-fascist front constitutes the particular direct experience of the working masses of the capitalist countries, which cannot but leave behind palpable consequences for their further struggle.*

The workers and toilers of capitalist countries can henceforth make their judgment on the basis of the following experiences of their own: the Social-Democratic policy of coalition with the bourgeoisie in Germany, Austria, and in Spain as well, after the revolution of 1931, paved the way for fascism; while the policy of irreconcilable class struggle carried on in the united and people's fronts in France, and now, in Spain, has barred the way against fascism. Thus, on the basis of the historic experience of the struggle of the working masses in the countries of capitalist Europe, there has been provided an all-round, extremely convincing check-up of the two roads confronting the working class movement.

In Spain, the resistance of the people's anti-fascist movement forced

fascism to retreat. Only eighteen months ago, the joint armed struggle of the Communist and Social-Democratic workers called forth furious attacks from the reactionary Social-Democratic leaders, who then asserted that these battles were unnecessary and futile. The Social-Democratic press throughout the world tried to "prove" that the capitulatory policy of German Social-Democracy was a correct one, by pointing to the immediate failure of the battles in Spain. It is sufficient to recall the articles printed in the *Neue Vorwaerts* at that time, which expressed indignation at the armed action undertaken by the Spanish proletariat. Schieff, the editor of the *Neue Vorwaerts* demanded in his articles that the international proletariat should have done with "revolutionary romanticism", and put an end to "petty-bourgeois stock-phrases about saving their honor, and heroically perishing, and such like phrases". "How often will this be repeated?" exclaimed Schieff. "How long is this to go on?" (*Neue Vorwaerts*, October and November, 1934). The Belgian *Peuple* and the English *Daily Herald* and a number of other Social-Democratic newspapers wrote the same.

Only eighteen months have passed, and now the press bulletin of the Second International has been compelled, in connection with the victory of the people's front in Spain—without mentioning, incidentally, a single word about the existence of the people's front—to state the fact that the *advance in Spain has become possible because in 1934 the workers there offered fighting resistance to the offensive of reaction* (*International Information*, February 20, 1936). The *Berner Tagwacht*, another Swiss Social-Democratic paper writes the following about the victory in Spain:

"The election victory of the people's front is, in the long run, the *victory of the Asturian uprising in October, 1934*, and at the same time a fresh confirmation of the fact that *fascism is helpless against the united front of the anti-fascist elements.*" (*Berner Tagwacht*, February 21.)

A number of Social-Democratic newspapers (Czech, German and Dutch) keep silent about the fact of the existence of a united proletarian front and the people's front in Spain. Some of them (the Czech *Socialdemokrat* and the Hungarian *Nepschawa*) simply deny the fact that a united front agreement was concluded in Spain between the Communist Party and the Social-Democratic Party. The embarrassment of the enemies of the united front, and their attempts to maintain silence as to the existence and the victory of the people's front in Spain, are only additional proof of the impression made on all workers by the Spanish events.

In their search after proofs to strengthen their position, the enemies of the united front in the Second International have turned their gaze to the North, to the Scandinavian countries. They praise to the skies the policy of the Social-Democratic Parties in the Scandinavian countries: there, they say, the workers are gaining successes without the united front. A short time ago the leaders of Czech Social-Democracy especially

invited Hansen, the Secretary of the Danish Social-Democratic Party, to come to Czechoslovakia and deliver a series of lectures about so-called "Northern Socialism".

Indeed, the Social-Democratic governments of the Scandinavian countries have operated and are still operating a number of measures which worsen the material conditions of the workers and peasant masses and diminish their political rights.

Immediately after the formation of the Social-Democratic government in Sweden, a reduction in the wages of almost all categories of workers was introduced averaging from 5 to 7 per cent, and for a number of groups, even 15 per cent. This reduction in nominal wages was accompanied by an increase in the price of food, and a further increase in exploitation as a result of capitalist rationalization. In spite of the improvement in the economic situation, 15 per cent of the total number of workers in trade unions are unemployed. The Social-Democratic government, however, has categorically refused to introduce social insurance against unemployment. In Denmark, where there has been a Social-Democratic government in existence since 1929, the number of unemployed, which was 200,000 in 1932, was still 135,000 at the beginning of 1936. In Norway, in spite of the improved situation, unemployment has grown and has reached the figure of 150,000, chiefly the result of capitalist rationalization.

The parties of the Second International are loud in their praises of the agrarian policy of the Scandinavian Social-Democratic governments. This policy is alleged to cut the ground from under the fascist demagogues in their agitation in the villages. Actually the whole of this policy of "regulating grain economy" and raising the tax on fodder in Sweden, the tax on grain and the "meat regulations" in Denmark, the grant of subsidies to the big farms out of the tax on the turnover in Norway, only serve the interests of the landlords and kulaks. This policy not only hits the consumer in the town, but also the small peasants.

The reactionary forces of the Scandinavian bourgeoisie are by no means satisfied with what has been achieved already. They are ever more frequently and persistently demanding that the democratic rights of the people be restricted. The Social-Democratic governments, despite the resistance of the workers in the ranks of their own parties, are disposed to grant concessions in this sphere as well.

What is especially serious is that under the rule of the Social-Democratic governments in Scandinavia, reaction is raising its head ever more openly, while the influence of the fascists, supported and financed by Hitler Germany, is steadily growing. In all the Scandinavian countries, the process of fascization is going on inside the big bourgeois parties. Any further lowering of the standard of living of the toilers and any growth in the discontent that is being felt may be to the advantage of the fascist demagogues. The fascist "National Party", which split off from the largest Conservative Party in Sweden, has tens of thousands of members, and is a magnet not only for the active elements of the Conservative Party, but also for the officers of the army and navy.

In Denmark, rifle detachments, which have gone fascist, are in receipt of arms and ammunition from the Ministry of War. In Norway, the "National Solidarity" Party, organized on the lines of the German National Socialists, is making demagogic use of the policy of the Social-Democratic government by declaring that they, the fascists, are in favor of a real Socialist policy, etc.

These facts show that in the Scandinavian countries, where the Social-Democrats are in power, and where, as we are assured by the reactionary elements of Social-Democracy, big successes for the working class are supposed to be obtaining, the danger of fascism is growing, the political and social gains of the masses are menaced, while the material conditions of the workers and peasants are becoming worse and worse.

The question which confronts the workers and toiling masses of the capitalist countries today is which policy to follow: that of collaboration with the bourgeoisie or of the people's front. The experience undergone by these masses themselves is giving the reply to this question. Is it not the case that the policy of the people's front in France has rallied very wide masses to resist fascism? Is it not this policy that forced the reactionary governments of Doumergue and Laval to resign? Is it not the policy of the people's front that brought about the brilliant successes in Spain? There can be only one answer, namely, that the policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie paves the way for fascism, while the policy of the people's front leads to successful resistance to fascism.

This is the main conclusion which the working masses can draw from the experiences of the struggle of the last few years.

To make the correctness of this conclusion the more convincing, it will be useful to compare the policy of coalition with the bourgeoisie as practiced in Weimar Germany with the policy of the people's front in France.

The policy of Wels and Severing meant a bloc consisting of the bourgeoisie and one section of the working class movement headed by Social-Democracy, a bloc directed against the advanced, revolutionary section of the working class. The policy of the People's Front in France is the united struggle of the working class together with the toilers in town and country, against the most reactionary circles of finance capital, against fascism.

The policy of Wels and Severing in Germany isolated the working class from the toilers in town and country, secured the bourgeoisie a leading role in relation to the working class. The policy of the People's Front in France is based on the struggle of the working class to secure the proletariat the leading role in the movement of the anti-fascist people's front, the front of all toilers.

The policy of Wels and Severing in Germany deepened the split in the ranks of the working class. The policy of the People's Front in France is based upon united action, and is leading to the political unity of the working class.

The policy of Wels and Severing in Germany weakened the working

class, and paved the way for fascism. The policy of the People's Front in France is more and more rallying the toiling masses of town and country around the proletariat, and is successfully beating off the repeated attacks made by fascism, and is preparing to crush fascism.

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On the basis of their own experiences of the struggle, the working masses in capitalist countries are being made to understand that the road of irreconcilable class struggle is the correct road. And this leads to increased differences of opinion inside the Social-Democratic Parties.

The workers and toilers throughout the world are tensely watching the development of events in France and Spain. The unprecedented advance of the masses in Spain, and the tremendous anti-fascist demonstration of the toilers of the capital of France in reply to the attempt on the life of Blum by fascist bands, met with a powerful response among the working class of all countries. The movement for united action is growing, and this is a cause of no little disquiet to the reactionary forces of the world bourgeoisie. As always, the reactionary leading groups of Social-Democracy are hastening to the assistance of the bourgeoisie.

The reactionary leaders of world Social-Democracy who are doing their utmost to defend the policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie, *i.e.*, the policy of rejecting independent class struggle by the proletariat, have drawn their own sort of conclusions from the fact that the desire of the Social-Democratic workers for the united front with the Communists is growing. Many of these leaders have gone still farther along the road of subordinating the interests of the working class and the toiling masses to the interests of the bourgeoisie, *i.e.*, along the road of sabotaging the united front.

The ideologists of, and those who practice, class collaboration, and the policy of maintaining a split in the ranks of the working class, are not stopping at splitting their own parties as the indignation of the Social-Democratic workers at this policy continues to grow. During the time which has passed since the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, the process of differentiation in the parties of the Second International has gone forward considerably. There has been an intensification of the division into two camps, namely, the camps of reactionary elements, and the camp which is being formed of those who support the establishment of the united proletarian front. The successes of the people's front during the months that have passed have led to the rank-and-file members and active workers in the Social-Democratic Parties becoming more revolutionary. The reactionary Social-Democratic elements are replying to this by increasing their resistance, and by their attempts to split the Social-Democratic Parties themselves.

In the U.S.A., the reactionary elements have already split the Socialist Party. In Spain and in a number of other countries they are

obviously preparing a split. By resorting to terror against the elements in their own parties who are becoming more revolutionary, the reactionary leaders are trying to prevent the Social-Democratic workers from taking up a revolutionary position.

The same increased differentiation is also taking place in the trade union movement between the rank and file, and sometimes even the big local and district trade union organizations, on the one hand, and the reactionary leaders of the trade union movement, on the other. Today the strike movement is taking place at a time when the masses are displaying a tremendous urge toward united action. In the strikes taking place, there is to be observed a desire for unity in the struggle, a growing feeling among the workers of confidence in their own strength, a greater ability by the workers to struggle, arising out of the understanding that united action is an important weapon in the struggle. At the same time the enemies of the united front are active against economic struggles and trade union unity.

The united front movement has been able to secure considerable successes in uniting the trade union organizations of the working class. Where trade union unity has been established, the influence of the unions is growing, the activity of the working class is on the increase, and a new influx of members into the trade unions is beginning. The unification of the trade unions in France and Spain is an important step towards establishing trade union unity throughout the world. It would, however, be a mistake to rest content with what has been achieved up to now, even in those countries where trade union unity has already been restored. The very wide masses of workers organized in trade unions and of those workers who, after trade union unity has been achieved, are today pouring in a broad wave into the united trade union organizations, are right in regarding the unity achieved as a means to an end, and first and foremost as a means of defending and improving the material conditions of the working masses. The workers in France and Spain who have shown the whole world that they have been able through joint struggle to hold back the offensive of fascism must now show that by conducting a joint struggle in a united trade union movement, they are capable of holding back the offensive of capital. The first successes in this sphere will be of tremendous importance for the united struggle of the proletariat throughout the world.

Such successes will also win to the side of united action the masses of the workers in those countries where the influence of the reactionary leaders of Social-Democracy and the trade union movement is particularly strong.

The Communists and truly Left Social-Democrats will increase their efforts tenfold to set up united working class action. They will prevent the reactionary leaders from continuing and deepening the split in the ranks of the working class movement. They will dispel the illusions that the danger of fascism has passed, and that the working class and toiling masses can set their minds at rest. The Communists and revolutionary workers will extend and strengthen organizationally, the movement of

the united proletarian front and the anti-fascist people's front, the movement for trade union unity.

“The proper guarantee against fascism is action by the masses themselves. . . . Only by carrying on a united struggle, day by day, step by step, only by tirelessly extending the anti-fascist movement of the masses, and by strengthening the people's front on all sides, on the basis of bodies elected by the masses in the factories, towns and villages, will the toiling masses draw the claws of the fascist beast, and bring the struggle against fascism to a victorious conclusion.” (Dimitroff.)

Further effective successes by the working class united front and the people's anti-fascist front, effective successes in the direction of trade union unity in those countries where united action has been established, constitute the sure road to overcoming all the obstacles which the reactionary Social-Democratic leaders throw in the way of the united struggle of the proletariat throughout the world.

A powerful means of convincing the masses of the need for united action is to explain extensively to the working masses and toilers, on the basis of the experiences of the struggle of the masses themselves in the capitalist countries, the results of the two policies, namely, the policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie and the policy of the people's front.

# Against the Instigators of War and Those Who Abet Them

By HARRY POLLITT

**I**T IS crystal clear that today the menace to the peace of the world comes from three fascist countries, and especially from Hitler. What in Britain is not sufficiently understood is why these powers are in their present position and why they were in a position to create such a menace to world peace.

Without the slightest hesitation we declare that it is because of the policy of the National Government.

Within a few days of the coming to power of the National Government in 1931, Japan marched into Manchuria; at Geneva Sir John Simon, the then Foreign Secretary, did all in his power, and succeeded in preventing the League of Nations exercising any of its power against this aggressive action of Japan. At a later stage Simon in Parliament expressly declared against any policy of sanctions against Japan, but rather that "we should view with sympathy and conciliation the situation that Japan was placed in".

Everybody knows how after this outrageous provocation on the part of Japan, the National Government blessed this action by the dispatch of the official Business Delegation of the Federation of British Industries to the Far East.

It was the National Government at the Disarmament Conference which wrecked every proposal advanced, however limited, that in any way would limit or reduce armaments. It has been the British arms industry that has been the biggest exporter of arms with government permission of any country in the world.

It was the National Government that encouraged Mussolini in his Ethiopian aims, so long as they did not conflict with the interests of British imperialism, and which when war broke out in Ethiopia, and at a most critical stage, tried to save Mussolini by the infamous Hoare-Laval "peace" proposals.

How does it come about that Hitler is the armed-to-the-teeth mad dog in Europe?

"Crush German militarism forever." That was the slogan during the last war which lured thousands to their death believing they were fighting for a just cause. "German militarism is the menace to the peace of the world", this was the slogan with which the peoples in the Allied countries were roused to a high pitch of war fever.

And yet, only a few years after Germany's crushing defeat, after its virtual disarmament, it is again German fascist militarism that menaces the peace of the world.

More striking still is the fact that this has all been carried through

since Hitler came to power. And carried through with the loans, arms, tanks, airplanes, and political assistance given by the National Government and the British armament trusts.

At the Disarmament Conference in 1932, it was Bruening who stated:

“My government and people ask that the disarmament of Germany shall be followed by general disarmament. . . . The German people look to the present conference to solve the problem of general disarmament on the basis of equal rights and equal security for all peoples.”

The British National Government refused to recognize Germany's demand for equality of rights, and in July, 1932, put forward a resolution at the Disarmament Conference which was accepted, and which made no mention of Germany's claim to equality.

But what a change takes place after Hitler comes to power. It was one thing to allow a democratic Germany to rearm, but quite another thing to arm a fascist Germany.

It wasn't long before the signs came that Hitler's best friends were in the National Government and in the circles of the British imperialists. In the summer of 1933, mass opposition against the horrors of German fascism was at its height, the labor movement especially had been shocked at the murder of so many working class fighters, and the destruction of the labor organizations. And it was at this moment that Lloyd George, “the man who won the war against Germany” came forward with the cue to the National Government and, let it be noted, to the Labor leaders, that a new situation had arisen. Speaking in Barmouth he is reported as saying:

“If the powers succeeded in overthrowing Naziism in Germany, what would follow? Not a Conservative, Liberal or Socialist regime, but extreme Communism. Surely that would not be their objective. A Communist Germany would be infinitely more formidable than a Communist Russia.” (*The Times*, Sept. 23, 1933.)

This lead was quickly taken up. Sir Arthur Balfour, a great steel capitalist, and very influential in government circles came out in full song. If in 1914, “German militarism was the danger to peace”, it now turns out that “in 1936 it is Germany disarmed that is the danger to peace”, and the armed Soviet Union which represents the menace to the peace of Europe. This is what Balfour said in Sheffield, the great munitions center.

“With regard to Germany, something was bound to happen. . . . Either they were to have Communism or something else. Hitler produced Hitlerism, and of the two I think it is preferable.

“With the Russians armed to the teeth and the tremendous menace in the Middle East, Germany unarmed in the middle is always going to be a plum waiting for the Russians to take, and which we should defend if the Germans could not defend

themselves. One of the greatest menaces to peace in Europe today is the totally unarmed condition of Germany." (*Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, October 24, 1933.)

The lying propaganda about the Soviet Union deceived very few people, but it would be interesting to hear the comments of soldiers who endured the horrors of the last war, and the comments of bereaved families whose fathers, sons, brothers, and husbands were killed in order that German militarism could be crushed forever, when they know that now we had to start arming Germany again.

It wasn't long after this that our armament manufacturers began to advertise in German periodicals their willingness to supply Germany with the heavy tanks the Peace Treaty of Versailles stated Germany wasn't to have. Or before our airplane bombing engine manufacturers began to supply Germany with the war weapons the Versailles Treaty stated were forbidden forever to Germany.

In January, 1934, the National Government agreed to Hitler's demands for heavy land rearmament, and, by refusing to do anything to strengthen security for France in view of these new developments, angered the French government. Then the wheel began to turn full circle. Sir John Simon gave the whole show away in his speech in Parliament on February 6, 1934, when he stated:

"Germany's claim to equality of rights in the matter of armaments cannot be resisted and ought not to be resisted. . . ."

In 1932, a democratic Germany is refused equal rights, in 1934 a fascist Germany is granted the right to heavy rearmament and its demands "ought not to be resisted".

Protests were made against this policy of support for Hitler, but to no avail; the armament manufacturers were already on the job. Rolls Royce, the airplane makers, Vickers, the biggest arms trust, were now well away and already supplying Hitler with what he needed, and with the full permission of the National Government. The sanctity of treaties did not apply in questions affecting the National Government and Hitler.

But when it leaked out that Armstrong Siddely, another of the Vickers' family group, had received an order to supply Hitler with eighty aero-engines, it was perhaps the memory of the school children of Poplar who were killed by German aeroplanes in "the war to end war" that aroused somebody's conscience to the effect that perhaps the Government's policy was going to lead to a repetition of this horror, and that prompted questions to be raised in Parliament; but Simon was quick to the rescue. The man who helped Japan get into Manchuria was not going to hesitate to do a similar good turn for Hitler, and he manfully rose to answer the questions raised and replied: "The fulfilment of the order does not conflict with the terms of the relevant international instruments."

Hitler having got tanks, airplanes, permission to rearm, and no measures adopted against him when he announced military conscription in Germany, quickly followed up his progress with the National Govern-

ment by demanding the right to build up his naval power. "Why not?" in effect says Baldwin, and so the Anglo-German Naval Treaty was signed in June, 1935, which gave Germany, whose battleships and submarines we had destroyed in 1919, in order that never again she be a menace on the high seas, the right to build a navy 35 per cent the size of Britain's navy, submarines 40 per cent and with the right to go up to 100 per cent, etc. All told, this means a German navy four times the size of that allowed by the Versailles Treaty. But what's a small thing like that, if Hitler whispers to Baldwin: this fleet is not for use against you in the North and Atlantic Seas, but only for use in the Baltic against the Soviet Union.

Having gone this far, why stop at lending Hitler a few million pounds? True, Britain won the last war and, in consequence, has been made a land safe for the Means Test to be applied in. True the unemployed must have their benefits cut down, and the Means Test imposed to safeguard the financial stability of Britain, but this is no reason why we should stint Hitler of money. The money is needed for Hitler to carry through his rearmament program. Let him have it, says the National Government. And they did. When protests are made about this matter, Montague Norman, the Chairman of the Bank of England, who had been foremost in the policy of helping Hitler, calmly stated that Hitler must be supported by credits because "the Nazis are a bulwark against Communism".

But by this time some doubts were beginning to be expressed as to whether after all "we could trust Hitler"; "it's all right putting the guns in his hands, but which way will he fire", and these doubts have grown stronger since it has not escaped observation that the help England gave to Japan in Manchuria seems only to have whetted her appetite, and she has gone forward with war on China, and in certain instances is now tending to become a direct menace to British imperialist interests in China.

After all, didn't Hitler shoot his own friends on June 30?

But reassurance was quickly made.

Britain was safe from attacks by Hitler, it really was the Soviet Union that he meant to go against, and this type of reassurance was never so blatantly given, as when the important technical journal *Aero-plane*, on March 4, the eve of Hitler's denunciation of Locarno and march into the Rhineland, came out with the following statement:

"One of the best proofs that Germany has no fear of a war with us is the massing of German aerodromes in Northwest Germany. . . . The obvious explanation of these aerodromes is that Germany is very sensibly putting her aerodromes as far west as possible to get them as nearly as may be out of reach of Russian bombers. . . . Germany has no fear of a war against us. On the other hand, if and when we join Germany in throwing the Russians off civilized Europe, those West German aerodromes will be quite nice as first landing places for our aerial reinforcements."

The significance of this journal is of course its close connection with the aeroplane industry and its connections with the air force, and it is a statement of a position that all those, who in recent days have been so easily deceived by Hitler's 25 year peace pact in the West, ought to ponder over. George Lansbury, especially, with his great mass influence, and who has said so much in the past about defending the Soviet Union, was one of the first to advocate discussing Hitler's "peace" offer.

But in the light of all these facts, is it not clear as daylight that Hitler is where he is because of the whole policy of the National Government?

Hitler would never have dared to denounce Locarno, or march into the Rhineland, with all its menace to the peace of Europe, if he had not been supported by British loans, arms, naval pacts, and given whole-hearted support to his vast rearmament in general.

This is not just the opinion of a Communist who might be accused of being unduly prejudiced in favor of maintaining peace in Europe and in defending the Soviet Union.

When in October, 1933, it became a subject of common knowledge that Hitler had commenced to rearm, the weekly journal, *Time and Tide*, published an article on the situation that then obtained, and declared:

"Two years ago, Japan could have been stopped as easily and painlessly as German rearmament could be stopped today. . . . Two years hence, if the same policy towards Germany is followed that has been followed towards Japan—and there is every sign that it will be—the situation in Europe will be as threatening to peace as it has already become in the Far East." (*Time and Tide*, October 28, 1933.)

The situation visualized by this journal is already here, and the responsibility is that of the National Government of Britain.

But what is terribly disquieting is the fact that Hitler is able to deceive so many peace-loving people. It seems to be forgotten that when Hitler holds out a hand with a flower of peace in it, his other hand holds a gun, that every time he talks about peace he takes a warlike action.

When Hitler spoke on March 7 he was prepared to make a 25 years' peace pact with a certain number of countries, and those not mentioned happened to be Austria, Czechoslovakia, and the Soviet Union. Immediately the newspapers that had been the strongest for sanctions against Mussolini, became the strongest advocates for no sanctions against Hitler; more, they became the shameless champions of accepting his proposals. But Rothermere was cleverer than the *News Chronicle*, the *Daily Herald* and the pacifists. He saw from his point of view the weak spot in Hitler's speech and he dispatched the fascist sympathizer, Ward Price, to have a special interview with Hitler; and three days after the occupation of the Rhineland, Hitler conveniently allowed himself to correct "a little mistake" in his March 7 speech. He now, if you please, is

prepared to include Austria and Czechoslovakia in his peace pact.

The aim was now quite clear, or so one would have thought. "I'll not attack any of you in the west for twenty-five years, and you let me go full steam ahead against the Soviet Union." And instead of this impudence arousing every section of progressive opinion and those who desire the peace of the world to be maintained, they jumped right into the trap set for them. They became Hitler's strongest champions.

But it was left to the Labor organ, the *Daily Herald*, to outdo all the other friends of Hitler. Day after day it poured out the vilest Hitler propaganda. For a long time many workers had been alarmed at the pro-German character of the *Herald*, especially in the material of its diplomatic correspondent. Yet a little reflection might have shown that the line the *Daily Herald* took on Hitler's speech was no accident.

During the silver jubilee of the late King George, when the political stock of the National Government was very low, it had sickened thousands of its readers by its nauseating adulation of royalty. It had materially assisted the National Government to restore its waning influence. Its fulsome support of Sir Samuel Hoare at Geneva last September, when it declared that Hoare's speech represented "the voice of Britain" and could not have been "improved by any other foreign secretary from Britain", outraged many of its readers.

Then came its actions at the death of King George. It beat the whole of the capitalist press in the way in which it slobbered and duly emitted its spate of tears, and thus helped the National Government to climb out of the bad position it was in over the scandal of the Hoare-Laval "peace" proposals.

But it was left to Hitler to be the medium through which the *Daily Herald* eclipsed itself in its services to Hitler. Day after day in its treatment of Hitler's peace "offer" it called for "the recognition of Hitler at his true worth". But it reached peak point, and brought the matter to a head when it declared on March 16, in advocating acceptance of Hitler's offer:

"We return to these considerations because it grows clearer that Hitler can most easily and most effectively dissolve the crisis he has created. He wants a great place in history for his country. He could place Germany in a position of moral leadership of the world by a few words."

Is it any wonder that Goebbels, in return for this service to Hitler, broadcast the *Herald* leading articles verbatim over the German wireless?

Is it any wonder that at this shameful support of Hitler and eager attempt to secure a fancied security for Britain at the expense of the Soviet Union, a storm of protest broke out? Is it any wonder that working class organizations passed resolutions repudiating the policy of the *Daily Herald*?

Typical of such protests is the one adopted by the Warrington Trades and Labor Council:

"That this Trades Council and Labor Party has noted with

regret the tone and tendency of recent leading articles in the *Daily Herald* dealing with the situation created by the breaking of the Locarno Treaty by Germany.

"The tendency referred to expresses a pro-Hitler attitude, which is not in conformity with previous expressions of opinion made by the National Council of Labor, either in respect to Nazi policy, declarations on foreign policy, and even the collective peace system."

Is it any wonder that journalists of progressive sympathies attending the League of Nation's Council meeting lashed Herbert Morrison with the line of the *Daily Herald*, and that when Morrison went to speak in the bye-election at Llanelly he was forced to come out with what was a complete repudiation of the policy of the *Daily Herald*, as is seen in this extract from this speech:

"The speech of M. Litvinov at the meeting of the League Council in many respects represents the point of view which should be supported.

"Nothing is lost in letting Hitler know that the British labor movement is not willing to be used as the instrument of Nazi militarism and aggression, and that we take the view that respect of agreements on the part of all countries is an essential to good international relationships.

"Hitler makes a bad psychological mistake when he talks to the world in the same dictatorial language with which he addresses his own people.

"British labor will be no party to foreign policies directed against the Soviet Union. Hitler must not expect us to do any other than be opposed to any efforts against the Soviet Union.

"Any policy based upon the problematic promotion of peace in Western Europe in order to wage war in the East is bound to meet with our opposition."

Is it any wonder that it is now freely stated that big discussions have taken place on the whole question of control of the *Daily Herald* policy, and that certain changes will shortly take place among the editorial staff? But this won't undo the great damage that has been done to the cause of peace by the *Daily Herald*.

The readers of those British newspapers which so stoutly advocated acceptance of Hitler's "peace offer" would do well to ask themselves the question also: "Can Hitler be trusted?" Which way will he fire first? Do they imagine that if such a 25-year peace pact at the expense of the Soviet Union were signed, that this gives them all the guarantees they want? Hasn't Hitler just broken one solemnly signed pact, Locarno, which he promised to respect? If the Soviet Union was attacked do these people really think that such a war could be localized? It is also worth while remembering that while Hitler shakes his fist at the Soviet Union he marches west.

Hitler is the chief war aggressor. He cannot be tamed by pledges, and paper documents, he can only be tamed by the overwhelming opposition of all the peoples who desire to preserve peace. And this will not

be accomplished by becoming his propaganda agents, and advocating giving him concessions. The more concessions that fascism gets, the more aggressive it becomes. Japan is proving that every day in the week.

But support for Hitler, however unconscious in certain cases it may be, is all the more shameful when it is hoped to purchase a false security at the expense of the one country whose peace policy and peace pacts with other countries have so far prevented war from breaking out, namely, the Soviet Union.

So far from encouraging Hitler we must ring him round with a world opposition that will compel him to understand that his war aims will never be allowed to materialize; a ring that at the same time becomes a tremendous source of strength and encouragement to the German people who are fighting against Hitler inside the country itself.

The whole moral of recent events has been to demonstrate the fact that while there is a general desire for peace, it is unorganized, and, because of this, can so easily be swayed by false moves that only help forward war. It has been too commonly assumed that the menace of war can be a great unifying factor, but unless there is a clear peace policy, unless the meaning of fascism is understood, the menace of war can become a factor which leads to further divisions in the ranks of those who are the most interested in preserving peace.

We have seen how easily splits occurred inside the British labor movement, the National Peace Council, and other pacifist bodies on the Ethiopian war. We have seen how cleverly the National Government has been able to win millions who voted against war in the peace ballot to its support in the last general election. We have seen how big sections of people fell for Hitler's so-called "peace" offer in these recent days.

We in Britain inside the labor movement and inside all peace organizations and League of Nations' branches have the greatest responsibility on our shoulders. It is the National Government that has built up Hitler, but it can be the united strength of all of us that can even at this late hour be the means of curbing any further fascist aggression or any further support for Hitler from Britain.

Especially is this responsibility great on the shoulders of those Labor leaders of Britain who are directly responsible for preventing the establishment of the united front within the British labor movement and the international labor movement. The recent London International Conference brought out quite clearly how the British Labor leaders are the stumbling blocks in the way of unity. A majority of the Socialist Parties within the Second International are for united action. Only the British Labor leaders and their influence on the Scandinavian labor movement prevent this unity in action from being established right now.

And who can doubt that, if national and international unity were established, this would be the greatest blow that Hitler could receive, for the key to peace is finally in the hands, not of governments, but of the working class. How shall that key be turned? Which door shall it open, the door to peace or the door to war?

It needs to be stated that the policy of the British Labor leaders in

their opposition to the united front is the best possible support for Hitler. It helps him. It strengthens him. It also helps the National Government, and facilitates the advance of fascism in Britain.

The Communist Party of Great Britain has heavy tasks to fulfill. It holds the key position in the Communist International. The fate of the whole world depends upon what we are able to do to maintain peace. For Britain is the decisive factor in the present international situation.

The Communist Party of Great Britain must now, as never before, organize the fight for peace and against the National Government. It must convincingly demonstrate where the policy of the Citrines and the *Daily Herald* is leading to. It must launch such a campaign that will reach every citizen who hates war and fascism, who wants unity and peace.

While doing everything in our power in the factories, trade unions and working class organizations in general to develop the power and organization that can act independently, that can prevent war materials going to a fascist power, that can strengthen trade union and factory organization against the war preparations of the National Government, that can prevent any industrial truce from being arranged, that can send delegations of international solidarity to European countries, we will at the same time mobilize all friends of peace behind any measures that are calculated to preserve peace and help the peoples of the fascist countries in their struggles against fascism.

We must arouse such a mass response that will ensure the adequate carrying out of all measures that help in the building up of collective security, that can in any way restrain the fascist aggressors, that can prevent any further loans or aid to the fascist countries to help forward the war preparations of the militarists of Japan, Mussolini and Hitler.

We must launch out on the greatest campaign ever undertaken for a peace treaty between Britain and the Soviet Union, which together with the existing Franco-Soviet treaty would also become a mighty means of preventing the outbreak of war in Europe. The majority of the British people love democracy, they hate what has happened in Germany. They can be organized to prevent any further actions by the National Government that help the fascist bully Hitler.

We will support any measures launched by the labor movement that will hold off war, however inadequate we may think them.

We take the view that peace can be maintained, but only by independent organized action and activity. Therefore now we must go into action. Rousing the masses, tirelessly explaining how the present situation has developed, where the responsibility lies, what has to be done, how it has to be done, that unity can bring success, and that those who oppose unity must be swept outside the labor movement.

Now with an intensity and enthusiasm unprecedented in the history of our Party we must go to the masses in the factories, at the street corners and market places, meetings, meetings, meetings, and end the wrong conception that street corner agitation is a thing of the past.

This spring and summer must witness such a revival of meetings and agitation that can stir millions of people in defense of peace.

The defense of peace is a great aim to which we of the Communist Party of Great Britain alongside of all our international comrades should be proud to devote every ounce of our strength and energy. The desire for peace must be organized, it can be organized, and it is a field of activity in which every member of our Party—docker, seaman, engineer, miner, textile worker, chemical worker, teacher, doctor, lawyer, writer and artist—can find the most important work he has ever undertaken and rally the broadest masses of the people for a victorious struggle.

And the coming May Day demonstrations must be the mightiest and most impressive ever seen. They must be mass demonstrations of the broadest masses of the people who desire unity and peace, and which will reveal the immense power and organization of the workers and all friends of peace, that will restrain the fascist aggressors, and curb the war plans of all capitalist governments, that will defend peace.

# The Industrial Union Bloc in the American Federation of Labor

*By* WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

**D**URING the past several months, there has taken shape in the American Federation of Labor a new and powerful progressive opposition movement. It is being built around the issue of the organization of the unorganized into industrial unions in the trustified, mass production industries. The new movement consists of a bloc of eight American Federation of Labor unions, formally organized into a national body called the Committee for Industrial Organization (C.I.O.). The component unions are the Coal Miners, Textile Workers, Printers, Oil Workers, Metal Miners and three Needle Trades Unions. Altogether, they number 1,100,000 members, or approximately one-third of the whole American Federation of Labor. The leader of the C.I.O. is John L. Lewis, President of the United Mine Workers of America. The movement carries with it the possibility of profound progressive changes in the structure, leadership and policies of the American Federation of Labor.

The C.I.O. was formed shortly after the adjournment of the 55th Convention of the American Federation of Labor, which was held in Atlantic City in October, 1935, although the movement had been already developing for two years. This Convention was the scene of a very bitter struggle between the industrial union forces, led by Lewis, and the craft union supporters, led by William Green and the majority of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

The struggle turned around the question of unionizing the almost totally unorganized workers in the steel, automobile, chemical, rubber and other mass production industries, and was concretized in the demand that in these industries the American Federation of Labor give up its antiquated system of trying to organize the workers into many autonomous craft unions (a dozen or more to each industry) and give the jurisdiction in each case to one industrial union. In support of their demand, the Lewis forces pointed out the complete failure of the traditional system of craft organization in these industries where old trade lines have long since been obliterated by mechanization and specialization of labor, and where the growth of the trusts has made absolutely necessary the unity of all the workers in a given industry.

In reply, president Green of the A. F. of L. and the other craft union leaders (ultra-reactionaries of the stripe of Woll, Hutcheson, Wharton, Frey, Tobin, etc.) repeated all the time-worn shibboleths of the skilled workers' craft unions, but they depended primarily upon their organizational control of the Convention (the delegation of which

was made up chiefly of top union leaders) to beat down the industrial union opposition. What the craftists lacked in arguments, they made up in slander and intimidation. So acute became the convention struggle that John L. Lewis, head of the Miners' Union, and William Hutcheson, President of the Carpenters' Union, came to blows. The Convention finally rejected the resolution of the industrial unionists by a vote of 18,000 to 11,000.

Shortly after this Convention, the industrial unionists organized themselves nationally into the Committee for Industrial Organization. This Committee has established a national headquarters and is publishing a journal and various pamphlets advocating its program. The A. F. of L. Executive Council met the formation of the C.I.O. with a denunciation that it is a dual union movement and a rival national trade union center, and made a demand for its immediate dissolution.

#### THE MASS BASE OF THE C.I.O.

The formation of the Committee for Industrial Organization is one of the many expressions of the deep-going radicalization that has been taking place among the American working class under the fierce blows of the deep and prolonged economic crisis. Long-continued mass unemployment, hunger and government brutality are rapidly destroying the American workers' traditional capitalist illusions, and they are turning to militant mass action for relief from their intolerable situation.

Besides the C.I.O., there have been many other significant manifestations of the masses' growing discontent and their mood for struggle. Prominent among these, during the past four years, were the whole series of big struggles and demonstrations of the unemployed; the great and continued strike wave, including such historic battles as the San Francisco general strike, the national strike of 500,000 textile workers, etc., and various other militant mass movements among the war veterans, farmers, youth, Negroes, as well as a huge growth of anti-fascist and anti-war sentiment. Another, and one of the most significant signs of the workers' political awakening, is the present rapid growth of mass demand for a national Farmer-Labor Party, accompanied by the actual formation of many city and state Farmer-Labor Parties. In all these struggles and Left developments, the Communist Party has played a large and growing role. It is in the forefront of every battle of the toiling masses, and its widespread activities have been an important factor in creating the broad base upon which the C.I.O. movement is built.

The C.I.O. has its roots in this prevailing great wave of working class discontent and struggle. The workers in the open shop basic industries are clamoring for trade union organization and improved wage and working conditions, and the C.I.O.'s program is in answer to their insistent demands. Moreover, the rank and file of the organized workers in the A. F. of L. are also profoundly discontented at the bad economic conditions and the reactionary policies of their official leaders, and this is another strong factor in laying a mass base for the C.I.O. movement.

## THE PROGRAM OF THE C.I.O.

The C.I.O. has as yet formulated no formal, general program. Its policies are contained principally in the speeches and resolutions of its leaders at the 55th A. F. of L. Convention. In these documents, sharp complaints are directed against the miserable conditions of the workers, and the organization of the mass production industries is stressed as the main essential task in order to improve the workers' situation. The C.I.O. leaders vigorously assert that the organization of these workers can be brought about only on the basis of industrial unionism. They point out with force that the A. F. of L., with its craft system, has, after 55 years of life, organized only some 3,000,000 out of at least 25,000,000 organizable workers.

The leading union in the Committee for Industrial Organization is the United Mine Workers of America. This union, which greatly increased its strength under the Roosevelt regime, now has some 500,000 members and is solidly entrenched in every important coalfield in the United States and Canada. But the U.M.W.A. leaders and members fear they will not be able long to maintain their organization and union conditions unless the workers can be organized in the neighboring open shop, trustified, mass-production industries, such as steel, automobile, rubber, etc., and the wage standards in these industries drastically improved. That this fear is well-grounded is exemplified by the fact that, during the great coal strike of 1927-28, the U.M.W.A. was smashed in most of the important soft coal districts. This big drive against the miners' union was conducted mainly by the railroads, steel companies, automobile corporations, and other powerful trusts which have their own coal mines. Hence comes the militant support by the miners of the movement for trade union organization in the open shop, trustified industries. The other unions in the C.I.O., notably the three needle trade organizations, which have about 400,000 members and a militant membership, share the miners' views about the supreme importance of organizing the unorganized.

That the C.I.O. should declare for the principle of industrial unionism is not surprising. First, the A. F. of L., with its policy of dividing the mass production workers among a dozen or twenty autonomous unions in each industry, and with its non-struggle methods generally, has made a complete failure of organizing these workers. This is so clear that even the blind should see the necessity of abandoning the antiquated craft system and adopting the principle of one industry, one union.

Second, the United Mine workers has always been an industrial union, and the same is true of the United Textile Workers, and substantially also of the oil workers and metal miners. As for the three needle trades unions, they are semi-industrial in form, and the Typographical Union, one of the oldest and strongest unions in America, was originally built on the industrial basis, and still supports that principle, although it has suffered from several craft splits in its long history. Third, most of the C.I.O. unions have in the past, on various occasions,

played a Left role in the A. F. of L. and are thus naturally supporters of this progressive movement.

The programmatic scope of the C.I.O., however, extends beyond its official plan of organizing the unorganized into industrial unions. In and around the C.I.O., there are also growing various other progressive tendencies. Indeed, the real significance of the C.I.O. lies precisely in the fact that it is developing into a broad, forward-striving, general Left movement possessing great potentialities for the future of the whole American working class.

First, on the question of fascism and war: the C.I.O. leaders are displaying a conscious alarm over the spread of fascist sentiment and the growing danger of war. In this they reflect the strong anti-war, anti-fascist sentiment among the masses. They made the A. F. of L. Convention ring with their warnings in this respect. To fight these twin dangers, the C.I.O. puts in first line the organization of the workers in the basic industries. In demanding such organization, John L. Lewis declared at the A. F. of L. Convention:

“We are all disturbed by reason of the changes and the hazards in our economic situation and as regards our political security. There are forces at work in this country that would wipe out, if they could, the labor movement of America, just as it was wiped out in Germany, or just as it was wiped out in Italy.”

There is also a strong sentiment among the C.I.O.'s affiliated unions for the establishment of the Farmer-Labor Party, although the C.I.O. will support Roosevelt in the coming elections. The needle trades unions, the textile workers and the metal miners have long been on record for such a party. The miners' union is also saturated with Labor Party sentiment, and Lewis himself is reported as favoring the formation of a Labor Party “at the opportune time”.

At the A. F. of L. Convention, the C.I.O. forces showed a number of other progressive tendencies. For one thing, they forced the notorious labor reactionary, Matthew Woll, to resign from the presidency of the National Civic Federation, a propaganda body of finance capital; they also broke up Green's attempt to launch a general campaign of expulsion of Communists throughout the A. F. of L., and, besides, due largely to their influence, the Convention, for the first time in many years, was free from the usual deluge of slander and denunciation against the Soviet Union.

In short, the general effect of the C.I.O. movement has been greatly to encourage progressive thought and action in the A. F. of L. It has weakened the deadly stranglehold of the Green bureaucracy on the trade unions and has given the forces of life and progress in these organizations new grounds for development. It is at present a great rallying point of the progressive forces, not only of union workers, but also of the unorganized, and even of the liberal and radical petty-bourgeois intelligentsia.

## THE LEADERSHIP OF THE C.I.O.

The outstanding figure in the Committee for Industrial Organization is John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers. Lewis is a clever, strong, aggressive and opportunistic leader. Hitherto, in his twenty years of top leadership, he has been completely identified with the extreme Right wing of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy. He is an open defender of the capitalist system. For many years he was a member of the National Committee of the Republican Party and was allied with various other capitalist organizations. He pursued a typical A. F. of L. policy of class-collaboration, controlling his union with an iron hand, and brooking no opposition. He expelled hundreds of Communists and progressives from the U.M.W.A., and, thus, from their jobs in the coal industry. Lewis is a man of boundless ambition and, if he succeeds in his present fight against the A. F. of L. Executive Council, he can readily become president of the A. F. of L. And if Roosevelt, whom Lewis is ardently supporting, wins in the coming elections, Lewis will doubtless have a high government post offered him.

Next to Lewis in importance in the C.I.O. movement is Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Hillman is also a shrewd and ambitious leader. He is a past master of the use of Left phrases and opportunistic maneuvering. He has visited the U.S.S.R. a couple of times and his union formerly gave active support to the reconstruction of the Russian clothing industry. At present, Hillman, like the other C.I.O. leaders, is working closely with the Roosevelt administration. Associated with Hillman are the leaders of the two affiliated Socialist needle trades unions—Dubinsky, head of the International Ladies Garment Workers, and Zaritsky, head of the Cap and Millinery Workers.

Another outstanding figure in the C.I.O. is Francis Gorman, vice-president of the United Textile Workers. Gorman led the recent national strike of 500,000 textile workers. He has lately developed a strong progressive turn and is now going about the country advocating the formation of the Farmer-Labor Party, a militant struggle against the growing fascist and war danger, etc. Howard, president of the Typographical Union, whose progressivism is very limited, was originally elected to his post a dozen years ago in opposition to the A. F. of L. machine candidate, Lynch.

Lewis' active representative in the C.I.O. is John Brophy, formerly a U.M.W.A. district official, and one-time opponent of Lewis. Brophy in 1926, with the active support of the Communist Party, ran as an opposition candidate against Lewis in the union elections on a joint Left-wing progressive ticket. The election was fiercely contested. Lewis' officials counted the ballots and declared Lewis elected; but the Left wing asserted that they had manipulated some 100,000 votes in order to defeat Brophy. Brophy, long an advocate of the Labor Party, headed a delegation to the Soviet Union a few years ago.

## THE POLICY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The Communist Party supports the constructive work of the Committee for Industrial Organization. The Communist Party has for many years been the champion of industrial unionism and the organization of the unorganized, the two chief planks of the new movement. The Party sees in the C.I.O. a movement containing great possibilities for strengthening the economic and political organization of the American working class and it seeks to develop these potentialities to the fullest. The Communist Party has no formal united front with the C.I.O. leaders, but it sets up working relations with supporters of the C.I.O. throughout the trade union movement and among the unorganized workers.

Concretely, our Party joins in the C.I.O. organization campaigns, giving them leadership and support on the job where the actual organizing work is being done and it also carries on a campaign in favor of industrial unionism throughout the trade unions. But, of course, the Communist Party goes beyond these elementary issues, important though they are. It cannot become merely a tail to the C.I.O. The Party strives to give a class struggle policy to the C.I.O. movement; it stresses the need for trade union democracy, for the organization of a national Farmer-Labor Party, for unemployment insurance, for the equal rights of Negroes in the unions and elsewhere, against the A. F. of L. Executive Council's expulsion policy, against fascism and war, etc. In short, the Party strives to politicalize the C.I.O. movement, to strengthen it into a broad Left movement that will rid the A. F. of L. of its reactionary, class collaboration economic and political policies and make of it a real fighting weapon of the working class, to develop it in the general direction of struggle against capital and a united people's front against fascism and war.

But in supporting the work of the C.I.O. our Party also necessarily carries on a constructive criticism of the shortcomings of the C.I.O. officialdom and policies. Not alone have the C.I.O. leaders highly opportunistic pasts, but there are also many serious weaknesses in their present activities.

Among these weaknesses are their tendency to make a fetish of the form of industrial unionism instead of also stressing the need for a class struggle policy for the unions, their suppression of trade union democracy in C.I.O. unions, their slowness at undertaking energetically the actual organization of the unorganized; their inadequate fight in the lower organs of the trade unions against the Executive Council, their restriction of the question of industrial unionism simply to the mass production industries instead of raising it as a question for the whole A. F. of L.; their refusal to give active support to the formation of the Farmer-Labor Party, their still hesitant and unclear fight against the menacing dangers of fascism and war, their clinging to traditional A. F. of L. class collaboration practices, etc.

Lewis and other C.I.O. leaders have gained great prestige among the masses through the new movement; they have in their unions huge

financial resources at their disposal; and they themselves have a strong opportunistic bent; hence only if the Communist Party carries on a constructive criticism of the C.I.O. leaders, only if the Party applies itself diligently to actual organization work in the trade unions and among the unorganized and builds up a strong, educated rank and file, can the C.I.O. movement be steered away from the dangerous sands of opportunism and enabled to realize its full progressive and revolutionary possibilities.

Some mistakes have been made by the Party in the application of its line. Thus, in a number of instances articles in the *Daily Worker* have incorrectly evaluated Lewis, ranging from uncritical praise of him to sectarian denunciation. There has also been a failure to take full advantage of the present opportunity to organize the Left forces in the lower trade union organs and among the unorganized. But such mistakes and deficiencies are being eliminated and a correct Party policy is developing towards the very important C.I.O. movement.

#### THE DANGER OF A SPLIT IN THE A. F. OF L.

The dominant A. F. of L. bureaucrats view the rise of the C.I.O. with bitter hatred and undisguised alarm. They sense in it a threat to their whole reactionary regime; they fear that it will bring with it the end of their class collaboration policy, the reorganization of their obsolete craft system of unionism, and the development of a new leadership in the A. F. of L. So that when they denounced the C.I.O. at its formation as a dual organization and demanded its immediate dissolution, there was in this action a distinct threat of drastic action if the C.I.O. did not comply.

The Green leadership, which control the A. F. of L. Executive Council, are deeply reactionary and they are allied with many capitalist organizations, including those of a distinctly fascist trend. They would undoubtedly split the labor movement in their efforts to preserve their control. This is shown once more by the fact that while at the present time the Communists and other fighting elements are rapidly strengthening their trade union forces, the Green bureaucrats in various organizations are trying to stop them by a reckless policy of mass expulsion. Recent examples of this policy in A. F. of L. unions were the expulsion of some 18,000 members of the A. F. of L. Steel Workers' Union (who were led by Communists and progressives), the expulsion of the Pacific Coast organization of 13,000 seamen (who were leaders in the great San Francisco general strike), and the lifting of the charter of the Painters' District Council of New York, with 12,000 members, because it elected Left and progressive officials by a vote of more than three to one.

In view of these events, the ultimatum of the Executive Committee demanding the liquidation of the Committee for Industrial Organization, therefore, clearly carried with it an implied menace to split the trade union movement in the event of C.I.O. resistance. Such a major rupture as this could only be a major disaster to the workers. It would prevent

the organization of the unorganized by setting up rival unions, it would confuse and disrupt the forces of industrial unionism and destroy the growing progressive Left wing in the A. F. of L. And, worse, it would greatly encourage the employers to intensify their drive against the living standards, organizations and civic rights of the workers. Such a split would disarm the working class in the face of the developing fascist reaction.

The C.I.O. is based on the program of raising the industrial solidarity of the workers to a higher stage. In this situation, therefore, it was manifestly its task to use all its power and influence to arouse the masses against the threatening split. The C.I.O. should have come forth at once as the militant champion of trade union unity. But, unfortunately, Lewis just then made a couple of unskillful maneuvers that played directly into the hands of the Green reactionaries. Firstly, when the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. denounced the C.I.O. as a dual organization Lewis unwisely replied by resigning his seat in that Council, an act which the capitalist press promptly hailed as a step towards the Miners' Union quitting the A. F. of L. And, secondly, upon receipt of the Executive Council's ultimatum for the liquidation of the C.I.O., the Miners' Convention, then in session and firmly controlled by Lewis, adopted a resolution authorizing him to stop paying per capita tax to the A. F. of L., that is to disaffiliate the miners from that body, when and if Lewis found it necessary.

The Executive Council reactionaries, the actual elements from whom the danger of a split arose, at once shouted that Lewis was about to divide and wreck the trade union movement. The capitalist press made a sensation of the matter, generally supporting the view of the Executive Council and placing upon Lewis the main responsibility for the threatened split. The situation became very acute and it caused some confusion and wavering in the ranks of the C.I.O. leaders. Dubinsky, head of the International Garment Workers, made a public statement, addressed to Lewis, that he was opposed to a split. The Right wing of the Socialist Party openly attacked Lewis and supported Green. In this controversy the Communist Party declared against the Green splitters and for a powerful, united A. F. of L. based on industrial unionism, trade union democracy, and a policy of class struggle.

#### THE DEADLOCK BETWEEN THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL AND THE C.I.O.

The immediate danger of a split, however, has passed away, Green evidently considering the situation not propitious for attempting the dissolution of the C.I.O. by violent measures. But the tension is still great between the rival forces and it may at any time flare up again into an open struggle. Since its formation the C.I.O. has been carrying on many activities. Among other things, it has definitely supported the A. F. of L. Automobile Workers' and Rubber Workers' Unions in their struggle for an industrial union charter, and it has also given similar help to non-A. F. of L. unions of radio workers, shipbuilding workers, etc. It

supported the recent victorious strike of 14,000 Akron rubber workers. The Executive Council deeply resents the C.I.O.'s interference in all these situations. But at present the main struggle between the two bodies centers around the question of organizing the steel industry, the Executive Council and the C.I.O. finding themselves deadlocked over this important matter.

There are some 500,000 workers in the steel industry, almost entirely unorganized. Their unionization is vital for the whole labor movement. But the A. F. of L., with its antiquated method of splitting the workers into many craft unions, its policy of class collaboration, and its general inertia and incompetency, has been totally unable to organize them. Its latest failure took place in 1934, during the great strike movements of that period, when the steel workers were rapidly organizing themselves and were about to bring their industry to a standstill in a broad strike. At this point, however, the A. F. of L. leaders stepped in and had the whole controversy referred to a mediation committee appointed by President Roosevelt. This committee maneuvered around with the final result that the strike movement of the steel workers was wrecked and their union reduced to a mere skeleton.

The C.I.O., however, has again made a living question of organizing the steel industry. Its eight unions voted to appropriate \$500,000 for this work, provided that the workers were all placed into one union and that the campaign be conducted by competent organizers. The Executive Council, which has been forced by the C.I.O. to make a show of doing something in the steel industry, rejected the C.I.O.'s conditional offer and, instead, called upon all its affiliated unions to raise a fund of \$750,000 to organize the industry on the craft union basis, that is, to split the steel workers into the many unions (in the 1919 campaign there were 24), claiming jurisdiction over them.

To break this deadlock between the C.I.O. and the Executive Council and to get the work of organization actually started, the Communist Party came forward with the following proposal: It called upon the C.I.O. to go ahead at once with steel organization work itself, as no hope could be placed in the A. F. of L. Executive Council accomplishing anything. A problem is presented by the fact that the present weak Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers (the A.A.) is officered by one of the worst cliques of the Green bureaucracy. The C.I.O., therefore, cannot work with these reactionaries, but instead must base its campaign upon local committees set up by the strong progressive opposition movement in the A.A. It should put its men and money at the disposal of these local committees and proceed with a great nation-wide organization campaign. This knotty question of industrial unionism should be resolved by an appeal to the steel workers not to join the various craft unions but to affiliate themselves in a body to the A.A., which is an old A. F. of L. union that has long claimed jurisdiction over all steel workers.

It is a feasible plan. The steel workers are in a good mood to organize and a big campaign can start them as a body into motion. They

strongly support the principle of industrial unionism and would doubtlessly refuse to join the various craft unions and affiliate to the A.A. if urged by Lewis to do so. And, finally, the influx of tens of thousands of new members into the skeleton A. A., brought in under the leadership of the united Lefts and progressives would overwhelm the Green reactionaries at the head of the A.A. and break their power. The Communist Party plan will surely succeed if Lewis supports it. The Party, however, is not waiting for Lewis; but is mobilizing its own important strength in the steel industry to begin the campaign of organization along the lines it proposed to the C.I.O.

Thus the situation stands as I write this (April, 1936) with the C.I.O. and the Executive Council at loggerheads over the organization of the steel industry. At stake in this deadlock is not only the unionization of the steel workers, but very probably, if the steel campaign succeeds, the unionization of many other at present almost totally unorganized, trustified, open shop industries. And there is further involved the grand prize of the leadership of the American Federation of Labor itself.

#### PERSPECTIVE OF THE C.I.O.

In the present struggle with the Executive Council the C.I.O. leaders have in their hands the elements of victory, if they know how to use them. Their issue of industrial unionism is very popular, not only among the unorganized workers but also among the members of the A. F. of L. craft unions.\* With energetic work to win the support of these unions the C.I.O. can readily turn its 40 per cent vote in the A. F. of L. into a strong majority in the very near future. Such a victory, readily achievable, would give the C.I.O. an opportunity for organizational solid work.

In any event, whether it wins the A. F. of L. control or not, the rise of the C.I.O. on its present lines must soon lead to big strike struggles in the basic industries; for finance capital is not going to permit the organization of the workers in these industries without a real fight. At present the capitalists are watching the sudden rise of the C.I.O. with mingled opinions. Some of the most conscious elements, like the *Wall Street Journal*, have sounded a sharp warning to the employers regarding the new movement. But most of the capitalist press takes as yet a somewhat noncommittal attitude. Evidently the employers are hoping either that the C.I.O. will culminate in a split of the A. F. of L. or that such an old-time reactionary as John L. Lewis may be depended upon to steer the movement into channels advantageous for the capitalists. But as the C.I.O. becomes more active, the bosses' resistance to it grows and the near future holds the prospect of fierce struggles against it. Especially will this be the case if the ultra-reactionary Republican Party-Liberty League-Hearst forces win in the coming national elections this

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\* An interesting expression of the growth of industrial union sentiment in the A. F. of L. is shown by the fact that many of the craft union leaders, bitter enemies of industrial unionism, are nevertheless reaching out for categories of workers quite outside their traditional crafts. Thus, the carpenters have taken in the loggers of the Northwest, the electrical workers are trying to absorb the radio workers, and the machinists have even accepted several thousand New York subway workers into their union.

November. The development of the C.I.O. is making for a sharpening of the class struggle on all fronts and will strengthen the position of the working class for its economic demands.

Will the C.I.O. accomplish the historically necessary task of reorganizing, strengthening and reorientating the A. F. of L. on a class struggle basis? Time alone can answer this question. During the big post-war struggles of 1919-23 a big progressive movement also developed in the A. F. of L. The Right wing of this, the Conference for Progressive Political Action, with a program based on government ownership of the railroads and other public utilities, comprised some 3,000,000 organized workers and farmers and it culminated in the independent presidential candidacy of La Follette in 1924. During the same period, the Left wing, the revolutionary Trade Union Educational League, which was actively supported by the Communist Party, won at least 50 per cent of the organized trade union workers to support its three major slogans of amalgamation (industrial unionism), Labor Party and recognition of the Soviet Union, and played a big role in the many fierce strikes. For a while the combined effort of these strong movements threatened the whole regime of the Gompers A. F. of L. ruling clique. But the growth of the Coolidge prosperity (1923-29), accompanied by a decline in the militancy of the workers, undermined the whole development. The Conference for Progressive Political Action leaders surrendered to the A. F. of L., with its new policies of intensified class collaboration to speed up production, and the Trade Union Educational League was largely smashed by a violent mass expulsion policy throughout the trade union movement.

The C.I.O. of today has a better prospect, however, than those progressive and revolutionary movements of 1919-23. Among the major factors favoring it are:

1. The American working class is now more radical than ever before in its history. It is ripe not only for such a movement as the C.I.O. is, but also for a much more Left development, and the workers are constantly traveling the path to the Left.

2. There is little or no prospect for such a return of "prosperity" that would put even a comparatively great mass of unemployed back to work and liquidate the militant mood of the striking masses as happened in 1923. On the contrary, despite the rise in industrial production, the numbers of the unemployed remain only slightly diminished and the workers generally face wage reductions, cuts in unemployment relief, attacks upon their civil rights, etc. The dominant economic and political factors are making for an increased radicalization of the masses, not for its liquidation.

3. There is a deep split on principle in the ranks of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy. A section of the leadership, alarmed by the growth of fascist reaction in the United States and impressed by the lessons of Germany, realize that some elementary measures of defense must be taken by the American workers. It remains to be seen, however, whether the C.I.O. leaders, in their continued activities, will truly represent this

new attitude in the A. F. of L. leadership. Meanwhile, the split in the bureaucracy throws open the door for rapid progressive developments in the A. F. of L. along every line.

4. A very important advantage in the present situation over that of 1919-23 is that the Communist Party is many times stronger than it was then. It has numerically grown very much and it has recently greatly improved its trade union position. By consistent, constructive criticism and by solid organization work in the lower units of the trade unions it can exert a great, if not decisive, influence in helping the C.I.O. to perform the great tasks that stand before it.

The main immediate dangers confronting the C.I.O. movement are twofold: firstly, that its leaders, instead of going ahead vigorously with the work of organization, may arrive at an opportunistic compromise with the A. F. of L. Executive Council that would paralyze the progressive movement and keep it from becoming "too Red"; or, secondly, that the Executive Council may split the A. F. of L. to head off the growth of industrial unionism and the progressive movement generally. It is true that if the C.I.O. refuses to dissolve, the Executive Council cannot legally expel its unions, because the C.I.O. already controls enough convention votes to prevent it under the A. F. of L. constitution; nevertheless, the Executive Council may proceed to illegal action to accomplish its reactionary purposes.

It is necessary, therefore, that the Communist Party be alert to both these menaces: the possibility of a destructive compromise between the C.I.O. and the Executive Council and the threat of a split of the A. F. of L. by its reactionary leaders. The Party must mobilize all its considerable forces to forestall these dangers, while at the same time it pushes forward for the development of the C.I.O. along the lines of a class struggle policy.

# The German People Want Peace— Hitler Wants War

By E. FISHER

**H**AVING weighed everything in mature contemplation, I . . ." so began the manifesto of the ancient Hapsburg, when he declared war.

"After a serious internal struggle I have taken the decision on behalf of the Imperial government . . ." so begins Hitler's memorandum announcing the march of the German troops into the Rhineland and the arbitrary rupture of the Locarno agreement. The *Fuehrer* adapts the words of his memorandum to the beginning of the manifesto of Franz Josef. That means that there is a smell of blood in the air.

Hitler chose a suitable moment for his action. The war undertaken by Mussolini against Ethiopia, the weakness shown by the League of Nations in connection with this conflict, the endeavor of British imperialism to establish the notorious "equilibrium" in Europe, in order to shift the center of gravity of its policy to the Far East, the differences which have arisen between England and France as a result of the fatal policy conducted by Laval, have all inspired Hitler "after a serious internal struggle" to endeavor to sharpen the contradictions which already exist between the powers of the League of Nations, and to isolate France from England. Considerations of internal policy have played a still more important role than these questions of foreign policy. The economic difficulties are increasing the feeling of opposition among the masses of the German people. As the elections to the "confidence councils" approached, the rulers of Germany became more and more ill at ease. The financial position of the country does not permit of their continuing the "battle for labor", which exclusively serves the interests of the war industries, without introducing new taxation or inflation, *i.e.*, without casting new burdens onto the shoulders of the masses. The masters of Germany want to camouflage behind floating banners all the gloomy prospects facing the masses of the people such as the growth of unemployment and want, and the increased exploitation and impoverishment of the toilers, to drown the rumble of empty stomachs and the murmurs of discontent with the music of military bands, and to divert the attention of the people from the measures adopted in the sphere of home policy, by an aggressive foreign policy. Goebbels is incessantly advocating that "What we need is guns, not butter. We must make world history and not supply fats". During the World War, the half-starved, hungry soldiers were given rum before going into battle. Hitler is trying to intoxicate the masses with the fumes of chauvinism.

It is his task to convert the German people into cannon fodder without wills of their own, to force them in their millions to shed

their blood for the sake of the profits of a few thousand. Speaking in the Reichstag, Hitler openly declared that "the German people had the honor of fighting against the whole world".

The aim of Hitler's policy is to force this "honor" upon the German people once again.

#### CONCERNING EQUALITY OF RIGHTS

Hitler assures us that he violated the Versailles Peace Treaty in order to restore equality of rights for the German people. Hitler clearly wants to persuade the whole world that on March 7 he violated not Locarno, but the Versailles Treaty, not a pact which Germany signed voluntarily, but a treaty forced upon her by victorious powers. This is what Hitler said in this regard, in his speech in the Reichstag:

"The spiritual atmosphere of this treaty also engendered a short-sighted approach to the numerous political and economic questions of an international character. Border lines were drawn without taking account of absolutely obvious vital needs and existing traditions, but purely under the influence of the idea of revenge and punishment, accompanied in its turn by a feeling of horror and fear of possible retaliation. Statesmen had been intending, through a unanimous appeal to the common sense and to the hearts of the soldiers of the combatant million-strong armies, to establish fraternal agreement which, for a century perhaps, would have made the possibility of the co-existence between peoples and states infinitely more easy for the world. What, however, took place was just the opposite."

Hitler has apparently forgotten that an appeal of this kind to the common sense and to the hearts of the soldiers was actually made. When the German landowners and generals, who still rule Germany today, forced a peace upon the Russian people in 1918; *when at Brest Litovsk, they created a pattern for the peace treaty at Versailles*, the Bolsheviks made such an appeal to all the peoples and soldiers of all the armies. The Bolsheviks called upon the millions in the armies of all the peoples to fraternize and to drive out the statesmen and generals who inflict such peace treaties on others, and appealed for an end to be put to the bloody capitalist system, which dismembers countries, enslaves peoples and regards the whole world as the trophy of the victor. What did these people do then, who today, under Hitler, enjoy such tremendous authority? They led the German troops, and, together with the troops of those governments which dictated the terms of the Versailles Treaty to Germany, they invaded the territory of Russia; they shot down every soldier who called for fraternization, they offered their services to the hangmen of the German people in meting out bloody punishment against the Russian people.

How dare Hitler speak against the idea of vengeance and retaliation! Who, if not he, has declared that everyone who dares to oppose the idea of hatred and revenge is guilty of high treason? *Who, in his book, has definitely emphasized the point that the destruction of France is an*

*aim which German policy is steadily striving to fulfil? Hitler himself and his henchmen created and consolidated such a state of affairs.*

It was not the German people who dictated the conditions of the Brest-Litovsk peace to the Russian people, and in just the same way it was not the French people who dictated the conditions of the Versailles Treaty to the Germans. Both in Germany and in France the agents of imperialism, fully empowered by heavy industry, the big landowners, the militarists and chauvinists, regarded peace merely as the continuation of the war by other means, considering the people to be merely a means of pumping out profits. Only the Communists sounded the alarm and called for a struggle against the fact of the victorious powers depriving the German people of their rights and exploiting them. The Communists have constantly called for the brotherhood of all peoples, and have brought about this brotherhood in the U.S.S.R., where over 80 peoples live in the closest alliance, enjoying all the fullness of national liberty. The Communists have constantly explained the point that only capitalism, only the system of exploitation and oppression, prevents the peoples of the world from uniting in one fraternity. And it is this same system that Hitler is supporting in Germany with all the methods of terror at his disposal.

*Is not Hitler reconciled to many of the conditions in the Versailles Treaty?* The Polish Corridor is a broad wedge which cuts into the German Empire; big German territories were transferred to the Polish nobility. And yet, speaking in the Reichstag, Hitler said:

“I would like the German people to understand that although the outlet to the sea for 33,000,000 people lies through what was formerly Germany territory . . . it would be unwise, simply impossible, to dispute the right of such an important state to an outlet to the sea.”

For years the arguments adduced by the National-Socialists in their agitation in the sphere of foreign politics were the question of Upper Silesia and the Polish Corridor; for years the Hitlerites shouted: “We shall crush all the Poles and make sandwiches of them,” for years they preached the return of the German territories which passed into the hands of Poland by force of arms. However, what Hitler yesterday still considered a shame and a disgrace has today become a “historic reality” as far as he is concerned. *Consequently, it is not at all a question of the Versailles Treaty, or of the final abolition of this peace treaty; it is a question of fronts for the war being prepared by Hitler.* It is hardly likely that anyone will believe that Hitler is magnanimously ready without any reservations to leave German territory in the hands of another state just because this other state needs an outlet to the sea. The price of this magnanimity is a military alliance, but not with the Polish people, but with the big landowners, with the clique of colonels who are oppressing the Polish people, and who in a fit of megalomania are dreaming of a campaign of plunder against the U.S.S.R. Hitler relinquishes his claims on the Polish Corridor *(at any rate until he violates the agreement with Po-*

land as he violated Locarno), because he is seeking for frontiers "on credit" and is reckoning upon the military support of Poland against the U.S.S.R. Hitler has occupied the Rhineland, thus, first and foremost, marking his front against France. If these are not the "internal driving forces" of his foreign policy, then it is simply incomprehensible why it is more important for garrisons to occupy the Rhineland than the Polish Corridor, why it is a vital necessity for the German people to have troops in the West, while having to relinquish former German territory in the East, because another power lays claim to them.

#### "A PEOPLE WITHOUT TERRITORIES"

In his speech in the Reichstag, by way of varying his old fascist theme of "A people without territory," Hitler argued thus:

"We have 18 times less land per head of the population than, for instance, is the case in Russia. If the German peasant were not so zealous and hard-working, if the German people had not such organizing ability, it would be simply inconceivable for these 67,000,000 to live. What does France gain from Germany languishing in need? What advantage is it to the French peasant if the German peasant lives badly or vice versa? Or what advantage is it to the French worker if, for example, the German worker is in need?"

Hitler's political mathematics whereby the population of Germany has 18 times less land per head than in the U.S.S.R. reveal his political intentions. However, his calculations are not correct. If every Soviet citizen has his share of the ownership of the land and the income from its cultivation, it is because the land belongs not to a handful of landowners, but to the whole of the people, to the whole of the Soviet state; in Germany, on the other hand, there are a few hundred Germans, the East Elbe big landowners, who have tens of thousands of hectares of land, of which not one clod of soil belongs to the masses of the German people. In Germany there are big landowners who have colossal stretches of land at their disposal, while the people, the masses, are without land. That is just the difference. Why carry dreams so far afield, when the good things lie so near! With one wave of the wand, Hitler could immediately give land to hundreds of thousands of Germans. All he needs to do is to expropriate the useless, unchecked big landowners, who rob the German people and pursue a policy of transmigration consistently and on a wide scale. But the big landowners are immune, from the viewpoint of the *Fuehrer*, for it is they, the big landowners headed by their field-marshal, who put Hitler in power so as to keep the "people without territory" as far as possible away from their estates. When Schleicher at one time tried to maneuver, and tried to make use of the dirty *Ost Hilfe* business (so-called "help" to the landowners of Eastern Germany), the landowners overthrew him and began to seek another assistant, more faithful and true in political affairs. Hitler undoubtedly proved to be just such a true and faithful assistant. He hushed up the scandal with

the *Ost Hilfe*. Under his wing a refuge was found for the rapacious squandering of huge funds squeezed out by taxation for "help" to the East Elbe landowners, who, instead of investing the money in agriculture, squandered it on champagne, racing and cards.

Both the German peasants and the German workers live badly. And if Herr Hitler asks of what advantage is that to the French peasant, to the French worker, we can answer him: not the slightest. But is the French peasant, the French worker to blame for the need and misery of the German people? Let Hitler, instead of making demagogic appeals to the toiling people on the other side of the German frontier, rather ask his own landlords and industrialists what they have done to improve the lot of the German peasantry, the German workers, their own "kinsmen".

As is well known, the first blows of the world economic crisis hit not "the people without territory" but the richest, the most extensive capitalist country, the U.S.A.

Consequently, the causes of the economic crisis must be sought for not in the fact that there are "satisfied and hungry peoples", but in the fact that in every capitalist country there are *satisfied and hungry men and women*, exploiters and exploited, in the fact that it is not within the power of capitalism to turn the wealth of the earth into the well-being of the peoples. The calamitous effects of the economic crisis befell all the peoples living in the capitalist countries—both those without territories and those with a surplus of territory. Only at the borders of one country did the crisis come to a halt; namely, at the frontiers which divide socialism from capitalism, the Soviet Union from the world of capitalist insanity.

Finally, it must be said that the wealth of the nations does not depend upon the amount of land per head of the population. Under a sane economic policy and with the proper economic relations with other countries, Germany could export its industrial products and import agricultural products, and ensure fats, butter and bread to her population of 67,000,000 people. But Hitler is striving after the "autarchy" of Germany, in other words, he wants to rebuild the economics of Germany *on military lines*. German industry is today almost entirely a war industry. The road construction taking place in Germany almost entirely serves strategic ends. And if Hitler declares that "the German question further consists of the fact that the attempt is made, by a whole system of unwise actions and measures imbued with hatred and calumny, to complicate still further the already extremely difficult struggle of Germany for the right to live", then he thereby gives a very pointed estimate of his own policy.

#### CONCERNING PEACE

*Hitler knows that the German people want peace.* The Nationalists in other states accuse the German nation of being militarist through and through, of having a devilish thirst for starting war. They accuse the German people of barbarity, and make it responsible for all the

crimes of the ruling classes. These people lie! The whole trouble with the great German people is that the process of uniting Germany took place not as a result of revolution, but always as a result of the suppression of revolutionary uprisings, in which the people rose up like one man to fight against the propertied princes, against the princes of the church. The "emancipation wars" of 1813, in which there shone flashes of a newly-born revolutionary nationalism, were an act of counter-revolution, from the point of view of world history, which strengthened the power of the Hapsburgs and Hohenzollerns. The revolution of 1848, which declared Germany free and united, was suppressed. In 1871 Prussian militarism partially brought about the unification of Germany, without, however, removing the contradictions between North and South. Hitler, the bearer of the fascist counter-revolution, boasts about having brought the unification of Germany to its culmination. He forcibly "united" Germany, but did not bring about her organic unity; he suppressed the contradictions in it, but by no means overcame them. They continue to operate underground, and the moment will arrive when they will burst into the open with full force. This tragedy of the German people who have never known revolutionary unification is incomprehensible to many foreigners. They do not notice the whole depth of contradictions, the whole wealth of shades of all the various creative qualities of this great people, but see only the iron roads and the monotony of the "unification" to which Germany has been doomed by force; they see the uncultured Prussian landowner, paralyzing German culture with his command "attention". The trumpets of war drown the voice of the German people, but Hitler knows full well that the people want peace. And so, while preparing for war, he holds forth about peace.

Aye, Herr Hitler, the peoples want peace. But what, in your opinion, is the meaning of the rumble of the tanks and guns entering the Rhineland? What sort of a policy of peace is it that tears up an agreement which guaranteed peace in the West? What sort of defense of peace is it when new agreements are proposed to neighbors and yet Austria and Czechoslovakia are passed over in silence, and when only after insistent enquiries have been made by England, is it added that Austria and Czechoslovakia would be drawn into the system of agreements proposed? What sort of defense of peace is it when you refuse to include a point in the proposed agreements, according to which the one party to the agreement is released of all obligations if the other side undertakes an attack upon a third state? The Soviet Union has included this point in all her pacts of non-aggression, but it is left out of Hitler's agreements.

What does that mean? It means that Hitler is trying with the aid of his agreements to tie the hands of other states, in the event of his attacking another country, with which he has refused to conclude an agreement. Hitler has refused to conclude an agreement with the U.S.S.R. He and his accomplices deliver bellicose speeches, write bellicose articles directed against the U.S.S.R., and now hardly deny at all that they are planning war against the Soviet Union. But is it only against the Soviet Union? Is it an accident that the rulers

of Germany constantly refer to Czechoslovakia as the "fortified outpost of the U.S.S.R."? Is it an accident that in offering his draft agreements, Hitler at first kept silent about Czechoslovakia and Austria? Is it only the ambition of a popular author that drives Hitler to flatly refuse to remove the following notorious assertions from his book, *Mein Kampf*:

"The political credo of the German nation in the sphere of its foreign political activities must unchangingly declare that we shall never tolerate the rise of two continental powers in Europe. You must regard every attempt to organize a second military power on the borders of Germany—if only in the form of setting up a state capable of becoming such a military power—as an attack against Germany. And it is not only your right, but also your duty to prevent the rise of such a state with all the means at your disposal and even by force of arms; if such a state has already come into being, crush it!"

Everybody understands that this declaration is directed exclusively against France, that Hitler makes it the duty and obligation of the German people to crush France (Wilhelm II: "I will destroy whoever stands in my way"). And if Hitler wants peace, then why is he arming? There is not a single country in the world laying claim to Germany territory, there is not a single state advocating a campaign against Germany, there is not a single state that would encroach upon a peaceful Germany. And if Hitler is only arming to defend the peaceful existence of the German people, then who is a menace to that peace, and against whom does Hitler intend to defend them? Against Austria? Czechoslovakia? Belgium? Holland? France, or better, against the Soviet Union? Not only in words, but in deeds, the Soviet Union has clearly and unambiguously proved that it wants peace, and has no intention of attacking any country at all. The Soviet Union proposed the Eastern Pact, which Hitler rejected. The Soviet Union has made a number of sacrifices to maintain peace. Let us but call to mind the sale of the Chinese Eastern Railway. The Soviet Union is engaged in building socialism, in realizing the most tremendous plans of economic and cultural advance, plans for the creation of a society where there is no hunger, need, oppression or unemployment. Even the most conservative statesmen, who hate Communism, have been forced to admit that nobody in the Soviet Union has any intention of attacking a foreign country, that the leaders and masses in the Soviet Union want only one thing; namely, to bring their great work to its final culmination, in peace. The statesmen of Germany know this as well. But Hitler pretends that he is afraid of being attacked by the Soviet Union. And he himself is always advocating a "holy war" against the Soviet Union, again and again offering all the governments his services as leader of the armies which will march against the U.S.S.R.

In the Reichstag, Hitler grandiloquently declared:

"I tremble with fear for the fate of Europe at the mere thought of what would become of our ancient over-populated

continent, if the chaos of Bolshevik revolution were triumphant as a result of the invasion of that devastating Asiatic world outlook which tramples down all that is of value. . . .”

Herr Hitler trembles with fear for the fate of Europe; that is why he sends his troops into the Rhineland, tears up an agreement which was of great importance for the security of Europe, and plunges the whole of the European continent into a state of alarm and confusion. Herr Hitler is trembling for Europe—true, as he adds himself, only for that “half which consists of independent national states”. Apparently, in order to prove to the small peoples and states how sincerely Hitler is “trembling” for Europe, geographical maps are distributed throughout the “Third Empire” showing Austria, Czechoslovakia, a large part of Holland, Belgium, Lithuania, Poland, Hungary, Rumania and Jugoslavia, as German provinces. Hitler “trembles with fear” for the peace and the independence of the European peoples and states, and therefore he subsidizes in Czechoslovakia, Austria, Rumania, Holland, Belgium, aye and Poland, in spite of the existence of a treaty of alliance, all kinds of groupings, organizations, and parties, which are undermining the peace and independence of these countries, preparing the soil for German fascism and paving the way for it. Hitler’s “motor highroads” run right to the frontiers of these states; the agents of the German Secret Police (Gestapo) cross these frontiers, when they set out to hunt for people, and agitate on behalf of Hitler at the point of the revolver and by means of bribery. And all this is done simply because the *Fuehrer* considers it necessary to “tremble” for Europe until he has successfully unified the independent national states in the grip of the “Third Empire”, and subjected them to his arbitrary will. Hitler has too frequently broadcast the fact that his dictatorship alone is a bulwark against Bolshevism. Consequently, in order to fence off the states and peoples of Europe from Bolshevism, he must subordinate them all to his own dictatorship. Such is the logic of his political and military measures.

It is, of course, clear that Hitler is quite serious in calling for a crusade against the Soviet Union. The ruling class, the frenzied expression of whose will is Hitler, have already, in their minds, crushed the free workers’ and peasants’ state and are burying millions of Communists in one gigantic, fraternal grave. But in Germany, in addition to this general desire of the ruling classes there are additional, special reason of an economic nature. The Baltic barons who surround Hitler dream of the return of their estates. The big landowners of Eastern Prussia are hoping to add to their estates from new territories in the East. The upper strata of the German heavy industry are dreaming of conquering the Russian “economic arena”, and of exploiting the people of the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, however, Hitler is first and foremost and immediately directing his aggression today against the small neighboring countries, and against France, which is striving for peace at present.

Hitler and the Japanese generals are openly talking about a coming

war against the U.S.S.R. It is understandable, therefore, that the U.S.S.R. is arming in defense of peace. But has anyone heard any single threat of war from the U.S.S.R., like those which are constantly with ever increasing force being uttered by Japan and Germany against the Soviet Union. If Hitler is arming, it is in order to attack and not at all for purposes of defense. He is arming so as to lead Germany out to meet a new catastrophe.

Hitler showed *what he considered to be "peace"* in his speech in Karlsruhe:

"I have tried to give the German people peace inside the country. And now, after three years, I can say: the German people are internally the most satisfied people in the world."

There you have it. Peace and satisfaction for the people, as Hitler understands it is: "To free the streets for the Brown battalions!" Ferocious terror against all the heterodox, horrible executions, tortures, concentration camps, the suppression of all freedom of conscience, and guns instead of butter. This is the peace that Hitler wants to bring to all countries. He wants to use throughout Europe the same methods that he used in Germany, beginning with the burning of the Reichstag and up to the bloodbath on June 30. In this way he wants to plant the peace of the graveyard everywhere. On the road to *such* a peace, there lie broken undertakings, scraps of agreements, kinsmen finished off "by cold means", drafts of pacts proposed to those who have only just become convinced how Hitler behaves toward obligations which no longer suit his purposes.

#### CONCERNING NATIONAL HONOR

Hitler apparently feels that his own subjects, too, cut off from the outer world, may doubt the truth of this logic of insanity. When the troops marched into the towns of the Rhineland, the people, seized with profoundest alarm, turned their eyes to the sky, to see whether war was coming in the shape of a squadron of French air bombers. Instinct told them that it was a step making not for peace, but for *war!* Consequently in all his speeches Hitler unflinchingly repeated that what was most important was to restore the honor of the German nation. Here is an excerpt from his speech delivered in Frankfurt:

"I do not believe that a nation is in a position to cope with the resistance offered to it in life, unless its strength has an open and proud expression in the general consciousness of its own worth and *honor*. And *honor* not only inside the country, but outside as well."

From his speech at Karlsruhe:

"I have defended German *honor* with the firm conviction that just as the individual cannot exist without a feeling for his own honor, so a people cannot live without a feeling of *honor*. . . . I am convinced that if the German people are not consciously

educated in the spirit of this *honor* and readiness to defend it, it cannot ensure to itself its daily bread in this world."

Hitler places this conception of honor in the center of all his propaganda. For the sake of this duty of honor, the German people have to tolerate hardships and torture. For the sake of this honor it must undertake a struggle against the whole world. Hitler has never explained with any degree of clarity and coherence what exactly is this honor of the German people. But Goebbels, his grimacing clown, has openly declared in Berlin that: "*The German people were unarmed and, therefore, without honor, as well.*"

Consequently the honor of the German people depends upon arms. Troops must be brought into the Rhineland in order to restore this insulted honor; war is needed in order to satisfy this ambition. *What a debased conception of the honor of the German people!*

Does the honor of a nation really depend upon the sword blade alone? Was it a dishonor for the German people that there were no soldiers in the Rhineland And is it true that their honor has been restored only by a boom in the war industry, by converting Germany into a tremendous barracks?

We attribute a much greater meaning to the concept of the honor of this great people. The German people have never been dishonored. These are a people, whose powerful creative abilities have given the world people like Goethe and Beethoven, Kant and Hegel, the majestic music of Johann Sebastian Bach and the joyous, radiant strength of the music of Mozart, the mathematical profundities of Leibnitz and the physics of Planck and Einstein, which create a new picture of the world, the noble beauty of the works of Duhrer and the works of such mental giants as Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. Even Hitler with all his mass butchery, cowardly torturing of his defenseless kinsmen, and violation of all oaths and promises, is unable to outrage the honor of this powerful, creative people. The heroes who firmly defend their convictions although death stands over them every minute, who with heads held high march to the scaffold, and under the axe of the executioner declare themselves to be Communists and fighters for freedom—these are the ones who bear aloft the honor of the German people through the dishonorable environment of German fascism. These nameless heroes, who day in day out, are giving their lives so as to free Germany, forcing even their enemies to grind their teeth, yet give them their due, these are the ones who stoically and faithfully guard the honor of the German people. Men and women who do not flinch under the whip of Hitler, who do not capitulate in the face of gross violence and mass ferocity, who, in the tormented Germany of today, do not lose their faith in freeing their people tomorrow—these are the ones who, in the eyes of the world, are the defenders of the honor of the German people.

We, Communists, in alliance with all those who really love the German people and are striving for their emancipation, we want the honor of the German people, besmirched by Hitler, to shine forth again.

We want to defend it from the futile horrible butchery being undertaken for the sake of profits for the insatiable industrial magnates, big landowners, overwhelmed with the megalomania of adventurists; we want to save the German people from the miserable "honor" of shedding its blood. The German people want peace—Hitler wants war. The German people want to get out of their need and privation and secure abundance, freedom and the chance of developing their creative power; Hitler is ready to plunge them still deeper into the abyss of need and privation, to drive them into a new blood-bath. It is not the light of the genius of the German people that Hitler wants to bring to the world, but the horrors of German armaments.

"For three and a half years already I have been doing my duty. German people! Do your duty now!" These were the words with which Hitler appealed in Karlsruhe to the German people. But the German people are not free to decide the question: they are fettered with the chains of the fascist dictatorship, they are enmeshed in the slanderous lies of fascist propaganda. It was in this atmosphere of terror and deception that German fascism carried through the voting for the war being prepared by Hitler, under the slogan of peace. Germany can be saved from this war only by the anti-fascist struggle of the German people themselves and by a strongly built up international front of the friends of peace against Hitler, against the hangmen who are ruining the German people, against German fascism—the chief instigator of war in Europe.

# The Capitalist Way Out of the Economic Crisis\*

THE MATURING OF A NEW CYCLICAL CRISIS

By E. VARGA

**S**LOWLY, extremely unevenly and with constant interruptions, the most important capitalist countries are climbing one after another out of the most tremendous cyclical industrial crisis that the capitalist world has ever experienced. It has not been possible for the Communist movement to bring about a *revolutionary way out of the crisis*, because the split in the working class has not been overcome, because the united front tactics are not adopted on a wide enough scale, because the bourgeoisies have been able to maneuver and, with the help of fascist demagogues, to seize hold of the unrest among the petty-bourgeois masses called forth by the crisis, and to divert it into counter-revolutionary channels (Germany), or have temporarily calmed the masses who were in a state of ferment by adopting the demagogic policy of the New Deal (U.S.A., etc.)

*The crisis is being overcome on a capitalist base* primarily in consequence of the action of the inner forces of capitalism.\*\* The reserves of various commodities which had accumulated on the market have been absorbed as a result of consumption or of their being directly destroyed; there has been a great fall in prices; the means of production worn out during the crisis and not re-produced had to be replaced; quite a large number of enterprises closed down as a result of bankruptcy, etc. The explanation of the growth of industrial output which began in the middle of 1931 as being the result of a military-inflationary economic situation, as being the simple mitigation of an ever-continuing cyclic crisis, turned out to be wrong (although in some countries preparations for war are of considerably great economic importance). One must reckon with the fact that the economic crisis is being overcome in a number of the most important capitalist countries.

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In the history of capitalism, cycle follows cycle, crisis follows crisis. But this alternation of crises is not a simple alternation of phenomena which are of like quality, as bourgeois science tries to make out. Each cyclic crisis signifies a shattering blow at the rule of the bourgeoisie. Every crisis brings the capitalist system one step closer to its complete

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\* A number of the problems raised in Comrade Varga's article are of great interest to the international working class movement and need to be given all-round elucidation. The Editorial Board requests the opinions of readers on these problems.

\*\* The policy of the struggle against the crisis, pursued by bourgeois and Social-Democratic governments, rather retarded than hastened the surmounting of the crisis.

downfall. The second cyclic crisis during the period of the general crisis of capitalism, which broke out in 1929, gave a profound and severe shock to the capitalist system, in which the great proletarian revolution had made a tremendous rent. *It would be a tremendous mistake, on the basis of the fact that the cyclic crisis is being progressively overcome, to come to the conclusion that henceforth there will be a mitigation of the general crisis of capitalism or that a new period of temporary stabilization will take place*, as was the case after the first post-war crisis was overcome. That there can be no question of any new stabilization is illustrated by the fact that the whole appearance of the world has changed in comparison with the situation in being during the first post-war cyclic crisis. The following are the important distinguishing features:

a. At that time, the Soviet Union was only just beginning to take its first steps towards restoring its economic life which had been profoundly shaken by the imperialist and civil wars. The working class of the Soviet Union had to resort to material assistance from the workers of the capitalist countries (during the famine on the Volga). At that time the reformist leaders spread the idea that "the dictatorship of the proletariat means chronic famine; we must restrict ourselves to reforms inside the capitalist system which has justified itself".

Today, socialism in the U.S.S.R. has won victory finally and irrevocably. Instead of the backward, scattered peasant farms, we have strong collective and state farms, equipped with the latest machinery. The powerful, new, industrial equipment in the factories, and the Soviet working class which is mastering the technique of its machines, and is raising the productivity of labor by Stakhanov methods, thus overtaking the capitalist world, constitute the most important pre-conditions for the final victory of socialism over capitalism on an international scale.

"Why is it that socialism can, should and certainly will defeat the capitalist system of economy? Because it can furnish higher models of labor, a higher productivity. . . ."\*

The Stakhanov movement has become possible only because of the considerable improvement which has been arrived at in the standard of living of the working class of the U.S.S.R., because "Life has become better . . . life has become joyous. . . ." And the extension of this movement will ensure a further rapid improvement of the general well-being of the toilers in the Soviet Union.

b. *The capitalist world, on the contrary, is now experiencing a period still worse than the one which followed after the first cycle of the crisis of the post-war years.*

In the economic sphere: although the first post-war crisis was also a profound one, it lasted for a comparatively short time, and having passed its lowest point, industrial production began to grow rapidly, a situation encouraged by the increased export of capital to the con-

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\* Stalin's speech at the First Conference of Stakhanovites of Industry and Transport of the Soviet Union. See *The Stakhanov Movement in the Soviet Union*, p. 5.

quered countries and to the colonies. It was just this which made Hilferding's theory appear feasible, when he advocated a forthcoming allegedly extensive epoch of prosperity for capitalism, and also the latest American theory of "eternal prosperity".

The situation is quite different now: although the lowest point of the crisis was reached in the middle of 1932, although the industrial output of the capitalist world since then (true, extremely unevenly) is constantly increasing, although the movement of capitalist world economy as a whole can today be described as *having entered the beginning of a phase of revival, nevertheless the volume of industrial production remains as hitherto at a low crisis level.*\*

Today, three and one-half years after the lowest point of the industrial crisis has passed, the index of industrial production is still 16 per cent below the figure for 1929. By comparison with the lowest point reached by pre-war crises the lag behind is still greater than was customary. Moreover, the unevenness of it is unprecedented in its extent: while one group of countries (England, the Scandinavian countries, Japan, Germany and others) have already exceeded the 1929 level, there are some countries (France, Spain) which find it still impossible to move from the lowest point of the crisis.

The reason for the fact that the crisis is being overcome only slowly is *the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism.* The contradiction between the development of the productive forces and capitalist production relations has become chronically acute. It is to be seen in the inability of capital to make use of the material productive forces which it has created (the chronic surplus of fixed capital), and also all the labor power at its disposal (the chronic mass unemployment), and in its inability to find enough markets for its commodities. The chronic surplus of fixed capital hinders its renewal and extension, and consequently hinders the extension of the market for the means of production. This retards the process of overcoming the crisis. Therefore, it is hardly likely that the improvement has reached the phase of boom: for a real boom is out of the question unless there is a large-scale extension of fixed capital. On the other hand, chronic mass unemployment, and the worsening of the living conditions of the working class connected therewith (crisis, rationalization, *i.e.*, increase of output by the intensification of labor, without extending fixed capital, without an increase in the productivity of labor) restrict the sale of means of consumption.

During the last two years, the *agrarian crisis*, has, it is true, some-

* Index of industrial production in the capitalist world (see <i>Annalist</i> ) (year 1929=100):				
1932	1933	1934	First half 1935	Second half 1935 (approximately)
62.4	64.4	76.5	81.7	84.0

The German *Statistical Board* gives approximately the same indices of industrial production for the whole of the capitalist world (*World Economy in 1935*, special supplement to the "Wirtschaft und Statistik", No. 2 for 1936) (year 1928=100):

1932	1933	1934	1935
65	75	81	89

As this index for 1929 was 106, the figures given for 1935 approximately coincide: on the basis of the 1929 index, the index for 1935 should be 84 (the movement shown in the two tables reveal a strong divergence between the years 1932 and 1933, of the reasons for which we are unaware).

what abated, but this abatement arose not out of the extension of the market for agricultural products (with the exception of a few technical cultures), but out of the curtailment of production: state measures to restrict the cultivation of land, bad harvests, the degradation of peasant agriculture, and the mass ruin of small and middle peasants, etc.

Despite the surplus capital available in the rich imperialist countries, the *export of capital* is, as before, at a minimum. The increased export of capital is hindered by the non-payment of debts during the crisis, the shrinking of markets, and fears of a new world war. If, during the post-war years, when the first crisis was overcome, the reformist "theoreticians" could deny the existence of the general crisis of capitalism, now, however, even the bourgeois economists of those countries where the index of production has risen above the 1929 level are compelled to admit that this revival is not a real one. The general crisis of capitalism which is profoundly deforming the cyclic trend of re-production, determines the condition of world capitalist economy in a most decisive manner.

c. *The sharpening of imperialist contradictions.* The factor in the sphere of foreign politics making for temporary stabilization was the circumstance that the imperialist powers victorious in the last war, temporarily satisfied after the new re-division of the world, entered into negotiations about the methods to be used for further exploiting the conquered countries, China and their "own" colonies, and thus ensured ten years of relative peace. Vanquished Germany was still too weak to try to change the Versailles system by force.

The network of imperialist contradictions is now far more complicated and entangled. The general armaments race is spreading wider and wider. The disarmament conference has died an inglorious death. The term of the Washington Naval Agreement has expired, but there is no sign of its being renewed: Japan swept away all the points of the Washington Agreement concerning China, by force of arms. Italy and England are armed to the teeth, while the relations between them are extremely tense. The war for a new re-division of the globe in Africa and China is already in full swing. The Hitler government has taken the law into its own hands and has annulled the Versailles Treaty, is creating a powerful army, has re-militarized the Rhineland, and is ever more openly and insistently demanding the return of its colonies, demanding "territories" for Germany. The statesmen and army general staffs of the capitalist countries are strenuously searching for allies in the event of war.

Thus, there are no factors in the sphere of foreign politics making for any new stabilization, and the *Social-Democratic theory about the alleged beginning of a "period of peaceful super-imperialism" has turned out to be the purest demagoguery.*

d. *The character of the class struggle.* One of the factors making for the temporary stabilization was the fact that the bourgeoisie, through a combined system of *violence* and political concessions (universal suffrage, the eight-hour working day, social insurance, etc.) were able, with the help of Social-Democracy, to suppress the revolutionary movement of

the proletariat. At that time theories about "democratic pacifism", "economic democracy", and "the peaceful evolution to socialism", were predominant.

Today, however, Social-Democracy in the majority of countries can no longer fulfil its former role of chief social prop of the bourgeoisie. There is an increase in the number of countries where the bourgeoisie are compelled to reckon with the fact that the majority of the population are more and more determinedly withdrawing their support from the capitalist system. Consequently the bourgeoisie themselves are giving up bourgeois democracy and seeking a refuge in fascist methods, in the open terrorization of the toiling masses, reckoning in this way to maintain their rule. In the bourgeois camp a desperate struggle is going on around the question as to the methods to be used to maintain the rule of the bourgeoisie, for the distribution of profits. In the countries where there is parliamentary democracy, the fact that such a struggle exists is proved by the lack of a united political program, the scatteredness of the bourgeois parties, the frequent government crises, etc. In the fascist countries these dissensions develop into the mass murder of political opponents (June 30, 1934 in Germany), a series of political murders of prominent politicians (Japan), the change of ruling fascist cliques, beginning with mutual arrests (Bulgaria), etc.

On the other hand, the Communist Parties of the different countries are to an ever greater degree succeeding in establishing the united proletarian front and drawing part of the petty bourgeoisie into the anti-fascist struggle. The victories of the Red Army in China, the armed action by the workers in Austria and Spain, illustrate the acuteness of the class struggle.

The surmounting of the crisis is not leading to a falling off of the revolutionary struggle of the masses, as was the case in the period of the relative stabilization of capitalism. The action of the general crisis of capitalism is manifested especially acutely in the fact that although the profits of the capitalists have increased considerably since 1933, the conditions of the working class are as hard as before. Although the number of employed workers and the sum total of their wages have increased, as compared with 1932—true, extremely unevenly in the different countries—yet chronic mass unemployment exists as before, and the high cost of living to a considerable degree reduces to nought the increase in the total wages paid. The process of the centralization of capital, which has sharpened as a result of the crisis, has accelerated the expropriation and impoverishment of the petty bourgeoisie. The agrarian crisis, which has mitigated somewhat, but which is by no means eliminated, has accelerated the process of differentiation among the peasantry: considerable sections of the middle peasants have been completely deprived of their land. The petty bourgeoisie of the towns and villages are moving, and it is our political task not to allow the petty bourgeoisie to fall victims to the demagogy of the fascists, but to win them over to the side of the anti-fascist front. *From the viewpoint of the class struggle, a new stabilization is out of the question.*

## THE MATURING OF A NEW CYCLIC CRISIS

In consequence of the extreme unevenness of the economic situation in the different capitalist countries, and the very strong deformation of the trend of the industrial cycle as a result of the general crisis, in consequence of the feverish preparations for war, it is impossible now to establish a single perspective for all the capitalist countries. Thus, we shall have to examine the situation in each of the big capitalist countries.

If we presume that the outbreak of a new world war is delayed for another year or two, then we can indicate the following perspective.

*In those countries which have already achieved or exceeded the 1929 level of industrial production* (England, the Scandinavian countries, and a number of small countries a new cyclic crisis is maturing. In those countries which, like Japan, Germany and Italy have already to a considerable degree re-adapted their economic life to fit in with the requirements of war, the economic tension is so great that a crisis is already on the order of the day, although, not the usual *crisis of over-production*, but nevertheless a crisis of the entire economic system as shown in a shortage of raw materials, inflation and a food shortage. In any case, one thing is clear: *the possibility of the present revival developing into a real phase of prosperity capable of embracing all the capitalist countries is out of the question.* The new crisis will arise before the countries which are still in the throes of a deep crisis are able fully to overcome it. *The new crisis, when it arrives, will find in being strong survivals of the preceding crisis, and will therefore shake the entire edifice of the capitalist system more profoundly than any of the preceding crises.*

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The objection may be raised here that in 1936 the increased armaments will provide a new impetus to the development of capitalist economy in all countries, and can bring about a situation of "war economies". This objection deserves serious theoretical investigation.

The thesis, that the more intense the preparations for war the better the position of capitalist economy, is, as a generalization, without a doubt, incorrect. If this thesis is taken to its logical conclusion, it would mean that under capitalism crises can be avoided simply by the governments increasing armaments when a crisis arises. This would mean that a means had been found for ensuring permanent prosperity.

Increased armaments have a varying influence upon the position of different countries, depending upon the character of the steps taken to finance the war expenditure, and upon the special conditions of the given country.

If the increased preparations for war in any country are financed by an increase in the taxes levied on the masses, then it is clear that this will lead to no extension of the market, nor to any improvement in the economic situation of the given country. There will be simply a

change in the character of the commodities produced, but no increase whatsoever in the total goods produced. To the extent to which production in the war industry as such increases (and the branches of industry which supply it with materials), there will inevitably be a corresponding decline in the market for and the production of means of consumption.

An increase in industrial production and an improvement in the economic situation as a result of the growth of armaments can come about only in the event of this increase in armaments being financed not by increasing taxation, but by using capital which up to then was lying idle, *i.e.*, by means of loans. In this event, extension of the market\* both of the means of production of the war industry, as well as the means of consumption, really does take place, since the sum total of wages paid is increased. However, such an extension of the market and of production is *possible* but not always so.

The fact is that the amount of idle capital, which can be mobilized in each country for purposes of armaments, is limited. If the loans floated for this purpose exceed a definite level, if such capital is used to finance armaments, as is required for the renewal and extension of fixed capital, then the effect of armaments in improving *the economic situation is reduced or altogether reduced to nothing*. If the armaments race is continued much further, it will lead, as was extremely sharply shown by the last war, to the rapid impoverishment of the country and to the profound ruin of the whole of capitalist economy.

The correctness of these theoretical theses is illustrated by the economic development of Germany in 1935. Under the "normal" cyclic boom, the growth of the production of means of production takes place parallel with a growth—although one that is lower as a percentage—of the production of the means of consumption. But in Germany, we see in 1935 a strong increase in the production of "the means of production"—primarily war production—simultaneously with a decline in the production of means of consumption.\*\* At the same time it is absolutely clear that in Germany all the available capital has already been used for armaments, while there is no capital at all for the preparation of peaceful economic development.\*\*\* A similar situation has been created in Japan.

\* As an illustration of the quantitative importance of the war industry the German Institute of Economic Research (*Quarterly Bulletin* No. 2 for 1935, Section "A", page 202) provides the following calculation (in billions of marks):

Total world war expenditures for 1935.....	30
which include expenditure on industrial commodities to the extent of .....	10-15
Sum total of the cost of world industrial production for the year 1935.....	275
Part played by war production in the total industrial production.....	3.6-5.5%

In countries with a *strongly developed* war industry, this percentage, of course, is still higher. The institute fixes the percentage of war expenditure in relation to total income for 1934-35 by the following figures (in percentages): France=12; Japan=10; Italy=10.

Even supposing these figures are an underestimate, even assuming that the indirect influence of the war industry upon the branches of production which supply it with materials is not taken into account, nevertheless it is clear that the increase in industrial production in the years 1934-35 cannot be simply explained by economic factors of a war character alone.

\*\* The index for the production of means of consumption (1929=100) taken as an average for 1934 in Germany was 92.4, and for the first 11 months of 1935=87.6.

\*\*\* The Hitler government covers its military expenditure primarily by compulsory loans. The attempt to raise a loan on the free market for the state railways, of a minimum sum of 500 million marks, was a failure. Subscriptions to the loan produced no more than 300 million marks; the remainder proved a heavy burden on the banking consortium.

The increase in military expenditure, insofar as idle capital is drawn into the financing of it, may in certain countries bring about a temporary extension of the market and increase of production. However, the armaments race can on no account postpone for long the term of the ripening of a new cyclic crisis. On the contrary, when armaments have passed certain definite limits they are fraught with the danger of the most serious economic and social upheavals.

Just as little, also, is the further depreciation of currency in a position to *lighten the position of capitalism*. In certain conditions it can play the role of a factor temporarily affecting the economic situation, but it cannot introduce any decisive changes. The depreciation of currency signifies the re-distribution of incomes in favor of the bourgeoisie and at the expense of the workers, and, within the ranks of the propertied classes, in favor of the debtors and at the expense of the creditors. Consequently, the collapse of the banking and credit system (U.S.A.) can be averted by depreciating currency insofar as the depreciation lessens the burden of old indebtedness corresponding to the drop in prices during the time of the crisis. The depreciation of currency gives a temporary advantage in the struggle for sales on the world market, to those countries which outdistance the others in devaluating their currency. But this advantage is only of a temporary nature and operates only within definite bounds. And if after having undergone a limited depreciation, the currency of any country is once again stabilized, then what is changed is only the amount of gold contained in the depreciated currency. How can this formal change substantially influence the position of capitalism?

If the depreciation exceeds a definite limits, then, dialectically, the opposite phenomenon occurs. By overstepping this limit, the depreciation leads to the complete collapse of capitalist economy, as was clearly shown by the examples of the Central European countries in the post-war years. No "manipulations" with currency can change the law of the inner movement of capitalism, can "abolish" a new cyclic crisis.

#### THE ECONOMIC SITUATION IN THE MOST IMPORTANT COUNTRIES

*The United States.* The economic development of the United States is of decisive importance, insofar as the production of this country represents 40-50 per cent of the production of the whole capitalist world. All the facts show that a real revival has actually begun in the United States following on the middle of 1935. True, the increase of industrial production in the summer of 1933 went forward more quickly, but this increase then was of a speculative character, was based on the depreciation of the dollar, and covered only the production of means of consumption, whereas the production of means of production was as before in the grip of the crisis. In the current year we can already observe a more intensive rise in the production of means of production, as is usually the case with a "normal" revival. The indices of industrial production, taken in the most general form, show the following movement:

*Volume of Production of the U.S.A.*  
(1929—100)\*

<i>Year</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>I**</i>	<i>II</i>	<i>Engineering</i>	<i>Automobile</i>
1932	53.8	27.6	75.9	12.6	25.9
1933	63.9	41.2	84.2	17.4	35.6
1934	66.4	46.5	83.4	29.7	51.1
1935 (May)	71.4	53.8	85.8	42.1	63.7
1935 (Nov.)	81.5	74.7	89.2	66.0	84.4

These figures show us the following:

a. In 1932 the production of the means of production, especially of machinery, fell so low that insufficient was available to replace the equipment worn out naturally and morally.

b. Up to the middle of 1935, the production of the means of production remained at an extremely low level.

c. In the second half of 1935, the production of the means of production, especially machinery, suddenly jumped up: the increase amounted to 40 per cent, and in engineering—56 per cent. In December, 1935, and in January, 1936, the increase in production continued (there are no statistics to hand as yet) although at a slower rate.

The basis of this growth in production is the unsatisfactory demand which arose during the period of crisis for the replacement of equipment worn out in industry, agriculture and transport. The big increase in the production of automobiles is in consequence of the fact that the seven-eight million automobiles which were put into service in 1928-29, and also the types of cars which have become out-of-date during the crisis, are gradually being exchanged for new cars.

*The weak side of the economic situation in the U.S.A. is that the extension of fixed capital by establishing new enterprises is taking place to only a very insignificant extent.* The quantitative surplus of fixed capital makes itself felt especially keenly in the United States, the richest capitalist country in the world. According to the calculations of the Brookings Institution,\*\* the degree to which the productive plants were used during the boom years (1925-29) was on the average 79 per cent, and according to our calculations, not more than 57 per cent during the decade (1925-34), if we take 308 working days a year as the "average". In these circumstances it is hardly probable that during the coming years there will be a wide development of the renewal of fixed capital. The situation is further worsened by the fact that *despite the increase of production a colossal and chronic unemployed army exists as hitherto.* And this means an acute contraction of the internal market, the more so since the increase in the total amount of wages is more and more lagging

\* All the figures, unless otherwise indicated, are taken from the statistical bulletin of the League of Nations.

\*\* The figures I and II are used here and elsewhere in this article as Marx did in *Capital* to represent the production of the means of production and of the means of consumption respectively.—Ed.

\*\*\* *America's Capacity to Produce*, Washington, 1934.

behind the increase in the volume of production.\* Let us sum up what has been said: although during the last half year, a considerable economic revival has been apparent in the U.S.A., nevertheless industrial production is still 20 per cent below the figure for 1929, *i.e.*, is at a low crisis level. The improvement will continue in 1936, but at a slower rate. Housing construction and increased armaments will encourage this. However, the chronic surplus of basic capital, the chronic mass unemployment, are retarding further growth. Therefore, there can be no certainty that production will reach the 1929 level before a new crisis breaks out in other countries.

*England.* Economic development in England during the last few years has proceeded far more evenly than in the other capitalist countries (in round figures England provides 10 per cent of the industrial production of the entire capitalist world). By going off the gold standard in 1931, England strengthened her banking and credit system. The actual stabilization of the pound sterling which followed soon after, and the gradual establishment of firm ties with the pound by the currencies of the whole of the British Empire, the Scandinavian countries, some of the South American countries and China, restored the importance of British currency as an international currency, in spite of its depreciation. Thus, in the sphere of circulation, extremely favorable prerequisites for a revival were created. The growth of production in England where during the years of crisis production fell much less than in the other countries, began as early as 1932. This growth was particularly stimulated by the increase in housing construction, the large surplus of loan capital, and the extremely low rate of interest. The determined transition to protectionism during the crisis extended the home market by restricting the import of foreign goods, and made it possible—although to a limited extent—to extend fixed capital by effecting these sales on the home market.

*Index of Industrial Production of England*  
(1929=100)

Year	General index of industrial production	Engineering	Textile industry	Housing construction	Factory and works con- struction
1932	85.5	73.2	86.4	106	65
1933	88.2	79.3	91.2	141	67
1934	98.8	92.6	93.4	157	92
1935**	104.0	102.0	96.0	170	120

The building industry is of fundamental importance in this economic situation, but a certain role is also being played by the *new* branches of industry such as artificial silk, motor construction, the automobile industry, and the war industry. The "old" big branches of industry such

\* Index of the Federal Reserve Bureau (1923-1925 = 100):

	1929	1932	1934	1935 (October)
Volume of industrial production	119	63	78	95
Amount of wages paid to workers in factories and works	109	46	62	75
Difference	10	17	16	20

\*\* Data incomplete.

as coal, textiles and ship-building are very much behind, dragging at the tail of these developments. Consequently there is no firm basis for a good economic situation. In housing construction, things will wane in a definite period of time, because there will be a relative surplus of living space. The increase in the purchasing power of the population cannot keep up with such an increase in housing construction. Although the number of employed workers in England (which in this respect is unique among all the big capitalist countries) exceeds the corresponding figure for the year 1929, and generally speaking has reached the highest figure in the history of England, yet the officially registered army of unemployed is two million people. The general crisis of capitalism will hardly allow of a protracted period of improvement even in England. In 1935 already, the figure for the growth of production was considerably lower than that for 1934. It is clear that *a new cyclic crisis is maturing in England, which, if a new world war does not break out beforehand, will break out, probably, in 1937.*

*France.* Unlike all the other big capitalist countries, France, at the beginning of this year, was only beginning to enter the phase of depression, and the index of her production still remained at the level reached when the crisis was most profound.

*Index of Production in France*  
(1929=100)

Year	General index of production	Engineering	Textile industry	Building works
1932	69.0	61.5	64.7	81.3
1933	76.7	68.8	80.4	74.0
1934	71.0	63.1	68.5	66.7
1935 (May)	66.0	60.5	68.5	52.8
1935 (Nov.)	68.1	61.1	76.1	54.1 (Oct.)

Under the influence of the general improvement in the world economic situation, an increase in production (primarily in the sphere of the production of the means of consumption) was to be observed in France also in 1933. Then there was a break again in 1934, which threw production behind to a figure below the 1932 level. The reason for this peculiar movement of the graph is the fact that the cyclical crisis in France only broke out in 1931, two years late. Therefore in 1933 there were as yet no internal pre-conditions making for an improvement (the best illustration of this is the long drawn-out decline of building), and a new break inevitably had to occur.

The lowest point of the crisis, apparently, was finally passed only in the autumn of 1935. Then, at a very slow rate there began an increase in production which will probably continue into 1936-1937, if only the political strife inside the country does not become so acute that the bourgeoisie will begin to react by exporting capital en masse and sabotaging production.

Influential circles of the French bourgeoisie are striving to depreciate the franc. However, the big political weight pulled by the rentier

and the necessity of reckoning with the forthcoming elections serve to make the politicians refrain from open propoganda for depreciating the franc. The tactics of the big bourgeoisie will obviously be directed by means of all kinds of financial manuevering towards compelling the future government of the People's Front to resort to inflation, and towards using the dissatisfaction arising in this connection among the petty bourgeois masses to establish a mass base for the fascist movement.

*Germany.* Germany, like Japan and Italy, has fundamentally rearranged her economic life before the beginning of the war to meet the requirements of wartime. This leaves a definite stamp upon German economy, namely, there is a strong growth of the production of the means of production (in the main this is direct and indirect war production), with a simultaneous decline in the production of the means of consumption, as a result of the impoverishment of the toiling masses. The military and economic organization of the country is characterized by the following features: a corresponding distribution of raw material, the strictest control over foreign trade, severe restriction upon the freedom of movement of labor power, the introduction of fixed government prices, compulsory delivery of agricultural products to state purchasing centers, an inadequate supply of food, speculation, and underground trade, etc. As we have already pointed out above, the fascist state is taking such a considerable share of the wealth for war purposes, that no capital is left for production purposes. A continuation of war preparations at this rate must inevitably lead to a higher cost of living as a result of inflation. The position of German economy is such that a crisis may break out there at any moment, and, moreover, not an ordinary crisis of over-production, but a crisis of the entire economic system.

*Italy.* Italy is at bottom in a similar position to Germany. It is worse for Italy only because the war in Ethiopia requires big economic sacrifices. On the other hand, Italy has at her disposal reserves of gold and foreign currency which will suffice for approximately another year, while Germany has already completely exhausted her gold reserve during the crisis.

*Japan.* Japan was the first of the capitalist countries to pass the lowest point of the crisis as early as in 1931, and, in comparison with the other countries, has now secured the highest increase in industrial production.

*Index of Production in Japan*  
(1929=100)

Year	General index	I	II	Textile industry
1931	91.6	91.3	100.1	99.2
1932	97.8	104.4	105.5	104.7
1933	113.2	134.4	117.6	114.4
1934	128.7	170.0	127.7	126.2
1935 (Sept.)	141.0	191.0	140.3	141.9

The causes of such a great boom in Japanese industry are varied:  
a. Irrespective of the cyclic trend of production a strong extension

of industry is going forward in Japan, encouraged by the state in the interests of armaments.

b. Armaments are creating a favorable home market for the new industry.

c. Inflation has still further lowered the already extremely low rates of wages paid to the Japanese workers and has given the Japanese capitalists an opportunity of dumping, and thereby to a considerable extent of squeezing her rivals, particularly England, out of the textile market.

d. By using her position as a very big importer of raw materials Japan has successfully secured herself markets (the agreements with India to buy Indian cotton, and to sell to India textile manufactures).

e. Using her military superiority over China, Japan is now monopolizing the markets of Manchuria and North China for the sale of her own goods.

Japanese capitalism is also experiencing a military deformation, but she undoubtedly has at her disposal a much greater ability to maneuver than either Germany or Italy. The internal pre-conditions for a new cyclic crisis of over-production in Japan are undoubtedly maturing. However, it is possible and probable that the improved economic position of the U.S.A., which is of decisive importance as far as concerns Japanese exports, will retard the breaking out of the cyclic crisis in Japan.

The unevenness in the economic position of the small countries is no less than in the big countries. Some of the small countries (Sweden, Norway, Finland, Hungary and Rumania) have considerably exceeded the 1929 level; others, for example, Holland, Switzerland and Spain, are still passing through a most profound crisis. But as the biggest countries, the position of which we have analyzed above, provide at least 80 per cent of the total production of the capitalist world, it is they, of course, which decide the question of the prospects of the cycle.

\* \* \*

What are the fundamental conclusions to be drawn from the analysis of the present world situation?

1. There can be no question of an international situation arising like that which we had after the first post-war cyclic crises in 1920-21. This is how Comrade Stalin described the situation then:

“Thus, we have two stabilizations: the temporary stabilization of capitalism and the stabilization of the Soviet system. The setting in of a certain temporary equilibrium between these two stabilizations—such is the characteristic feature of the present international situation. . . .”\*

Establishing the fact that the international situation will more

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\* Stalin, “The Fourteenth Conference of the Russian Communist Party”, *Leninism*, Vol. I, p. 152.

and more be determined by the relation of forces between the camp of capitalism and the camp of socialism, Comrade Stalin said:

“The characteristic feature at the present moment is, therefore, not only the stabilization of capitalism and of the Soviet system, but also the fact that the respective forces of these two camps have reached a certain temporary equilibrium, an equilibrium which is slightly in favor of capitalism and, consequently, slightly disadvantageous to the revolutionary movement. Undoubtedly, compared with the revolutionary upsurge, the lull which has now set in is to the disadvantage, although temporarily, of socialism.”\*

The world situation today radically differs from the situation then. The relation of forces between the camp of socialism and the camp of capitalism reveals a tremendous advantage in favor of the socialist camp. This is shown by all the data given in our article.

At that time Comrade Stalin pointed out that “. . . the stabilization of capitalism may be expressed in the fact that the imperialist groups of the advanced countries are trying to come to agreement about a united front against the Soviet Union.”

An attempt of this kind at the present time appears to be extremely difficult; this is a clear proof of the growing strength of the Soviet Union and of the acute sharpening of the contradictions in the camp of capitalism.

2. It is quite beyond the bounds of possibility that the present revival will develop into a phase of revival covering all the capitalist countries. A new cyclic crisis is maturing. Comrade Stalin's words to the American journalist, Duranty, in the end of 1933, have been brilliantly corroborated: “As for the economic crisis, it is actually not the last crisis.”

3. This international situation is impelling all the more aggressive imperialist states to undertake a struggle for a new redivision of the world. The danger of a world war is not lessened in connection with the improvement in the world economic situation, as the reactionary leaders of Social-Democracy declare. Comrade Molotov was right when he characterized the international situation at the last session of the C.E.C. of the U.S.S.R. in the following words:

“Even now, when the capitalist countries to a greater or lesser extent, extremely unevenly, by the way, are emerging from the economic crisis of the last few years, even now they themselves no longer believe in the possibility of any considerable growth of their own forces on the basis of the development of their internal forces.”\*\*

The working class must draw these fundamental conclusions from the present situation.

\* *Ibid.*, p. 153.

\*\* See *Pravda*, Jan. 11, 1936.

# Ernst Thaelmann

By WILHELM PIECK

**T**HE three years of the Hitler dictatorship during which the most popular leader of the working class of Germany, Ernst Thaelmann, has been kept behind prison bars, have put particularly big demands upon each German Communist and revolutionary. These years were first and foremost a serious test for the Communist Party, which had to show, in these most difficult conditions, that it still remains the vanguard of the German working class.

The German working class were unable to prevent the establishment of the fascist dictatorship and suffered a severe defeat. The gigantic working class organizations, built up in the course of decades of class struggle, were destroyed. Thousands of the best sons of the German proletariat were killed by the fascists, tens of thousands arrested and subjected to the most ferocious tortures. A feeling of depression gripped the masses in the factories and the working class quarters. The capitulation of the reformist trade union leaders to the fascist dictatorship, and the refusal of the leaders of Social-Democracy to undertake any struggle during the first months of the Hitler dictatorship, still further increased this feeling of depression among considerable sections of the proletariat.

In these most difficult times the Communist Party of Germany was as firm as a rock against the turbulent waves of fascist terror. The Party threw down the challenge to fascism, it continued its work unabated, again and again restoring its broken connections. The Communist Party of Germany did not cease to exist as a living, active, organization. The Communist Party of Germany saved the honor of the German working class movement, it held and continues to hold high the Red banner of irreconcilable class struggle and of coming victories.

The Communist Party of Germany passed with honor this most difficult test unprecedented in the history of the international working class movement. This merit can as yet hardly be estimated at its full historic magnitude. That the Party was able to cope with the task which confronted it was due, primarily, to the heroic cadres of the Communist Party of Germany, the splendid human material possessed by the German proletariat. But *these cadres were raised by the Party under the leadership of Ernst Thaelmann!*

In the severe years of the illegal struggle against the Hitler dictatorship, new cadres grew up. At the first National Conference of the Communist Party of Germany, called after the establishment of the fascist dictatorship and held in Brussels in October of last year, a number of comrades spoke who have been promoted by the Party to leading posts only during the last three years.

The young cadres are working side by side with the old functionaries.

This fusion of old and young cadres is a guarantee that the best fighting traditions of the German revolutionary movement will be carried on, and is a source of the great strength of the Party.

The Communist Party of Germany, under the leadership of the former Hamburg docker, Ernst Thaelmann, became the largest Communist Party in the capitalist countries. At the last legal elections to the German Reichstag, in November, 1932, six million toilers voted for the Communist Party of Germany. The Party had over 300,000 members. Of still greater importance is the fact that the Communist Party has trained tens of thousands of functionaries, steeled in the class struggle, who in the dark days of the Hitler dictatorship are doing their revolutionary duty in the factories and the working class districts, in concentration camps and the dungeons of the Gestapo.

On the fifteenth anniversary of Ernst Thaelmann's birthday, we call to mind with pride the great test which the Communist Party of Germany has passed during the three years of fascist dictatorship we call to mind the heroic struggle of our cadres, educated and steeled by the Party under the leadership of Comrade Thaelmann.

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In the indictment against Thaelmann which contains in fantastic disorder the false evidence of provocateurs, the illiterate forgeries of the Gestapo agents, and correct quotations from Thaelmann's speeches and articles, as well as Thaelmann's own written declaration on the accusation leveled against him, we find the following declaration by Thaelmann:

"No denial of the revolution. On the contrary, revolution is necessary. It is the only road to the national social liberation of the workers and toilers."

For over three years Ernst Thaelmann has been languishing in a fascist prison. Neither cruel flogging, nor strict isolation from the outside world, have been able to break down his fighting spirit. Ernst Thaelmann has become the symbol of the anti-fascist struggle throughout the whole world, the symbol of the duel between two worlds: the old, rotten society, which tries to maintain power only with the help of bloody terror, and the new rising socialist society, the society of true freedom and happiness for all toilers.

In 1849 Karl Marx said in his speech at the trial of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* before the Cologne jury:

"What took place here was not a political conflict between two fractions on the basis of one society; it was a *conflict between two societies*. . . .

"Therefore there can be no peace between these two societies. Their material interests and requirements call forth a life-and-death struggle between them. One must be victorious, the other

must fall. That is the only possible form of agreement between them.”\*

The same conflict between two societies, though in other, mature, circumstances of class struggle, is the struggle between the toiling masses of Germany and the fascist dictatorship. Thaelmann and Hitler are two poles in this struggle. Thaelmann is the embodiment of the toiling people, tortured by fascism and fighting for their freedom. For or against Thaelmann means for or against the anti-fascist struggle. It is a question of whether the toiling masses will be plunged into still greater need and slavery under the fascist dictatorship, or whether they will follow the initiative of the Communist Party and take the road of the united proletarian and people's front, and develop the forces with the help of which Hitler fascism can be overthrown, and the toiling people can secure freedom, their rights, peace and well-being.

Ernst Thaelmann was born on April 16, 1886, in Hamburg. The poverty which reigned in his working class family forced him into the slavery of capitalist exploitation immediately upon leaving school. He was a docker in the port of Hamburg. At the age of 16 he joined the Social-Democratic Party organization, and at the age of 18, the German Transport Workers' Union.

Thaelmann soon became the trusted representative of his comrades in the Party and in the trade union. This drew down upon him the anger of the employers, who blacklisted him. In 1913 and 1914 Comrade Thaelmann was unemployed. Ernst Thaelmann refused to be broken, but on the contrary, still more energetically defended the interests of his fellow workers and increased his political activity.

During the war, Thaelmann like all the people hated the slaughter, and with the best representatives of the German proletariat was indignant at the war policy of the Social-Democratic leaders. This is what Thaelmann wrote on the subject:

“The Red flag of the proletarian class struggle was betrayed and trampled in the dust.”

As soon as war broke out, Ernst Thaelmann was called up for military service, and there is hardly a section of the Western front in the front line trenches of which Thaelmann was not at one time or another. His revolutionary propaganda, his exposure of the imperialist war more than once made him the object of strict disciplinary measures. He developed ever closer contacts with the illegal group of the Hamburg Party organization, and when on leave worked with them. In the indictment against Thaelmann, concocted by the fascist butchers, this period of his life is described as follows:

“During the war, when he was twice wounded, Thaelmann never forgot or violated his duty as a revolutionary proletarian. On the contrary, he *constantly carried on illegal propaganda against the imperialist war* and for its revolutionary conclusion.

\* Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Vol. VII, pp. 262 and 264.

and in particular saw to the distribution of illegal pamphlets and newspapers, like the *Bremer Bürgerzeitung*. It was for this reason that he was never promoted in the service during the entire period of the war, but, on the contrary, strict disciplinary measures were taken against him. For the same reason he was given no leave for two years; nevertheless he steadfastly maintained contacts with the Hamburg organization of the revolutionary wing, which was working illegally. Having finally been given leave, he did not hesitate to use it for the purpose of arranging illegal meetings in Hamburg."

Such was Thaelmann at the front, according to the testimony of the enemy.

In the first days after his return to Hamburg from the front, Thaelmann took up his position at the head of the revolutionary proletariat, and led the struggle of the Hamburg workers against the Herstenberg division, which had set itself the task of crushing the workers of Bremen.

Thaelmann took a particularly active part in trade union work. At the Eighth Congress of the Transport Workers' Union in 1912, Thaelmann fought against the reformist leaders, demanding that the revolutionary character of the trade unions be maintained, fighting against restrictions on the rights of the rank-and-file members of the trade unions, and for equal rights for the youth. At the Transport Workers' Congress held in Cologne, in 1914, and later at the Stuttgart and Berlin Congresses, Thaelmann conducted a revolutionary class struggle on behalf of these demands. This is what he had to say about this question at the Stuttgart Congress:

"The fighting nature of the organization has been pushed into the background by civil peace and by the legislation concerning auxiliary service. . . . There is not the slightest chance of removing political questions from the life of the trade unions."

Inside his own trade union, Ernst Thaelmann conducted a systematic struggle for the rights of the youth. In Hamburg he founded the first trade union youth section, and gathered the revolutionary youth around himself. In 1912 at the Breslau Congress, Thaelmann declared:

"Up to now we only have youth sections in Berlin and Hamburg. Yes, and the field has still to be plowed. More must be done for the youth. . . . I consider it unjust that the youth, despite the increasing dues, should have less claims than the adults, and I ask that this proposal be rejected."

Thaelmann's words were in sharp contradiction to the views of reformist leaders like Robert Schmidt, who laughed to scorn the struggle of the young workers at the Hamburg Trade Union Congress in 1908, where he was the reporter on the question of organizing the youth in the trade unions; and said:

"Better buy yourself a bit of sausage; that would be much

better. You can economize the contributions to the youth organization."

These words show how great was the dissatisfaction among the reformist party and trade union leaders at the radical sentiments among the youth, who found their defender particularly in Ernst Thaelmann.

Ernst Thaelmann always waged the struggle against reformism, especially against social chauvinism, and defended before the masses, the position of the revolutionary class struggle. After his return from the front, he took up his stand with the Left wing of the "independents". Thaelmann fought for the affiliation of the Hamburg organization of the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany to the Communist Party. And, indeed, when Thaelmann joined the Communist Party of Germany in 1920, about 90 per cent of the members of the Hamburg branch of the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany went with him. He became the recognized leader of the Hamburg workers, and subsequently of the whole of the German proletariat.

\* \* \*

Ernst Thaelmann, the Hamburg worker, became the leader of the Communist Party of Germany. That the Communist Party of Germany grew into a mass party with a clearly expressed Bolshevik stamp was the great service rendered by Ernst Thaelmann. With the passing of the years, Thaelmann became one of the most prominent leaders of the Communist International. The tremendous experience of the Communist Party of Germany also enabled him to give a correct judgment on questions which confronted other Communist Parties. Thaelmann took a leading part in solving all the most important questions of the world Communist movement. At a number of plenary sessions of the E.C.C.I., Thaelmann was a reporter on basic questions.

Thaelmann possessed a special ability to feel the mood of the masses, and especially of the Social-Democratic workers. It was because of this that the anti-Party group of Neumann accused him of "running after the Social-Democratic workers". Ernst Thaelmann explained and convinced the Social-Democratic workers of the need to build up a united front for the struggle against the growing wave of fascism. At the same time he tried, inside the Party, to create the necessary preconditions for the united front.

At the session of the Central Committee held on February 19, 1933, Thaelmann declared:

"We say that the revolutionary united front policy is the chief link in the chain of proletarian policy in Germany. Comrades, this formulation is of tremendous importance. We have arrived at it after mature thinking."

And at the Berlin Anti-Fascist Unity Congress on July 10, 1932, Thaelmann said:

“The question of the united front against fascism is a question of life for the German proletariat.”

At the initiative of Ernst Thaelmann, in the spring of 1932, the Communist Party undertook the “anti-fascist action” which brought the Communist and Social-Democratic workers closer together. Inside the Party, however, there was to be observed a strong sectarian resistance to the united front with the Social-Democratic workers. The main cause of this lay concealed in the struggle which the leaders of Social-Democracy, and especially the Social-Democratic Prussian government, were conducting against the Communist Party, using the state apparatus for the purpose.

As a result of such moods, the Party made a serious mistake, against which Ernst Thaelmann, on the basis of the experience which accumulated since that time, would have fought with tremendous sharpness, had he not been prevented by his arrest. The fact that the fascist danger was underestimated and that the Party did not reorganize its ranks so as to direct the main blow against fascism, when this danger began to take more and more clear shape, was a most serious mistake.

At the bold initiative of Comrade Dimitroff, the Seventh Congress of the Comintern decided to introduce a turn in our tactics and to aim at establishing a united proletarian and people’s front. The Seventh Congress placed the following task before the Communist Party of Germany, namely, on the basis of the changed conditions in Germany to establish new relations with Social-Democracy so as thus to facilitate the establishment of the united front as quickly as possible.

The indictment itself against Thaelmann, the entire material collected therein, despite the intentions of those who drew it up paint a picture of the struggle waged by Comrade Thaelmann for the vital interests of the German people, and in particular for the maintenance of peace. Those who drew up this document were compelled to reflect the stubborn efforts of Comrade Thaelmann to rally the working masses together in the united front, and to unite the working class with its allies—the broad masses of toilers in town and country—for a struggle to maintain the standard of living of the masses of the people, and on behalf of their rights and liberties. It is precisely for this reason that to this day the Hitler government has not dared to begin a public trial, which would still more clearly throw light upon this role of Comrade Thaelmann.

\* \* \*

Ernst Thaelmann tirelessly fought against chauvinist calumny. Hitler fascism has tried, and is still trying, to poison the minds of the toiling people of Germany with chauvinist poison, in order to obtain support for its war preparations. Ernst Thaelmann particularly tried to safeguard toiling Germany from this criminal propaganda. It is significant that in the indictment against Thaelmann, the Hitler government lays it at the door of Thaelmann that he conducted propaganda in favor of proletarian internationalism, that he called upon the German pro-

letariat to defend the Soviet Union, and that he tried to establish fraternal ties between the French workers and German toiling people, and that in doing so he was guilty of high treason.

Thus, the following excerpt from Thaelmann's speech at the Party Conference held in the middle of October, 1932, is introduced into the indictment as a crime of which he is guilty:

"We must develop proletarian internationalism as against the chauvinistic spirit stirred up among the masses, and the imperialist war policy and the armaments of the German bourgeoisie. The Communist Party of Germany fights against war preparations and against the war policy; it demands that the billions that are being spent upon the Reichswehr be turned over to the fund to help the war victims and the unemployed."

This propaganda of proletarian internationalism advocated by Ernst Thaelmann and the struggle to bring it about, and for fraternal collaboration between the peoples, appear to Hitler fascism to be particular dangerous, because, as it is aware, the overwhelming majority of the German people want peace, and not war.

On March 7, this year, world public opinion was taken by surprise at the news of the occupation by German troops of the Rhineland which had been demilitarized by the Versailles and Locarno Treaties. The same day Hitler delivered a speech in the so-called German Reichstag, which was an open war threat directed against the U.S.S.R., and in which he appealed to the capitalist states to form a military front against the Soviet Union. In order to deceive the world, and first and foremost, the German people, concerning this piece of war provocation, Hitler at the same time proposed the conclusion of a pact of non-aggression with the neighboring countries, and especially with the Western powers. This was quite a clumsy maneuver, calculated on the masses of the people in Germany being unaware of the categorical refusal of the Hitler government to subscribe to the pacts of mutual assistance concluded by the U.S.S.R. in the interests of maintaining peace, with France, Czechoslovakia, and a number of other capitalist states. In the interim between March 7 and 29, the fascists launched an outburst of incredibly chauvinistic propaganda in connection with the "election" campaign.

Three years of the Hitler dictatorship have brought new sufferings and privations to all sections of the toiling population of Germany. The management of affairs by Hitler fascism has resulted in a food shortage, a high cost of living, reductions in wages, grossly arbitrary acts by the employers and a complete absence of rights for the workers, a new increase in unemployment, a rapid worsening of the position of the urban middle classes, and the complete ruin of the holdings of the peasants. Moreover, the Hitler government is adapting its entire policy. all its measures to the reconstruction of Germany's national economy for war, and is thereby creating the danger of a profound crisis of the whole economic system in consequence of the inadequate supply of raw materials, foodstuffs and foreign currency.

The toiling masses in town and village have to make heavy sacrifices in connection with the preparations for war, while the capitalists are raking in huge profits. It is this state of affairs inside the country which is one of the most important reasons for the aggressive foreign policy of German fascism. The fascists are striving by means of this policy and a rabid chauvinist agitation to draw the attention of the masses away from the difficulties at home.

It is precisely in connection with this state of affairs, that the decisions of the Brussels Party Conference of the Communist Party of Germany, adopted on the basis of the directives of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, assume such a great importance for the German working class. These decisions are as follows: to conclude a united front between the Communists, Social-Democrats and Catholics for a struggle on behalf of the material interests of the toiling people and to establish united action for the struggle against Hitler fascism. To this end, we must at all costs win over the anti-fascist forces in Germany and abroad in emigration, and direct these forces to the struggle for the overthrow of the Hitler regime, in order that the toiling masses may have the right freely to decide the question as to what system should be set up in the new Germany of the future.

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For over three years the fascists have kept Ernst Thaelmann in prison. All this time the German proletariat, supported by the international proletariat, have been fighting for the release of Thaelmann. Comrade Dimitroff, who at the Leipzig trial provided us with a great example of how a Bolshevik fighter for Communism should behave before the court, was successfully wrenched out of the claws of the fascist butchers in Germany by the strength of international solidarity. Dimitroff's victory over his fascist accusers at bottom smashed to bits the accusation against Thaelmann. This is shown most eloquently in the indictment against Thaelmann.

In the spring of 1933, the fascists spread the most monstrous terror in reply to the alleged burning of the Reichstag by Communists. Comrade Dimitroff, however, at the Leipzig Trial succeeded in so thoroughly proving to the world that the Reichstag incendiaries could only be the fascists themselves, that in the indictment there is no longer any mention made about the burning of the Reichstag.

The whole of the indictment concocted by the fascist butchers to discredit the Communist Party and its leader has become, in spite of and against the will of those who compiled it, a certificate of honor for Thaelmann. His passionate struggle against capital, against war, and in defense of the Soviet Union is qualified as a crime dealt with under various paragraphs of the fascist legal code. Every quotation from the speeches and articles of Thaelmann given in the indictment and every piece of evidence is a blow in the face of the fascist prosecution. Every page of this document shows with increasing eloquence Thaelmann as

the leader of the masses, fighting for the freedom and happiness of the toiling people. This is why the fascists are hesitating to this day to arrange the trial of Thaelmann. Such a trial would mean a fresh defeat for fascism, more severe than their defeat at Leipzig.

It is the duty of all honest lovers of freedom throughout the world to fight for the release of Thaelmann.

It is a duty of honor of all anti-fascists to remember the following words of Comrade George Dimitroff:

"I am never tired of repeating again and again that it is a question of honor for the proletariat of every country to make every possible effort, to exert all its forces, in order to deliver the leader of the German working class, Ernst Thaelmann, from the hands of the fascist executioners. . . . We must bear in mind the whole time that the release of Thaelmann and of the other German comrades will be much more difficult than our release."\*

There are many revolutionary fighters—Communist, Social-Democrat, Catholic, workers, intellectuals—languishing along with Ernst Thaelmann in the prisons and concentration camps in Germany, in conditions of the most ferocious terror by the fascists bloodhounds. Suffice it, if we name Comrades Schtecher, Kasper, Geschke, Maddalen, Rembt, Schtamm, and many thousands of the best of our best; if we name Social-Democrats like Mirendorf and Brandes, and a representative of the bourgeois intelligentsia like Ossietsky. Many Catholics also are behind prison bars. We must fight for the release of all these people, we must tear them out of the claws of fascism.

Ernst Thaelmann is the symbol of international anti-fascist struggle. In the battle for his release, the anti-fascist front is concentrating all its forces against Hitler fascism, for its overthrow and for the establishment of a democratic regime in Germany.

If, on April 16, Ernst Thaelmann has to pass the fiftieth anniversary of his birthday in prison, into which he has been hurled by Hitler fascists, let it be a serious reminder to the anti-fascists throughout the world of the need to unite all forces for his release, and to conduct an international campaign, a campaign so mighty that the Hitler government will be compelled to release Ernst Thaelmann.

On the fiftieth anniversary of his birthday, "Red Front" greetings to our Comrade, Ernst Thaelmann.

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\* From the interview with the representatives of the foreign Communist Press, end of April, 1934, See *Dimitroff's Letters from Prison*, International Publishers, New York, pp. 148-49.

# The Comrades-in-Arms of Thaelmann

By C. BOBROVSKAYA

**A**T the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, Comrade Dimitroff pointed to the extremely great importance of the problem of cadres for the international movement, and stressed the point that this problem is of especially great importance in fascist countries, where the active members of the Party are constantly in the firing line, where the hunt by the enemy after just these foremost comrades is particularly violent, and where they are hurled into prison, into concentration camps, and are cruelly tortured and killed.

The figures of these foremost comrades, of these unbending fighters for the proletarian revolution, cannot and must not be forgotten. We must make known the lives of these people who incessantly, day after day, are fighting for Communism, carrying on stubborn work in the deeply illegal conditions, in spite of all the obstacles in their way and of the snares of the enemy.

We must make known their wonderful staunchness while held prisoners by the enemy; we must make known their heroic behavior in prison, under examination, while being tortured, before the fascist court, under the axe of the executioner.

Among this gallery of heroes, friends and comrades-in-arms of Comrade Thaelmann, whose splendid lives have been cut off by fascist bullets or by the axe of the fascist executioner, there stand out most clearly before our eyes, first and foremost, the shining figures of Comrades John Scheer and Fiete Schultz.

\* \* \*

Comrade John Scheer, member of the Central Committee of the German Communist Party, and member of the Political Bureau, closest friend and comrade-in-arms of Comrade Thaelmann, was born in a working class family in 1894 in Alton, near Hamburg. In this working class center, with its gloomy houses thickly populated with the poor, he spent his cheerless childhood. It was here that he learned the trade of fitter, and it was here that from his early years he joined the working class movement, taking a most active part in the incessant revolutionary struggle which the glorious proletarians of Hamburg and its environs were waging.

The qualities possessed by Comrade Scheer which won the profound sympathy of the workers of Alton, and which made him a leader of the masses can be summed up as follows: a fiery, revolutionary temperament, talent as an agitator, and a broad political outlook, combined with proletarian modesty.

A member of the Social-Democratic Party since 1912, Comrade

Scheer joined the ranks of the Communist Party of Germany together with Comrade Thaelmann, and was one of the outstanding Party leaders in Hamburg, Hanover and the Ruhr. Comrade Scheer together with Comrade Thaelmann devoted special attention to the proletarians of the coastal region, where they both worked for a number of years.

October 1923.

"Impelled by the poverty of the period of inflation, driven by the unprecedented need of the toiling masses, inspired with the spirit of Bolshevism, the best, most revolutionary section of the workers of Hamburg took up arms to fight against their capitalist oppressors." (Ernst Thaelmann.)

For two days the fighting continued on the streets of Hamburg. And if the uprising could not spread beyond the bounds of Hamburg, and was so easily suppressed, the blame lies not with the best and most revolutionary section of the proletarians of Hamburg, not upon Comrade Scheer, but with the cowardly opportunist group of Brandler, which at that time headed the Communist Party of Germany, and which capitulated before the class enemy, in spite of the fact that a revolutionary situation was present at that time.

After the Hamburg uprising, Comrade Scheer had temporarily to work illegally, which fact did not, however, make him flag in his energetic activities.

Comrade Scheer was one of the most active fighters for the ideological and organizational consolidation of the Communist Party of Germany. Every time conflicts arose inside the Party between its firm Bolshevik cadres and the elements which swung now to the Left and now to the Right, Comrade Scheer was unerringly in the ranks of those who fought determinedly to Bolshevize the Party.

During the years 1924 and 1925, Comrade Scheer carried on an active struggle against the remains of Brandlerism, and in 1927, at the Essen Party Conference, he fought against the counter-revolutionary Trotskyists of the Ruth Fischer type.

In 1929, at the Wedding Party Conference, where Comrade Scheer was elected to the Central Committee, he spoke of culminating the struggle against the group of conciliators, of the need to liquidate this anti-Party group, which, in its actions against the general line of the Party, resorted to its favorite method of discrediting the leaders of the Party, and tried to discredit Comrade Thaelmann in the eyes of the masses.

It was precisely during these days that Comrade Scheer undertook a passionate defense of Comrade Thaelmann.

Comrade John Scheer also played no small part in the struggle against the Neumann-Remmele group, and facilitated their removal from the Party leadership. This anti-Party group caused the Party no little harm precisely at the moment when the Party had to wage a desperate struggle to win the masses, the most backward of whom had already begun to fall victims to the hypnosis of fascist demagogy.

In the years 1930 and 1931, Comrade Scheer was the political leader of the Braunschweig Party organization. There he set a fine example of the practical application of the united working class front tactics, by organizing and leading a political protest strike of the Braunschweig proletariat against an attack made by a fascist band upon a group of workers, which ended in the murder of a worker, a member of the Social-Democratic Party.

In this first political strike, so impressive in its scope, all the workers of Braunschweig took part, irrespective of the parties to which they belonged. The strike was distinguished for its high political level, and it was led by Communists, and first and foremost by Comrade Scheer.

After the Braunschweig events, Comrade Scheer was arrested. And with what joy his release was welcomed in the autumn of 1932 by a meeting of workers, twenty thousand strong, in the Palace of Sport in Berlin! And it was with a similar display of enthusiasm, that, only a few days before the fascist coup d'etat, in January, 1933, he was greeted as the staunch comrade-in-arms of Thaelmann together with the other members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany by a tremendous Communist demonstration held near the Karl Liebknecht House.

In connection with the advent to power of Hitler and the arrest of the leader of the Party, Comrade Thaelmann, great responsibilities fell to the lot of Comrade Scheer: he had to take Comrade Thaelmann's place in the days when the entire Party—a legal, mass Party—had to be transferred without delay on to illegal conditions.

Comrade Scheer threw himself head and shoulders into the work in conditions of the most ferocious fascist dictatorship, in conditions of raging fascist terror.

Comrade Scheer did a tremendous amount of work to build up and strengthen the illegal Party apparatus, to find new, fearless cadres to take the places of those Communists who were arrested, and tortured in fascist dungeons, and to give them instruction and training.

Comrade Scheer fought mercilessly, in his speeches and in his articles, against the fascist demagogy which in the first day began to affect the consciousness of the backward masses in a menacing manner. By way of example we give here only one excerpt from his article written during that period, an article which came to hand after his death, and which was published in No. 12 of *The Communist International* in the year 1934.

In this article, point by point, Comrade Scheer patiently smashed to bits the "ideology" of the fascists. Comrade Scheer quotes the following part of Hitler's speech:

“. . . 'to order' and 'to obey' acquire an absolutely different and compulsory sense, when *people of different worth* clash, or come into contact with one another. . . . In the most primitive sense of this word, it takes place at the time when man subjects animals to his power . . . without asking the consent of his assistants from the animal kingdom,"

This is how Comrade Scheer replies to this:

"Our nature philosopher reduces human society and the relations between men from the relations of man to domestic animals. . . .

"... the Nazis borrow the basic concepts of their philosophy from the ideology of slavery. This is by no means accidental, for modern capitalist exploitation is striving, under the scourge of fascist dictatorship, to transform fifty million German workers, peasants and toilers into slaves devoid of all rights, into cannon fodder for an anti-Soviet war, for the sake of the profits of monopolist capital."

Comrade Scheer was only able to carry on his work in the profoundly illegal conditions for nine months. In the autumn of 1933 the fascist bloodhounds got on his track. The comrades insisted upon his hiding for a time, but severe with himself as always, and knowing that the work would suffer even if he left it for a time, he delayed. Soon he was seized by the enemy. The enemy knew how important Comrade Scheer was for the Communist Party, and consequently literally threw themselves upon him in sadistic ecstasy.

From the very first days of his arrest there were no insults, no tortures which Comrade Scheer did not suffer at the hands of his jailers.

They flogged him until he lost consciousness, they made him run the gauntlet, they stood him up against a red-hot stove, and all this to make him speak; but his answer to the butchers was ever the silence of the grave.

By his stoicism in Hitler's dungeons, by his staunchness, Comrade Scheer filled even some of his tormentors with respect.

When the Hitlerites understood that people like Comrade Scheer would never speak, that they could get nothing out of him either about the illegal work or about the strength of the Communist Party, they decided to get rid of him.

On the fatal night of February 2, 1934, Comrade Scheer, together with three other comrades, were taken out into the forest, a volley rang out and all four fell dead. The next day, the fascists announced: "Shot, while attempting to escape. . . ."

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On March 18, 1934, on the day when the workers of all countries lower their banners in memory of the heroes of the Paris Commune, another of Comrade Thaelmann's comrades-in-arms, a glorious son of the working class, a worker from Hamburg, Fiete Schultz, listened, his head held high, to the death sentence pronounced against him by the fascist judges.

This is how Comrade Schultz was described by the State Prosecutor in his speech on the indictment:

"A man who takes the road of a Communist, who takes it without hesitating, a man full of energy, who unflinchingly fol-

lows only his own Communist interests, a man whose tongue is more dangerous than the bullets of those who shot at his instigation—such a man must die. I demand his death, and may Communism, the downright expression of which is Fiete Schultz, perish with this accused.”

Undoubtedly Comrade Schultz deserved this magnificent testimonial from the mouth of the enemy, although he had nothing whatever to do with the accusation levelled against him of 16 crimes against the state, for the sum total of which he was given a three-fold death sentence and, in addition, 260 years' imprisonment.

The reference was to conflicts between groups of workers and fascist bands who had attacked them, and had operated in all the workers' districts long before Hitler came to power.

Fiete Schultz, like John Scheer, was also born in 1894 at Schiefbecke, a suburb of Hamburg, in a working class family. He took an active part in the working class movement in Hamburg, but at the beginning of the imperialist war was forced to leave his native town and become acquainted with all the joys of barracks drill in the army of Kaiser Wilhelm, so that he could be sent to the front and be seriously wounded in 1917.

On returning to his native town, after having somewhat recovered, Comrade Schultz under the leadership of Comrades Thaelmann and Scheer, again took up the struggle, and, in 1923, during the days of the Hamburg barricades, he took up the rifle and took his stand with those of whom Comrade Thaelmann said:

“The revolutionary fighters on the barricades saved the honor of the Communist Party of Germany with their bodies and their lives.”

The Hamburg uprising was suppressed. Comrade Schultz, together with other active comrades, escaped arrest, worked underground, and soon emigrated. He went to distant lands, to South America, where he starved, met with many homeless proletarians like himself, and together with others experienced the burden of the struggle against the exploiters, the weight of unemployment. Not a few severe lessons life gave him, but he always remained an optimist, and became strong for further battles.

He wandered about the world in this way for three years, and then found his way to the Soviet Union, which he had always wanted to see.

He spent five years there—from 1927 to 1932—in the homeland of the international proletariat.

While working in Soviet factories, it became possible for him to take a direct part in socialist construction.

During the years of his sojourn in the U.S.S.R., Comrade Schultz saw how industrial giants grew up on barren lands, how entire socialist towns were built. He also saw how the reconstruction of the Russian villages, many millions in number, took place according to the brilliant plan drawn up by Comrade Stalin. Comrade Schultz made full use of

his opportunity to raise his theoretical knowledge, to equip himself with the theory of Marxism-Leninism.

All that he lived through, experienced, pondered over and read made of Fiete Schultz a proletarian revolutionary of whom it was said, in the address of the Brussels Party Conference of the Communist Party of Germany to Comrade Dimitroff:

“With the image of you in their hearts, never-to-be-forgotten heroes like Fiete Schultz went to the scaffold.”

On his return to Hamburg, not long before Hitler came to power, and living illegally, but always surrounded and protected by hundreds of thousands of true proletarians of Hamburg, Fiete Schultz fought desperately against the fascist danger which was approaching. With all the ardor of his revolutionary temperament, he stood up before the masses and exposed all the poison of the fascist demagogy. In particular, he carried on great work to explain to the masses and keep them informed of the achievements in the Land of Soviets.

“I was astounded on my arrival in Hamburg”, said Comrade Schultz in court, “at the degree to which knowledge, concerning the true state of affairs in the Soviet Union, and its tremendous achievements, is distorted here.”

When the judges thereupon asked him questions about work in the Soviet factories, and what class he belonged to there, Comrade Schultz pretended that he did not understand that it was a question of what class, category, of worker he belonged to and replied: “In the Soviet Union there are no classes.” This reply infuriated the prosecutor.

After seizing power, the Hitler gang hunted high and low for Comrade Fiete Schultz and in April, 1933, he fell into their hands; he was seized, moreover, for purposes of provocation, so that other arrested comrades, considering him to be dead, would throw all the blame on to him during the examination. It was rumored that soon after his arrest, Fiete Schultz hanged himself in his cell. However, there were very few who fell for this provocation although for many long months the comrades thought that Fiete Schultz had really committed suicide in prison.

The floggings, insults, and hard labor, which he endured in the fascist prison over a period of two years, did not break the fighting spirit of Comrade Schultz, but on the contrary, steeled him still more.

The days of the trial came at last.

Replying to the judges on the accusation leveled against him, Comrade Schultz said:

“I know what kind of a court I am facing. I am responsible only to my Party and the working class. I have nothing to say in my favor before a court which is the court of the government of the people's enemies. I know that the Prosecutor wants to have my head, but he will have to hurry. Come what may, we shall be the victors.”

For twenty-three days the proceedings of the bloody fascist court

dragged on, the Berlin fascist newspapers keeping strict silence concerning it. For the obtaining of fragments of news about the heroic behavior of Comrade Schultz during these days, we have to thank the indignation of the Hamburg proletarians, which, despite the desperate fascist terror, made itself felt in different forms during the whole of the trial. By virtue of this fact, the fascist newspapers in Hamburg did not dare to ignore entirely what was going on in the court, and were compelled to give some information, on the basis of which we can build up a picture of the trial, although not a complete one.

The rage of Comrade Fiete Schultz' class and Party comrades found expression in the fact that every morning the judges received leaflets containing protests, threats and curses, which the judges cynically referred to as "our usual breakfast", and attached to the files on the case. Comrade Schultz most energetically protested against the State Counsel forced upon him, a fascist called Weischneider.

"I protest against the fact that I have not been allowed to put my own case in court", said Comrade Schultz, deeply indignant at the behavior of the official lawyer, whose "speech in defense" he indignantly interrupted several times, especially when that individual mumbled about "mercy".

Here is an excerpt from the speech of the "Counsel for the Defense", as it appeared in the *Hamburger Tagesblatt* of March 15, 1935:

"Although the Counsel is far from possessing the political theories of the accused, it is his task . . . to defend the rights of the accused. . . . The defense admits that the examination in court has been conducted fundamentally and seriously. . . . The decisive question in this trial is whether the accused deserves to die. Not out of humanitarian feelings or liberal weakness, does he (Weischneider) ask that the death sentence not be passed, but because the state today is stronger than any Communist fanaticism."

"After an exchange of words between the Prosecutor and the Defense", the paper continues, "the accused emphasized in his last speech that any pleas for mercy are unworthy of a Communist. The president had to interrupt the accused several times, because he *went beyond the bounds of a concluding speech, and entered into Communist arguments.*"

During the whole of the 23 days' trial, Comrade Fiete Schultz showed tremendous activity, colossal stoicism and thus there were times when he succeeded in speaking, but the reports of his speeches in the fascist newspapers unfailingly run as follows: "The accused again delivered a confused Communist speech for almost an hour", or "the accused once more tried to use fantastic Communist arguments, etc."

Fiete Schultz was firm to the last. A short time before the sentence was brought in against him, he said: "There will be one fighter less, but we shall be the victors all the same."

And after the sentence was announced, he shouted out in court:

"Come all of you to the execution, and you will see how a Communist can die!"

The police hurled themselves upon Comrade Schultz. The fascists present in the court cried out: "Long live Hitler!" But among the shouting there was heard the single voice of a woman who cried out: "Long live Fiete Schultz!" and the police fell upon her as well.

On June 6, 1935, at dawn, Comrade Fiete Schultz had to lower his proud head . . . before the axe of the fascist executioners. . . .

\* \* \*

"We must understand once and for all that of all the valuable capital in the world, the most valuable, the most decisive capital is people, cadres."

These words of Stalin, in the light of the tasks which confront all the Communist Parties in the lands of fascist dictatorship today, where the executioners are physically annihilating the revolutionary leaders of the proletariat, imply that it is necessary, side by side with the maximum attention devoted to our cadres, who are living and carrying on the struggle, to popularize, especially among the youth, the names of those who have already perished, who were tortured to death in fascist dungeons, and the glorious road taken by those who teach us how to live and act, teach us how to continue the work they began and bring it to its victorious conclusion.

The lives and struggle of such comrades as John Scheer and Fiete Schultz are most valuable weapons in our hands of training and hammering out new cadres, new fighters for Communism, fighters and victors, for Comrade Schultz was right when he said in court: "We shall be the victors!"

# The Victory of the National Policy of Lenin and Stalin

THE FIFTEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF SOVIET POWER  
IN GEORGIA

*By* LAURENCE BERIA

**T**HE fifteen years of Soviet power in Georgia represent splendid pages in the new history of the people of Georgia.

Under the banner of the national policy of Lenin and Stalin, the peoples of Soviet Georgia in close collaboration with the peoples of the whole of the Soviet Union are successfully and victoriously building socialism.

## I

The national policy of tsarism was a policy of colonization and Russification, of merciless oppression and exploitation of enslaved peoples.

In its policy of conquest in the South and East, Russian tsarism dug deep with its preying claws into the body of the peoples of Georgia.

With the backing of the princes, nobles and landowners of Georgia, at the expense of concessions to them of the right to exploit and plunder the masses, tsarism strove to consolidate and maintain its rule in Georgia.

The enslaved peasantry of Georgia rose up time and time again against the oppression and violence of the landlords and tsarist autocracy.

In 1812-13 the peasants rose up in Cachetia; in 1841, in Guria; in 1857, in Mingrelia; in 1858, in Imeretia.

The tsarist generals, princes and landowners organized a bloody bacchanalia to suppress the revolutionary uprisings of the peasants.

“The insurgent villages”, wrote General Yermolov, the governor of Georgia, “were devastated and burned down, the gardens and vineyards were cut down to the roots, and for many years to come these traitors will not return to their original state. Extreme poverty will be their punishment.”\*

Waves of revolutionary struggle by the toilers of Georgia rose up with new forces against the autocracy, when the working class of Georgia and the Trans-Caucasus came onto the scene of class struggle.

The years 1902-05 were years of constant unrest, uprisings of the peasants and strikes by the workers.

Vorontsov-Dashkov, governor of the Caucasus, was compelled in “a most loyal document”, addressed to the tsar in the year 1907, to admit the extreme stubbornness with which the toiling masses of Georgia

\* Records of General Yermolov during the period of his governorship of Georgia. Printed in 1868.

were fighting for their emancipation against the autocracy, the land-owners and capitalism.

“At the time of my arrival in this region”, wrote Vorontsov-Dashkov, “the revolutionary movement, obviously connected with the movement throughout the empire, had taken on dimensions dangerous to the state. I immediately placed Tiflis under martial law. At the same time part of the Tiflis province and the whole of the province of Kutais were in the throes of unrest among the peasant population, accompanied by the destruction of the estates of the landlords, the refusal by the peasants to render services, refusal to recognize the village authorities, the forcible seizure of private lands, mass felling of trees in the grounds of governmental and private country villas. . . . In Tiflis, Baku and other towns in these parts strikes by workers of all trades, including domestic workers, took place almost every day. . . .”

“As a result of the general strike of postal, telegraph and railway workers, the province of Kutais was completely cut off from Tiflis. All railway stations within its confines were seized by armed revolutionaries. The Surama tunnel was blocked up by two engines dispatched from opposite ends, for the purpose of preventing the movement of troops from Tiflis. . . .”

“At the slightest action taken, the rural governing authorities were subjected to raids, and their property burned down by crowds of peasants. Meetings and demonstrations have been taking place throughout the villages, and the idea of the equality of the classes, the abolition of capitalism, and changes in the existing system of government openly propagated. . . . Various repressive measures were adopted by the governing authorities of the Caucasus against the movement among the Georgian rural masses described above. Ever since 1902, troops have been sent to Guria time and time again, penalties were inflicted on the rural councils, and agitators were arrested and exiled to distant parts. . . .”

This is how the really scared tsarist satrap reported the revolutionary movement of the Georgian workers and peasants.

Even a satrap like Vorontsov-Dashkov was compelled, in a strictly secret letter addressed to the Tsar, to recognize the extreme hardship of the economic conditions of the Georgian peasantry, apparently trying to justify himself in the eyes of the Tsar and to lay the responsibility for the revolutionary events taking place in Georgia onto his predecessors in the governorship of Georgia and the Caucasus.

“The abolition of feudal rights in the confines of the Trans-Caucasus and especially in Georgia”, he wrote, “was conducted in conditions especially advantageous to the landlords, and disadvantageous to the peasantry; moreover, . . . it increased the land service of the peasants for the landlords above the average existing in the feudal days. . . . The fiscal contribution to the state is collected, legally or illegally. . . . If part of the peasant lands becomes overgrown with trees, it is turned over to the item covering fiscal contribution on state forests; if another

part of the peasants' land finds itself under water owing to a river changing its course, it comes under the heading of state fishing rights. . . . Things have come to such a pass that the nut trees grown by the villagers themselves in their own yards come under the heading making them liable to state contributions.

"The peasants, with a total area of land twice as large as the area under private ownership, pay twenty times more than the private owners in monetary taxes alone."

This exploitation of the toiling masses of the peasantry was supplemented by the arbitrary acts of the nobles, princes, officials and police.

Bribery and violence were the rule in the rural courts and rural governing bodies. Together with the officers of the tsarist police, the Georgian landowners flogged, tortured and mercilessly exploited the toilers.

The countless punitive expeditions and exaction of penalties were accompanied by bestial cruelty and violence.

In the interests of colonizing the country, German colonists, Greeks from Anatolia, Turkish Armenians and Russian dissenters were increasingly allowed to settle in Georgia.

Out of the total expenditure of the rural bodies, amounting to 4,670,000 rubles, 57 per cent was spent on the upkeep of the police, and only 4 per cent on national education. The policy of Russification was carried through the schools. There were few schools, and the system of teaching in the schools was on an extremely low level.

The direct result of this policy of tsarism was that the bulk of the population was illiterate.

"Tsarism deliberately cultivated patriarchal-feudal oppression in the outlying regions, in order to keep the masses in a state of slavery and ignorance. Tsarism deliberately settled colonizers on the best spots in the outlying regions in order to force the natives into the worst areas and to intensify national enmity. Tsarism restricted, and at times simply did away with, the native schools, theatres and educational institutions in order to keep the masses in intellectual darkness. Tsarism frustrated the initiative of the best members of the native population. Finally, tsarism suppressed all activity on the part of the populace of the border regions."<sup>3</sup>

But while the tsarist autocracy was establishing a bloc with the national bourgeoisie, princes, nobles and landlords of Georgia, so as to stabilize its oppression of the toiling masses of the enslaved nationalities, by trying to inflame enmity between the different nations, the advanced representatives of the working class and toiling masses of Russia and Georgia established a close international fighting alliance against the autocracy, against capitalism.

The foremost proletarians of Russia heartily greeted the heroic

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\* Stalin, *The Policy of the Soviet Government on the National Question in Russia*. 1920.

struggle of the workers and peasants of Georgia and the Caucasus against tsarist autocracy, and offered them their support.

The following decision was passed by the Third Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (Bolsheviks) in connection with the revolutionary activities of the peasants in Georgia in 1905:

“Bearing in mind

“1. That the special conditions of the social and political life of the Caucasus favored the creation there of the most militant organizations of our Party;

“2. That the revolutionary movement among the majority of the population of the Caucasus both in the towns and in the villages has already reached the stage of a popular uprising of the whole people against the autocracy;

“3. That the autocratic government is already sending troops and artillery into Guria, and is preparing to mercilessly crush all the most important centers of the uprising;

“4. That the victory of the autocracy over the uprising of the people in the Caucasus, facilitated by the fact that the population there is composed of different nationalities, will have the most harmful consequences for the success of the uprising in the rest of Russia;

“This Third Congress of the R.S.D.L.P., therefore, in the name of the class-conscious proletariat of Russia, sends warm greetings to the heroic proletariat and peasantry of the Caucasus and instructs the central and local committees of the Party to adopt the most energetic measures to spread information concerning the state of affairs in the Caucasus in the widest possible manner, through pamphlets, meetings, workers' conferences, exchange of views in circles, etc., and also for timely support to the Caucasus by all means at their disposal.”\*

In their support of the unstable throne, the governor and the tsarist generals, in collaboration with the Georgian princes and nobles, and helped by the treachery of the Georgian Mensheviks and nationalist parties, mercilessly meted out punishment against the toiling masses of Georgia, against the revolutionary workers, suppressing any action on their part with fire and sword. The tsarist government spread the bones of the best revolutionary representatives of the Georgian people all along the long road from Georgia to Siberia.

Such was the “national policy” of the tsarist autocracy.

## II

During the years between the victory of the October Socialist Revolution in Russia and the establishment of Soviet power in Georgia, the latter country suffered almost three years of the rule of the Menshevik nationalists.

Not only did the Menshevik rulers of Georgia not provide the toiling masses of Georgia with freedom, not only did they not bring about the economic and national-cultural regeneration of Georgia, but, on the contrary, they disorganized the economic life of the country which was

\* Resolution of the Third Congress.

weak enough as it was, they caused the healthy shoots of culture which had developed among the people themselves to decay, they betrayed and sold the Georgian people to the imperialists of the West, with their support of the oppressive hand of the princes, nobles, landlords and kulaks in Georgia. Under the rule of the Mensheviks, the Georgian people against experienced severe suffering.

While appealing for "democratic liberties", the Mensheviks at the same time openly and cynically betrayed the interests of the Georgian people to the bourgeoisie and imperialists.

"I know", said Noy Jordania, the leader of the Menshevik government, "that enemies will say that we are on the side of the imperialists. That is why I must say most forcibly here: I prefer the imperialists of the West to the fanatics of the East."\*

And the Mensheviks preferred the imperialists of the West to the revolutionary liberation of the toiling masses, which was coming from the East.

The Mensheviks concealed their mercenary conduct in favor of the imperialists of the West, under cover of "democratic" talk about the "independence" of Georgia.

With regard to the arrival in Georgia of the German troops of occupation, the Menshevik government of Georgia made the following statement on June 13, 1918:

"The Georgian government informs the population that the German troops who have entered Tiflis have come at the invitation of the Georgian government itself, with a view to defending the borders of the Georgian democratic republic, in full accordance and on the instructions of the Georgian government."\*\*

The independence of Georgia became out and out deception; actually the arrival of German troops in Georgia meant that it was occupied and seized in its entirety by the German imperialists. As Lenin said, "It was an alliance between German bayonets and the Menshevik government against the Bolshevik workers and peasants."

After the German revolution in November, 1918, the Germans were compelled to quit Georgia. Their place was taken by the English army of occupation.

The Mensheviks pretended that the English occupants had also been "invited" by the Georgian government for the purpose of defending the borders of the Georgian Democratic Republic and in "full accordance" with, and on the "instructions" of the government.

On December 22, 1918, on the occasion of the entry into Georgia of the English troops of occupation, the government of Georgia sent the following note signed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, E. Ge-

\* Stenogram of the First Session of the Constituent Assembly, January 14, 1920, p. 5.

\*\* See the newspaper *Borba* (Struggle), June 13, 1918, No. 92.

gechkori to the chairman of the English Mission, Colonel Jordan:

"1. The Georgian government does not consider it necessary to introduce foreign troops on Georgian territory in order to keep order, as the government itself has sufficient forces at its disposal for this purpose.

"2. If the introduction of troops is for any other purpose, the Georgian government categorically declares that such cannot take place without the agreement of the Georgian government."

In reply to this lying, sham declaration by Gegechkori, the chairman of the English Mission, Jordan, wrote the following to the Menshevik government on December 23, 1918, the following day:

"Acting on instructions received by me from General Thompson, Commander of the allied forces in Baku, I would ask your Excellency to set aside accommodation for one brigade of infantry, one brigade of artillery and 1,800 horses, and also suitable accommodation for Headquarters. I am sure that my request will be granted and that every assistance will be afforded to the entrance of the allied troops. I shall be very much obliged if you will send me a car and an officer tomorrow to show me the accommodation which you have set aside for the allied troops."\*

This is how the British command talked to the "Independent" Georgian government of the Mensheviks, knowing full well that Gegechkori's "objections" against the introduction of British troops had been made merely to pull wool over the eyes of the toilers of Georgia and that the Menshevik government would agree with pleasure to the entry into Georgia of units of a British army of occupation.

As we know, this was the case.

The "independent" rulers of Georgia actually were the bribed puppets, who danced to the tune of the agents of the English imperialists.

"When a life-and-death struggle is raging between proletarian Russia and the imperialist Entente, only two possibilities confront the outlying regions:

"*Either* they join forces with Russia, and then the toiling masses of the outlying regions will be emancipated from imperialist oppression;

"*Or* they join forces with the Entente, and then the yoke of imperialism is inevitable. There is no third solution."\*\*

*During the period of its rule in Georgia, Georgian Menshevism brought to its logical culmination its long road of treachery and betrayal of the working class and toiling masses, begun by it during the years before the beginning of the struggle for the Soviet government.*

On April 28, 1918, in the Trans-Caucasian Seim, one of the leaders of the Georgian and Russian Menshevism, Iraklii Tsereteli, said:

\* *Documents and Materials on the Foreign Policy of Trans-Caucasus and Georgia*, Soviet Publication, Tiflis, 1919.

\*\* Stalin, *The Policy of the Soviet Government on the National Question in Russia* (1920).

"When Bolshevism originated in Russia, and when the hand of death was raised there over the life of the state, we fought with all the strength at our disposal against Bolshevism, for we understood that a blow delivered against the Russian nation and the Russian state was a blow against the whole of democracy. We fought there against the murderers of the state, the murderers of the nations, and we shall fight here against the murderers of the nations with the same self-sacrifice." \*

These flowery phrases of Tseretelli signified that the Mensheviks preferred a bloc with the whiteguards, the avowed enemies of the Soviet government, to any sort of rapprochement with the Bolsheviks.

Indeed, at a conference of representatives of the reactionary Kuban government and whiteguard armies, held on September 25, 1918, in Yekaterinodar, at which Generals Denikin, Alexeyev, Romanovsky, Dragomirov and Lukomsky were present, E. Gegechkori, the Georgian Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Menshevik government, made the following frank declaration:

"On the question of our attitude to the Bolsheviks, I may state that the struggle against Bolshevism within our boundaries is a merciless one. We are crushing Bolshevism with all the means at our power as an anti-state movement which menaces the integrity of our state, and I think that in this respect we have already given a number of proofs which speak for themselves. . . . At the same time I consider it my duty to remind you that the services we have rendered you in the struggle against Bolshevism should also not be forgotten. . . . We are now all aiming our blows at the one spot which at the present moment is a hostile force both for you and for us. . . ."\*\*

By acting as the lackeys of the Western imperialists, by entering into a bloc with the whiteguards against the October Socialist Revolution, by supporting the acts of oppression undertaken by the bourgeoisie, princes, nobles and landowners in Georgia, the Georgian Mensheviks strengthened capitalism and doomed the working class and the toiling masses of peasants in Georgia to heavy torture and exploitation.

"There is no doubt," said Noy Jordania, "that every state, within the bounds of bourgeois society, will in one way or another serve the interests of the bourgeoisie. The Georgian state can also not avoid this at all. To get rid of this is pure utopia, and we are not in the least striving after such a situation."\*\*\*

And the Georgian Mensheviks faithfully served the interests of the bourgeoisie.

All their talk about socialism was mere bluff to deceive the toiling masses.

"You think," said Noy Jordania, "that if the government is a Socialist one, it must bring about socialism. That is the view of the

\* From the stenographic report of the session of the Trans-Caucasian Seim, April 26, 1918.

\*\* *Documents and Materials on the Foreign Policy of Trans-Caucasus and Georgia.*

\*\*\* N. Jordania. *Two Years. Reports and Speeches*, p. 111.

Bolsheviks. . . . We think otherwise. We say that when socialism is established in other countries, then it will be established here also." \*

By the autumn of 1920, the economic crisis in Georgia was at an extremity. The supplies left in Georgia by the former tsarist army had all been used up. The majority of the factories and works were not working. Railway transport had completely broken down. The Georgian village was experiencing ruin and poverty. The head of the government, Noy Jordania, was compelled to admit the following:

"A short time ago we said that we were racing towards catastrophe in the economic sense. . . . But now this supposition has already justified itself. Now each of us is most acutely feeling the effects of bitter reality. We have already arrived at the catastrophe." \*\*

Accordingly, by that time the enormous supplies left behind in Tiflis by the former Russian army had been completely consumed.

The Assistant Minister of Labor, Eradze, speaking at a Congress of Railwaymen in Georgia in 1920, said:

"Today the working class of Georgia is passing through a severe, acute economic crisis. Their poverty and need are extreme, and henceforth we can expect a rapid, severe process of physical degeneration among our class. Not a single democratic class or group in our society is in such a hopeless position as the workers in the towns." \*\*\*

This is how Mr. Eradze summed up the results of the Menshevik policy in Georgia.

The toiling masses of Georgia replied to this treacherous policy of the Mensheviks by an uprising.

In the years 1918, 1919, 1920, waves of uprisings against the rule of the Mensheviks, led by the Bolshevik organizations, rose high in Georgia. The peasants of Guria and Mingrelia, the peasants of the districts of Gorrisk, Dushetia, Lagodekh, and others, and of the Kutais and Lechhum counties rose up in revolt, as did the peasants of Abhasia. In 1920, the toiling masses of South Osetia rose up in arms. There were strikes among the basic masses of the workers of Tiflis, Kutais, Poti, Chiatur and other towns.

The Menshevik government used fire and sword against the revolutionary activities of the workers and peasants of Georgia.

Noy Jordania tried to justify the treacherous, bloody struggle against the revolutionary activities of the toiling masses in the following way:

"Although you should not have been surprised at the peasant revolts against us," said Jordania, "we have so far forgotten Marxism and fallen victims to the muddled outlook of the Socialist Revolutionaries that up to now many of us regard these

\* Speech in the Georgian Parliament, June 16, 1918.

\*\* Speech at an economic conference.

\*\*\* *Archives of the Trade Union Movement*, No. 3, Item No. 280.

insurgents as revolutionaries, and reluctantly agree to adopt repression against them. It is time we returned to Marx and stood firm guard over the revolution, against peasant reaction."\*

And so by hiding behind loud phrases, by falsifying Marxism, and under the banner of whiteguard, interventionist counter-revolution, the Mensheviks meted out punishment to the revolutionary workers and peasants.

"It is night. Fire is visible on all sides," so runs the diary of Jugel, the Menshevik punitive expedition leader, former chief of the "people's" guard, who led the suppression of the peasant uprisings, "they are the homes of the insurgents burning. All around us the Osetin villages are alight. With my soul at rest and a clear conscience I gaze upon the ashes and clouds of smoke."\*\*

Such was the "national policy" of the Mensheviks.

During the period of Menshevik rule in Georgia, the country was visited by Karl Kautsky, MacDonald, Snowden, Vandervelde, and other leaders of the Second International. They hypocritically called the bacchanalia and demoralization of Menshevism, its treachery in favor of imperialism, and the oppression of the toiling masses, a "socialist paradise". But these loud phrases of the leaders of the Second International could not cover up the disgraceful collapse and bankruptcy of Georgian and international Menshevism, as witnessed in Georgia.

The Georgian Mensheviks are the foulest, most perfidious traitors to the Georgian people. They tore Georgia away from revolutionary Russia, and together with the Dashnak and Mussavatists of the Trans-Caucasus, converted it into a jumping-off ground for foreign intervention and bourgeois-whiteguard counter-revolution against the Soviet government.

The Mensheviks inspired and organized the reactionary forces of the nobility, the princes, the clergy and the bourgeoisie against the revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants of Georgia. The Mensheviks pursued a policy of brutal national jingoism and set the peoples of Trans-Caucasus one against the other. The organized bloody drives against the national minorities of Georgia, the Osetins, the Abkhazians, the Armenians and the Adjarians. The Georgian Mensheviks, together with the Mussavatists and Dashnaks, were the organizers of the Zamhora pogrom of revolutionary soldiers. They treacherously fired on a meeting of the workers of Tiflis in the Alexander Gardens. Together with the Dashnaks, they organized blood-letting fratricidal war between the Georgians and Armenians.

The hearts of the toilers of Georgia are filled with tremendous hatred towards the Menshevik traitors.

It is the lot of the miserable remnants of the Mensheviks today to wander, in emigration, around the backyards, ante-chambers and back entrances of the agents of the imperialists in the West.

\* N. Jordania, *Two Years*, p. 119.

\*\* M. Jugel, *The Heavy Cross*.

On February 25, 1921, the Georgian people, supported by the Russian proletariat and the workers' and peasants' Red Army, overthrew the rule of the Mensheviks and set up a Soviet government, and, under the banner of Lenin and Stalin, took the high road to victories in the field of socialist construction.

### III

In the fifteen years that the Soviet government has existed in Georgia, the toilers there have achieved tremendous successes in building the economic and national-cultural life of their country. These successes are the triumph of the national policy of the Bolshevik Party.

The establishment of Soviet power has led to a stormy growth of economic and cultural construction in Georgia.

Georgia has changed from a colony of Russian tsarism, "a country more agrarian even than Russia" (Lenin), and has become an advanced industrial and agrarian republic.

While capital investments in the industry of the U.S.S.R. during the First Five-Year Plan amounted to 506 per cent of the figure for the whole of the restoration period, in Georgia in industry alone it was 934 per cent. The increase in capital investments for 1934 throughout the Soviet Union was 19.4 per cent and for Georgia 32 per cent. In 1936, the increase in capital investments in industry is to be 17.7 per cent, and for Georgia 38.4 per cent.

While for the whole of the Soviet Union the production of electrical energy in 1934, as compared with 1913, rose by 1,331 per cent, the figure for the same period of time for Georgia was 2,259 per cent.

While the total production of the whole of industry in the Soviet Union amounted in 1935 to 542 per cent of the 1913 figures, for Georgia it amounted to 1,908 per cent.

The total production of the whole of Georgian industry in 1935 rose to 473 million rubles and in 1936 will amount to 600 million.

During the First Five-Year Plan, capital investments in the national economy of Georgia amounted to 700 million rubles, while during the year 1935 alone, 401 million rubles were invested. The plan for 1936 provides for capital investments in Georgia to the amount of 616 million rubles.

During the fifteen years that the Soviet government has existed in Georgia, a number of entirely new branches of industry have been built up. The share of industry in the general production of the national economy of Georgia has increased to 74.9 per cent.

The industrial and economic development of Georgia is being built up on the basis of a powerful supply of electrical power. By the end of 1935, the capacity of the electrical power stations of Georgia was 105,000 kilowatts, and in 1936 it will increase to 162,000 kilowatts, as against 8,000 in 1913.

Only under the Soviet government have the rich resources of hydro-electrical power obtainable from the headlong rush of the mountain rivers been widely exploited.

The Chiatura manganese industry has been technically re-equipped. The Soviet government has already invested 45 million rubles in the manganese industry, and will invest another 17 million in 1936. Last year 1,180,000 tons of manganese were obtained.

With the Chiatura manganese as a base, a large ferrous-manganese works has been erected in the town of Jugeli (Zestafony).

The old Tkvibula coal mines have been reconstructed. New Tskvarchela coal mines have been equipped by the Soviet government.

Large oil refineries have been erected in Batum, which deal with three million tons of crude oil per year. Considerable work is being undertaken to discover oil deposits in the Shiraka steppes of Georgia.

The earth in Soviet Georgia is rich in the most varied kinds of minerals. A coal and ore industry has been constructed and is developing on a wide scale. The rich earth of Georgia has been put to the service of socialist construction, among other things, barytes, lithograph stone, diatomites and marble being prepared. In 1935-36, the production, of arsenic, molybdenum has been undertaken. In 1936, a start has been made with the building in Kutais of a huge works for the production of fertilizers.

Light and food industries have been created on a large scale. The value of the output of light industry increased from 2,155 thousand rubles in 1923-24 to 87,557 thousand in 1935, in other words, increased 40 times.

The value of the output of the food industry increased from nine million rubles in 1928 to 71 million in 1935; 90 per cent of the total production falling to the share of the factories and works built since the Soviet government was established.

Twenty-three million rubles were invested in the forestry and timber industries of Georgia during the First Five-Year Plan, while 41 million rubles have been invested in them during three years of the Second Five-Year Plan alone. In Zugdidi the important Ingursk paper works is under construction, its annual productivity to be 24,000 tons of various kinds of high-class paper.

*Altogether, during the period that the Soviet government has been in power in Georgia, a total of 117 different kinds of industrial enterprises have been constructed and completely re-equipped; and they represent 96.7 of the total funds invested in the industry of Georgia.*

Transport in Georgia by rail, water, road and air is also developing: 200 kilometers of new railroad have been constructed; 183 kilometers of main railway lines have been electrified. A new port is under construction on the Black Sea coast, at Ochemchira; 4,462 kilometers of paved main roads and improved roads have been completed; 50 motor routes connecting district centers with the railway stations, and serving to connect the different towns, stretch over a distance of 2,590 kilometers. In 1935 there was a regular service of Soviet airplanes flying over eight air routes.

*The national policy of Lenin and Stalin of industrializing the national republics and raising them to the level of the foremost republics*

*in the Soviet Union is embodied in all this great work of industrial construction in Georgia.*

By mastering the advanced technique of the industry built up, by raising the productivity of labor on the basis of socialist competition, "shock" methods and the application of Stakhanov methods of work, under the leadership of the Bolshevik organizations of Georgia, the working class that has grown up is successfully fulfilling and overfulfilling the tasks set by the Party and the government.

The successes of Soviet Georgia are also tremendous as regards the improvement and socialist reconstruction of agriculture.

On the direct instructions of Lenin and Stalin, irrigation works have been widely developed. The Soviet government has irrigated over 100,000 hectares of land.

The swampy lands of the Kolhida plain lay untouched for centuries and were a hotbed of malaria fever. It was only the Soviet government which set about draining the Kolhida swamps. Forty-five million rubles have already been expended in the fulfillment of this task; 16,837 hectares have already been drained, and part of this area is being used to establish plantations of tea and citron fruits.

The total sown area in Georgia has grown from 738,000 hectares to 947,000 during the last fifteen years.

A tremendous piece of work is being done by the Bolsheviks of Georgia in connection with the development of valuable and technical cultures. The total area under tea plantations before the revolution amounted to 894 hectares. In their struggle to make the Soviet Union an independent country as regards tea, the Bolsheviks of Georgia have increased the area under tea plantations to 34,000 hectares in the year 1935. During the last three years the harvest on the tea plantations has been doubled. In 1935 over 12.5 million kilograms of green tea leaves were collected on the plantations. The tea industry of Georgia can now produce tea which is in no way inferior to Ceylon tea.

Before the revolution, the area under citron cultures did not exceed 500 hectares. By the year 1935, this area had already increased to 3,280 hectares. Last year Soviet Georgia gave the Land of Soviets about 200 million citron fruits. By decision of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. and the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., the area under citron fruits in Georgia must be increased to 20,000 hectares by 1940. The Bolsheviks of Georgia have started a struggle for the fulfillment of this task, and there is not the slightest doubt that it will be successfully fulfilled. And Soviet Georgia will give the toilers of the Soviet countries not millions, but thousands of millions of citron fruits!

There are also the valuable cultures like eucalyptus trees, ether bearing plants and others. During the last two years alone, about one million eucalyptus trees have been planted, and by 1940 no less than ten million trees will have been planted.

Georgia provides the highest grades of export tobacco—"trapezund" and "samsun". In 1935 the tobacco plantations covered approximately 20,000 hectares; for purposes of export and for the production of high

grade cigarettes, 15,875 tons of high class tobacco from Georgia and Abkhasia were collected and dispatched to the Moscow, Leningrad, Kharkov and other tobacco factories in the Soviet Union.

One of the most important branches of agriculture in Georgia is the cultivation of grapes. When the Mensheviks ruled Georgia, there was a decline in this sphere. Phylloxera destroyed whole hectares of vineyards. During the last few years the reduction in the area of vineyards has been stopped, and an increase has begun. During the period 1932-35, up to 4,000 new vineyards have been established. Cuttings from American vines have been planted over an area of 690 hectares. The total area of vineyards today is over 39,000 hectares. The grapes cultivated in Georgia supply the country with the best, high-class wines.

During the last five years alone new gardens have been laid out over an area of 12,000 hectares, the total area reaching the figure of 50,000 hectares. In the year 1935 over 21,000 tons of different kinds of fruit were delivered to the state.

Silk-worm production in Georgia is an important branch of economy, and has begun to flourish rapidly. In 1935, the silk growers of Georgia overfulfilled their plan, producing 2,552 tons of high quality cocoons.

By carrying out the instructions of the Party, the Bolsheviks of Georgia brought about a change in the development of live-stock breeding in 1934-35, and this branch of economy is rapidly rising. The plans covering the increase in the number of heads of cattle, large and small, were overfulfilled in 1935.

Advanced technical methods are being embodied in the agriculture of Soviet Georgia. Agriculture is being mechanized.

Thirty seven machine and tractor stations have been set up in the various districts of Georgia, 1,710 tractors and tens of thousands of different types of agricultural machinery are at work on the socialist fields.

Two hundred and fifty four state farms, including 117 large ones, have been set up in Georgia.

In the agricultural enterprises (in the state farms, machine and tractor stations, and so on) 26,000 permanent agricultural workers are engaged.

The tremendous work performed in Soviet Georgia to reconstruct agriculture is the embodiment of the national policy of Lenin and Stalin.

Before the revolution there was an acute land hunger in Georgia. Tens of thousands of peasants could find no outlet for their labor, and to avoid dying of starvation went to earn their livings far beyond the confines of Georgia. Today, as a result of the growth of industry and the development of agriculture, with the introduction into agriculture of valuable and technical cultures, an insufficiency of labor power is already making itself felt, while the intensive conduct of agriculture has created all the conditions necessary for a prosperous life for the collective farm peasantry.

The Bolsheviks of Georgia achieved all these successes in the development and improvement of agriculture through creating and strengthen-

ing the collective farming system. On January 1, 1936, 70 per cent of the peasant farms of Georgia were in collective farms. The collective farms are growing and gathering strength on the basis of the Stalinist statutes governing agricultural artels. With every year that passes their incomes are growing, and the value of the work day is rising. In Georgia there are already a number of collective farms whose total income is over a million rubles. These are "millionaire" collective farms.

In these collective farms the value of each work day for the individual collective farmer has increased from 15 to 20 rubles; the average income per family belonging to the collective farm has reached the figure of from 8,000 to 12,000-15,000 rubles a year; while if the income from their kitchen gardens is taken into account, many hundreds of collective farmers in 1935 found themselves with an income of from 20,000 to 25,000-30,000 rubles, and certain individual families as much as 40,000 rubles.

The collective farming peasantry of Georgia are well fed, prosperous and happy. The collective farmers are full of song as they work on the tea, citron, tobacco, vine and other plantations.

The towns of Georgia are growing and being planned and beautified. During the last two years alone, 1934-35, 93 million rubles have been spent on municipal works and housing in Tiflis, and in 1936, 66 million rubles will be spent. Places like Kutais, Poti, Chiatura, which have become industrial towns, are also being planned and beautified.

The capitals of the autonomous republics and regions—Batum in Adjaria, Sukhoun in Abkhasia and Stalinir in South Osetinia—are being similarly dealt with. There is not a single regional and industrial center in Georgia where similar activity is not going forward.

Georgia is the health resort of the Soviet Union. There are such excellent health resorts on the Black Sea coast and in the mountains of Georgia as Borjom, Abastuman, Tshaltubo, Gulripsh, Gagri, Cobuleti, Bakuriani, Akhtala, Java, Bakhmaro, Shovi, Mahinjauri, Zeleny Mys. Thousands of toilers come to Georgia from all corners of the Soviet Union to restore their health.

Considerable work has been carried out to reconstruct and improve these health resorts. Tshaltubo, a health resort renowned throughout the whole of the Union, has been rebuilt. In 1936 building operations will begin on a new health resort, Mendji, where the waters are in no way inferior to those of Matsesta and Kislovodsk.

A total of more than 70 million rubles has been invested in the building of health resorts in Georgia during the period of the existence of the Soviet government.

*Soviet power has ensured the real blossoming of the culture of the peoples of Georgia, culture national in form and socialist in content.*

Soviet Georgia will meet the twentieth anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution as a country where everybody is literate. Universal, compulsory, elementary education for children has been introduced. Today, 614,000 scholars are studying in the elementary and secondary

schools of Georgia. There are 19,000 teachers working in elementary and secondary schools.

Under tsarism there was not a single university in Georgia, but under the Soviet government 19 universities have been opened. In almost all these educational institutions the teaching is carried on entirely in the Georgian language.

During the period of the existence of the Soviet government, the universities in Georgia have trained 14,000 people of working class and peasant origin as engineers, agronomists, doctors, teachers, economists and others qualified to carry on the task of socialist construction.

Education is carried on in the native language in the schools and educational institutions of Georgia. The Russian language is also taught in the schools of Georgia.

There has been a big development of scientific research work under the Soviet government. One hundred and twenty of the most varied scientific research institutions have been set up, and the work of many of these institutes are of great scientific value for the whole of the Soviet Union.

Art and literature are flourishing. The Rustaveli and Mardjanishvili State Theaters have produced a number of highly artistic plays, which have advanced them to the ranks of the best theaters in the Soviet Union. In Georgia today 47 theaters are open, of which three-quarters are conducted in the Georgian language.

The Soviet government organized a cinema industry in Georgia. A cinema factory has been constructed in Tiflis. The State Cinema Industry of Georgia has produced 80 Soviet films.

Physical culture is developing on a broad scale. On January 1, 1936, 110,000 sportsmen passed the Ready for Labor and Defense test and were presented with the badge known as the G.T.O. The sportsmen of Georgia have established a number of records covering the Soviet Union.

During the 15 years of the existence of the Soviet government in Georgia, over 35 million books have been published. *The works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin have been published in hundreds of thousands of copies in the Georgian language.*

Writers and poets are growing up in Soviet Georgia. In their works they depict the problems and the heroic story of socialist construction. Soviet artists, architects and sculptors are growing up, who are enriching Soviet culture with new works of art.

The old generation of intellectuals have linked their fate fast with the toiling masses of Georgia; and together with them, shoulder to shoulder, are working to build up socialism. They have rallied around the Soviet government, around the Communist Party.

During the fifteen years of the existence of the Soviet government in Georgia new and strong forces of Soviet intellectuals have grown up from among the workers and peasants. These new forces, brought into being by the Soviet government, are filled with unbounded loyalty to it.

When the tsarist autocracy called up the sons of the toilers of Georgia to join the army, it sent them into distant parts of the Empire,

fearing to leave them armed in their native towns and villages. Today, *Soviet Georgia has its own national divisions which are the faithful fighting units of the mighty, glorious workers' and peasants' army of the great Land of Soviets.*

In all this we have the embodiment of the national policy of Lenin and Stalin, under whose banner the toiling masses of Georgia liberated themselves from the yoke of tsarism and the Menshevik rulers, and are confidently marching along the road to a happy, joyful life.

The steadfast realization of the national policy of Lenin and Stalin ensures that the peoples of Georgia and the Trans-Caucasus live in staunch friendship and peace. Instead of the former national strife, inflamed by tsarism and the Mensheviks, friendship and collaboration flourishes among the peoples of Georgia.

The autonomous republics and regions which go to make up the Georgian Republic—Soviet Adjara, Soviet Abkhazia and Soviet South Osetia—are growing and gathering strength.

*Great is the friendship among the toiling peoples of Georgia, great is the friendship between the toiling peoples of Georgia and the peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia.*

Comrade Molotov, the head of the Soviet government, said the following about this friendship between the peoples of Soviet Caucasus:

“In the Trans-Caucasus, with its many nationalities, where, for a long time a fierce struggle raged between the toilers of different nationalities, a struggle inflamed in every possible way by the capitalists and henchmen of the tsar, we have brought about a situation where this struggle has been finally eliminated and where, in place of this struggle the lives of all the toilers of the Trans-Caucasus are flourishing in an atmosphere of peace.”

A big part in achieving these successes was played by Comrade Ordjonikidze, Comrade Stalin's comrade-in-arms, under whose leadership the Bolsheviks of Georgia and the Trans-Caucasus consolidated and organized the Soviet government and routed the Mensheviks and those who deviated on the national question, educating broad masses of the toilers in the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

The deviators on the national question tried during the first years after the Soviet government was established to turn the Bolshevik organizations of Georgia from the right road. The national-deviation current in the ranks of the Communist Party of the Bolsheviks of Georgia constitutes an opportunist current which reflected the pressure upon various strata of the Party organizations by kulak-bourgeois-nationalist and Menshevik elements. The national-deviation current, having taken the road of struggle against the correct national policy of the Party, lowered itself to the platform of Georgian Menshevism. The national-deviation current was jingoism on the offensive reflecting the great-power bourgeois nationalism of the Georgian Mensheviks and national democrats. The national-deviation current reflected the interests and demands of the nobles, landowners and kulaks of Georgia.

Only by mercilessly crushing the national-deviation current did the Communist Party of Georgia ensure that the national policy of Lenin and Stalin would be successfully carried out, leading the work of socialist construction in Georgia, and educating the masses in the spirit of internationalism.

In the struggle for these victories of socialist construction, the Bolshevik Party of Georgia has become strong and has rallied still closer around the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. and Comrade Stalin.

*Under the banner of the national policy of Lenin and Stalin, under the wise leadership of the Bolshevik Party, the toilers of Georgia are confidently marching forward to new victories for socialism.*

# Dimitroff "Before the Fascist Court"

By A. SERGEYEV

THE documents, letters and rough notes\* taken from Comrade Dimitroff's files, and published now, cover the period of his arrest, preliminary examination, and the Leipzig trial itself,\*\* and make it possible for every active revolutionary to learn lessons and to educate himself, and to teach lessons to and educate the masses, on this example.

When about to publish his famous *Revelations on the Cologne Trial of Communists*, Marx wrote to Engels as follows about this pamphlet:

"The thing *must* be printed, if only so as to serve as an official document after the beginning of the revolution."\*\*\*

How extremely important Marx and Engels considered the publication of the materials exposing the true nature of this trial can be seen from the place which this question occupied in their correspondence during the trial itself. They considered that the defeat suffered by the Prussian government at the Cologne trial would not be complete if documentary proof were not brought to expose before wide public opinion in Europe and America all the methods of provocation, police accusations, evidence of false witnesses, forgeries, the link between the courts and police spies and agents-provocateur, etc., which came to light during the examination and at the trial.

At the beginning of the Cologne trial, Engels already wrote the following to his friend:

"First of all, exact copies must be preserved of all documents, evidence under oath with certifying signatures, etc., for then these things will constitute a brilliant series of *pieces justificatives* . . . 'discharge documents'."

"My pamphlet," write Marx in this connection, "brands the Prussian government, basing itself upon the facts and the course of the case."\*\*\*\*

And indeed, the documents of the trial served as wealthy material both for Marx's pamphlet, *Revelations on the Cologne Trial of Communists* and the pamphlet which followed it, *The Knight of the Noble Mind* (both published immediately after the trial), and also for his classic pamphlet, *Herr Vogt*, which appeared seven years later. These materials in their time served for decades as a mighty weapon of struggle against the Prussian government and against all open and covert enemies of the working class.

It must be stated that in this respect also Comrade Dimitroff proved to be a true follower of Marx and Engels: he not only preserved the

\* G. Dimitroff, *Before the Fascist Court*, Party Publishing House, 1936. Russian ed.

\*\* *Ibid.*

\*\*\* Marx and Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXI, p. 451.

\*\*\*\* *Ibid.*

most valuable materials and documents of the Leipzig trial, but utilizing the confusion of the German fascist authorities after their defeat at Leipzig, he also managed to bring the materials with him to the free Land of the Soviets.

Unfortunately, we still have no exhaustive Marxist book about the historic clash that took place at Leipzig between Communism and fascism, there is no book published which gives a full picture of the alignment of forces before and at the trial, and which gives an all-round picture of the course of the trial. The books about the burning of the Reichstag, written by some bourgeois journalists, are at best superficial, and aim merely at making commercial use of the tremendous interest in the Leipzig trial shown by wide sections of the population. For example, the book written by one of these correspondents (*The Secret of the Burning of the Reichstag*, by Ferdinand Kugler), gives a downright distortion of the facts and keeps silent about the most important speeches made by Comrade Dimitroff. It is not worth while talking about the book of Dr. Sack, Torgler's notorious fascist Defending Counsel, who, throughout the whole of his voluminous "work" about the Leipzig trial does not dare to mention the name of Comrade Dimitroff more than once. . . . As though Dimitroff had not been at the trial in Leipzig at all!

For this reason in itself the collection of documents from Comrade Dimitroff's files are an indispensable textbook for the future investigator of the trial concerning the provocative burning of the Reichstag. It is a book and document which reveals and unmasks the low provocative methods used by German fascism, and reveals the countenance of a real Communist, Bolshevik and Leninist.

Every line of the letters and notes written by Comrade Dimitroff and published in the book breathes courage and revolutionary passion. Many of these documents were written by hands that were chained in fetters. The handcuffs caused incredible pain at the slightest movement of his hands.

"Finally," he wrote in one of his numerous declarations to the examining magistrate, Vogt, "I would remind you that my hands are still fettered day and night. I have to read and write, sit and sleep in fetters. Is it not enough for you that I have borne this moral and physical torment for nearly a month? Is it not yet time for this barbarous measure to be withdrawn?" (p. 28).

On August 28, Comrade Dimitroff wrote the following to the President of the Senate:

"Since the 4th of April of this year my hands have been fettered day and night. My repeated applications for this measure to be withdrawn have remained without result.

"On July 26 I again requested the Examining Magistrate of the Supreme Court if it were not possible to do away with the handcuffs altogether, or at least to keep me handcuffed only at night, as is the custom in the case of prisoners under sentence of death. I received a reply to the effect that 'at present there

can be no change in the matter of handcuffs'. On August 18 I approached Dr. Teichert, the defending counsel allotted to me, with the request that he take the necessary steps for the removal of the handcuffs.

"As up till now I have received no answer, and the fettering, injurious to health, and terribly painful, continues, I have decided to approach you with a view to obtaining a decision in accordance with the law" (p. 63).

In the documents there is also preserved Comrade Dimitroff's point to the effect that even according to the German criminal code (Comrade Dimitroff studied it in prison) it is illegal to put chains on prisoners.

In the compendium (on p. 71) a photographic facsimile is given of the letter written by the examiner, Verneke, to Comrade Dimitroff, refusing to make any modification in respect of the chains.

Finally, after repeated refusals and after five months of struggle, Comrade Dimitroff was able to inform Romain Rolland, in his letter dated August 24, 1933 (p. 65) that the handcuffs "from today have been removed by decision of the Imperial Court". Only on condition that this information was included did the President of the Court, Wunger, agree to pass the letter to Romain Rolland.

\* \* \*

Comrade Dimitroff's heroic behavior in the fascist court won the admiration of the toilers of the whole world. In reply to a question put to him by one of the correspondents of the Communist press, after his arrival in Moscow, Comrade Dimitroff replied:

"It is true that I fought before the Tribunal fiercely, consistently and ruthlessly to the very end. You mentioned courage, heroic behavior in the court, and no fear of death—but that is not a case of personal heroism, you know; it is, fundamentally, a quality of Communism, of the revolutionary proletariat, and of the Bolsheviks. The bourgeois class is no longer in a position to exhibit real courage and heroism in its ranks. It is a declining class and has no further perspective" (p. 177).

Reverting to this same question in his letter to the Austrian Schutzbundlers, Comrade Dimitroff pointed out:

"It is not enough to have a revolutionary temperament. It is not enough to be prepared to fight on the barricades and sacrifice oneself. That is necessary but that is still not enough. What it is absolutely essential to have as well are Bolshevik methods of struggle, Bolshevik heroism."

The collection (page 77) contains the draft of replies to questions he anticipated would be asked in Court, which served as the basis for the first historic speech delivered by Comrade Dimitroff on September 23, 1933, when for the first time he stood up in all his might before the public opinion of the whole world. Touching upon the question of the September uprising in Bulgaria, of which he had been the leader, Com-

rade Dimitroff wrote the following in this draft which is the real autobiography of a Bolshevik:

*"I am proud of the heroic insurrection!*

"I only regret that I and my Party were not yet real Bolsheviks at that time. For this reason we were unable successfully to organize and lead this *historic* people's insurrection with the *proletariat* at its head. Our insufficiently Bolshevik organization, policy and tactics, the lack of revolutionary experience, and especially our opportunist and so-called neutral attitude on the occasion of the military-fascist coup on June 9 did much to help the murderers and executioners of the Bulgarian people, the usurpers of state power, to suppress the insurrection of the masses.

"But the Party has learned and appreciated the bloody lessons of this experience, and the struggle for the emancipation of the Bulgarian workers and peasants, under the leadership of the Communist Party enlightened by the great experience of the September insurrection, is going unflinchingly forward to the final victory" (p. 79).

This admirable declaration, imbued with Bolshevik self-criticism of the policy of the Communist Party of Bulgaria, was made by Comrade Dimitroff so as to confirm the correctness of the Leninist-Stalinist idea that personal heroism and fearlessness are not enough correctly to conduct a consistent class line.

"It is not enough to have a revolutionary temperament—one has to understand how to handle the weapon of revolutionary theory.

"It is not enough to have pure theoretical knowledge—one must also know how to develop in oneself revolutionary resoluteness and endurance, Bolshevik will, firmness and doggedness in the uninterrupted struggle against the class enemy, and in the process of overcoming constant difficulties and danger.

"It is not enough to know what ought to be done to ensure the victory of Communism, one must also have the courage to carry it out. One must always be ready to do anything, at any cost, which serves the interests of the working class. One must be capable of subordinating one's whole personal life to the interests of the proletariat" (pp. 155-156).

\* \* \*

Thanks to this exemplary combination of personal heroism and Leninist resoluteness, Comrade Dimitroff was able consistently to conduct his strategic plan from the beginning to the end of the trial. Right through the whole of the book there runs his main line of tactics, namely, of unmasking the fascist incendiaries of the Reichstag and the aim of carefully revealing all the enemy's weak spots and dealing blows at him, of dogging his footsteps, and rallying around the trial the broadest sections of the toilers both in Germany itself and throughout the whole of the world.

True to the advice of Comrade Lenin on the correct attitude of Communists under trial to their defending counsels, Comrade Dimitroff occupied a position which differed radically from the position taken up by Torgler and the stand taken by Comrades Tanev and Popov.

"... We must be very careful not to adopt a tone of unsuitable justification", was Lenin's advice to revolutionaries on trial.\*

"Lawyers must be taken with an iron hand and put under martial law. . . ."\*\*

And this was how Comrade Dimitroff acted.

"After the Supreme Court had refused all the eight defending counsels nominated by me, nothing remained for me but to defend myself by myself in the best way that I was able. Thus I have been obliged to appear before the Supreme Court in a double character: first as the accused Dimitroff, and, second, as the defender of the accused Dimitroff" (p. 84).

This is what Comrade Dimitroff wrote in his letter to the President of the Senate dated October 12, 1933 (p. 92).

Comrade Dimitroff began his notes for his speech in his defense (p. 134) in the following manner:

"1. *My attitude towards the official defense*: after Marcel Villard had also been refused, I was justified in saying to myself: 'I will neither have the honey nor the poison of the official defense', and defended myself the whole time alone. *It is quite clear that I do not even now feel myself in any respect committed by Dr. Teichert's speech for the defense.*

"The only material part of my defense is what I have said in court up to the present time, and what I am now about to say.

"I do not want to insult Torgler: he has been insulted enough by his counsel.

"I can now also say openly that I prefer to be condemned to death when I am innocent rather than to gain my acquittal through such defending counsel as, for example, Dr. Sack—two-thirds the counsel for his own party, and one-third Torgler's counsel . . ."

As we know, it was with these words that Comrade Dimitroff began his concluding speech.

It is not without interest to call to mind here, as well, the experiences of the Cologne trial.

Marx and Engels most categorically condemned the behavior of one of the chief participants in the Cologne trial, Herman Becker, who lost all trace of revolutionary honor, and was only concerned with saving himself:

"Becker disentangled himself most shamelessly . . ." writes Engels to Marx.

\* Lenin, *Collected Works*, Volume VII.

\*\* *Ibid.*

"Becker . . . lowered the character of *the whole trial*", wrote Marx to Engels.

In his article *What Has the Trial of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Fraction Proved?* Lenin wrote:

" . . . that this advance detachment of revolutionary Social-Democracy in Russia did not show sufficient firmness at the trial. It was the aim of the defendants to make it difficult for the State Attorney to identify the members of the Central Committee in Russia and the Party representative who had had certain dealings with workers' organizations. This aim has been accomplished. In order that we may accomplish similar aims in the future, we must resort to a method long recommended officially by the Party, namely, refusal to testify. However, to attempt to show solidarity with the social-patriot, Mr. Yordansky, as did Comrade Rosenfeld [Kamenev—*Ed.*], or to point out one's disagreement with the Central Committee, is an incorrect method; this is impermissible from the standpoint of revolutionary Social-Democracy."\*

And again:

"It was the duty of the comrades to refuse to give evidence concerning the illegal organization; bearing in mind the world-wide historic importance of the moment, they had to take advantage of the open trial in order directly to expound the Social-Democratic views which are hostile not only to tsarism in general, but also to social-chauvinism of all and every shade."\*\*

Comrade Dimitroff fully applied this advice in his tactics at Leipzig.

Only this sort of defense could reach the goal and frustrate the intentions of the National-Socialist leaders who were trying to use the trial connected with the burning of the Reichstag to justify their barbarous, fascist terror, and to continue with more provocation against the working class of Germany and against the working class throughout the world.

\* \* \*

In his very first declaration (pp. 19-20) Comrade Dimitroff wrote:

"As a Communist, as a member of the Communist Party of Bulgaria, as a member of the Communist International, I am, on principle, against individual terror, against every kind of such senseless incendiarism, because such acts are incompatible with the basic principles of communism and methods of mass work, and because such acts only damage the proletarian movement for emancipation, the cause of communism. . . . It is my profound conviction that the burning of the Reichstag can be the work only of demented people or else of the most bitter enemies of communism; enemies who by this act hoped to create an atmosphere favorable to the utter destruction of the working class movement and the Communist Party of Germany. I, of course, am neither demented nor an enemy of communism."

\* Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XVIII, p. 151, International Publishers, New York.

\*\* *Ibid.*, p. 152.

In numerous declarations that followed, Comrade Dimitroff incessantly emphasized this affirmation; it served as the basis for his transition to the offensive, the basis for smashing the accusation against the Communist Party of Germany that it was responsible for burning the Reichstag and preparing for an immediate armed uprising. Thus, Comrade Dimitroff smashed, in addition, the basis of the accusation being made against Comrade Thaelmann.

In a letter to the official defense, Comrade Dimitroff proposed that a number of witnesses be questioned, including three secretaries of the Communist International, who were to prove that:

“. . . the *chief task* of the Communist Party of Germany during this period was the establishment of the proletarian united front, the struggle to win over the working class in Germany through daily mass work and concrete struggle in defense of the interests of the workers and all producers" (p. 54).

In the same letter and with the same aim in view, Comrade Dimitroff proposed that the E.C.C.I. should be asked to produce a number of documents: the decisions of the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., the manifesto of the German, Polish and Italian revolutionary trade union opposition on the calling of an international working class anti-fascist Congress, the manifesto of the E.C.C.I. on the united struggle of the proletariat and the program and statutes of the Comintern.

In one of his declarations (p. 11) Comrade Dimitroff with the same aim in view demanded that Comrade Ernst Thaelmann, the leader of the Communist Party of Germany, be called in as a witness.

In another document we read:

“. . . When, early in the morning of February 28, in the train from Munich to Berlin, I read in the papers about the burning of the Reichstag, I immediately took the view that the instigators of this action were either *despicable provocateurs, or mentally and politically demented people*, and, in any case, enemies of the German working class and communism.

"I am now more inclined to assume that the burning of the Reichstag—this anti-Communist undertaking—took place as a result of an alliance between *political provocation and political madness*" (pp. 81-82).

Step by step as he followed up the enemy, Comrade Dimitroff did not limit himself to demanding that witnesses be called in to prove the falseness of the accusation, but demanded (p. 107) that the court produce a number of documents from the offices of the Prussian cabinet, from the Prussian Ministry of Home Affairs, from the War Ministry, from the Berlin Police Office, to prove that *nobody* even in government circles at the time of the burning of the Reichstag raised the question of the possibility of an armed uprising by the Communists.

In another declaration (p. 113) Comrade Dimitroff demanded that by way of "throwing light upon the *actual* political situation in Germany at the beginning of 1933 and during the burning of the Reichstag",

*i.e.*, by way of proof that the burning of the Reichstag could be of advantage only to the National-Socialist leaders, that Schleicher, von Papen, Hugenberg and Bruening, should be called in as witnesses.

Of course, this demand, like a multitude of other declarations made by Comrade Dimitroff, were turned down by the court. But this refusal, also, was used by Comrade Dimitroff as proof that the court *had no desire* to find the real culprits.

\* \* \*

As it well known, Comrade Dimitroff waged a fierce struggle against the President of the Court for the right to put questions to the witnesses, until the court made a decision (December 1) to deprive him of the right to ask oral questions. Henceforth, he had to put all his questions in written form, and present them to the court to be passed. In the book under review, we find the questions which Comrade Dimitroff put to the witnesses both before and after this decision of the court. The importance of this right was described by Comrade Dimitroff in the following words:

“As one accidentally and wrongfully accused, and yet more, as a Communist and a member of the Communist International, I am profoundly interested in the question of the affair of the Reichstag fire being cleared up all-round and completely, and at the same time in bringing to light the vanished ‘Mephistopheles’.

“All my questions in court have *only this aim* and no other. I do not at all need to conduct any propaganda before the Supreme Court. All the more so, because the best propaganda for communism have already been made, and not by me but the very fact that innocent Communists are accused of being the incendiaries of the Reichstag, as well as by the ‘classic’ indictment of Dr. Parisius” (p. 93).

Comrade Dimitroff left no single question unenlightened from the Marxist-Leninist point of view. Thus, for example, on the question of the Bulgarian people and Bulgarian fascism, Comrade Dimitroff wrote:

“... Here my own Bulgarian people also was characterized as ‘savage’ and ‘barbarous’, and that I cannot pass over in silence.

“It is true that *Bulgarian fascism* is savage and barbarous, but that can in fact be said of fascism in other countries also.

“But the Bulgarian working class and peasantry, the intellectuals of the people of Bulgaria, are by no means savage and barbarous. . . .

“I have not the least reason to be ashamed of the fact that I am a Bulgarian. I am proud of the fact that I am a son of the Bulgarian working class which fights so bravely against fascism and for communism” (p. 136).

It is also worth while calling to mind the following admirable lines

which we read in the draft replies made by Comrade Dimitroff at his first cross-examination in court:

"I am, in fact, an enthusiastic follower and admirer of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, because this Party rules the largest country in the world—a sixth part of the earth—and with our great leader Stalin at its head is building up socialism with such heroism and with such success. But I have never been the representative in Germany of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, as the indictment tries to indicate" (p. 81).

\* \* \*

The draft of Comrade Dimitroff's concluding speech is a document of tremendous importance. This speech deals with our principles, program and tactics, the working class movement, our aims, and the armed uprising. It was just such a concluding speech that Lenin had in mind when he pointed out that this is the "*most important thing*" in such trials, and gave the advice "to be prepared beforehand".\*

In the sixteen points of these notes, we find a real indictment against those who arranged the trial. On the other hand, it is an appeal for united action by the whole of the working class, who can conquer fascism if they consistently apply the tactics of the united anti-fascist front.

As we know, the president of the court did not give Comrade Dimitroff an opportunity of fully developing all the points of his speech, and in the end even deprived him of the right to speak. It is clear, however, from point 6 of the notes that Comrade Dimitroff wanted to call to mind the provocation of war between France and Germany in 1870, when Bismarck fabricated a diplomatic telegram, and used it to justify the attack on France.

It is not without interest to note that it was precisely at the moment when Comrade Dimitroff was developing this point, that the president interrupted him with the words: "This is outside the bounds of the court examination".

For precisely the same reason Comrade Dimitroff was unable fully to develop the question noted in point 14 of his draft (p. 144) as to the class nature of the fascist court, on the basis of the utterances of the German Minister of Justice Kerle. But Comrade Dimitroff succeeded in developing the point about the role of the Comintern as the leader and organizer of the world revolutionary movement of the proletariat, the bearer of the principles and aims of communism:

"The Communist International, to which all Sections are held directly responsible, is not an organization of plotters, but a world party. *A world party of this kind does not play with armed uprising and revolution.* A world party of this kind cannot officially say *one thing* to its millions of followers and at the same time *do the opposite*. A party of this kind, my dear Dr. Sack, knows no 'double bookkeeping'."

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\* Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. VII, p. 61, Russian ed.

Point 9 of the draft answers the question as to *who*, as a matter of fact, *needed the burning of the Reichstag at the end of February*:

*"The National-Socialist leadership needed: (a) A maneuver to divert attention from internal difficulties—a means of establishing their hegemony in the national camp; (b) The smashing of the developing working class united front; (c) An impressive pretext for mass persecution of the German Communist Party and of the whole working class movement. (d) A proof that the National-Socialists are the saviors of Germany from the Bolshevik Communist danger"* (p. 142).

This thesis, which Comrade Dimitroff constantly defended during the whole course of the trial, was developed and admirably proved in his concluding speech.

In justifying this thesis, Comrade Dimitroff started from an analysis of the concrete situation in Germany at the end of February, 1933:

1. Internal strife in the National camp. The National-Socialists striving towards autocracy or "National Coalition" (Thyssen-Krupp domination).

2. United front movement within the working class for resistance to the violent deeds of the fascist dictatorship. Wels, Leipart, Severing and Braun being more and more deserted by the Social-Democratic workers. Gigantic increase in the influence of the German Communist Party" (p. 147).

The profound Marxist-Leninist analysis upon which this draft of his speech was based shows how *"the Reichstag fire arose out of a secret alliance between political madness and political provocation"* (p. 143).

\* \* \*

During a conversation with the representatives of the foreign Communist press, soon after his arrival in Moscow, Comrade Dimitroff gave the following reply to the question as to what conclusions were to be drawn from the trial:

*"One of the most important conclusions is that the Social-Democratic workers can only wage a struggle against the bourgeoisie, shoulder to shoulder with the Communist workers. Up to now many Social-Democratic workers have limited themselves to merely sympathizing with us. That is not enough: sympathy must grow into an active struggle against the bourgeoisie and fascism, into a united struggle of Social-Democratic, Christian, and non-party workers together with the Communist workers"* (p. 177).

Comrade Dimitroff's appeal was heard by millions of toilers in all countries. It was a mighty fighting signal to the broadest masses of the toilers to undertake determined united militant action against fascism and the fascist menace.

Millions who do not belong to the Communist Party ranks are full of admiration for Comrade Dimitroff.

Many Left leaders of Social-Democracy, who today continue on different occasions to give public expression to their sympathy for the bold anti-fascist tribune in Leipzig, are also full of admiration for him.

But this admiration must not be limited to words: it must take the form of the consistent action for which Comrade Dimitroff at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern made his appeal and for which he is constantly appealing now, today, as General Secretary of the Comintern, namely, united action in the struggle against fascism, against the fascist menace, against the danger of war, against reaction and against the class enemy.

These documents will be read and studied in the deep underground conditions of fascism. Lessons will be drawn from them not only of Bolshevik courage and fearlessness, not only of Leninist-Stalinist staunchness displayed by a revolutionary fighter, but also of the Bolshevik art of fighting and conquering the enemy in the exceptionally difficult underground conditions of fascism. These documents will also serve the revolutionaries working underground as an example of how to use all legal and illegal opportunities in their work.

In his report at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, Comrade Dimitroff pointed to the forms and methods of legal and semi-legal work of anti-fascists in the fascist mass organizations. Comrade Dimitroff's speeches in court are a clear example of how, in actual practice, to make use of legal opportunities even in the most difficult conditions of the fascist dictatorship. It is enough to analyze the questions formulated by Dimitroff and put to the witnesses of the prosecution to become easily convinced of the important weapon which these questions constituted in the hands of Dimitroff, for smashing the legend of "Communist plans for an uprising", for unmasking the real incendiaries of the Reichstag and covering the whole fascist system with disgrace.

The forces of the Communist Parties should be educated on the basis of these documents.

In his speeches at the court Comrade Dimitroff fundamentally smashed the indictment being made against Comrade Thaelmann by showing that the Communist Party of Germany in the spring of 1933 when Hitler came to power, was not preparing for an armed uprising, that the Communist Party of Germany, like the whole of the world Communist movement, rejects individual terror as a method of political struggle, that the Communist Party of Germany set itself the task of rallying the broadest masses of the toilers in a broad united front to fight against the offensive of fascism.

The documents here published will serve as a further stimulus to the anti-fascists of all countries, to increase the struggle for the release of the leader of the German working class, Comrade Ernst Thaelmann.

# A Book About Stalin

By S. GOPNER

THE appearance of the book about Stalin written by Henri Barbusse,\* France's most famous revolutionary writer, is an outstanding and moving political and literary event.\*\* This book, which is the first attempt in world literature to present the countenance of the helmsman of the international proletarian revolution, was written a few months before the death of its author, and alongside his immortal *Under Fire* is the most important work written by him. This circumstance still further increases the emotion with which one opens the book.

The book with which Barbusse culminated his glorious life of creative work was the fruit of complicated and stubborn work. There is not a shade of fiction in this work of art. In his work on the book and in his efforts to combine artistic mastery and factual exactitude in it, the author made a tense study of the history of the U.S.S.R. and of the C.P.S.U., collecting up all sorts of scraps of biographical data about Stalin, delving among materials in the archives and chatting with scores of people who had seen, and knew Stalin—from his old comrades-in-arms in the underground Bolshevik struggle in the Trans-Caucasus to the Soviet children who told Barbusse about Stalin's fatherly affection for the rising generation. Barbusse strove to give a complete picture of "the man at the helm", the leader of the peoples, the Titan of thought and deed, who holds in his hands the lever of world history, and at the same time, to present a charmingly warm picture of Stalin's personality—a simple, modest and great man, beloved of the millions.

The book is written for different circles of readers: it can be read with unflinching interest both by the revolutionary proletarians of capitalist countries who are thirsting to glimpse at the living countenance of their leader, and by the intellectuals who are seeking a way out of the capitalist cul-de-sac. The Russian edition of the book will be greeted with joy by the toilers of the U.S.S.R., despite the fact that much told by Barbusse is well known to the Soviet reader—the more so since this book is an illustration of the warm love and affection of the best creative minds of mankind (one of the representatives of which Barbusse was) for the Soviet Union, for our great Stalin.

Henri Barbusse not only presented Stalin on the background of his epoch—the epoch of the great proletarian revolution and the downfall of capitalism; he delved down to the basic problems of the revolution, gave a picture of the development of the revolution and socialist

\* Henri Barbusse, *Stalin* (The Man Through Whom the New World is Unfolding). Published by Flammarion, Paris, 1935.

\*\* This book which appeared about a year ago in France has now appeared in the English, German and Spanish languages, and has aroused tremendous interest in Europe, the U.S.A. and South America. In March, 1936, it appeared in the Russian language with a foreword by Comrade Stetsky.

construction at different stages, ardently lauded its achievements, made war upon those engaged in casting slander, condemned the contemporary capitalist world, and placed the wonderful life of Stalin, following it step by step, in the center of this complicated picture. Stalin, for Barbusse, was the man through whom the new world is unfolding.

Barbusse's book is neither a history of the C.P.S.U., nor a treatise on the U.S.S.R.; neither a mere biography of Stalin, nor a work of art in the ordinary sense of the word. It contains elements of the first, second, third and fourth in a skilful combination. This form of treatment raises the book to the heights of a poem. The book is a clear document of the epoch, and at the same time a broad literary onslaught against all the enemies of Communism.

\* \* \*

Vissarion Jugashvili Stalin was born in the mountains of Georgia, in a half-town, half-village, in the family of a bootmaker. At the age of 15, Stalin joined the revolutionary movement, was connected with the underground groups of Russian Marxists in the Trans-Caucasus. "These groups had a great influence upon me and gave me a taste for illegal literature", Stalin related subsequently (p. 10).

The year of the First Congress (1898) of the R.S.D.L.P. (Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party—later the C.P.S.U.—*Ed.*) was the year that Stalin joined the Tiflis organization. Among the Tiflis railwaymen, tobacco workers, shoemakers and workers in the meteorological observatory, the young man, Stalin, won for himself authority and love. . . . "His wonderful ability to stand on the same level as those listening to him was one of the most profound reasons for the confidence with which Stalin always imbued the masses, for the great part he played in the revolution" (p. 20).

Describing the road traveled by Stalin as a revolutionary working in illegal conditions, Barbusse strictly adhered to the facts and tried to be historically exact (to the extent that he could be exact on the basis of the material at his disposal; let us call to mind that the book was written before Comrade Beria's report on Stalin was published!). At the same time he strove to give a generalized picture of the professional proletarian revolutionary. The writer, an anti-fascist who gave so much of his strength to help those engaged in the underground struggle against fascism, found the following splendid words with which to describe the activities of the revolutionary proletarian, words applicable not only to the past, and not only to tsarist Russia:

"The calling of an underground agitator, or a professional revolutionary, which attracted Stalin among many others, is a difficult calling. . . . If you take up this work, then wherever you look, there stands clearly defined on the horizon, the prison, Siberia and the gallows. Not everybody can follow this calling.

"You must be as strong as iron and have unflinching energy; you must have an almost boundless working capacity. You must

be a champion and recordsman of watchfulness, you must be able to switch off from one piece of work to another, you must know how to starve, how to shiver with cold, you must know how not to get caught, how to save yourself if you do get caught. Let them knock out your teeth, let them torture you with red-hot iron, you must bear it and not divulge a name or an address. You must give all your heart to the common cause. . . .

"And this is not all. You must be imbued with hope to the marrow of your bones; and not cease to believe in victory in the darkest moments and under the heaviest defeat. But all this is still not enough. Above all, you must clearly see and understand just what you want. That is why Marxism is the practical weapon of revolutionaries, that is why it gives these new people such control of events . . ." (p. 23).

Hiding from the police and gendarmes under such names as David, Koba, Nijeradze, Chizhikov, Ivanovich, and finally Stalin, Joseph Jugashvili cast himself into the heart of the mass struggle.

". . . Here he is at an underground meetings, taking place behind the scenes of a theater, so that when the police surrounded the building, it was enough to slip through the door and mingle among the theater crowd, and begin, with the appearance of all the interest in the world, to watch the play.

". . . Here he is entering Popov's, a big bookshop. He asks for a book by Belinsky and begins to examine it carefully, meanwhile following the shopman with his eyes, and finally hands him unnoticed a couple of false passports. These passports are to help two comrades escape, whom the police were about to arrest a little later—a little too late." (p. 29).

One of the biggest events in the life of Stalin, as for the whole of the Party, was the publication of the first number of the *Iskra*. The movement was becoming a mass one. Events frequently made it necessary for Stalin to risk his own personal safety. In the May Day demonstrations of 1901, he was at the head of those who demonstrated. In reply to the threats of an officer, Stalin, on behalf of the striking railwaymen, declared: "We are not afraid of you. Let them satisfy our demands, and we will disperse."

Information concerning the Second Congress of the Party, the birth of Bolshevism, found Stalin in prison. The choice had to be made. Stalin did not hesitate. He followed Lenin.

"Stalin is the Lenin of today": this is one of the leading ideas of Barbusse's book. Throughout the book the thought is emphasized of the indissoluble connection between these two great lives. Whatever the distance which divided Lenin and Stalin from each other, their activities, their struggle, and their thoughts were trained in one and the same direction. Stalin was with Lenin, he fought for Lenin's cause; like Lenin, he drew down upon himself the violent hatred of the Mensheviks—even before he personally met Lenin at the Tammersfors Conference (1905). Stalin was with Lenin in the fire of revolution in 1905, the period of the most acute struggle between the Bolsheviks and Menshe-

viks. He was with Lenin in the difficult years of reaction, the period of struggle against the liquidators, the Trotskyists, and the Otzovists.\*

In the years before the war, during the new revolutionary upsurge, when there was some wavering even among the Bolsheviks, Stalin, elected a member of the Central Committee by the Prague Conference, firmly adhered to the Leninist platform. Barbusse quotes the words of Lenin written in 1911:

“Koba’s articles deserve the greatest attention. . . . It would be difficult to imagine a better refutation of the views and hopes of our ‘conciliators and reformists.’”

During the war years, during the years of the greatest historic test, Lenin was abroad, Stalin far away in exile, almost in the Arctic Circle. But he was completely and unreservedly with Lenin.

\* \* \*

Inspiration, profound revolutionary enthusiasm flows from the pages of Barbusse’s book devoted to the great proletarian revolution, as the following words show:

“The October revolution, the super-revolution, has succeeded. “It at once issued a decree for immediate peace (the first practical condition of victory, the first ray of light in a world of chaos); for the transfer of all power to the Soviets, that is to say, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the sovereignty being born everywhere out of the soil, the rights of men. . . . At last the capitalist front was broken and the rent was so tremendous that there was room in it for one-sixth part of the whole of the earth” (p. 70).

In this period also Stalin was Lenin’s firm support. Every day put forward tremendous tasks and tremendous difficulties. How great was the cost of the Brest question alone? At this moment which was so acute for the revolution, when the empty demagogy and adventurism of Trotsky and the revolutionary phrases of the “Left Communists” who opposed the Brest treaty threatened to take the Party with them and brought the Soviet government to the verge of ruin, Stalin gave his firm support to the only revolutionary platform as advanced by Lenin, calling for the need, so as to maintain the Soviet government, of signing the conditions of the Brest Peace as dictated by German imperialism, and of thus gaining a “breathing space”.

Stalin played an exceptionally decisive role in the years of the civil war and intervention. For two years, Stalin was at the many different fronts: the Ukrainian, Perm, Petrograd, Western (Polish), Southern, again on the Polish, and back to the Southern front. And wherever he appeared he brought about a change. Step by step Barbusse studied these wonderful, still not sufficiently well known, pages of the gigantic

\* From the Russian word *Otozvat*—to recall. The Otzovists demanded that the Party fraction in the Duma should be recalled.

struggle of Stalin, who time and time again literally saved the situation by exposing the adventurist plans of Trotsky and operating his own plans of crushing the whiteguard armies. To Stalin belongs an exclusive role in the reorganization of the Red Army. Stalin, the underground worker, agitator, organizer and propagandist of yesterday, proved to be an outstanding strategist and army leader.

Then came the first ten years of the existence of the Soviet government, accompanied by new colossal tasks, colossal difficulties. The awful heritage of tsarism, of the imperialist war, the civil war, and of the intervention by fourteen states.

“What had to be done? Everything. To live day by day, to heap stone upon stone. And, moreover, to do it all at once” (p. 144).

In the chapter entitled *Les Premières Pierres* (The First Stones), where Barbusse tells of the first steps in socialist industrialization, he draws a clear picture of Stalin's role as the organizer and leader of these first historic victories.

The electrification of the country—such was then the fighting slogan. Both in the period of War Communism, as well as from the first moment of the new economic policy, Stalin was the man who never once doubted the Leninist road. Stalin considered the GOELRO\* plan to be the “only really feasible plan”. In face of the difficulties that existed at that time, this plan seemed like a utopia to many, but it could not frighten people like Lenin and Stalin. In his famous letter to Lenin about this plan, Stalin insisted upon the struggle for it becoming “the chief task during the coming years, and all the rest—current work”.

The achievement of the electrification of the country, which was the main foundation of industrialization, and then the historic importance of the victory of the industrialization and collectivization, which have changed the face of the Soviet Union, so that it has become unrecognizable, will go down in the history of the proletarian revolution indissolubly connected with the name of the great Stalin.

The death of Lenin. . . . The grief of millions throughout the world. . . . The resurrected hopes of all the enemies of the Soviet government. . . . This death might have become the turning point for tremendous hardships for the Soviet government, were it not for the Party created by Lenin and Stalin, were it not for its great leader, Stalin.

The question as to who should head the Party after Lenin was a question as to who best of all, and most profoundly, understood Lenin. The whole of the preceding political life of Stalin had prepared him for this role. The more so since his complete identity of thought with Lenin during the latter's life had meant not simply subscribing to Lenin, but something more, namely, the unity of thought of two Marxist geniuses, two great leaders of the proletariat who never once were divided in their views, because the correct Marxist decision can be only one.

“When the Party was orphaned after the death of Lenin,

\* Abbreviation for the general plan of electrification of the Soviet Union.—Ed.

when it asked itself the question: 'what shall we do without the genius who has been our leader', the calm voice of Stalin rang out to declare that the difficulties would be overcome" (p. 170).

Barbusse quotes Comrade Kaganovich's words. Stalin became the one who continued Lenin's work. The historic "vow" of Stalin became the program of the Leninist Party after the death of its leader.

Barbusse mocks at the slanderers of all shades who try to explain Stalin's role in the Party and in the country as being the result of his "dictatorial" qualities, in the following words:

"... In the socialist organism, each one naturally occupies his own place, in accordance with the value and importance of his abilities. This is a selection, which takes place in the course of events. A man enjoys influence in the measure that he understands and concretizes Marxism, the irresistible" (p. 173).

And further on, about Stalin:

"He is leader for the same reason as that which explains why he achieved victory: because he is right" (p. 173).

We have an illustration every day of the fact that he is right in the great work that is being conducted by his Party. That he is right is proved by the fact that the Party, which performs all these deeds under his firm guidance, is right. Nobody so passionately defends the principle of collective methods in work as Stalin himself.

In the chapter entitled *La Guerre Parasitaire* (The Struggle Against the Parasitic Opposition), Barbusse shows how Stalin succeeded in standing at the head of, and in rallying around the great historic tasks to be solved, the invincible force of the C.P.S.U., against the firm and monolithic character of which, Trotsky, after Lenin's death, began his campaign, supported later by Kamenev and Zinoviev. For the fact that this campaign ended in the complete defeat of the counter-revolutionary Trotskyist-Zinoviev bloc, the Party and the proletariat are indebted to Stalin, first and foremost.

Barbusse gives a damningly pointed characteristic of the personality of Trotsky, the counter-revolutionary:

"Trotsky hesitates, wavers. He cannot decide. . . . He is horrified. He is instinctively against all that he is doing. And then, he is too fond of talking. He is intoxicated at the sound of his own voice. 'He even declaims viz-a-viz, even when speaking in confidence', one of his former comrades relates. . . . He lacks the keen, imperative feeling of reality and life. He lacks the great and austere simplicity of a man of action. He has no firm Marxist convictions. He is easily frightened. He has always been easily frightened. He remained a Menshevik out of cowardice. And because of the same cowardice he becomes furious and falls into feverish fits of Leftism. In order to understand Trotsky one must see his helplessness through the fits of violence.

"... The whole opposition represents a retreat, faint-heart-

edness, the beginning of paralysis and sleeping sickness" (p. 193).

But while condemning this opposition, Barbusse was unable to go farther than psychological characteristics, brilliant ones, it is true, but nevertheless inadequate. While correctly emphasizing the fact that the inner Party struggle in the Bolshevik Party was a struggle of principles, he did not say the main thing, namely, that behind this struggle of different, diametrically opposed principles, there was the struggle between classes.

Despite this substantial shortcoming, Barbusse was able again in the chapter on the opposition to show the strength and magnificence of Stalin, who by defeating the Trotskyists and the Rights, succeeded not only in saving the unity of the Party, but in strengthening it still more, and ensuring the victory of industrialization and collectivization, in dealing a tremendous defeat to all the enemies of the proletarian revolution. Over many pages devoted to this unexampled struggle, Barbusse over and over again stresses, side by side with the brilliant Marxist-Leninist method of Stalin, his healthy realism, which was also so characteristic of Lenin.

In the chapter devoted to the successes of both Stalinist Five-Year Plans, Barbusse draws a clear picture of the victorious advance of socialist construction, evilly jeered at by the capitalist "prophets" who expected to see the downfall of the Bolshevik plans. He devotes especially great attention to the peasant question, comparing the old backward Russian village with the new, socialist, cultured village; he also throws much light on the successes of the cultural revolution, and in particular, Soviet literature. A separate chapter is devoted to the Soviet "Constellation of Nationalities", and the tremendous world importance of the national policy of Lenin and Stalin. A question especially near to Barbusse himself is raised in an interesting way, namely, the question of socialist humanitarianism, and as against the "humanitarianism" of the bourgeoisie, which serves as a mask for capitalist barbarity.

Barbusse's book was already written, when, in his speech to the graduates of the Red Army, Comrade Stalin called the attention of the Party and the broad masses of the people to the question of cadres, advancing the slogan of "cadres decide everything", thus emphasizing the question of the attitude towards the human being.

Henri Barbusse was no longer alive when the splendid Stakhanov movement opened up a new page of the proletarian revolution. The "profound revolution" of which Lenin spoke in his article "The Great Initiative", is taking place now before our eyes. Capitalism, having been abolished in economics, is now being destroyed in the minds of people. The new man, created in the conditions of socialism, is paving the way to communism, by setting new socialist standards of productivity of labor, higher than the capitalist standards. The Stakhanov workers are beginning to write the page of the proletarian revolution, wherein, on

the basis of the enormous wealth created by the masses of the people, these masses themselves raise their own material and cultural standard to unheard of heights.

Stalin led the masses over the most difficult road to heights as open up boundless prospects for the future. The final and irrevocable victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R., of which Henri Barbusse, at the time of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, together with the whole Congress, solemnly informed the whole world, is connected with the name of the great Stalin. Barbusse did not live to see the Stakhanov movement, but his book breathes the presentiment of this profound revolution.

The chapter dealing with the doomed capitalist world and its "heroes", is in itself a brilliant pamphlet.

With venomous, and wrathful irony Barbusse describes in it the "system which sows poverty, which cultivates bankruptcy, which elevates thieves to the heights of glory, and pays for labor with starvation". With the flaming inspiration of an artist and writer, he persuades the toiling masses of the capitalist countries not to believe the fascist lies in the following words:

"Fascism remains, and will always remain, merely so much polish over a heap of disgusting lumber. . . . It is still the same society, in which some prosper only at the expense of the ruin of others, in which some live only by killing others, a society which hurls itself against new continents, in order in robber fashion to break down weak boundaries and force the natives to pay for the air they breathe; it is an abominable society where one cannot be honest without being a fool, where the elections falsify the will of the people, where man exploits man, where man kills man, where great social catastrophes are only pushed into the background by false decisions, where attempts are made to camouflage the volcano by means of carnivals. . . .

"To what does all this lead? To war."

Foretelling the imminence of a new world catastrophe, and forecasting its inevitability, if the forces of toiling mankind, united and gathered around the U.S.S.R., do not prevent it, Barbusse calls the toilers to the people's front against war and fascism, emphasizing the point that:

"Events are more and more clearly demonstrating to all the living forces of mankind turned to the future that all the interests of the toilers—the workers, peasants, middle sections of society and intellectuals—are coming closer together, that all the toilers must unite around the working class."

Such was the political behest left by Barbusse.

In this review it is not possible to dwell upon all the interesting points touched upon by Barbusse in his book, upon all his clear and humorous estimations, appraisals and opinions.

The book is not free of certain shortcomings. As a foreigner who

had been in the U.S.S.R. only for a short time, Henri Barbusse displayed quite a good acquaintance with Soviet actualities on the basis of a wealth of material, the work upon which demanded extreme love and interest in the U.S.S.R. However, one feels that the book would have gained more if Henri Barbusse had known the U.S.S.R. more intimately, not so much from literature as from actual life. There are factual inexactitudes, with which it is not worth while dealing now, in view of the fact that they do not alter anything of importance in the picture as a whole.

Of the shortcomings relating to questions of principle, it is worth while drawing attention to the inadequate, unfinished explanation furnished of the nature of the anti-Leninist deviations. The author correctly emphasizes the fact that it was not personal issues that played the chief role in the inner Party struggle inside the Bolshevik Party, that this struggle was a struggle of principles. (The only exception the author makes is in the history of the struggle against Trotskyism, in which, in his opinion, the personality of Trotsky, his centrism, ambition and self-admiration, laid a definite stamp upon the character of the struggle.) However, as we have already mentioned, the author does not deal with the *main* point, namely, that behind this struggle between principles there stands *the struggle between classes*.

The importance of Barbusse's book about Stalin is very great. This book is a clear document of the magnitude of the proletarian revolution, of the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R., and of the genius who is continuing the work of Marx and Lenin, the finest man of our stormy epoch, the great Stalin.

This book is yet another example of the unconquerable force of the proletarian revolution and socialist construction. It is the voice not only of Henri Barbusse, but of the best and the now numerous sections of the intellectuals not only in France, but throughout the capitalist countries, who have finally become convinced of the collapse of bourgeois thought, of the bankruptcy of capitalism, who are sincerely seeking for a new outlook, for a clear answer to the question as to the prospects for the future, and who are finding it in fighting unity with the revolutionary proletariat, who are finding it in the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

## In Memoriam—Fritz Heckert

**O**NE of the best sons of the German working class and of the German people, Fritz Heckert, bricklayer, is dead. He was fifty-two years old. Of these fifty-two he spent thirty-four in the ranks of the German working class movement as a participant in and leader of all major struggles of the German proletariat. Born of a militant proletarian family of the Saxon textile district, that ancient and traditional citadel of the German working class movement, Fritz Heckert was the personification of the best traditions of the German workers at the end of the nineteenth century. In the first year of the twentieth century, when reformism began to corrode the German working class movement, Fritz Heckert vigorously opposed the policy of cooperation with the ruling class and became one of the pillars of the radical Left wing of the Social-Democratic Party.

His revolutionary temperament and his extraordinary gift of oratory, his courageous struggle against reformism, his sound knowledge of Maxism which he had acquired by his own untiring efforts, his excellent trade union work made him one of the best beloved leaders of the Saxon working class on the eve of the great war. He belonged to that galaxy of proletarian revolutionaries who, born of the German working class, were bound by ties of blood to the international proletarian movement, and of whom the entire working class of the world is justly proud. Even before the war he gathered practical experience in the international struggle of the working class and developed into one of its future leaders.

Among the Spartacus leaguers Fritz Heckert was the one most closely bound up with the working masses. When the Hohenzollern empire collapsed, the workers of Chemnitz released Fritz from his prison cell and elected him chairman of the Workers' and Soldiers' Council. Under the influence of the Bolsheviks, in the fire of the class struggle he recognized that only the creation of an independent militant proletarian party could help the working class to win the victory. So he became one of the most ardent champions of the formation of the Communist Party of Germany.

Fritz Heckert, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany since 1919, was a model to the Party and the working class of devotion and unflinching proletarian discipline. He helped to educate the cadres of our Party in the spirit of closest cooperation with the Communist International, the world-embracing Party of Lenin and Stalin. As the representative of the Communist Party of Germany on the Executive Committee of the Comintern for many years, he worked in close cooperation with other parties and gained universal affection and respect by his modesty and wisdom, his ever-ready advice and his energy.

His whole activity was permeated with his love for the Soviet Union. A witness from the outset of its tremendous work of construction, its

victories were an inspiration to him in his untiring struggle for the liberation of the German working class.

His close connection with the masses and his long experience of trade union struggles made Fritz Heckert one of the most popular leaders not only of the German but of the international trade union movement. The important part he played in many great battles of the German working class for better conditions enabled him to become one of the best organizers, counsellors and leaders of the whole international working class movement on all matters concerning the trade union movement. The workers of all countries knew him as an internationalist, as a revolutionary trade unionist, as an unselfishly devoted fighter for the united front of the working class and the unity of the trade union movement. As one of the best adherents of the Comintern and one of the most respected officials of the international working class movement he was deservedly elected to the presidium of the Comintern.

The Communist Party of Germany and the Communist International have suffered a heavy loss by the death of Comrade Heckert.

For over three years now the Communist Party of Germany has been fighting a heroic battle against fascism. For more than three years the ranks of the German Party have been standing staunch despite heaviest losses. More than ever the Party needs the flaming eloquence of Fritz Heckert, the anti-fascist propagandist, his stimulating revolutionary temperament, his profound connection with the working class of Germany, whose class struggle traditions were embodied in him.

Fritz Heckert died at his post like a true soldier of the revolution. Only a few hours before his death he spoke at a meeting in celebration of Ernst Thaelmann's fiftieth birthday, issuing a clarion call for the struggle for peace.

"The struggle for peace is the central task of the international working class. The struggle for the liberation of Thaelmann, the leader of the German working class, is a struggle for peace. The struggle for peace is a struggle for the liberation of Ernst Thaelmann!"

This was the conclusion of the last speech made by Fritz Heckert, champion of the working class and noble son of the German people.

With this slogan against Hitler fascism, that chief fomenter of another war, the German Communists and the Communists of all countries will fight and win.

DIMITROFF, PIECK, FLORIN, ERCOLI, MANUILSKY, WANG MING, KOPLINIG, FOSTER, LENSKI, KOLAROV, MOSKVIN, BROWDER, OKANO, LOZOVSKY, BRONKOVSKY, MICHAL, BELA KUN, CHAJEN, VARGA, POPOV, CHEMAODANOV, KANG SIN, TUOMINEN, GOPNER, KRUMIN, ANVELT, ANGARETIS, FERDI, STASSOVA, ISKROV, TSKHAKAYA, KRAEVSKY, GRZEGORZEWSKY, VALETSKY, SHKIRIATOV.

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