

# INTERNATIONAL PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 14 No. 64

22nd December, 1934

## CONTENTS

<b>Politics</b>			
Foreign-Political Review of the Week . . . . .	1710	Open Letter of the German Red Aid to the Executive of the S.P. of Germany in Prague . . . . .	1722
Gore Graham: What Britain's League Decision Means . .	1711	<b>Fight Against Imperialist War</b>	
The Naval Conversations in London and Armament Race	1712	Imperialism in Abyssinia . . . . .	1722
<b>Germany</b>		<b>The White Terror</b>	
Gottfried Feder Thrown Overboard . . . . .	1713	Sasha Small: The Scottsboro Case before the U.S. Supreme Court . . . . .	1723
Kopp: Foreign Battalions March to the Saar . . . . .	1714	Some Aspects of the Fascist Criminal Law in Italy . .	1724
Our Programme After the Victory . . . . .	1715	<b>Students' World Congress</b>	
Mueller: The Spies and Agents Provocateurs in the Lands of Emigration . . . . .	1716	André Victor: For the United Front of Struggle of the Students . . . . .	1725
Fritz Heckert: Heinz Neumann's Life in Danger! . . .	1717	<b>In the International</b>	
<b>United States</b>		Wm. Gallacher: Discussion on the Thirteenth Congress of the C.P.G.B. . . . .	1726
A. G. Bosse: America's Fascist Dress Rehearsal . . .	1717	I. Komos: The C.P. of Greece for the United Front . .	1727
<b>Fight for the Unity of the Labour Movement</b>		<b>Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union</b>	
J. Berlioz: The Irresistible Advance to Trade Union Unity in France . . . . .	1718	L. F. Boross: The Fate of the Peasants in the Soviet Village	1727
Stark: The Struggle for Trade Union Unity in the Saar .	1719	On the Political Departments in Agriculture . . . . .	1728
F. Coenen: The Belgian Labour Party Opposed to the United Front . . . . .	1720	In Memory of Sergei Kirov . . . . .	1731
Open Letter of the C.C. of the Y.C.L.G. . . . .	1721	The Week in the Soviet Union . . . . .	1731

## For Rakosi!

Trial to Commence on January 14th

### World-Wide Protest Movement Only Means of Saving Him!

With the issue of the indictment against Rakosi, the Hungarian government has carried out its threat: it is arrogantly disregarding all juridical considerations and having the case tried by the Special Court. The trial of Rakosi will begin on January 14.

The Public Prosecutor has brought forward his indictment against Rakosi, "who has been held in prison on remand since April 25, 1934." That is to say that since this time he has been at the disposal of the Court. But only since April 25, 1934? Rakosi was arrested on September 24, 1925, and has been in custody ever since that time—in the notorious torture chambers of the Budapest police, then in prison awaiting trial, and then in the Waitzen and Szegedin prisons. According to the indictment, Rakosi is a dangerous criminal. He is accused "as accomplice in 27 cases of murder, according to paragraphs 171 and 278 of the Criminal Code, which provide for the death penalty, and he is also accused as "instigator in 27 cases of murder under paragraph 278 of the Criminal Code, which likewise provides for the death penalty. In addition, he is accused of high treason, of depriving citizens of their liberty and of forging of money. All these alleged crimes mentioned in the indictment date back about 16 years. The judge and police knew of them. The so-called perpetrator has been a prisoner in their hands for about ten years. But, strange to say, no charge was brought forward on account of these punishable acts. It was only in the middle of November last that the Public Prosecutor drew up the indictment against Rakosi, "who has been held in prison on remand since April 25, 1934."

With this piece of trickery it is intended to justify a monstrous judicial crime. Rakosi, a former People's Commissar in the Hungarian Soviet government, was arrested. He was brought before a military Court charged with insurrection. But what had he done? He had carried on Party organisational work on behalf of the C.P. of Hungary. Under the pressure of a world-wide and powerful solidarity action, the military Court was compelled to state that it was incompetent to try the case. Thus the charge of insurrection was dropped. Rakosi's latest crime dwindled to a simple offence. According to a generally recognised and hitherto universally respected juridical principle, all the offences with which Rakosi was chargeable should have been included at that time in the indictment; he should have been charged then with high treason, etc., etc., if it was intended to stage a political trial at all. But the government and the judicial authorities thought otherwise. They had Rakosi condemned to 8½ years' imprisonment on account of activity, which at that time was permitted in almost all other countries, and in addition subjected him to a rigorous prison regime with the deliberate intention of killing him. But Rakosi served his sentence. Though broken in health he was still alive. Rakosi ought now to have been released. But no, he was transferred to the remand prison while the fresh "case" was being framed up against him. And the man who has been in the hands of the Hungarian authorities for nearly ten years and has been forced to serve the savage sentence of 8½ years' imprisonment for an offence against the Hungarian laws, is now to be

charged with high treason, murder, etc., in order that he may be sent to the gallows.

The Public Prosecutor has ordered that the case shall be tried by **summary procedure**. What is meant by summary procedure? When the counter-revolution triumphed in 1919 with the aid of Rumanian bayonets and thanks to the undermining of the proletarian dictatorship from within by the social democracy, bands of white-guard officers, who during the proletarian dictatorship had made themselves scarce, recovered their courage and ravaged the country with fire and sword. But the heads of the ruling class wanted themselves to exercise justice, to take the revenge through their own judges and hangmen. They insisted on "lawful punishment." As, however, it was impossible to condemn thousands and thousands **quickly enough** by means of the ordinary procedure, the Supreme Court of Justice, on its own account and giving as a reason the extraordinary circumstances obtaining, introduced the so-called summary procedure, which greatly restricts the rights of the accused and grants the Court extraordinary power. Sixteen years have passed since then, and the extraordinary circumstances which were given as a reason for the introduction of summary procedure have long ceased to exist. To have recourse to **summary procedure** in the case of Rakosi, after the judicial authorities have had nearly ten years in which to try him by ordinary procedure, sounds like a bitter mockery, a mockery not only of Rakosi but also of their own laws.

The 27 and 17 cases of murder respectively mentioned in the indictment, of course, have nothing to do with actual murder, and Rakosi least of all persons had anything to do with them. The proletarian revolution had, in common with other proletarian revolutions, that **magnanimity** for which it had to pay so dearly later. In the first weeks of the proletarian revolution there were not only no death sentences carried out, but not even one death sentence was passed. It was only when the Rumanian army began to advance, when the counter-revolution began to lift up its head and there took place the murderously attacks upon Soviet commissars, that, after long proceedings, the death penalty was applied against the chief culprits. The punishment of counter-revolutionary murderers is now represented as an act of murder. When the Red Army advanced and repelled the Czechs and Rumanians, counter-revolutionary revolts were organised in the rear of the Red Army. They often had to be crushed by force of arms. Those who were killed in these fights are now represented as victims of acts of murder, and even so the Public Prosecutor can only cite 27 and 17 cases respectively of murder, although the proletarian dictatorship existed for 4½ months and had to fight against starvation blockade and against the imperialist armies. **Rakosi, however, who was People's Commissar for social production, is made responsible for these deaths as perpetrator, inciter, chief inciter, etc.**

The Public Prosecutor had certain misgivings as to what might be the effect of the charges based on the above-cited cases. He has therefore ordered the case to be tried by summary procedure in order to charge Rakosi directly with having committed murder, robbery, etc. Rakosi has been repeatedly cross-examined. And the result? The Public Prosecutor concludes his indictment:—

"I declare that in my competence I cease the examination commenced in the case of Rakosi—apart from the punishable actions cited in the indictment as the subject of the accusation—on account of the crime of 21 cases of murder, of 387 and 118 cases of depriving citizens of their liberty and 21 cases of robbery."

Thus Rakosi is now to be brought to trial on account of his political activity, which activity, however, is made synonymous with murder. Rakosi is even charged with forging money, because the Hungarian Soviet government, like all governments, issued paper money. This charge is brought by the same Public Prosecutor who permitted actual forgers of money to remain at large, and when he was compelled to institute proceedings against them because foreign governments insisted on it, treated these forgers before the court as gentlemen and equals.

These are the circumstances under which the case is being framed-up against Rakosi in order to bring him to the gallows.

Everywhere, in the press, in meetings, in the factories, etc., voices must be raised on behalf of Rakosi. The Hungarian Consulates and Embassies must be inundated with protest telegrams and besieged by jurists, politicians, and deputations of workers.

Time presses. In less than four weeks Rakosi will stand before his judges.

## Politics

### Foreign-Political Review of the Week

The agreement on the Saar arrived at in Geneva, and especially the settlement of Yugoslavia's complaint against Hungary achieved there, are hailed as a great victory for the League of Nations and also as a great success of the peace policy of France and England. A gloomy picture was painted of the situation after the Marseilles assassinations. The situation was compared with that of twenty years ago after the Serajevo assassinations, while the Yugoslavian Memorandum to the League of Nations was said to be reminiscent of the notorious ultimatum addressed by Austro-Hungary to Servia. The London "Economist" of December 15 writes:—

"Thus closes an incident which has startled the world by its amazing similarity to the events which set Europe ablaze in 1914. . . . In 1914, when Russia lined up behind Serbia and Germany behind Austria-Hungary, all hopes of preserving the peace of Europe was at an end. In 1934, France and Italy have been saved from being dragged into a conflict, which both of them abhorred, at the tails of their respective East-European satellites.

The League Council, it is said, "has given the dog a helping hand in its efforts to avoid being wagged by his tail."

Without underestimating the threatening danger to peace which the Yugoslav-Hungarian complications constituted, we must, in order to prevent the formation of a legend, deny the beautiful comparison with 1914. In 1914 the trouble lay not with the smaller States, but with the big imperialist Powers. Russia did not line up behind Servia, but was aiming at obtaining possession of Austrian Galicia and the Dardanelles. Germany did not line up behind Austria-Hungary, but goaded it on in order, by removing the Southern Slav danger, to possess an effective ally for its imperialist aims. The imperialist aims of Germany, the imperialist antagonisms between **Germany and England**, these were the main causes of the outbreak of the imperialist war in 1914.

It is true that there are also sharp imperialist antagonisms to-day. A war in Europe or Asia would have been bound to raise the question of these antagonisms. It would have been impossible to confine the war to Yugoslavia and Hungary. It is true that neither Italy nor France nor England would have much to gain from such a war. They therefore exercised a restraining influence, so much so that the Little Entente had to threaten with war in order to get them to intervene somewhat more energetically. England had to be almost pushed before it would help to bring about an easing of the situation in the Saar and on the Danube. One can only laugh when one reads the speech delivered by Sir John Simon on December 14 in Bolton, in which he boasted of what he had done at Geneva.

If England has rendered the least services to the cause of peace at Geneva it wants to be paid all the more for that little it has done. England is pursuing its old plan. It wishes to bring about an understanding between Hitler-Germany and France, of course, in order to promote peace, to put a limit to Germany's armaments. Germany is arming to-day as it is. It shall arm openly, but within limits, determined by international agreements. That is the peace policy of the English government. As if Hitler-Germany, which has already violated the armament provisions of the Versailles Treaty, would observe any other armaments agreement. But the Franco-German agreement must, of course, have a political basis. Writing in the "Echo de Paris" of December 16, **Pertinax**, who has an excellent knowledge of French foreign policy, describes the political basis of the Franco-German agreement as follows:—

"Immediate agreement without any third party, and at the cost of a third party. France declares that its interests extend only to the Rhine. It will leave Central and Eastern Europe to Germany, which will be free to set up a Hitler Central Europe. At this price France will be left in peace."

The plan of the English government is also supported by the Liberals, who would like to book the Franco-German agreement as the next "success."

"If Herr Hess then visits France after the plebiscite in the Saar, the dreaded year 1935 may prove to have inaugurated a new era in Europe."

The above lines did not appear in the **Rothermere** press nor in the "Times," but in the article in the "Economist" which we have already quoted.

In this case a new era would in fact be inaugurated, but not of peace but of war, above all of war against the Soviet Union. This is how the English government at any rate wishes to make use of the Geneva successes.

The Geneva decision has caused great consternation in the governing circles of Hungary. It reveals the danger and shows to what consequences the purely adventurist policy of Goemboes is leading and how little Hungary can rely on the friendship of Mussolini. Goemboes' position seems to be seriously shaken, as is also the confidence of Hungary in Italy. The solemn meeting between Mussolini's two train-bearers the Prime Ministers of Austria and Hungary, the declaration of fidelity to the Rome protocol is the fawning reply they give to the kicks administered by the Duce. The telegram from Schuschnigg and Goemboes to Mussolini expressing their confidence in him reminds one of an inscription on a grave in the famous cemetery in Genoa: "Here lies . . . waiting since 1876 for the promised resurrection."

The Budapest meeting is intended as a plaster for the wounds sustained in Geneva. The Pope has also contributed a plaster. He has sent a gift for the Hungarians driven from Yugoslavia. It is known that the Holy Father is in great financial difficulties, as the 1,700 million lira which he received from Mussolini have been lost in stock exchange speculations. This gift from the impeccable Holy Father is therefore all the more touching. This gift is intended to indicate indirectly the love of the Pope for the Croats, and is thus obviously directed against the orthodox Serbs. His Holiness Count Ratti could pronounce anathemas against the Serbs on the occasion of the assassinations in Marseilles, as he did against the Bolsheviks on the occasion of the murder of Comrade Kirov. He sides with Mussolini, he sides with Schuschnigg and he sides with Goemboes. He sees in them the rescuers of capitalism, the last form of production which maintains a state of society in which there are rich and poor.

In the meantime, the great rescuer of capitalism, Benito Mussolini, finds himself in a tight corner. The difficulties at home appear this time to be greater than they were formerly. Mussolini's fulmination against his criticising party followers betray an unusual degree of nervousness. The lira is falling. His Abyssinian adventure, with which he wishes to convert the reverses sustained in Adoua into a victory, the most glorious achievement of his regime, seems to have come at a very inopportune time. Hence the feverish efforts to come to an understanding with France and the pressing invitation to Laval to visit Rome. He, the man who smashed the workers' organisations, who cut off the head of the hydra of strikes, who threw a life-line to the sinking bourgeoisie, finds allies in France. But a Franco-Italian understanding would only be a prelude to an Italo-Abyssinian war.

One of the most important foreign-political events of the week is the adjournment of the naval conversations which will be immediately followed by the denunciation of the Washington and London Naval Treaties by Japan. Japan wishes to give free rein to its imperialist appetite in the Eastern half of the Pacific Ocean. Japan is conducting a feverish espionage activity, the sure precursor of every war.

The hymns of peace sung at Geneva can still be heard.

## What Britain's League Decision Means

By Gore Graham

For a long time bourgeois pacifists in England have complained of the way in which the big Powers were betraying the cause of collective action against war. The British government in particular has been accused of betraying the League by its "acquiescence" in Japan's destruction of peace agreements in its independent war on China. These pacifists have demanded the employment of sanctions against a country which breaks the peace and shows contempt for established agreements. With all the usual vagueness and equivocation of demagogues the British Labour Party leaders have joined in this criticism. This has caused their Conservative opponents in Parliament and elsewhere to make debating points against them by describing them as such lovers of peace that they want Britain to go to war in order to maintain it. Why should Britain, they ask, be dragged into a war in order to restrain imperialist Japan in expansionist activities taking place thousands of miles away? The fact that the Labour Party leaders

themselves have merely been playing the usual parliamentary debating game on this question has not made the Conservative arguments any the less unscrupulous or any the less contradictory to their professions and obligations in regard to collective peace action.

The British government, however, made an important decision at the League, declaring its full readiness to carry out certain established obligations for collective maintenance of peace. It persuaded the French government to abandon the Barthou attitude towards the Saar question and to assume an attitude of neutrality. Further, having secured a Franco-German agreement on the Saar question (which leaves the whole anti-Hitler population in the Saar in the lurch, by the way), it declared its readiness to send British troops into the Saar (again with German agreement) to safeguard peace. This is a very important step, not merely because of the habitual jingoistic demagoguery of the British Conservatives which has emphasised the determination to avoid commitments abroad in the name of peace, but also because it is only a few weeks since Sir John Simon declared quite explicitly that in no circumstances would the British government send any troops to the Saar.

Naturally the pacifist simpletons have begun to whoop with joy at an alleged change of heart on the part of the British government. And the Labour Party, always keen to nurture any illusion that comes along, has added its welcome to this decision. The inconsistency of the Labour Party, however, has been well revealed in the columns of the "Daily Herald." This paper a week or two ago was serving the Labour Party's anti-war demagoguery by shouting loudly against the folly of any British soldiers' lives being endangered by being sent to the Saar—not a British soldier for the Saar. But now it is backing the British League's decisions.

What does this step of the British government mean? Has the government which supported the Japanese when they turned collective agreements into scraps of paper (the Washington Pact and other agreements) begun to repent its crime? And has it therefore decided henceforth to treat seriously all collective agreements for the maintenance of peace and to fulfil its logical obligations thereto?

He would be a noodle who thought so. This new step of the British government is merely an endorsement of the fact that Great Britain is, to be sure, interested in the maintenance of peace in those places where war would not suit British interests.

The talk about the British government not carrying out any obligations abroad in the name of peace is proved to be so much poppycock. The whole point is that the British government, which is a world Power before everything, is interested in peace and will help to maintain peace, fulfilling practical commitments in doing so, only in specific parts of the world. In Western Europe, on Britain's own doorstep, is such an area.

This has been made clear many times and with great clarity only a short while ago in an article by an authoritative spokesman of British foreign policy in the "Sunday Times." This writer ("Srutator") said: "In the future of Russia's Far-Eastern provinces we are completely disinterested (!?) . . . whether a war between Japan goes one way or another is not worth the sinking of a single British ship . . . the world is still too large for us to sustain an equal enthusiasm for peace and an equal indignation against aggression in every part of it."

That is candid. It assists anyone who needs assistance to see the significance of the recent British step towards practical co-operation in maintaining peace over the Saar question. Britain is anxious for peace in Western Europe, where war would not at all suit British interests; not to mention the interests of world capitalism as a whole, a factor of which the wise and responsible British imperialist rulers do not easily lose sight.

The British government is pursuing this role because it is anxious to avoid the downfall of capitalism in the evermore-precariously situated Germany, which Nazi rule is ruining and where the situation is dangerous not only for German capitalism but for the whole of capitalist Europe. It is pursuing this role because it is so anxious, as ever, about the existence of the Soviet Union. It was unable to prevent the entry of the Soviet Union into the League. Conditions forced it to be a supporter of Soviet League membership and the British rulers are disappointed that they were unable to use the occasion for forcing concessions from the U.S.S.R.

The decision of the British government in regard to the Saar

made at the League last week gave the impression in France that Britain is at last playing a positive role in the League, is really committing itself to play its part in a way the French bourgeoisie have longed for so long. But what is the other side of the bargain? Does any intelligent person believe there is no other side to Britain's pacifist medal? What quid pro quo is the British government receiving?

The British do not like France's dependence on the U.S.S.R. They are sorry that the French, fearful of Hitler Germany, have had to lean on the strong arm of this peace State. To the far-sighted British imperialists this is most unhealthy. Thus the British imperialists' decision is a sign of their activity in trying to make France and peace in Western Europe independent of Soviet co-operation. It is indeed another indication of British imperialism's inspired antagonism towards the Soviet Union, an endorsement of the fact that the British capitalists are interested in peace but not everywhere, only in certain places. They want to see peace maintained in those places without the co-operation of the world's great peace State, the U.S.S.R. For the British imperialists are still absorbed by the Bolshevik menace, still haunted by the Soviet republics, still the most consistent opponents of the workers' fatherland, still organising and scheming anti-Soviet unity among the capitalists, and still working for the hoped-for crusade that will destroy the Soviet Union.

## The Naval Conference in London and the Armament Race

The negotiations which have been carried on in London for over a month by the representatives of Great Britain, the United States and Japan on the subject of the Naval Conference of 1935 have brought no change in the attitude of the participants. The conflict of interests existing between the major naval powers has not been mitigated—on the contrary, it shows a tendency towards a further intensification. But the course of the negotiations yet presents the greatest political interest, as their observation renders it easier to distinguish the relative importance of the various contradictions, the possibility or impossibility of a compromise with regard to certain issues and the probability of a certain division, balance and grouping of forces among the participants at the coming conference.

The problems discussed in London are to be analysed below in the order of their importance.

The first place is occupied by the question of ratios, i.e. the question of the proportion of the naval forces of the several countries. This issue was raised by Japan in demanding parity with the British and American navy for its own navy and categorically refusing to accept the ratio of 5:5:3 existing up to the present, a ratio fixed by the Washington Agreement for the navies of Great Britain, the United States and Japan with regard to battleships and aircraft carriers, and subsequently extended by the London Agreement, with a few exceptions and modifications, to the lighter types of vessels. Japan is opposed on this question by the United States, who insist on prolonging the main points of the Washington and London Agreements and maintaining the ratio laid down in these agreements for the naval balance of forces. Great Britain occupies an intermediate position on this question. It is willing to favour the Japanese demands, and on the other hand it has not the slightest desire of serving as catspaw for the United States and impair its own good understanding with Japan in the process.

The semi-official mouthpiece of the Admiralty, the "Naval and Military Record," says about this on November 8, that what Japan thinks of the Washington Treaty and what the United States think of Japan is very interesting, but for Britain it is much more important to think of its own navy. Obviously Japan attaches no great importance to consent or non-consent of Great Britain to the new ratio of naval forces. Britain has probably no great interest in this. But it is to be hoped that the United States will not attempt to manoeuvre Britain into an antagonistic position with regard to Japan. As to the fate of the Washington Treaty the journal thinks that in case it be denounced by Japan it would be readily given up by the British naval authorities.

Thus Britain shows no inclination whatever to save the Washington agreement. Even less is Britain interested in maintaining the London agreement which imposes restrictions on the light vessels of the signatory powers. On the contrary, the men responsible for the naval policy of England demanded through the mouth

of their most prominent representatives that the limitations imposed by the London agreement be set aside. Thus Lord Beatty declared in Portsmouth, in a speech which attracted much attention, that the time had come when the shackles of the London agreement must be shaken off.

This is quite in keeping with the renewal of the British demand to increase the number of British cruisers to 70 units. Thus the Japanese aspirations and the consequent annulment of the limitations contained in the Washington and London agreements offer a favourable opportunity for Britain to increase to the greatest possible extent its own naval forces.

This being the case, Britain would like to play the "laughing third" in the dispute between Japan and the United States. The attempts at "mediation" are not in our opinion to be taken too seriously. They are only meant to exonerate Britain, in the eyes of the United States, from any blame for the sterility of the negotiations and for the obduracy of Japan and thus to prevent an unnecessary tension in the relations between Britain and the United States. One of these attempts at mediation, if we are to believe the very sparse press information forthcoming on the subject of these negotiations, is the formula recommended by Britain, according to which Japan would be granted official parity in exchange for which formal concession Japan should undertake not to make actual use of the facilities thus afforded during the validity of the future agreement. But the leading spirits of the Japanese Admiralty are out not for a nominal, but for an actual parity with the United States. They refuse to consider any compromise on this point and have repeatedly said so in the most unequivocal fashion, by mouth of the Japanese representatives in London and in declarations made by representatives of the Admiralty and the Foreign Office in Tokyo. To the United States, on the other hand, any serious infringement of the Washington and London naval ratio and of the whole system of international limitations in naval armaments, for which American diplomacy has fought obstinately and tirelessly ever since the war, is completely unacceptable.

The fundamental controversy as to the ratio of the naval forces of the leading powers is closely linked up with the question of the method by which naval armaments are to be restricted. While the United States demand an exact assessment and limitation of the tonnage of every class of vessel (as laid down by the Washington and London agreements), Japan proposes to substitute for this method a limitation of the aggregate tonnage. In accordance with the principle of equality all leading naval powers should be allowed the same maximum of aggregate tonnage, within the limits of which each power could distribute its tonnage among the different classes of vessels according to its pleasure and to its special needs and interests. This Japanese demand is evidently contrary to the interests of the United States and also to the interests of Great Britain. It indicates the desire of Japan to secure the possibility of a maximum strengthening of its navy by the class of vessels which offer the greatest advantages from the strategic point of view and which are the most dangerous for Japan's possible opponents in naval warfare. This applies in the first place to submarines.

## II

The partial problems connected with the fixation of numerical limitations for the different classes of vessels form—in addition to the general problems of the strength ratio and the fundamental methods of limitation—the second series of differences between the participants in the London negotiations and the coming naval conference. Each party attempts to bind the other parties to the greatest possible extent and at the same time to secure for itself the most favourable conditions for its war preparations. Each party therefore designates the weapons most dangerous to itself in the hands of a potential enemy as "offensive" weapons which are to be subject to limitation or prohibition. Each designates as "defensive," and therefore subject to only nominal limitations, the weapons which it can itself employ to the greatest advantage. Japan demands a considerable restriction and numerical equalisation of the battleship fleets of the three major naval powers, with the object of thus eliminating the present superiority of the British and American battleship strength over the Japanese (15 units each to nine Japanese units) and at the same time reducing the future expenditure entailed by the necessity of replacing its battleships by new units—a consideration of the greatest importance in view of the financial situation of Japan. As to aircraft carriers, Japan not only demands a reduction of the number of units of this class,

but declares its own readiness to discard them entirely as the most aggressive of naval armaments. This is not difficult to understand, seeing that it is precisely this class of vessel that is best suitable to cope with a factor very favourable to Japan, i.e., the immensity of the Pacific Ocean. Japan further suggests, on a basis of parity between the three powers, a restriction of the number of large "Washington" cruisers armed with eight-inch guns. This again aims at eliminating the superiority of the U.S.A. in this type of vessel (18 units in all as against 12 Japanese). On the other hand, as concerns the light cruisers carrying six-inch guns, the torpedo-boats and the submarines, which come under the heading of defensive units, the Japanese plan drawn up in London proposes to restrict these merely to an aggregate tonnage uniform for all powers, giving each the right to distribute this total tonnage at their pleasure among the various classes of light vessels.

This Japanese programme meets with the sharpest opposition in the United States as well as in Great Britain. Neither America nor England have the slightest intention of agreeing to restrict the number of their capital ships or to weaken the relative position of their navies. When the present naval treaties expire, i.e., after 1936, the United States as well as England intend to begin replacing all their present capital ships by at least as many new units. The capital ships are still regarded by the men responsible for the naval policy of both countries as the backbone of the countries' naval forces. The leading naval authorities of both countries have repeatedly and very decidedly put forward this point of view. In England it was Lord Beatty, Eyres-Monsell, the present First Lord of the Admiralty, Admiral Chefeld, Lord Hailsham, Secretary for War, and many others; in the United States, Swanson, Secretary of the Naval Department, and Admiral Standley, Chief of the Naval General Staff; Admiral Pratt, his predecessor in that office; Admiral Reeves, Chief Commander of the United States Navy, and a number of other naval authorities.

Thus both England and America have the greatest interest in maintaining their battleship fleets, and are, in fact, preparing to renew their units. Their position with regard to the Japanese programme is no less unanimous on the submarine question. The experiences made in the world war show that submarines are a great menace to overseas trade. Great Britain has repeatedly, at all disarmament conferences, put forward the demand for their complete prohibition or considerable restriction. This demand was supported by the United States, though in a less decided form. The two "Anglo-Saxon" Powers are still unanimous on this point in spite of their differences in other matters. Both find the Japanese proposals unacceptable, as these proposals are tantamount to authorising Japan to a practically unlimited extension of its already very strong submarine fleet. The object of the Japanese demand is obviously to ensure the invincibility of the Japanese navy in the decisive section of the Pacific and to give the Japanese submarines the possibility of harrying the sea communications of the enemy. The position is exactly inverse in the case of aircraft carriers. The United States regard aircraft carriers and in general the possibilities of using aircraft as the most important potential weapon they possess in the Pacific against Japan, and therefore they offer an energetic resistance to the attacks made by Japan on this weapon. The semi-official mouthpiece of the American Naval Department in its issue of October 13 writes on this subject that the Japanese view with alarm the development of the United States naval airfleet, which, as they know perfectly well, surpasses all others in efficiency and mobility. The Japanese certainly do not want the U.S.A. to possess an airfleet capable of operating at great distances from its few and scattered bases and thus of strengthening defensive operations by offensive action. On the other hand, the Japanese are increasing their own military airfleet to a sufficient strength to ward off any air attack.

The question of increasing the number of cruiser units of the British fleet, raised by Britain, continues to be a bone of contention between Britain and the United States but not to the great extent as heretofore. As everyone knows, the Geneva Conference of 1927 was broken up by the British demand of 70 cruiser units. But since then the United States have themselves systematically strengthened their cruiser fleet and the British demand for more cruisers no longer holds the same terrors for them.

It is on the issue of what is called the "qualitative" limitation of naval armaments that the differences between Britain and the United States are strongest.

The demand put forward by Britain that the maximum tonnage of battleships be reduced from the Washington standard of 35,000 tons to 25,000 tons and the maximum tonnage of cruisers from 10,000 tons to 7,000 tons meets with the unabated opposition of the United States. Japan on the other hand supports in a certain measure the proposal of a reduction of the maximum tonnage of battleships and attempts to come to an understanding with Britain against the United States on this point. The American naval journal, mentioned above, comments on this, that the obvious reason for such an attitude, beside the question of cost, is that a 35,000 ton capital ship can easily remain absent from its base for a month and operate more or less effectively, while a smaller vessel of the same category is incapable of doing so. The Japanese are of course perfectly aware that if the United States are forced to defend themselves they must resort to offensive operations as a means of defence.

As regards the upper limit of gun calibres for battleships, a compromise is well within the possibilities. According to certain information the United States are prepared to reduce the Washington standards of 16 inches, if not to 12 inches, as proposed by Britain, at least to 14 inches, which is the more predominant in the United States navy.

The problem of naval bases acquires a special significance in view of the present situation in the Pacific. Japan demands a prolongation of the Washington restrictions put upon the construction of naval bases by the United States and Great Britain in certain regions of the Pacific. The United States, on the other hand, maintains that the cancellation of the ratio fixed in Washington for the number of permissible units of the three navies "automatically" includes the cancellation of the restrictions relative to naval bases. The Americans especially insist on the right to fortify Alaska and the neighbouring islands.

France and Italy for the time being do not participate in the London conversations. But their position and the contradictions existing between them will doubtless prove an important factor in deciding the fate of the coming conference. The Franco-Italian rivalry in the Mediterranean shows no serious symptoms of weakening in spite of the rapprochement of these Powers on other points.

(To be concluded)

## Germany

### Gottfried Feder Thrown Overboard

Dr. Gottfried Feder, until recently Secretary of State in the Economic Ministry and Settlement Minister, has been deprived of his offices and compelled to retire.

Feder was "the economic theoretician" of the national socialist party of Germany right from its beginning. As is known, Hitler himself once declared that it was after hearing a lecture by Feder that he first got a clear idea what national socialist economy meant. Feder took a prominent part in drawing up the 25 points of programme of the national socialist party, and in addition wrote a detailed commentary on it and a number of books explaining the meaning and aims of national socialism. Feder sought to make a distinction between "productive" and "predatory" capital. By accepting the first he justified the whole capitalist system, and by a sham opposition to the latter the Nazis tried to exploit the anti-capitalist sentiments among the working population for their own aims. Feder, while accepting capitalist private property, indulged in a lot of confused talk about measures against trusts and the big stores and was also the father of the slogan of "breaking the chains of interest slavery. . . ." Feder's views and expositions, which were endorsed by Hitler, were a contradictory hotch-potch, the basis of which was acceptance of the capitalist system sweetened with confused sham-socialist promises. After taking over power Hitler, of course, had no intention whatever of fulfilling his promises, while the increasing difficulties of the Hitler regime, greatly reduced the possibility of engaging in deceitful manoeuvres. Feder, who during the first few months of the Hitler regime still busily penned demagogic articles, was more and more cold-shouldered by Hitler out of fear that his deceitful phrases might encourage the followers of the Nazis among the working population in their demand for the fulfilment of the promises contained in the national socialist programme.

The increasing difficulties of the fascist dictatorship of big capital and the growing indignation of the working population

against the big capitalist policy of Hitler and Schacht accentuated the differences among the fascist leaders. These differences are concerning the methods of holding down the exploited workers and the degree of social demagogy. Feder and some other Nazi leaders engaged in controversies behind the scenes with Schacht on account of his openly big-capitalist proclamations, and considered social manoeuvres necessary for the purpose of pacifying and deceiving the working people and the Nazi followers. The big capitalists, who are attempting to overcome the economic difficulties by brutally robbing the working people, are afraid that social manoeuvres would increase the difficulties and encourage the rebellious working people in the ranks of the Nazis. Schacht, therefore, of late, with the approval of Hitler, repeatedly attacked in his speeches those who elaborate all sorts of plans as part of the national socialist programme. Feder was included among those against whom Schacht's shafts were directed. There is no doubt that it is as a result of the intervention of Schacht that Hitler has now completely thrown Feder overboard.

The throwing overboard of Feder is a continuation of Hitler's action of June 30. Just as the difficulties of the capitalist Third Reich and the opposition of the working people, and especially of the S.A. people, increased the differences between Roehm and Hitler-Schacht, so now do the differences between Feder and Hitler-Schacht. Just as Hitler caused his chief of staff and many other S.A. leaders to be shot down in order to intimidate the rebellious storm troopers, so he now gets rid of the "economic theoretician," the author of the national socialist party programme, in the hope thereby to cause his followers among the working people to forget his promises all the sooner.

The case of Feder is similar to that of Freiherr von Goltz, who has been removed from office, and of Brueckner, the district leader and President of Silesia, who has been removed from office and arrested on account of his differences of opinion with Hitler and Schacht.

The dismissal of Feder, like the events of June 30, once again shows the working people in the national socialist party that Hitler's promises to the masses are nothing but lies and deception, that the Nazi programme of Hitler and Feder is nothing but a miserable demagogic swindle, that national socialism is simply a mask used by the big capitalists for deceiving the masses.

This truth is gaining increasing recognition in the national socialist camp. The discontent among the Storm Troopers (S.A.) is growing, and is also to be seen more than hitherto among the Special Troops (S.S.), particularly in Southern Germany. The Nazi leaders are replying to this by removing the grumblers and by means of promises. Large numbers of Storm Troopers have been dismissed in Berlin. It is reported from Stuttgart that at the beginning of November in one storm troop alone, 23 brown shirts were dismissed for "unreliability." It was in view of the mood prevailing among the Special Troops that Reichsleiter Himmler made a tour of inspection through the whole country. At the gathering of 2,400 Special Troops in Munich, Himmler declared that the Leader demanded of the Special Troops unconditional loyalty and blind obedience. He declared that next year the Special Troops would be confronted with great tasks "at home and abroad." As a bait for the Storm Troops and Special Troops, as well as in order to strengthen the police apparatus, "reliable" members of the Storm Troops and Special Troops are to be given positions in the police.

Socialism will only be realised by the overthrow of the Hitler dictatorship and of the capitalist system.

## Foreign Battalions March to the Saar

By Kopp

For the third time this year the report is spread through Europe that battalions are marching to occupy the frontiers.

When Mussolini sent his battalions to the Alpine passes after the murder of Dollfuss, the threat of war loomed large on the horizon. Fascists marched against fascists! Hitler's retreat, to which he was forced by his foreign-political defeat, dispersed the cloud for the time being, and the Italian war battalions were demobilised.

In October, when the situation in the Saar began to become strained as a result of the plebiscite struggle, and Hitler's putsch intentions became evident, French battalions marched to the frontier. The French imperialists declared that they were merely fulfilling their duty as laid down in the international treaties. The security of peace in the Saar had been placed in their hands;

therefore the mobilisation of their war battalions! This second concentration of troops within a few months **enormously fanned the jingo spirit in Hitler Germany.** On the behest of the armaments industry, the Nazi press railed for weeks about the French war threat. It was this concentration of troops on the frontier of the Saar which gave Nazi propaganda the impetus, enabling it to **establish it as public opinion that Germany is actually threatened,** that all foreign countries are endeavouring to crush Germany in the midst of Europe, by means of boycott, blocking of currencies, restrictions on raw materials, imports and open war. The viewpoint has penetrated even into anti-Hitler circles. At the same time international rearmament has assumed such proportions that the pseudo-boom in economy resulting from it has diverted many workers from the open struggle. Innumerable armaments undertakings have engaged new workers and are working overtime, so that even at the low wages now paid a modest level of subsistence has been regained for the family. There are millions of people in Germany who are convinced that war is inevitable. For months the men of Germany have been mobilised in one form or another, but the variety of new formations does not conceal the fact that these are new war battalions.

**And now once more foreign troops are on the march for the Saar.** Hitler has been compelled to give his consent to this measure. He is only too well aware that National Socialist terror and the open threat of a putsch are the main cause of this march. And Laval's skilful move, of substituting for the constant threat of French troops a real occupation by "neutral" battalions, left Hitler no choice but to accept the "lesser evil." But the co-ordinated German press preserves almost complete silence on this point. But as soon as the occupation begins, then the insidious poison of national hatred will spread once more, and the establishment of the fact that **foreign soldiers are once more on German soil** will increase the chauvinist current to a sweeping tidal wave.

In the Saar itself the foreign uniforms have inevitably a depressing effect on many of the population. Nationalist passions will be aroused once more, spurred on by the subterranean Nazi agitation which will gladly exploit all "unavoidable" incidents.

Why these imperialist complications? The Communist Party in the Saar, supported by the whole anti-fascist front, has protested unceasingly and energetically against every proposal for international police or international military forces for the Saar. They demand complete freedom of movement for the working class, they demand freedom of action for mass self-defence by workers against the Nazi terror, as the sole real security for a peaceful plebiscite. Precisely now it is becoming apparent that the **proletarian united front possesses enormous influence in the Saar,** that it has developed into an anti-fascist People's Front. In spite of all fetters laid upon it by the authorities, in spite of all prohibitions and suppressions, in spite of the open hostility of the police, in spite of the murderous terrorism of the Nazis, the majority of the working class have already been mobilised in the political struggle against Hitler, and have been led into such energetic action that the still vacillating sections of the working class, and with them wide strata of the middle classes and the peasantry, are won over at the same time. It is solely due to this fact that the old leaders of the Centre Party have been induced to take sides for the status quo by founding the new People's League, thereby **forming an open breach in the German Front.** In spite of all obstacles, this brilliant advance has been accomplished, furnishing the prerequisites for the **victory over Hitler in the Saar.** But international military forces are no aid to this. Imperialist generals are no allies of the anti-fascist front in the Saar. The individual soldier, forced to take part, is only a victim of imperialism like the other soldiers whom he meets in the Saar. For him, the individual soldier torn from his native country and sent to carry on this preparatory war work abroad, the enlightened workers of the Saar will feel an understanding comradeship. It is the fact of the foreign intervention, of the foreign military commands, which forms the danger.

The Governing Commission which has caused these troops to be sent is itself responsible—apart from the main guilt of Hitler—for this foreign occupation. The repressive policy pursued by this Commission, with its bans on demonstrations, restrictions on meetings, suppression of leaflets, and repeated prohibitions of newspapers, has greatly hampered the development of the anti-fascist forces. It has made the **formation and development of a self-defence organisation by the masses almost impossible.** On the other hand it has promoted the active aid given the German front

by the Nazi chasseur corps, and has afforded its high protection to the voters' list forgers by means of the Plebiscite Commission. It has caused anti-fascists to be dragged by fascist police before the courts hostile to the working class. It has done everything but carry on propaganda for its status quo.

The louder, therefore, must the demand be made, in the Saar and internationally, for freedom for the development of the plebiscite struggle. If foreign troops come, then we combine with our protest the demand that these international police forces are not used to serve as a means of intensified repression of the anti-fascist mass struggle. If the Governing Commission has now gained the support which it deems it must have as security against Hitler, then we demand the more that it gives us **complete freedom of agitation**.

There must be an end of the censorship of leaflets, an end of instructions to the press, of compulsory publication of government orders and of bans on newspapers. There must be an end of the prohibitions of meetings, of the bans on international solidarity conferences!

We demand freedom for the self-defence of the masses against Nazi terror. We demand complete freedom of assembly, unrestricted liberty of the press, for the whole anti-fascist movement in the Saar.

We demand the freedom of the street for the anti-fascists, for their mighty demonstrations, whose political power and impetus can carry all before them, and can sweep away any attempt at a putsch by the Nazis.

We protest against the proclamation of a "civil peace" on account of the so-called holidays, to last almost till the date of the plebiscite. This is an international scandal! It amounts to an attempt to save the National Socialists at a moment of political defeat. It amounts to a **hindering and suppressing of the mighty advance of the anti-fascist People's Front in the Saar**.

Freedom in the Saar! Free plebiscite struggle! Mass self-defence! Free political discussion! This we shout far beyond the borders of the Saar, for this is the way in which the masses may defeat Hitler in the Saar, and go forward after this victory, in spite of military forces, to secure peace and to give the great signal for the struggle for liberty in Germany.

## Our Programme After the Victory

**Gigantic Demonstration on 6th January by the People's Front for the Victory of the Status Quo!**

**An Appeal From the United Front**

Saarbrücken, December 15.

An appeal issued by the Saar United Front calls attention to the approach of the decisive day, and points out the insistence with which Hitler's agents evade any plain statements on vital questions concerning the material welfare of the people of the Saar. . . . "Their policy will not stand the light of day. The questions of the populace are set aside by such agents of big capital as the great factory owner **Karchner**, who, flaunting his swastika, announces: 'Endeavours are being made to divert the debate on the coming Saar plebiscite into channels which do not please us—the channel of material questions.'

"Why do they not like it that the people ask them to emerge from the fog of deception, of chauvinist phrases and racial incitement, and to step onto the firm ground of the vital ideological and material questions concerning the people of the Saar?"

"Because under Hitler the Saar, no less than Germany to-day, would be plunged into inevitable catastrophe! Because the Third Reich can offer the working German in the Saar no other future than the robbery of his last penny, inflation, the closing down of mines and the unbridled despotism of the employers, the destruction of trade, the ruin of the peasantry, the enslavement of youth, religious persecution, the concentration camp and the scaffold. . . .

"The victory of the status quo will give the people of the Saar the right to a second plebiscite on affiliation with Germany after the overthrow of the Brown regime. The Saar population is given the possibility of deciding its own fate on the basis of the right of self-determination granted it. Therefore it is striving for a representation of the people based on a general, free, equal and secret vote.

"The mighty front of the people, which is capable of gaining the victory of the status quo in face of the mighty apparatus of

fraud and violence possessed by an unscrupulous dictatorship, offers the best security that the inherent strength of the people itself will enable all other vital demands of the workers of the Saar to be successfully faced and met. Not only will we retain that of which Hitler is trying to rob us, but beyond this we shall be able to extend and develop our political, economic, social and cultural rights.

" . . . Röchling, Pirro and Bürckel are endeavouring to blindfold the people of the Saar. . . . The United Front is striving to show the people of the Saar what the victory of the status quo means for its future, till the day comes when we unite with a free Germany. . . . "

The appeal gives the programme of the United Front . . . "the basis and directive of its action for the development of the right of self-determination of the Saar population after the victory of the status quo"—

(1) The Saar is German, and will remain German during the transition time until its union with a free Germany. Therefore it maintains and cultivates the German language and German culture, and eliminates all nationalist war-mongering and incitement to race hatred.

(2) Unrestricted rights of assembly, press, coalition, and strike. Freedom for the political, trade unionist, and craft organisations of the workers, civil servants, peasants, artisans, and small tradesmen.

(3) Freedom of religious and philosophical opinions. Inviolability of church institutions, of confessional organisations and associations.

(4) The active agents of Bürckel and Pirro to be cleared out of the juridical apparatus, the police force and chasseur corps, the school, the whole of the rest of the State apparatus and autonomous administrative bodies. Granting of a comprehensive amnesty.

(5) Increase of real wages and of small salaries. Increases in the pensions already guaranteed by the Geneva decisions and all other social allowances. Adequate assistance for all unemployed persons and recipients of welfare relief. Generally binding wage agreements, shorter working hours with full wage compensation. Abolition of stagger system (alternate lay-off). Works councils elected by workers and independent of employers. Development of labour legislation and social insurance.

(6) Prohibition of militarised labour service and every form of compulsory work. Large-scale work provision schemes at wage agreement rates, with special terms for youth. Security of technical training for young people.

(7) State self-administration for those mines whose return has already been guaranteed by the French government, and prohibition of their passing into the hands of private capital. Elimination of usurious monopolist profits in the supplying of electric current and abolition of contracts with private capitalists to the detriment of the interests of the community. Provision of mortgages and credits at low rates of interest for small and medium agricultural undertakings. Promotion of the production of small and middle farms; prohibition of entailed farm system and of obligation to forfeit as imposed in the Third Reich. Securing of sales of agricultural products at adequate prices. Reduction of taxes and levies affecting the masses, including the middle classes, peasants, small tradesmen, artisans, etc. Special protection for small and middle land-holding farmers.

(8) Retention of stabilised currency, protection of losses by inflation following the present depreciation of the mark. Security for all Saar land claims on the Reichsmark demands.

(9) Introduction of heavy taxes on property; simultaneous raising of tax-free minimum income of poorer classes. Curtailment of high salaries of authorities; special taxes on high incomes, on dividends and on salaries of boards of control of private undertakings.

(10) Reorganisation of the educational service, including scientific and artistic post-school training. Formation of college system. Repression of all cultural reaction. Free education in all educational establishments for the children of the poorer classes.

The United Front declares this programme to form an integral part of its struggle for the rights and liberties of the people of the Saar, and appeals for mass participation in the great demonstration being organised by the People's Front in Saarbrücken on 6th January, against Hitler. The appeal is signed by **Fritz Pfordt** for the Communist Party, and **Max Braun** for the Socialist Party.

## The Spies and Agent Provocateurs in the Lands of Emigration

By Albert Mueller

Events in Germany and in other countries clearly show that the fascist state machine, in order to maintain itself in power, must make an even more extensive use than other bourgeois states of spies and agents provocateurs. For the same reason the spies and agents provocateurs of Hitler do not restrict their activity to Germany itself. A staff of such agents is operating in all countries harbouring German émigrés, many of whom are among the best revolutionary fighters and have been compelled to leave Germany as a result of the fascist methods of terror and provocation.

The German spy machine is well organised and works very well. In all countries the Secret Police, the Gestapo, has its agents, and these organise an extensive spy service; mostly passing under the name of "foreign groups of the national socialist workers' party" or "groups of Germans living abroad." The spies operate at the points where their activities are most promising; they are mostly waiters, hotel employees, postal and railway officials. As numerous recent examples have shown, they are to be found even in the consulates of other capitalist states.

The task of these spies is, among others, to get in among the émigrés under the guise of being émigrés themselves and there to ferret out the possible connections of émigrés with their homes, to keep their revolutionary activities in exile under observation and, if possible, to get into the revolutionary organisations of the working class as émigrés.

Numerous incidents in different capitalist countries prove that these activities of Hitler's agents are not only tolerated, but very definitely promoted by the police of the capitalist countries. The police collaborate on an international scale in persecuting the political émigrés, and numerous examples have shown that agents of the Gestapo were at the same time agents of the police of the country in question. The agents of the Gestapo include not only Germans but nationals of all countries, Poles, Hungarians, Italians, Swedes, Yugoslavs, Englishmen and even the Jews, so detested by Nazis.

How strenuous are the efforts of the Gestapo agents to penetrate the ranks of the political exiles is shown by the following instance: in a locality in which 775 exiles were registered, an investigation resulted in the exposure of 88 spies, agents provocateurs or simply swindlers. In a few cases such individuals could escape detection for a short time.

Not only the revolutionary émigré groups, but the Communist Parties of the countries harbouring them carry on an organised struggle against the spies and agents provocateurs of the Gestapo. This struggle against the infiltration of Gestapo agents into the émigré groups takes the form of a close investigation into each case of political emigration. All cases which seem doubtful are subjected to special scrutiny. The rules referring to the admission of political exiles must be closely observed even if the applicant presents a party card or the membership card of another labour organisation. Of great importance in preventing Gestapo agents from insinuating themselves into the émigré groups and Communist Parties is the information concerning exposed spies which is given to all units. In several countries "black lists" of spies and provocateurs have been published in collaboration with the Communist Parties. A weakness is that these lists have been insufficiently utilised in the past. It happens again and again that Gestapo agents, though exposed in one country and warned against, again succeed in getting into touch with émigré groups in another country.

A number of instances show the forms the struggle of the workers against the agents of the Gestapo take in foreign countries. Thus, for instance, in a certain locality it became known that an agent of the Gestapo was living in that locality in such and such a street. Leaflets were printed and spread in the neighbouring streets. The result was that the agent hastily returned to Germany, but not before he had spent several days in the seclusion of his room owing to the gentle attentions of the workers living in the neighbourhood.

Communists and anti-fascist papers play an important part in the struggle against the Gestapo agents. The "Gegenangriff" among others devoted some space to this question. The column "Our Rogues' Gallery" was a model of what the struggle against spies and agents provocateurs should be. It is to be regretted that the column was kept up only a few months. The central

organ of the Communist Party of Holland devoted more attention to the struggle against Hitler agents than any other party paper. The Communist Party of Holland also published a mass pamphlet describing the activities of Dutch police agents who were at the same time agents of the Gestapo as well.

Every lack of caution, every slip may help the agents of the Gestapo. Thus, for instance, a paper announced a general check-up on political exiles, giving the exact place and time where and when it would take place.

Of great importance in the struggle is the attitude of the exiles themselves. We quote a few instances of this:—

A certain A . . . was irresponsible enough to write a letter to the accommodation address of the District Committee in K . . . In this letter he asked for his membership card and quite unnecessarily mentioned the names and addresses of members of the at that time illegal District Committee. Owing to this, about 15 responsible comrades were in danger of being arrested. As a result, the District Committee machine had to be remodelled, a matter involving considerable expense under present conditions. But such irresponsibility can easily have graver consequences still. This is shown by the case of B . . ., a political exile. He wrote a letter to an accommodation address of the District Party Committee in C . . . The police noticed that a letter came to this address from a certain town, made a sudden search of the premises with the assistance of Storm Troops and not only found much valuable material, but arrested a comrade who was so seriously mauled by the Storm Troopers that he died of his injuries.

These examples show that in such cases comrades cannot merely be regarded as thoughtless letter-writers—such mistakes are no better than a vulgar denunciation.

In letters sent by the post only purely personal matters may be discussed; on no account may political or party matters be mentioned. It is impermissible to send letters to addresses used by revolutionary organisations.

On no account may comrades assume that their letters will not be opened. About 80 per cent. of all letters coming from abroad are opened "by the customs." Nor are air mail letters or transit letters exempt from censorship. This is proved by numerous examples.

And as the thoughtlessly written word may have damaging consequences, so has the carelessly spoken word. The following rules of conduct, drawn up in one of the emigration countries for the use of political exiles, must serve as a standard for all political exiles and the infringement of these rules must be subjected to a penalty.

Never discuss the functions you have exercised in Germany or your past activities.

Even among yourselves, never speak about yourselves, from where you come, what you have been, what you intend to do.

Give no information about others if questioned; by doing so you might endanger yourself and others.

Remember that a careless word, a thoughtless piece of information may endanger the life, the liberty and the Party work of comrades in Germany.

Remember that many of you have not yet been checked up on by the German Party. A healthy but not exaggerated caution in conversations among yourselves is therefore a duty.

Remember that spies of the Secret Police attempt to insinuate themselves into your ranks in order to get material into their hands for the hangmen of Hitler through your careless chatter.

The greatest vigilance is a duty and leads to the exposure of spies and agents provocateur. On the other hand, we expressly warn against spreading groundless suspicions concerning comrades. It is important that all suspicions and observations be communicated to the leaders of the émigré groups.

Do not make unnecessary appointments with known émigrés. Mutual visits in the homes increase the danger of getting known to the police.

The struggle against Hitler's agents has improved in the course of recent months. It is, however, of the greatest importance for the revolutionary work of the Communist Parties and for the fighting capacity of the political exiles to intensify this struggle further still, chiefly in the sense of giving this struggle a mass character. The struggle against the agents of Hitler in the countries of emigration gives considerable support to the heroic struggle of the revolutionary workers inside Germany. It is necessary to make every effort to render this support as effective as possible.



## Heinz Neumann's Life in Danger!

By Fritz Heckert

Heinz Neumann has been arrested in Switzerland, and at once the German government has demanded his extradition. The news of his arrest and of the demand for his extradition were reported by the telegraph agency in the same notice, so that it is impossible to avoid the suspicion that the Swiss police have acted in collusion with the Third Reich.

Probably the German police agents, who are swarming in Switzerland, discovered Heinz Neumann, whom they have been trailing for some time, and caused him to be arrested by the Swiss police. It is a well-known fact that the authorities of this "old democracy" are always ready to do favours for the reactionary Powers of the world.

This attitude of the Swiss authorities towards the wishes of the reactionary governments gives rise to the fear that Comrade Heinz Neumann's life is in danger. Therefore we appeal to the friends of liberty all over the world to rise in protest and save Heinz Neumann from the Hitler executioners.

Should he be handed over to the German authorities, our comrade will certainly be lost. There are few revolutionists from Germany who are so hated by the fascists as Heinz Neumann. Even before Hitler came into power, the fascists tried to take his life. And since June 30, 1933, the fascist press has never ceased to threaten him with death.

An attempt has been made to involve Heinz Neumann in one of the murderous "trials" in Germany. We understand the reason. The instigators of the Reichstag fire, now finally exposed by the memorandum of the Storm Troop group leader of Berlin, Ernst, needs something to divert public attention from their ceaseless crimes, from the cowardly deeds of their murderous henchmen, who have not only murdered thousands of the best revolutionists, tortured hundreds of thousands in the jails, but murdered their own comrades on June 30, and with them generals Schleicher and Bredow, and the Catholic leader Klausner.

Hitler's regime of violence is becoming more and more intolerable. Fresh evidence of this is seen in the new offensive against many of the leaders of the National Socialist Party, Brueckner, Feder, etc., and in the latest massacre of Youth leaders in Munich.

### A Criminal Attempt

We understand very well that to-day Hitler needs something to sidetrack the deceived and tormented masses of the people, to divert them from an attack on his dictatorship. The great fiasco of the trial of Dimitrov and the fear of the after-effects of the Thaelmann trial have induced the fascists to seize upon Heinz Neumann as the scapegoat to be murdered to justify Hitler tyranny. An attempt is being made to involve Heinz Neumann in the Buelow Platz affair, the shameful murder case in which the men sentenced by Hitler justice have already fallen under the executioner's axe.

### It is Known that the Communists are Opponents of Individual Terror

Everyone knows to-day where the terrorists are. June 30 showed this very plainly, and it was confirmed once more on July 25 in Austria, where the tools for the murderous attack were supplied by the German Nazi Party. And a point which must not be under-estimated is that a part of the explosives and revolvers were sent via Switzerland.

The rulers of Switzerland disgraced themselves for ever when they delivered over to the tsar the Russian revolutionist Vassiliev, who killed the prefect of police of Penza. And to-day this country is disgracing itself still further by administratively extraditing German refugees to Hitler.

We appeal to all Swiss workers. All who have a sense of honour, a feeling for humanity, who will not have the murder of Heinz Neumann on their conscience, will raise their voices and declare with us:—

Heinz Neumann must not be handed over to the Hitler torturers!

We demand freedom and the right of asylum for our comrade, Heinz Neumann!

## United States

### America's Fascist Dress Rehearsal

By A. G. Bosse (New York)

For the past year and a half Wall Street bankers and industrialists have been plotting to mobilise and arm a fascist band of 500,000 ex-soldiers to establish a dictatorship in the United States. It is part of the general movement toward fascism by the Roosevelt regime, and typifies the impatience of a group of bankers and armament manufacturers, headed by Morgan and du Pont, with the tempo of that movement. Major-General S. D. Butler, former head of the Marine Corps, was to be the man on the white horse, but after long negotiations and preparations he fell out with his backers and exposed the plot.

The essence of the movement was to raise an army of 500,000 or more ex-soldiers, have them march on Washington, and take over the government. To preserve a constitutional cloak, a secretary of general affairs was to be put in as assistant to the President and then supersede him, becoming dictator. Directly involved were Thomas Lamont, partner in J. P. Morgan & Co.; John W. Davis, lawyer for Morgan and democratic Presidential candidate in 1924; G. M. P. Murphy, large Wall Street broker; Gen. H. S. Johnson, recent head of the N.R.A.; Gen. MacArthur, chief of staff of the U.S. Army; Gen. MacNider, former head of the American Legion; and others of Roosevelt's close advisers and associates.

Although no paper but the "Daily Worker" had mentioned the name of J. P. Morgan as being involved in the plot, he hastened to make a denial, though he never makes public statements repudiating press reports. Roosevelt characterised the testimony brought out before the Congressional Committee which heard Butler and the other witnesses as "fantastic," Lamont called it "moonshine . . . unutterably ridiculous," MacArthur expressed amazement and alleged amusement, etc. But the vice-chairman of the Congressional Committee, Dickstein, said: "Butler has the evidence . . . We'll have men here with bigger names than his."

A 3,000,000 dollar fund had been built up, of which 107,000 dollars at least was proved by bank records to have been spent. The go-between was G. C. MacGuire, a 75-dollar-a-week bond clerk in Murphy's office, who was financed by R. S. Clark, a Wall Street broker worth 30-50,000,000 dollars, and by others. MacGuire told Butler his backers had 3,000,000 dollars already, and were pledged 300,000,000 dollars more. He had been sent to Europe to study fascist developments there. While in Germany, Italy, France and other countries, he reported regularly to Clark and "other gentlemen." He also sent Butler communications on fascist developments.

At one time he told French, a confidante and reporter, and we may assume he was merely repeating what his superiors said:—

"We need a fascist government in this country to save the nation from the Communists, who want to tear it down and wreck all that we have built in America . . . Butler is the ideal leader. He could organise one million men over night."

Butler was scheduled to head the C.C.C. (Civilian Conservation Corps—Roosevelt's camps to train the unemployed for war service), and the unemployed were to be herded into forced labour camps "in the Hitler manner." The backers of this movement felt that "a show of armed force was the only way to save the capitalist system."

Regarding Roosevelt, MacGuire said to Butler: "We want to support the President . . . We have the President with us now." Their aim was to "sustain" Roosevelt "when others assault him." But to French he stated: "We might go along with Roosevelt and then do with him what Mussolini did with the King of Italy."

Col. Murphy is a director in such Morgan, Rockefeller & Co. corporations as Bethlehem Steel, Anaconda Copper, Chile Copper, Goodyear Rubber, Guarantee Trust, etc. Davis, whom Butler characterised as a leading figure in the conspiracy (he was to write the fascist speeches for Butler, etc.), is a director in the following Morgan companies: American Telephone and Telegraph, Guarantee Trust, U.S. Rubber, Mutual Life Insurance, etc. Davis and Clark contributed heavily to Roosevelt's Presidential campaign, Clark to the extent of at least 10,000 dollars. Du Pont's Remington

Arms Co. was to furnish the Storm Troopers with arms. The Congressional Investigating Committee has permitted so much to come out; much more was testified to, but is being admittedly suppressed. The leading figures in the plot will probably not be called before the Committee, and if they are, much will be concealed. The recent hearings were held in executive session, and an officially edited and doctored version given out.

MacGuire offered Butler 18,000 dollars as a bribe to speak before the American Legion convention for the gold standard, but Butler says he refused the money. Later MacGuire went to the convention with 45,000 dollars, and a resolution favouring restoration of the gold standard was passed. The speech Butler was to have delivered was written by Davis. There was talk around Washington of the veterans' bonus being passed in the next session of Congress in return for the support of a fascist movement.

Butler says his patriotic conscience forced him to expose the plot. He does not explain why he did not do so for a year and a half. Nor that the Committee subpoenaed him and forced him to talk; it isn't true, as he says, that he came voluntarily. He has been talking radically of late, hoping to win over a section of the veterans and of the Labour movement. He made a national tour of hundreds of cities, suggesting that he would be willing to head the coming militant rank and file bonus march to Washington. He has been promoting an Independent Labour Federation with a programme virtually fascist, and putting it before Labour and veterans' organisations. The Veterans' National Rank and File Committee challenged him to endorse its programme and that of the League Against War and Fascism if he was sincere; but, of course, they received no reply.

If Butler would not accept, the bankers were considering Gen. Johnson, ex-N.R.A. head, Gen. MacArthur, MacNider and others. J. E. Van Zandt, head of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, stated he had also been approached by MacGuire to be the "iron man," in case they could not come to an agreement with Butler. To hide their complicity the Secretaries of War and the Navy asked for a full investigation of the charges made.

The task of Butler, or whoever should be put at the head of this fascist army, was to attack the Communist Party and other militant workers, in order to try to destroy the revolutionary labour movement and make it easier for fascism to achieve power, as the pre-Hitlerite governments did in Germany. Whether this particular movement continues is of little moment. Scores of fascist movements, as well as the reactionary fraternal organisations (Elks, Moose, etc.) and shirt groups are rising, and the leaders of finance-capital among the bankers, manufacturers and munitions makers are behind them. Roosevelt's measures are paving the way, and the fascist armed bands will follow as his demagoguery fails to overcome the crisis.

The "Daily Worker," in an editorial, points out that last spring Woodring, Assistant Secretary of War, called the C.C.C. camps a training for "economic storm troops" to combat "chaos, social, political or economic." Also that the N.Y. Herald Tribune's Washington correspondent, Sullivan, wrote as the Butler hearings were in progress: "There is quite a good opening just now for a properly equipped leader and organiser of conservative thought . . . will that leader emerge?" Editorially this organ of Wall Street and the Republican Party tried hard but unconvincingly to argue away the Butler testimony. It did not wave it aside as fantastic and ridiculous, but tried to make a technical and ordered refutation. It praised the Committee as fair, rebuked MacGuire for not "remembering" what he did with the money given him, and tried to show he was not a fascist: "Mr. MacGuire is exonerated of favouring any known variety of fascism" because he did not think Hitler's or Mussolini's types were quite suitable to the U.S.A., because he admired the French fascist Croix de Feu. This also absolves him of high treason:—

"The alleged plan to force a more conservative financial policy upon the Administration under pressure of organised minority opinion may not be compatible with the pure theory of democracy . . . There is no evidence, except French's 'independent evidence,' to confirm the impression in the public mind that General Butler was asked to lead an armed force in an actual descent upon Washington, and to set up a fascist regime there, with or without the President's authority." (Our emphasis—B., Nov. 26.)

## Fight for the Unity of the Labour Movement

### The Irresistible Advance to Trade Union Unity in France

By J. Berlioz (Paris)

The contact between the National committees of the two trade union federations (C.G.T. and C.G.T.U.), which met at the same time at the beginning of October, and the discussion on October 9 between the delegations of the two National Committees, bore no immediate fruit with regard to trade union unity. The great concessions which the revolutionary C.G.T.U. were ready to make met with no counter-concessions from the reformist C.G.T. The C.G.T. confined itself to restating its viewpoint: Disbanding of the revolutionary trade union federation, absorption of its elements, without any security for trade union democracy or freedom of opinion.

The bourgeois press hastened with much satisfaction to record that the negotiations had been a failure. The capitalists hoped that the disappointment caused among the masses would lead to discouragement, to an abandonment of the strivings for a united front. But these hopes proved illusions. The impossibility of overcoming the obstinacy of the reformist leaders, and of amalgamating the organisations on the basis of conditions acceptable to both sides, have *only strengthened the will to unity among the masses.*

Unity has been realised more and more from day to day in multifarious forms. Every day new unity trade unions or sections are being formed. There are now more than 400 of these organisations, whose members still continue to pay their dues to their old trade union branches, but who hold their own joint meetings and have their joint committees. In other places co-ordinating committees are formed on the basis of common demands, or the trade unions of the C.G.T. and the C.G.T.U. hold joint meetings, with record attendances. In some of the local and district branches the organisations of the two trade union federations have drawn up joint reports of the conferences of their National Committees. In the Department Isère the bureaus of the two unions have arranged a mutual division of the work of administration, recruiting of members, and organisation of the struggles.

The march to unity has been carried forward most rapidly of all by the *railwaymen*; 150 unity trade union sections have already been formed by the railwaymen's unions. On October 21 67 trade union sections of the C.G.T. and the C.G.T.U. of the Southern railways in *Toulouse* formed a unity union. On December 9 166 trade unions in *Tours*, already merged, undertook the same for the *Paris-Orleans* line. On December 16 the amalgamation congress of the *Paris-Lyons-Mediterranean railway line* will be held in *Lyons*. Here 100 trade union branches of the C.G.T.U. and 80 of the C.G.T., as also a number of groups of the mechanics and stokers, will be represented. With this, more than one half of the railwaymen's unions will be united in unity trade unions, and it may be expected that the first few months of 1935 will witness the formation of the Unity Federation, which by its great power of attraction will comprehend at least 200,000 members from the very beginning.

The issue of the new membership cards at the beginning of next year will bring with it increased opportunity for rapprochement and unification. A number of reformist organisations condemn the sectarian attitude of the C.G.T., which—as Comrade *Liaud* stated at the amalgamation congress of the *Paris-Orleans* line—"sticks to obsolete formulas in a revolutionary period." This criticism has been made by the National Union of the *Post Office, Telephone, and Telegraph Workers*, by the trade union federation of the *Loire Department*, and by a number of local cartels and trade unions. The Unitary trade unions for their part refuse to be deterred by any questions of form; they make big concessions and press for the conclusion of agreements by various paths.

Strengthened by the will to regroup for the purpose of action, now inspiring the whole proletariat, the C.G.T.U. appeals unwearingly to the C.G.T. to agree to the *unity trade union federation "without victors or vanquished"*—as the popular formulation has it. On October 18 the C.T.G.U. sent a letter to the C.G.T., again emphasising its wish to resume the negotiations. This letter received no reply. On November 5 a great demonstration, participated in by workers of every trend, elected a mixed delegation, which visited the bureaus of the two trade union central com-

mittees, in order to propose that an understanding be arrived at in the question of trade union unity. The proposal was welcomed by the C.G.T.U., but contemptuously rejected by the C.G.T. On November 16 the Executive Committee of the C.G.T.U. renewed its proposals for joint work on the part of both committees, in order to secure the leadership of the trade union movement until the national amalgamation congress. Four days later a brusque reply was received from the C.G.T. This demanded the condemnation of the unity unions and the acceptance of the conditions of the C.G.T., which may be summed up as follows: "In order to establish unity, the acceptance of the doctrine, the inviolable statutes, and the methods of action of the C.G.T. is necessary."

Whilst endeavouring to put off decision as long as possible, the C.G.T. has been carrying on at the same time a treacherous campaign in its daily newspaper against trade union unity. It once more dishes up the old tale of "orders from Moscow" to the trade unions, and even goes so far as to say that the C.G.T.U. would do better to go straight to the Soviet embassy in Paris for instructions, in order to proceed more rapidly! *Stolz*, the deputy secretary of the International Federation of Trade Unions, does not hesitate to support this campaign by maintaining, with the aid of wrongly quoted passages from the statutes of the Red International of Labour Unions, that the R.I.L.U. is subordinate to the Soviet power. And this is done at a moment when the Executive Committee of the Second International and the Amsterdam Trade Union International are conferring in Paris!

*Jouhaux* and his friends, in particular, ignore systematically the proposals made them for immediate unity of action and the programme of demands submitted to them. The real reason of their attitude is evident from this. *They are determined to prevent the action of the masses under all circumstances.* One reformist leader is indignant that the Co-ordinating Committee of the Communist and Socialist Parties took up the action initiated by the civil servants in defence of their salaries, and against the attacks on their trade union rights; this leader is violently opposed to any attempt at "carrying on agitation arousing unrest among the civil servants."

The leaders of the C.G.T. do not want to put any obstacles in the way of the *Flandin* government, since, so they maintain, "we have at last a head of the government." And if this government "devotes itself entirely to economic questions," then this is a development in which these leaders claim to have played a part.

The leaders of the C.G.T. are bent on diverting the masses of the workers from anti-fascist action. They have just helped in forming, with *Paul Boncour* and the *Neo-Socialists*, a "*League of Citizen Action*," intended to throw an obstacle in the path of the formation of the People's Front against fascism by appealing to the middle classes. The ideological leaders of this League, the *Neo-Socialists Montagnon, Deat, Belin, and Co.*, are supplying a plan of "economic renaissance" which they praise as a universal remedy.

This plan pursues various aims. On the one hand it is intended to raise illusions of economic democracy and of the overcoming of crises within the confines of capitalism; on the other hand it aims at incorporating the C.G.T. more effectively in the State apparatus by means of a National Economic Council, whilst reserving the monopoly of the right to conclude collective agreements to the C.G.T. Finally, it makes propaganda for a number of "socialisation measures" on the pattern already sufficiently advertised by Hitler and Mussolini.

To sum up this plan, it may be stated that *Jouhaux* and his lieutenants have certainly learnt something from events in Germany. They do not want to share the fate of the leaders of the General German Trade Union Federation, who lost their positions in spite of kowtowing to Hitler. They want to keep their positions.

Of course it is impossible to follow in the footsteps of *d'Aragona* and at the same time to work for the realisation of unity in the class trade unions. It is easily comprehensible that *Jouhaux* recently stated: "Rather lose 100,000 members than unite with the Communists." Nor is it surprising that "*L'Usine*," the organ of the heavy industrialists, is delighted at the attacks made by the "*Peuple*" on the C.G.T.U., and writes:—

"M. Lenoir fully confirms what we have often pointed out in this place. . . . Were the C.G.T. to devote itself exclusively from to-morrow onwards to this task (the "real craft syndicalism") it would be able to destroy the sinister forces endeavour-

ing to seize upon the leadership of the trade unions for Communist purposes."

But the governmental C.G.T., which these gentlemen are anxious to maintain in spite of everything, runs a danger of losing its power altogether in the current of the growing movement for trade union unity. Just recently the National Council of a great reformist trade union federation, that of the personnel of the Public Utilities, adopted a resolution, under the pressure exercised by the members, advocating the united C.G.T., and formulating this unity in such terms that the C.G.T.U. have taken this resolution as basis for an understanding. At the same time the socialist "*Populaire*" declared that:—

"It is along this path that the basis must be found for a final understanding between the two trade union federations."

Were the administrative commission of the C.G.T. willing, trade union unity without victors and vanquished could be established within a few weeks. We are, however, fully confident that this unity will come about even if the C.G.T. continues to reject it. The best way of attaining the goal as rapidly as possible is *action* for political and economic demands. All those workers who are already "united, amalgamated, co-ordinated, etc.," must grasp this fact, and must not forget that unity among workers is not the object in itself, but a means towards the better organisation of the struggle.

## The Struggle for Trade Union Unity in the Saar

By F. Stark

The struggle for the Saar has entered its decisive stage. By means of the comprehensive and stirring agitation and work of the United Front, ever-increasing masses of the Saar population are being won over for the status quo, against union with Hitler Germany. The formation of the Christian People's League, provided all adherents of the United Front fulfil their duty for the formation of the People's Front, will also help to arouse broad masses of the Catholic and Protestant population of the Saar district and induce them to join in the fight against the return to a Hitler Germany. Fascism feels that its chances of bringing the Saar under its bloody rule are diminishing, and therefore it is ruthlessly intensifying its agitation and terrorism against the Saar population, and does not shrink from the most savage provocation, as may be seen from the attack on the Communist Party House in Saarbruecken.

Unfortunately, although the masses of the workers of the Saar combined in the United Front are the army of the struggle against affiliation to Hitler Germany, the Free Trade Unions have not yet been entirely enlisted for the United Front. A number of the leaders of the Free Trade Unions, for instance the chairman of the miners' union, *Schwarz*, have not yet declared themselves for the status quo, in spite of the pressure exercised by the rank and file. The trade union members and the local branches of the trade unions must increase their pressure tenfold in order to force their leaders to adopt an unequivocal attitude, and to form the ranks of the People's Front as rapidly as possible on this most important sector of the front against union with Hitler Germany.

The drive of the working class to unity finds its clearest expression in the united action movement and in the struggle for the realisation of trade union unity. In the last few weeks this movement has made great progress. Thanks to the self-sacrificing and active work of the "Miners' Unity Union," it has been possible, for instance, to mobilise increasing numbers of the trade-union organised miners for united action for the workers' demands. Thanks to the growing militancy of the miners, a number of notable partial victories have been won. The miners have been successful in securing payment of benefit to workers on short time and in having this benefit paid retrospectively for a certain time. Holidays have been won for the young miners, and improvements in wages and working conditions obtained in a number of pits. This increased militant energy of the miners has had the effect of arousing the whole of the workers of the Saar—the metal workers, building workers, railwaymen, etc. The creation of the joint action movement in the mining trade has been at the same time the lever promoting the struggle for trade union unity. In those cases where the members of the B.A.V. and the Unity Union have joined together in the pits and have mobilised the miners to fight for their demands, the will to fight of the miners and their urge to lend increasing force to their demands by the

realisation of trade union unity by the merging of both unions in one organisation has been increased proportionately.

Broad masses of trade unionists who were still standing aside a few months ago, resigned and distrustful, not believing that the great goal of trade union unity could be speedily attained, are to-day among the most active champions of the struggle against the splitting of the trade unions. This growing activity has provided the impetus enabling trade union unity to be realised within a comparatively short time in the building trade by the amalgamation of the two building workers' unions. Among the railwaymen, too, the growing militant energy of the workers, the trend towards joint action, has been the motive power bringing about trade union unity in the unification of the two unions. Under the pressure of this powerful urge to unity, a number of prominent trade union leaders have been obliged to agree to the idea of trade union unity. At the amalgamation conference of the railwaymen no less a personage than the chairman of the General German Trade Union Federation openly advocated the abolition of the splits in all trade union organisations. The fact that at this conference even the chairman of the International Transport Workers' Federation, Edo Fimmen, spoke in favour of international trade union unity is a living proof of the strong urge and powerful pressure of the trade union rank and file for trade union unity. The realisation of trade union unity in the building trade and among the railwaymen now in turn forms the mobilising power strengthening united action among the building workers and railwaymen for their demands and is at the same time an example spurring on the efforts for trade union unity in the mining and other trades.

An important stage of the struggle for trade union unity in the Saar will be the impending conference of the General German Trade Union Federation. At this conference the delegates of the amalgamated building workers' and railwaymen's unions take part for the first time as allies, to join in comradesly efforts with all adherents of trade union unity in making this conference a mighty impetus for the realisation of trade union unity among all the workers of the Saar, against the union of the Saar with Hitler Germany, and for the achievement of trade union unity. Since the chairman of the General German Trade Union Federation has already expressed his support of trade union unity—at the amalgamation conference of the railwaymen—this will mobilise many functionaries of this body who have hitherto adopted a waiting attitude towards the great unity movement.

Hitler fascism regards the joint action movement of the working class forming in the Saar with growing anxiety, and is alarmed at the successful advance of the masses of the trade union members on the path towards trade union unity. The fascist attack made on the Christian metal workers' union a short time ago was energetically repulsed by the members and functionaries of the union, aided by the fraternal militant solidarity of their class comrades in the Free Trade Unions and of the Communist functionaries. And now fascism again attempts to frustrate the efforts being made to mobilise further strata of the Catholic and Protestant workers—in the Christian People's League—against union with Hitler Germany by means of a counter-blow, an appeal for the formation of a Christian-National metal workers' union. This appeal represents a fresh attempt to sow confusion among the workers organised in the Catholic metal workers' union, with the object of splitting and finally destroying the union. It is the task of all members of the Catholic and other trade unions in the Saar to ward off this renewed attack on the metal workers' trade unions.

The members of the trade unions in the Saar are in favour of union with a free Germany, and they will best support the struggle for freedom of the German working class against blood-stained Hitler fascism by voting on January 13 for the status quo and against the union with Hitler Germany. All members of the trade unions in the Saar want to maintain their liberties and their social rights, and they are determined to fight for these rights in a joint struggle. They do not want to see their trade union organisations and trade union rights brutally shattered, as in Hitler Germany, and therefore they will vote for the status quo on January 13. The achievement of joint action by all the trade unionists in the Saar, co-operated in by all workers determined to fight unitedly against the fascist destroyers of the unions and for the realisation of trade union unity, will at the same time give fresh power and encouragement to our class brothers in Germany to put up an energetic fight in defence of their vital interests in the German Labour Front.

## The Belgian Labour Party Opposed to the United Front

By F. Coenen (Brussels)

On November 21 the Communist Party of Belgium addressed a letter to the General Council of the Belgian Labour Party and to all socialist workers and organisations proposing the conclusion of a unity pact of action with the Communist Party.

The Communist Party referred to the fact that during the last two years the General Council of the Labour Party have repeatedly rejected the the proposals of the C.P. for common action, giving as a reason the decisions of the Socialist and Labour International. This argument is no longer valid, as the Executive of the Second International has now left it entirely to the national sections to decide the question of unity of action.

After referring to the united front pacts concluded in France, in the Saar, and in Italy, the C.P. of Belgium states that in Belgium also the local branches of the Socialist and Communist Parties in Vilvorde and in Epinois have organised joint fighting actions, that in numerous other localities the Socialist and Communist unemployed are organising joint actions against the starvation policy of the government, that a united front pact on a national scale has just been concluded between the Socialist and Communist Youth, and numerous local actions have been carried out on the basis of this pact.

In view of the danger to the vital interests and the democratic rights of the toilers represented by the formation of the *Theunis* government, the C.P. submitted to the Labour Party the draft of a pact which contains the following five main points:—

Mobilisation of the toiling population against the emergency orders which resulted in cuts in the salaries of the civil servants and municipal employees, reduction of unemployment benefit and pensions of war victims;

Fight for the overthrow of the government of starvation, for the dissolution of the present parliament of emergency decrees, against any government of the financiers, who are aiming at depreciating the franc for speculative purposes;

Fight against wage cuts, for the 40-hour week without wage reduction;

Fight of the working class with the toiling peasantry and the urban petty bourgeoisie for the reduction of taxes, rents, electricity charges, etc.;

Defence of the democratic rights and liberties of the working population;

Dissolution and disarming of the fascist associations;

Fight for a policy of peace and disarmament; against the fascist terror in Spain, Germany and Austria, for the release of Thaelmann, Caballero and all imprisoned anti-fascists;

Pursuit of these aims by means of meetings and demonstrations, by preparation and active support of strikes, a 24-hour general strike against the emergency powers.

*Vandervelde* published in the "People" a comment on these proposals, the content of which is summed up as follows:—

"The Communists now wish to establish the united front with us? That is astonishing. But in Belgium the Communist Party is so insignificant. Nevertheless there exists a mass feeling in favour of the united front and we also want to establish it everywhere, also in the Soviet Union. But the proposals submitted by the Communists do not go very far; they are reformist; we want to achieve more than that, and we shall accept the united front only on the basis of our working plan."

The Secretariat of the General Council of the Labour Party has now sent the following reply to our proposal:—

"We feel bound to say that we are unable to understand why you sent us a proposal to take up the joint fight against fascism, as your press is trying every week to prove that the Working Plan which has been unanimously adopted by our Party, which constitutes our propaganda Charter, is a fascist plan. . . ."

"There exists only one useful method of fighting against reaction, against fascism and against war, i.e., to propagate our slogan: Let the working people come into power in order to carry out our working plan!"

It is further stated:—

"To accept the Communist proposals formulated in the Draft Pact would mean for us to revert to obsolete conceptions

and obsolete tactics with which we finally broke at our Party Congress at Christmas, 1933."

The unfortunate thing, however, is that since Christmas, 1933, wages have been continually reduced, the relief for the unemployed and the small pensioner cut down, the small shopkeepers and traders have been driven into bankruptcy, public expenditure for social services reduced, "public works" carried out only in preparation for war, the liberties of the workers more and more restricted. In addition, whilst the fascist bands are systematically arming themselves, the police recently carried out large-scale operations in order to disarm the workers completely.

The Belgian Labour Party has just voted in parliament for the government policy of directly and indirectly subsidising the coal magnates and the big agrarians, because the Labour Party is interested in this policy from which it profits as owners of the Labour Bank.

The letter from the General Council to the C.P. states in conclusion:—

"If you want to collaborate with us for our working plan, well and good. But we are not prepared to advocate another programme."

This means that the Labour Party is not concerned about the struggles of the toilers, factory workers, or unemployed in defence of their bread. These categories of the population are told to wait for the elections and then vote for the Labour Party. In the meantime the Labour Party does not even intend to raise the demand for immediate elections, for this would disturb the government.

In spite of the leaders of the Belgian Labour Party the Communists will continue to organise the united front with the Socialist workers for the immediate struggle for their every-day demands.

## Open Letter of the C.C. of the Y.C.L.G.

**To the Members, Groups, Organisations and Committees of the Socialist Youth of Germany, the Young Socialists and the Youth in the Free Trade Unions.**

The hearts of all young proletarians, young Socialists and Communists beat more quickly when they hear of the heroic joint struggle of the Young Socialists and Communists in Spain and in Austria, who in the struggles on the barricades, in the street fights against fascism and capitalist exploitation, became welded into a close, unbreakable, fighting community. Every young worker and every young revolutionary is filled with pride and joy to see the shining example of unity of action of the Socialist and Communist young workers' organisations in France and in the Saar district.

The will to fight and to set up the united front is growing tremendously among the young and adult workers of Germany. Already the Communist Party and the social-democratic groups and organisations in Hesse-Frankfurt, in South-West Germany, in West Germany, and in Saxony have concluded unity pacts in order to fight in a united front against the common fascist enemy, against exploitation and the danger of war.

Let us forge the united front of action in the whole of Germany, in all districts, provinces, in all localities and factories. The young workers can improve their position, the young and adult workers can overthrow the bloody fascist dictatorship only if they march in a united fighting front. The inspiring examples of unity of action in Spain, France, in the Saar and in various German districts show that all the preconditions exist for the joint struggle.

The Young Communist International addressed a united front offer to the Socialist Youth International and proposed joint support of the struggle of the young Spanish workers. Unfortunately the Executive of the Young Socialist International, headed by Ollenhauer, rejected this offer and declared that the conditions for the setting up of the united front do not yet exist. The rank and file of the young social democrats will not understand this attitude and the rejection by the Second International of international unity of action in support of the Spanish working class. However, the Executive of the Second International adopted a decision to leave it to their Sections, thus including the S.P. of Germany and the Socialist Youth of Germany, to conclude united front pacts with the Communists. This decision doubtlessly represents a great step forward.

The Central Committee of the Y.C.L. of Germany again approaches you, young socialists and trade unionists, your organisations and committees with the proposal to establish unity of action. We must not wait any longer! To wait any longer in this situa-

tion means to capitulate to fascism. To wait any longer means to give a free hand to the exploiters and torturers. To wait any longer means to look on passively whilst war and mass murder sweep over Germany!

Social democratic young friends, groups and organisations! We must not and will not tolerate this any longer! Therefore we want to set up the united front of struggle with you and all your organisations and committees. Together with you we want to destroy the yoke of exploitation and enslavement of the youth and prevent the approaching criminal war. Let us act together in order that the German people and its youth shall not be drowned in a sea of blood.

**Fascism—that is the common enemy!**

**Unity of action of all young and adult social democrats, Communists and trade unionists—that is the command of the hour.**

The C.C. of the Y.C.L.G. instructed all its committees, organisations in the districts down to the lowest cell, immediately to enter into contact with you, your groups, organisations and committees in order to discuss in comradesly talk and decide on joint fighting measures and fighting methods. We Young Communists propose to you to set up unity of action on the basis of the following demands:—

(1) Joint struggle against the carrying out of the labour replacement and labour exchange law, i.e., against the dismissal of young workers, against compulsory work and transference to the rural districts.

(2) Joint struggle against the fascist labour law, against the fascist factory regulations, for the fixing by tariff of the wages and working conditions of young workers.

(3) Joint organisation of a broad opposition movement of the anti-fascist youth and all oppositional youth against fascism in the Labour Front, in the Hitler Youth, in the fascist sport and defence organisations. Joint reconstruction of the Youth Sections of the free trade unions.

(4) Joint struggle for the release of Comrades Thaelmann, Mierendorf and all young and adult anti-fascists pining in the prisons and concentration camps.

We are prepared to set up with you unity of action for every militant demand, if the struggle is conducted in the interest of the young workers. Our proposals are not a manoeuvre, as some social-democratic leaders maintain. We are striving solely for the setting up of unity of action in all places where the young workers are exploited, enslaved and drilled in a military spirit.

If we appeal to the Socialist Youth comrades and their groups to overcome the disruption of the working youth by uniting in the Young Communist League and to make the Y.C.L.G. into a broad fighting organisation, the mass and propaganda organisation of the German young proletarians, this appeal by no means represents a condition for the setting up of unity of action. Nor do we intend to imply by this appeal that the Young Communists and Socialists who are uniting in a militant front of united action should thereby give up advocating their programmatical standpoint. We openly declare that a bright, happy future, a life of joy and freedom for the youth can be achieved only by the armed overthrow of the fascist dictatorship, by the setting up of the rule of the proletariat in alliance with the toiling peasantry, by the establishment of the Soviet Power. But differences of opinion on these questions of the final aim must in no way prevent us from uniting in the struggle for our joint daily demands, for unity of action. Our joint struggle for the interests of the young workers is the command of the hour.

Time is pressing, the fighting determination of the youth is growing. Let us, therefore, immediately come together for the purpose of joint discussion and the conclusion of joint fighting pacts. Let us enforce in every factory the convening of workers' meetings. Let us organise joint discussions in the work-pauses, during work-time and after closing of the factory. Let us decide on our joint action. Let us organise joint delegations, protest actions, strikes and movements of resistance against the dismissal of the young workers, against wage cuts. Let us mobilise for these demands the young workers in the Hitler Youth, in the Labour Front and in the sports organisations; let us give them assistance and guidance in order to launch joint actions. Let us set up, together with the adult workers, fighting committees for the defence of the work place. Let us adopt joint measures in order to organise the young workers returning from the rural districts and the labour service camps. Let us fight together for their reinstatement in the

factories at full trade union rates, for the granting of full unemployment relief, for the provision of clothes, boots, warm shelter, etc., for them.

Forward to this unity of action, forward to the emancipation of the young workers from the yoke of fascist and capitalist oppression, forward to the victory of the proletariat, to freedom, to the socialist future.

**Central Committee of the Young Communist League  
of Germany.**

## Open Letter of the German Red Aid to the E.C. of the S.P. of Germany in Prague

Dear Comrades,

The bloody terror in Germany is directed against all sections of the toilers without distinction of party, against all who do not unconditionally support the fascist regime. Communists, social democrats, democrats, pacifists, Jews and Catholics are arbitrarily interned in concentration camps, sentenced to monstrous terms of imprisonment by the fascist courts, tortured in the prisons, beaten to death, "shot whilst attempting to escape," or "legally" beheaded by the headsman. One monster trial is followed by another. During the last few days hundreds of Communists and social democrats, as well as members of the socialist labour party, were given severe sentences of hard labour. Thirty-one anti-fascists who are under sentence of death are waiting in their condemned cells for the solidarity action of their anti-fascist fellow workers. Fifty-one anti-fascists have been already "legally" slaughtered.

The families of the anti-fascist prisoners are for the most part suffering dire misery. Deprived of their bread-winner, without any support from the State or the municipalities, they are exposed to the greatest privations. The situation of the prisoners is becoming more and more unbearable. The solidarity of their class comrades is the strongest, often the only, support for all the dauntless fighters and their relatives.

The German Red Aid, which ever since its existence has fulfilled its task of fighting against bourgeois class justice, of supporting all victims of the anti-fascist struggle and their relatives without distinction of party or world outlook, is now exerting all its forces in order to organise the struggle against the savage terror and to give material and moral support to all victims. The growing confidence of all sections of the toilers of Germany in the Red Aid is the best proof of its untiring work and its great successes.

The aid rendered the victims of fascism and their families is of the greatest importance for the anti-fascist struggle of the toilers. This aid could be made much more effective if we succeeded in uniting together all anti-fascist organisations, groups and associations, all forces and organisations directed against the Hitler terror in the common will to assist the victims, in common work, common action and common struggle. There is no doubt that this will exists already among the broad masses of the toilers, and before all among the members of social-democratic and Communist Parties, as well as among the anti-fascist non-party militants.

Conscious of our great responsibility for the fate of our heroic champions and their families, we therefore appeal to you to instruct your organisations to support the great work of solidarity, to organise together with us the relief action for the anti-fascist victims and their families, and to issue an appeal to this effect to your followers. We would remind you of the fact that also in the period before Hitler's seizure of power the Red Aid never made the granting of relief and legal aid to the proletarian prisoners dependent upon any party affiliation or any definite world outlook of the persons concerned. In the year 1932, for instance, we granted legal aid and relief to 382 social-democratic and Reichsbanner prisoners.

The determined mass struggle of the world proletariat for the release of our courageous Comrade Georgi Dimitrov and his fellow accused in the Reichstag Fire Trial wrested the accused, who were threatened with capital punishment, from the hands of the executioner. This joint struggle demonstrated what successes are possible if the anti-fascists of all tendencies unite for joint action. A whole number of instances from the daily struggles of the German workers show what successes can be attained if the social-democratic, Communist and anti-fascist Catholic workers march together in united action. These successes strengthen us in our efforts to propose the joint struggle to all toilers and organisations which are opposed to the fascist terror.

We submit to you the following proposals for joint work and struggle, and believe that you can unreservedly endorse them:—

(1) Joint struggle against the barbarous prison regime, against torture, against mishandling, against labour service, etc.

(2) Material and moral aid for all victims of fascist terror, as well as for the families and relatives of the victims, by supplying them with money, food, articles of daily necessity, etc.

(3) Joint struggle for the release of Ernst Thaelmann, Mierendorf, Litten, Ossietzki, etc., and all imprisoned anti-fascists. Fight for improvement of the position of the prisoners, for the right to receive food parcels, visitors, to read books and magazines, to engage in a freely chosen occupation, to smoke, etc.

(4) Joint struggle for the rescue of the 31 anti-fascists sentenced to death by organising a mass struggle of the toilers, by mobilising the workers to raise protests and carry out militant actions in various forms, by mass petitions, delegations on a national and international scale.

(5) Joint legal aid and joint assistance for all anti-fascists brought before the fascist Court, organising of their defence by the mobilisation of the toiling masses.

(6) Formation of joint relief committees with the participation of all anti-fascist organisations, associations, etc., setting up of such committees in the factories, residential areas and wherever a possibility exists. Setting up of patronages in order to organise the relief activity on a broad mass basis and to help all victims.

(7) Joint organisation of protection of the anti-fascist functionaries working in the country and emigrants. Joint defensive measures against spies and provocateurs.

We should be very glad if you would decide to instruct your organisations to organise together with us, on the basis of the above proposals, support of all victims and their relatives and the struggle for the release of all imprisoned anti-fascists. We are convinced that the social-democratic members and their local, district and provincial organisations will heartily welcome our offer of collaboration and joint struggle, and we hope that you will do everything in order to realise unity of struggle for which we are striving.

**Central Committee of the German Red Aid.**

(Signed) A. Rohde.

Berlin, December 6, 1934.

## Fight Against Imperialist War

### Imperialism in Abyssinia

**Statement Issued by the International Secretariat of the League  
Against Imperialism**

An Italo-Ethiopian Empire at the Gateway of the East has been an Italian ambition since the nineties of last century. Italy already possesses the colony of Eritrea, on the coast of the Red Sea, with an area of 45,000 square miles and the colony of Italian Somaliland, with an area of 194,000 square miles on the Indian Ocean. The latter colony was enlarged by the cession of Jubaland by Britain under the first Labour government in 1924.

Since the beginning of this year reports have become more frequent that military intervention on a large scale in Abyssinia was being planned in Rome. In November King Victor Emmanuel paid a visit to Somaliland and set foot in the new Province of Oltre-Guiba.

The fact that the negotiations which had been undertaken by M. Barthou, and continued by M. Laval, between France and Italy with a view to a general improvement in their relations, have not made more rapid progress, is due to the exorbitant colonial demands of Italy.

The French were prepared for big claims for revision of frontiers in the Sahara; they were prepared to make concessions, but found that in addition to the Sahara the Italians were proposing territorial rearrangement on the Somali Coast, amounting to a request for the cession of French Somaliland.

On November 19th last some Abyssinians were reported to have raided the Italian Consulate at Gondar in the north of Abyssinia. This matter was adjusted.

Now hostilities have occurred at the wells of Ual Ual in Italian Somaliland within the region which is the subject of controversy between the Italian and Abyssinian governments. This frontier has not been precisely demarcated.

It is to be noted that there was on the spot a joint Commis-

sion of the British Somaliland government and the Abyssinian government discussing the grazing rights of the pastoral tribes of Somalis, who periodically cross the frontier with their flocks and herds. It is not clear to what extent this matter may be directly connected with the territorial dispute between Italy and Abyssinia, although the fighting between the tribesmen and the Italians stopped the work of the British Commission.

The battle between the Italians and the Abyssinians, which was witnessed by the British, is stated to have cost 100 Abyssinian casualties, while 60 Italian subjects were killed and 400 wounded.

There is no doubt that Italian imperialism is aiming at an enlargement of its territory in **Eastern Africa**. The Abyssinians declare that native troops from Italian Somaliland, armed with tanks, military aeroplanes and artillery, and commanded by Italian officers, made a surprise attack on the Abyssinian escort of the British-Abyssinian Frontier Commission.

The official Italian agency declares that the Abyssinian reports are false, and protests have been exchanged in Rome and Adis Ababa.

A new factor has entered the situation. **Japanese** influence has been increasing in Abyssinia to a great extent and the Japanese have obtained concessions for cotton growing. Italy does not wish to see herself supplanted by this new imperialist competition and must therefore act quickly. It is even stated that a marriage which had recently been arranged between a wealthy Japanese girl and an Ethiopian prince was vetoed by the Italians.

One cannot separate the imperialist ambitions of Italy in Africa from her revisionist interests in Europe, where she has opposed Yugoslavia as the champion of Austria and Hungary. Hungary is at this moment threatening to disturb the peace of Europe by her controversy with Yugoslavia, the ally of France.

Britain has been endeavouring to deter Prince Paul, the Regent of Yugoslavia, from adopting too severe a tone towards Hungary, and both France and Britain have been concerned to keep Italy out of the European controversy, in which one would expect her to be no less interested than the other imperialist Powers.

Both France and England have cause to fear Italian imperialist expansion in North Africa.

A spoke in Italy's wheel at this moment would serve the interests of French and British imperialisms both in Europe and in Africa.

There is, moreover, the position of the gold lira, trembling on the brink of collapse, which has been strongly featured in the British press while Britain is reported to be making "considerable concessions" to Italy in the negotiations which are expected to lead to the conclusion of an Anglo-Italian air convention regulating conditions for the flying of British craft over Italian territory and Italian craft over British territory.

Where and what are these "substantial concessions" by the British Empire to Italy when the peace of Europe is hanging by a hair?

We shall hear a good deal more about the question of Abyssinia, and the League Against Imperialism emphasises the need for British workers once more to take their stand in demanding the freedom of all African territory and the self-determination of all African colonies, including **British Somaliland**, whose people is exploited to an intolerable extent, just as are the Somalis in the adjoining colonies of French and Italian Somaliland.

## Protest Against Italian Occupation of Abyssinian Territory

The International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers issued an appeal to the working class and intellectuals to protest against the acts of war provocation of fascist Italy in forcibly occupying Abyssinian territory.

### To the Black and White Toilers!

The Italian imperialists have, after a battle between Italian military forces and Abyssinian troops, occupied Abyssinian territory and stationed troops nearly one hundred miles within her border.

This occupation according to reports, grew out of a provocative attack by Italian troops armed with tanks, machine-guns and aeroplanes, on the native escort to an Anglo-Ethiopian Commission studying boundary grazing rights.

Early press reports reveal that though the Italian forces were heavily armed with the most modern weapons and bombing planes,

the Abyssinians defended themselves to the last ditch, resulting in losses to the Italian army of 60 dead and 400 wounded and over 100 Abyssinians killed.

Abyssinia has, for a long time, been a highly coveted country for plunder and the expansionist schemes of Italian imperialism. Its rich natural resources; the tremendous possibilities of turning the country into huge cotton plantations, the highly strategic position which it occupies, have been the sources of keen rivalry between the various imperialist powers, especially Italy and France, for control and domination.

A new element in the struggle for influence and domination in Abyssinia is Japan, whose imperialists, it is reported, have acquired large areas of cotton land in Abyssinia.

To carry out their programme of exploitation, robbery and enslavement of Abyssinia, the Italian imperialists have launched their first bloody attack and occupied the territory. This is what Mussolini meant when, recently, he spoke of "Italy's historic, spiritual and cultural mission in Africa."

The working class, black and white, especially the British and French workers, must demonstrate their solidarity with the Abyssinian toilers to maintain their independence from imperialist domination. The workers must protest to the Italian Consulates and organise protest meetings and actions against this bloody attack of the fascist rulers. Only united working-class action can save Abyssinia from imperialist slavery. **Fight for the national independence of Abyssinia!**

International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers.

## The White Terror

### The Scottsboro Case Before the U.S. Supreme Court

By Sasha Small (New York)

The Scottsboro case, through the appeals of Haywood Patterson and Clarence Norris, is once more before the U.S. Supreme Court.

On November 7, 1932, this highest court in the land was forced to hand down a decision reversing the original lynch verdict against nine innocent Negro boys in Scottsboro, Alabama, in April, 1931.

The International Labour Defence, which had entered the defence immediately after the forces of lynch rule in Alabama had heralded their legal murder decision against eight of the nine boys, fought for the freedom of the boys every inch of the intricate way through the tangle of legal machinery, accompanied by the development of a nation-wide and world-wide mass campaign of defence and support.

By the time the International Labour Defence had carried the appeal to the highest court in the country, the Scottsboro Boys had become symbols of frame-up and national oppression to millions the world over. Street demonstrations, parades, demands upon American embassies, militant actions had taken place in every major city of the world from Germany to Africa.

The scene of battle was shifted back to Alabama. This time in **Decatur**. And it was at this second trial that **Ruby Bates**, one of the girls whose supposed attack had been the cause of the lynch verdict, repudiated her earlier testimony and admitted that she had lied. But **Haywood Patterson** was sentenced to death a second time. The greatest wave of mass protest yet seen in the Scottsboro case followed this second murder decision. A mass march of 5,000 Negro and white workers converged upon Washington. The volume of protest upon the Alabama courts swelled, and as a result Judge Horton reversed his own decision and sentence, stating clearly that the "evidence preponderated greatly in favour of the defendants" and the case came up for trial in Alabama a third time.

Once more a death sentence for Haywood Patterson and Clarence Norris followed. The struggle continued unabated. All appeals were taken, all the necessary motions were made. But the lynchers' agents on the bench of the Alabama State Supreme Court, refusing to release their prey, set December 7, 1934, as the date of execution for the two boys.

And for the second time the International Labour Defence was faced with the task of bringing this case before the U.S. Supreme Court.

The new obstacle which presented itself was **Samuel S. Liebowitz**, the trial lawyer engaged by the I.L.D. to conduct the trials in Alabama, in accordance with the I.L.D. policy of securing the best legal talent available for the job at hand. When Mr. Liebowitz was informed that the I.L.D. had succeeded in getting **Walter H. Pollak**, brilliant constitutional attorney, who had successfully argued the first appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court, to take the appeal there the second time, he not only announced that he was out of the Scottsboro case, but he proceeded to organise all those elements who had during the three and a half years previous secretly sabotaged or openly fought the boys' defence into an "American Scottsboro Committee." The I.L.D. had never considered Liebowitz for the Supreme Court appeals since he had never practised before that court before, in fact was admitted only a few weeks ago.

By means of trickery, lies, threats, promises, manoeuvres with the lynchers' Attorney-General, Knight, the prosecutor and spokesman of the most reactionary industrialists and landlords of the State of Alabama, Mr. Liebowitz and his supporters have succeeded in sowing confusion in the minds of many people. By issuing false statements and slanderous attacks on the I.L.D. to the press, getting some woman to impersonate Mother Patterson over the radio, releasing lying telegrams to the "Amsterdam News" (Negro paper printed in Harlem by Liebowitz' chief supporter, Wm. Davis, an old enemy of the Scottsboro Defence), by stating that the I.L.D. collected a quarter of a million dollars in the name of the Scottsboro Defence which was squandered in "luxurious living by the Communist officials of the I.L.D."—Liebowitz is making every effort to hold on to the Scottsboro case which gave him a taste of personal glory and world-wide publicity at the expense of the lives of the Scottsboro Boys.

As soon as this vicious obstacle was thrown in the path of the Scottsboro Defence the I.L.D. issued a statement clearly explaining its determination to prevent "any controversy which would impair the world-wide struggle, which must be developed to prevent this legal lynching . . . the International Labour Defence repeats its statement that it will continue unabated its struggle for the freedom of the Scottsboro Boys, and will co-operate fully with anybody and any organisation actuated by the purpose of sincerely fighting for the lives and freedom of the Scottsboro Boys."

Despite all the disruptive efforts of Liebowitz the I.L.D. is clearly and definitely in charge of the case, leading both the legal defence fight and the mass defence. The appeals, briefs and writs of certiorari in the cases of Patterson and Norris are in the hands of the Supreme Court, filed by the I.L.D. attorneys Osmond K. Fraenkel and Walter H. Pollak, and accepted by that court.

Through the efforts of these attorneys a stay of execution until February 8, 1935, was secured for the boys. Though Liebowitz attempted desperately and by the most despicable manoeuvres of his bodyguard agents and reformist Ministers to alienate the parents of the boys from the I.L.D., all the mothers and the aunts of the orphaned boys understand clearly that this is "not a fight between attorneys," but a fight for their boys' lives, and they are solidly behind the International Labour Defence.

The Supreme Court will very shortly announce the date on which the oral argument will be heard if they decide to hear the appeal of the Scottsboro Boys. The International Labour Defence, convinced of the correctness of its policy of mass defence, supplemented by the best available legal defence, is not waiting on any legal development, but is mobilising all its forces, all the true friends of the boys for the struggle. Through its own forces and through the forces of the national and local Scottsboro Action Committees, organised on a broad united front basis, efforts are being made to unite the masses, Negro and white in the factories, in the churches, the A.F. of L. unions, fraternal orders, women's groups, into a gigantic mass defence movement.

The International Labour Defence is making every effort to clarify the issues involved in the Scottsboro case, to show the sharpening of the class lines, to show the toiling masses how Scottsboro has become the spearhead of the intensifying terror drive against the Southern working-class Negro and white, and how it must become the rallying point for all those who are ready to join the struggle not only in defence of nine innocent Negro children but in the struggle in defence of the constitutional rights of the Negro people, in the struggle against the rising tide of fascism in the United States.

## Some Aspects of Fascist Criminal Law in Italy

Legislation and the administration of the laws, which correspond to a brutal, unscrupulous dictatorship, are justified in Italy with the theory of "the right of the revolution to create its own law." This fascist "right," the outstanding theoretician of which was the ex-Minister of Justice, **Rocco**, one-time nationalist, was, in every sphere, only the legislation of the systematic social and political reaction of fascist dictatorship.

The fascist government began its work in criminal law with an "amnesty," which was worked out by the Minister **Oviglio**, and amnestied all crimes and offences which were committed "for a national purpose." By this, every fascist murderer and fire-raiser who had been condemned by previous democratic and liberal governments was pardoned.

The fascist government, during the first four years of its existence (October, 1922, to November, 1926), did not need any special legislation for the oppression of the workers' movement. The old laws, which were wisely interpreted by more or less secret circulars of the government, were more than sufficient. **Articles 248 and 251 of the old criminal legal code**, which were directed against criminal organisations and which provided for sentences of from one year and three months to five years and six months, came into continual use. Contrary to all reason, according to instructions, every revolutionary workers' organisation was treated as a criminal body.

Under cover of the fight against freemasonry, moreover, in 1925, the law against secret bodies was passed, and the government did not shrink, in 1925 already, from declaring the prohibition of the Italian section of the International Red Aid by means of an order.

At the beginning of 1925 the fascist government dug out **Article 3 of the old law on the provinces and municipalities**, which gave the prefects the right to seize any newspaper which was regarded as "dangerous to public order" (by the prefect), or to suppress it for a shorter or longer period. The life of the opposition newspapers became ever more uncertain. The Communist, socialist, and even the democratic papers appeared only at intervals.

In 1925 the law was passed which punishes "violation of the prestige and honour of the chief of the government," and numerous sentences of six, nine, and twelve months and even longer followed. This law has now been made **Article 281 of the new legal code**, and provides for sentences of from one to five years.

After the so-called "attempt on the life of Mussolini" on the 30th of October, 1926, in Bologna, the **law on public safety and the exceptional law for the protection of the state** were speedily announced.

The new law on public safety was announced on the 6th of November, 1926, a week after the alleged attempt. It established an exact control over the whole activity of all citizens. For the first time it was made obligatory to carry a card of identification. This applied to all citizens over fifteen years of age. Every "suspicious" element (and this definition was left to the uncontrolled discretion of the police) had to have his finger prints on his identity card. Every dangerous or "suspicious" element was made known to the Home Office, which compiled endless lists of these elements. But this law also provided for administrative measures for the "suspects" and for "those dangerous to national order"; for example, the "warning" ("diffida"), police control ("ammonizione") for two years, and finally exile to the islands or lonely villages ("confino") from three to five years.

People who, because of their ideas, could come under these measures, were numbered with drunkards, hardened criminals, perverts, people with infectious diseases, etc. "Establishment of public opinion" (!) was laid down as a necessary condition for this. The warning was undertaken by the prefect of police, control and exile was declared by a "commissione per l'ammonizione e il confino," which was newly formed in every province and consisted of the prefect, the public prosecutor, the commandant of the Carabinieri, and the commandant of the fascist militia. Tens of thousands of anti-fascists or non-fascists are under control (not allowed to change their address, not to be out after sunset or before sunrise, prohibition of visits to all places of public resort, etc.), sent to the terrible islands of death and madness: **Lipari, Lampedusa, Ustica, Tremiti, Ventonene, Ponza**.

The **Exceptional Law for the Protection of the Fascist State** was left till the 26th of November, a few days after the Law for Public Safety. The death sentence, which Italy was one of the first countries to abolish, was restored with this law. It is directed



against would-be assassins of the Prime Minister, of the King, and the Crown Prince, and also against those who conspire against the safety of the State, who organise or lead rebellious acts, who seek to overthrow the State order or to set up "the dictatorship of one class over another."

In addition, the Exceptional Laws provide for sentences up to fifteen years' imprisonment for the crimes of re-establishing parties which have been dissolved, and for "anti-national propaganda"; and, since sentences cannot run concurrently, it is possible to be condemned for the same crime (e.g., re-organisation of an anti-fascist organisation or distribution of leaflets), in which of necessity other lesser crimes are included, to 18, 20, and 24 years' imprisonment.

Special courts are created for the carrying out of these same laws. The president of these courts must be an army general or a general of the fascist militia (the present president **Cristini** is "General" of the Black Shirts, although in the regular army he is only a lieutenant). The five judges must be officers of the fascist militia. The decisions of the special court are final. Appeals are not allowed.

A further, completely fascist principle of legal practice was the "retrospective" application of the laws. Most of those sentenced by the special courts in 1927-28 had committed their "crime," or had even been arrested before these courts had been set up and the exceptional law had been announced. Membership of the Communist Party at the time when the Party was still legal and had members in Parliament, brought many years imprisonment to numbers of Party members.

The new legal code, a work of the sinister, reactionary **Rocco**, has adopted and sharpened all the laws which had been passed as "exceptional and temporary," as well as the special court, which was created for the limited period of five years, the period of which had already been lengthened by the fascist General Council.

Characteristic of this legal code is the elasticity of its punishments. It legalises, so to speak, the unlimited discretion of the judge. In the final clause of Article 279, for instance, after fixing the punishments for forming "subversive bodies" or for belonging to them, adds: "The punishment will be increased for anyone who, even under a false name or in a disguised manner, re-forms the bodies mentioned, whose dissolution has been proclaimed." This means that the punishments are to be increased in all cases, but it is not stated by how much, and this is left to the discretion of the special court. This clause is also repeated in the Article which follows (on "anti-national organisations"), and the same principle is used, in other forms, for all the Articles. The Articles on assassination, on armed uprising, etc., are formulated also in the most elastic way.

The balance-sheet of oppression by "law" in July, 1934, was as follows: Death sentences, 9; 2,400 sentences of 14,500 years' imprisonment; plus tens of thousands of arrests, thousands upon thousands of exiles, countless cases of police control.

The fight against the fury of fascism and for the release and rescue of the victims of its "justice" must be untiringly carried on and developed on an international scale.

#### University Professors of Jassy Support their Colleague Constantinescu

Paris, December 14.

The World Committee against War and Fascism is informed that Professor Constantinescu, Jassy, leader of the Rumanian anti-fascists, has been on hunger strike in prison for 17 days. As he suffers from an inflammation of the kidneys, and resists the efforts made to feed him by force, his condition is very serious.

The Minister of Education declares that Constantinescu has forfeited his chair at the University. The professors of the University of Kischinev, at an official session of the University Council, refused to confirm this dismissal. These colleagues of Constantinescu had obtained from the examining magistrate information with regard to the "incriminating" material found against Constantinescu. The reply showed—the professors publish this fact—that when his rooms were searched, only a copy of the "Correspondance Internationale" and of the "Correspondence Balcanique" were found. Even the bourgeois papers have been obliged to admit this.

## Students' World Congress

### For the United Front of Struggle of the Students

By André Victor (Paris)

The preparations for the World Congress of Students against war and fascism, convened by the World Committee of Students, has already achieved considerable successes in rallying the advanced forces of the student youth in the fighting front against war, fascism and cultural reaction.

The Swiss Federal Council prohibited the Congress from being held in Geneva four weeks before the time it was planned to take place. In spite of this chicanery the Congress will take place, namely, in Brussels on 29th, 30th and 31st December. The chief subject of the discussions will be the questions confronting the student youth at the present time: the crisis in the sphere of culture, the material situation of and unemployment among the intellectuals, the militarisation of the youth, the participation of the students in social life, etc.

The Congress has been convened by the Students' Committee Against War and Fascism, nevertheless support of the Amsterdam-Pleyel movement is not an indispensable condition for participation in the Congress.

The reports to hand at present show that very many students' organisations which have not joined the fighting movement against war and fascism have realised how important it is to unite the forces of the students on an international basis and are sending delegates to the Congress.

In August last a delegation of the World Committee of Students submitted to the Congress of the International Union of Socialist Students in Liege a proposal to take part in the preparations and leadership of the Congress. The Congress of the socialist students did not give a favourable answer to this proposal, but nevertheless left the national sections of the socialist students complete freedom in this question. The socialist students of France were the first to come out in support of the Congress, and instructed two members of the National Bureau to make preparations for the Congress in France. The Administrative Committee of the Socialist Party of France approved this decision of the socialist students but forbade them to affiliate to the Amsterdam-Pleyel movement.

Later the most important sections of the International Union of Socialist Students reported their decision to take part in the Congress: The League for Industrial Democracy (U.S.A.), the University Labour Federation (Great Britain), the socialist students of Austria, Argentina, Denmark, the Scandinavian Students' League "Clearness," comprising the socialist students and intellectuals of Sweden, Norway and Denmark.

Students belonging to the bourgeois-radical parties have also replied to the call of the Congress. In France the Secular and Republican Youth, which possesses a very important mass basis, is actively taking part in the preparations for the Congress. The university group of the Social Front (France), the Liberal Students of Great Britain, the Studentensamfundet (Denmark), the Union of Radical Students of Iceland, etc., are supporting the Congress.

Thanks to the work of our committees and, above all, to the campaign in connection with November 11, the pacifist students in many countries are supporting the Congress. In France the university section of the League of Fighters for Peace, in Great Britain several students' sections of the League of Nations Union, in the United States the students' sections of the opponents of war are actively taking part in the work of preparation for the Congress.

Great efforts have been made among the Christian students' organisations, and important results have already been achieved. In Great Britain several sections of the Students' Christian Movement are taking part in the preparation of the Congress. In the United States sections of the Christian students have declared themselves in support of the Congress. The Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. took an active part in the anti-war demonstrations on Armistice Day. The Christian Students Union of France have not yet joined the Congress, but state in a letter addressed to the National Committee:—

"As we reject on the grounds of our Catholic doctrine the principle of the totalitarian State, which abolishes the liberty

of the individual, and as we regard war—apart from certain cases which are becoming more and more exceptional, such as justified defence of a people against unjustified attacks—as an indescribable crime, we shall probably view with sympathy certain wishes which may find expression at the Congress.”

This statement is characteristic of the mood of the majority of Catholic students in France who are opposed to war and fascism.

The national unions of the students of Porto Rico and of Luxemburg have declared themselves in support of the Students' World Congress.

Preparations for the World Congress have been made not only in Europe, but also in the United States and in Latin America. Initiative committees, representing big students' associations, have been set up in Uruguay, Chile, Brazil, Argentina, Costa Rica and Porto Rico. Also in Australia a committee of students has been set up on a broad basis.

The students of the colonies (Negroes, North Africans, Hindoos, Chinese, Indo-Chinese) and the students of the national minorities will likewise be represented at the Congress.

The preparations for the Congress were not carried out exclusively by agitation and propaganda but also by actions. In particular Armistice Day (November 11) was utilised for the campaign. The whole bourgeois press was compelled to publish reports of the street demonstrations of thousands of British students in Oxford, Cambridge and Southampton, who marched through the streets under the slogan: "Money for laboratories, not for tanks!" In the United States demonstrations and meetings were held on the basis of the united front, comprising socialist students, anti-war students, Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., etc.

The preparation for the Congress was also characterised by important struggles of the students for their demands. In Canada 3,000 students struck against the increase in the school fees. In Czechoslovakia the Communist, socialist and radical students realised unity of action against the worsening of the regime in the universities. In Bulgaria the students organised demonstrations against the increase in examination fees.

The World Committee of the Students issued the magazine "Front Universitaire" in order to raise among the masses of students some of the ideological questions which will be the subject of discussion at the Congress. In Great Britain the "Student Front" has appeared in thousands of copies, in Holland "Links Af," in Canada "Student," in Australia "Student Against War," etc.

#### STUDENTS AND PROFESSORS OF BELGIUM FOR THE STUDENTS' WORLD CONGRESS.

A meeting of the representatives of the students' organisations was held on Wednesday, 12th inst., in Brussels, taken part in by a number of professors and other intellectuals. At this meeting the Belgian Initiative Committee was formed, to carry out the preliminary campaign for the Students' Congress.

The Initiative Committee is composed of representatives of the Marxist Students' Group, of the Socialist Students of Brussels, the Liberal Group "Free Examination," the Catholic Students, and the general association of the women students. Membership has already been promised to the Initiative Committee by a number of professors of the Brussels University. Among these are Professors **Theophil Dedonder**, **Charles van der Boren**, **Gustave Charlier**, **Professor Erxculisse**, **Professor Ancaux**. The head of the Brussels University, **Professor Bogaert**, and Professors **van den Dungen** and **Brieu** have assured the Initiative Committee that they will give it their utmost moral support.

Among the well-known socialist leaders supporting the Students' Congress, mention may be made of **Dr. Marteaux**, **Dr. Spaak**, and the woman socialist leader, **Isabelle Blum**.

The meeting of the Initiative Committee heard the report on the progress already made in the preparations for the Students' Congress, and appointed an organisational commission composed of representatives of the various students' organisations and of the professors, as also a commission to arrange for the reception of the foreign delegates. The Initiative Committee has issued an appeal to all college students; to all students attending the commercial and crafts schools, and to all teachers in Belgium, calling upon them to support the Students' World Congress against War and Fascism. This appeal is being circulated in large numbers in all the schools.

## In the International

### Discussion on the Thirteenth Congress of the C.P.G.B.

By Wm. Gallacher (London)

At our Twelfth Party Congress the central question was that of work in the trade unions. Bad sectarian practices had hindered to a great extent the advance of the Party in this important field of activity. The Twelfth Congress successfully overcame this sectarianism and a considerable improvement in our trade union work followed from it. Not nearly enough. Much more has yet to be done and so this question will once again be an important issue at the forthcoming Thirteenth Party Congress.

But since the Twelfth Congress great changes have taken place in the international situation. The advance of fascist governments in Germany, in Austria and Spain and the increasing development of fascist methods of administration in Britain along with the financial support and legal protection of fascist gangs and the rapid advance of war preparations, present us with very urgent problems.

Against this advance of fascism and war there is developing an ever-stronger resistance on the part of the workers. The heroic stand of the Schutzbundler in Austria and the epic struggle of the Asturian miners in Spain, evidence the unconquerable spirit of the workers and give the guarantee of victory when active unity under revolutionary leadership has been achieved.

It is this active unity that has now for our Party become the central, all animating question. Here in Britain, as in all other countries the upward surge of the working class struggle is clearly evident.

Despite all the efforts of the reformists to hold them back, the workers move forward with ever greater energy into the struggle. This was exemplified in the mass support that was everywhere given to the great **National Hunger March**, to the events at **Olympia** (Mosley's meeting), and in the **monster demonstration** of anti-fascist workers at **Hyde Park** on September 9th. Not only these outstanding events but a continual series of strikes in different industries even in face of official opposition, these with the mass demonstrations of the unemployed, all go to show the character of the Leftward swing which expressed itself in the sweeping Labour victories at the municipal elections.

Since, following the German events, the issuing of the **C.I. Manifesto**, the Party has conducted an exceptionally energetic campaign for **working class unity**. This campaign has met with a warm response from the active workers in the unions and the factories as well as from the masses who are outside of the factories, unemployed. This campaign undoubtedly was responsible for a considerable measure of the support won for the Labour Party at the municipal elections. The idea of unity became very firmly fixed in the minds of the workers, but because it was unity without content, our Party candidates in many cases failed to make the advance they should have made. This was one of the serious weaknesses of our Municipal Election Campaign and one that must now be thoroughly overhauled and eradicated as a result of the discussion leading up to the Party Congress.

The United Front of the workers is built up by our day to day work around the immediate issues that confront the workers, employed and unemployed. Active unity on the fight on such questions as housing and rents, increased relief and the abolition of the Means Test, the fight against labour camps and for extensive work schemes at trade union rates, the 40-hour week with increased wages, as against the "stagger" system being proposed by the National Government. As we develop these so also do we develop the great mass front against fascism and war.

But it must be clear to all of us, and this we must get the workers to understand, that as only the Communists lead the fight for these demands and for the unity of the workers essential for achieving, then an essential part of the building of the fighting united front of the workers is the building up of the membership, strength and representative character of the Communist Party.

This is where our greatest failure has been, and it is exactly this the coming Congress must discuss and overcome.

The united front of the workers is absolutely necessary if the forces strong enough to defeat fascism, to overthrow capitalism and

establish Soviet power are to be brought into action. But this united front can only be achieved as the result of continuous activity, and the quicker the Party grows that leads that activity the more rapid will the whole advance of the working class become. Thus at the municipal elections the importance of Communist councillors as representing a new high stage of working class unity should have been right in the forefront of all our work.

Now the question must be answered: do we continue giving our support only to Labour candidates who accept our proposals or do we advance beyond this?

It is necessary to speak openly on this question now. Although we had at the Party Centre discussed the possibility of a change in our attitude towards Labour candidates who would accept our proposals it was not until the last moment, when our comrades in the districts were already deep in municipal election campaigns that we sent out our statement on policy advising support for Labour candidates under certain conditions and advising withdrawal of our own Party candidates in those places where we were not likely to get a substantial vote.

This very late notification of our change of attitude caused considerable confusion and contributed towards the weakness already referred to.

But we will deal with this question of the elections in relation to the fight of the united front in the most thorough manner at the Party Congress.

Already the discussion is going on in the "Daily Worker," while an extremely important article has been prepared for the "Communist Review" by Harry Pollitt, the leader of the Party.

The effective solution of this question, the further extension of trade union work and the rapid advance of the Party towards a mass Communist Party and the preparations for the World Congress, these will be the important questions dealt with at the Thirteenth Party Congress.

## The C.P. of Greece for the United Front

By I. Komos (Athens)

The bourgeois-landlord government of Greece, entangled in serious home and foreign political contradictions, is attempting to maintain itself by means of a savage offensive against the toiling masses. This offensive is expressed on the one hand in a constant lowering of the standard of living of the toiling masses and on the other hand in a systematic attempt to deprive them of their few remaining liberties.

The constant rise of the index for articles of daily necessity from 17 points last year to 22, the cutting down of wages and the increase in the number of unemployed, the abolition of the rent restriction acts, the new taxes—these are some of the measures tending to lower the standard of living of the toiling masses.

The toiling masses of Greece have given a fitting reply to these measures: more than 100,000 workers struck work in the first nine months of 1934, i.e., the same number as in the whole of 1933, as compared with 80,000 during the whole of 1932. In 1932 50 per cent. of the strikers were under the leadership of the red trade unions, in 1933 65 per cent., and in the first six months of 1934 already 70 per cent.

It was in this situation that the Second Plenum of the C.P. of Greece was held. The main item on the agenda of the Plenum was the offensive of the exploiters and of fascism and the struggle for unity of action of the toilers. In a resolution the Plenum stated:—

"The situation of our country is developing towards fierce outbursts of the people which will shake the foundations of the bourgeois-landlord Greek government."

The correctness of this statement is confirmed even by the bourgeois newspapers, which openly declare that the situation in Greece is worse than that in Spain. The Second Plenum clearly set forth the tasks of the Party:—

"All efforts of the C.P. of Greece and of all revolutionary mass organisations must be directed towards extending the mass struggles of the workers and toilers and raising them to the level of the anti-fascist tasks of the moment."

The Second Plenum emphasised the necessity of strengthening the anti-fascist struggle, whilst at the same time the economic partial struggles of the workers and peasants must not be neglected. It designated as false the view that the political and anti-fascist tasks exclusively dominate this period.

The Second Plenum was held at a time when the open invitation of the C.P. of Greece and of the C.G.T.U. to all reformists and agrarian organisations and parties to join the anti-fascist front, and the proposal submitted by the C.G.T.U. to the two reformist trade union federations to set up trade union unity were accepted and led to the signing of a Pact on October 5 against the bourgeois dictatorship, to a number of united front actions in many localities, and a number of joint meetings. It is true, the leaders of the reformist organisations have not yet carried out the terms of the Pact, nor have they shown any great desire to adopt the proposals of the C.P. of Greece as a whole. But the successes achieved up to now are quite considerable, and therefore the Second Plenum, whilst sharply criticising the attitude of the reformist leaders, emphasises the role of the C.P. of Greece as the advance-guard and the champion of the united front struggle of the toilers against the exploiters and the fascists.

The Plenum approved of the work of the Political Bureau and of the Party in general and called upon all organisations to increase their efforts in order to follow the example of the organisations of Drama, Katerini, Levadia, of the railway workers of Macedonia, and the workers of Athens, who have established the united front.

Finally the Plenum emphasised the great role being played by the anti-fascist groups of ten. As is known, the raid of the fascists and of the police on the Rizospastis, the central organ of the C.P. of Greece, was courageously repelled thanks to the presence of the members of the anti-fascist groups of ten. In general, good results have been achieved in Athens with the setting up of the anti-fascist groups of ten.

The Second Plenum also dealt with the agrarian demands of the Party, criticised the shortcomings and recorded the progress made in the organisational work of the Party, and issued a draft of statutes of the C.P., which will be published and submitted to discussion in the Party press.

It is now necessary, as the Plenum states, "for the whole Party, unanimously and resolutely, to raise the organisational and mass work to such a level that it shall meet the demands set by the historical requirements of the present situation."

## Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

### The Fate of the Peasants in the Soviet Village

A Famous Village and its Famous People

By L. F. Boross (Moscow)

Why Did the Village of Gulinky Become Famous?

The village of *Gulinky*, in the district of *Staroshilovo* of the Moscow region, has suddenly become universally famous. It has not become famous because it differs in any way from other villages in the Soviet Union; on the contrary, it has become famous because, as the result of a good idea on the part of its chairman of the village Soviet, it was held up as a mirror to the rest of the Soviet villages. The village of *Gulinky* became the mirror in which many thousands of Soviet villages could see themselves.

In the rapid development which the Soviet village has been going through in the last few years, it is necessary also to glance into the mirror now and again, for in the sequence of daily events the changes that have taken place are not noticed. While this development is taking place it sometimes happens that remnants of the old life, remnants of some of the difficulties of the socialist transformation of the village cover up and conceal the new face of the village. Recently there was no salt to be had for several days in the village co-operative shop at *Gulinky*. Some bureaucrat or other had forgotten to send along the supply of salt. The people were quite exasperated, saying that it was unbelievable that such a thing was still possible *to-day*.

The village Soviet is trying to engage its own dentist for its four villages, but up to now no one has applied for the position offered. There are no unemployed dentists. Until this matter is settled they will have, for the time being, to be content with the district dentist, who can come to the village only from time to time.

There are also some similarly annoying inconveniences upon which one's gaze sometimes lingers. And the more the new Soviet village develops, the more sensitively does it react to such trifles.

There were times when the peasants of the former *Ryazan* government, to which *Gulinky* also belonged, were still real "Ryaz peasants." The Old Russia that was a conception which was somewhat similar to what a peasant from Rhön and Spessart is in Germany—the poorest of the poor. They represented the type of poor peasants with a tiny plot of bad land, which was cultivated in the most primitive manner. It is quite possible that they always had salt, but most of the peasants had bread from their own crops to eat with the salt only for three to four months. They had no boots. They were clothed in rags. Almost all of them, including the middle peasants, were compelled to work for the estate owner or the kulaks as a farm labourer for from five to twenty-five kopeks a day.

The day after the Revolution the Soviet Power immediately divided the land of the landowners among the land-hungry peasants. In this way very much want was alleviated, but the misery of the peasants and the causes which gave rise to it were not entirely eliminated. With a wooden plough, with a worn-out nag, or even without a horse at all, very little could be done even with a little more land. Despite all the protective measures of the Soviet government, the rich peasant, who made no secret of his hostility to the proletarian town and tried to ally himself with the remnants of the capitalist N.E.P. elements which still existed in the towns at that time, gradually again became a power in the village. The poverty could not be got rid of as long as the land was cultivated in tiny plots by individual families in a constant unequal struggle against Nature and against each other. And if one sometimes succeeded in breaking through for a year with difficulty—if everything went all right—then the joy of it was killed by insecurity: And what if my horse pegs out to-morrow? And if my pig should go lean? What if the drought destroys the sowing? Then the work of years will again have been in vain. It was only the voluntary unification of the peasant farms into large collective farms, with tractors and machinery, that put an end to this insecurity, to this constant fear of the morrow, and put an end to this struggle of everybody against everybody else.

The path to the life of the present day also led through hard struggles in the village of *Gulinky*, just as it did in the other Soviet villages. Struggles there were against the armed class enemy, struggles against the landowners, struggles against the money-lending peasant, who of all the class enemies tried most persistently, and to some extent still try, to hold back the path of the peasants to collective well-being, so as to be able again to have them work for their profits, just as they did formerly. There were struggles against their own poverty and ignorance; and finally, the struggle which is still going on to-day against such bureaucrats in the co-operative or the transport apparatus, who, just at the time when the well-to-do collective peasants want to pickle cucumbers, can tomatoes and cure bacon for the winter, do not send enough salt to the village.

Everything is here. There is enough bread. In two of the three collective farms of the village of *Gulinky* there were 12 to 13 double centners of wheat per hectare, and in the third collective farm there were even 20 double centners. Despite the bad weather conditions, this district had never had such a harvest before collectivisation. There was fruit and vegetables in the peasants' own gardens as well as in the collective farm. There are six times as many pigs as there were but two years ago. There are many other things which one could not even think of formerly. And yet now and again one still has to worry about such trifles like salt.

Then, too, cattle raising, which was neglected during the first year of collectivisation and to which the class enemy did a great deal of harm, has to be improved. The entire village had to work hard in order to bring the livestock up to the present level.

These are all serious daily cares. One has to work very hard. The peasants discuss the tasks of the day with each other. There

is often no time to write to the son or the daughter who is in Moscow or Stalingrad. The children who have landed in the towns are also too occupied to write often. In the evening one goes to sleep, all tired out. In the morning one gets up and looks around; everything is just as it was the evening before. Still, the roof must be improved here, more wood has to be got for the school, somehow one must also find time to read the paper. This evening the self-education group meets in the club; to-morrow the wife goes to Comrade Titova's sewing circle; the boys and girls go to their dramatic or music circles. The day after to-morrow the affairs of the village Soviet will be discussed and we shall have to examine how the representatives of the village population are fulfilling their duties. And so there are thousands of cares, joys and also worries.

Life in the village gets better from year to year. If one looks back a year or, better still, a few years, then one can see how far one has progressed! But one is not always so "historically" inclined. The days eat up the year; in the hours that are crowded with work, one often does not even notice that ten years have gone by. And yet so much has occurred during these years.

"While working, one does not even notice how life, how our own village and how our people have altered. But if one looks back upon the most recent past, then the tremendous difference can be seen. The poor, uncultured *Ryazan* village is becoming a socialist, collectivised village. In place of the old semi-dilapidated cottages, new brick houses spring up. Antennae are drawn over the village, by means of which the collective peasants hear the Moscow radio broadcast. New stables, barns and cattle farms are cropping up.

"In the old days the windows of the cottages frightened the passers-by with their dirt and their darkness, and now plants, flowers and white curtains are a delight to the eye.

"The people are also changing. *Nastya Bovarova*, who but yesterday was only a poor peasant woman, who did not see or know anything outside her mud oven and her miserable household, is now leader of the group of deputies in the collective farm. *Yeroshin*, the former farm labourer, is now manager of a large collective farm. The children of the former poor peasants are now becoming doctors, engineers and army commanders.

"One feels happy if one bears all this in mind. After all, it is we, who but yesterday were illiterate, it is we peasants who have created all this with our own hands."

This is how *Kurkina*, the woman collective peasant who is now the chairman of the village Soviet, began her report of work done before the new elections take place. And the good idea that occurred to her was the following: Dozens of peasants had left the village and gone to the towns. It would be good to know what has become of them. And it would be good if these people could throw a glance into the village so as to judge what has become of us, since they have left us. *Kurkina* went to Moscow, to the "Peasant Paper," with the proposal to organise a meeting of the collective peasants of the village with the village folk who had gone to the towns.

They began to hunt up the native villagers. Four daughters of *Alexander Ilyin*, the collective peasant, live in town. Where would they formerly have looked for them? Probably in the kitchen of some gentleman's house, where they would be working as maids, or, at best, as waitresses in places of doubtful reputation. And *Father Ilyin*, who in the old days had not heard of any other fate for peasant girls in the towns, let his daughters go from the village with great reluctance. To-day he, too, has a different idea of the whole thing. He thinks it is the most natural thing in the world—of course, in the *Soviet World*—that his daughter *Tatianna* is an engineer in the textile factory in *Kuntsevo*, that *Sophia* has just got her engineer's diploma from the agricultural academy, that *Nina* works as a technician in an aviation factory and that *Claudia* is completing the fourth year at the Machine Construction Institute. But *Father Ilyin* himself was surprised when he learned that together with his daughters not less than 51 sons and daughters

of peasants from his village have become skilled workmen, engineers, technicians, editors, high army commanders, chemists, doctors and airmen, or are studying in the universities. He did not think that the number of people who have become famous from the village was so high.

And at the same time—that is still more important—while the children are studying in Moscow or in other towns, the life of those who remained peasants, and who wanted to remain peasants, had also altered and improved to an unrecognisable degree.

We (a few foreign proletarian reporters) also went along with the town kinsfolk of the peasants of Gulinky to the new elections of the village Soviet. In this way Gulinky would become known not only in the Soviet Union but also among foreign working class readers. But it is precisely for that reason that we want to warn our readers not to think that in the descriptions of the village of Gulinky they see something peculiar, something special, which cannot be seen anywhere else. The renown of the village of Gulinky consists precisely in the fact that it essentially does *not* differ from thousands of other Soviet villages. It is the usual type of a well-managed Soviet village. It owes its fame primarily to the good idea which Maria Nicholaevna Kurkina had, as has already been said, to hold up the village as a mirror to itself and to the other villages, not through abstract schemes, but through the fate of living people, who create the new life and *for whom* the new life is being created.

(To be continued.)

## On the Political Departments in Agriculture

Resolution of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. on the Report of Comrade L. M. Kaganovich

(Adopted on November 28, 1934)

In the struggle for the socialist reconstruction of the village the Party has encountered a series of difficulties, but has practically overcome these difficulties and eliminated shortcomings. In January, 1933, in view of the extremely great political, organisational and economic shortcomings in the work in the village, the Plenum of the C.P.S.U. decided:—

“With the aim of politically strengthening the machine-tractor stations and state farms, of increasing the political role and influence of the machine-tractor stations and state farms in the village and of decisively improving the political and economic work of our cells in the collective and state farms . . . to organise *political departments* in all machine-tractor stations and state farms.”

Exposing the shortcomings in our work in the village, Comrade *Stalin*, in his speech to the Plenum of the Central Committee in January, 1933, pointed out that

“the political departments of the machine-tractor stations and state farms are one of those decisive means with the aid of which it will be possible to eliminate the shortcomings in the shortest possible time.”

During the past two years, 3,368 political departments have been organised in machine-tractor stations and 2,021 political departments in state farms. The 17,000 political department workers in the machine-tractor stations and the 8,000 political department workers in the state farms, carefully and personally selected by the Central Committee of the Party, have accomplished a gigantic work during these two years towards eliminating the shortcomings in our work in the village, which were pointed out in Comrade *Stalin's* speech “On Work in the Village” and the decisions of the Plenum of the Central Committee in January, 1933.

In the struggle against hostile class elements for the Bolshevik strengthening of the collective farms, for the protection of social, collective and state property, for precedence in the fulfilment of obligations to the government, numerous active non-party collective farmers have rallied around the Party. Socialist competition and shock work developed among the collective farmers on a wide front.

Anti-Soviet, anti-kolkhoz, sabotaging and wrecking elements, kulaks and the agents of kulaks who had penetrated into the state and collective farms and were trying to corrupt and undermine them from within, in a sly underhand manner, were, in the main,

exposed and driven out by the Party with the aid of the political departments.

The collective farms have become a stable and invincible force uniting at the present time three-quarters of all peasant households and 90 per cent. of the sown area. In the course of the past two years alone, during 1933 and 1934, the agriculture of the U.S.S.R. received 137,000 tractors, 18,000 combines, 63,000 horse-drawn and tractor-drawn sowing machines, 24,000 compound and semi-compound threshing machines, 343,000 various types of harvesting machines for grain and industrial crops, 25,000 automobile trucks.

The 240,000 collective farms, 3,500 machine-tractor stations and the 5,000 state farms at present in existence possess at the present moment 281,000 tractors, 33,000 combines, 34,000 automobile trucks, 845,000 horse and tractor-drawn sowing machines, 129,000 compound and semi-compound threshing machines, 2,085,000 different types of harvesting machines for grain and industrial crops (mowers, beet-lifters, flax scutchers, and so on).

By the end of 1932 there were agricultural machines, tractors and trucks to the value of 2,500 million rubles in agriculture in the U.S.S.R. During 1933 and 1934 agriculture acquired additional agricultural machinery, tractors and trucks to the value of 1,280 million rubles.

In spite of the continued existence of shortcomings in the use of agricultural machinery in the villages, particularly combines, the tractors, threshing machines, flax scutchers and so on were utilised much better during the past two years by the majority of the collective and state farms than in previous years. Translated into terms of ploughing, the tractors of the machine-tractor stations performed work to the amount of 35 million hectares (not counting threshing), in 1933 and 55 million hectares in 1934. An area of 533,000 hectares was harvested by means of combines on collective farms in 1933 and 1,576,000 hectares in 1934. The quality of agricultural work (ploughing, weeding, harvesting and so on) has improved.

The spring sowing in 1934 was carried out 15 to 20 days more rapidly than in 1933 and 30 to 40 days more rapidly than in 1932.

In spite of the existence of delays in the harvest and of harvest losses in a number of regions, the harvest in 1933 and 1934 proceeded on the whole considerably better than in previous years throughout the Union.

In spite of unfavourable climatic conditions in a number of regions in the south—in the Ukraine, the North Caucasus and several other regions—the harvest in the Soviet Union as a whole was not less in 1934 than last year.

The grain delivery plan for 1933 was fulfilled one and a half months earlier than in 1932: the grain delivery plan for 1934 was fulfilled one and a half months earlier than in 1933 and three months earlier than in 1932.

The understanding of the primary importance of the fulfilment of their obligations to the government has taken root in the minds of the millions of collective farmers.

The slogan advanced by the Party at the Congress of Collective Farm Shock Workers in February, 1933, concerning the struggle for Bolshevik collective farms and for a well-to-do life for the collective farmers has been realised by tens of millions of collective farmers and has become a practical fighting programme for the mobilisation of the broad masses for the strengthening of the collective farms and for the general further progress of agriculture.

All this has been achieved as a result of the correct policy of the Party, as the result of a radical improvement in the practical leadership of the village.

The basic Party organisations in the collective farms, reorganised along productive lines, have improved. The revolutionary vigilance and the Bolshevik ideological equipment of the members of the Party in the village have increased.

On the basis of the work developed by the political departments, the Party leadership has come closer to the collective farm, to the village, and Party political work has come in closer connection with production.

Under the influence of the tasks set to the political departments by the Party, the practice and the methods of work of the political departments, the work not only of the primary Party organisations, but also of the local committees of the Party has improved.

The political departments, as an extraordinary form of

organisation, basing itself on the strength and authority of the whole Party, on the economic power of the machine-tractor stations, have achieved very great successes in the matter of transforming the backward sector of socialist construction—agriculture—into an advanced sector.

Experience, however, has shown that with the growth of the problems of leadership in the village, the political departments by themselves have already become insufficient, that for the leadership of all the work in the collectivised village—political, economic and cultural (schools, hospitals and so on)—the strengthening of the normal Party and Soviet organs, embracing all this work: administrative, economic, cultural, financial and so on, is required.

Forseeing these circumstances, the Seventeenth Party Congress, in the statutes of the Party adopted at the Congress, granted the Central Committee of the Party the right

*"to set up political departments in the backward sectors of socialist construction which are acquiring particular importance for national economy and the country as a whole, and also, as the political departments fulfil their shock tasks, to transform them into ordinary Party organs, organised along production and territorial lines."*

By recording that the creation of political departments has fully justified itself and the political departments have played an exceptionally important role in eliminating the shortcomings existing in the village; that the successes achieved in the socialist reconstruction of agriculture, in the strengthening of the collective farms, in the consolidation of the collective farm actives and in the creation of a solid base for the Party organisation in the village and in the improvement of the work of the district committees of the Party make it necessary to complete the division of the regions into smaller administrative districts, and completely bring the organs of administration closer to the village, which was already begun with the abolition of the divisions (okrug), the Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. resolves:—

(1) To convert the political departments of the machine-tractor stations into ordinary Party organs, for which purpose to merge the political departments with the existing district committees of the Party and to break up particularly large districts into several new districts, fusing them with corresponding political departments.

(2) To assign the leadership of all primary Party organisations in the district to the district committees of the Party.

(3) In connection with the increased complexity of the work and the increased responsibility of the district committees, to establish in large agricultural districts the function of second secretary of the district committee in addition to that of first secretary.

(4) To create in the apparatus of the district committees Agricultural Departments, at the head of which to place the first or second secretary of the district committee of the Party, according to the concrete conditions of work.

(5) To establish in every machine-tractor station the function of assistant director of the machine-tractor station for political affairs, in whose duties to place the political guarantees for the successful carrying out of all the measures and undertakings of the director of the machine-tractor station and the fulfilment of the function of secretary for the primary Party organisation of the workers of the machine-tractor station itself.

(6) To establish that the assistant director of the machine-tractor station for political affairs, being directly subordinate to the director of the machine-tractor station, is simultaneously subordinate to the district committee of the Party, under whose leadership he performs his Party and political work.

(7) Considering that all the present workers of political departments should unconditionally remain at work in the districts, to recognise it as necessary to utilise them in the future:—

(a) As first secretaries of newly organised district committees of the Party; or, where necessary, as first secretaries of existing district committees;

(b) As second secretaries of district committees and managers of agricultural departments of district committees of the Party;

(c) As assistant directors of machine-tractor stations for political affairs;

(d) As workers in the apparatus of new district committees of the Party and in district committees of the Y.C.L.

(8) To resolve that secretaries of district committees and assistant directors for political work of machine-tractor stations are confirmed by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and cannot be relieved of their duties without the consent of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U., while district committee instructors are confirmed by provincial and regional committees and central committees of national Communist Parties.

(9) To convert the newspapers of the political departments of the machine-tractor stations in the newly organised districts into organs of the district committees, and in existing districts, depending on the condition of the district newspaper, either to merge them with existing district newspapers or to allow the newspapers to remain as organs of the more powerful machine-tractor stations.

(10) To instruct the Politbureau of the C.C. to complete the carrying of this decision into effect concretely for each region and republic individually by March 1, and in the southern districts of the U.S.S.R. by February 1, 1935.

(11) To make it the duty of regional committees and of the central committees of the national Communist Parties to submit to the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. by January 1 to 15 their concrete proposals for the organisation of new districts and utilisation of the workers of the political departments, and to submit to the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. for confirmation the names of all secretaries of district committees of the Parties of both existing and newly organised district committees, as well as of the assistant directors for political work of the machine-tractor stations.

(12) In the state farms of all types the system of political departments is to be left intact.

The Plenum of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. emphasises that the reform of the political departments strengthens the responsibility of the district and regional committees and of the central committees of the national Communist Parties for the successful solution of the task of the further consolidation of the collective farms and of the fulfilment of the Party slogan—to make the collective farms Bolshevik and the collective farmers well-to-do.

The Party organisations must bear in mind that the directives of the Plenum of the Central Committee in January, 1933, during the organisation of political departments still remain in full force, namely, that "the struggle for the further progress of agriculture and the completion of its socialist reorganisation represents at the present time an extremely important task of the Party."

Despite the tremendous growth and consolidation of the economic power of the collective farms, despite the increasing activity on the part of the collective farmers, the collective farms still have many defects in their work, and the underhand, wrecking work of the kulak elements who have wormed themselves into some collective farms has not yet been finally broken.

In particular the experience of this year's grain purchases has shown that the large harvesting losses, the delays in reaping, threshing and grain delivery in a number of districts of some provinces and regions, coupled with the poor organisation of work and inefficient use of tractors, threshing machines and especially combines, have been due to the fact that the hostile class elements are still displaying their activity owing to the political shortsightedness and negligence of the village Communists and even of certain workers of the districts and political departments.

The district, provincial and regional committees and the central committees of the national Communist Parties are obliged to utilise the winter period for the further consolidation of the collective farms, for welding together a body of active non-party collective farmers, improving the work of the managements and heads of the collective farms, raising the role and importance of the general meetings of collective farmers, rallying them around the Party and further strengthening the basic Party organisations in the village.

The plenum of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. expresses confidence that the workers of the political departments, who in their overwhelming majority have proved themselves in the best manner as truly Bolshevik Party organisers, will prove, under the new conditions of work in the district committees and in the capacity of assistant directors of the machine-tractor stations for political work, equally worthy of the great tasks imposed upon them by the Party.

## In Memory of Sergei Kirov

Comrade **Lozovsky**, General Secretary of the R.I.L.U., delivered the following speech at the meeting of the Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions on December 2:—

"We meet here in order to give vent to our feelings and thoughts, together with the whole of our great country, and to express our sorrow and wrath caused by the great loss sustained by the working class and all toilers in the person of the slain Comrade **Kirov**.

"Comrade **Kirov** was in the headquarters of our great fighting Party, he belonged to the few Bolsheviks who for many years led our vast country from one victory to another, under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin. He was the leader of the masses in the best sense of this word, he identified himself with the labour movement in the fire of battles, he passed a stern school in the course of long decades and as a member of the leadership of our great Party led the working masses of Leningrad towards the realisation of the great tasks set by the Communist Party.

"The enemy knew that **Kirov** was a member of the Political Bureau, that he was the Secretary of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U.(b) and one of those staunch Bolsheviks who for many long years were carrying through with greatest energy, stubbornness and enthusiasm the message of the builder and organiser of our Party, **Lenin**.

"But the assassination of Comrade **Kirov** does not testify to the strength of the smashed counter-revolutionary classes; this event shows that the class enemy, smashed in open struggle and in all its political, economic and organisational centres, sends its agents in order to snatch from our ranks some leader of the invincible Bolshevik Party. This heavy blow dealt at our Party, far from testifying to the strength of the counter-revolution, shows that the latter is powerless and cannot act openly, but can only send individual persons, from the deepest underground, who are undoubtedly bought over with foreign gold and who endeavour to injure our Party and socialist construction.

"Our whole great country mourns to-day over the grave of the prematurely perished Comrade **Kirov**. Only a few days ago I saw Comrade **Kirov** at the Plenum of the C.C.; he was buoyant and gay, as usual, and brimful of life and creative powers. A few days ago we were sitting side by side at the Plenum of the C.C. and settling tremendously important tasks of the great socialist construction. To-day **Kirov** is no more. He was snatched from our ranks by the hand of a bought-over murderer."

"They may kill individual Bolsheviks, but nobody will ever succeed in disorganising the Bolshevik ranks. They may take the life of some Communist or some leader, but nobody will ever succeed in stopping the progress of the great class, in stopping the growth of our offensive on the vestiges of the capitalist elements, in stopping the growth of the creative powers of the masses, in stopping the fervent activity developing throughout our vast country.

"The realisation of all the slogans and directives issued by the Central Committee of our Party will be the best answer to the assassination of dear Comrade **Kirov**, to this heavy blow. Increased vigilance, increased solidarity and the carrying out of the advice given by the heroes of the Soviet Union, i.e., more attention, more care for the leaders of the great and fighting C.P.S.U. (b), around whom we should rally, will be the best answer to the hideous crime."

After Comrade **Lozovsky** some foreign comrades took the floor.

"**Kirov** was loved not only by the toilers of the land of the Soviets. His name, the name of the best friend and comrade-in-arms of the great Stalin, is known all over the world. His death will be terrible news to all those who struggle under the banners of revolution against the capitalist system and for a bright and cheerful life which is possible only in the worker-peasant state. The courageous heart will be smitten, of the Asturias miner, whose rifle has not yet got cold; the German worker will fiercely clench his fists; the workers of Vienna and Linz, of Paris and San Francisco; the Chinese Red Army men and the textile workers of Bombay will alike bend their heads in great sorrow and will engage in the struggle for **Kirov's** cause with similar wrath and determination."

Comrade Mike (an American) speaks from the platform, in great agitation:—

"The international proletariat will undoubtedly demand that

all efforts be strained to find the whereabouts of this gang which sent the murderer, to ascertain all their connections, to expose and punish them most ruthlessly. The international proletariat, together with the working class and toiling masses of the Soviet Union, which is deeply deploring this great loss, will say that although **Kirov** perished his cause lives. They will repeat what the toilers of the world said after the death of Comrade **Lenin**. The proletariat and toiling masses which marched ahead stubbornly and achieved tremendous successes under the leadership of the Leninist Party, when they remained without **Lenin**, will be compelled by this great loss now, Soviet workers and the workers of the world alike, to double their energy in order to accomplish our tasks and our ultimate goal, the World October."

The Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions adopted the following address to the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. (b):—

"Millions of workers of all lands, united by the Red International of Labour Unions, lower their fighting banners before the coffin of Comrade **Kirov**.

"His bright image of a fighter who knew no obstacles and difficulties in the battles for the victory of the working class; his tireless and excellent work of Bolshevik unification and international education of the workers and toilers; his fearlessness, his staunchness, his fiery Bolshevik heart and stormy revolutionary speeches are an agitating and inspiring instance to the fighters for the rallying of the workers and toilers of the world to the storming of capitalism. The memory of Comrade **Kirov** will burn in our hearts and call us to the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, and Communism the world over, for tireless vigilance over the vile intrigues of the brutalised enemies of the working class, for defence of **Kirov's** motherland, the socialist homeland of the workers of the world.

Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions.

## The Week in the Soviet Union

### The Soviet Elections in Moscow

The elections to the town and district Soviet in Moscow were carried out with great enthusiasm and brilliant organisation. The elections took place on December 10 in more than 30 big factories of the capital. All workers took part in the election meetings of the big factories. The activity of the town and district Soviets were discussed in an expert manner, and the instructions given by the voters to the newly elected deputies express the determination of the proletarians of the capital to continue with still greater energy and self-sacrifice the work of the construction of the classless society and the transformation of the Soviet Union into the richest country in the world, and red Moscow the model socialist town. Comrades **Molotov**, **Kaganovitch**, **Shdanov**, and **Bulganin**, the chairman of the Moscow Soviet, delivered speeches in the largest factories.

The workers of the Moscow factories elected the best shock brigadier of the Soviet Union, Comrade **Stalin**, as first deputy of the Moscow Soviet. Comrade **Molotov** was elected as deputy by the workers of the engineering works **Krassny Proletary**. The workers of the Sickle and Hammer factory elected Comrades **Kaganovitch**, **Kalinin**, and **Maxim Gorki**. Among the deputies elected by the "Stalin" auto-car works is **Heinz Roscher**, former leader of the Floridsdorf (Vienna) *Schutzbundler*s. In the ball-bearing factory, in which workers of 37 nations are employed, **Robert Robinson**, a Negro shock-brigadier, was elected. Many factories elected **Dimitrov** and **Thaelmann** as honorary members of the Moscow Soviet.

The election meeting of the workers of the **Stalino** railway workshop showed the lowest percentage of participation in the election, i.e., 97 per cent. In most of the factories the workers attended the election meetings 100 per cent; 190 voters made suggestions at the meeting of the "Stalin" motor car works; 80 voters in the meeting of the ball-bearing factory.

In the evening after the elections magnificent demonstrations of the toilers took place. Until late at night, the columns of demonstrators, headed by the elected best shock-brigadiers of the factories marched to the Liberty Square in front of the building of the Moscow Soviet. The members of the presidium of the Moscow Soviet were greeted by the demonstrators with the cry: "Long live Comrade Stalin, the great leader of the toilers of the whole world! Long live the Soviets, the pacemakers of the Lenin-

ist policy, the organisers of socialist construction and of the defence of the Soviet Union!" The members of the presidium greeted the demonstrators with the words: "Long live the best shock-brigaders of production, the new Soviet deputies!"

On December 13 the elections to the Leningrad Soviet will commence. Leningrad, the impregnable fortress, sublime in its daily work and joy, threatening in its resentment, prepares the elections in memory of the assassinated leader and friend Kirov.

The following is a report of the election results in Moscow: 95.4 per cent. of the electors took part in the elections this year. This percentage far surpasses that of the year 1931; 485 persons were elected to the Moscow Soviet. Among the elected are 269 Party members and candidates, among them being 108 women, 42 Young Communists, and 147 non-Party. The new Moscow Soviet comprises members of 14 nationalities: Russians, Ukrainians, Georgians, White Russians, Armenians, Lats, Jews, Esthonians, Tartars, Poles, Germans, Lithuanians, a Negro, and a Lesgine; 355 persons were elected to the Soviet for the first time. Of the elected, 388 are workers, 50 employees, the remainder Red Army men, students, housewives, home workers. During the five days of the elections about 600 election meetings were held and more than 800,000 persons took part in the elections.

#### Annual Plans Fulfilled Before End of the Year

Every day more factories are completing their annual production plans before the stipulated time. The industrial factories of three Moscow districts—Samoskovretzki, Sokolniki, and Dzerzhinski—have completed their plans before the stipulated time. Many factories, among them Stankolit and Electrosavod, have exceeded their plans.

The chemical industry fulfilled the annual plan 101.8 per cent. already on December 1. The Max-Hoelz works in Leningrad completely fulfilled the production programme of 1934; the value of its production has increased by six million roubles as compared with last year. The smelting works "Dzerzhinski" fulfilled the annual plan and promised to supply another 80,000 tons of pig iron, 55,000 tons of steel, and 40,000 tons of rolled iron by the end of the year. The following works fulfilled their annual plans before time: the works for the manufacture of delicate instruments in Slatoust, the Stalingrad smelting works, the Leningrad works "Krassny Treugolnik," and many others. In the Donetz Basin the annual plan for coal output was fulfilled in 68 pits before time.

#### Drop in Infantile Mortality

The Hygienic Department of the Moscow Maternity and Child Protection Institute instituted an inquiry regarding the number of births and the number of child deaths in the Moscow workers' families. The conditions of 5,900 workers' families of various Moscow districts were investigated. These investigations showed that in the Leninskaya Sloboda district up to the year 1915 the number of deaths of children was 20.5 to every 100 births. In 1924 this figure had dropped to 16.1 per cent., in 1929 to 10.8 per cent., and in 1932 to 9.2 per cent. Thanks to the excellent crèches, which not only take care of, feed and educate the working-class children, but also carry on cultural work among the mothers, give advice and provide a special diet for the children, infantile mortality has been greatly reduced.

No less interesting are the results of the investigation regarding the figures relating to births in the workers' families. As long as these families lived in the old ramshackle houses the number of births was 23.4 per 1,000 persons. After the removal of the workers' families into the new flats the birth rate increased to 28.4 per 1,000. In regard to the increase of the population, the Soviet Union occupies first place in the world with an annual increase of three million. The "Pravda" points to the low birth-rate figures in the capitalist countries, and states that Germany is threatened with a "depopulation tragedy." On the other hand,

the birth rate is very high among the Germans living in the Soviet Union. It amounts to 34.4 per 1,000 in the Volga German Republic.

#### Meeting of Leningrad Party Committee—Schdanov Succeeds Kirov

The Leningrad District and City Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has just held its sessions.

Chudov's speech, opening the conference, was devoted to Kirov. Prolonged applause followed the announcement of the decision of the Plenum to elect the tried and tested Bolshevik and fellow-fighter of Stalin, Schdanov, as first secretary. Schdanov gave the report on the results of the November Plenum. The speakers taking part in the discussion showed that the Leningrad proletariat view the decisions of the Plenum with regard to the abolition of the rationing of bread and other products and to the reorganisation of the Political Departments of the Machine and Tractor Stations, as the results of the consolidation of the socialist order of the Soviet Union and of the political and economic advance of the collective and Soviet farms. The resolution adopted after Schdanov's report expressed the full approval of the activist body of the Leningrad Party organisation of the decisions of the Plenum. The meeting sent a telegram of greeting to Stalin.

Schdanov, elected to the position of First Secretary of the Leningrad organisation, was born in 1896, and has been an active revolutionist since 1912. In 1915 he joined the Party and carried on Bolshevik propaganda among the troops during the war. After the October Revolution, Schdanov took up military-political work and Soviet work in the Ural. Since the Fourteenth Party Congress he has held a leading function in the Gorki district, and was deputy member of the Central Committee. Since the Sixteenth Party Congress he has been a member of the Central Committee, since the Seventeenth Congress Secretary. Schdanov has been elected repeatedly as member of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, and is a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union.

#### In Memory of Kirov

In accordance with the wishes of the workers of Moscow and of the cultural and Party organisations, the Moscow Soviet, the Moscow District Executive Committee, the Soviets of the Moscow District, and the District Committee of the Communist Party, have resolved to rename the Sameskvoretzk District the Kirov District, and to give the name of "Kirov" to the Dynamo Works.

In Leningrad similar proposals have been made at the meetings of the working men and women, collective farmers, scientists, engineers, technicians, writers, painters, teachers, and physicians. The memory of Kirov is to be kept green. The Joint Plenum of the Leningrad District and of the Town Committee of the Communist Party has resolved to rename the Narvski District the Kirov District, and to give the name of "Kirov Works" to the "Krassny Putilovetz"; the Krestovski, Yelagin, and Kameni Islands are to be renamed the Kirov Islands, and model rest homes for the workers are to be established on the islands, with a new central Culture Park also to bear the name of Kirov. It has been further decided that the town of Chibinogorsk is to be called Kirovsk in future. A Kirov monument will be erected in Leningrad in 1935, and the complete speeches and articles of Kirov will be published.

#### Dwelling House Building in the Donetz Basin

During the first 11 months of this year the families of 9,000 workers and specialists were able to move into new houses in the Donetz coalfield; 7,500 homes were provided with a total dwelling space of 259,000 square metres. Besides this 900 houses were built by individual persons for their own use. Ninety-five million roubles were expended for dwelling house building in the Donetz Basin in 1934.

Published weekly. Single copies, 2d. Subscription rates: Great Britain and Dominions, 12s. per year; U.S.A. and Canada, five dollars per year. Remittance in STERLING per International Money Order, Postal Order or Sight Draft on London.