

THE

WORKERS OF THE WORLD-UNITE!



# Communist

JAPAN - - - - THE PEOPLE AND FASCISM: OKANO

FRANCE - - - - SOME OF OUR ACHIEVEMENTS: CACHIN

SPAIN - - - - - FALL OF MALAGA: LEJUNE

U.S.S.R. - - - - - ECONOMIC RESULTS, 1936: BRAUN

and

U.S.S.R. - - - - - LENIN'S IDEAS IN ACTUAL PRACTICE: STETSKY

# International

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SIXPENCE

CONTENTS OVERLEAF



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# THE PATH TO TREASON

By ERNST FISHER

THE trial of the leaders of the Trotskyist gang struck a *tremendous blow against the war plans of the fascists*. Hitler and the Japanese generals lost allies, who had dangled the prospects of an easy victory before their eyes, and had exerted all their forces in order to hasten the outbreak of war. Millions of people recognised the enormity and immediate proximity of the danger revealed and averted, and were able to convince themselves that the conspiracy against the U.S.S.R. was, in fact, a *conspiracy against peace, against the whole of humanity*.

It is understandable that the war instigators, fascists of all shades, should reply to the trial against their accomplices with howls of rage. It is understandable that they should make the attempt to whitewash their branded and condemned confederates, that they should maintain that the confessions did not correspond with reality, and that they should demonstrate their sympathy for Trotsky and his band of murderers. It is just as understandable that the fascist newspapers should print Trotsky, that the fascist "Fatherland Front" in Austria should issue a pamphlet entitled "What does Trotsky Say!" and that the counter-revolution should go into mourning for the "old Bolsheviks," Radek, Zinoviev, Pyatakov and others. All of this is understandable. What is not so good, however, is that individuals professing to be anti-fascists, leading people of the 2nd International, join in the chorus of the fascists, and often using the same words and "arguments" as they do, denounce Soviet justice and espouse the cause of the accused.

They utilise the circumstance that many honest, but badly informed people are perplexed at these monstrous crimes. Just as the world of honest and decent petty bourgeoisie refused, for a long time, to believe the truth of all the barbarous infamy of German fascism, so to-day, there are honest democrats who hesitate to look fearlessly into the ugly countenance of Trotskyist counter-revolution, all the more so, since this counter-revolution parades itself as "revolution" (the German counter-revolution, by the way, for a long time called itself the "German revolution"). Nor were all of the accused counter-revolutionaries from the very outset, just as the biggest renegades, Benito Mussolini, Joseph Pilsudski and Ramsay MacDonald were not always counter-revolutionaries. Pyatakov, Radek and Zinoviev were never true Bolsheviks; nevertheless, the Bolshevik Party reposed a certain confidence in them for a time, and with indescribable patience made it possible for them to make good their old mistakes and to take

part in the building of Socialism. The Party saw the road taken by these people, this road of mistakes, deviations, and opposition to the political line of *Lenin and Stalin*. Nevertheless, it did not consider these vacillating people as completely lost until the compelling proofs of the horrible guilt of these traitors were revealed. Masses of honest democrats in the capitalist countries who do not know the long road of development of the Trotskyist counter-revolutionaries which has led them into the abyss of the most hideous crimes, only see the *end* of this road, and so it is difficult for them to believe in the possibility of such a monstrous decline.

The Russian Revolution—especially since 1905—has had an enormous influence upon the international working class movement. But the world proletariat, under the influence of the 2nd International, which was immersed in opportunism, received only scant and false information concerning the main and disputable questions of the Russian Revolution. The leaders of European Social Democracy knew about the struggles between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, between *Lenin* on the one side, and Plekhanov, Martov and Trotsky, on the other. At bottom they sympathised with the Mensheviks, agreed with Trotsky when he characterised *Lenin* as an "Asiatic," notwithstanding which they declared that the "internal" affairs of the Russians were of no significance for the West. They hardly suspected that these "internal" struggles were, in reality, struggles for the fate of the entire working class movement, that the "Asiatic" *Lenin* was the genius of creative Marxism, that he was forging the only weapon with which the world proletariat could triumph. The masses in the West seldom heard from their leaders the names which, later, were to shake the world.

Suddenly it all changed, for in 1917, when the greatest revolution in world history rose up like a colossus, dozens of hitherto unknown names penetrated the minds of the European working class. And ever higher, ever brighter, above all other names, rose the name of *Lenin*. In vain did Social Democracy try to obscure *this* name, which became the banner of the masses of Social Democratic workers in spite of the fact that they still rejected Communism. Their instinctive love for the greatest leader of the working class could not be destroyed by any lies or slander. What is more, all the names mentioned together with *Lenin's* name shone with a reflected lustre. The workers heard these names for the first time knowing nothing of their past, but since they were mentioned together with *Lenin*, since they were

carried along in the stream of revolution, the workers believed in them.

Their further development was not clear to many people abroad and the fall of Trotsky startled and perplexed millions of people who remembered his name only from the days of the revolution. As far as concerned these millions, the road of the Trotskyists to treason, to counter-revolution was enveloped in darkness, and only the end of the road became clear again—in the flashing light of the trial of the band of murderers. This lack of knowledge of the historical development of Bolshevism on the one hand, and Trotskyism on the other, led to many workers in the capitalist countries being astounded when the abyss of Trotskyism suddenly opened up before their sight, and to them being unable to grasp the horrible truth.

The enemies of the Soviets made clever use of this. The same individuals who slandered and defamed *Lenin* when he was still alive, now lift up their hands in lament and come forward as the defenders of the “Lenin Guard” of “old Bolsheviks.”

These people are consciously and shamelessly lying. At one time they raised similar accusations against *Lenin*, hurling similar curses at him as they do to-day against Stalin. But they know that *Lenin* is the supreme authority for the workers, for all workers, and so they try to utilise this authority for their counter-revolutionary ends. Any one who is in the slightest degree acquainted with the history of Bolshevism, can only laugh on hearing that Trotsky, Radek, and Zinoviev are suddenly called the “Lenin Guard.” For decades Trotsky was in the ranks of the Menshevik Party against which *Lenin* carried on irreconcilable war. This “Guard” was always up in arms against *Lenin* and his policy, this “Guard” entered into conspiracies with *Lenin's* opponents at all decisive moments, this “Guard” conspired against *Lenin* at every step.

This is the “Lenin Guard” about which the enemies of the Soviets tell such touching legends, a “Guard” of regular mutineers against the Party, of deserters and traitors. They tried to disorganise the Party, they fought *Lenin*, and the Party of *Lenin* punished them. *Lenin* characterised Trotsky with these words :

“Such types are characteristic as the debris of the historic structures and systems of yesterday when the mass working-class movement in Russia was still sleeping.”

He warned the members of this “Guard” individually that if they did not change their false political position, they would some day find themselves in the camp of counter-revolution. He warned them all when he stated in a resolution adopted at the 10th Congress of the Russian Communist Party that every struggle against the Party leads with inexorable consistency into the camp of counter-revolution. They

continued their struggle against the Party, and this struggle led with inexorable consistency into the camp of counter-revolution.

It is necessary to reveal the political roots of these monstrous crimes ; it would be idle to examine the inner psychological development of the individual criminals that led to the horrible depths of their disintegration and degeneration. In every revolutionary movement, alongside of the masses and their deep thinking and great creative leaders, there also participate desperately ambitious people and adventurers of all kinds. These are intractable Bohemians, who revolt against all order, and for whom the revolution is nothing more than a great “demoniacal disorder.” Then there are gamblers, thirsting for power, who strive to climb out of obscurity into fame and grandeur. Then there are men possessed, who know only hate, who are dominated not by the vision of a new world, but by the vision of revolution, and who do not want to lead the people to the heights of a new life and culture, but to take revenge upon an unjust system of society. The decay of the whole world, which precedes every revolution, begets legions of declassed adventurers, of unstable elements and madmen. Such people are the most mobile cadres in the camp of every counter-revolution, but some of them also make their way for a time into the camp of revolution, before they find the road to counter-revolution, which is in harmony with their nature. Every revolutionary movement has had its traitors, but the fact that treason has assumed such enormous dimensions in this case is explained by the enormous scope of the proletarian revolution. There has never been such treachery as that of Trotsky, Radek and Zinoviev, but there have also never been such colossal class struggles, just as never before has there been fascism and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

We wish to discover not the psychological features common to these traitors, but what they have in common politically, to discover the main political line which constituted the starting point for their course further and further along the road of treason.

They all had *no faith in the masses*, in the creative power of the *working class*, in the revolutionary rôle of the peasantry. Characteristic of all of them is what *Lenin* said of Trotsky, that they entered the epoch of revolution as the debris of the historic systems of yesterday, as the debris of the time when the mass movement was still sleeping. It is characteristic that they were all up in arms against the *national policy* of *Lenin* and *Stalin*, that they denied the right of nations to self-determination. According to their opinion the peoples were not mature enough to decide their own fate, according to them an outside force was needed to be a guardian of the nations and lead them by the hand. Just as characteristic was the position of Trotsky and Co.

on the peasant question. *Lenin* and *Stalin* had faith in the revolutionary energy of the peasant masses : they knew that the working class could only establish its hegemony and achieve victory in a fraternal militant alliance with the peasants. The peasants as far as Trotsky and Co. were concerned were a counter-revolutionary rabble whom they considered it possible to suppress with bayonets.

*Lenin* felt himself deeply attached to the Russian people. He, the greatest internationalist, proudly acknowledged his people, just as Dimitrov proudly acknowledged his at the Leipzig trial. Trotsky and his pack had no faith in the forces of the working class, in the alliance of the latter with the peasantry, did not consider them capable of marching at the head of the revolutionary movement, considered them incapable of building socialism with their own forces. Finally, it is characteristic that Trotsky and Co. never understood the really democratic essence of the proletarian dictatorship ; that they opposed the idea of the *dictatorship of a minority*, an idea inimical to the people, to the dictatorship of the overwhelming majority which is directed against a minority of exploiters and idlers. Trotsky stood for a ruthless dictatorship over the masses of the Russian people. Zinoviev wanted to replace the dictatorship of the proletariat by the dictatorship of the Party, thus proving that he falsely understood not only the dictatorship of the proletariat, but also the leading rôle of the Party in the revolution, and the relation of the Party to the masses and classes. Because they had no faith in the masses, *they had no faith in the power of revolutionary democracy.*

Their under-estimation of the revolutionary rôle of the masses, their lack of faith in Socialism went hand in hand with their *over-estimation of Western capitalism.* They never understood the profound teaching of *Lenin* that imperialism is the last stage of capitalism, that we live in the epoch of disintegrating, decaying capitalism. They were ever and again haunted by the mirage of "super-imperialism" invented by Kautsky, and of "organised capitalism" invented by Bucharin. These false appraisals of capitalism had their serious consequences, for if one accepts the point that capitalism has not passed to the stage of decay, that it is still in a position to develop to higher forms, then this amounts to admitting that capitalism is still a progressive, advancing force. From this point of view fascism would not be a form of the rule of the most reactionary elements of capitalism in decay and decline, but a form of the rule of "organised capitalism," so to speak, *i.e.*, something progressive, advanced in comparison with bourgeois democracy. Starting out from this "theory" one inevitably arrives at the formation of an alliance with fascism against bourgeois democracy. Trotskyism traversed this road to the end. Against

Democracy, against the defence of Democracy, against the People's Front in defence of Democracy, for Fascism—such is the final position to which the Trotskyists have come.

The lack of faith in the victory of the socialist revolution, and the over-estimation of capitalism by Trotsky and his pack were expressed in the way they repeatedly put forward demands directed towards the *restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union.* The "left" Trotsky for whom nothing was "revolutionary" enough, proposed in 1922 that the industrial enterprises and trusts should be permitted to mortgage their property, including their fixed capital, to foreign capitalists with a view to receiving credits. He stood for "capitalist control" over Soviet economy, and it was *Stalin* who, with the greatest passion, opposed this counter-revolutionary proposal and hurled these words at Trotsky :

"If it is a question of such real capitalist control . . . then I must declare that we have no such control and never will have it as long as our proletariat are alive and as long as we have the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Similar proposals were drawn up at different times by Bucharin, Pyatakov, Sokolnikov and others—proposals which in the main coincided with the programme of the Mensheviks, whose leader, Dan, during all these years was demanding the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, adding that if the Soviets did not introduce capitalism peacefully, then it would be done by blood and violence. Thus the programme of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, is not at all a new and unexpected programme of the Trotskyist plotters. It is actually a very old programme adapted to the new conditions of their counter-revolutionary struggle.

The lack of faith in the power of the masses and the over-estimation of that of capitalism led Trotsky and his confederates to declare that the *building of socialism in one country*, in the Soviet Union, was impossible. They came forward in favour of capitulation, of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, of "adapting" the Soviets to the capitalist world. However, Trotsky and Co. continued consistently to develop their Menshevik programme, offering every possible resistance to the building of Socialism in the U.S.S.R., conspiring with the capitalist world to restore capitalism in the U.S.S.R., and allying themselves with fascism in order to fulfil their plans through war.

Their struggle against the Party of *Lenin-Stalin* led them inexorably into the camp of counter-revolution. Just as the Social Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks joined hands with the whiteguards and the interventionist armies of the capitalist states during the civil war years, so the Trotskyists allied themselves with fascism. When they were no longer able to count on any kind of mass support in the Soviet

Union in their counter-revolutionary machinations, when the kulaks were defeated, and the masses of working people were won for Socialism, the Trotskyists finally went over to Hitler. They were incapable of admitting honestly and frankly that their position was wrong, their perspective false, that *Stalin* and the Party had proved to be correct, and that therefore they should rectify their mistakes and unreservedly co-operate in the building of Socialism. They preferred to unite with the most furious enemies of the U.S.S.R. to stake everything on war, on open counter-revolution.

It is no accident that the Trotskyists renewed their counter-revolutionary activity in 1931 and 1932, years when the struggle for the collectivisation of agriculture, and for the victory of socialism was tensest and at its height. In these years *Stalin*, with his unshakable faith in the masses, in the victory of Socialism, with his incomparable calm, energy and power of conviction fought and won the greatest battle since October.

During this battle all who had no faith in the masses, all sceptics, weaklings and opportunists again turned off the road and left what they believed to be a sinking ship, and attempted to save themselves by going over to the other camp. In these years Trotsky again drew to himself his old clique and wedded them to the "real forces" of the counter-revolution. They hoped to safeguard their future and to attain power so as to restore capitalism by betraying their class and country. Contemptible faint-hearts and cowards became contemptible and loathsome criminals.

Some enemies of the Soviets and of Socialism are now trying to convince the workers in the capitalist countries that the Trotskyists are real "revolutionists." Fine "revolutionists" are these Trotskyist conspirators! Throughout the course of the revolution and at every decisive moment they became terrified and uncertain, despairing of victory, and ready for "adaption" to capitalism. Every time *Lenin*,

*Stalin* and the Party carried through a bold turn, made a big step forward, these people cried: "This is impossible! We shall be wrecked! We must turn back, otherwise we are lost!" On every occasion when the exertion of all forces was required in order to overcome difficulties, they began to discuss, to oppose, to intrigue, to disintegrate the forces and to increase the difficulties. What sort of "revolutionists" are these who, when all their speculations on domestic difficulties failed, when Socialism became a finally established fact in industry and agriculture, when the working class and collective farm peasantry merged into a united socialist people, and when all hopes of finding any kind of social base within the Soviet Union itself for their counter-revolutionary efforts vanished—based themselves on a new difficulty, on the war being prepared by the fascists, linked themselves with the fascists, and placed themselves at their disposal to commit terrorist acts, espionage and wrecking work.

These "age-long revolutionists," as the "Voelkischer Beobachter," the chief organ of the German fascists, called Trotsky, are nothing other than cowards and opportunists, become base traitors and criminals.

When one looks back upon their road to treason, a road leading from a profound lack of faith in the masses, from a profound lack of understanding of the essence of the proletarian revolution, from opportunism and adventure into the camp of counter-revolution, the human pettiness of these inhuman murderers, spies and traitors becomes clear. But human pettiness and wretchedness are *not* mitigating circumstances. The working class must ruthlessly smash the murderous tools of the class enemy, must ruthlessly destroy the base wreckers, who began with doubting in the power of the working class and ended with espionage, subversive acts, and the murder of workers at the behest of fascism.

# THE PEOPLE AND THE FASCIST MILITARY CLIQUE IN JAPAN

By OKANO

FOR over five years, Fascism, headed by the Fascist militarists, has been fighting to set up its dictatorship and striving by means of deception and violence to win influence over wide masses of the people.

By means of plots, murders and menaces, the Fascist militarists have secured a predominating position in the government. By starting war against China the Japanese militarists acquired a most powerful weapon of military and chauvinist propaganda which was given still greater force by the comparatively easy seizure of Manchuria. Nobody but the Communist Party dared to resort to counter-propaganda, and few wanted to.

In home affairs as well Fascist propaganda has for long met with no serious opposition in the open arena of public opinion. When, for example, the militarists conducted a furious campaign against the official viewpoint, recognised for decades, that the Japanese Monarchy was a constitutional one (on Prussian lines), they met with no public resistance.

The campaign of the militarists was levelled against the Saito government, and those grouped around Saito, who thereupon were compelled to admit that their own views were seditious, while those of the militarists that the Monarchy stood above the Constitution, were the only lawful ones.

The campaign of the militarists levelled against liberalism of any kind whatsoever, was, it appeared, crowned with complete success. But by this time the military-chauvinist passion began to die down. Despite the demagogic promises of the militarists, the conditions of the broad masses continued to worsen. The working-class movement, after the period of decline, began once more to raise its head. The Osaka metal workers began a struggle for trade union unity, thereby introducing a stream of life into the whole of the working-class and peasant movement. Wide masses of the people became imbued with anti-Fascist sentiments, a fact which impelled even the leadership of the bourgeois "Minseito" party to put forward the slogan of "struggle against Fascism."

The parliamentary elections (February, 1936) summed up the results of the five years' struggle of the Fascists to win over the masses. Less than 2 per cent. of the electorate voted for the Fascist candidates, whereas victory was won at the elections by precisely those parties which had put forward anti-Fascist slogans. The workers' and peasants' organisa-

tions obtained two and a half times as many votes as at the previous elections.

The reply of the extreme elements among the Fascist militarists to the parliamentary elections, which showed that the masses of the people of Japan are against Fascism, against the military-Fascist dictatorship, was the February revolt. Like robbers and at dead of night, the rebels murdered leading members of the government and court circles, and under cover of machine-guns demanded the establishment of a military-Fascist dictatorship. The struggle between the extremist elements among the Fascist militarists, and the conservative groups of the ruling classes who were in favour of preserving the "status quo" reached its extreme limits. The army proved to be far from united, the fleet went against the rebels, and the rebellion was left isolated. This was due to a considerable degree to the fact that the masses of the people were hostile to Fascism and Fascist dictatorship.

The fear of popular unrest dominated the minds of the court circles when they demanded that the rebellion be put down. The rebellion was put down, but immediately afterwards the court circles, together with the leaders of the bourgeois parties, made new and big concessions to the militarists.

The masses of the people were not brought into motion either during the rebellion or after it. The military authorities maintained the martial law declared in February for four and a half months (until July 18), and so stifled all opposition. This in turn explains why, in spite of the rebellion being a failure, the militarists succeeded in still further strengthening the part they play in the government.

After the establishment of the Hirota Government, the Fascist militarists, with its aid, tried demagogically to secure control of the growing discontent among the masses, by coming forward in the guise of champions of "purging the army," "renovating the political system," and "stabilising the lives of the people." Widespread propaganda was developed around these slogans.

Then the Fascist militarists took the offensive anew, this time trying to achieve their aims not by means of rebellion, but through the government in which they play a dominating rôle. They concluded a military alliance with Fascist Germany, and elaborated their plan for a Fascist change in the State

system. The main essence of this plan was as follows:

1. Concentration of state power in the hands of five ministers, fundamentally in the hands of the Ministers of War and of Marine, and their closest supporters.

2. Parliament and political parties to be deprived of the right to influence the direction of state policy and the activities of the government.

3. Abolition of so-called universal suffrage, and the granting of this right to vote only to those heads of families who have served their term of military service and pay direct taxes.

4. Political parties to be deprived even of the formal right to set up a government or participate in it, and an insignificant position to be allocated to them in the political life of the country. This plan entirely coincides with the aims pursued by the Fascist rebels in February 1936.

In the programme pamphlet published by the War Ministry in October, 1936, the Fascist militarists openly demanded a "totalitarian defensive state" and "war economy."

In bringing forward this Fascist programme under the slogan of "renovating" the state system, the leaders of the Fascist militarists apparently reckoned upon finding some support among the masses. But they were mistaken. The moment the demands of the militarists were published, they met with such a widespread opposition that it can in all truth be called nation-wide.

All newspapers and all parties (with the exception, of course, of the Fascist groups) protested sharply against the demands of the militarists, while both big bourgeois parties, the Seiyukai and Minseito, took up a common stand on this question. Both parties, as well as almost the whole of the press, raised a campaign under the slogans of "Defend the Constitution," "Against the Fascist ideology of the militarists."

Mayeda (the leader of the Seiyukai, and Minister of Railways in the Hirota Government) declared: "I am prepared to sacrifice my life in the front ranks of those defending the Constitution," while Kato, the oldest leader of the Minseito, declared that he was "prepared to sacrifice the remaining days of his life in defence of parliamentarism."

However, the leaders of the bourgeois parties, who displayed such heroism in words, in actual practice adopted a conciliatory wait-and-see attitude. They demanded "explanations" from the War Minister and the Premier. In reply, Terauchi, the Minister of War, would have tried to limit himself to making a short declaration in which the fascist demands of the militarists were put forward in an extremely nebulous form. True, under the pressure of the Ministers belonging to the Minseito and Seiyukai parties, Terauchi added in his own name that "the army has no intention of restricting the rights of parliament," but this addendum of Terauchi was repudiated by the War Ministry as being incorrectly reproduced in the

press and as not corresponding to the "opinion of the army."

In spite of all this, the leaders of the Seiyukai and Minseito satisfied themselves with the "explanation" given by Terauchi and weakened their attacks against the Fascist militarists. But this conciliatory policy gave rise to deep dissatisfaction inside these parties as well, in particular among the so-called "group of young Deputies."

In the first days after the publication of the demands of the militarists (November 5, 1936), a meeting took place of the "young parliamentary Deputies" of the Minseito, called at the initiative of 22 members of the Minseito, who invited 72 members of Parliament. The following resolution was passed at this meeting:

"... 1. To raise the conduct of constitutional policy to a higher level, and resolutely to eradicate all Fascist ideas.

" 2. To offer determined opposition to all interference in politics by officers on the strength.

" 3. To raise the rôle of the political parties by the practical operation of the rights and functions of parliament"

The resolution adopted by the second meeting of this "group of young deputies" says:

"We can on no account be satisfied with Terauchi's explanation. . . . It is a great pity that the leaders of the party have accepted the position that the War Minister has sufficiently explained the question."

The newspapers further report that the meeting "proposed the following concrete methods of struggle":

" 1. To rouse party members throughout the country to the struggle, by the issue of manifestos.

" 2. To spur on the leadership to make no mistakes.

" 3. In so far as the given question concerns the fundamentals of constitutional rule, it is essential to organise the movement of the people; therefore, an appeal must be made to other groups to organise a common front." (Tokio "Ashahi," November 10, 1936.)

Within the Seiyukai also there are liberal-minded "young members." Thus, according to the "Japan Chronicle" of December 17: "The younger members of the Seiyukai, who are particularly bitter against the government, are even urging its speedy resignation as the only course open to it." (Retranslated.)

The numerical strength of the "young members" may be judged from the fact that at the parliamentary session in May, 1936, 150 Deputies abstained from voting on the reactionary legislation calling for "control of the press," while, as reporters in the Japanese press, they would have voted against had they not been tied by party discipline.

The Seiyukai and Minseito organisations in Osaka (the largest industrial centre in Japan) set up a bloc for joint struggle against the demands of the

militarists, putting forward in their joint declaration the demand for the restoration of the system of party governments in existence before the beginning of the war in Manchuria. The declaration says:

"If the parties close their eyes to the attacks of the militarists and bureaucracy, then they will more and more lose the confidence of the people, and in the end will bury themselves. The lives of the people are menaced because of the dictatorial tendencies in politics. A convenient moment presents itself to-day to cast aside the old enmities, and to unite forces in the attempt to restore constitutional rule. We have decided to take the first step in this direction and we have no doubt that our plan will spread throughout the whole of Japan. Once united, we shall fight to the end in defence of the principles of the parliamentary system."

It should be noted that this declaration by the Seiyukai and Minseito organisations in Osaka was dated November 19, i.e., already after the leaders of these parties had declared themselves satisfied with the "explanations" given by the Minister of War.

The movement of the "young members" in the bourgeois parties is a reflection of the state of mind of the broad masses of the people. For a long time there were not such mass meetings in Japan as those which took place in the last months of 1936. In the beginning of November the government prohibited open-air political meetings, demonstrations and mass petitions. The leaders of the bourgeois parties are afraid of a broad mass movement developing, and have avoided any appeal to the people. But wherever the Seiyukai and Minseito have carried through their traditional party meetings, these have been attended, not by hundreds as usually was the case, but by thousands of people, including non-members of these parties. At each of these meetings in Osaka 5-6,000 people attended, and in the provincial towns 5,000 attended in Sendai, 3,000 in Kumamoto, etc.

At these meetings resolutions were unanimously passed against the demands of the militarists and against the foreign policy of the government. Spurred on by the mood of the masses of the people, the democratic elements among the Seiyukai and Minseito parliamentary Deputies were somewhat more resolute in their opposition to the conciliatory tendencies of the leaders of these parties and began to act independently. On January 19, 1937, the eve of the opening of the Diet (Parliament), a number of prominent Seiyukai and Minseito members of parliament, without the consent of the leadership, called a joint meeting of Deputies of both parties. We have no exact information as to the decisions adopted at this meeting, but it is characteristic that it was precisely one of its initiators, Hamaga Kunimetsu, who made the sharpest speech against the militarists and the Hirota Government.

The leaders of the Seiyukai and Minseito did not want an outright conflict with the Hirota Govern-

ment and the militarists, but almost all the Deputies were against the Hirota Government. If some were inclined to support it, it was not out of confidence in it, but out of fear that a still worse Cabinet would take its place. The Hirota Government lost all authority in the country. Its foreign policy arrived at an impasse.

The aggressive policy of Japanese imperialism in China has called forth a nation-wide anti-Japanese movement in that enormous country. Menaced with complete enslavement, the four hundred millions of the great Chinese people are mustering their forces for a struggle against the Japanese aggressors. The work of unifying China is progressing, China's armed forces are gathering strength and its fighting power growing. Under pressure from the militarists, the Hirota Government has tried to negotiate with China in the old way, using the language of ultimatums; but its threats are all of no avail, leading merely to an increase in China's power of resistance against Japanese aggression.

The military alliance between Japan and Germany caused tremendous alarm in Japan. The masses of the people do not want war, particularly against the U.S.S.R. Consequently the militarists have been compelled to cover up their plans, and are trying to calm the people with stories about the Japano-German agreement not being a military alliance against the U.S.S.R.

Despite all the malicious anti-Soviet propaganda, there is a strong feeling of sympathy for the U.S.S.R. among the working people of Japan. Lies about the Soviet Union and slanders against it are powerless to conceal from the people the unalterable fact that the U.S.S.R. is fighting with all its might for universal peace. The whole of the Japanese press and even the militarists themselves recognise the exceptional and uninterrupted growth of the might of the Soviet Union, and for this reason the consciousness is spreading and growing that the attack on the U.S.S.R. being prepared by the Japanese militarists is an adventure which must end in unparalleled defeat.

According to the interpretation placed upon it by the militarists and the government, the Japano-German treaty provides an outlet from the isolation in foreign politics in which Japan finds itself to-day. But if it is an outlet, it is merely a leap "out of the frying-pan into the fire." By concluding this alliance with Germany for a joint attack on the U.S.S.R. the Japanese militarists have subscribed to the fact that Japanese imperialism is afraid now of measuring its strength single-handed with the U.S.S.R. And many bourgeois politicians understand that this agreement which binds Japan to the chariot of German Fascism still further worsens Japan's international position (not only its relations with the U.S.S.R., but also with

Great Britain and the U.S.A.) and still further darkens its prospects.

The Hirota Government, which under instructions from the militarists subordinated the whole of its policy to the speeding-up of preparations for a big war, conducted a domestic policy directly opposed to the wishes of the people, and arousing ever-growing dissatisfaction even among the bourgeoisie. Insisting upon a tremendous increase in war expenditure, the Hirota Government introduced a bill to increase taxation which aroused general dissatisfaction. The movement against increased taxes which took hold of wide sections of the population (including a tremendous number of small and middle traders and industrialists), was prohibited by the alarmed government. Instead of introducing the long-promised state reforms, Hirota gave his support to the Fascist demands of the militarists.

It is not surprising that the Hirota Government lost ground, and this made the Fascist militarists change their tactics. Instead of battling against Parliament under the flag of defending Hirota, they proceeded to demand the government's resignation, and once again set in motion their favourite method of struggle within the ruling clique behind the scenes, concealed from the people, in the attempt to obtain the formation of a government more capable of realising the military-fascist programme.

The Emperor first entrusted the formation of the government to General Ugaki, who, in spite of his reputation of being a reactionary, is not regarded as a supporter of the Fascist section of the militarists. The Fascist militarists thereupon declared a sort of "strike" against him, declaring openly that they would not put anybody forward for the post of War Minister in the Ugaki Government. Their pressure and threats were successful, and the formation of the government was entrusted to General Hayashi.

The Hayashi Government is at bottom the creature of the Fascist upper strata of the army, who have endorsed every candidate individually and the Cabinet as a whole. The Fascist militarists, encountering nation-wide opposition to their Fascist plans, have been compelled to set up a transitional Cabinet, in order to reach their goal—the establishment of an open military-Fascist dictatorship—step by step.

Although the resistance of the masses of the people to the plan of the Fascist militarists has been only passive until now, it has nevertheless made the rapid realisation of their plan difficult. The Fascist militarists are countering the passive resistance of the people by an active offensive, using threats in the name of the whole of the army. Yet the army is far from being united. The mass of the rank-and-file soldiers are more or less indifferent, but if anyone were to ask the opinion of the soldiers, the over-

whelming majority of them would undoubtedly refuse to support the struggle of the fascist militarists against the Constitution, and would support the democratic desires of the masses of the people. As for the officers, the majority of them support the Fascists. But even among the officers there are not a few who do not agree with the anti-constitutional and dictatorial proclivities of the Fascist army leaders, not to mention the fact that the leading rôle of the Fascists among the officers is very frequently maintained merely by force of authority and military discipline. The officers of the fleet in the majority still continue to waver between Fascism and support for the existing constitution.

In view of the fact that the representatives of the bourgeois parties, even the democrats, do not dare to introduce differences of opinion into the army, the Fascist militarists at the head of the armed forces of the country possess tremendous offensive power.

Giving way to the pressure exerted by this terrorising force, the democratic elements inside the bourgeois parties and outside them underestimate the strength and possibilities of democracy in Japan. The majority of the people, up to and including a considerable section of the bourgeoisie, are hostile towards Fascism.

The experience of the last few years is showing that though Fascism set into motion the most diverse means and engaged in a tremendous amount of agitation, it has been unable to win over the wide masses of the people. The events of recent times have still further weakened the positions held by the Fascists among the masses. Consequently, the Fascist militarists have once again set about, with all their energy, establishing their own mass organisations. To this end the Army Reserve League, which has three million members, has now been directly subordinated to the Ministry of War. General Tatekawa and Colonel Hasimoto, who were dismissed from the army for supporting the February Revolt, have begun to organise the "Isinto," a new Fascist party, and are trying, so far unsuccessfully, to unite all the civil Fascist organisations, whose forces are at present extremely scattered, under the flag of a "single national front." At the same time, the leaders of the army are trying to hasten on the establishment of a new reactionary party supporting the militarists, from among the Right elements of the Seiyukai and Minseitō.

Side by side with these attempts to gather together a mass Fascist camp, an anti-Fascist camp is also in the process of formation. The Fascist militarists have been unmasked as enemies of the constitution. Wide masses of people have discovered that the Fascist militarists are striving to deprive the people of the last remnants of their rights and liberties, and to set up a regime of complete despotism. The people re-

gard the new Hayashi Government as a government of the military clique, and the ever growing discontent of the masses of the people will now be directed against this government and against Fascist militarism.

The discontent of the people is becoming particularly strong to-day in connection with the rapid increase in the cost of living (during a fortnight of January, the general price index rose by 4.5 per cent., while the indices for certain articles of consumption increase by 20 per cent). Speculation, the increase in direct and indirect taxation, and the devaluation of the yen, which has already begun, are making inevitable a further increase in the cost of living.

The position of the workers, particularly with this high cost of living, is becoming intolerable. In order to understand the extent to which the exploitation of the workers has increased, and how much the increase in the cost of living affects them, it will be enough to glance at the following table (and it should be remembered that the increase in the productivity of labour is a result of its intensification, which saps the strength of the workers):

	1931	1936
Productivity of Labour.. .. .	102	160
Wages .. .. .	91.1	80.6
Prices of Commodities.. .. .	114	148

The new Hayashi Government has made a 30 per cent. increase in war expenditure which will cause increased economic difficulties and possibly a dislocation of the national economy. The government is nourishing the illusion that, as has been the case during the last few years, the increase in armaments will foster a growth in the whole of Japanese industry. But facts show that during 1936 there was a sharp decline in the production of a number of goods intended for mass consumption. During the period from January to September, 1936, as compared with the corresponding period for 1935, the production of cotton textiles decreased by 16 per cent., of raw silk by 16 per cent., of silk goods by 20 per cent., woollen goods by 13.5 per cent., wheat flour by 14 per cent., and so on.

The sale and consumption of goods from all of the most important branches of industry not working for purposes of war decreased during the same period by 17 per cent. The trade balance deficit increased from 14 million yen in 1935 to 131 million yen in 1936. All this is not of an accidental character. The adverse side of the war market situation is beginning to make itself felt.

Class contradictions in the country will intensify, the living conditions of the working people will become worse, economic difficulties will grow deeper, and the danger of the menacing war will increase.

All this cannot fail to increase and rouse to action the anti-Fascist tendencies of the working people, their struggle for their vital interests. The rise in the economic struggle of the workers which has begun is showing that the proletariat are becoming more militant.

In these circumstances, decisive importance is assumed by the question as to whether the working-class organisations, the trade unions and the *Shakai Taishuto* will take the road of determined and mass struggle against Fascism, for the vital interests of the workers and peasants, for freedom and democracy, and for the preservation of peace. The most important task facing the Communist Party of Japan to-day is to assist in bringing this about.

Inside the working-class organisations and in the peasant league, the demand is increasing for an *active* struggle against Fascism. Not so long ago the leadership of the *Shakai Taishuto*, the workers' and peasants' party, was dominated by people who flirted with the militarists. But of late the leadership of this party is also opposing the Fascist militarists. Some of the trade union leaders, who to a greater extent feel the influence of the moods of the masses, are themselves demanding that an active struggle be organised against the Fascist militarists. Thus, for example, Nisio, one of the most prominent trade union leaders and a member of the Central Committee of the *Shakai Taishuto*, in a speech at one of the sessions of the E.C. of the Trade Union Congress, made the following declaration:

"We must not only protest and say that the militarists are bad, but must take direct action. The Trade Union Congress, on its part, and the *Shakai Taishuto*, as a party, must boldly lead the political struggle, not giving way even before the danger of the *Shakai Taishuto* being crushed in the process of this active struggle."

A mass struggle in a united front with all the democratic forces of the people must also be conducted against the danger of the working-class organisations being crushed. Any further attack by the militarists against the last remnants of parliamentarism will undoubtedly lead to a movement to the left of the democratic section of the bourgeois parties, will multiply its ranks and urge it on to closer relations with the workers' and peasants' organisations. But it must never be forgotten that the political activity of the bourgeois democratic groups is essentially dependent upon the activity and initiative displayed by the workers' organisations themselves, which always play the leading rôle in all big people's movements of revolutionary importance.

The democratic elements inside the bourgeois parties and the workers' and peasants' organisations have in fact already adopted a united attitude in defence of parliamentarism. But the attack of

Fascism can only be frustrated when the working-class organisations succeed in bringing both the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democratic forces into a united anti-Fascist front, in winning them to the organisation of a powerful anti-Fascist popular movement.

Then will the anti-Fascists be able not only to defend the civil rights incised in the present meagre constitution, but also to lead the masses of the people further—to the struggle for freedom, for a democratic Japan, for a happy future for the Japanese people.

# THE POPULAR MOVEMENT IN INDO-CHINA

By J. LUN

FOR three-quarters of a century Indo-China (Cochin China, Tonkin, Annam, Cambodia and Laos) has been a French colony.

As a result of the economic crisis, which has lasted over six years, famine and destitution have increased, and the peasants and petty bourgeoisie have been brought to ruin—all to enrich the Bank of Indo-China, which has amassed profits amounting to tens of millions of piastres\* during these years. Even the national bourgeoisie have protested vehemently against this seizure of the country's wealth by a clique of financiers.

In face of this increasingly complicated situation the Indo-Chinese people instinctively began to feel the necessity of uniting to defend their right to existence. The first indication of this desire for a united struggle was the election, in May, 1935, of four candidates belonging to the workers' and peasants' panel to the Municipal Council of Saigon—an unprecedented occurrence in Indo-China.

"After the great drought, the gentle rain"—says an Annamite proverb. The Indo-Chinese people regard the victory of the People's Front in France as the gentle rain destined to ease their sufferings after a long period of oppression.

Is not the People's Front in France fighting against high finance, against reaction and Fascism? Is it not fighting for bread, peace and liberty? And have the Indo-Chinese people not fought, are they not still fighting against the same enemies, and for the same ends? And are they not justified in regarding the victory of the French people to a certain extent as being their own?

The victory of the People's Front in France has already produced some fruits in Indo-China. The infamous Governor, Robin, whose hands are red with the blood of innocent natives, has been removed from office. A number of political prisoners have been amnestied. A Commission of Inquiry has been appointed (M. Justin Godard's Mission of Inspection), a promise has been made to introduce the

eight-hour day in 1938, etc. . . . But the main point is that the French people, by rising to the struggle, have thereby encouraged the Indo-Chinese people to do likewise.

## THE PEOPLE'S FRONT MOVEMENT IN INDO-CHINA

The words "mat tran binh dan" (People's Front) have become very popular in Indo-China.

With the exception of the French colonial administration and its instrument, the feudal bureaucracy, the whole of the Indo-Chinese people, including French democratic elements in Indo-China, are in favour of the People's Front.

The People's Front movement in Indo-China is of a specific character, its first objective being to muster forces for the organisation of the reception of the Commission of Inquiry appointed by the government, and to draw up a list of demands to be presented to this Commission on its arrival in the near future.

In Saigon, the principal town of Indo-China, four of the six Native Councillors elected to the Municipal Council in May, 1935, are workers' representatives who publish a paper, "La Lutte" ("The Struggle"). This is a very important fact, for it means that the People's Front movement will, as a result, have a legal basis enabling it to develop with comparatively greater ease there than in other parts of the country.

Since July, 1936, the activity of the masses has begun to increase. On August 13 a meeting organised in Saigon was attended by a thousand people. This is the first time a meeting of a political character was organised legally and was so largely attended by all sections of the population. A committee of 18 members was elected which included three workers' representatives, three peasants' representatives and two women's representatives, and was given the task of organising a Pan-Indo-Chinese Congress.

After this mass meeting scores of other meetings were held and hundreds of Committees of Action were formed in the towns and villages of Indo-China.

\* One piastre = Two shillings and sixpence.

The people displayed great enthusiasm. Everything passed off quietly, in an orderly and legal fashion.

In the Annam "Empire," under the pressure of public opinion, the Chamber of People's Representatives organised a Provisional Committee in the beginning of September to draw up a statement of demands and to call general meetings.

We shall see later that repression was used to prevent the calling of other meetings. Finding it impossible to hold meetings, the civil servants, employees, intellectuals, workers, peasants, and women of Annam are sending their demands in writing to the press and to the Chamber of "People's Representatives."

On September 20 a large meeting was held in Hue, the capital of Annam, attended by over 1,000 people representing different organisations. Here again this was the first time such a meeting had ever been held. A Provisional Committee of 26 members (including three women) was elected, and ten commissions set up—political, economic, social, workers', peasants', etc. . . .

In Tonkin things have developed in practically the same way as in Annam with not only the working people taking part in the movement but also the native bourgeoisie. As an example, in Cochin China a big property-owner placed her house at the disposal of the local Committee of Action for the purpose of holding meetings. Seeing that the meetings were likely to be crowded, she had the inner walls broken down so as to convert the house into a regular meeting hall.

The first demands of a people numbering 23 millions, deprived of all rights and liberties, are naturally those of ordinary democratic rights, such as:

Equality of rights and obligations for Frenchmen and natives.

Universal suffrage and the right to take part in the political life of the country.

Freedom of the press, speech, movement and organisation.

Compulsory and free education, and more schools.

Reduction of taxes, prohibition of usury, abolition of unpaid feudal labour.

For workers: Social insurance, freedom to organise, the eight-hour day, men and women to receive equal pay for equal work, protection of child labour.

For women: Prohibition of recruitment of women coolies for plantations outside the country; abolition of polygamy; the right to education and work.

Full and complete amnesty for all political prisoners, the abolition of the system of administrative surveillance over political prisoners.

Abolition of the salt tax and the alcohol and opium monopoly.

## THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE PEOPLE'S FRONT

The demands of the people? But have not the French Parliament and the whole French nation been assured by the venal press, by speeches and other methods of propaganda, that everything in the garden is lovely in Indo-China? Has it not been repeated again and again that the Indo-Chinese people are the best governed and happiest of peoples? People's Front? Do these slaves presume to unite with the French people in the struggle against oppression and reaction? What unheard-of insolence! This is how the colonial administration reasons, with its servile instrument, the feudal bureaucracy, following suit.

No sooner had the People's Front movement started than the colonial administration and the feudal bureaucracy joined forces, and ever since have done everything in their power to crush the movement.

In the provinces, agents of the administration go from district to district warning the people that it is strictly forbidden to discuss the question of the Pan-Indo-Chinese Congress, or to have anything to do with the Commission of Inquiry when it arrives.

The verbal ban was followed by written prohibition, of which the following is an example:

*Circular from the Prefect of Sontinh (Quang-ngai).  
Sontinh, August 27, 1936.*

The Prefect of Sontinh to all Chiefs and Assistant Chiefs of Cantons.

By order No. 183, leaflets concerning the Indo-Chinese Congress being distributed on Annam territory, are regarded as an infringement of Articles 130 and 136 of the penal code of the Annam Empire, and are to be seized, individuals distributing same to be arrested, and handed over to the authorities. Persons receiving or finding such leaflets and failing to hand them over to the authorities are likewise to be arrested. . . . Let the population beware of listening to people who, on the pretext of demanding certain things in the name of the people, organise illegal meetings and urge the masses to demonstrations of violence.

In certain provinces the authorities place military patrols in the villages to stop and search people passing through.

The Governor of Cochin China orders meetings to be dispersed and the organisers to be arrested. The higher residents in Annam, Tonkin, Cambodia, etc., do the same. The governors and residents send alarming reports to France, representing the whole of Indo-China as in revolt, and resort to the basest calumny and provocation in order to justify the numerous arrests and unjustified sentences. Here are a few examples:

In October the authorities in Quang-ngai secretly hoisted a red flag with the inscription: "The Communist Association of the Five Parts of the Globe"

(sic) in order to implicate the supporters of the People's Front.

On August 26 a representative of the Administration of Cochin China circulated the following instructions:

"... you are to arrest any persons caught in the act of distributing the said leaflets (leaflets inviting the people to organise delegations to meet the Commission of Inquiry) and bring them under escort to the administrative centre. In drawing up the charge you will state that the arrested persons belong to a secret society, so that I may be able to remand them for trial."

In spite of, or perhaps because of these intrigues, the idea of the "mat tran binh dan" (People's Front) has spread widely and taken deep root among the native masses. From now on no power will be able to destroy the confidence and hope the Indo-Chinese people have in this movement.

### THE INDO-CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE PEOPLE'S FRONT

After the mass movement of 1930-31 the White terror increased with incredible savagery. Sixteen thousand political prisoners were sent to convict settlements and islands. The ranks of our young Party were decimated and it took four years to restore its forces. In March, 1935, it succeeded in holding its first Congress—a big step forward from the point of view of organisation. But its sectarian policy kept the Party aloof from the masses. The people readily admitted that the Communists were fine courageous people, but we were unable to win over the masses and draw them into the struggle for their most elementary demands.

The Seventh Congress of the Comintern opened up new perspectives before our Party, indicating new ways of approaching the masses. However, our comrades took a considerable time to digest the decisions of the Seventh Congress. Right up to May, 1936, the Indo-Chinese Communists were still demanding of other groups and parties, as a condition for the formation of the People's Front, the struggle for the immediate overthrow of imperialism, for the agrarian revolution, etc. The Communists appealed only to groups and parties long known as anti-imperialist, forgetting that the People's Front should unite all the people, that the people have immediate demands common to all parties.

Last July was a historic date for the Communist Party. The Party leadership sent our directives correcting sectarian mistakes and explaining the political line of the Comintern. At the same time the leadership sent a letter to the other groups and parties, inviting them to join in a People's Front and raising simple concrete demands acceptable to all. Experience shows that the demands formulated by the Party were understood by the masses, who saw in them their own

immediate demands. As a result the influence of the Party has increased greatly, especially in Cochin China, where the workers and peasants regard the Communists as their guides and friends in the struggle they are waging.

This still does not mean that sectarianism is completely eliminated. No. Our Indo-Chinese brothers have not yet been able to profit by the experience of our brother Parties, especially the Communist Party of France, China and Spain. For example, while seeking to establish a common front with the national reformists of the "Constitutional Party" (Cochin China), the Communists keep making sharp attacks on them in the press instead of criticising them in a businesslike manner, and trying to convince them by reasonable arguments. Yet these national reformists put forward demands such as democratic liberties, equal rights for the French and natives, etc., which could form the basis of an agreement. But the Indo-Chinese comrades have not been able to do this. Our attacks often play into the hands of the colonial administration, which wants nothing other than to divide our forces by repression, promises and intrigues.

Another weakness is that our comrades have been unable to formulate simple, concrete, clear slogans that everyone can understand—(such as the slogans: "Against Japanese imperialism for the salvation of the fatherland" in China; "Against Fascism" in Spain; "For bread, peace and freedom" in France)—slogans expressing the will of the whole mass of the people, drawing them into the People's Front movement, and serving as their battle-cry.

Undoubtedly the experience of the day-to-day struggle will make our comrades realise what they have not yet succeeded in grasping up till now. With their courage, enthusiasm and Bolshevik devotion they will know how to penetrate among the masses win them over, and broaden and strengthen the People's Front movement.

### THE WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT

According as the influence of the People's Front grows, so is the working-class movement developing. Never before did the struggle of the working class assume such proportions.

Between August 15 and December 30, 1936, there were 66 strikes: 52 in Cochin China, 18 in Tonkin, five in Annam, and one in Cambodia, the most important being those which took place in the arsenal in Saigon (1,150 men), the railwaymen's strike in Cochin China (1,400 men), and the strike in the Tonkin mines (involving about 20,000 men).

These strikes are marked by features extremely characteristic and new in the working-class movement in Indo-China:

*Organisation.* All the strikes, big and small, were well organised. They had their centralised leadership, their strike committees, their pickets, etc. Apart from a few unemployed French recruited by the employers (in the railwaymen's strike, for instance), there were no native strike-breakers.

*Cohesion.* The workers quit and resumed work as one man. Even in the big enterprises like the Saigon arsenal and the Tonkin mines there was absolute discipline.

*Conciseness of demands.* Formerly the workers were in the habit of formulating a large number of demands, with the result that the fight was not centred around the essential demands. To-day it is different. Apart from two or three local demands (dismissal of overbearing foremen, improvement in food, etc.) the strikers in every case put forward two main demands, namely, increase in wages and reduction of working hours.

*Solidarity.* In several cases the strike was declared solely in support of workers on strike in neighbouring enterprises.

*Transition to legality.* The strikers sent their delegates to confer with the employers, as equal to equal. This is the first time that the employers "deigned" to recognise the representatives of the workers and to grant them an interview. Previously the police had the first word, and if a worker dared to appear as a delegate from the strikers he was immediately arrested as a "ringleader."

*International character.* Not only the native workers, but also the Chinese workers of Cambodia and Tonkin, as well as the French sailors from two ships, joined the movement.

The strike movement has enabled the Indo-Chinese workers to realise their strength. Thanks to the unity and strength of the movement, nearly all the strikes ended in victory for the workers. Thus, for example, after a 15 days' strike, the workers in the Saigon arsenal got a wage increase of 10 per cent., while 15 workers previously dismissed were reinstated. After a week's strike the Campha miners got a wage increase of about 25 per cent., a reduction in working hours, etc. Some employers proposed wage increases themselves without waiting for a strike to be called.

In order to avoid the spread of the strike movement the Governor-General of Cochin China sent out a circular in the middle of December ordering administrators to increase the wages of employees earning less than 50 cents a day by 20 per cent., and of those earning from 50 cents to 1 piastre by 16 per cent., and to operate the weekly holiday.

The workers did not make the right to join trade unions one of the demands of the strikes, and therein lies the weakness of the movement.

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The influence of the People's Front and the united trade union movement in France is having definite repercussion on the People's Front movement and the working-class movement in Indo-China. These movements in France and in Indo-China are thus closely linked together. It is therefore very necessary and urgent that the People's Front and General Confederation of Labour of the metropolis should hold out a fraternal hand to the people of Indo-China and help them to win first and foremost the elementary right of liberty of organisation.

## THE SWISS "DIRECTIVE MOVEMENT"

By K. MAYER

SWITZERLAND presents an instructive example of the fact that the road to the United and People's Front is no easy one, and not always a straight one, and that it must often be traversed in the most complicated circumstances.

The lessons of the fatal policy of reformism in Germany and Austria are so drastically convincing that no honest Social Democrat can gainsay the merits of the People's Front in France and Spain in having beaten back Fascism. Yet the Right-wing Social Democratic leaders in other countries such as England, Czechoslovakia, the Scandinavian countries, Switzerland and Poland are the most bitter opponents of the policy of the united front and People's Front, and remain firm supporters of collaboration with the bourgeoisie, of the so-called "half-way" policy.

Swiss Social Democracy and above all the Trade Union Confederation have during the last few months taken this course with especial obduracy in spite of the favourable situation for establishing a broad, democratic movement of the people against reaction and Fascism, and despite the growing urge for unity amongst the masses of Social Democratic workers.

The devaluation of the franc and its serious consequences for the working people and petty bourgeoisie, the attacks upon the democratic rights of the people, the threatening danger of Fascist aggression, especially from Hitler Fascism, are strengthening the will of the people to resist reaction and the Government. In the recent period, a crisis has even arisen within the reactionary government coalition, as a result of which prospects open up of

changes in the Government. It was in this situation that the Trade Union Confederation succeeded last autumn in mustering a number of economic and political organisations around a common platform. On the initiative of the Trade Union Confederation the so-called "Directive Movement" (Richtlinien-Bewegung) was formed, to which the Clerks' Union, the Union of Evangelical (Protestant) Workers, and the Peasant Youth Movement affiliated.

The "directives regarding economic restoration and the defence of democracy" are in two parts; namely, the four political principles which constitute the pre-conditions for collaboration, and an economic and socio-political programme of demands. The four principles are as follows:

1. The unreserved recognition of democracy; rejection of all connections or collaboration with any anti-democratic organisations or movements whatsoever.
2. A positive attitude towards the military, economic and ideological defence of the country.
3. Respect for religious convictions.
4. The obligation to aid in economic restoration and in bringing about a solution of social problems, on the basis of a joint programme.

The programme of demands contains the following postulates: "In the appointment of governing authorities, consideration is to be taken of the interests of all important sections of the people. The democratic right of the people to have a voice in the administration of the country is to be maintained and operated." The demands raised are as follows: The creation of possibilities for receiving work and of suitable living conditions; the gradual raising of wages and prices; the adoption of a cartel and trust law to protect artisans and small traders; assistance to those agriculturists who are encumbered with debts in the payment of interest and in paying off their debts; just distribution of the public burdens; the guarantee of adequate unemployment insurance; the shortening of the working day; the extension of social insurance to cover old-age pensions and orphans' benefits, etc.

During the last few months the "Directive Movement" has come to occupy a central place in the political discussions in the country. In addition to the four organisations initiating the movement, the following have since joined: The Social Democratic Party, the Free Economic Movement (die Freiwirtschaftsbewegung), the Democratic Party of the Cantons of Zürich, St. Gallen and Graubünden, the Young Liberal Movement, as well as those circles in the Free-Thinkers' Party grouped around the Basle "Nationalzeitung."

The Free-Thinkers' Party is for the time being making its influence felt through individual persons working in the Executive Committee of the "Directive Movement," demanding, in particular, a still sharper differentiation from the Left. The main opposition to the "Directive Movement" is coming from the

Catholic Conservative Party, which, together with the open Fascist groups, is trying to counter it by another movement called "National Collaboration" (Nationale Arbeitsgemeinschaft).

The Communist Party of Switzerland has declared its readiness to co-operate with the "Directive Movement," considering from the very outset that this movement despite its many defects and even ambiguities, was the *first* step towards rallying the democratic forces of the country to resist reaction. The Committee of the "Directive Movement," however, headed by the reformist leaders of the Trade Union Confederation, rejected all collaboration with the Communist Party on the basis of point one of the "principles" of the movement, and declared its affiliation to the "Directive Movement" to be "impossible."

Thus the Communist Party was branded as anti-democratic, although everybody knows that it is most consistent in defending the democratic rights of the people against the encroachments of reaction. It is precisely because the Communist Party of Switzerland leads the struggle in defence of democracy and the Swiss constitution against attempts to introduce Fascism, thus being of the best assistance to the working people in the struggle for their material interests, that the reactionaries and the Government are trying to crush it. So that in attempting to bar the Communists from the "Directive Movement" the reformists are not only grossly violating the programme of the movement, but are in fact carrying on a struggle against that component part of Swiss Democracy represented by the Communist Party.

It is clear that the "arguments" advanced against the Communists by the reformist leaders will only be used as a subterfuge whereby to steer the "Directive Movement" unhindered, into class collaboration with the bourgeoisie. The decisive capitalist circles of the Free-Thinkers' Party have seized on the challenge thrown to the Communist Party to demand the expulsion from the "Movement" even of the Left Social Democrats (Nicole) and, above all, a break of all connections between the Left Social Democrats and the Communists. In line with this, the Swiss Social Democratic Party, in its resolution regarding affiliation to the "Directive Movement," adopted at its Extraordinary Congress at the end of January, included a special "obligatory decision" for the rejection of "all connections and collaborations with movements and organisations, which do not stand for democracy." This "obligatory decision" which is directed against united action, is binding on all cantonal and local Social Democratic organisations.

For several months now, every proposal made by the Communist Party regarding joint action in support of Spain, and against violations of the Constitution by the Federal Government has been

rejected by the Social Democratic Party. At the price of rejecting the united front and a broad democratic People's Front movement, the reformists want to prove to the reactionary bourgeoisie how suitable they are to participate in a coalition. For months a violent struggle has been going on within the Social Democratic organisations against members of the Social Democratic Party and trade unions, who are demanding collaboration with the Communist Party. A decisive rôle in this struggle is being played by the leaders of the Trade Union Confederation, who have placed their own leading functionaries in the editorial offices of almost all of the Social-Democratic papers. Since Geneva is now the only important city where unity of action exists on a firm basis between the Communists and Socialists open threats are being made against the Socialists of Geneva so as to break up the united front there as well.

Despite these obstacles the Communist Party of Switzerland will not relax its struggle to establish the united and People's Front. It will devote the greatest attention to the "Movement" around which the majority of the working people are already united. The Communist Party of Switzerland will take part in this movement and will support all efforts directed towards winning either in whole or in part, the demands contained in the programme of the Movement. It will support, first and foremost, every struggle for wage increases, against the high cost of living, and in defence of democratic rights.

At the same time the Swiss Communists will support efforts aimed at the formation of a new government to carry on a struggle against reaction and Fascism. But they will oppose tendencies aimed at steering the "Movement" into reactionary channels and at turning it into an anti-Communist movement. As heretofore they will strive to secure admittance to the committees of the Movement, in the closest connection with mass action in defence of the daily bread and democratic rights of the working people. The Communists will prove themselves the most active trade union members.

The Communist Party of Switzerland has grown in the last period. It is no longer a Party covering a few cantons, but one covering the whole country. Engaged in the struggle to establish the United and People's Front in Switzerland there are, together with the Communist Party, many Social Democratic workers, trade union members, as well as Left intellectuals, who will have no truck with the "half-way" policy, i.e., with that of everlasting retreat before reaction, and who are enthusiastically solid with the heroically battling people of Spain.

If all these forces unite their activities and take a most active part in the "Directive Movement," then it can develop into a broad democratic people's movement, and lay the basis for the People's Front in Switzerland.

## SPAIN

# SOME LESSONS ON THE FALL OF MALAGA

By J. LEJUNE

THE fall of Malaga was, undoubtedly, a heavy blow for the Spanish people engaged in the struggle for their freedom. However, the lessons that arise from this loss will assist in overcoming the still existing weaknesses and defects in the organisation of the heroic struggle of the Spanish people, will assist in increasing the forces of the front of freedom, and in assuring final victory. The lessons of Malaga will also arouse the friends of the Spanish people throughout the world to carry on the struggle against the Fascist intervention in Spain with redoubled energy, and to put an end to the comedy played by the governments with their false "policy of non-intervention."

The struggle around Malaga and the capture of this city by the Fascists provided irrefutable proof to the whole world that the war in Spain is one of real *Fascist intervention*.

The position of Malaga had already been extraordinarily difficult for several months, the rebel navy, actively supported by the Italian and German fleets, having succeeded in completely cutting off the city from the sea. Malaga was starving, and the troops defending it were suffering from lack of ammunition and arms. Nevertheless, the offensive undertaken by Queipo de Llano in January resulted in no more than certain initial successes, which were of strategic significance for only the northern part of the city.

Then in the beginning of February the Reuter Press Agency reported the landing of 6,000 Italian troops and, several days later, the landing of 10,000 more troops, fully armed with the most up-to-date war equipment.

Twenty thousand Italians, several thousand Germans and Moroccans, supported by the rebel navy, hurled themselves at the defenders of Malaga, who

were in want of everything. Unable to withstand the onslaught of the interventionists, the Republican troops retreated, and on February 9 Malaga fell.

The fall of Malaga was celebrated as much in Rome and Berlin as in Burgos and Seville. The Italian press, on the day after Malaga was taken, wrote that Italian soldiers had added new laurels to the wreath of "glorious" deeds done in Abyssinia—the capture of Malaga being the achievement of their daring and valour.

The view of the "Manchester Guardian" was that the victory in Malaga was primarily an Italian victory and that even the staff work was performed by Italian officers.

General Franco sent a telegram to Mussolini in which he expressed his gratitude "for the unanimous help given by the Italians."

After the capture of the city the Italians landed more troops, and the "clean-up," the shooting of a thousand anti-Fascists, including the Mayor of Malaga, and leading trade unionists, mass arrests, etc., were carried out under Italian command. The Italians are now conducting themselves in Malaga as conquerors, just as they have been doing in Abyssinia and the Balearic Islands, and as the Germans in Morocco.

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What lessons do the heroic Spanish people draw from the fall of Malaga? There was a period of comparative quiet on the Malaga front between October last and the middle of January, a period sufficient for the building of the necessary fortifications and for the reorganisation of the defending troops. This was not done. And so, when the enemy troops took the offensive from all sides, the defenders on the Malaga front were still the old militia who had held back the first assault, but who could not withstand a combined land and sea attack supported by a big number of heavy artillery and more than 100 tanks. The fall of Malaga showed that the fact that what was going on in Spain was *intervention*, with the enemy hurling into battle well-trained and splendidly-equipped troops, had not been fully appreciated. Only in this way can one explain why such hesitation was displayed and so much time lost in establishing a unified and strong high command, in reorganising the militia into a people's army, in mobilising the necessary forces and reserves, and in organising the war industry and fortification works, and in strengthening discipline and order in the rear.

The tragic fall of Malaga, the circumstances under which it took place, and the pressure at the same time of Franco on the left flank of Madrid undoubtedly shook up the Republican forces. On the day after the fall of Malaga, Del Vayo, Foreign Minister and General Military Commissar, addressed a message to all commissars, in which he called for a

thorough recognition of the real state of affairs and demanded the concentration of all forces for the winning of the war. This task, he urged, must be placed above the interests of the individual parties or trade unions.

"We know," stated the message, "to what extent the introduction in the last few days of thousands and thousands of Germans and Italians contributed to the fall of Malaga. But there are other undeniable factors which must be examined and tested in the most responsible manner, and which, likewise, contributed to the fall of Malaga."

The Communist Party of Spain, which has been carrying on a tireless struggle for the transformation of the militia into a regular people's army, for a unified command, and for the organisation of the rear, declared:

"The volunteer militia units must be reorganised as regular troops. We can no longer vacillate, we cannot permit the enemy to continue any further to infect the most important centres of our organism with its deadly poison.

"We must have no mercy towards traitors and spies. The key positions must be occupied by people who are devoted and loyal to the cause of the people, even if they are not military men, so that, in the closest co-operation with the military command, they may be in a position to assure the political and military leadership of the struggle."

At a Communist meeting held in Valencia on February 20, Dolores Ibarruri stated:

"The fall of Malaga shook up somewhat the rural quiet of the rear, and has shown the necessity for making some changes in the structure of our forces . . . We cannot even think of the formation of brigades and divisions, of sending people to the front, if we do not beforehand clean up the rear . . . Everybody must build roads for our military transport, as well as shelters and fortifications. 'He who does not work, neither shall he eat.'

"A thorough purge of incapable elements, saboteurs, and traitors must be carried through in the army." \*

Up to the fall of Malaga, Catalonia was far from having done all that was necessary for victory, taking into consideration its population and the high development of its industry and agriculture. The serious situation brought about by the capture of Malaga, and the advance of the rebels on the Madrid front, shook up the population of Catalonia. By February 10 the Catalonian Government had unanimously decided to operate the decree providing for the mobilisation of the 1934 and 1935 classes of recruits, and the inclusion of them and the people's militia in the regular army, under a unified command. The unified command is to act in agreement with the central general staff of the Spanish Republic, and in accordance with the regulations to be published in the near future. The government, at the same time, decided to undertake fortification works on an extensive scale, immediately to establish a Supreme Council of Defence and an Extraordinary Commis-

sion, composed of the Ministers of Food Supplies, Agriculture and People's Economy, to take measures against the rise in prices.

The central Spanish Government adopted similar decisions several days later, namely, to mobilise several classes of recruits, to subordinate the existing separate detachments of the various parties and trade unions to the command and discipline of the people's army, to check-up on the commanding military personnel, and to organise the war industry.

Critical weeks face the defenders until all of these measures are fully carried into effect. The German and Italian Fascists have increased their intervention

in face of the operation of the agreement forbidding the sending of volunteers to Spain, which they will violate in every way. A great exertion of strength is required for the organisation of resistance to Fascism and to crush it.

The newly-awakened enthusiasm of the Spanish people and its heroic people's army, the surmounting of differences within the ranks of the people's front, and the struggle to establish discipline at the front and in the rear—all this creates favourable prerequisites for overcoming the difficulties and for achieving decisive victory over the rebels and the intervention.

## THE PLENUM OF THE UNITED SOCIALIST PARTY OF CATALONIA

**T**WO weeks after the military Fascist revolt in Spain, the four proletarian parties of Catalonia, namely, the Socialist League, the Catalonian Proletarian Party, the Communist Party, and the Catalonian Federation of the Socialist Party of Spain, merged into the United Socialist Party of Catalonia. As far back as June, 1936, Comrade Comorera, then leader of the Socialist League of Catalonia, declared at the Madrid conference of the Spanish Communist Party that:

"The four parties . . . are in very close contact, and I can assure you that in a month's time these four parties will merge into one, on the basis of the Statutes of the Third International. . . . We hope that our example will be followed not only in Spain but throughout the rest of the world."

In the short period of its existence, the United Socialist Party has achieved tremendous successes. Although its membership was weak at the time of fusion, it has subsequently become one of the most influential parties in Catalonia, with a membership of over 42,000. This Party has a decisive influence in the leadership of the biggest trade union organisation in Catalonia, the General Workers' Union (U.G.T.) which now numbers nearly 500,000 members, as compared with 70,000 at the outbreak of the Fascist revolt. The Party takes a most active part in the whole life of the country, and four members of the United Socialist Party represent the U.G.T. in the Government of Catalonia.

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The first enlarged Plenum of the United Socialist Party of Catalonia was held in Barcelona in the barracks of the Karl Marx division on January 30 and 31, and February 1, 1937.

This Plenum, which was called at a critical period

in the history of the country, when the forces of Fascism were making a furious onslaught on Madrid and Malaga, summed up the results of the six months' work of the Party, and mapped out a programme, which, if realised, would ensure victory over Fascism and the building of a new, free, happy, and powerful Catalonia and Spain. 225 delegates from town, village, and military Party organisations, were present at the Plenum, as well as the representatives of the Communist Party of Spain, Comrades Diaz and Pasionaria, and Comrade Thorez, the General Secretary of the French Communist Party. Numbers of workers' delegates from the most important enterprises in Barcelona—the "Vulcan" works, "General Motors," "Hispano-Suiza," etc.—were also present. The hall where the sessions were held was decorated with posters bearing the slogans: "Let us create a powerful war industry," "Strengthen anti-Fascist unity and put an end to the irresponsible groups sabotaging the struggle against Fascism!" "Long live the unity of the whole people for the defeat of Fascism and the liberation of the country from foreign intervention."

The Plenum heard the report of the Chairman of the United Socialist Party of Catalonia, Comrade Comorera, and a report on the situation on the Aragon front, given by Comrade Del Barrio, Chairman of the delegation from the front.

Comrade Comorera dwelt first and foremost on the nature of the events taking place in Spain, pointing out that the present war was a special type of war, one such as Spain has not previously known. This Fascist revolt, hatched by Rome and Berlin, was the first attempt of international Fascism to realise its plans of expansion, the prologue to a new world war.

Comrade Comorera dwelt particularly on the con-

ditions by which a victory over Fascism could be ensured. These conditions are: working class unity, unity between the U.G.T. (General Workers' Union) and the C.N.T. (National Confederation of Labour), unity between the F.A.I. (Federation of Anarchists of Iberia) and the United Socialist Party of Catalonia. In addition, the whole people must unite in the struggle against Fascism, and the peoples of Spain and Catalonia must stand together in this fight. Comrade Comorera exposed counter-revolutionary Trotskyism for what it is—the direct agent of international Fascism. The Trotskyist attacks on the Communist International, the slanderous campaign of the Trotskyists against the Soviet Union, the “criticism” they make of the Central and Catalonian Governments, the attempts to set the Anarchist workers against the Socialist and Communist workers with the aim of preventing the U.G.T. and C.N.T. from uniting—all this is ample proof that the Trotskyites represent the “fifth column” in the Republican camp, and that they are carrying out the instructions of Spanish and International Fascism. Therefore, declared Comrade Comorera, Trotskyism must be eliminated from the political life of Catalonia.

At the same time he criticised the views of those who think that Catalonia can, by her own resources, build up an independent state, without taking part in the battles of the Spanish people on the other fronts of the war against Fascism. If Madrid is taken, said Comorera, the Fascists will be within 50, 100 or 200 kilometres of us. This is only a few hours journey for an armed column with mechanised transport. Economically also, Catalonia cannot be independent. Catalonia cannot win the war, unless she joins with the other peoples of Spain.

Comrade Comorera sharply opposed compulsory collectivisation, collectivisation “according to whim,” and also the absence of proper control and discipline in a whole series of Catalonian enterprises.

“We must have a war economic policy in the rear,” declared Comrade Comorera, “and carry out a correct agrarian policy. A war economic policy means the reorganisation of the entire economic policy of the country to conform to the needs and demands of the war. It means the reorganisation of the whole war industry, and planning to the best of our ability . . .”

Further, he pointed out that Catalonia had not done all she could have done in the fight against Fascism. Considering the population of Catalonia, it was obviously inadequate that only 20,000 men had been mobilised.

The second speaker, Comrade Del Barrio, dwelt chiefly with the very important question as to why there was no offensive on the Aragon front. Del Barrio refuted the statement of the Chairman of the Committee for the Defence of Aragon and all those

who held that the responsibility for the inaction at the front rested with the government of the Spanish Republic, the Minister for War, and the President of the Council of Ministers, Largo Caballero. There were absolutely no grounds for blaming the Spanish Government. The difficulties on the Aragon front were to be explained by the fact that a number of internal problems, which hindered organisational work and the discipline of the armed forces were not solved, and that, in particular, there was no single command.

Comrade Del Barrio also dwelt on the work of the “Karl Marx” division, which, along with the United Socialist Party of Catalonia, had trained a large number of excellent soldiers and commanders.

During the debates, local delegates spoke and told of the activities and growth of the Party. Thus a delegate from the “General Motors” plant told the Plenum that their plant was working entirely on defence, and that out of 370 workers, 74 were members of the United Socialist Party of Catalonia, and the remainder members of the U.G.T.

At the closing session, Comrade *Jose Diaz*, General Secretary of the Spanish Communist Party, made a big speech, in which he dealt with the peculiar features of the present struggle and the nature of the new type of democratic republic which the Spanish people are fighting for and defending. He said:

“There are no longer any landlords, the army which was not an army of the people has gone, the sway of all those who enjoyed exceptional privileges has been abolished. The result of the disappearance of these factors which kept the people in subjection is a democratic republic, in which the workers enjoy freedom of action in all respects, in which they can improve their economic position, in which the allies of the workers, fighting against Fascism, can also satisfy, their needs and just demands, in which the peasants have the land, in which the small industrialist and trader will get not only respect but also support from the new society.”

“A war industry! A people’s army! A single command! Universal military service! Unity! Unity! Unity!”—these were the tasks put before all the members of the Party, before the whole people of Catalonia, at the Plenum.

The Plenum fully approved of the general line of the Central Committee, the work of the members of the Party in the Catalonian Government, and came out categorically in favour of close collaboration with the F.A.I. (Iberian Anarchist Federation) for every support for the Catalonian Government, headed by Companys, and for the Central Government of the Frente Popular, under Largo Caballero. The Plenum pointed out that the essential conditions for achieving victory over Fascism are: to speed up the formation of a regular People’s Army, to create a powerful war industry, linked up with all other branches of industry, and to proceed without delay

to carry out the plan of building fortifications throughout the territory of Catalonia.

In the economic sphere, both in town and country, the guiding principles must be to cater for the needs of the front and the demands of the war against Spanish and International Fascism. The main branches of the war industry must be nationalised, and social services in the towns placed under municipal control. The Plenum also pointed out that the carrying out of these tasks confronting the country depended on the unity of the proletariat and the consolidation of the People's Anti-Fascist Front. This presupposed, at the same time, a determined struggle against the counter-revolutionary, provocative, activities of the Trotskyist groups of the P.O.U.M.

The concluding part of the resolution, which deals with the further growth and strength of the Party ranks, says:

"The great tasks of the present moment call for intensive activity on the part of the United Socialist Party of Catalonia, which, though still young, has the support and the invaluable experience of the Communist International. The fusion which established our united party in the first days of the Fascist revolt, the fusion achieved on the basis of the COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, is of tremendous historic importance, for it shows the inter-

national proletariat that unity can be achieved and shows the splendid results that can be obtained by united action against Fascism."

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The Plenum sent greetings to Comrade Dimitrov, the leader of the Communist International.

The whole hall applauded loudly and enthusiastically the Plenum's decision to send the following telegram of greetings to Comrade Stalin, leader of the peoples:—

"We assembled here at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the United Socialist Party of Catalonia, at this historic moment for our people, send you, Comrade Stalin, our ardent Bolshevik greetings. We were all inspired by your historic telegram to the Spanish Communist Party, with which we are entirely united in the common struggle of our peoples. We send you the warm greetings of the Plenum of the Party, which was formed on the basis of proletarian unity in the first days of the anti-Fascist war, and which makes it its main task to organise unity between all the advanced and progressive forces of our country in order to ensure victory. In you we greet the great people of the Soviet Union, which, at the cost of great sacrifices, is rendering us material and moral assistance. The Spanish and Catalonian people will never forget this, and in token of their gratitude for the help and sacrifices of the Soviet people they are now preparing to present them with a new steamer, named the *Komsomol*."

## CONFERENCE OF UNITED SOCIALIST YOUTH OF SPAIN

**T**HE United Socialist Youth organisation of Spain has 250,000 members. The broad conference held on January 15-17, 1937, in Valencia roused the whole youth of the country. Hundreds of delegates, elected in the factories and workshops, in the villages and at the fronts, and representing over half a million young people, attended the conference. They included soldiers from the People's Army, sailors, airmen, workers and peasants, students and teachers— young people from the front and the rear; representatives from all the Spanish Youth organisations (Republican, Catholic, Anarchist, Nationalist, etc.), as well as delegates from the youth organisations of other countries, including Latarchet from the French Youth, Pek from the Socialist Youth International, and Michael Wolf from the Young Communist International

Largo Caballero, Passionaria and Jose Diaz also took an active part in the conference of the heroic youth.

The tremendous importance of the conference had already been revealed in the course of its preparation. At the election of delegates which took place at

numerous local conferences and meetings throughout the country, it was evident that the young people realised the significance of the conference and were looking to it for such directions as would assist in the further development of the struggle to win the war. Many articles by political leaders, leading workers in the youth organisations, and rank-and-file soldiers in the People's Army were published in the youth press.

Alfonso Dominges, a sailor, wrote with reference to the coming conference:

"I do not belong to any party; in the fighting and in the trenches I learned to understand the rôle and importance of the youth; if we succeed in uniting all the anti-Fascist youth, a crushing blow will have been dealt to Franco."

A member of the Anarchist Youth organisation engaged on building fortifications declared:

"The hopes of the majority of the Anarchist youth are bound up with the Valencia Conference of Unity! If we unite the Republicans, Nationalists and Catholics, our forces will be invincible."

The representatives of the Republican Youth made similar statements. They said:

"We have followed with deep sympathy the efforts of the United Socialist Youth to bring about the formation of a National Alliance of the Youth."

Jose Diaz, Passionaria and Caballero—all predicted that the National Conference would write a most glorious page in the history of the youth, who are taking the path of unity in order to win a new life.

The central question on the order of the day at the conference was: "*Help for the government of the People's Front, and the unification of the youth.*"

Santiago Carrillo, secretary of the United Socialist Youth organisation, explained in his report why the Spanish Youth movement, which at its previous congresses had directed the main fire of its attacks against the government, now made the question of helping the government the central point of discussion. . . .

"Whereas the government formerly included enemies of the people's freedom, people who now want to sell our country to the Fascist spoilers, the present government is composed of true and genuine representatives of the Spanish people."

On July 18, when the perfidious army generals revolted against the Republic, there were people who thought that it was no more than a simple internal dispute between the forces of democracy and the representatives of reaction. But, in the many months of fighting that have elapsed since then, the youth of Spain have come to realise that what they are dealing with is an onslaught of foreign marauders, a war in which Fascism is trying to encompass the citadel of democracy in Spain so as to convert it into a fortified outpost for the further struggle against European democracy and the Soviet Union.

Under such circumstances, the Youth Conference could not express the aspirations of the youth otherwise than by declaring unreserved support for the government and rallying all the youth of the country to the National Alliance, whose sole aim must be to utilise all the enthusiasm and heroism of the youth in order to win the war. This idea determined the whole work of the conference.

The need for supporting the Republican Government and ensuring victory rendered essential the formation of a National Alliance of Youth. Whereupon the Trotskyists raised a howl, hurled the slanderous accusation against us of abandoning the policy of the class struggle, and declared that we were becoming one of the detachments of bourgeois democracy. The counter-revolutionary Trotskyists, allies of Fascism, advance this "argument," for they are well aware that any other policy than that carried out by the United Socialist Youth would facilitate the victory of Franco. At the same time, like the Fascists, they try to represent the government as a "Red Communist Government" and the army as a "Red Communist Army." Hence the great import-

ance of the resolution adopted by the conference on the need for carrying on as vigorous a struggle against Trotskyism as against Fascism.

In his report Carrillo declared:

"The struggle against Trotskyism, like the struggle against Fascism, is not the struggle of our Federation alone, of a single party, but that of the whole Spanish people, for Trotskyism and Fascism do not differ one from another in any way in their policy."

The youth are filled with determination to advance to victory in the ranks of a regular and disciplined army, subordinate to a unified command.

In view of the new character which the war has taken on in Spain, the rear acquires tremendous importance. If heroism is necessary at the front, it is no less necessary in the rear. If a strong army will bring us victory at the front, a strong and well-disciplined army of labour in the rear will be the greatest guarantee of victory. The youth at the conference recognised the rôle played at the beginning of the struggle by the scattered detachments of militia belonging to the different parties. But now, declared the youth, all their efforts would go to the formation of a powerful army with strict discipline and an authoritative command, not of the old type of army, not of an army without politics, but of an army *closely linked with the people*, with a system of political commissars composed of tried and tested men capable at any moment of explaining to the soldiers why and wherefore they are fighting, and of leading them into battle.

The conference showed that the youth are fully determined to carry on energetic work in the ranks of the *trade unions*, and to abstain from putting forward big demands, realising that the war entails many sacrifices both at the front and in the rear. The youth conference decided to organise shock brigades in the factories, to be organised on a broad basis, and accepting into their ranks all who wish to join, the sole condition being that the work must be so organised as to give the maximum results with the minimum expenditure of energy.

The discussion of agrarian problems played an important part in the deliberations of the conference. It was pointed out that a section of the peasant youth had not joined in the struggle for the independence of the Spanish people and that this situation must be put to an end. The conference pointed out that the cause for this lay in the way certain individuals and organisations attempted to solve agrarian problems, and resolved to wage a vigorous struggle against the fever for "collectivisation" manifested in some areas. In this connection the conference made the clear and firm declaration that in a democratic republic the interests of the small owners must be treated with the greatest respect.

The correctness of the path traversed by us since

the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, when our ranks numbered 40,000 members in all, and now when we have 250,000 members, was confirmed at this conference, which consolidated the unification of the Socialist and Communist Youth and laid the basis for the unification of the *whole of the Spanish youth* without delay.

In his speech at the conference, Comrade Luis Segi, delegate of the Anarchist Youth organisation, said:

“The Spanish Youth are striving to establish an iron alliance for they know that in such an alliance lies the possibilities for winning complete victory.”

The delegate of the Republican Youth, Sayages, said:

“If the United Socialist Youth desire this, then there are no longer any tactical differences or differences of principle between them and the Republican youth. We are in the same ranks with you in the defence of the Republic.”

Similar sentiments were expressed by the representatives of the Nationalist Youth and also by all the representatives of science and art, and the political leaders, who declared their solidarity with the conference and its decisions.

The representative of the United Socialist Youth, filled with the determination to sweep aside anything that might stand in the way of rallying all the youth of Spain into one organisation—the National Alliance of Youth—declared:

“There is room in our Federation for all who belong to the working youth of Spain, to the youth of our country; there is room in it for all who are fighting against the spoilers, and who love their country. We will fight against sectarianism in our own ranks. But we will never permit entry to Trotskyism, for it is the enemy of all the working youth.”

The conference was also an important step on the road to *international unity*. In his opening speech Comrade Carrillo said:

“We take great pride in introducing to you for the first time in the history of the youth two delegations from organisations defending and supporting the Spanish youth, namely, the Young Communist International, which is helping and supporting us, and the Young Socialist International, which takes its place here for the first time side by side with us and the Young Communist International. This shows that the promise we gave in our country, that the appeal for unity—in order to render practical assistance to the fighting youth—which we were always addressing to the comrades of the Young Socialist International will shortly be carried into life, thanks to the efforts of such comrades as Michael Wolf and Pek,

and that the help being rendered to the Spanish Youth will be thorough-going and successful.”

Stress was laid on the statement made by men of the International Brigade, in the speeches of delegates from all kinds of organisations in other countries—on the importance of the conference as a decisive step towards international unity.

Particularly important were the speeches of the representatives of the two Youth Internationals. Pek, the representative of the Young Socialist International, declared that

“the Socialist Youth will increase their efforts to render assistance to democratic Spain.”

Michael Wolf, the delegate of the Young Communist International, again expressed the desire and determination of the Y.C.I. to co-operate with the Young Socialist International in furnishing aid to the Youth of Spain. His concluding words: “Long live united action between the Young Socialist and Young Communist Internationals!” were met with the unanimous applause of the delegates.

Immediately after the election of the new Central Committee, the United Socialist Youth issued a manifesto stating that the line of the conference was that of victory, progress and freedom, and advancing the following slogans which may well become the slogans of a broad National Youth Alliance:

“Youth Shock Brigades in the factories.”

“Educate the Peasant Youth.”

“Establish military training centres.”

“Build and fortify anti-gas shelters in all populated areas.”

“Organising stations at the front for educational work and military training.”

“Organise anti-tank groups, guerilla detachments, and groups of the United Youth in the army.”

“Mobilize women of all shades of opinion and religious beliefs to aid in achieving victory.”

This is the basis on which a National Youth Alliance can be formed to include Communist, Socialist, Anarchist, Republican, Nationalist, Catholic and all other honest sons of the people.

In conclusion the manifesto calls upon all the progressive and democratic youth of the whole world to render effective assistance to those who are fighting for their freedom and for universal progress. The manifesto ends with the words:

“We call upon the Young Socialist International to abandon its former position and to unite with the Young Communist International in rendering help to Spain.”

# ECONOMIC RESULTS OF 1936

M. BRAUN

THE years of the most serious economic crisis of capitalism were years of prosperity and unprecedented growth for the Land of Socialism, years during which unemployment was abolished and the material conditions of the workers and of the toiling masses of the villages improved.

The U.S.S.R. successfully fulfilled its first Five Year Plan (1928-1932). The *Second* Five Year Plan (1933-1937) provided for a further increase in the productive forces of the Socialist State, a considerable rise in the well-being of the working masses, the building of a classless society, and the strengthening of the defensive power of the country. Every new factory, every additional ton of iron and steel, every new collective farm and every new addition to the country's food resources, is not merely an improvement in the material conditions of the working people, but also an additional strengthening in the defence of the Socialist state, an additional argument for peace, against Fascist war.

The year 1936 was the last year but one of the Second Five Year Plan. What achievements and successes can the workers and peasants of the U.S.S.R. show to the toiling masses of the whole world, to all supporters of peace?

As a result of the strenuous struggle of the Soviet people under the leadership of the Communist Party, Socialism—the first phase of Communism—towards which the best brains of mankind have aspired, has in the main been achieved in the U.S.S.R. The Socialist system has achieved complete victory in all sphere of the national economy. It is in this that there is to be seen the fundamental result of the struggle and victories of the working class, the collective farm peasants and the intelligentsia of the U.S.S.R.

Here are the main facts.

The harvest in the U.S.S.R. in 1936 was an uneven one in the different regions throughout the country. Thus, in the Dniepropetrovsk region (Ukraine), the collective farmers of the Socialist fields harvested 280 million poods\* of grain, as against 150 million poods in the previous year. But in a number of other regions and districts, the harvest was lower than that of the previous year. And yet, in spite of the partial drought, the average harvest for the whole country was not much lower than the record harvest of 1935,

which was one never reached by Tsarist Russia in its best years.

This is to be explained by the fact that the collective farming system has made it possible to undertake better protective measures against unfavourable meteorological conditions, thanks to the mechanised cultivation of the land (shortened sowing periods, etc.). In 1936, 320,000 tractors were working on the collective farm fields, and ploughed an area one and a half times bigger than the total ploughed area in capitalist Europe. Thanks to the mechanisation of the harvesting processes there was a considerable reduction, in the collective and Soviet State farms, in the loss of grain during the harvesting. One-third of the grain was harvested in 1936 by combines and other tractor-drawn harvesting-machines. In 1936 the production of industrial crops—cotton, sugar, beets, flax, etc.—increased considerably. The cotton yield in 1936 amounted to 46 million poods, i.e., *three times* the average annual amount for the years 1925-29. The yield of flax and sugar beet was over 60 per cent. larger than that of the years mentioned.

All this has become possible only under the collective system of farming, where all the collective farmers have a direct interest in sharply increasing the yield. The workers employed in the Soviet State farms and the collective farmers of the Soviet Union are animated by Comrade *Stalin's* slogan of attaining a harvest of 7-8,000 million poods of grain in the U.S.S.R. in the next few years. There need be no doubt that this task *will be* solved. 98 per cent. of the total sown area is being cultivated by the collective and Soviet farms, where Socialist forms of agriculture are in being! Over 95 per cent. of the total cattle are in the collective and Soviet State cattle-breeding farms.

The Socialist forms of agriculture are ensuring a systematic increase in the production of both grain and industrial crops, and also in cattle-breeding, thus forming a strong and growing foundation both for the growth of industry and for the increasing consumption of the whole population of the country. They also render it possible to set aside reserves essential for the requirements of the country's defence.

The year 1936 was one of tremendous achievements in *industry*.

According to the plan drawn up by the govern-

\* A pood equals 36 lbs.

ment, the volume of the whole of industrial production in 1936 was to have increased by 23 per cent. as compared with 1935.

Actually, however, the volume of the whole of industry increased by 31 per cent. The total value of industrial production (including small-scale industry) amounted to approximately 86,000 million roubles in 1936.

The fact that there was such a considerable increase in the whole of industry, namely, of almost one-third of the total, in the course of one year, something unprecedented in any single country of the capitalist world, testifies to the colossal possibilities inherent in the Socialist system. This is no accidental increase, connected with market fluctuations.

Having removed the obstacles inherent in the private ownership of the means of production, and done away with the exploitation of man by man, it becomes possible for the Socialist system of economy to make limitless use of all the material forces of the country, of all the means of production, to increase the number of people engaged in industry, to increase the productivity of labour and to achieve an ever growing output greater than that of the most advanced capitalist countries.

Whereas the index of the volume of production for the whole of the capitalist world in 1936 was somewhat above 90 as compared with the year 1929, which is taken as 100, in the Land of the Soviets, on the contrary, the index figure for the output of large-scale industry was 430 at the end of 1936 as compared with 1929. 430 and 90! The output of heavy industry of the U.S.S.R. showed an increase of 33 per cent. in 1936 as compared with 1935.

A big part in affecting the growth of the whole of Socialist industrial production was played by the increase in the *production of the means of production*, of the machine building industry, which is the main basis for increasing the productive forces of the country, the basis for systematically mechanising human labour, which in its turn eliminates heavy physical labour and ensures a considerable increase in articles of general consumption and *foodstuffs*. During the year 1936 the *food* industry increased its output by 28.4 per cent. as compared with 1935; and *light* industry, by 34.5 per cent.

The output of *sugar* increased during the year by almost one-half (47 per cent.); macaroni and confectionery by a little less than half (44 per cent.); boots by more than one-third (34.5 per cent.); meat also by about one-third (32.2 per cent.); textiles by 25.2 per cent., etc.

This sharp rise in the growth of the production of articles of general consumption constitutes the material basis for a considerable improvement in the material and living conditions of the working masses of the Soviet Union. Moreover, it must not be for-

gotten that the articles produced remain in the country, only an extremely insignificant share of the total being exported.

The *average monthly wages* of all workers in industry increased by over one-fifth (21.4 per cent.) in 1936, as compared with the year 1935; the wages of the technical personnel and office employees also increased to a somewhat smaller extent. There are some branches of industry where the increase in average monthly wages was higher than the *average increase*. Thus, for example, the average wages of the workers in the *chemical* industry and the iron and steel industry increased by one-fourth; in the cotton textile industry by 30.6 per cent. as compared with 1935. But even in those branches of industry (*paper*, printing trades) where the increase in wages was comparatively small, it nevertheless amounted to 16-17 per cent.

During the year, the number of workers increased by one million, reaching the figure of almost 25 millions by the end of 1936. Unemployment has been eliminated long ago in the U.S.S.R. And if we consider the fact that the working day does not exceed 7 hours, with a six-day week (one day's rest after every 5 days' work), that all the adult members of the family can get work (or study, receiving scholarships from the State), it becomes clear that taking into account that prices dropped, the improvement in the material conditions of the workers and office employees during the year 1936 was considerably greater than is shown in the 21.4 per cent. increase in wages.

This improvement in the material well-being of the working people of the U.S.S.R. is based on the systematic increase in the productivity of labour of the Socialist State where there are no private factory owners to appropriate the results of the increase in the productivity of labour.

For the whole of heavy industry, the productivity of labour increased by 25.3 per cent. in 1936, as compared with 1935. This is not the result of any increase in the intensification of labour, of exhausting the strength and nerves of the workers, or of any increase in the working day. On the contrary, this increase in the productivity of labour is the result of the increased application of machinery to the labour process, of technically equipping the workers, of raising their skill, and of improving the organisation of the productive process itself. The Soviet Government has always paid, and still pays, great attention to raising both the general and special skill of the workers, by organising a tremendous number of special schools and courses, where the workers can acquire the general and technical knowledge they require, without giving up their work in the factories.

The *Stakhanov* movement which, in 1936, embraced wide masses of the working people in all branches

of the national economy and in the most varied professions resulted from this attention. The Stakhanov method of working is the highest form of Socialist competition among the workers, whose enthusiasm for work lies in the consciousness that the fruits of this competition do not go to a private employer, but assist to develop and consolidate the socialist state. The material basis of the Stakhanov movement is the mechanisation of production, the Stalinist care of the Soviet State for human beings, and its efforts to lighten the labour of working men and women. The Stakhanov movement depends upon the rise in the cultural and technical level of the workers, which is gradually removing the contradiction between mental and physical labour.

The growth of the nation wide Stakhanov movement, in which, as Comrade *Stalin* says, there lie the seeds of Communism, was the chief source of the considerable increase in the productivity of labour, of the improvement in the material well-being of the whole country and of all its citizens.

This was also expressed in the splendid successes of Soviet *railroad transport*, in the growth of *commodity circulation* inside the country, and the increase in the *state budget*.

Thanks to the development of the Stakhanov movement on a wide scale in railroad transport, the year 1936 was one of an unprecedented increase in freight traffic. Record levels were reached, 31,500,000 railway cars, or 26.5 per cent. more than in 1935 having been loaded, while freight was carried to the amount of 323,500 million ton kilometres or 25.4 per cent. more than for the previous year. During last year, 990 million passengers or 7.8 per cent. more than in 1935 travelled on the Soviet railways.

*Commodity circulation inside the country* increased considerably during 1936, a fact which goes to confirm the increase in consumption by the broad masses of the population. The total commodity circulation increased, over-fulfilling the plan by 24.3 per cent., and retail trade over-fulfilled the plan by more than one-fourth (26 per cent.), reaching the figure of 106,000 million roubles—this while prices were *reduced* and the cost of circulation decreased.

All these successes in the fulfilment and over-fulfilment of the plan for 1936 were reflected in the *state budget*.

The state budget of the U.S.S.R. was over-fulfilled both as regards revenue and expenditure. As is well known, there has not been a single year since 1924 when the revenue of the state budget has not completely covered the state expenditure. Never since 1924 has there been a deficit in the state budget of the U.S.S.R.

In the year 1936, the revenue of the state budget exceeded the budget estimates by almost 5,000 million roubles, or 5.9 per cent. Instead of the

estimated revenue of 78,700 million roubles, the income side of the budget, according to preliminary calculations, amounts to 83,400 million roubles. What brought about the increase in 1936 in the revenue items of the state budget? First and foremost, the increase of industrial production over and above the plan, the magnificent harvest of industrial crops, primarily of cotton and sugar beets, the over-fulfilment of the plans of railroad traffic, the over-fulfilment of the plan of commodity circulation, and the huge increase in the income of the urban and rural population, as well as the abolition of state subsidies to many works and factories which have mastered the productive process and become paying concerns, bringing in a profit to the state with each month that has passed.

According to the data of the People's Commissar for Finances, *heavy industry* produced 1,700 million roubles' worth of output over and above the plan, thereby bringing additional tax revenue to the state budget. The same was the case with the *food industry*, which produced 600 million roubles' worth of food over and above the plan, and with *light industry*, which produced 370 million roubles' worth of goods over and above the plan. The over-fulfilment of the plan of railroad traffic, and the over-fulfilment of the commodity circulation plan by 6,000 million roubles, etc., all found reflection in the increase of the state revenue, *without any increase whatsoever in taxation or additional levies*.

In connection with the over-fulfilment of the revenue in the state budget, it was found possible to increase the expenditure of the state by 3.8 per cent., or over 3,000 million roubles. Of this sum 1,000 millions were expended on additionally financing the national economy, chiefly agriculture, 2,000 million roubles on increasing the salaries of teachers and increasing the number of kindergartens, while 300 million roubles were granted for additional public health expenditure in connection with the increase in the number of maternity homes, children's crèches and other medical institutions.

These successes in the fulfilment of the state budget are tangible proof of the *economic* successes and achievements obtained, *despite* the wrecking, subversive activities of the handful of double-dealers and Trotskyists. These latter, by deception and lying, wormed their way into responsible economic posts and tried, together with Japanese and German spies, to hold back the victorious advance of Socialist economy, by blowing up works, and organising train smashes, by wrecking activities in a number of chemical and defence works, and terrorist acts. But all in vain! These foul traitors to the Socialist fatherland, contemptible agents of Fascism — the Trotskyists and their leader, Trotsky, enemy of the people, were unable to prevent the great advance, to

break down the heroic enthusiasm of millions of workers and collective farmers; they did not succeed, and will never succeed in turning back the wheels of history, and in driving the free toilers of the Socialist fields and industrial enterprises under the yoke of capitalist slavery.

The Land of Socialism, where there are no antagonistic classes, where there is no exploitation of man by man, where unemployment, the curse of the working people, has been eliminated once and for all, is year by year marching victoriously ahead, guaranteeing all its citizens the right to work, the right to education, the right to rest and security in the event of sickness and old age. Year by year, the Land of Socialism is raising the material well-being and cultural level of all working people in town and country, and is concerned to secure the further prosperity of all the nations and peoples who have won for themselves freedom and a prosperous life in stubborn and severe struggle under their great leaders, *Lenin and Stalin*.

Here is a clear example of how the life of the Uzbek cotton grower, at one time oppressed by the Tsardom, the local feudal chiefs, and the kulaks, has now changed.

The annual income per head of the population in the Kishlakh (village) of Hakent (in Uzbekistan), as in other villages then amounted to from 40 to 77 roubles, while the annual expenditure per head on food was 28 roubles 27 kopecks, or 8 kopecks a day. Now, on the contrary, every collective farmer in the "Akhun-Babayev" collective farm in Hakent, has received an average income of 8,000 roubles. The people live just as well as in other districts, too. For example, Imamov, a collective farmer of the "Akhun Babayev" collective farm in the Kalinin district received an income of almost 17,000 roubles. He spent it as follows: 1,000 roubles went for house repairs, 1,000 roubles for a carpet; in addition he bought beds, a gramophone with records, new

clothing and several cows, and spent 2,000 roubles on his son's wedding. In addition Imamov put away 4,700 roubles in the savings bank.

The Stalin Constitution, received with such tremendous enthusiasm by the whole of the people, and confirmed by the Extraordinary Eighth Congress of the U.S.S.R., on December 5, 1936, registered all the achievements of the Socialist state. But the Land of Soviets was compelled to devote part of its efforts to the *defence of the Socialist fatherland against the Fascist war-mongers*. In the year 1936, the U.S.S.R. assigned 14,900 out of the total of 78,800 million roubles of its state budget to the needs of the country's defence. In 1937 out of the total expenditure of 96,800 million roubles, 20,100 million roubles have been set aside for *the defence of the country*. At the same time, according to the state budget, passed for the year 1937, of the total resources of the state budget and local budgets, 18,500 million roubles have been set aside for the needs of *education*; 7,500 million roubles for *public health*, and, finally, for *financing the national economy*, 39,200 million roubles of which 29,100 million roubles will be spent on *capital construction*, i.e., on extending the productive basis of industry, agriculture, transport, domestic trade, etc.

All this is irrefutable proof of the inexhaustible resources innate in the Socialist system of economy, in a country which, for its own development, requires neither the plundering of foreign lands, the oppression of foreign peoples, nor incitement to war, without which barbarian Fascism cannot get along.

The land of victorious Socialism stands firm as never before. Under the guidance of Comrade Stalin, the great leader of the peoples, the U.S.S.R. will, in 1937, overcome all difficulties, mercilessly sweep aside all the enemies of Socialism, and achieve ever new victories in all spheres of its economic, cultural and political life.

# THE IDEAS OF LENIN IN ACTUAL PRACTICE

By A. STETSKY

## SOCIALISM HAS BECOME A REALITY IN THE U.S.S.R.

THIS year is the twentieth anniversary of the Great Proletarian Socialist Revolution. The year 1937 is the culminating year of the Second Five Year Plan. Our country has just been the scene of that great event, the confirmation of the New Constitution of the Soviet State, the Stalin Constitution of Socialism by the Extraordinary Eighth Congress of Soviets.

The new Soviet Constitution has recorded the great and decisive victories of Lenin's cause. It comprises a whole period of historic development and signifies the beginning of a new period. It indicates the triumph and victory of the cause of Lenin, the embodiment of his ideas, of the aims which Lenin set before the working people of our country.

It will be no exaggeration to say that from the viewpoint of world history, the threshold, the boundary, over which we have now stepped, is of as much importance as was the conquest of proletarian dictatorship in the Great Proletarian Socialist Revolution. By overthrowing the landowning and capitalist order and winning state power under the guidance of Lenin, the working masses cleared the way for themselves and created the possibility and conditions for advancing to the classless society. Today, in fulfilment of the behests of Lenin, and under the guidance of Stalin they have created the Socialist order.

The most difficult task of the Proletarian Socialist Revolution has been solved, namely, the creation of a new, Socialist economy, and new, Socialist relations.

"It is a most difficult task," wrote Lenin, "because it is a matter of organising in a new way the most deep-rooted economic foundations of life of tens and tens of millions of people. And it is a very gratifying task, because, only after it has been fulfilled (in the principal and main outlines) will it be possible to say that Russia has become not only a Soviet, but also a Socialist Republic." (Lenin: Selected Works, Vol. VII, p. 316-7.)

Well, we have brought about a situation where the lives of many millions of people, of almost the whole of the population of the Soviet Union is now organised on new lines. The whole of the economic soil of our land has been tilled in such a fashion that the bourgeoisie have been torn out to the very roots. There is neither place, nor possibility on this

new socialist soil for the appearance of the exploiting classes, for the oppression and exploitation of the toilers. Socialism as the first stage of Communism, of the new order which Lenin set before the toilers of our land as the aim of their struggle, and for which he himself lived, worked and struggled, this order has in its main outlines been established over the boundless stretches of our native land and in its life. The ideas of Lenin have become the actual life of our country. And this historic conquest has been recorded and confirmed by the Stalin Constitution of our state, indicating the final and irrevocable victory of the cause of Lenin in the U.S.S.R.

The main foundation of our new Constitution:

"consists of the principles of Socialism, its main pillars, which have already been won and achieved: the Socialist ownership of the land, forests, factories, works and other implements and means of production; the abolition of exploitation and of exploiting classes; the abolition of poverty for the majority and of luxury for the minority; the abolition of unemployment; work as an obligation and honourable duty for every able-bodied citizen, in accordance with the formula: 'He who does not work neither shall he eat.' The right to work, *i.e.*, the right of every citizen to receive guaranteed employment; the right to rest and leisure; the right to education, etc." (J. V. Stalin: "On the Draft Constitution of the U.S.S.R." Co-op. Publishing Society, p. 19.)

This is the new order which the toilers of the U.S.S.R. have won in accordance with the outlines laid down by Lenin, and which is a mighty achievement of the liberation struggle of the whole of toiling mankind.

## THE TRANSITION PERIOD FROM CAPITALISM TO SOCIALISM IS NOW COMPLETED IN THE MAIN

The founders of Marxism-Leninism always pointed out to the working people that the new society does not appear at one blow, ready-made and in its final form, that history does not serve it up on a nice and clean, smooth and decorated dish, as the philistine imagines it. The new society—socialism—has to be won and created in a severe and stubborn struggle, and its emergence from the depths of capitalism is accompanied by long and painful birthpangs. The process of the creation of this society covers a whole historic period, of transition from capitalism to Socialism, a period during which the proletariat, having become the ruling class, puts an end to capitalist and landlord

ownership of the factories, land, and transport, converts the means of production into the property of the whole of society, breaks down the resistance of the exploiters and reorganises social relations. This period is accompanied by fierce class struggle and constitutes a most difficult historic period. In these trials, in the fire of struggle, the proletariat becomes steeled and acquires training as the ruling class, as a detachment of the working people such as can lead the whole of society and direct its development towards Communism.

The working class broke through the front of imperialism in our country alone. Circumstances developed in such a way that the proletarian Socialist revolution was victorious for the first time in a backward, ruined country, in a country utterly worn out and lacerated by the imperialist war. But the proletarian revolution in our country was not alone. On the contrary, its international character was apparent from the very outset, for Soviets made their appearance both in Germany and in Hungary. But the revolution did not achieve victory there in consequence of the treachery, cowardice and perfidy of the Social Democratic leaders and as a result of the weakness of the Communist parties. And so, the working class of our country have had for twenty years to fight to build up Socialism in one country surrounded by capitalist countries.

The bourgeoisie and the landowners mobilised all their forces, all their experience and means, all their overt and covert myrmidons and henchmen against the power of the workers and peasants.

"The revolution," Lenin taught us, "undergoes the most severe tests in actual practice, in the struggle, in the fire. If you are oppressed, exploited, and think of throwing off the power of the exploiters, if you have decided to go through with this, then you should know that you will have to withstand the onslaught of the exploiters of the whole world; and if you are ready to resist this onslaught and to make fresh sacrifices so as to hold your own in the struggle, then you are a revolutionary; in the opposite case you will be crushed." (Lenin: Collected Works, Vol. XXIV, p. 63. Russ. Ed.)

Yes, we had to withdraw the onslaught of the exploiters of the whole world.

During these last 20 years the toilers of the U.S.S.R. have passed through the fire of the fiercest class struggle. Whatever means and methods of class and political struggle there are to be found in the arsenal of history, as well as newly invented ones, were tried by our enemies, and set into motion against the power of the workers and the peasants. Whiteguard plots and uprisings, civil war and intervention by the most powerful capitalist powers, sabotage and wrecking, terror, espionage and subversive acts, attempts to undermine our economic construction by kulak movements and uprisings, lying and calumny,—all forms of the struggle, from

the most subtle to the most bestial and acute, were resorted to and are still resorted to by our enemies. But they have all proved to be fruitless. The toilers of the U.S.S.R. underwent all these trials with honour. They routed the whiteguard armies and beat off the onslaughts of the interventionists. The dictatorship of the working class smashed the stubborn resistance of the exploiters, won one position after another from them, and achieved the complete liquidation of the exploiting classes, namely, of the capitalists, landlords and kulaks, for at the head of the working masses, leading them, stood the most revolutionary, most disciplined and most politically class-conscious section of the society, the working class.

From the economic point of view, the peculiar feature of the transitional period is that it combines the features and characteristics of both systems of social economy—capitalism and Socialism—and is a period of fierce struggle between these two systems in economic life as well.

"Theoretically," wrote Lenin, "there is not the slightest doubt that between capitalism and Communism there lies a certain transitional period which cannot but combine the features and characteristics of both these systems of social economy. This transitional period cannot but be a period of struggle between dying capitalism and the Communism being born; or in other words: between capitalism conquered, but not destroyed, and Communism already born but still very weak." (Lenin: Collected Works, Vol. XXIV, p. 507. Russ. Ed.)

Supported by the working peasantry, the working class of the U.S.S.R. seized power, established the dictatorship of the working class in the form of the Soviet Power of Workers and Peasants, confiscated the estates of the landowners, and distributed them to the peasants, and proceeded to socialise big industry, the banks, the railways, etc.

The nationalisation of industry, the railways and banks was, however, only the first step towards the creation of a new economy. Industry itself was ruined by the imperialist and, subsequently, the civil war. Inside the country, there was a preponderance of small peasant farms,

"a boundless ocean of small individual peasant farms with backward, mediæval technical equipment." (J. V. Stalin: "On the Draft Constitution of the U.S.S.R." Co-op. Publishing Society, 1936, p. 10.)

Lenin, in his day, when characterising the peculiar features of the transitional economy of the Land of the Soviets stressed the existence in it of five economic formations: namely, Socialism, state capitalism, private capitalist economy, small commodity production and patriarchal economy. He pointed to a further peculiar feature, namely, the preponderance in our economy at that time of small commodity production, of petty-bourgeois spontaneity.

"Peasant economy," wrote Lenin, "continues to remain small commodity production. Here we have an extremely broad basis for capitalism, one which has very deep, very firm roots. On this basis, capitalism is preserved and revived anew, in the fiercest struggle against Communism." (Lenin: Collected Works, Vol. XXIV, p. 509. Russ. Ed.)

This was the situation in which the task had to be solved of rebuilding the most deep-rooted foundations of the lives of millions and millions of people. Our party had no ready-to-hand prescriptions as to how and what to do. The general principles and fundamentals of the movement had been given by our teachers. But new paths had to be laid in the underwood of old practices, every step we took had to be tested, every new position we occupied had to be consolidated, we had to guess from what angle the enemy might attack, and calculate what had to be broken up and destroyed once and for all, and what might be useful in building up the new; finally, and this was by no means a simple thing, we had to observe the new shoots in good time, and to nurse them carefully so that they would grow strong and blossom.

On more than one occasion Lenin said that the great task we had undertaken was millions of times more difficult than any of the most difficult military campaigns, and that it required infinite courage, heroism, self-discipline and organisation, that it could not be accomplished without retreats and defeats. We also on occasion had to retreat and suffered defeat. And could it be otherwise in such a gigantic undertaking? For we were really the first to start the drive against the exploiters, for Socialism; the toilers are accomplishing this drive under the fighting banner of Lenin and Stalin, and they have achieved decisive victories.

Need we recall the cases of hesitation, betrayal and treachery in our ranks? There were people who lost heart and lagged behind the many millions who made up the columns of the proletarian fighters. There were downright traitors, betrayers, spies serving our enemies, who penetrated even our own ranks. Lenin and Stalin teach us that no quarter must be shown to betrayers and traitors, and that is how our party acted, thus preserving the solidarity and fighting capacity of its ranks.

Lenin laid down the main lines of the transition to Socialism, which took on their clearest form after the end of the civil war, and were called the New Economic Policy. Lenin and Stalin constantly stressed the point that the New Economic Policy was the only correct policy of the victorious proletariat, a policy calculated upon the victory over capitalism and the building of Socialism.

We must, however, issue a warning against a misunderstanding or wrong idea which may take shape in the minds of the young people who have only a book knowledge of the New Economic Policy: the

New Economic Policy was by no means an automatic mechanism which had only to be wound up for us to arrive at Socialism.

The peculiar features of each stage had to be noted and we had at every stage to find the main political link, to regroup our forces, and to establish the main thing to be done for our further advance. We need only call to mind such transitions as that to the policy of industrialisation, then the slogan of all-round collectivisation, or the transition from the policy of restricting and squeezing out the kulaks to the policy of liquidating the kulaks as a class on the basis of all-round collectivisation.

We know that not everything has yet been accomplished, that there are remains of the old both in our economy, in our social life, and in the minds of people. Survivals of capitalism still exist in our country. That is why we say that we are passing through the end of the New Economic Policy, the end of the transition period.

Our Socialist society is still far from being perfect, and tremendous work still lies ahead as regards consolidating, developing and perfecting the socialist order. But the main thing has been done: for the first time in history, Socialism has become a reality in our country. And this fills our hearts with joy and pride, with the unswerving conviction that the cause of Lenin will be victorious throughout the whole world.

Lenin and Stalin elaborated the strategy and tactics of this historic struggle. Lenin and Stalin led us to victory.

And now, not only can we proudly show our comrades-in-arms, the workers of other countries, the magnificent building of Socialism. Of no less importance from the viewpoint of international Socialism, is the valuable experience of the struggle accumulated by the working class of the U.S.S.R., and the fact that the toiling masses of the U.S.S.R. were the first to lay down the road to Socialism through all their privations and tribulations, under the most difficult, agonising conditions.

#### CONCERNING THE CONDITIONS OF OUR VICTORY

It will not be superfluous once more to recall the conditions governing our victory.

Socialism has been won, and thanks to the dictatorship of the proletariat its principles have now become the unswerving rule of our lives, of the lives of free toilers. This must on no account be forgotten.

We know how much hatred, calumny, and hysterical anger is aroused among all our enemies, the rulers of the capitalist countries, and their hangers-on, accomplices and lackeys by this iron formula of the proletarian revolution. And this can be understood. The dictatorship of the proletariat,

the iron, indomitable power of the working class, is the chief weapon by means of which capitalist slavery, exploitation and oppression are destroyed, and the Socialist society built up. This magnificent historic weapon with which the men of genius, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, leaders of the working class, armed the latter has thoroughly and completely justified and continues to justify its historic purpose. It was by using it that the working class in alliance with the toiling peasantry razed to the ground the capitalist order and created the magnificent edifice of Socialism. Lenin taught us that:

"The proletariat needs state power, the centralised organisation of force, the organisation of violence, for the purpose of crushing the resistance of the exploiters and for the purpose of leading the great mass of the population—the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie, the semi-proletarians—in the work of organised Socialist economy." (Lenin: Selected Works. Vol. VII, p. 26. Co-op. Publishers' English Edition.)

"The question of the proletarian dictatorship," Comrade Stalin teaches, "is above all a question of the basic content of the proletarian revolution. The proletarian revolution, its movement, its sweep and its achievements acquire flesh and blood only through the dictatorship of the proletariat. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the weapon of the proletarian revolution, its organ, its most important stronghold which is called into being, first, to crush the resistance of the overthrown exploiters and to consolidate its achievements; secondly, to lead the proletariat to its completion, to lead the revolution onward to the complete victory of Socialism." (Joseph Stalin: "Leninism," Vol. I, p. 41, Int. Pub. New York.)

Under the leadership of Lenin, the working class of the U.S.S.R. found that the state form of the dictatorship of the working class, the *Soviets*, and created the Soviet Power of workers and peasants. The Soviets won the recognition of the entire international working class as the form of state power to which the workers of other countries would also arrive, on bringing about the proletarian revolution.

Under the leadership of Lenin, the working class also solved the second most important task of the revolution, namely, the establishment of a close alliance with the working peasantry. Our victory would have been impossible without this alliance, without the support of tens and tens of millions of toiling peasants. This alliance, this friendly collaboration between the workers and peasants has been tested and consolidated in the experiences of struggle, and now, as a result of the victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R., the alliance between the workers and peasants has become still more stable, inviolable and steadfast.

The Party has had to withstand the struggle against opportunists of the right and left, on questions concerning the essence of the dictatorship of the working class. It is worth calling to mind, for example, that as far back as 1918, Lenin was sharply criticising the opportunism of Bukharin,

pointing out that Bukharin did not understand the fundamental creative tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Socialist reorganisation of society, that he regarded the revolution from the angle of an infuriated petty bourgeois, who is against Socialist discipline and order, against recording and control, against the struggle for a Communist attitude to labour, against the regulation of Socialist industry.

"Bukharin," wrote Lenin, "regards the tasks of the proletarian dictatorship from the point of view of the past and not of the future. Bukharin noted and emphasised that which may be common in the point of view of the proletariat and that of the petty-bourgeois revolutionary on the question of the state. But Bukharin 'failed to note' the very thing that distinguishes the one from the other. Bukharin noted and emphasised the fact that the old state machine must be 'smashed' and 'blown up,' that the bourgeoisie must be 'strangled to death' and so on. The petty bourgeois in a frenzy may also want as much. And this, in the main, is what our revolution did between October 1917 and February 1918.

"But in my pamphlet I also mention what even the most revolutionary petty-bourgeois cannot want, but what every class-conscious worker does want—what our revolution has *not* yet accomplished. But on this problem, the problem of to-morrow, Bukharin said nothing." (Lenin: "Selected Works," Vol. VII, p. 377. Co-op. Publishers' English Edition. Moscow.)

Thus, in 1918, Lenin was already exposing Bukharin's opportunism on the main question of the dictatorship of the proletariat, opportunism which became fully apparent in Bukharin when the Party proceeded to extensive reorganisation of the country on Socialist lines, and which led Bukharin to support the restoration of capitalism.

With the state power in its hands, having rallied to itself all the toilers and smashed the resistance and onslaught of its enemies, the working class of the U.S.S.R. has, in the main, built up the Socialist society which is now crowned by the New Constitution.

The New Constitution of the U.S.S.R.—and this must not be forgotten by our friends abroad—is the fruit, the achievement of the dictatorship of the working class. But it also constitutes its further development.

The New Soviet Constitution establishes the state form of the dictatorship of the working class at the new stage of its development, at the stage now not of the transition period, but of Socialist society, and in conditions of widely developed Socialist democracy, of universal, direct, equal and secret suffrage.

In discussing the question of the dictatorship of the working class, the chief and fundamental thing in this dictatorship is sometimes forgotten. And as far as concerns the dictatorship of the working class this chief and fundamental thing is the alliance between the working class and other

sections of the toilers, and its leadership over them in the struggle for Socialism.

"If," wrote Lenin, "we translate this Latin, scientific, historico-philosophical expression of the dictatorship of the proletariat into simpler language it means just this:

"Only a definite class, namely the urban and, in general, the factory, industrial workers, are in a position to lead the whole mass of working people and exploited in the struggle to overthrow the yoke of capital in the course of the actual overthrow, in the struggle to maintain and consolidate victory, in the creation of the new, Socialist, social order, in the entire struggle for the complete abolition of classes." (Lenin: "Collected Works," Vol. XXIV, p. 336, Russian Edition.)

Now, at the new stage of history, the dictatorship of the working class has brought about the Socialist transformation of the country on a gigantic scale, and has extended and consolidated its base as never before. This base is the Socialist property and Socialist economy which reign undivided in our country. The alliance between the working class and the peasantry has become firm and inviolable as never before. Shoulder to shoulder with the workers and peasants march the Soviet intelligentsia. The confidence in the working class displayed by all the toilers has become boundless, and the leading role of the working class has risen to new heights.

And the New Soviet Constitution, in a new form, consolidates this leading role of the working class for further advance, for the "transition to a society without classes, to a society without a state." (J. V. Stalin, "Leninism," Vol. I, p. 273.)

We have attained victory because in the struggle for Socialism the toilers are led by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which was hammered out by Lenin and Stalin and armed by them with the theory of Marxism-Leninism.

Lenin and Stalin define the Communist Party as the leading directing force of the dictatorship of the working class.

"By educating the worker's party, Marxism educates the vanguard of the proletariat which is capable of assuming power and of leading the whole people to Socialism, of directing and organising the new order, of being the teacher, guide and leader of all the toiling and exploited in the task of building up their social life without the bourgeoisie and against the bourgeoisie." (Lenin: "Selected Works," Vol. VII, p. 26. Co-op. Publishers' English Edition, Moscow.)

A short time ago the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Prague Conference of the Russian Socialist Democratic Labour Party took place. These twenty-five years mark a notable stage in the history of our party, a stage during which Lenin and his colleagues under incredibly difficult conditions, restored and strengthened the fighting organisations of our Party, which Tsarism had smashed during the epoch of reaction. The Conference helped our Party once

again to take the lead of the advance begun by the working class movement. It gave official shape once and for all to its complete organisational severance from the Mensheviks, and created the Bolshevik C.C. of our Party. This date is also noteworthy because twenty-five years ago Comrade Stalin, the comrade-in-arms of Lenin and our leader and teacher, was elected a member of the Bolshevik C.C., at which fighting leading post he has remained without a break ever since.

Our Party is the only party which has consistently and thoroughly set and fulfilled the task of liberating the toilers from the yoke of capital. It has rallied, organised and led the working class and all the toilers through all the severest trials to the conquest of all difficulties, all obstacles and all the forces of resistance of the enemy—it has led them to the victory of Socialism. Our Party has fulfilled the behest of Lenin, that it become the leader of all the toilers. And this role of the Bolshevik party is recorded in article 126 of the New Constitution.

This article of the Constitution like the others reflects the very profound changes which have taken place in our country. Our party is there called "the vanguard of the toilers," and quite correctly so. Not only the workers, but also the collective farm peasants and the Soviet intelligentsia are firmly united today around the Bolshevik Party. The working class has succeeded in rallying and uniting all the toilers around itself, thus consolidating and extending the social basis of our Party. The workers, collective farm peasants and Soviet intelligentsia have joined forces and are fighting for the great cause of Socialism inscribed on the glorious fighting banner of the party of Lenin and Stalin.

Lenin and Stalin inculcated into our Party supreme adherence to principle and ideological irreconcilability—one of the most important guarantees of its successful leadership. The Party has mercilessly unmasked and continues to unmask opportunists, it has led and continues to lead an irreconcilable struggle against all attempts to distort and revise the teachings of Lenin and Stalin—the truest compass pointing the road to Communism.

Our Party has been victorious because it has been armed with the Leninist-Stalin theory as to the possibility of the victory of Socialism in one country.

Lenin formulated this theory during the struggle against Trotskyism as far back as in 1915, when he wrote:

"Uneven economic and political development is an absolute law of capitalism. Hence, the victory of Socialism is possible, first in a few or even in one single capitalist country. The victorious proletariat of that country, having expropriated the capitalists and organised its own Socialist production, would confront the rest of the capitalist

world, attract to itself the oppressed classes of other countries, raise revolts among them against the capitalists, and, in the event of necessity, come out even with armed force against the exploiting classes and their states." (Lenin: "Selected Works," Vol. V, p. 141.)

for:

"the free federation of nations in Socialism is impossible without a more or less prolonged and stubborn struggle of the Socialist republics against the backward states." (Lenin, "Selected Works," Vol. V, p. 141.)

This thesis concerning the possibility of the victory of Socialism in one country was constantly applied by Lenin to our Soviet Republic in a number of his articles and speeches after the Great Socialist Revolution, in which he affirmed that everything requisite and sufficient for the building of Socialism existed in our country.

Together with Lenin, Comrade Stalin defended and developed this theory as far back as during the period of the preparation of the Soviet Revolution in Russia.

Comrade Stalin's speech against Trotsky's servile supporters delivered at the Sixth Congress of our Party in August 1917 is well known:

"The possibility is not excluded," said Comrade Stalin, "that precisely Russia will be the country which lays down the road to Socialism . . . We must throw off the obsolete idea that Europe alone can show us the road. There is dogmatic Marxism and there is creative Marxism. I take my stand upon the latter."\*

Not only did Comrade Stalin carry on a struggle against enemies in defence of the Leninist theory of the possibility of the victory of Socialism in our country, but he also developed his theory further, enriching it on the basis of the experience of the struggle and the building of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.

Armed and inspired by this theory of Lenin and Stalin, our Party and the toiling masses brought about the Great Proletarian Revolution, organised the first Workers' and Peasants' State in the world, defended their country when not only the counter-revolution at home, but the whole of the capitalist world, rose up in arms against it, and brought about great Socialist transformations in our country.

What inspired and still inspires our Party and the many millions of workers, collective farmers and toilers as a whole who support it is confidence in their own powers, in the justice of their cause, in the possibility of the victory of Socialism in our country.

Is it surprising, then, that all the enemies of Communism, the opportunists of all shades and tendencies, up to and including the open counter-revolutionaries, all the enemies of Lenin and Stalin, the enemies of our Party, rose up against the theory

\* Stenographic Report of the Sixth Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (b), p. 233-234. Partizdat, 1934. Russian Edition.

of the victory of Socialism in our country.

The Trotskyists-Zinovievists, and then the Right opportunists, launched a ferocious struggle inside the Party along these lines.

They did their very utmost to wrench this Leninist compass out of the hands of the Party, to destroy the fundamentals of the teachings of Lenin and Stalin regarding the Socialist Revolution, to deprive the Party of its confidence in victory, and to turn our country back to capitalism.

Trotsky, the Judas, took the lead of and armed the enemies of our Party with his arguments, his cunningly woven formulations, his most subtle and foul forgeries, and his falsification of Marxist tenets, spiced with false revolutionary phraseology behind which is hidden the programme of capitalist restoration.

Under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, the Party completely crushed the Trotskyists-Zinovievists and the Right deviation, and defended the theory of the victory of Socialism in one country.

The possibility of building Socialism has now been proved in practice, has been proved in a land with a population of approximately 170 million people, has been proved by the fraternal collaboration of all the nations, of all the peoples of our splendid native land.

And we can now say that Socialism has opened up before us new and gigantic possibilities of advance.

When Trotsky's servile underlings or mere muddlers say: "All right, you've built Socialism, but you won't reach Communism," this can now only call forth the ridicule of every healthy-minded person. The main difficulties and obstacles in the way of the building of Socialism in our country are now left behind. Our economy, our relations have become Socialist. The exploiting classes have been abolished. New gigantic possibilities have opened up for a further advance to complete Communism.

But the enemies of Socialism who fought against the teachings of Lenin and Stalin, against the theory of Socialism, have not laid down their arms.

Their fate is instructive. Trotsky, the Judas, together with Kamenev and Zinoviev, his henchmen and watch-dogs, Piatakov, Radek, Sokolnikov and others, as well as the counter-revolutionaries of the Right, have all now sunk down into the bloody, filthy slough of Fascism.

They joined forces on the common platform of restoring capitalist slavery and oppression, of establishing the power of the bourgeoisie in our country.

In their struggle against the cause of Socialism, they concluded an alliance with Fascism, and banded together with the Fascist secret service. They dream of the defeat of our country, they thirsted and are

thirsting for war to fulfil their foul aims. In their struggle against the great cause of Lenin, they resorted to wrecking and espionage, provocation, the murder of workers, and terror against the leaders of the people. They dyed their hands in the blood of one of the best sons of our Party, Sergei Mironovich Kirov.

Never in history has there been anything more abominable than this act of treason, these acts of perfidy, these bloody Judases.

But Lenin taught our Party how to deal with sworn enemies of the cause of Socialism. Lenin himself showed no mercy to enemies. The "Bolshevik" (No. 2, 1937) published a note from Lenin to Kursky in which Lenin demands the death sentence for all forms of activity undertaken by the Mensheviks, Socialist-Revolutionaries, etc., for the maintenance of connections with the international bourgeoisie and with their struggle against us. Deal mercilessly with the enemy! This is what Lenin taught us. And so we have acted, and so we shall continue to act unswervingly in the future towards all traitors who betray the cause of Lenin, our native land, and our people.

#### RESULTS OF THE FIRST STAKHANOV YEAR

Engels said that a high moral and ideological advance was the consequence of the victorious revolution.

Our revolution, the most just and noble in history, and expressing the will of the people as never before, fully confirms the words of Engels. An ideological and moral advance is taking place among all sections of Soviet society.

The examples displayed of heroism and self-sacrifice, the blossoming that has begun in all spheres of science, culture and technique are precisely the result of this advance.

The past year has also provided brilliant confirmation of Lenin's thesis that

*"only under Socialism will a rapid, genuine, really mass movement, embracing first the majority and then the whole of the population, commence in all spheres of social and individual life."*\*

The Stakhanov movement which, as Comrade Stalin expressed it, is preparing the conditions for the transition from Socialism to Communism, has resulted in new successes both in industry and agriculture.

During 1936, the total production of our industry increased by 31 per cent. as compared with the previous year. The plan for the year has been over-fulfilled by 5 per cent. However, it is not enough to mention this increase in percentages although in itself

it is absolutely extraordinary: we must also take into account the circumstances to which Comrade Stalin drew our attention in his report on the results of the First Five Year Plan, namely, that with every year that passes on the basis of the former achievements of the national economy in the U.S.S.R., each percentage of increase signifies an ever-growing absolute quantity of industrial production.

The 31 per cent. increase in industrial production in 1936 means that during this one year the gross increase in the production of socialist industry was valued at 19,000 million roubles (in 1926-27 prices), i.e., the increase in production for last year alone was almost twice that of the total annual production of Russia's large-scale industry in 1913, which amounted to 10,250 million roubles (in the same prices).

The total value of agricultural production increased considerably in spite of the extremely unfavourable climatic conditions last year. What is more, in spite of the extremely bad weather conditions in various parts of the country, a tremendous step forward took place in a number of branches of agriculture during last year. The year 1936 was a record one for the cotton harvest in the U.S.S.R. By the end of December, 46 million poods of cotton had been gathered, as against 32 million poods\* in 1935, and 14.6 million poods the total cotton production in 1913.

Take, for example, the following picture of the growth of labour productivity during the years of the Second Five Year Plan in heavy industry:

Years	Percentage increase over previous year
1933 ...	11.4
1934 ...	15.8
1935 ...	19.4
1936 ...	25.5 (according to figures for 11 months)

It should not be forgotten, however, that with all this, we have not yet reached the level of labour productivity in the advanced capitalist countries, and in particular the level of the U.S.A. Therefore, we must not boast of these successes, but rather continue to work stubbornly to improve the organisation of production and to make better use of our technique. We must make a careful study of the experience of the capitalist undertakings in the advanced countries, in order to overtake and surpass them.

In fulfilment of Lenin's behests concerning Socialist competition, the toilers of the U.S.S.R. are now entering into competition for the fulfilment of the Second Five Year Plan by the Twentieth Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The enthusiasm with which people are throwing

\* Lenin: "Selected Works," Vol. VII, p. 91.

\* 1 pood equals 36 lbs.

themselves into this work makes us fully confident that the Second Five Year Plan will indeed be fulfilled before the appointed time, by the Twentieth Anniversary of October.

The increase in our index figures in different spheres of technique indicates the growth of our people.

Nowhere in the world is there such an urge for education, such a tremendous number of people engaged in all kinds of study as here.

In 1936, 5,300,000 people in industry and transport in the U.S.S.R. were undergoing technical training. Of these, 340,000 were studying in Stakhanov courses for champions of Socialist labour.

In agriculture, in 1935-36, approximately 400,000 tractor-drivers, 60,000 combine-operators and over 70,000 drivers and mechanics were undergoing technical training in the same period, 120,000 cultivation unit leaders, over 80,000 cattle-breeding unit-leaders, and over 70,000 collective farm bookkeepers finished their training.

This is the source from whence thousands and thousands of new champions of Socialist Labour arise!

Socialism demands organisation. The new conditions of the Socialist society afford all the necessary pre-conditions for a further advance in all spheres of the political, economic and cultural life of the country. But this advance has to be organised, and we must day in and day out perfect and consolidate this organisation, this harmonious collaboration of the forces of all the people, of all sections and all nations of the Soviet Union.

#### THE DUTIES OF CITIZENS OF THE U.S.S.R. AND THE FURTHER ADVANCE TOWARDS COMMUNISM

What does the further advance towards Communism require of us, citizens of the U.S.S.R.?

Here we must turn to those articles of our Constitution which deal with the duties of Soviet citizens.

These duties are simple and clear: every citizen of the U.S.S.R. is obliged to observe the Constitution, to carry out the laws of the Soviet State, to observe labour discipline, honestly to regard his social duties, to respect and carry out the rules of the Socialist community, to safeguard and consolidate Socialist property, and to defend the Fatherland.

The productivity of labour as the most important factor now for the consolidation of the new Socialist order, must be increased.

These duties are simple and clear. Yet at the same time they contain a profound meaning and importance; they contain all that is necessary for our further advance, for the development and consolidation of the Socialist order.

The more the toilers of our country become imbued with these simple rules, the firmer will the cause of Socialism stand in our country, the more rapidly will be our growth in all spheres. And the stronger will be our State.

Here we see one of the aspects of Comrade Stalin's splendid thesis that the road to the withering away of the state lies through the consolidation of the Soviet State. As the ranks of the foremost people of our country are multiplied of people like Stakhanov, Krivonos, the Vinogradovas, the "500"-ers,\* the foremost tractor-drivers and combine-operators, the shock workers, men and women on collective farms, of people who are devoted to their work, and their Fatherland, who honestly fulfil their duty and carry out their obligations, so will the need lessen to resort to measures of compulsion, to legal standards, without which we cannot manage to-day and behind which there stands the authority of our state.

And at the same time, millions and millions of these working people engaged in affairs of state, of outstanding citizens in our country, who themselves voluntarily fulfil all the laws and their obligations, constitute the foundation and stronghold of the new, Socialist state.

Of special importance in our conditions is the work of recording and control, control over the measure of labour and the measure of consumption. This by no means implies anything in the nature of a ration-card system. No, the ration-card system was only a consequence of necessity and insufficiency. Let the Fascists who give the German people guns instead of butter, occupy themselves with that. We are proceeding steadily towards abundance in articles of consumption in our country. And control of the measure of labour and the measure of consumption signifies, first and foremost, the strict observance of the most important principles of Socialism "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work." The observance of this principle is of tremendous importance in raising the productivity of labour and developing the best of the abilities of each citizen of the U.S.S.R.

It is one of the chief cares of our Party and our state to-day to educate the citizens of the U.S.S.R. in the spirit of the articles of the Constitution.

At the same time, we must not for a single moment forget that we are living in a capitalist environment, an environment which is by no means an abstract concept, but a cruel reality.

Fascism is preparing war against the U.S.S.R. Day in and day out we must strengthen the defence of our

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\* Beet-growers who secure a yield of 500 centners of beets per hectare. The initiator of this movement was Maria Demchenko.—Ed.

country and make our Red Army, the sure defence of the peaceful labour of the peoples of the Soviet Union, still more mighty, still more powerful!

We have entered on a period of new storms.

Our Spanish brothers are being attacked by German and Italian Fascism, the forces behind General Franco. The toilers of the U.S.S.R. are filled with admiration at the courage and heroism of the Spanish people who are defending their freedom and inde-

pendence in a bloody struggle. We are convinced that the Spanish people, who have displayed miracles of heroism to the whole world, will successfully defend their noble country and be victorious. We send fraternal greetings to the Spanish people.

As never before, we are convinced that the cause of Lenin will conquer throughout the world, and we shall come to this victory under the leadership of Comrade Stalin!

## PUSHKIN ANNIVERSARY DAYS IN THE U.S.S.R.

THE Hundredth Anniversary of the death of the great Russian poet, Alexander Sergeyevich Pushkin, has been widely celebrated by the people throughout the whole Soviet Union. There was not a single school, factory, or collective farm, where Pushkin's verses were not recited during these days, or where ardent and impassioned speeches were not made in honour of the poet's memory.

To appreciate the importance of Pushkin in Russian literature one must recall the times in which he lived and wrote.

Pushkin's poetic genius matured and developed in the years of the most violent European reaction, in the years when the Russia of feudalism and serfdom had begun to play the despicable role of the gendarme of Europe. Ten years after Pushkin's death Marx and Engels wrote that "Pope and Tsar, Metternich and Guizot," had united in a holy war against the spectre of Communism. The Russian tsars, Alexander I and Nicholas I, were however, trusty allies of the militant obscurantist, Metternich, while Pushkin was yet alive. The oppressive burden of the autocracy held back both the economic and cultural development of Russia.

The crowned ignoramuses, Paul I, Alexander I, and Nicholas I, were themselves far from being masters of their native tongue. The role of literature to their minds consisted in praising the autocracy in high-flown language, and consolidating the basis of the monarchy in the minds of the people. They tried to surround themselves with a court circle of flattering poets ready to model themselves on the French classicism of the days of Louis XIV.

The tragic death of Pushkin was no accident. He fell the victim of a vile court intrigue, struck by the bullet of the society adventurer D'Anthes in a duel arranged with the consent of tsar Nicholas I himself. Pushkin, the bard of liberty, and friend of the Decembrists; the daring innovator, who had taken as the subject of his poetry, not the dubious exploits of the

tsars, but the real life of the Russian people; the free-thinker, materialist, disciple of the French encyclopædists, and enemy of the orthodox Pharisees, was a thorn in the flesh of the tsar and the court nobility. Nicholas I did not succeed in taming or buying over Pushkin,—but he succeeded in destroying him physically at the age of 37, at the height of his creative power.

The many-sidedness of Pushkin's genius was amazing. He was at the same time a lyric poet, a prose writer, a dramatist, a critic, and a historian. He chose his themes both from the Russian life of his own time, from popular tradition and folk tales, and from history.

Pushkin's role in literature was primarily that of *the founder of Russian realism*. He broke definitely with the pseudo-classical traditions of the Russian writers of the 18th century and with the hazy sentimentalism of his immediate predecessors, Zhurovski and Karamzin, and unfolded in his writings a broad multi-coloured picture of life in all its manifestations, and with all its contradictions. In his novel and poem, "Eugene Onegin," which the great Russian critic, Belinski, called an "encyclopædia of Russian life"; in his short stories "Tales of Belkin," and in his tale "Dubrovski"—a passionate criticism of the Russian nobility is combined with a joyous optimism. While in "Dubrovski" exposing the tyranny of the landed aristocracy, depicting in vivid satirical colours the high society of St. Petersburg; in "Eugene Onegin" ridiculing the imbecility of the country life of the nobility, and in "The Station-master" taking up the cudgels for the lowly petty official, Pushkin at the same time believed in the healthy creative power of the people, and created positive characters, distinguished for their originality and moral strength. (Vladimir Dubrovski in the story of the same name, and Tatyana in "Onegin.")

There is profound realism also in those writings of Pushkin's, the sources of which he took from his-

tory. While recognising the importance of the individual in history—the progressive role of Peter I, for example—Pushkin made the people, the masses of the people, the real hero of his historical works. The tragic fate of the Russian people, enslaved, oppressed by feudal lord and tsar, rallying its forces with incredible effort to repel the foreign invasion of Pole and Lithuanian—this is the theme of his historic tragedy “Boris Godunov.” For a long time Pushkin was attracted by the personality of Bugachev, the leader of the peasant revolt in the Urals in the reign of Catherine II. The powerful and tragic figure of this peasant rebel has been immortalized by Pushkin in his tale “The Captain’s Daughter.”

Shakespeare played a tremendous role in the creative development of Pushkin, in forming him as a great artist and realist. “Being firmly convinced that the worn-out forms of our theatre need to be shaped anew, I have constructed my tragedy on the model of our father Shakespeare,” Pushkin wrote of his tragedy “Boris Godunov.” But the creative principles of Shakespeare were applied by Pushkin not only to his dramatic works. Pushkin called on all writers to study Shakespeare—as he himself studied him—for the creation of many-sided, profound, and vivid characters, writing in this connection :

“Shakespeare’s characters are not simply, like Molière’s, types of some particular passion, some particular vice; they are living beings, with many passions and many vices. Circumstances develop before the eyes of the spectator their manifold and many-sided characters. Molière’s ‘Avare’ is a miser and nothing more; Shakespeare’s Shylock is a miser and also a shrewd, vindictive, witty man with a father’s feelings. Molière’s Tartuffe dangles after the wife of his benefactor—from hypocrisy; he takes his estate into his charge—from hypocrisy; he asks for a glass of water—from hypocrisy. Shakespeare’s hypocrite pronounces court sentence with pompous severity, but justly; he justifies his harshness with the thoughtful utterances of a statesman; he beguiles innocence by powerful, captivating sophistries, by a ridiculous mixture of piety and gallantry. Angelo is a hypocrite because his public deeds belie his secret passions. And what depth there is in this character!”

Pushkin had a great admiration for the realistic types of Shakespeare and studied artistic realism from him. It is characteristic that Marx’s love for Shakespeare was also due to this matchless quality of the great English dramatist. In a letter to Lassalle, Marx reproaches him for not realistically “Shakespearising” his hero in his play “Franz von Sickingen,” but “Schillerising” him idealistically. Marx and Engels, who learned Russian in order to study the specific features of Russian economy at first hand, availed themselves of their knowledge of the language to read Pushkin in the original. Among other things they used to quote from “Eugene Onegin” the political and economic moralisations of

this ruined young nobleman, made in the spirit of Adam Smith.

Pushkin played an equally important role as the creator of the Russian literary language. Pushkin freed the Russian language from a large number of foreign words and phrases, with which the aristocrats of the time interspersed their speech, and also from Slavonic archaisms which reactionary patriotic writers artificially tried to preserve in the Russian language. Eagerly imbibing the songs and tales of peasants, boldly culling new richnesses of language from the treasury of oral folk poetry, Pushkin stood out as a champion of simplicity, clarity, and naturalness in the language of literature. “Brevity and conciseness,” he wrote, “are the first merits of prose.” *The language of Pushkin, formed by him from the speech of the people, became the language of literary Russian, the language in which the Russian people speak to this day.*

Pushkin’s work had a great influence on all subsequent Russian literature. Its various sides were developed later by the greatest writers of the 19th century. The conciseness and clarity of his prose, the brilliantly realistic craftsmanship of his delineation of characters, served as models for the novels of Tolstoi and Turgenev. His sympathy with the oppressed and despised “little people,” which found expression, for example, in the story “The Station-master,” became a source of inspiration for Gogol and Dostoyevski. From the satirical “History of the Village of Goryukhin,” in which Pushkin stigmatised serfdom, sprang the deathless satires of Saltykov Shchedrin. It was from Pushkin that Nekrassov learned the art of political, civic poetry.

Maxim Gorky, father of Socialist literature, also learned a lot from Pushkin; Gorky, the first classic of Socialist humanism, who hurled in the face of the dark monster of Russian tsarism, living its last days, the bold words : “There is a proud ring in the words ‘human being’.”

It was in the works of Pushkin that, for the first time in Russian history, for the first time in Russian culture, the words “human being” began to have a proud ring. *Pushkin was the first writer in Russian literature to proclaim the principles of humanism, freedom, the independence of the individual, the right of every human being to happiness.* In his political verses he hurled a bold challenge at the autocracy, serfdom, and official obscurantism, loudly proclaiming his sympathy with the Decembrists in his poems “To Chadayev,” and the “Message to Siberia,” and in his poem “The Vollage” describing with sorrow and indignation the horrors of feudal oppression. “I wish to sing of freedom to the world, to strike at vice on royal thrones,” he proclaimed in his youthful revolutionary poem “Freedom.”

Humanity and love of mankind permeate all

Pushkin's writings. From his youthful poems, in which he sings of unrebelling joy, youth, and love, to his great and matured works, in which great personalities, great experiences, and great passions come into play—everywhere Pushkin tried, in his own words, "to rouse worthy feelings by my lyre." Pushkin understood "worthy feelings" to mean above all feelings inspiring men to *battle* against evil, reaction, and oppression.

Pushkin loved his people, loved mankind, far beyond the boundaries of his vast native land, and worked indefatigably to wed the Russian people to the culture of Western Europe. He carried the action of his poems and plays into England, Germany, Spain. In his writings we find many echoes of all the important manifestations of world literature. It is sufficient to recall his little tragedy "The Stone Guest," in which he gives his own original version of one of the oldest figures of world literature, Don Juan.

Pushkin studied all the leading trends of European thought, and took a keen interest in all the movements of liberation in Western Europe. His library contained the works of Saint Simon, the 35 volumes of the French Encyclopædia, the works of Voltaire, Diderot, Holbach and Rousseau, and books on the history of the French and English revolutions. He followed with tense interest the struggle of the Greek people for freedom from Turkish domination. He wrote one of his best poems on the death of Riego, leader of the revolutionary action of the Spanish people in 1820.

The internationalism of Pushkin, which was one of the most striking features of his humanitarian outlook, manifested itself not only with regard to the peoples of Western Europe. He was the first Russian writer for whom the national minorities who peopled old Russia were not "foreigners," the object of chauvinistic contempt, but a source of diverse poetic themes. Cherkeses, Gypsies, Tartars, Finns, Kalmuks, Ukrainians, Georgians, all appear in his writings. In his poem "Epitaph" he wrote the prophetic words:

"My fame will spread throughout great Russia's land,  
And all shall speak my name in Russia's tongues,  
The proud descendant of the Slavs, the Finn,  
Tungus  
As yet untamed, and Kalmuk, lover of the steppe."

And so it has come to pass. Pushkin is known and loved by all the peoples of the U.S.S.R. At the celebration meeting held in Moscow in honour of the poet's memory the above verse was recited on the stage of the Bolshoi Theatre in the Tungus, Kalmuk, Ukrainian, Uzbek, and many other languages.

The peoples of the U.S.S.R. know Pushkin well.

They love Pushkin as did Lenin, about whom N. K. Krupskaya writes in her reminiscences: "I brought Pushkin, Lermontov and Nekrassov with me to Siberia. Vladimir Ilyich placed them beside his bed along with Hegel, and read them over and over again in the evenings. He loved Pushkin best of all."

The reading public of the Soviet Union know and love Pushkin as he could not have been known and loved in tsarist Russia. Not only did Pushkin suffer all through his life from the perpetual persecution and harriving, which made him cry out with chagrin in one of his letters to his wife: "It was the devil's idea to have me born in Russia with a soul and talent"; not only did the autocracy find a way of putting an end to a poet it had no use for—but even after his death it endeavoured to create an abyss between him and the people. Official commentators and literary historians falsified his work; they concealed from the people the true content of his writings, consigned to oblivion the most revolutionary of them, and tried to represent the poet as a Christian and a loyal subject. At the time of the Pushkin jubilee in 1899, the centenary of the poet's birth, the following characteristic incidents occurred. The municipal council of the town of Serpukhov, in reply to an application from the director of local high-school to have a school named after Pushkin opened in the town decided: "that in view of the fact that Pushkin never did anything particular for Serpukhov, the application of the high-school director be rejected." The administration of one of the Russian railways issued the following order forbidding its employees to celebrate Pushkin's memory: "Mr. Pushkin never served in the Ministry of Transport, and to honour his memory is the business of writers and not of railway employees."

Only the people of the happy country of Socialism, who have been freed from capitalist slavery and barbarism, could really understand and appreciate Pushkin. The great October Socialist revolution, which has given rise in the Soviet Union to such an unprecedented growth of culture, was the first to bring the treasury of Russian and world literature within the reach of every worker, every peasant, all those whom tsarism had kept in darkness and ignorance.

Pushkin is near and dear to the hearts of the people of the U.S.S.R., who understand and love his joyous spirit, his noble humanitarian aspirations, his love of mankind, his sympathy with the exploited, his hatred of the exploiters. The name of Pushkin has become to them the emblem of Socialist culture, the emblem of a new and happy life. The recollection of the tragic fate of Pushkin rallies them in their hatred for the Fascist obscurantists, who have far outdone the lackeys of Nicholas I in their raging vandalism.

During the Pushkin celebrations, words written by Pushkin more than 100 years ago were repeated throughout the Soviet Union, words that still to-day have the potency of a battle cry calling men to fight

for the freedom and happiness of the peoples against oppression and barbarism:

“Hail to the Muses, hail to Reason,  
Hail to the sunshine, and away with darkness!”

## IN MEMORY OF G. K. ORJONIKIDZE— GREAT FIGHTER FOR SOCIALISM

(DOCUMENTS FROM THE HISTORY OF THE CIVIL WAR)

“THE crushing force of the Red Army units, formed and led by the Bolshevik, Sergo Orjonikidze, has been tasted by German invaders, Ukrainian Whiteguards of all shades, the troops of the Polish nobility, the Azerbaidjan Mussavatists, the Armenian Dashnyaks, the Georgian Mensheviks, and all other enemies of the revolution.”

(From the speech of Comrade Voroshilov at the meeting in commemoration of Grigori Konstantinovich Orjonikidze, February 21, 1937.)

### A PROLETARIAN MILITARY LEADER AND STRATEGIST. COMMISSAR EXTRAORDINARY.

The year 1918 was ushered in amid the smoke of battles growing ever fiercer. Menacing clouds were gathering in the South of Russia. The counter-revolutionary Ukrainian Rada (Parliament—Ed.) was disarming the Soviet troops and dispersing the local Soviets. The German occupation had begun. The Central Committee of the Party and the Council of People's Commissars sent the tried Leninist, Sergo, to the South. He was appointed Commissar Extraordinary of the Ukraine region. Comrade Sergo organised the resistance to the Germans and saved from their greedy clutches highly valuable factory equipment, food, and war supplies. In April, he transferred to Rostov-on-the-Don where he rallied the Red units against the Germans and Haidamaks, who were advancing on the Don and the Kuban. On April 9, the day of the opening of the 1st Congress of Soviets of the Don Republic, the Sovnarkom (Council of People's Commissars) of the R.S.F.S.R. issued the following special decree regarding the work of Comrade Orjonikidze :

*Decree of the Council of People's Commissars Regarding the Commissariat Extraordinary of the Southern Region, April 11, 1918, No. 1345.*

Commissar Extraordinary of the Council of People's Commissars, Comrade S. Orjonikidze, is instructed to organise under his chairmanship a Provisional Commissariat Extraordinary of the Southern

Region to cover activities in the Crimea, the Don Province, the Terek Province, the Black Sea Region, the Black Sea Fleet, and the whole of North Caucasus to Baku.

The aim of the Commissariat is strictly to carry out the directions of the Central Soviet Government on land and sea, to carry on a concentrated struggle against the bourgeois counter-revolution, to consolidate the Soviet Government where it is operative, and to maintain direct contact between the provinces and the Council of People's Commissars.

The Commissariat Extraordinary consists of a Chairman and one representative each from the Provinces and the Fleet as agreed upon between the duly authorised bodies in the Provinces and the Chairman of the Commissariat.

The Commissariat Extraordinary has the right of control over the work of all Soviet institutions in the region. The Councils of People's Commissars, the Soviets of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies, the Revolutionary Committees, the Revolutionary Staffs of the region, as well as the duly authorised organ of the Fleet, operate in the closest contact with the Commissar Extraordinary as the representative of the Central Soviet Government in the region.

Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars,  
V. I. Ulianov (Lenin).

People's Commissars, I. Stalin, Chicherin, Lunacharski.

The Cossack Vendée\* was raging all around. German generals were helping the counter-revolutionary Cossack units in their offensive. The Red units had to retreat from Rostov to Tsaritsyn. Comrade Sergo discovered that this important strategic point was badly fortified, and wrote to Lenin about it. Trotsky's henchman, the ex-colonel Nosovich, proved to be a traitor. Comrade Sergo crushed the counter-revolutionary revolt, and when Stalin

\* La Vendée, part of Brittany, historic centre of counter-revolutionary rising during the Great French Revolution.—Ed. English Edition.

arrived in Tsaritsyn he helped him to organise the defence of this Red Verdun.

In the spring of 1918 Comrade Sergo, at enormous risk, broke through the front to Vladikavkaz. With an iron hand he united the scattered irregular detachments and out of them formed the first regular Red Army in the North Caucasus, known as the 11th Army. It fought long and successfully against the counter-revolutionary hirelings of the interventionist powers.

Army Commander Sorokin betrayed the revolution, but Sergo's courage did not fail even in the hour of mortal danger. On January 24, 1919, Comrade Sergo wired to Lenin :

#### TELEGRAM TO LENIN.

We have no shells, no bullets, no money. For six months we have been waging war, and are buying bullets at five roubles a piece. Vladimir Ilyich, in reporting this to you (details by post), I assure you that we shall all perish in unequal battle, rather than sully our honour by flight. The workers of Grozny and Vladikavkaz are filled with unyielding determination to fight and not to retreat. The sympathy of the mountain peoples is with us.

Dear Vladimir Ilyich, in this moment of mortal danger we send you our greetings and await your help.

Orjonikidze.

#### A MAINSTAY OF COMRADE STALIN.

Sergo's militant friendship with Comrade Stalin which had already been firmly cemented during the period of illegal work under the tsarist regime, grew still stronger in the fire of the civil war.\* Stalin was engaged in strengthening the western front against the counter-revolutionary Poles and was helped in this by Sergo who in the spring of 1919 was appointed to the Revolutionary Military Council of the 14th Army operating against the Poles. Sergo restored order in the army and personally directed military operations.

In the autumn of 1919 Denikin was advancing by forced marches on Moscow, whereupon the Party and Lenin sent out the call : "All for the fight against Denikin !" Once more Sergo was to be found on the most responsible fighting sector. Appointed to the Revolutionary Military Council of the 14th Army, Orjonikidze cut off the enemy's advance on Red Moscow.

Trotsky and his associates did a great deal of harm on the Southern front and at Stalin's insistence was removed from participation in the fight against Denikin, the Party entrusting Stalin with the task of organising the defeat of the White hordes. Stalin drew up his brilliant plan, to carry out which the most trusty sons of the Party—Stalin's assistants :

Orjonikidze, Voroshilov, Budyenny, Molotov and Kaganovitch, were appointed to the decisive sectors of the front. These were a truly Stalinist group of military leaders, and Sergo, as usual, was on one of the most difficult sectors. At the head of the 14th Army, he inflicted a crushing defeat on Denikin near Orel, thus preparing the way for a complete change in the situation at the front. Lenin called the battle of Orel the bloodiest battle of the civil war. Sergo then freed Kharkov, and after it the Donbas, steadily leading the Red regiments on along the course marked out by Stalin.

#### S. ORJONIKIDZE TO V. I. LENIN.

October 15, 1919.

Village of Sergiyevskoye.

Dear Vladimir Ilyich,

I was thinking of coming to Moscow to-day for a few hours, but decided it was better to hurry on to the army. I have now been appointed to the Revolutionary Military Council of the 14th Army. Nevertheless, I have decided to share with you the very poor impressions I bear away with me of what I have seen these last two days in the staffs of the armies here. It is something incredible, bordering on treachery. There is such a frivolous attitude to the work on hand, such absolute lack of understanding of the seriousness of the present situation ! In the staffs there is not the slightest hint of order, while the staff of the front is a mere farce. Stalin is only beginning to restore order. The frame of mind created among the troops was that the Soviet Government was beaten, that it was all no use, that nothing could be done. In the 14th Army some scoundrel Shuba who calls himself an anarchist attacks our staffs, arrests them, seizes hold of the baggage-trains, and sends a Brigade Commander to the front, under his supervision, to restore the situation. In the 13th Army things are no better. In general what one hears and sees here is like a bad joke. Where are the order, the discipline, and the regular army Trotsky talks about ? How could he have let things come to such a state of disorganisation ? And finally, Vladimir Ilyich, where did they get the idea that Sokolnikov was fit to command an army ? Aren't our army leaders able to think of something brighter ? It is a disgrace to the army and to the country. Has Sokolnikov got to be given a whole army to play about with just to spare his feelings ? But there, I won't worry you any further. Perhaps I should'nt have said as much as I have done, but I can't bring myself to keep silent. The present is a highly responsible and dangerous moment. I will conclude, dear Vladimir Ilyich.

With warmest greetings,

Your Sergo.

In a note to this letter from Sergo, Lenin made the following comment :

"According to the testimonials of both Unshlicht and Stalin, Sergo is a most reliable military man. That he is a most trusty and energetic revolutionary I myself can vouch for. I have known his over ten years."

*ANOTHER LETTER TO LENIN.*

Dear Vladimir Ilyich,

I take this opportunity of telling you something about the state of affairs with us on the Southern front—in particular, where our army (14th) is operating. On November 3, at 6 a.m. we succeeded in breaking through the enemy's front in the region of the Kromy-Fatezh highroad. Through this breach I sent the cavalry which on the same day, 3/X, succeeded in blowing up the bridge on the river Svapa, and advancing East to the station of Ponyra on the Orel-Kursk railway.

The enemy's best divisions, under the command of Kornilov and Drozdov, are retreating in panic. If things go on like this, I'll soon be sending you a telegram from Kursk. In this sector the enemy is undoubtedly badly demoralised, but is pressing fairly strongly in the other sector, that of Sevsk-Dimitrevsk. If we manage to parry this attack, we shall win a big victory. In general we are on the eve of great events on the whole Southern front. I think we shall beat Denikin, in any case he may give up thinking of Moscow. Only, Vladimir Ilyich, at all costs make

a noise in the press, don't let the rear fall asleep. The least little attention from the rear delights the Red Armymen, just like children. I think I will not bore you any further. Stalin has probably reported everything to you. I have sent him to-day, as my immediate superior, an official report. I am now all at your command, dear Ilyich. Stalin and I are getting on very well together. Please do not fail to convey my warm greetings to Nadezhda Konstantinovna.

Accept a hearty handshake and embrace from  
Your Sergo.

November 6.

*NOTE FROM ORJONIKIDZE TO EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND TO V. I. LENIN.*

December, 1919.

To-night I have returned with the Army Commander from a tour of the front, doing 500 versts in country carts, and so having the opportunity to hold lengthy conversations with peasants. Thanks to the Denikin regime the feeling is undoubtedly with us, but they are appalling backward. The peasants have not the most elementary idea of what the Soviet Government is. They have the most erroneous idea of the Communists. We must have a mass mobilisation of Communists—workers of average level—and send them to the villages. This must be done immediately.

Orjonikidze.

## INTERNATIONAL LABOUR MOVEMENT

# THE DEFEAT OF FASCISM IN THE FINNISH PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

By O. KUUSINEN

AT the presidential elections in Finland, the struggle of the democratic forces of the people was chiefly concentrated on preventing the re-election of President Svinhufvud, who has, for a period of six years, been the mainstay of reaction and Fascism. In 1930, it was with his aid that the legal Left-Socialist working-class movement was crushed, the entire parliamentary group of Left Socialists put under arrest, the General Confederation of Trade Unions dissolved, and severe measures adopted by the Fascist big bourgeoisie during the economic crisis to make considerable cuts in the workers' wages, as well as in the standard of living of the peasant population. While Svinhufvud occupied the post of

President he drew the foreign policy of Finland further and further into the fairway of the adventurist war policy of Hitler Germany, so that the struggle for and against Svinhufvud meant a struggle for and against reaction and Fascism, for and against the anti-Soviet war policy, for and against the adoption of a Fascist-German orientation in Finland.

The electoral bloc fighting for the candidature of Svinhufvud was made up of the most reactionary parties in Finland, namely, the Coalition Party and the Lappo Party (Finnish Hitlerites). In addition, the majority of the "electors" from the Swedish Party declared themselves even before the elections to be supporters of Svinhufvud. This united Fascist camp

conducted, on behalf of their candidate, a widespread agitation, reminiscent of American advertising. An election fund, running into millions, and made up of sums of money contributed by the banks and big firms, was used for the purpose, but, all the noise and clatter worked up around the candidature of Svinhufvud ended in the defeat of Finnish Fascism.

As is well known, the presidential elections in Finland take place in two stages. First, on the basis of general elections: 300 "electors" are chosen who then, a month later, come together to elect the President. The primary elections took place on January 15-16 of this year, a total of 1,098,773 votes being cast in all, of which the Svinhufvud election bloc obtained only 332,608 votes. Even if to these votes there be added the greater part of the votes of the Swedish Party, the total will be only a little over one-third of the entire number of votes cast at the elections. Consequently, the front of reaction met with a clear defeat at the elections, the vast majority of the people voting against it.

But who was the victor? Can it be asserted that the camp of the clearly anti-Fascist democratic forces was victorious at these elections? No, that would be an exaggeration. The electoral bloc of the *Social-Democratic Party*, supported on this occasion by the Communists who voted for the Left candidates of the bloc for the position of "electors," obtained 339,808 votes, i.e., 90,000 more votes than at the previous presidential elections, when the Communists stood aside. The electoral bloc of the former President *Stahlberg*, composed of the Progressive Party, two small peasant parties and the Left wing of the Swedish Party, obtained only 151,820 votes. If these votes are added to those cast for the Social-Democrats, the result is approximately 500,000, or considerably more than the number of votes cast for Svinhufvud, but still less than half of the total number of votes. In addition, it should be borne in mind that there were elements in the Right wing of Stahlberg's own party, the Progressive Party, who could be considered neither as democrats nor as anti-Fascists. Without doubt, Stahlberg himself, like the majority of his electoral bloc, took up an anti-Fascist stand on this occasion, but it was precisely because his own party contained hidden opponents who were working less for him than against him, that he obtained a comparatively small number of votes.

Besides these parties, the *Agrarian League* also took part in the elections, their candidate being Prime Minister Kallio, who obtained 184,486 votes. The Agrarian League is a large peasant party, the leading bodies of which, as a rule, are composed of kulak elements, officials and petty-bourgeois intellectuals, but it is supported by the majority of the middle peasantry as well as numerous small peasants. This

party must not be considered as belonging to the Fascist camp, despite the fact that its right wing contains Fascist-minded elements. But neither do the former activities of this party give us the right to consider it to be definitely anti-Fascist and democratic. It is an *intermediary group* which wavers between the Fascist and anti-Fascist camps, at times approximating closely to the one camp, at other times to the other. It has on numerous occasions participated in the reactionary government bloc along with the Coalition Party of the upper bourgeoisie, and with the Right wing of the Progressive Party. However, the increasing danger and insolence of Fascism, as well as the policy pursued by the big bourgeoisie of robbing the peasantry during the economic crisis, have impelled the majority of the rank and file of the Agrarian League to adopt the position of the parliamentary defence of their interests against the most unrestrained attacks of Fascist reaction.

The relation of forces between the various electoral blocs from the viewpoint of the number of mandates received in the primary elections, was as follows:

	<i>"Number of Electors"</i>
Social-Democratic Party .. ..	95
Agrarian League .. ..	56
Stahlberg Electoral Bloc ...	38
Svinhufvud Electoral Bloc ..	86
Swedish Party .. ..	25

On February 15, these 300 "electors" balloted for the President, only 3 candidates for the post being put forward, namely, Stahlberg, Kallio and Svinhufvud. (Many reactionaries, it is true, having presentiments concerning the extremely weak chances for Svinhufvud's candidature, had done some "lobbying" behind the scenes in favour of their new candidate, Ryti, the Director of the Finnish Bank, but neither the Agrarian League nor the Progressive Party were caught in the snare.) The first ballot led to no final result, the voting being, Stahlberg, 150 votes; Svinhufvud, 94; and Kallio, 56. Thus, Stahlberg needed only one more vote to obtain the majority stipulated by law for the election of President. This unexpectedly large number of votes cast in his favour—a fact which created the impression of quite a strong anti-Fascist demonstration—resulted from the fact that in addition to the "electors" of his own bloc all the Social-Democrats and 17 of the "electors" of the Swedish Party voted for him.

The Social-Democratic "electors" had declared in advance that in the first round they would vote for Stahlberg, but that if he failed to be elected, they would vote for Kallio in the second round. They acted quite correctly in so doing, so as, at all costs, to prevent the election of Svinhufvud, for otherwise, according to the law, a third ballot would have been necessary to vote on the two candidates who had

received the largest number of votes in the second round; and, in view of the fact that in the second round, it was precisely Kallio's name that would have dropped out, it was most likely that the majority of Agrarians and Swedes would have voted for Svinhufvud against Stahlberg in the third round. But this did not happen, because the Social-Democrats and even the majority of Stahlberg's "electors" supported the candidature of Kallio in the second ballot, the result being, Kallio 170 votes, Svinhufvud 104, Stahlberg, 19.

Thus Kallio was elected President by a considerable majority.

The camp of Fascist reaction was furious, its press howling about the election results that "This is an historic disgrace!" and "This is treason against the fatherland!" Whence these cries, as though of somebody suffering acute agony? Had not these representatives of the reactionary big bourgeoisie on more than one occasion considered Kallio to be a suitable individual to participate in a joint government bloc! Such occasions existed in the past, but these Fascist gentlemen apparently do not consider Kallio to be their *own man* in spite of all. They cannot be sure that as President, Kallio will be their puppet altogether, for Kallio was a peasant in the past, and is the leader of the peasant party to-day. Messieurs, the reactionaries fear, therefore, that at any moment when, in their opinion, the President is called upon to place his seal to decisions fatal to the vital interests of the people, the hand of Kallio will perhaps be tied by a feeling of community with the broad strata of the peasants of Finland. They are afraid that they will not obtain his assistance either in setting up non-parliamentary governments, in destroying parliamentarianism, or in support of the war policy of Hitler Germany.

The Fascist bosses of the money-bags feel that they no longer have their own trusted man in the Presidential palace. An important position has slipped out of their hands, and hence their anguish and fury.

It would, however, be an illusion to expect big changes in the domestic and foreign policy of Finland as a direct result of these elections. President Kallio is neither able nor willing to hinder the formation of a government enjoying the confidence of the majority in parliament. Neither, however, will the new government be consistently democratic in the full sense of the word, still less anything in the nature of a People's Front Government. The pre-conditions for this do not yet exist in Finland.

But whatever the composition of the new government, the people have the right to make insistent demands upon it for two things at least: firstly, that the new government should not in the slightest degree, either in home or foreign affairs, continue the policy of Svinhufvud, the line of the former government

(Kivimäki), which led the country towards Fascism and war. Secondly, that the new government should cease to look on with folded arms at the new violent onslaughts being prepared by the dark forces of Fascism, but should put an end, once and for all, to their dangerous machinations, and guarantee the immunity of democratic rights established by the Constitution, as well as the preservation of peace.

It would be the greatest mistake which the democratic forces of our country could make to-day if they were to become careless and trustful, possessed of the frivolous notion that since reaction has suffered defeat at the elections, the danger of Fascism has passed. The chief paper of the Progressive Party, for instance, is trying to persuade us of this even now, but it is absolutely untrue. Such a view simply means to mislead ourselves and others, for as everyone knows, the camp of united reaction in Finland (the Coalitionists, Lappo supporters and Swedish reactionaries) hold dangerously strong positions in various spheres. They control a large part of the key positions both in the economic life of the country and in the army, in the Suojeluskunta (a voluntary military corps of the bourgeoisie) and also in the bureaucracy of the Civil Service and the law. The Fascist big bourgeoisie of Finland can now use all these key positions as vantage grounds from which to organise an offensive, both active and passive, against a government, President and parliamentary majority that do not meet with their desires. As it happens, the loss of the post of President serves as an excuse for Fascist reaction to set about feverish preparations for a new extra-legal attack designed to destroy the parliamentary system, and to bring about a Fascist coup d'état. *Herein* lies the danger now.

There can be no doubt that the Lappo "heroes" will again, as in 1930, receive from the banks and industrial export firms lavish financial support, wherewith to carry out riots and hooligan assaults. And their funds will come not only from Finnish but, as we know, from German sources as well, direct from the government treasury and the German General Staff. The Hitlerites will do their utmost. Influence may be exerted upon the foreign political relations of Finland not only by the official government policy, but also, to a growing degree, by the unofficial machinations of the dark forces to be found not only in the leadership of the National Bank, the Coalition Party, and the Lappo movement, but also among the leading Army circles and among the Finnish diplomats.

As far as one can judge from a distance, in domestic policy the reactionary forces will now resort to overt and covert tactics of exerting pressure especially upon the leaders of the Agrarian League and of the Progressive Party and partly of the Social-

Democratic and Swedish Parties as well. In addition, the waverers will be treated with good and evil, praise and calumny, bribery and threats, pacification and the whip. *In this respect*, the technique of bourgeois policy in Finland is pretty highly developed. Several years ago, the government had a progressive Foreign Minister of Home Affairs in the shape of Ritavuori, who refused to be influenced—he was treacherously murdered. Stahlberg, former President, was kidnapped in 1930 (by people from the Army Headquarters and the Secret Police). Perhaps President Kallio will also still remember how the leadership of the Lappo movement in 1930, when he was Prime Minister, sent two of its own cut-throats to kill him (fortunately, these “heroes” quaked at the thought of carrying out the task entrusted to them, and in fear of the vengeance of their leaders, killed themselves).

Moreover, it should not be forgotten that the Coalition Party has its own direct assistants in the right wing of other parties, like Relander, Pehkonen, and others in the Agrarian League; Kivimäki, Ryti, Erkko, and others in the Progressive Party; Procopé, Ramsay, Von Julin, Sarlin, and others in the Swedish Party; and Kalle Heinonen and a number of others, even in the Social-Democratic Party. It is clear that the Fascist reactionaries will use these “nuclei” of the Coalition Party, in their efforts to work up the other parties in the direction they require. Herein

also lies one of the dangers to the cause of the defence of democracy.

Consequently, the danger of Fascism in Finland can, on no account, be considered as done with. Far from it. *It cannot be overcome without active fighting, without a struggle.* A partial victory, like the victory just won at the presidential elections, does not, like a swallow, make a summer. And even this partial success will be turned to naught if the democratic elements now rest upon their laurels and give the reactionaries an opportunity of rallying their forces.

There can be no doubt that the situation that has now arisen is in many respects more favourable than before, for doing away with the Fascist danger in Finland. But anybody who imagines that this task is an easy one is profoundly mistaken. It requires untiring work and energy *in mustering wide sections of the working people into an unshakeable united front.* It requires constant vigilance to uncover, clean out, and block up all the rat-holes of the intriguing, reactionary plotters.

It also requires the best qualities of true democrats bound by their principles, it requires courage, self-sacrifice and determination, in defending the dearest and most vital interests of the people.

Fascism *can* be vanquished, but only *by united forces and a staunch struggle.* Not otherwise!

## VANDERVELDE AT THE CROSS-ROADS

By G. WALECKI

**P**EACE is indivisible. Though a small country, Belgium, by reason of its geographical position, occupies a special and particularly important place in the development of world politics. Who does not remember the great rôle she played in the period of the first imperialist war? It is obvious that at the present time, when a tremendous struggle is taking place in Europe and in all parts of the globe, a struggle ever increasing in intensity between the forces of Fascism and reaction, which are seeking to precipitate a new world war, and the forces of democracy and progress which stand for the preservation of peace, when in a number of capitalist countries there is going on with the active participation of the agents of external Fascism, an internal struggle, the outcome of which will determine whether the country in question will become an instrument of the war mongers or will join the ranks of the champions of peace—at such a time everything that happens in Belgium acquires specially great significance. Everyone remembers the great uneasiness occasioned in the autumn of last year by the

statement of the young Belgian King, supported by the speech of his “second,” the Neo-Socialist, Spaak, young Minister for Foreign Affairs, announcing a change in the foreign policy of Belgium in the direction of greater “independence,” or “neutrality”—statements all the more significant for the favourable reception they met with in Rome and in Berlin. And this uneasiness on the part of all the friends of peace, who were alarmed at the change in Belgian foreign policy, was in no way dispelled when the Congress of the Belgian Labour Party, held at the end of October last year, after hearing a speech by Spaak himself and one by Vandervelde defending him, ignored the speeches of protest of a number of delegates and adopted a resolution slurring over the whole question.

No less was the uneasiness caused by the policy of the Belgian government with regard to the events in Spain. The Belgian working class stood wholeheartedly and enthusiastically with the heroic Spanish people fighting desperately to repel the foul onslaught of the Fascists and the Italian and German

interventionist troops. The Belgian workers and democrats gave, and are still giving, generous fraternal aid of a material and moral character to the Spanish people. The campaign of solidarity with those who are fighting for the freedom of Republican Spain, a campaign being waged by the joint forces of the Socialists, Communists and all anti-Fascists, has spread widely throughout the whole of Belgium. The working people of Belgium have sent hundreds of self-sacrificing fighters to join the ranks of the International Brigades, and many of these have died the death of heroes around Madrid.

But what of the Belgian Government, in which there are six Socialist Ministers, how did it act during these months? Officially the government adopted the policy of "non-intervention." But actually it was a matter of common knowledge that the "decisive factors" inside and outside the government were, like the Belgian "Rexists," wholly on the side of Franco's rebels. This was to be seen in the systematic arrests of all those Belgian citizens—even including the General Secretary of the Belgian Labour Party—who organised active assistance to the legal government of Spain and the Spanish people. It was to be seen in the scandalous postponement of the reception of the new Spanish ambassador, Ossoria-i-Galliaro, by the "decisive factor."

It was to be seen, finally, in the notorious Baron de Borchgrave "affair," which served as the pretext for the resignation of Vandervelde, Chairman of the Belgian Labour Party, from the government at the end of January.

Who was this Baron de Borchgrave? And how came it about that his "affair" led to a very serious crisis in the Belgian Labour Party?

At the time of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, which was overthrown in April, 1931, the Belgian ambassador in Madrid was one Count de Borchgrave, a reactionary and a clerical, now Belgian ambassador to the Vatican. After he left Spain, his son, Baron de Borchgrave stayed on in Madrid as a private individual earning his livelihood by keeping a garage and by acting as commercial representative for the German "D.K.B." automobile firm. Then came the Fascist revolt led by Franco, the civil war, and intervention by Germany and Italy. The garage-keeper and representative of the German firm did not clear out of Madrid, but remained on in the Spanish capital with his friends from the "fifth column." But in order to give an official stamp to his presence in the besieged city he got appointed at the last minute to a minor post in the Belgian Royal Embassy. He made it a practice to hang about the front line, engaging in espionage, and informing his Fascist friends of what he saw going on. At the end of December, Baron de Borchgrave disappeared, and

a few days later his body was found in the front zone, where fighting had been going on at the time of his disappearance.

The Belgian Government immediately made a "diplomatic incident" of this. It accused the Republican authorities of the murder of a Belgian "diplomat," and demanded "satisfaction" from the Spanish Government. Note after note, each "firmer" than the other, passed between Brussels and Valencia. The matter was in the hands of the Belgian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Spaak. In vain did the Spanish Government point out that it was unaware of the existence of the "diplomat," de Borchgrave, that it had never been informed that this German traveller and garage-owner had been taken on the staff of the Belgian Embassy, that this merchant had never applied for a pass for his visits to the front, that if he, a civilian, went strolling along the firing line, he did so at his own risk, exposing himself to the danger of being struck by a random bullet. It was all no use. Minister Spaak remains firm, demanding "satisfaction," and claimed compensation for the valuable life of the "garage-owner" and Fascist spy to the extent of no less than *one million* pesetas.

In his last note Spaak threatened that if he did not get satisfaction, the Belgian ambassador would be recalled from Valencia and diplomatic relations with the Spanish Government broken off. It is easy to understand that in face of such blackmail, the Largo Caballero Government was ready to make some compromise. And so a meeting took place between the two Foreign Ministers, the Socialist del Vayo, and the "Socialist" Spaak, in the French town of San Quentin. Del Vayo proposed to refer the dispute to the Hague Tribunal for a decision on principle. Spaak agreed, but on one condition, namely, that he should be paid there and then the sum of one million pesetas, to remain the property of the surviving relatives of the Fascist spy who had met this "tragic" end—irrespective of any decision the Hague Tribunal might come to. Del Vayo wrote out a cheque for the required sum, took his leave, and went back to Valencia.

A million pesetas was roughly equal to the amount which the Belgian workers had taken months to collect, centime by centime, sou by sou, franc by franc, in aid of the Spanish people. And now all this money went back to Belgium, thanks to the efforts of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Spaak. Belgium's balance of payments was not disturbed.

The de Borchgrave incident and all the incredibly scandalous circumstances attending it, roused the deepest indignation among the Belgian workers. They were more even than Minister Vandervelde, Spaak's colleague in the government, could stand. Vandervelde protested. Stormy scenes were enacted at the

meeting of the Cabinet, as Vandervelde himself subsequently related. Spaak, and also de Man in a more violent manner, attacked Vandervelde, accusing him of disloyalty, reproaching him with maintaining personal contact with the Spanish Embassy in Brussels, and with inspiring an article in the "Peuple," the organ of the Labour Party, which was used by the Spanish in their parleys with the Belgian Government, etc., etc. Following on this the Premier, Van Zeeland, demanded that Vandervelde should give verbal and written notice of his resignation. Vandervelde put the question before the Executive Committee of the Labour Party. And this Committee, of which all the Socialist Ministers are members, decided that Vandervelde should resign and that his seat in the Cabinet be filled by another Socialist, Arthur Watters.

Thus at this stage victory remained with the de Man-Spaak group, or "clan," as they are now called in the ranks of the Belgian Labour Party. The whole question with all its implications was referred to the plenary session of the General Council of the Labour Party. We shall have to return again to the results of this discussion, which is of tremendous importance for the future not only of the Labour Party, but of the whole country. So far de Man and Spaak are continuing to attack all along the line. They gave two sensational interviews to the reactionary newspaper "Independence Belge," expounding with cynical frankness the new line they are trying to impose on the Party.

After Vandervelde's resignation there were stormy scenes in the Belgian Parliament, leading to actual fisticuffs—also on the question of Spain. The Speaker of the House, the Socialist Huysmans, had taken advantage of the interim between the Parliamentary sessions to go to Spain, where he spoke in Valencia and Barcelona as a sincere friend of the Spanish people and enemy of Fascism. After his return the "Rexists" and other Fascists raised a commotion in the House, calling for Huysmans' resignation from the Speaker's chair. In this they were supported by deputies of the Catholic Party, i.e., the chief party of the government coalition. Vandervelde describes the scene in his article: "Attempts to form a Right Bloc" ("Peuple," February 14):

"One would need to have been there. One would need to have seen the fury of the Rights, all the Rights, confronted with the firm and calm attitude of Camille Huysmans. One would need to have seen the Rexists, the Nationalists, and all the Catholics, with rare and courageous exceptions, united momentarily in their hatred of Communism, Marxism and Socialism, greeting with frantic applause the speech of M. Carton de Wiart (a Clerical Conservative—G.V.). He would be blind who did not see in this a very serious warning!

"I quite understand that it is not enough to desire a reactionary coalition, whose first act would be to throw

the Socialists overboard; and that, in addition, the coalition of all the Rights, even if it were politically and morally possible at the present moment, would not have a majority.

"At the same time, however, it is necessary to look to the future. We must remember what has happened in other countries. And the other day, when I saw from my deputy's bench, Socialists and Communists standing *shoulder to shoulder and offering a by no means passive resistance* to the furious creatures who were attacking the Speaker's Chair, I thought of the following, which one of the leaders of the Christian Democracy (a section of the Catholic Party—G.V.) said to me recently: '*On the day that the reactionaries form a united front we shall not hesitate to join the Front Populaire*'."

We do not know what reply Citizen Vandervelde made to his Christian-Democratic friend. But according to plain logic, following to its logical conclusion his line of thought in the article we have quoted, his answer should have been: "Comrade Christian-Democrat, my future ally in the struggle against the united forces of the reactionaries and the Fascists, must we wait for 'this day'? Would it not be better, would it not be more advantageous, would it not be more practical, to *avert that day, to bar the way* to reaction and Fascism before they finally unite to crush us? Why postpone the formation of a People's Front of all democrats—from Communists to Christian-Democrats—until that fatal 'day'? And should we not learn from 'what has happened in other countries'?"

De Man and Spaak, Vandervelde's opponents in the leadership of the Belgian Labour Party—having come to terms with the forces of out-and-out reaction, are taking the offensive. Their "strategy" within the Labour Party is very simple, namely, under the slogan of a struggle against Communism, against "Moscow," to crush the Lefts of their own Party, to isolate them, drive them out of the Party, expel them if necessary, and then, to attract all the wavering elements to their side, and lead the whole Party along the path of coalition with the reactionaries, of the "corporative" re-organisation of the state, and of a pro-Fascist home and foreign policy. Everything goes to show that the rank and file of the Belgian Labour Party and a number of their tried leaders *do not want this*. They want *unity* in their Party on the basis of an open, democratic, anti-Fascist policy and struggle.

But in order to achieve this they must fully realise the situation, the danger that threatens them, the working class, the whole of the working people, and the entire country. They must get to know things, they must know much of what has been carefully concealed from them up to the present.

In particular, they must get to know *all* about Spain, and *all* that has been going on, and is still going on, in Belgium itself directly in connection with Spain.

After Vandervelde's resignation from the government, and thanks to a great extent to Vandervelde himself, the masses learned many things. But they are still far from knowing all.

In his book, "Problems of Peace" (p. 6), published in 1931, Leon Blum wrote:

"Our prime duty to the people who have given us their confidence is to tell them the truth, frankly, without holding anything back. They have the right to know everything that we know ourselves, everything that the mandate entrusted to us has enabled us to learn. The working class are not lacking either in penetration or cool-headedness: it is not among them that one can sow alarm or panic. Even in the face of danger they would know how to maintain complete control over their will and reason—and to conceal anything from them would be an insult . . .

"Our prime obligation, therefore, is to hold nothing

back, even as a matter of precaution, to conceal nothing, even as an omission governed by prudence . . ."

Leon Blum's words about the "prime duty" and "prime obligation" of a working-class leader were well said. (Unfortunately we are not sure that he has always been mindful of them in his own practical activity.)

In the interests of the Belgian working class, in the interests of the international working class, in the interests of the world-wide struggle against Fascism and war, in the interests of the Spanish people, who are fighting for their own freedom and for the freedom of all of us, let Citizen Vandervelde discharge this duty, this obligation of his, to the end.

That is to say: let him conceal nothing from the working class, tell them *all*, and what is most important, draw the political conclusions which follow with inexorable logic.

## THE CONCENTRATION OF DEMOCRATIC FORCES IN RUMANIA

(A Reply to Citizen Radachean)

By BORIS STEPHANOV

**L**OTHAR Radachean, General Secretary of the Social-Democratic Party of Rumania, has published two articles on the Fascist danger in Rumania, one in the Information Bulletin of the Socialist International, and the other in the February number of "Kampf."

Radachean is right in sounding the alarm about the growth of this danger, but his estimation of the situation in Rumania is clearly pessimistic. Radachean's pessimism arises from the fact that he underestimates the possibility of resisting the Fascist offensive in Rumania, underestimates the forces capable of barring the way to this offensive, and himself does not display the necessary determination to do everything to rally these forces together and set them against Fascism. A fatalistic note is to be met with in his article, leading in practice to capitulation to Fascism. This is the same fatalism and capitulation which determined the policy of German and Austrian Social-Democracy, and assisted Fascism to victory in both Germany and Austria.

Events took quite a different turn, however, in France and Spain. There, the anti-Fascists—including the Socialists as well—succeeded in overcoming fatalism and pessimism in their ranks, and in uniting in one mighty People's Front to bar the way against Fascism. The Rumanian anti-Fascists are drawing the lessons of the German defeat and learning from

the example of the French successes in the struggle against Fascism, and are beginning to find the correct tactics for themselves as well.

The Fascist offensive can be beaten off in Rumania as well. In asserting this, we are basing ourselves upon the undoubted *fact that the overwhelming majority* of the working population of Rumania, and even considerable sections of the bourgeoisie *are opposed* to Fascism. It is the task and the duty of all democrats in Rumania to seek out the ways and means which will enable the broad masses of the people to manifest their will, and isolate and crush those who are working for Fascism, and which will pave the way for a democratic transformation of the existing regime. There have been quite a few examples in Rumania to prove that it is possible to carry on a struggle, a *successful* struggle, against Fascism. Let us but call to mind the victory of the candidates of the democratic bloc over the Fascist candidates supported by the government, at the by-elections in Guneduar and Megedintz. Let us also call to mind the mass defence of the democratic press against the pogrom raids of the Fascists. Although these partial successes in the struggle against the Rumanian Fascists were not the result of action undertaken by an officially constituted People's Front, nevertheless they demonstrated in practice the possibility of collaboration between all the democratic

forces and the possibility of crushing Fascism. The elections already indicated, as well as the defence of the democratic press on the streets of Bucharest, were the work of the anti-Fascist masses, including the national-Tsaranists, the Social-Democrats and the Democratic Bloc. The concentration of the democratic forces in Rumania as an anti-Fascist People's Front, or in any other form, is possible and essential.

Two conditions are necessary to bring about this concentration. Firstly, a common aim, namely the struggle against Fascism, the struggle for democracy. Any attempt to carry on a struggle "on two fronts," against "the extremists on the Right and Left," "against Fascism and Bolshevism," any attempt to seek out a "middle course," is not only doomed to failure, but actually amounts to supporting Fascism. The strength of the People's Front both in France and Spain lies precisely in the fact that it set itself the single aim, namely, "to direct the whole line of fire against Fascism." Only under the slogan of "No enemies from the left" is it possible to concentrate the democratic forces to resist Fascism. The struggle against Fascism, which has the support not only of Rumanian reaction but also of foreign, and first and foremost, Hitler Fascism, imperatively demands that all the forces of democracy be mobilised; and the refusal to draw into this struggle any single section of democracy not only lessens the chances of victory over Fascism, but dooms the struggle to failure from the outset.

In their actions, the representatives of the National-Tsaranist Party have more than once proved that they are approaching an understanding of this most elementary law of strategy in the anti-fascist struggle. It is essential that the leaders of Social-Democracy adopt this viewpoint, which is the only consistently democratic one.

The second condition necessary for the establishment of an anti-Fascist democratic bloc is to know how to make mutual concessions, to give up as far as is necessary narrow party ambitions and to establish relations of mutual confidence. This by no means signifies that the parties and organisations joining the democratic bloc should give up their independence and their respective programmes. The requisite militant alliance of democratic forces to achieve a definite and immediate common aim cannot be achieved if each of the constituent bodies imagines that everything in the garden is lovely as far as it is concerned, while all the evil lies with the others.

The secretary of the Rumanian Social-Democratic Party complains in his article that "Social Democracy still remains alone, and that it is too weak to play any decisive role in the development of political events." At the same time, the Secretary of the Rumanian Social-Democratic Party opposes all the

other parties; namely the National-Tsaranist, the Radical-Tsaranist, and the Communist parties.

The tasks with which the menace of Fascism and war imperatively confronts all the democratic parties and organisations, require that they engage in bold and sober self-criticism, that all the causes should be laid bare which prevent the establishment of the concentration of forces recognized by all to be necessary. For instance, during the recent elections to the Chamber of Labour the National-Tsaranists put forward their own separate candidates. This was a bad thing. But this mistake was not only a result of the narrowness of the National-Tsaranists (we in the Communist Party call such a tendency sectarianism), but also the outcome of the fact that the Confederation of Labour collaborated with the so-called National Federation set up by the Government on the eve of the elections, thus creating considerable discontent among the workers and encouraging the separatist tendencies of the National-Tsaranists.

The National-Tsaranist Party is one of the biggest mass democratic forces in Rumania. Despite all the waverings and reactionary tendencies of some of its leaders, despite its great sins in the past in its relations to the Rumanian people, the National-Tsaranist Party is nevertheless today one of the most important anti-Fascist forces. And this is the chief thing from the viewpoint of the interests of the people.

Anybody who is not ready to make all reasonable and essential concessions in the interests of the common struggle against Fascism does not understand that the concentration of the democratic forces will not be brought about by one-sided platonic utterances.

Let us examine the three arguments put forward by the Secretary of the Rumanian Social-Democratic Party against collaboration with the Communists, namely, that "the Communists are not Democrats" secondly, that the Communists put forward "Irredentist slogans (separation from Rumania of the new provinces)"; thirdly, that "the Communist Party is an illegal party."

Take the first, that "the Communists are not Democrats." We shall not dwell from the aspect of principle on the problem of the Marxist theory of bourgeois democracy to be found in the classic works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. We shall not expand on the point that the only true popular democracy, the first true democracy in human history, is the Soviet democracy embodied in the great Stalin Constitution of the U.S.S.R. But we must point to the irrefutable fact which is of decisive importance to-day as far as concerns the question of the struggle for democracy in capitalist countries, namely—the role of the Communist parties in the struggle for democracy in France and in Spain.

For all who have eyes to see it is clear that were there no People's Front in France, Fascism would be in the ascendancy there; while the initiator, the passionate defender and mainspring of the French People's Front is precisely the Communist Party. Thus, democracy in France exists, is defending itself against Fascism, and is developing, thanks, incidentally, to the activities of the Communist Party in France. Take Spain: the Communists, initiators, organisers and participators in the People's Front, have their members in the Republican Government, and are fighting with arms in hand in the front rank, defending democracy, liberty, and the independence of Spain against the Fascist rebels and the troops of the foreign intervention. Let the Secretary of the Rumanian Social-Democratic Party enquire of the Secretary of the Socialist Party of Spain as to whether the Communists in Spain are true, sincere democrats. It is clear what the answer will be.

The entire struggle of the Rumanian Communist Party over the course of decades has been a consistent fight to defend the democratic rights of the people and to extend these rights. The fact of the participation of the Communists in defending the Democratic press not only in Bucharest, but throughout the country, the fight of the Communists in defence of the People's Palaces in Braschow, Chernowitz, and Bucharest, the support given by the Communists, without any formal conditions, to the democratic candidates at the elections, all these activities speak for themselves.

The Communists put forward "Irredentist slogans." They want to "dismember Rumania." This is untrue. Yes, the Communists are against national oppression. They have inscribed on their banner the democratic slogan of complete national self-determination. The Communists follow the old behest of democracy, that no people can be free itself if it oppresses other peoples. But the Communists, and in particular the Rumanian Communists, are the sworn enemies of Fascism which is trying to utilise the fact that the national minorities are oppressed, to provoke war, to tear away Transylvania, Dobrudja, the Bukovina, and to subject them to the Fascist yoke.

The Communists stand, in the interests of Rumanian democracy, for an end being put to the persecution of non-Rumanian minorities, for them being given and ensured the rights and possibilities of free cultural development. In the interests of democratic Rumania, in the interests of the Rumanian people, they stand for these rights being given to the nationalities oppressed today in Rumania. Only in this way can the forces of Rumanian democracy be strengthened in the fight against Fascism, only in this way can the masses of the non-Rumanian nationalities be drawn into the *joint struggle* for a free democratic Rumania. Surely

there are no democrats in Rumania who object to this?

"The Communist Party is illegal." We shall not insist upon the point that this argument sounds somewhat strange coming from the secretary of the Rumanian Social-Democratic Party, which has itself more than once declared that it has no sympathy with the governmental acts of repression directed against the Rumanian Communists, and considers it wrong to doom the Rumanian Communist Party to an illegal existence. We by no means wish to close our eyes to the fact that our illegal existence constitutes a practical obstacle in the way of giving shape to the united proletarian and anti-Fascist People's Front in Rumania. We are suffering too much ourselves from this compulsory existence underground to want to plunge other democratic parties and organisations, enjoying the advantages of a legal existence, into unnecessary risks and repression.

We understand that in the interests of the common cause, we must, in this respect as well, make definite sacrifices. We put the cause above all forms. We are for the concentration of all democratic forces in a single anti-Fascist front to include the united trade unions as well. We support and shall continue to support all types of and forms of this concentration. We support and shall continue to support all activities and all forms of struggle against Fascism, irrespective of whether we take any formal part, on the basis of a definite agreement, in the organisation and leadership of this struggle. We demand only one thing; namely, that the struggle against Fascism be directed *exclusively* against Fascism, that there be no slogans advanced nor organisational measures undertaken by those responsible for that struggle to exclude from the ranks of the anti-Fascist camp that great section of Rumanian factory workers and working people generally, who consider the Communist Party to be their Party and their leader.

The unification of the democratic forces against Fascism is now all the more acute and urgent a task, in that the question of a change in the Government has now been placed on the order of the day in the political life of the country, and since it rests upon the fundamental question of a decisive battle between Fascism and democracy. There can be only two possible solutions to this question: either the strengthening of Fascism and the establishment in one form or another of a reactionary government preparing the way for an open Fascist, terrorist dictatorship and war, or the establishment of a government which will adopt a resolute course towards democracy, the suppression of Fascism and the preservation of peace.

We are naturally in favour of the second solution, which can be brought about by the formation of

a government consisting of the National-Tsaranist Party and the other democratic parties and organisations on the basis of an anti-Fascist programme. Such a government enjoying wide support among the masses of the people, can avert the triumph of Fascism, open up the way to democracy, and ensure peace.

A tremendous responsibility before history lies

upon the shoulders of those democratic parties which, in the situation that exists, fail to put the interests of the people above the narrow interests of their own parties, and which fail to do all in their power to fulfil the only burning, urgent, pressing task, namely that of concentrating all democratic forces against Fascism, which is provoking war.

## HISTORIC STEPS TOWARDS TRADE UNION UNITY IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

By G. OLDNER

**T**HE trade union movement in Czechoslovakia is split up to an exceptionally great degree. At the end of 1935 there were no less than 702 trade unions, 261 of which did not belong to any trade union federation, while the others were divided up between from 16 to 18 trade union federations. The division of the organised workers along political, national, and often craft lines has led to a situation where a single employer frequently has to deal with 6 or 8 trade unions.

Despite this division, it should be stated that of the 4,400,000 wage workers recorded in the 1930 census, 47.37 per cent., i.e., almost half of the workers, were members of trade unions. What a tremendous force these 2,100,000 organised workers and employees would be, if they were in one united, militant trade union movement! The 4 Socialist trade union federations alone now have 1,154,451 trade union members, of which number 454,599 belong to the Czechoslovakian Free Trade Unions, 202,044 to the Central Trade Union Commission of the German Trade Union Federation, 318,948 to the Czechoslovak Socialist Workers' Society and 178,867 to the Red Industrial Trade Union Federation. Together they comprise 54.07 per cent. of all the organised workers in Czechoslovakia.

In Czechoslovakia almost every political party has its own trade union organisations; in other words, the trade union movement is split along political, national and religious lines. Were these unions to be merged, such a force would be created that, to use Comrade Gottwald's expression, the Republic would have to move in the direction taken by this solid force.

After the Seventh Congress of the Communist International the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia immediately took the initiative in developing a struggle against the split in the trade union movement, and at the Seventh Congress of the Party held in April, 1936, the question of the struggle for trade

union unity was made a special point on the agenda.

On more than one occasion the Red trade unions have also proposed to the Socialist trade unions to begin negotiations regarding unity and the calling of a unity congress. Thanks to the work of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Red trade unions, the idea of trade union unity has penetrated increasingly amongst the masses, until finally the leaders of the reformist trade unions and of the Socialist Parties have been forced to deal with this question without limiting themselves to a mere rejection of it. But things have not advanced beyond talk, and in most cases the leaders have only endeavoured through objections and discussion to hinder the realisation of trade union unity.

In the meantime, however, the menacing clouds of war and Fascism, from within and without, have gathered over Czechoslovakia. Under the cloak of the struggle against Bolshevism, Fascism has undertaken a ferocious attack against all the gains and achievements of the working class, against the trade unions, and against democratic rights and institutions in general. *To-day* the question arises as to whether Czechoslovakia is to remain an independent country or to become a province of the Third Reich. What is happening in Spain to-day may take place in Czechoslovakia to-morrow. Comrade Gottwald sounded the alarm in one of his last speeches in parliament, when he declared:

"To-day Madrid—To-morrow Prague,

"To-day Burgos—To-morrow Eger!"

The Czechish Francos and Molas are at work. They are preparing to take the leap; so that the task of *to-day* is to take timely counter-measures, "timely" meaning immediately, to-day.

Time does not wait.

This situation, which is big with such fateful consequences for all the peoples of Czechoslovakia, impelled the central leadership of the Red industrial

unions to call a conference of the Executive Committees of these unions on December 15, 1936. The conference noted that despite the growing danger of an onslaught by the dark forces of reaction, the working class of Czechoslovakia remained split, and came to the conclusion that the serious situation immediately demanded that the barriers dividing the workers be removed at all costs, even if only at certain points.

The conference pointed out that despite the tremendous extent to which the trade union movement in Czechoslovakia was split, it would be possible, with the good will of the leaders of the various trade union organisations, to bring about a merger of all these trade union federations, and the unions not under the influence of the Fascists or the employers. It emphasised the necessity for a further struggle for such a general trade union merger, but decided at the same time that:

"The first decisive step on the road to merging the Trade Unions must be taken without delay, even if it concerns *only one* Trade Union Federation."

An extensive campaign for trade union unity has developed on the basis of the important decisions of the conference, and with the active support of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. In the first days that followed, a conference of six trade unions not affiliated to any federation supported the initiative of the Red trade unions and appealed to all trade union federations immediately to take practical steps to bring about trade union unity, declaring that the six unions concerned would join a united federation.

A number of workers' organisations declared for trade union unity, while in some reformist trade union branches a vote was taken on the question of trade union unity. A number of demonstrations for trade union unity also took place in connection with certain economic struggles. In the Communist Press a number of trade union officials of reformist trade unions have declared themselves for trade union unity.

The reactionary Fascist Press of all the nationalities in Czechoslovakia gave vent to a howl of rage, proof that the struggle for trade union unity touched the reactionaries to the quick. Especially indicative was the reaction to these events of the "Narodny Listy" (organ of Kramers), which wrote on December 29, 1936:

"The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is now concentrating all its forces and energy on the establishment of a People's Front after the French pattern. . . It appears that the Communist plan of achieving the People's Front through trade union unity is not as unsuccessful as the Socialist papers assure us. At a time when it is extremely important to show the world that no Communist danger is threatening us and that the Communists in our country will never decide to work for a People's Front, the collaboration of Socialist and Communist trade unions would be equivalent to a direct threat to the interests of the State. For who would believe us when we say that

Communism is declining in our country, if abroad they see the governmental Socialists stretching out their hand to this Party? It would be a matter of indifference to us whether the Socialists handed over their trade unions to the Communist mischief-makers, if the serious interests of the State were not thereby affected. The People's Front would signify a tremendous threat to our State. The unification of the trade unions would signify a most important step towards the establishment of this People's Front. 'Let us see,' threaten the Fascists, 'how the Socialist Parties conduct themselves. They have the right to risk their Party interests, but they have no right to risk the interests of the State. Yet this is the point at issue, first and foremost.'"

How did the Socialist leaders conduct themselves? They retreated under the pressure of the reactionary bourgeoisie, and rejected all negotiations whatsoever regarding trade union unity, resorting to the most varied arguments. Here are some of them:

The Communists, they allege, in their time broke up the trade union movement; there can be no question now of trade union unity with them! The Communists want trade union unity with the "yellow" (Fascist) trade unions, and are agitating for a peculiar sort of united front with the Fascists(!) Let the members of the Red trade unions (not the Red trade unions themselves!) join the reformist trade unions individually and that would settle the question. The unorganised must organise first, and only then will it be possible to talk of trade union unity. Trade union unity is impossible because ideological and political unity is lacking. The Communists have only a manoeuvre in view; and so on and so forth.

Especially in the recent period, after the calling of the Congress of the Red trade unions to bring about trade union unity in practice, and after the masses have daily expressed their approval of the initiative of the Red trade unions have certain leaders of the Socialist Parties more and more frequently resorted to the "argument" passed on to them, as we have seen, by the Kramers Fascists, namely, that if people abroad (read Hitler!) see that we are uniting with the Red trade unions, then as far as Hitler is concerned, this will confirm the point that Bolshevism is threatening Czechoslovakia, etc.

The Goebbels' propaganda about the "Bolshevisation" of Czechoslovakia serves as an "argument" for the reactionary and Fascist section of the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie to create sentiments in favour of their dark plans and aims.

For the working class movement, on the contrary, the insolent and lying campaign of the German Nazis against democratic Czechoslovakia and the use made of it by the reactionaries and Fascists in Czechoslovakia should be sufficient grounds for the establishment of united action in the Czechoslovak working class movement, and for defending democracy from within and the independence of the Republic from without. The howls of the Fascist reactionaries, deadly enemies of the working class, about the rapid

growth of the movement for trade union unity should convince every responsible working class leader that all workers, manual and non-manual, are interested in such unity.

Trade union unity is an urgent necessity for the defence of the most vital interests of the workers and office employees.

Side by side with the tremendous increase in the profits of the cartels, trusts and syndicates, the income of the workers and office employees has dropped by more than one-third since the outbreak of the crisis. Eighty per cent. of all the workers do not even earn the minimum necessary for existence. The average earnings of workers and office employees in Czechoslovakia are not more than 100 kroner per week. Two-thirds of all those insured against sickness receive less than two-thirds of the minimum necessary for feeding their families.

It was in this situation that the Congress of the Industrial Unions of Czechoslovakia (Red trade unions) was held on February 6 and 7, 1937. The conviction of the need for *passing from propaganda for trade union unity to its practical fulfilment* ran like a red thread through the entire work of the Congress, and therefore there was only one point on the agenda: "The Unification of the Trade Union Movement in Czechoslovakia."

The reformist trade union federations invited to the Congress, namely, the Odborove Sdruzeni Ceskoslovenska (O.S.C., Czechish Social Democrats), the Central Trade Union Commission of the German Trade Union Federation of Reichenberg (German Social Democrats), and the Czeskoslovenska Obec Delnicka (Czechish Socialists) sent no representatives and declared in written form to the Congress, using various reservations and excuses, that they could not accept the invitations.

From these answers it is clear that although all the trade union Federation Executives again recognise in principle the need for doing away with the split in the trade union movement, and use fine words about trade union unity, in practice they continue to oppose the realisation of this unity.

Meanwhile, representatives of seven independent trade unions (the chauffeurs', transport workers', carpenters', plasterers', janitors', domestic workers' and and jewelry workers' unions) declared at the Congress that they were prepared under any conditions to bring about trade union unity. The representatives of the chauffeurs declared that they would perhaps give an example in the near future by establishing a single union.

The chief speaker at the Congress, Comrade Zapotocky, emphasised in his speech that trade union unity must not be regarded as a narrow organisational or Party agitational problem, but as a question concerning the entire working class; for "upon the

solution of this question depends the direction to be taken by the working class of Czechoslovakia, not in ten years' time, but at the present moment." Comrade Zapotocky refuted the arguments of the opponents of trade union unity, gave a detailed analysis of the problem of trade union unity as it stands *to-day*, and drew the following conclusions:

"A breach must be made. . . If it is not possible to achieve unity throughout, then at least a first step can be made. Partial unity can be brought about, *i.e.*, unity through joining one of the trade union federations. . . In place of useless debates . . . we pass to deeds. We cannot join all the federations, but only one. We have, therefore, chosen the Czechoslovak Trade Union Federation (O.S.C., Social Democratic) as the strongest trade union federation.

"We want to negotiate with the O.S.C. about the practical operation of this decisive step without delay."

On the most important question of trade union unity in Czechoslovakia the Congress of the Industrial Unions adopted a resolution which reads:

"1. The Congress of the Industrial Unions expresses its readiness to join the Czechoslovak Trade Union Federation on the basis of the statutes of this Federation. At the same time, the Congress expresses the readiness of each separate Industrial Union to join the corresponding union of the Czechoslovakian Trade Union Federation on the basis of the statutes of these latter unions.

"2. The Congress of Industrial Unions empowers the newly elected Executive Committee to initiate negotiations with the Czechoslovak Trade Union Federation regarding conditions of admission, and practically to carry through the merger on the basis of the conditions agreed upon. The Czechoslovak Trade Union Federation, as the largest one, can and must become the centre of the unification of all the non-fascist trade union organisations in Czechoslovakia.

"3. The Congress of Industrial Unions at the same time proposes to the Czechoslovak Workers' Society and the Central Trade Union Commission of the German Trade Union Federation that they should enter into negotiations with the Czechoslovak Trade Union Federation regarding unity with it."

The Congress also adopted a resolution entitled "For the Raising of the Standard of Living of the Working Class in Czechoslovakia" containing a whole series of the most important demands of the working class.

\* \* \* \*

Comrade Schwerma, the representative of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, in his speech to the Congress emphasised the point that the Communists have always fought for trade union unity, and that now, in particular, they would do everything in their power to bring trade union unity into being.

"Those people who hold back trade union unity," said Comrade Schwerma, "out of their selfish, party and political interests, usually accuse us of striving for trade union unity for party and political aims. . . Let all of these slanderers . . . look at France and Spain. . . No responsible Socialist in France or Spain will deny that the Communists conscientiously and consistently fulfil all the

obligations dictated by trade union discipline and workers' democracy.

"The united trade unions," stated Comrade Schwerma further, "will be a source of strength everywhere to the workers' parties in the struggle against reaction, in the factories, in Parliament and if you wish even in the Government. . . With the building of these trade unions we want to create a most important prerequisite for the successful defence of the trade union movement from reaction and Fascism; we want to place in the hands of the people of Czechoslovakia a weapon, with the aid of which they will be able to carry on the fight against Fascist barbarism."

\* \* \* \*

This Congress and these decisions mark a step of historic significance. The banner of trade union unity raised aloft by Comrade Dimitrov at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International has been unfurled before very wide masses of people. The decisions of the Trade Union Congress undoubtedly deal a blow at the Fascists and reactionaries, who want to hinder trade union unity at any price, in order the more easily to achieve their reactionary aims. The decisions of the Congress will

be of inestimable help to all those who are supporting and fighting for trade union unity within and without the reformist trade unions. It was correctly pointed out at the Congress that there would be disappointment amongst all those who had supposed that the struggle for trade union unity would come to an end with the Congress, for the opposite took place. The decisions of the Congress will create the indispensable and real basis for a more intense struggle for the immediate entry of the Red Trade Unions into the Czechoslovak Trade Union Federation. The fighters for trade union unity will have to overcome still greater difficulties, still greater resistance, for the reactionary opponents of unity will reply to the Congress decisions by increasing their sabotage. But the decisions of the Congress are undermining the position of these individuals.

The struggle for unity now, after the Congress, will be carried on with increased vigour, with still greater enthusiasm, and trade union unity will be brought about in Czechoslovakia, despite all resistance and difficulties.

## AGAINST TROTSKYISM

# THE TRIAL OF THE ANTI-SOVIET TROTSKYIST CENTRE AS TREATED IN THE PRESS OF CAPITALIST COUNTRIES

By A. KELLERMAN

IN the capitalist countries the press is overwhelmingly in the hands of the capitalist magnates and is a powerful weapon for influencing the opinions of all strata of the population. Just because the press publishes the material demanded by its masters, and only to a limited extent adapts itself to the demands of its readers, the real opinions and sentiments of the people are reflected in it as in a distorting mirror. A clear illustration of this was provided by the last election campaign in the United States, where according to the analysis made by Comrade Browder of the campaign and its results, 14 million copies of the press agitated daily for Landon, and only 7 million supported Roosevelt or adopted a neutral position. Were one to have based oneself on these statistics, one could have foretold with "mathematical precision" disgraceful defeat for Roosevelt. In reality the opposite took place, Roosevelt being elected by an overwhelming majority.

The circumstances that the press in the capitalist

countries gives only a rather distorted reflection of public opinion must be borne in mind when analysing the position adopted by the various organs in the various countries in relation to the January trial of the criminal Trotskyist gang of Pyatakov, Radek and Co. In the capitalist countries, including the democratic ones, there are, at the present time, quite a few papers, large and small, directly or indirectly bribed by Fascism—that at every step betray the interests of their respective countries in the interests of Fascism. Clear proof of this is provided by a considerable number of French newspapers in connection with the events in Spain. Trotsky and his gang met tremendous sympathy from reactionary big business. And it could not be otherwise! It is all the more noteworthy that under the weight of the evidence which during the course of the trial in Moscow of the anti-Soviet Trotskyist centre laid bare the crimes of the Trotskyists and their Fascist accomplices a considerable section of the bourgeois press was forced, true

with much humming and hawing, to give up its position and to recognise not only the facts themselves, but also the hideousness and baseness of the crimes committed by the Trotskyists.

The European and American press devoted much space to reports of the trial, and it can be said that the dirty business of Trotsky and Hitler had in general a "bad press."

From the day of publication of the indictment, the Fascist "*Goebbels press*" behaved like a thief "caught in the act." It stammered inarticulately, and by its embarrassment confirmed the assertions made in the indictment. When the accused gave evidence in court concerning their wrecking work in the Ukraine, the "*Angriff*" and "*Voelkischer Beobachter*" began to spread idiotic slanders about "unrest" and a "struggle for national liberation" allegedly taking place in the Ukraine, etc. The Reuter agency, however, showed the whole world that such "reports" were deliberate lies.

Many papers at the beginning of the trial accepted the line of the Fascist agents, Goebbels, Hearst and Rothermere, who were interested in advance in effacing the traces of the horrible crimes of the Trotskyists and their immediate employer, Hitler Fascism. The indictment, they would have one believe, was based on "inventions," while evidence against the accused was "non-existent."

The number of "sceptics" who at the beginning of the trial doubted the authenticity of the evidence was quite big. "This seems too fantastic for belief," wrote the "*New York Times*" on January 25. With pretended naïveté they put the question as to how the accused could have made such "unbelievable" confessions? Whereupon the Fascist press replied with words of the "competent" Trotsky that the confessions had been "extorted."

In one case, in the British press, it is not difficult to see how unceremoniously the reports of the trial were falsified in order to force this "thesis" on the public. Radek's statement that he was not tormented by the examining officials, but that he tormented them by stubbornly denying the facts for three months, was distorted by the "*Morning Post*" in the following way: Radek allegedly "confessed after the G.P.U. and the examining authorities had tortured him for several weeks during which he denied his guilt" (re-translated). It was the liberal "*News Chronicle*" that immediately exposed the shameful lie of the "*Morning Post*," which tried to wriggle out by claiming that while the message was being transmitted by the "*Exchange Telegraph*" the connection broke down, the telegram being received in a distorted form. The "*Daily Mail*," however, published the same report of the "*Exchange Telegraph*" with the exact and full text of Radek's last plea.

But very soon after the first evidence of the accused at the trial, the tone of the press, in the majority, changed. They could no longer conceal the facts from their readers and began to print reports which did not deny what was absolutely obvious. Such reports were given by the "*Temps*" in France, the conservative London "*Times*," and the just as conservative "*New York Herald Tribune*" etc.

Another very considerable section of the press faced the facts squarely, understanding that the lessons of the Moscow trial concerned not only the Soviet Union, but all the states interested in maintaining peace. Included among these were the London "*News Chronicle*," and the "*New York Times*" whose correspondent, Duranty, in his reports expressed not the slightest doubt that the indictment was substantiated fully, the "*Brooklyn Daily Eagle*" in the United States, the "*Ere Nouvelle*," *Œuvre*," etc., in France, a section of the Shanghai press, as, for example, the "*Libao*," a paper in close touch with leading Kuomintang circles, almost the entire press of Czechoslovakia, including the conservative "*Narodni Politika*," and others.

When the details of the criminal, subversive and terrorist acts committed by the Trotskyists and the German spies in the Soviet Union became known, the Czechish "*A-zet*" wrote :

"These were the same methods by means of which the Germans wanted to penetrate our political life as well."

A number of reactionary bourgeois papers, including for example, the semi-official Budapest "*Pester Lloyd*" showed a certain understanding of the danger of war being threatened by German Fascism, of which the Moscow trial gave warning.

In Europe there were also to be found editors of papers of even a "liberal" character, such as the "*Manchester Guardian*" and the Copenhagen "*Politiken*," who were prepared to deny the facts when they pertained to the protection of the achievements of the Soviet Union from its most dastardly and worst enemies. The "*Manchester Guardian*" opened its columns to the frenzied ravings of the exposed chief bandit, Trotsky, and declared the irrefutable evidence and proofs to be simply "non-existent." Thus the "*Manchester Guardian*," along with the "*Politiken*," landed itself in the dirty company of the "*Angriff*," the organ of Herr Goebbels, but the weight of evidence finally compelled even the "*Manchester Guardian*" and the "*Politiken*" to retreat. The "*Politiken*" of February 3, already admitted the possibility that the evidence against the accused "*was so exact that it would have been helpless to deny everything.*" On February 17, after the editorial board of the "*Politiken*" had acquainted itself with the stenographic report of the trial, it published a detailed article whose essence can be summarised by the following conclusion :

"There is no doubt that a conspiracy took place; the confessions contain so many details, subjectively noted by each of the accused, that it would have been impossible to invent them all. Murder, sabotage and espionage were planned and were carried out."

At the end of the trial the "Manchester Guardian" made some "concessions" to the truth, when it wrote :

"The evidence . . . may possibly conceal some sketch of the truth."

Following this, the same "Manchester Guardian" published a statement by the well-known British lawyer, Collard, and several letters from its readers, throwing light upon the details of the trial, thereby showing that the editors were forced to take the facts and opinions of their readers into account.

Even the British journalist "Scrutator," who is known as being pro-Hitler, had to write the following on January 31, in the "Sunday Times" :

"But while it was at one time possible to hold some theory of the confessions of the accused in the Russian trial that was consistent with their innocence, that had become increasingly difficult as the trial proceeded."

The conservative "Morning Post" on January 26, the third day of the trial, also began to adopt a tone outwardly more objective, and to admit that the "theory" that the accused had slandered themselves had no basis to it.

The Right-wing "Temps" which especially distinguished itself at the beginning of the trial by its "scepticism," was forced to admit on January 30, in connection with its report of Radek's last plea, that now "all who still had doubts" were convinced of the guilt of the Trotskyists.

The "New York Times" of January 31, wrote in its Review of the Week :

"Observers at the trial found the unanimous self-incriminations weird but cumulatively convincing."

Several of the newspapers of Czechoslovakia maintained a "sceptical" attitude at the beginning of the trial but soon realised that the revelations at the trial rendered it impossible for them to hide their heads like an ostrich before the facts. To draw the necessary lessons of the trial for their own country, the Czechish papers had first and foremost to put an end to the sowing of "doubts" and to recognise facts as facts.

Though for other reasons, the correspondent of the above-mentioned anti-Soviet "Pester Lloyd," had to traverse a similar path. On February 4, he noted the extraordinary conscientiousness with which the court handled the indictment against the accused, and wrote that the *court examination provided complete proof of the guilt of all the accused and their connections with foreign powers.*

In general one can state that three days had hardly passed before the "sceptical" section of the capital-

ist press ceased its chatter about the "unlikelihood" of the indictment against the Trotskyists. The reason for this "turn" lay in the *recognition of the tremendous political significance of the revelations at the trial of the monstrous war intrigues of Hitler Fascism, the Japanese militarists and their Trotskyist accomplices.*

And in fact, the trial proved incontrovertibly that the subversive and terrorist acts, the arson and train wrecks organised by the Trotskyist bandits, had the quite definite aim of *speeding on the war against the U.S.S.R. and undermining its defensive power.* The Trotskyists merged into a common organisation with the German and Japanese spies in the U.S.S.R.

The "New York Times" of January 29, paid special attention to the espionage work of the Trotskyists. The moderate Czechish "Narodni Stred" (National Centre) gave open expression to what the "Temps" of February 1, "cautiously" called the intertwining of the secret intrigues of the Trotskyists with foreign influences." On January 31, the "Narodni Stred" wrote :

"The trial which has just ended in Moscow provided absolutely unambiguous confirmation of the connection of the accused with the espionage apparatus of certain foreign powers, and of Germany in the first place."

The reactionary Czechish national-democratic "Narodni Politika" also noted the point that the trial disclosed the "indisputable connection of the Trotskyists with the German Propaganda and Espionage service" and added, "*This is instructive for us!*"

If, however, a considerable section of the French and Czechoslovakian press, and partly of the United States and China, to a certain degree understood the *political lessons* of the trial, it was characteristic of a large section of the British press, and above all of the conservative press, that they stubbornly tried to pass over in silence the most important lessons of the trial. The "Morning Post" for example, admitted that "an agreement between the accused and Germany and Japan" really took place, a point also admitted by the "Sunday Times," but neither of these papers explained the *significance* of these facts to its readers. It is clear that such an effort to "spare" the war incendiaries has nothing in common with the views of wide sections of the British public and even of the readers of these papers. But there were people in the British conservative camp who consider it incompatible with the interests of their own country to keep silence about all that needs to be said about the alliance between Hitler Fascism and the Trotskyists. In the liberal "News Chronicle" of January 27, a reader's letter (signed R.P.) was published dealing with a speech recently made by Winston Churchill. In this letter the author wrote among other things :

"Where does the money come from to enable these

small groups without any mass support to carry on their propaganda?

"Mr. Winston Churchill has stated that it is credibly asserted in France that the Trotskyists are financed by the Nazis."

The majority of the democratic press of England and other countries appreciates the danger and recognises the right of the Soviet Union once and for all to render harmless this gang of Hitler's hirelings, traitors and instigators of war in their own country.

The "Ere Nouvelle" wrote on February 5:

"We have said here what we think of certain prejudiced commentaries about the Moscow trial. The authors of these commentaries, themselves, were not at the trial. Well, what does that matter to them! It offers a convenient excuse for new attacks against the U.S.S.R. They utilised this without being concerned with the question that we have put to them: the accused were guilty of treason, they acted against the national safety. Would we have dealt with less severity against people who had carried out similar acts in our country?"

The "New York Times" reminded its readers on January 25, of the famous Zimmermann note during the world war wherein German aid was offered to the Mexican Government in winning back all the territory once lost by Mexico to the United States through war. In this regard the "New York Times" wrote:

"People at first thought this a crazy invention. Yet it was verified as an actual diplomatic offer."

Uttering a warning in advance that no credence should be placed in the anticipated "refutation" of the warmongering states exposed, the "New York Times" wrote:

"Without a doubt Berlin and Tokyo will deny everything just as Trotsky is already denying absolutely everything from his sanctuary in Mexico."

The conservative-minded "Brooklyn Daily Eagle" on February 1, thoroughly approved the verdict of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., with the statement that the mass of evidence as to the existence of a conspiracy to overthrow the Soviet system was irrefutable. The paper wrote further:

"It (the Soviet Union) is not alone, however, in taking drastic action against treason, for there is not a nation in the world that could remain indifferent to evidence that certain of its citizens had conspired with foreign powers to overthrow the existing government."

The Shanghai "Libao" also clearly summed up the results of the trial when it wrote on February 1,:

"The Moscow trial of the counter-revolutionaries is an important event not only in the political life of the Soviet Union. This trial also revealed the secrets of the international activity of the Trotskyists . . . The present policy of the Soviet Union is the development of construction within the country and the support of international peace. This policy is the expression of the will of the people . . . The bankruptcy of Trotsky is a natural result and is a good lesson for all whom it concerns."

A large section of the bourgeois press came to understand that to close one's eyes to the facts disclosed at the trial, meant to encourage further the bloody designs and machinations of Hitler. Sad as it may be, this cannot be said of the great majority of the *Social Democratic* press, about which it has to be stated that, with few exceptions, it set itself the task of defending Trotskyism, this sworn enemy of the working class of all countries.

A large section of the Social Democratic papers added grist to the mill of Goebbel's propaganda by knowingly giving false information to their readers and reviling the Soviet court. Such papers were the "Social Democrat," central organ of the German Social Democrats in Czechoslovakia, which had the "honour" of heading this anti-Soviet campaign; the Swiss "Berner Tagwacht"; the Warsaw "Robotnik"; the Amsterdam "Het Volk"; and the Prague "Neue Vorwärts," organ of the émigré Executive Committee of the German Social Democrats, etc. The direct collaboration of the Trotskyists was clearly to be felt in the editorial offices of some of these papers. Many Social Democratic papers again attempted to utilise the trial for a campaign against the united front with the Communists.

A big section of the Social Democratic newspapers at first denied the soundness of the indictment, but when the material of the trial reached the public, some of these papers changed their tactics. Some, as for example, the Paris "Populaire" went quiet altogether, while others ("Daily Herald") began to publish more restrained reports without, however, drawing any political conclusions from them.

Thus, in the "Daily Herald" of January 28, there appeared an interview with the above-mentioned lawyer, Collard, who attended the trial, and who stated that he had waited 8 days before making any comment on it, but that he could now say without any hesitation that he was convinced of the guilt of the accused.

An independent position, different from other Social Democratic papers, was taken by the weekly paper of the Czechish Social Democrats, the "Nova Svoboda." In the January 31 issue, it wrote:

"Trotsky is speculating on a war since he considers a new world war as the only remaining way for his victory. Here Trotsky and his friends prove to be in alliance with international Fascism and its plans of conquest, for every war will inevitably be an armed clash between democratic and progressive mankind on the one side, and Fascism and mediæval barbarism on the other. . . ."

"Democratic Europe is not in the slightest degree interested in the success of Trotsky, and is completely aware of the situation in the U.S.S.R., which is preparing to defend itself against the Fascist instigators of war. The U.S.S.R. has every right to defend itself against the 'activity' of the Trotskyists."

For those who are interested in the maintenance of peace and in the extension of democracy, the trial

was new proof of the extent of the criminal methods to which Fascism resorts in its preparations for war, was proof that it does not shrink before anything in order to realise its aggressive aims, and that it allies itself with all the destructive, thoroughly rotten elements in the various countries in order to carry out the vilest of crimes. Those who stand for Peace and Liberty understood that the Trotskyists are an accursed gang who voluntarily fulfill the role of hangmen and spies in the service of warmongering Fascism, and are attempting to disintegrate the front of freedom and liberty loving peoples by the vilest means.

The trial opened the eyes of millions of workers, hitherto influenced by the lying arguments of the reactionary leaders of the 2nd International and the Social Democratic press, as to the true role of Trotskyism. This also showed itself in many Social Democratic papers, which under the pressure of the facts, either quietened down more and more, the sharper and more undeniable the proofs of the guilt of the Trotskyist bandits became, or began to permit the open condemnation of the Trotskyists in their columns. The Spanish Socialists know from their own experience of Trotskyism and its activity in favour of Franco, the connections between the Trotskyists and the Gestapo are well known to the French workers, and Winston Churchill, whom we have quoted, is well informed of the designs of the Trotskyists. A certain change is also to be noted in the

Socialists of Czechoslovakia, as witnessed not only by the above-mentioned article in the "Nova Svoboda," but also by the circular letter of the Central Secretariat of the German Social Democratic Party in Czechoslovakia, in which it is declared impermissible for Trotskyists to belong to the working-class movement.

The trial showed not only millions of Socialist workers, but also many responsible leaders of the Socialist Parties that Trotskyism has become an agent of Fascism, ready to fulfil the filthiest and most abominable deeds, and that it must be rooted out of the ranks of the labour movement.

It is the task of the Communists, their press, publications, and all of their propaganda tirelessly to expose to the workers, to all supporters of peace and liberty, the real role of Trotskyism as revealed by the trial. It is the task of the Communists in each country to ferret out and expose the criminal activity of the Trotskyists who penetrate the working-class movement through every avenue. The trial helped to drive the Trotskyists out of the positions wherein they had entrenched themselves under the most varied disguises. The trial drew the attention of large sections of democratic public opinion to one of the varieties of the Fascist danger, namely, the Trotskyist danger. It is now necessary to rally all who are enemies of Fascism and war, all those to whom the interests of democracy and peace are dear, to the struggle against this danger.

## THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

# SOME OF OUR ACHIEVEMENTS

By MARCEL CACHIN

FIRST of all let us examine the growth of our Party membership in France. At the beginning of last year the number of Party cards held was 81,000, a figure far ahead of that of two years previously, when only 30,000 cards were distributed. On December 31, 1936, 284,000 membership cards had already been distributed. By January 20, 1937, in connection with the annual renewal of membership cards, orders had been received for 270,000 cards, with each day bringing in new orders.

These figures place the Communist Party ahead of all other political parties in France which is a country where the people were always poorly organised and recruitment difficult. At the present time we have over 80,000 members more than the Socialist Party.

Ninety-five per cent. of the members of the Communist Party of France are working people, factory

workers, peasants, artisans, small traders, etc. To make the picture clearer, I must say that the Party membership is concentrated first and foremost in the Paris Region, where we now have as many as 100,000 members. 100,000 Party members! This is a splendid thing for the Paris region which plays such a decisive rôle in the country; but the result is that in the provinces we still have very much to do, since more than a third of our forces are concentrated in Paris and the district surrounding it. As for the forms of organisation, the essential thing is that we have at last succeeded in establishing a big number of factory cells, some of which are big ones. In Paris there are the world-famous Renault works, employing about 30,000 workers, engaged on the production of motor-cars and munitions; and where we have 400 Party groups at the present time. There is not a department in the works without a Party

group, while in some of the departments there are several. On January 31, the number of membership cards held in the Renault Works was 6,200, our most splendid achievement. Although our successes are not as great in other big works in the vicinity of Paris, still there are more than 20 big works with a Party membership of over 1,000 each.

When we organise Party membership information meetings in Paris, we have to hire huge halls. When we held a memorial meeting for the death of Lenin, we needed premises to hold 30,000 people, and when we called a meeting to hear a report on the National Party Conference just held at Montreuil, there were 30,000 Communists present inside the hall, and 30,000 outside because of lack of room.

There are other regions as well, such as Provence and Marseilles, where the situation is favourable. Marseilles is a big town with a million inhabitants. Our Party membership there is 20,000.

In the big industrial regions of Nord and Pas-de-Calais, we now have almost as many members as the Socialist Party. In the Pas-de-Calais, we are slightly ahead of the Socialist Party, while in the Nord, we have 1,000 members less.

But I must not omit to mention that there are many regions where we are very weak, where our cadres are weak, and where the organisations of our Socialist comrades are stronger than ours.

We are continuing to recruit new members with great energy. But great difficulties are connected with this. For it must be remembered that we cover almost 300,000 people whose political level is occasionally low, while our cadres are still weak. At the present moment, the basic problem is to build up our cadres immediately, to train leading personnel for the members who have come to us influenced by our active work, under the influence of the very strong feeling current in France that the Communist Party is the Party of to-morrow, that it is the true party of the people. We have established schools to train cadres, in about a score of regions, and one central school in Paris.

Side by side with the recruitment of adults, it should also be noted that there are 100,000 members in the Young Communist League. At the end of December, 1936, we called a Congress of young women which was attended by 500 delegates representing 10,000 young women not only from the factories. Naturally, they came chiefly from the factories, but among the delegates there were also school teachers, office workers and women engaged in the big establishments producing Paris and international fashions. For the first time we were able to recruit hundreds of young women filled with enthusiasm not only for the strike struggle in which they had participated in June, but who were no less ardent to learn all about Communism.

Last year our Party Congress was held at Villeurbanne. It was an open one with bourgeois journalists, representatives of our opponents, present. They were astonished at the power of this homogeneous party, at its moral strength reflected in the course and character of the debates. Then, at the beginning of the year, we held a National Conference at Montreuil, attended by thousands of delegates from our branches, from our districts. In all sections of our Party, even in our newest groups, strict discipline is observed. This progress assumes great importance when one is dealing with the workers of Paris who, as we know, were formerly in great part, anarcho-syndicalists. These workers have been transformed and have become other men, confident in the great ideal which our Party and the Communist International represent.

I am an old member of our Party, but I see all around me young people growing up, acquiring unparalleled prestige. I see the young Party leaders you know, such as Maurice Thorez, Marcel Gitton, Jacques Duclos, and I could name a very large number of young workers, who were yesterday employed in the factories, but who are now politicians, statesmen, individuals with whom even the bourgeoisie of our country must reckon.

And they are not alone. They are the symbol of our proletariat; there are hundreds like them, and it is a great joy to us, a great comfort, to see that side by side with the old parties, there has arisen our young Party, fresh, full of ardour, conscious of its road, and following the line indicated by the Communist International, full of the enthusiasm of youth and confidence in its own strength.

When I look back over the 17 years traversed by our Party, I see that we have lost many people on the road, we have suffered numerous betrayals, but I think we have not spent our time idly.

So much for the internal composition of our Party.

I will recall in brief the electoral success of the last year. At the last elections in April and May, 1936, we were the third party in France as regards the number of votes obtained, the Socialist Party retaining the first place, followed by the Catholic Party (the reactionary party in our country which takes the form of a catholic party). Then followed our Party, ahead of the Radical Party.

The question may be asked: has the enthusiasm of last May died down? One might have thought so some time ago following certain bye-elections. It is not pleasant, of course, when we fail to maintain at least our position in such cases, but I do not draw too pessimistic conclusions therefrom; elections for us are always an unfavourable field of battle, above all in the provinces, where our cadres are weakest, where our active members are least known among the broad masses, and where the old parties fight with

the greatest vigour. Since our success at the elections last April and May, a daily and constant assault has been made against our Party, against the Communist International, a fact which cannot fail to affect the results of certain bye-elections. But the less favourable results obtained in the past have been compensated by the excellent results of the recent period, and if for one reason or another, a general election were to take place in France again, and the population as a whole were called upon to express their will, I would be perfectly calm as to the results. I will tell you why.

The progress of the Party has naturally resulted in a rise in the circulation of the central organ of the Party, "L'Humanite." I would like to give you a few figures showing its progress. We were very proud in January, 1936, of our daily circulation of 240,000 copies. But during 1936, we witnessed the following progress:

*Average daily circulation*

February	...	...	244,000	copies.
March	...	...	250,000	"
April	...	...	260,000	"
May	...	...	300,000	"
June (during big strike)	...	...	403,000	"
July	...	...	350,000	"
August	...	...	352,000	"
September	...	...	364,000	"
October	...	...	367,000	"
November	...	...	407,000	"
December	...	...	419,000	"

Thus "L'Humanite" occupies fourth place as regards circulation in France and first place among political newspapers, the others being big newspapers concerned with general news and apparently not politics. "L'Humanite" is the biggest political newspaper in France, while the "Populaire," the organ of the Socialist Party whose members include the Prime Minister, 14 Ministers and 160 deputies, has a circulation of not more than 200,000.

I would like to mention a characteristic point which shows the depth of affection bestowed by the working class upon their newspaper. We have set up what we call "L'Humanite Defence Committees" ("Les Comites de Defense de l'Humanite"). The members of these committees, Party members or sympathisers, go out every Sunday and sell the paper in the streets; they go from house to house, climbing up staircases and there are some among them who sell as many as 100 copies of "L'Humanite." Throughout France we have 30,000 men and women who carry out this duty, selling 180,000 copies of "L'Humanite" every Sunday. They come into conflict with the Fascists, and sometimes with the police. Hail, rain, blow or snow, they set out every Sunday morning to sell "L'Humanite."

The Editorial Board of our newspaper is not staffed exclusively with workers, but the vast majority of the staff are workers, some of whom are working-class journalists of the first rank.

Why these results, this progress, this advance? They are the consequence of the fact that we have put into practice the policy of the Communist International, it is because we have taken very seriously what Georgi Dimitrov said to us, and because we have made concrete and put into practice the slogans of the 7th Congress of the Communist International: first and foremost, the policy of working-class unity; the policy of the Front Populaire; the policy of the defence of peace; the policy of defending the immediate demands of the workers: *therein lies the whole secret*. I think I can say with some pride that it is we who established the Front Populaire in France. We established it despite the resistance of certain politicians who came into it with great reluctance, but who finally rallied to it.

We won to the Front Populaire the Radicals who, after surmounting resistance and difficulties are now in it, so that the Front Populaire at the present time is strong.

Thus, the Front Populaire owes its existence to our initiative; we have strengthened it and we shall preserve it. Our chief formula is: all for the Front Populaire, all through the Front Populaire.

This slogan has already had results which can be called historic. If Fascism has not been victorious in France, in other words, if the Continent of Europe is not under the heel of Fascism now, it is only because the French Front Populaire has saved France. This historic fact is perfectly well understood not only by our comrades, but also by the rank and file of the Radical and Socialist parties. The powerful organisation of the Front Populaire gave our country courage, it felt strong enough to resist, it understood the extreme danger, and now, in my opinion, Fascism is weaker than it was two years ago. This is the first point.

The second point which is also important is that of the idea of working-class unity. This was put forward by us in February, 1934, after the attempt at revolt undertaken by French Fascism, and was quickly taken up by the trade union organisations, thanks to our strong campaign in the French trade union organisations. We have every right to say that the unity in the French trade unions, the French United Confederation of Labour, is the product of our persevering policy of unity.

The united C.G.T. (Confederation General du Travail) has 5 million members to-day. Prior to this, it had never been possible to establish any really serious trade union organisation in our country. Before unity was achieved, the Confederation General du Travail had 600,000 members, and the

Confederation General du Travail Unitaire had 300,000 members. Now 5 million working people are organised in the united Confederation General du Travail. After the Soviet Council of Trade Unions it is the strongest Trade Union Federation in the world, far surpassing the British Trade Union Congress and the American Federation of Labour. Its membership is not of a fluctuating character.

Take for example the Metal Workers' Federation, which in 1936 had 700,000 members and which at the end of January, 1937, had a still larger membership. The Building Workers' Federation has 500,000 members, and for the first time there are 300,000 members in the Agricultural Workers' Union. The Railway Workers' Union of France has 350,000 members out of a total of 400,000 workers. In the highly industrialised Paris region alone, which politically is more developed than other regions, we have 1.1 million trade unionists. Yes, in the Seine and Seine-et-Oise departments, which are included in the Paris region, there are 1.1 million trade unionists out of 6 million inhabitants. This is a tremendous force, and when it has been disciplined and consolidated, there will be no power strong enough to defeat it.

What is the rôle of the Communists in this organisation? The Communists only strive to be the best and most active members of the unions. At the present time, Communist comrades are at the head of big trade unions and of big regional trades council federations. The Communists in the C.G.T. are displaying a high degree of political acumen in agreeing to make sacrifices, but on condition that unity is strengthened and the fighting power of the working class against the exploitation of monopolist capital and the Fascist war mongers is increased.

One word concerning the June strikes. These were tremendous strikes and were marked by something new in our country, namely, the occupation of the factories. Many works in the Paris region and the provinces were occupied for several weeks by the workers, who did no damage whatsoever, but on the contrary, behaved as though they were at home. The evacuation of the factories after the victory was carried through joyfully and in perfect order despite attempts at provocation made by anarchists and Trotskyists. The line of the Communists was admirably understood by the workers, even though we told them that the occupation of the factories, useful though it was to prevent the employment of juvenile labour and the sabotage of strikes, yet was not the only method of struggle, and that there were others as well, especially since the trade unions were numerically strong and could prevent the recruitment of strike breakers by the employers.

With the help of the Front Populaire, the working class of France have to-day obtained wage increases amounting to approximately 6,000 or 7,000 million

francs. It is well known that in a large number of essential industries where wages were very low, there have been increases amounting to 100 per cent. All workers in France have received a share in the wage increases, including even those living in the smallest villages; all factory and other workers, women, employees in the big department stores, went on strike, and the Catholics joined with the rest. There were days when all the big stores in Paris were occupied by the employees, and red flags were hoisted over the Louvre department stores—a terrible thing for the bourgeoisie! Ten thousand employees struck work, and the Communists brought them victuals and assistance of various kinds; speeches were delivered from the balconies of the big stores, and the Communist speakers made reports which were received with unanimous acclamation. Take the big "La Samaritaine" stores, where we had a small group of Communists among the 6-7,000 employees who were chiefly under the influence of the Christian trade union. The employees took possession of the "La Samaritaine" stores, and the Christian union said: "We are with you, comrades." Sunday arrived, and the members of the Christian union said: "Have you any objection, comrades, to our going to Mass?" to which our comrades replied: "Go to Mass at once"; and they went, returning later to take up their picketing work again with our comrades.

Thanks to their own struggle and the support received from the Front Populaire, the French working class obtained a considerable increase in their wages, and also obtained an annual 15-day holiday with pay. And after the workers have received 600 francs each for a 15-day holiday at the seaside or in the country, let anybody say anything against the Front Populaire! It is difficult to imagine the effect which the change in the situation has had in the most outlandish places in the country.

The workers are becoming confident in themselves, and it is the Front Populaire that is to be thanked for this confidence. That is why the Front Populaire is strong.

However, if wages have been increased, the cost of living has also risen in a great degree. According to statistics, retail prices have increased by about 22 per cent., while the index of wholesale prices has risen by 40 per cent. True, 22 per cent. is a great deal, but wages have frequently increased by more than 22 per cent., and in any case a number of big demands have now been raised or are being drafted to secure wage increases, with the full support of the Communists. Finally, it can be stated that the Front Populaire has much for which it can claim credit. The Front Populaire in France enjoys great popularity.

The peasants can also record certain gains since the formation of the Front Populaire; particularly

by reason of the good legislation regarding the sale of wheat. But the fact is that the prices of agricultural produce, of wine, cattle, vegetables, and potatoes have increased. So that the peasants are in general far from feeling hostile towards the Front Populaire. However, we have not only successes to record.

The Fascist movement exists in France, and so we must not paint the situation in too brilliant colours, and shut our eyes to the dark side of the picture.

There have not been big organisational changes in the Fascist movement during the last two years. There was a whole number of all kinds of Fascist and Fascist-minded groups, which were concentrated around the "Croix de Feu," the strongest group, that of Colonel de la Rocque. The influence of this organisation fell considerably after the great strike movement, the broad movement of the Front Populaire, and during the elections. But its influence has of necessity grown again with the unprecedented campaign conducted against the Front Populaire, against the Communist Party and against the Soviet Union.

At the present time, there is to be noted a slight revival of activity by the de la Rocque Party, which has a competitor in the Doriot Party. The big bourgeoisie of France are furnishing enormous sums of money to the renegade, Doriot, who actually has at his disposal, tens of millions of francs. He has hired entire buildings for his so-called "Parti Populaire," has a big apparatus, a big printing works, and a large number of bourgeois journalists at his disposal. For what purpose, on what grounds do the bourgeoisie help this movement? The bourgeoisie said to themselves: here is a man who is Mayor of the working-class town of Saint-Denis; he is eloquent, and has some talent; we have found the man we want; we are saved! But the unfortunate thing is that among the working class of France with its 5 million trade unionists, the influence of Doriot is quite weak. He has won over some of the rank and file supporting de la Rocque, some few of the middle classes, as well as, in rare cases, workers, but all he has been able to produce is a very weak movement.

If Doriot were to resign to-day as Mayor and Deputy for Saint-Denis, we would without a doubt defeat him at the elections. All this, of course, does not mean that a coup d'état is out of the question, that there is no reason to fear a Fascist putsch, that the big bourgeoisie of France have decided to resign themselves to the situation. What it does mean is that in France we have a force strong enough to make the reactionary bourgeoisie hesitate. But if the political, economic and financial situation becomes more aggravated, if the crisis becomes more serious, then the middle classes may fall prey to the Fascists.

However in analysing the state of mind of the middle classes we must avoid all pessimism. First of all the small traders are a section of the middle classes who have no reason to complain of the Front Populaire for the increase in the wages of the working class are of advantage to the small trader. Take the following example of the power and growing strength of our Party: in the Côte d'Azur, the Riviera, we have a number of Communist deputies, one for Nice and another for Cannes, that is to say, in places where the highest strata of the international bourgeoisie are accustomed to sojourn. What are the activities of our comrades? In this district the main branch of industry is the running of hotels and restaurants. The big hotels are completely empty, for neither the Germans, Englishmen, nor the big bourgeoisie of France any longer visit these places. But our comrades said to the hotel-keepers: "All right. We shall bring the Paris workers to you, but ask reasonable prices from them"—and they sent 100,000 workers there during last summer, and 50,000 during the winter.

Our parliamentary group is conducting a wide campaign on behalf of the small commercial people, which is bringing forth results and enabling us to tear the masses away from Fascism. Similar work is being done also for the intellectuals.

The Vigilance Committee which gathered together quite numerous elements among the intellectuals, fell into the hands of a small group of Trotskyists, and became discredited. But we drew the best of the writers and artists to the establishment of a Palace of Culture which now has 40,000 members—a venture in which we took a part. We have the support of the most prominent scientists and literary men. Andre Gide has left us, but nobody went with him. We have Party members even in the old College de France and in the various Academies.

There remain the artisans of whom there is a large number in France, and whose conditions continue to remain difficult. We must pay great attention to this section of the people of France, and so we are preparing legislation to help them. They have to pay very high rents and so we are demanding legislation to lower them; they are in debt, and so we are demanding that their debts be annulled. In any case, the Fascists are not advancing at the present moment, and it will depend on our policy whether they become stronger or weaker.

The economic situation is improving somewhat now, under the chairmanship, as it were, of the Front Populaire. I think that for a certain period there will be no accentuation of the depression, but on the contrary, the position will remain to a certain extent stationary or even improve a little. Then the World Exhibition will attract millions of people to France, and this also means a lessening of the crisis

in perspective — which is also favourable for the Front Populaire.

Our friends in the Chamber of Deputies, by the way, are deeply engaged on the question of the World Exhibition, and the world at large will attend this remarkable spectacle. The Communist Party of France will play quite an important rôle in the preparation of the World Exhibition, Marcel Gitton being among the five or six of its leading spirits.

In conclusion, a few words on the help we are giving to the Spanish people. I shall not dwell upon

the political and material aid being given to the Spanish Republic, upon our struggle against false neutrality, against the waverings and mistakes of the French Government. The whole of our Party's activity during these last few months has borne the stamp of this work and this struggle. I would like to mention just one thing. Several thousand of our comrades have gone as volunteers to Spain, to fight in the ranks of the Spanish Republican Army against the Fascist rebels and the German and Italian armies of intervention.

## COMINTERN PEOPLE

# TWO BOLSHEVIK HEROINES—ANNA MAI AND ANNA PAUKER

By C. BOBROVSKAYA

EVERY day new reinforcements come to swell the ranks of the Communist Parties. These are the best elements of the proletariat and of the great army of working people, who have come to the fore in the day-to-day struggles and are drawn to its vanguard, the "new type" of party. They learn by their own experience, they are educated and trained by the Party, and they strive to emulate the foremost fighters in all the detachments of the international working-class movement.

We all remember the words of Comrade Dimitrov at the 7th Congress of the Communist International :

"Cadres receive their best training in the process of struggle, in surmounting difficulties and withstanding tests, in studying favourable and unfavourable examples of conduct. We have hundreds of examples of splendid conduct in times of strikes, during demonstrations in jail, in court. We have thousands of instances of heroism, but unfortunately also not a few cases of faintheartedness, lack of firmness, and even desertion. We often forget these examples, both good and bad. We do not teach people to benefit by these examples. We do not show them what should be emulated and what rejected.

"... the most worthy examples of proletarian heroism must be popularised, must be contrasted with the manifestations of faintheartedness, philistinism, and every kind of rot and frailty in our ranks and the ranks of the working class. These examples must be used most extensively in educating the cadres of the Labour movement."

Among the heroic figures of those proletarian revolutionaries who serve as an example to all by their indefatigable activity and their perseverance in the struggle to their very last breath and to the last drop of their blood, many are women.

"The experience of all liberation movements has shown

that the success of a revolution depends on the extent to which women take part in it."

So Lenin said at the first congress of working women, held in Moscow in November, 1918.

We give here two examples of heroines of the proletarian cause, the Bulgarian, Anna Mai, and the Rumanian, Anna Pauker.

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Anna Mai, Bulgarian Communist, was the delegate on whose initiative the Second International Working Women's Conference (Moscow, 1921) decided to set aside March 8, as International Women's Day, in commemoration of the historic date, March 8, when the working women of Leningrad came out in action.

All her life this proletarian revolutionary fought for the cause of the working class. Cruel tortures in fascist dungeons were not able to break her militant spirit. She preferred to die on the rack rather than give in.

It was in her early youth that Anna Mai had cut herself off from the bourgeois home of her parents, and, becoming an elementary school teacher linked her life for ever with the struggle of the proletariat.

A true pupil of Blagoyev, the founder and leader of the Social-Democratic Party of Bulgaria, she followed her teacher, and after the split took place, she belonged to the ranks of the Bulgarian "Tesnyaki" Party, which later became the Communist Party.

In 1906 when abroad in Belgium, Anna Mai not only studied, but took part in the active struggle of the Belgian workers among whom at that time, under the influence of the first Russian revolution, great strikes were taking place. Here Anna Mai was in

the midst of the masses. On her return to her native Bulgaria, Anna threw herself heart and soul into Party work, conducting propaganda and agitation among the workers of town and country, and telling them of the revolutionary movement of the West European proletariat. Living always among the working people, studying and enlarging her experience, Anna Mai rapidly advanced to the forefront among the Party workers, became secretary of the big Plovdiva Party organisation and delegate to all Party Congresses.

Anna Mai paid particular attention to work among the most backward section of the working people—the women. When in 1913, during the Balkan war, women's protest meetings began to be held under the leadership of the "Tesnyaki" Party, Anna Mai was the chief organiser and moving spirit of them.

In 1915, when Bulgaria entered the world imperialist war, the Bulgarian peasant women began to agitate for peace and bread, chiefly in that province where Anna Mai was directly engaged in work. These demonstrations of the peasant women found an echo in the demonstration of working women in the towns and in the unrest among the soldiers.

In 1919, when the "Tesnyaki" Party became the Bulgarian section of the Communist International, Anna Mai became editor of the women's Communist paper, "Equality," became a member of the women's committee of the Central Committee of the Party, and conducted study courses for Party workers. At the same time she organised big strikes in factories where women were chiefly employed.

During the glorious uprising of the Bulgarian workers and peasants in September, 1923, many women—workers, peasants, and teachers—pupils of Anna Mai—fought heroically with arms in their hands and risked their lives on communications' service.

The September uprising was ruthlessly suppressed. A White Terror raged in the country, but Anna Mai remained at her post and continued to work underground.

Then came Fascist provocation—the Sophia Cathedral was blown up in April, 1925—and Anna Mai along with hundreds of other Communists fell into the hands of the brutal Fascist band. She was asked to confess, was subjected to inhuman tortures, but she bore all with clenched fists, and not a word passed her lips.

To what excesses the Fascist brutes went in their treatment of Anna Mai is proved by the fact that one of the prison warders, horrified by her appearance after the torture, called upon another prisoner in the corridor, and pointing to Anna's cell said: "Go and give her some water, she looks ghastly." No one ever saw Anna again dead or alive.

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Anna Pauker, Rumanian Communist, was sentenced in 1936 by a military tribunal to ten years' penal servitude.

Anna Pauker was born and reared in poverty in an obscure little provincial town in Rumania. While still a child Anna started to work. When still a 13-year-old schoolgirl, she had to coach her stupid and lazy classmates, the children of better-off parents. At 17 Anna was teaching in the Jewish High School in Bucharest. At this time she was already connected with the Socialist Party of Rumania, was a constant visitor at workers' clubs and distributed the Party paper, the "Rumanian Worker."

In 1918 illegal Communist groups were formed within the Socialist Party which waged a struggle against the opportunist Party leaders. Anna was one of the most energetic members of these groups, which afterwards became the Communist Party of Rumania. Under the pressure of the Communists the Socialist Party of Rumania called a Congress in 1921 to decide on joining the Communist International. All the Congress delegates were arrested by the police. To those Communists who had escaped arrests fell the heavy task of rallying the forces of the newly formed young Communist Party. And it was here that Anna Pauker's rich revolutionary activity developed to its full extent. While working as an organiser, a propagandist, and a mass agitator, she waged a tireless struggle at the same time against the opportunistic elements within the Party. The struggle reached its height in 1923-24, when these Rumanian liquidators began to oppose the existence of the illegal Party organisations, tried to carry through an anti-Party line on the agrarian and national questions, and finally went so far as to defend those who through cowardice in face of the Rumanian Siguranza (secret police), gave away Party secrets under interrogation, and betrayed their comrades.

During the whole course of her militant activity Anna Pauker was subjected to constant persecution—searches, interrogations, imprisonment, and enforced banishment. But whatever country she sought refuge in she studied the experience of the revolutionary movement of that country, learned the language, and steadily enriched her theoretical knowledge. In this way she became one of the foremost revolutionary leaders of Rumania.

Anna Pauker's popularity among the proletarian masses was so great that the Fascists, the last time they arrested her, were afraid to bring her to trial in the capital, Bucharest, but chose instead a quieter spot—the provincial town of Craievo. Eighteen other anti-Fascists were tried along with Anna.

On her first appearance in the court Anna Pauker firmly declared:

"Our trial is the trial of anti-Fascism. We here pronounce the most severe condemnation of Fascism."

Anna's passionate and militant speech at the trial

was continuously interrupted by the Fascist judges and by the hooting of the court which was packed with secret police.

"I see that I am denied the right to defend myself. You will send me to penal servitude. But the masses of the workers are with me," said Anna quietly in conclusion.

Her courageous behaviour was an example to the other prisoners on trial. One of those who were being tried along with Anna, a girl student named Rodoshevskaya, whose physical strength was so undermined by beatings and starvation that she was

carried into the court on a stretcher, declared from where she lay :

"The secret police beat me, beat me brutally. They dashed my head against the wall, but no matter what tortures they may inflict on me, I will never do the bidding of the secret police, the worst enemy of the working class."

While the sentence of ten years' penal servitude was being passed on all 19 accused, they sang the International. Thus do many, many Communist women live and fight to the death against Fascism for the cause of the working class.

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL CONTROL COMMISSION

# CONCERNING THE ACCOMPLICES OF TROTSKYISM IN THE RANKS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES

SEVERAL cases concerning Party members previously connected with Trotskyists have been examined by the International Control Commission during the last few months. In some cases, these personal connections and even friendship with counter-revolutionary elements masquerading as Communists, extended over a number of years. Members of the Party who maintained such impermissible connections generally use every possible argument to prove that they never on any occasion noticed anything of an anti-Party character in the behaviour of such scoundrels as the terrorists Lurie, Berman-Yurin, and others. There can hardly be any doubt that in some cases the Trotskyists quite cleverly carried on their duplicity even in the society of their acquaintances and friends, thus screening themselves behind Communists whose party standing was clear, and at the same time, worming out the information they required, unnoticed by these muddle-heads. There were cases, however, where Party members, aware of the anti-Party sentiments of their friends, failed to bring the same to the notice of the Party. Some of these Party members are clearly carrying on a double game themselves, by trying to conceal their own anti-Party demeanour.

For example, Hil Davidovich Rosenberg (Simon Plavner), of petty-bourgeois origin, member of the Communist Party of Poland since 1919, belonged to the "Poalei Zion" party in 1917-1918. Rosenberg maintained close connections with Trotskyists, including the family of the terrorist Holtzman, which continued even after the latter had been expelled

from the Party as an individual undeserving of confidence. At one time, the Trotskyist Pachkowcki-Kowalcki, playing upon Rosenberg's ambition, made the proposal to him to become the "Polish Doriot." According to Rosenberg, he turned down the proposal, but did not inform the Party of the incident and continued to meet Pachkowcki and other Trotskyists.

The International Control Commission expelled H. D. Rosenberg from the Party as undeserving of confidence.

Rudolph Gerber (Rudolph Schlesinger), member of the Communist Party of Austria in 1920-1923, then member of the Communist Party of Germany, was at one time an active member of the Ruth Fischer-Maslow faction. From 1927 Gerber-Schlesinger was closely connected with the double-dealer and terrorist, David. In 1935 David recommended him for a responsible post in the editorial office of a Party journal. David frequently carried on anti-Party conversations with him, for example, giving a calumnious "interpretation" of the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, a fact of which Gerber did not inform the Party, thereby failing to help to unmask this criminal. In 1926, Gerber was introduced by Ruth Fischer to the Trotskyist, M. Lurie (Emel) with whom he maintained friendly relations right up to the time when Emel was arrested as a terrorist. Even after Emel's arrest, Gerber said nothing of his close connections with him. Gerber also mixed with other doubtful and Trotskyist elements.

The International Control Commission expelled Gerber-Schlesinger from the Party as an element hostile to the Party and connected with counter-revolutionary elements.

Or, for example, the case of the brothers Richter (Maurice and Paul) and Lazarus Bach (Jacob Yuzhin). For a number of years they were closely connected with the Trotskyist, Jacob Berman, brother of Berman-Yurin, who was shot last year, and with whom they associated until he was actually arrested. Berman-Yurin was in the habit of having his correspondence addressed to the flat previously rented by him and latterly occupied by Paul Richter, apparently not considering it possible to use his own address. The Richters and Bach assert that they knew nothing of the counter-revolutionary Trotskyist activity of the Bermans, but who are these people, so trustful of the Trotskyists, who would now like the Party to accept their explanations?

Bach is the son of a factory-owner once condemned by the Soviet courts for speculation, who then left for Latvia. Bach concealed this fact from the Party until recently. In Latvia, Bach lived with his father, who had again opened a factory, and at the same time allegedly belonged to the Communist Party. Then, together with his father, he went to South Africa, still living with his father, who there also became a factory-owner. Then Bach took part in disruptive factional work in the Communist Party of South Africa.

The Central Committee of the C.P. of Latvia denies that he belonged to the Communist Party while he lived in Latvia. In the U.S.S.R., Bach got into contact with elements undeserving of confidence and hid the fact from the Party.

Paul and Maurice Richter were born in Latvia, from whence they also emigrated to South Africa. After travelling in various countries, they finally decided to settle down in the U.S.S.R., where they moved in circles hostile to the Party and the Soviet Government. There is nothing anywhere to show in what their adherence to the Communist Party was expressed.

The International Control Commission decided to expel Lazarus Isaacovich Bach (Jacob Yuzhin), as an element undeserving of the Party's confidence, for concealing from the Party what sort of an individual his father, a speculator condemned by the Soviet courts, actually was, for failing to inform the Party of the anti-Party behaviour of his friends, and for insincerity to the International Control Commission. Paul Richter and Maurice Richter have been expelled from the Party as individuals whose entry into the Party was fortuitous, and as not deserving confidence.

In a number of cases, where it was a question of Party members having had personal connections with anti-Party double-dealing elements, but where, according to the data to hand, these comrades had no hand in the criminal activities of these elements, the International Control Commission limited itself to censuring them for slackening their Party vigilance.



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