

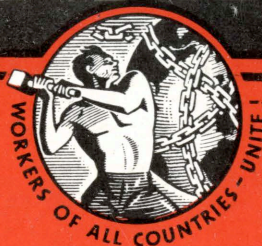
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No. 10



THE CONSPIRACY OF MUNICH

And Articles About

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The Conspiracy of Munich

CZECHOSLOVAKIA, the last bastion of democracy in Central Europe, has fallen a victim to an unprecedented conspiracy directed by Hitler and Chamberlain against the freedom and the peace of the nations. The French government has connived at this conspiracy and committed an act of treachery unparalleled in history towards the most faithful ally of France. The parties to the Munich Conference have decided behind the backs and against the wishes of the nations to dismember the Czechoslovakian republic and establish the hegemony of German fascism in Central Europe. Chamberlain and Daladier have stooped to act as henchmen to fascism and have undertaken the dishonorable task of forcing the Czechoslovakian government to accept the dictate of Hitler. By this policy they have opposed to the desire of the nations for freedom, to the principle of collective security, and to the fundamental tenets of international law, the naked dictate: "Resistance to the fascist robbers is forbidden."

This policy of dishonorable surrender to, and criminal complicity with, the fascist gangsters was smuggled through under cover of a struggle for peace. With perfidious cunning a tremendous deception was practiced on the peace-loving nations. German fascism had reached a deadlock. Its blackmailing sabre-rattling was doomed to collapse as soon as it was faced with a peace front including all great democratic powers. Nothing could have been easier than to establish such a peace front and force the fascist warmongers to their knees. But it was precisely such a capitulation of the Hitler government which the British and French reactionaries wanted to prevent at all costs. To them Hitler

is the gendarme *protecting them from the democratic struggle of the peoples for liberty, from the working class and from the Soviet Union.* They would much rather sacrifice the interests of all nations than do without their policeman. In order to conceal from the people this real reason for their understanding with German fascism they deliberately induced a war-panic and increased it to boiling point. In London as in Paris and all other European countries they created the impression that war is inevitable unless the demands of Hitler are conceded. They ordered partial mobilizations, partly in order to stimulate their willingness to fight, and partly in order to frighten the masses of the people. They represented the capitulation of Munich—long-planned and long agreed upon—as the last possibility of "saving peace," and then returned home masquerading as the "saviors of peace."

But what they saved was not peace but German fascism, the most terrible enemy of peace. And not only did they save German fascism from destruction, they also set it up as master of Central Europe, and by so doing have now provided it with a basis which will enable it to prepare effectively for a world war.

They have delivered up to the tender mercies of the fascist gangsters the small nations of Europe and have undermined the position of France as a first-class power.

By all this they have put the mortal enemy of the French and English people in a position to continue and strengthen its crusade against European democracy and to attempt to subject all Europe to his dictates.

Instead of saving peace they have

now in very earnest conjured up the now almost inevitable menace of a lengthy world war, costing incalculable losses and demanding unprecedented sacrifices.

II

In its struggle for world domination German fascism uses the same methods it formerly used in its struggle for power within Germany. The reactionary section of the big bourgeoisie, *i.e.*, the same forces which helped fascism to power in Germany, are now advancing the cause of fascism in Europe. And fascism owes its successes in Europe to the same weaknesses of the democratic counter-forces to which it owed its successes in Germany.

A conspiracy of the most reactionary section of the bourgeoisie, of the big manufacturers and big landowners, placed power into the hands of the Nazi Party in Germany. In 1932 the Nazi Party found itself in a blind alley. Its ranks were torn by an internal crisis. It lost supporters and members, it broke up into fractions, it was beginning to disintegrate. At this moment the reactionary backers of fascism, the masters of the key industries and the big landowners, decided to emerge from their concealment and put power into the hands of their proteges.

The same process is now being repeated in the field of international politics. The most reactionary sections of the British bourgeoisie and their French accomplices, who up to now had supported German fascism in a more or less concealed form, have now emerged from their concealment in consideration of the difficult position into which Hitler Germany had got itself, and have openly put the sceptre of domination over Central Europe into the hands of their protege.

The conspiracy of the most reactionary section of the bourgeoisie, with whose assistance the Nazi Party bent the German people to its will, could be successful only because important sections of the people allowed themselves to be taken in by the snare of the fascist

deceivers. The fascists made democracy responsible for the misery and poverty imposed by capitalism on the people. They maintained that the tearing up of the peace treaties would do away with the sufferings of the people. They appealed to the anti-capitalist feeling of the masses in order to achieve with their assistance the strengthening of the capitalist system. Finally they set the Reichstag on fire in order that this monstrous provocation might create a panic and mislead wide sections of the people.

All this is now being repeated again with very slight alterations in the international propaganda of German fascism. The fascists pretend that democracy and the peace treaties are responsible for the unrest existing in Europe. They appeal to the desire of the people for peace and declare that peace is threatened by the victims of aggression because they resist. By their monstrous provocations they confuse and frighten the nations and then, following the method used on the occasion of the Reichstag fire, they make out that the victims are the culprits. They spread the idea that in every situation there is one way of saving peace and that is the voluntary and unconditional surrender of the victims of aggression to their aggressors. It is just as if a gang of burglars were to say to the householders of their city: "It is in your hands to put an end to all burglaries by giving up all your valuables to us unconditionally and of your own free will."

Fascism could establish its rule over Germany because the democratic forces retreated before it step by step, because they attempted in a way, almost amounting to suicide, to bribe the fascists by concessions. It was cowardly and short-sighted democrats who prepared the way for fascism by the self-mutilation of democracy, by the progressive curtailment of the democratic rights and liberties of the people, and by their unwillingness to offer determined resistance. In their fear of the forces of the people, the parties of German democracy launched the slogan "Against Fascism

and Communism" and by so doing they split the anti-fascist front, prevented the union of the anti-fascist masses, and furthered the unbridled campaign of the fascists against "Bolshevism," which served the former as a smokescreen concealing their struggle against democracy. This split in the anti-fascist front, the split in the working class, was the decisive cause of the terrible defeat of democracy. The leaders of the Social-Democrats and of the trade unions hoped until the last minute that by their struggle against the Communists they would find grace in the eyes of the bourgeoisie, and would thus be able to save their party and organization from destruction. By their policy of concessions and by their frustration of the anti-fascist united front they have brought about their own downfall.

Is the same thing to happen now on an international scale? Once again the democratic forces are attempting to propitiate German fascism by concessions. Again they are afraid of the forces of the people and they recoil in horror from the idea of supporting the Spanish people in their struggle. Again they participate in a drive against the Communists, again they are preventing the union of the great masses of the people, again they tremble at the idea that the mighty popular movement could sweep away the reactionary governments and in place of the shallow intrigue of parliamentary arithmetic put a healthy, fruitful, militant democracy of the people's front.

Once again such leaders of the Second International as Citrine and Blum, oppose the unity of the working class, offer their services to Chamberlain and Daladier and advocate surrender to Hitler in preference to establishing the international unity of action of the working class and joint action with the Soviet Union in the struggle for peace and democracy. Instead of making a resolute stand in opposing the Hitler-Chamberlain plot against the peace and freedom of the nations, they now praise Chamberlain as the "savior of peace"

and pretend to accept the hypocritical assurances of Hitler at their face value.

The present declaration of Hitler that he now has no further territorial aspirations in Europe is being accepted by the spokesmen of European democracy in apparent good faith. They seem to have forgotten that on February 1, 1934, Hitler protested: "The allegations imputing to Germany the intention of violating the frontiers of the Austrian state are senseless and completely lacking in foundation," or have they forgotten already that on March 21, 1938, Hitler protested in the German Reichstag that "Germany had neither the intention nor the desire to interfere with the domestic policy of Austria and even less to annex that country"?

Have they forgotten that on July 11, 1936, Hitler solemnly guaranteed the independence of Austria and that he reconfirmed this fact on February 20, 1938? And, finally, have they forgotten the exact words of Hitler after the reoccupation of the Rhineland by German troops on March 7: "Germany has no further territorial demands of any kind in Europe"? Each of these declarations was followed by a sigh of relief on the part of European democracy—and by a shameless breach of solemnly assumed obligations. *Hitler has never kept his word. He will keep it as little tomorrow as he did yesterday.* He laughs to scorn the fools who make desperate efforts to flout experience and try to transform a fire-raiser into an extinguisher, a confidence trickster into a gentleman and a warmonger into a savior of peace.

Fascist success has as it obverse the wilful blindness of democracy. There was no lack of precise predictions as to the intentions of the fascist aggressors. But each time these unimpeachable democrats described these warnings as exaggerated, and every time the predictions came true they consoled themselves by saying that "things were not so bad after all" that "facts have to be taken into account" and that now at last we can all "sleep and work in peace again" as Leon Blum so delicately put it. To

sleep in peace—that is the essence of this suicidal “democratic” policy.

The Communist International can rightly claim that it spared no effort to wake the sleepers, that it persistently predicted fascist aggressions and proposed again and again the only means to prevent them. We do not want to enumerate all the warnings, appeals and manifestoes of the Communist International, we only want to refer to what the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International said three years ago. The resolution of the Seventh World Congress on the report given by Comrade Ercoli contains this passage:

“The adventurist plans of the German fascists are very far-reaching and count on a war of revenge against France, dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, annexation of Austria, destruction of the independence of the Baltic states. . . .

“The dominant circles of the *British bourgeoisie* support the German armaments in order to weaken the hegemony of France on the European continent, to turn the spearhead of German armaments from the West to the East and to direct Germany’s aggressiveness against the Soviet Union. By this policy Great Britain is striving to set up a counterbalance to the United States on a worldwide scale and, simultaneously, to strengthen the anti-Soviet tendencies not only of Germany but also of Japan and Poland. This policy of British imperialism is one of the factors accelerating the outbreak of a world imperialist war.”*

And Comrade Gottwald, leader of the Czech Communist Party, said in his congress speech:

“German imperialism is threatening a number of countries. Among those most immediately within firing range is Czechoslovakia. The Czechoslovakian people are threatened with the loss of their national independence. The German, Slovakian, Hungarian, Ukrainian and Polish peoples in Czechoslovakia are in danger of coming under the heel of

German, Hungarian and Polish fascism.”*

These warnings were not expressed only once, they were repeated untiringly. If we refer to them here we do so not in order to point out that we have been right but in order to show that events of this year held no surprise, that it was possible to foresee them as early as 1935, and it would have been possible to prevent them by energetic and timely resistance. Fascism could carry out these far-reaching, and by no means yet completed, plans only because the leading democratic and Social-Democratic groups closed their eyes in order to escape the obligation of uniting all anti-fascist forces for the struggle against this imminent danger.

The fascist robbers could conquer Ethiopia, invade Spain and China, annex Austria and dismember Czechoslovakia, not because they were so strong but only because the democratic forces are irresolute, disunited and misled and because up to the present they have not succeeded in uniting their forces.

III

On May 21 Hitler ordered his army to march into Czechoslovakia. At the last moment he was compelled to cancel this order. The resistance of the Czechoslovak people compelled the French government to take rapid action and to declare that it would fulfil the pact. That the Soviet Union honors its treaties is well known to every nation and to every government. Faced with this serious situation the British government could not but warn its German protegee that an aggression at that time would lead to an unfortunate result for the aggressor. Hitler found himself face to face with the greatly superior forces of the peace front and had to effect a hasty retreat. A war against France, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union is well

* *Resolutions of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International*, p. 41, Workers Library Publishers, New York.

* K. Gottwald, *The United Front in Czechoslovakia*, pp. 7-8, Workers Library Publishers, New York.

beyond the possibilities of Germany. German fascism had advanced too far and had to accept this political defeat with as good grace as it could muster.

Hitler understood that without a precise understanding with Chamberlain he would be unable to carry out his plans of pillage. Only if Chamberlain led him by the hand would he be able to achieve his aims in Central Europe. The British imperialists had explained this to him in no uncertain terms. On the other hand the British imperialists wanted to prevent at all costs the recurrence of a situation in which Britain unexpectedly might find herself aligned with the Soviet Union in a peace front. The nations would not be allowed to understand that such an enormously superior peace front would be in a position at any time to call a halt to German fascism and compel it to keep the peace. Hitler's second attack on Czechoslovakia was carefully prepared in advance by the most reactionary section of the British bourgeoisie. Chamberlain then grasped the reins in order to lead his protegee out of a blind alley onto the broad road to success.

British diplomacy rode into action. The French government was reduced to refraining from all independent political moves and to trail obediently along in the wake of British imperialism. Chamberlain sent his Lord Runciman to Czechoslovakia, ostensibly as advisor and observer, but in reality in order to put pressure on the government, to conspire with the reactionary landowners, and to put fresh courage into the Henlein party. Leading lights of the Henlein Party were quite ready to accept a solution of the Sudeten German problem within the framework of the Czechoslovakian state. On his own admission Runciman advised them to be satisfied with nothing less than the cession of the Sudeten territory to Nazi Germany. The negotiations between the Henlein Party and the Czechoslovakian government were postponed again and again under the flimsiest of pretexts until Hitler had finished mobilizing an army of two

million men and had sent them on maneuvers on the Czechoslovakian frontier.

At this point *The Times*, on the instructions of Chamberlain, for the first time publicly brought out the necessity of ceding the Sudeten territory to Nazi Germany in order to "pacify" Europe. The next step was that Henlein demanded a plebiscite and provoked the "incident" in Moravska Ostrava which supplied the Sudeten German negotiators with a pretext for breaking off negotiations with the government.

At the same time preparations for a Henlein putsch got under way and propaganda spread to the effect that Hitler in Nuremberg would make a decisive statement on war and peace. Thus the British imperialists succeeded in persuading world public opinion that the Sudeten question was not an internal affair of the sovereign republic of Czechoslovakia but a problem of the European great powers.

Hitler in Nuremberg gave the signal for a putsch in the Sudeten area. The putsch was a miserable failure. Those who rose in arms were not the masses of the people but merely a handful of mercenaries. The government very quickly succeeded in restoring order and Henlein hurriedly fled abroad. Thus neither the Spanish nor the Austrian variant proved practical for Hitler in Czechoslovakia. Again it was Chamberlain who came to the rescue. He began systematically to bring about a war panic throughout Europe, creating the impression that Hitler was determined to march against the united forces of France, Britain and the Soviet Union and the Little Entente. He pretended to take seriously the blackmailing threats of the German saber-rattler and behaved as if war had become as good as inevitable.

Finally, he got into an airplane and flew to Berchtesgaden as an angel of peace. The further procedure to be followed was then discussed in Hitler's villa. Chamberlain returned to London, declared to his deeply-moved contemporaries that he was very tired—and the next day hurled upon the world the

Hitler Memorandum demanding the cession of the Sudeten territory as the only and infallible recipe for the preservation of peace. The German imperialists and their French lackeys then held up the Czechoslovakian government at the pistol point and demanded the immediate acceptance of the ultimatum, or else Hitler would invade Czechoslovakia and France and England would give Czechoslovakia no support. The Czechoslovakian government, in which the reactionary landowners who had long been conspiring with the German fascists were preponderant, yielded to this blackmail.

But now something happened which cut across the Chamberlain scheme. In flaming indignation the Czechoslovakian masses rose and swept away the government. A new government was formed under the premiership of General Sirovy, with the mandate to defend Czechoslovakia. The democratic popular movement in Czechoslovakia roused a mighty echo among the masses of the people of France and Britain. The people began to take the field against their treacherous governments. The Soviet Union openly and impressively declared that it would fulfil its treaty obligations. Yugoslavia and Rumania declared that they were prepared to support Czechoslovakia. Poland was warned by a note of the Soviet Union. The President of the United States in his message indicated that any nation resorting to war would forfeit the sympathy of the U.S.

The situation was rapidly changed and Chamberlain understood that the quickest and most cunning action was required if the formation of an overwhelmingly strong peace front was to be prevented and German fascism helped out of this new difficulty. The maneuver was carried out with perfidious cunning. Hitler declared that his old demands were superseded by events. Czechoslovakia would have to disappear from the map. Mussolini jumped to his support, ordered Hungary and Poland to stake their claims, and spoke of war whose object it would be to create a new Europe. Chamberlain flew to see Hitler

a second time. The Godesberg interview was stage-managed for dramatic effects and described as more or less barren in results. The British imperialist team then increased the war panic to the utmost limit. Partial mobilization was ordered in Britain and France and gas masks distributed. By means, the farcical character of which was evident, but which frightened the excited population, the "evacuation" of London and Paris was ostensibly prepared. The population was persuaded that war was inevitable and only a miracle could save peace. Then such a "miracle" was stage-managed: Mussolini, Chamberlain and Daladier flew to Munich and publicly decided there what had long ago been decided in private: to dismember Czechoslovakia. The satisfaction of all the claims of German fascism was presented to the people as the salvation of peace.

In the first reaction after the artificially-induced war panic many people allowed themselves to be persuaded that peace had really been saved, and that the sacrificing of Czechoslovakia and the opening up of Central Europe to the advance of German imperialism had been the only means of doing so. But very soon these same people will begin to rub their eyes in amazement and recognize the monstrous deceit practiced on them.

On May 21 Hitler's army was already on the march but he hurriedly retreated when he found himself face to face with the great western powers, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia. This last minute retreat had a very simple reason which still holds good. Hitler Germany is quite unable to wage a war against a peace front of overwhelming superiority and if he ventured on such a war against all reason, against the will of the German people and against advice of the German General Staff, the complete collapse of German fascism would very soon be an accomplished fact. This position in September was no different from that in May; on the contrary the intervention of the United States in September strengthened still further the superiority of such a peace front. Hitler was ac-

cordingly very careful indeed to avoid any acts of war which might have led to a situation similar to that on May 21; he did not go beyond blackmailing threats. Just as he never could have gained control of Germany by a putsch but got it solely through the cooperation of the reactionary bourgeoisie he could never have gained control of Central Europe by a war but only through the cooperation of the British imperialists and their French accomplices.

Peace would have been saved on the day the French and British governments had unambiguously stated that France and Britain were determined to defend Czechoslovakia in common with the Soviet Union and that the first military attack on the part of Hitler Germany would spell the doom of fascism in Germany. But Chamberlain and Daladier very carefully avoided saying anything of the sort and, instead of exercising pressure on Hitler Germany, reserved all their pressure for Czechoslovakia.

A clear and firm attitude on the part of France and Britain against the German aggressor would have encouraged all small European states to join the powerful peace front; that was obvious from the attitude taken up by Yugoslavia and Rumania after the declaration of the Soviet Union.

A clear and firm attitude on the part of France and Britain would have had an effect upon Poland and Hungary and might, at least in Poland, where the government was tottering, have caused a political about-face.

In the face of such an attitude on the part of France and Britain Germany would have remained isolated. The German opposition to Hitler at home which was never more widespread than in recent weeks would have rapidly developed into a serious factor for peace in Europe. Fascism would not have struggled out of this blind alley.

But it was precisely this extraordinary possibility of stifling fascism by a compulsory peace forced on it and of freeing the world from the nightmare of fascism which prompted Chamberlain

and his accomplices to come out openly in support of Hitler Germany.

Thus the Munich conspiracy and the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia had for their purpose not the saving of peace but the saving of the fascist policeman acting for British imperialism, the strengthening of fascism and the stifling of the democratic popular movement which was spreading from Czechoslovakia over all Europe.

IV

Fascism will certainly exploit to the utmost its new victories in Central Europe. The small states are menaced by the fate of Czechoslovakia. The independence of the Balkan nations, of Switzerland and Holland, Belgium and Denmark is in danger. In all countries possessing German minorities the German fascists will strengthen the organization of their Fifth Columns, including France and Poland. Furthermore, Hitler has already given to understand that the demand for colonies will soon be brought up again.

The method of the British imperialists to fatten German fascism at the expense of other peoples still offers many possibilities. There are small states with colonial possessions, like Holland, Belgium, Portugal—why should not Chamberlain one fine day order them to give up their colonies to Germany in order to “save peace”? And why should British imperialism stop at forcing France to make territorial concessions in order to “save peace”? France must already foot a great part of the bill. Her system of alliances in Europe has been destroyed, the confidence of the nations in her mission has been shaken, the Daladier government has reduced France to the role of a vassal of British imperialism. *The French people is one of the chief losers by the Munich conspiracy.*

The next victim singled out by the four men of Munich is the Spanish Republic. The “saviors of peace” have already begun to discuss the best way of throttling the Spanish people. Daladier is

obviously eager to put the noose around the neck of France as quickly as possible and to see to it that after the betrayal of the Czechoslovak ally Hitler and Mussolini may build up their military positions against France on the Pyrenean frontier as well.

However, there is one hitch in the matter: the Spanish people and its heroic army have been successfully resisting the fascist aggressors for the past two years and have no intention of surrendering to any dictate of Chamberlain. They know that Chamberlain is their enemy, they harbor no illusions about Daladier and it is not news to them that the so-called democratic governments of France and Britain betray the cause of the peoples and that the Spanish people can count only on the assistance of the broad masses.

In view of the obvious efforts made by the imperialist "saviors of peace" to establish the hegemony of Italo-German fascism in Europe, the very instinct of self-preservation prompts the nations to give the utmost support to the struggle of the Spanish people. The workers of all countries and above all the French workers must understand that it is *their* freedom and *their* future which are now being defended by the Spanish people and that the Spanish People's Army is an advance guard protecting Europe from the invasion of the barbarians. The fate of the Czechoslovakian workers and peasants fleeing in thousands before the bayonets of the German and Polish army of occupation, leaving their homes, their cattle and their belongings in the hands of the robbers, should warn the workers of all countries of the fate which threatens them if they yield to the fascist butchers. This terrible example should teach them that the Spanish People's Army is defending not only Spain but the women and children of the people, the houses and land of the peasants, the life and the belongings of the workers of all countries. The most immediate, far-reaching and united assistance for Spain should be the first

answer given by the people of all countries to the robbers of Munich.

The British imperialists do not want a democratic understanding between the peoples of Europe. They are resolved to prevent at all costs the true pacification of Europe. They want a disrupted Europe, torn by the dangers of war, not a Europe living in peace and in friendship with the Soviet Union. The British imperialists have paralyzed the League of Nations. They have substituted a state of general insecurity for the system of collective security. They have substituted brute force for the rule of international law and contrary to the democratic right of self-determination of all nations, they have set up a tribunal of four men sitting behind closed doors and pronouncing death sentences on whole nations. The British imperialists have given the fascist bandits police powers over the whole of Europe and have dubbed the notorious war mongers "saviors of peace."

All war-like complications of recent years have had the same author: fascism. The war against Ethiopia, the war against Spain, the war against China, the ceaseless war tension racking Europe, have all been the work of fascism. Whoever supports fascism, as Chamberlain does, whoever prevents resistance to fascism and helps it to avoid defeat is an enemy of peace and is fanning the flames of war. *There can be no serious defense of peace without a serious struggle against Chamberlain and his accomplices. There can be no true pacification of Europe without a democratic popular government in England.*

Daladier has become an accomplice of Chamberlain, he has betrayed the program of the People's Front, and the interests of the French people. He has involved the French Government in an imperialist conspiracy which seriously endangers the peace and the very existence of France. Only a genuine policy of the People's Front in France can guarantee the peace of Europe and the security of France. Only a People's

Front, which tolerates no betrayal of its program, and no policy directed against the interests of the French people, can save France and Europe from the gravest upheavals.

The bloc of fascism pressing so heavily on Europe must be opposed by a solid anti-fascist bloc, formed by the popular masses of France, Britain and the other European countries. The working population must understand that they have been shamefully deceived and that the Munich conspiracy is directed against the democratic rights and liberties and against the fundamental interests of all nations. Chamberlain and his accomplices want to smash the People's Front in France and prevent the formation of a peace front in England. Their attitude in Munich shows what their conception of bourgeois democracy is: the rule of a small clique of nationalists who autocratically decide the fate of nations. The popular front movement is fighting for a democracy of a different sort and mobilizes the masses of the people against the rule of the reactionary cliques. Messrs. Chamberlain and Daladier want to refuse the people all voice in deciding their own fate and degrade the masses of the people into an unpolitical audience, sitting in front of a drawn curtain, waiting to see the tableau the reactionary stage-managers choose to show them. The last tableau shown was called "saving the peace"; but behind the drawn curtain the Czechoslovakian people are being strangled, and now it is the turn of the Spanish people to be strangled behind a drawn curtain.

The masses of the people, the organizations of the working class and the working population in general must understand the danger threatening them. The pro-fascist policy of the so-called democratic governments cannot remain without consequences in their domestic policy. *A great campaign against the democratic rights and liberties of the people is being prepared.* A new drive against the Soviet Union and against the Communists is about to be-

gin. A campaign is to be launched against the Communist Parties, the most faithful champions of the interests of the people, and the object of this campaign is to split and weaken the forces of the people. Reaction is preparing to apply the Munich recipe against the masses of the people in their own countries. It is urgently necessary that this reactionary conspiracy be countered by consolidating the popular front alliance between workers, peasants and urban middle class, by mobilizing all organizations of the working population and by strengthening the fraternal cooperation of the Communists and Socialists with all sincere democrats and the masses of practicing Christians.

The accomplices of fascism in Britain and France, the betrayers of the interests of the French and British people must no longer be allowed to decide at their pleasure the fate of the peoples. It must be made clear to the millions what sort of people these "angels of peace" are, who readily comply with all demands of the notorious warmongers. The peace which the masses desire from the bottom of their hearts is not the peace of death and destruction, but a peace guaranteeing life and liberty to the peoples. But this peace can only be won by a resolute and united struggle against the onslaught of the fascist barbarians.

In order to defend freedom and preserve peace, in order to erect a strong barrier against the fascist warmongers and their reactionary accomplices, the masses of the people must achieve unity. Such unity can be built only on the foundation of a united front of the working class.

V

The Munich conspiracy, that new "holy alliance" of European reaction, is directed above all against the international working class and against the entire Socialist movement.

Fascism is a cruel and irreconcilable enemy of the working class. Its first action in every country is the destruction

of all organizations of the working class, the bloody persecution of all devoted officers of the working class, and the assassination of the most faithful sons of the working class. The reactionary fellow-conspirators of fascism are so ready to support the fascist bandits, precisely because they see in them the butchers of the proletariat. In order to frustrate this vile conspiracy against the working class it is more than ever necessary to bring about the unity of the working class in every country and internationally.

In this exceedingly grave situation the question must be put candidly and clearly: what is the position of the Labor-Socialist International? What is it doing and what is it intending to do in order to bring about the unity of the working class?

For years past now the Communist Party has been working to heal the split in the working class and to achieve its unity. In these last years it has repeatedly appealed to the Labor and Socialist International and proposed that united action be taken.

In February, 1933, just after the accession of Hitler to power the Communist International invited all Communist Parties to make proposals for united action to the Socialist Parties. But the Labor and Socialist International prevented the cooperation of the working class parties.

In October, 1934, when the Spanish workers rose in arms against the menace of fascism the Communist International appealed directly to the Labor and Socialist International, proposing "immediate joint action in support of the fighting Spanish proletariat." The Labor and Socialist International rejected this proposal.

On April 10, 1935, the Communist International proposed to the Labor and Socialist International to celebrate May Day by joint demonstrations of the Communist and Socialist Parties against fascism and war. The Second International rejected this proposal.

On September 25, 1935, Comrade Di-

mitroff, on behalf of the Communist International, addressed an appeal to the Labor and Socialist International proposing joint action against the imminent attack of Mussolini on Ethiopia. As the Labor and Socialist International postponed its answer and in the meantime the war had broken out, Comrade Dimitroff on October 7, 1935, appealed again to the Executive of the Labor and Socialist International, suggesting that all forces of the working class and of the entire working population be united in order to achieve a cessation of hostilities. The Labor and Socialist International rejected this proposal.

On October 6, 1936, Comrades Cachin and Thorez, representing the Communist International, sent a letter to the Labor and Socialist International asking for a meeting to discuss "immediate joint action of all international working class organizations" in the interests of Spain. The meeting took place on October 14, but the representatives of the Labor and Socialist International rejected all cooperation.

On June 3, 1937, after the shelling of Almeria by the warships of German fascism, the Communist International again appealed to the Labor and Socialist International. The delegates of the two internationals met in Annemasse. The workers built great hopes on this meeting, but the Labor and Socialist International continued to prevent united assistance and the united struggle for the Spanish republic.

Finally, in June of this year Citrine and Mertens in Oslo prevented the affiliation of the Soviet trade unions to the International Federation of Trade Unions. They refused to allow the twenty-three million trade unionists of the Soviet Union to unite with the organized trade unionists of the capitalist countries.

This obstinate rejection of united international working class action is a crime against the working class committed by the reactionary leaders of the Labor and Socialist International. Those who thus sabotage unity are helping fas-

cism to strike blow after blow at the working class, to smash its organizations, trample its rights underfoot and destroy its freedom. If the Labor and Socialist International and its affiliated parties continue to sabotage unity, they will, in the eyes of the international working class, *make themselves in part responsible for all reverses suffered by the working class movement.*

In the difficult days of the struggle for Czechoslovakia, the Communist International, after careful consideration, refrained from making a direct proposal for joint action to the Labor and Socialist International, as a refusal would have merely served to strengthen the hand of the plotters against peace and freedom. This anticipation was unfortunately only too completely confirmed by events. Leading personalities of the Labor and Socialist International took up an attitude which amounted to open support of Chamberlain and Hitler and thus facilitated the betrayal of Czechoslovakia and the deception practiced on the popular masses.

It was above all the reactionary leaders of the British Labor Party and Leon Blum, the leader of the French Socialists, who came out in support of Chamberlain and extolled the accomplice of German fascism as a "savior of peace." It was the same Leon Blum who advocated the shameful policy of non-intervention in Spain. It was the same Leon Blum who wanted Chamberlain to undertake "mediation" in Spain. It was the same Leon Blum who in his daily articles in *Populaire*, the official daily of the French Socialist Party, described the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia as inevitable, and offered the butchers of Munich his congratulations. And when night fell over Central Europe he cried: "Now we can sleep in peace again."

The reactionary leaders of the Labor Party and of the British trade unions have extolled Chamberlain's flight to Munich as a step towards peace. Although they have found it in themselves

to call upon the gagged and bound German workers to fight against Hitler they have deliberately refrained from mobilizing the British workers against Chamberlain. The leaders of the Second International, with very few exceptions, have actually given valuable assistance to German fascism. Some of them had already extolled the occupation of Austria as a "historically necessary" and even "revolutionary" act. They have abandoned Czechoslovakia without so much as a thought of any serious resistance.

It is necessary to speak out openly and ruthlessly in order to make clear to all workers the magnitude of the danger threatening their movement. The cooperation between the reactionary leaders of the Labor and Socialist International and the reactionary bourgeoisie is paralyzing the Socialist working class. *It is high time to put a final stop to the unity with Chamberlain, with Daladier, with the plotters against the working class, against freedom and against peace and establish at last the unity of the working class.* It is high time to weld together the forces of the international proletariat and to stand up to fascism with proletarian determination in a manly, courageous and united fashion. It is high time to oppose to the bloc of the reactionaries and conspirators the granite-hard bloc of the working class.

The international working class has the floor. In spite of temporary reverses its possibilities are inexhaustible, its potentialities infinite. All that is needed is to unite these forces, not in a united front of diplomacy and soft-peddling, but in a united front of resolute struggle, boldness and firmness. Such a united front will be able to rally the masses of the workers together with all sincere democrats and genuine friends of peace, and bring about a victory of the peoples.

Let us pit against the Munich conspiracy the unity of the working class, the unity of the masses, the united and inflexible resistance of the people.

The Marching Party Congress

THE so-called party congress which the German fascists organized in Nuremberg is intended to exalt the German nation above its material and moral misery. None of the anxious questions of the German people might be voiced in Nuremberg. The shrill blast of trumpets and the noise of marching columns drowned the voice of sorrow, of war fear and of yearning for peace. When the delegates of a party assemble in democratic countries they stand for the desires of the party members. In Hitler Germany the only principles they stand on are their boots. Those officials who puff themselves up in Nuremberg—no one has elected them, no one has commissioned them, no one has communicated to them the wishes of the masses. They take part in the party congress, not to *discuss* but to *march*.

Demands, opinions and thoughts are the hallmarks of a thrice accursed democracy. In the fascist "body" the brain is a superfluous part. Feet are the important things and not thoughts, boots and not opinions of "fellow-countrymen." The nation of thinkers and poets must obey the categorical imperative "Attention"! It may not think, it may not speak but only beat with its feet on the pavements and move its arms and legs rhythmically like a jumping jack. "Right turn, left turn, forward march, belly in, chest out, halt, right turn, left turn, forward march!" That is the highest manifestation of the fascist "totalitarian state." The speeches of the brown bosses at the Nuremberg Party Congress only filled the pauses between endless, dull, senseless marching. It was a party congress of boots, footsoles and marching.

The *Angriff (Attack)*, Dr. Goebbels' paper, strongly emphasized this characteristic of the Nuremberg mass parade. On September 9 he published the following report from Nuremberg:

"Before the Fuehrer came the signal flags were set up. What soldier does not know that these are the colored direction flags for the march past? The first is red and means 'Attention!' Now the boots begin to beat on the ground until the soles of the spectators' feet ache from very looking on, and the percussion and cymbals in the band get stronger. The second is blue and means 'Eyes Right.' Now the leaders of detachments raise their hands high in the German salute and the heads turn to the side as if by an electric shock. Only the unfortunate man on the right file must look straight to his front and because of contact, direction the man in the front cannot look the Fuehrer in the eyes. He is the only one who does not get what he wanted from the party congress. The third signal is again blue and means 'Eyes Front!' It is the same distance behind the Fuehrer's car as the forerunner of the same color was in front of it. Obedient to it, the heads run again from the right to the center and the arms raised in salute are withdrawn. The last signal is yellow. This means a rest and the first halt and rest from burning corns and blisters and aching muscles that no one had noticed in the previous three hundred meters because they were keyed up for the march at 'attention.'"

The beat of feet on the ground, the aching soles that one got merely from looking on, the burning of corns and the blood-blisters on the feet of the marching men—these were the basic elements of this party congress. These dead-tired men, trodden sore and blessed with blood

blisters, were just the right audience for the various speeches of the leaders. They could not think any more. They had become automata, mechanically raising their arms and mechanically working their vocal chords. "The Fuehrer thinks for you, and what he thinks is right!" cried Herr Hess to them and the automata let the palms of their hands resound as they had done their feet.

Hitler might have saved all his breath. Are not words a relic of democracy? The people anyhow don't get to know what the Fuehrer thinks and even the brown bosses don't know what is going to happen tomorrow. Hitler might just as well get up on the rostrum in silence and pull his brow into creases and let his lock of hair drop over the brow and present himself to the photographers. Goebbels could explain the mime to the masses. Have you seen how he thinks, party comrades? Have you observed the lock and the brow creases—the most colossal lock and the most gigantic crease of all ages? Go home and announce to all our countrymen the wonder of our time, the peak of the achievement of the German spirit: *The Fuehrer thinks*, you yourselves have seen him thinking. And when they ask you, will there be a war, reply to these cowards: *The Fuehrer thinks*. You have got blood blisters on your feet, he has got blood blisters on his brain. The Fuehrer thinks and you march and that is the only proper democracy, that is the national community of National Socialism. Attention! You have had the first stage of bunion burning, blood blisters and muscle aching. You will also experience the last stage.

The Fuehrer *commands* and the nation *marches*—that was the meaning and content of the Nuremberg party congress. The German people may not ask, may not think, may not express an opinion, it may only march, today in a plundered land, tomorrow to war, to defeat, to collapse. Hitler and his gang call the

German people a "lordly nation" destined to rule the whole world. Poor "lordly nation" when Hitler does not permit it to govern a parish for itself or to control the finances of a town. Poor "lordly nation" that may not read a newspaper except the fascist ones, that can have no opinions except those officially prescribed, that may not elect any factory board nor any party council, nor any burgomaster, to say nothing of stadtholders and ministers. Poor "lordly nation" that is systematically educated to ignorance and that may know nothing about political decisions, let alone bringing them about. There never has been a nation so immeasurably insulted, so shockingly patronized, so deeply degraded by its "leaders" as this German "lordly nation." There never has been any nation so completely debarred from any political activity as the German people, of which Hitler says it has been chosen to rule the world.

The nation, according to the wish of the leaders of the fascist bands, has only one function to fulfil—to gaze with fixed eyes at the signal which those in power set up. The first signal is "Hunger." Now the beat of boots must drown the rumblings of the belly. The second signal is "war." Here the whole nation must look death in the eyes to get what they never wanted. The third signal is "collapse." Here the whole nation must suffer the last stage of blood, misery and shock.

Must the German nation really tread this road of hunger, of slavery and war? Will it not rather interrupt the madness of this march and free Germany from the bloody dregs of humanity which are turning a great civilization into an army of barbarians and are conjuring up unimaginable disaster over the whole of Europe?

At all events, the last signal flag will be red and the people will prick the fearful blood-blisters of fascism.

“Kultur,” Nazi Fashion

BETWEEN the marches and counter-marches of the Nuremberg Nazi Party Congress, the so-called cultural congress of this year, occurred a speech of the “Fuehrer” and the inevitable applause pertaining to it. This cultural congress started with the distribution of the so-called “National Prize.” This prize was established because the International Nobel Prize Committee seriously differed with the German fascists on the question of who should be regarded as cultural representatives of Germany, worthy of a prize. A number of Nobel Prize winners such as Thomas Mann and Albert Einstein had to leave Germany, others like Professor Erwin Schroedinger were arrested, others again like Professor Max Planck are regarded by the Nazis with the greatest distrust. But what the German fascists liked least of all was that the last Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to a German confined in a concentration camp, to the courageous, unforgettable Karl von Ossietski. After this the German fascists no longer permit German citizens to accept a Nobel prize. They have introduced autarchy into the award of prizes.

This new National Prize of the Nazis was given to such representatives of German “kultur” as Herr Fritz Todt, inspector-general of German roads and designer of the mythical “people’s car” which has been praised for years as a peak achievement although the car does not exist at all; and to such other representatives of “kultur” as the airplane designers Heinkel and Messerschmidt. This award, as Herr Goebbels said in his speech, “gives plastic expression to the true essence of our century.”

But what in reality was given plastic

expression by this award was merely the true essence of German fascism. The names of Messerschmidt and Heinkel have acquired an unenviable fame in Spain. It is from airplanes of the Messerschmidt and Heinkel type that the bombs of the Nazi cultural propaganda are thrown down, destroying peaceful villages and killing women and children. Messerschmidt and Heinkel sound very like massacre and homicide to the Spanish ear, they are aliases for the dishonor and inhumanity of German fascism. For this reason Messrs. Heinkel and Messerschmidt were awarded the Hitler-German National Prize, an official war prize in place of the banner peace prize.

After this characteristic distribution of prizes the “Fuehrer” and chancellor took the floor and proved once more that the German language is a very difficult language, or in any case too difficult for him to learn. He has never mastered that language and never will. It appears to be easier to master the German Reich than the German language.

The leader and chancellor began his speech with the usual complaint that the world still misunderstands German fascism and does not pay sufficient attention to the fascists’ “cultural achievements.” No other regime ever complained so much about misunderstanding or was so greedy for applause as is German fascism. What they want is for others to stroke them while they bite, that others show them the greatest consideration while they themselves boast of their own ruthlessness, and when the world, at last, tires of putting up with everything from them they complain that they are the victims of a “Jewish-democratic-Marxist world conspiracy.”

In his so-called "cultural" speech Hitler again trotted out the old story about this conspiracy. But in the end he consoled himself and his audience with the following words:

"For the rest it is by no means decisive as to whether and how foreign peoples judge our cultural work, for we have no doubts that cultural creation, as the most sensitive expression of tendencies conditioned by the blood, cannot be understood or even valued at its proper worth, by individuals or races of not identical or closely-related blood."

It is hardly possible to translate this sentence into any other language or even into ordinary German. It is one of those cultural creations which have their origin in such a "blood-specific" and "blood-conditioned peculiarity" of the German fascist leaders' minds that no normal person can be expected to understand it. True, there are in existence products of German culture which are understood and admired all over the world, such as the works of the German classics or the books of Thomas and Heinrich Mann—but the creations of German fascism differ fundamentally by their "blood-conditioned" spiritual poverty from the cultural performance of such democratic citizens of the world who are condemned by Hitler as "un-German." That the cultural products of fascism are not rated any too highly within Germany itself can be assumed from the furious attacks of Hitler on the "unreliable, because only conditionally blood-bound, decadent so-called society," *i.e.*, on the educated German public who prefer Thomas Mann's books to the Horst Wessel song.

After a lot of muddled talk about "blood-culture" and about being "blood-bound," the "Fuehrer" and Reich chancellor declared with truly surprising self-deception: "National-Socialism is a teaching of cold realities, of most precise scientific facts and their theoretical expression."

It is as if burglars declared that their profession was based on a teaching of

cold realities, of most precise scientific facts and their theoretical expression, which manifests its perfection in acting as look-out, opening locks and cracking a safe. The "teaching of cold realities" as understood by National-Socialism means breaking all treaties, stopping at no crime and recognizing only the law of the jungle. And the "theoretical expression of the most precise scientific facts" we may admire in these phrases from the "cultural speech" of the German "Fuehrer":

"One cannot set music tasks, the fulfilment of which lies outside its sphere. . . . Hence there can be no musical history of the party, not a musical world philosophy, not a musical illustration of interpretation of philosophical knowledge. This is exclusively the domain of speech."

One might add: nor are there any musical cook books in existence, nor musical poison gas bombs, for those are outside the sphere of music. This "theoretical expression of the most precise scientific facts" is further developed by the "Fuehrer" and Reich chancellor by saying to his admiring party comrades:

"Hence it is nonsense to believe that the musical introduction to a congress function must or can give an interpretation of the party matters forming the subject of the discussions. . . . This is not at all necessary."

Could anyone ever have imagined that music was meant to give an interpretation of fascist party affairs? Still, the "Fuehrer" and Reich chancellor has wonderfully enriched the theory of art in Germany: on the basis of his own scientific knowledge he has established as a fact that there is a difference between the art of music and the affairs of the Nazi party. Or if one wants to express "most precise scientific facts" in the illuminating terms of the "Fuehrer" and Reich chancellor: Talking is the thing if you want to do some speaking. And in order to set the party history of German fascism to music one should have to use in addition to a big trumpet

musical instruments of a novel character such as pistols, bombs and chinking coin. That would not make very lovely music but it would give a fairly accurate rendering of the affairs of the Nazi party.

Finally the Fuehrer touched upon a delicate subject when he thundered to the astonished ears of his party comrades: "Our culture is exclusively the cult of the natural, *i.e.*, of what is divinely willed!"

Herr Baldur von Schirach, Herr Rudolf Hess, Herr Julius Streicher may have raised their eyebrows at this and asked: since when have the blood-specific, even though not exactly natural, habits of some of the high panjandrums of the Nazi party been taken exception to by the "Fuehrer"? Since when does he re-

quire the homosexuals, sadists, drug addicts and other unnatural products of the putrifying capitalist society who constitute the fascist leadership to cultivate what is natural?

At the close of his speech, Hitler as usual announced that marvelous national works of art would be created—in the future. These boasts of future marvels of art and literature sound hollow from the lips of a man under whose rule such German classics as Lessing and Heine have been put on the Nazi block and the flower of German art and literature is languishing in exile. Yet a single verse of the dead Heine, whose name has been deleted from German school books, is worth more than all the empty boasts of the living Hitler.

The Spirit of the Hussites

THE attack of German fascism on the Czechoslovakian people is directed against the democratic traditions of this freedom-loving people. Again and again the German fascist newspapers and the German loud speakers heap insults on John Huss, the great Czech fighter for liberty, again and again they rave against the spirit of the old Hussites in the Czech people.

But it is no evil spirit, that spirit which in the fifteenth century led the democratic revolutionary popular armies of the Hussites from victory to victory, and which threw its light in front of the German peasant rising and the English and French bourgeois revolutions. If the spirit of the Hussites is roused again it will lend wings to the struggle of the nations for emancipation against the barbarism of German fascism.

No less a man than Martin Luther, the German reformer, studied the writings of John Huss, the Czech reformer, and publicly declared in the year 1520:

"I have preached the teachings of Huss without knowing it. We are all Hussites even though we don't know it. St. Paul and St. Augustine were Hussites. I am so surprised I do not know what to think!"

He cried out:

"Woe betide the earth that a hundred years ago it condemned and burned at the stake truth itself in the body of John Huss."

How is this statement of Luther to be reconciled with the song of hatred which the German fascists have now launched against Huss and the Hussites?

At a time when Germany was a politically and spiritually backward country, John Huss, then a professor of Prague University, began a struggle against the medieval shackles on freedom of con-

science and against the oppression and exploitation of the people by the princes of the church. He advocated the principles of Wycliffe, the English reformer, who denied the omnipotence of the Pope and demanded a democratic transformation of the church. The reactionary German theologians of Prague University were bitter opponents of Huss. They accused him of heresy and mobilized the Holy Inquisition against him. This campaign of the reactionary German theologians against the freedom-loving Czech reformer led to a national split in the Prague University. At that time the university comprised four national bodies: the Bavarian, the Saxon, the Polish and the Czech; but as the Polish corporation was in actual fact in the hands of the Prussians, Pomeranians and Silesians, the Czechs were continually out-voted by the Germans. As the issue was now freedom of conscience and the Germans supported the medieval restriction of that freedom, the Czechs demanded a system of voting more favorable to themselves. They succeeded in enforcing this demand, whereupon the Germans left the University of Prague and the Saxon Elector founded a rival university in Leipzig with papal subsidies. It was in this struggle for freedom against the suppressors of the freedom of conscience that Czech national feeling was first aroused in the same way as a century later the struggle of the humanists and reformers against the powers of the Middle Ages brought into being a German national conscience.

Huss spoke not the church Latin, alien to the people, but the language of his own Czechs. He accomplished for the Czech language what Luther a hundred years after him accomplished for the Germans. Rooted in the people and devoted to its cause he attracted the best

forces of the people. The German theologians and students, by their own acts, excluded themselves from this progressive democratic development and sided with reaction. But the common people of Germany began to hear the voice of the courageous Czech and regard his struggle with increasing sympathy. The German princes, both secular and ecclesiastic, were afraid that the democratic movement might spread to Germany and therefore they favored all reactionary measures directed against the Czech reformer.

In the year 1410 the church reactionaries of Prague organized a great burning of the books in the courtyard of the Archiepiscopal Palace of that city. Thousands of books of the democratic religious movement were consigned to the flames. It is quite obvious that the German fascists of today regard the bigoted book-burners of that time as their forerunners. Unfortunately, then as now, it was in the first place the German henchmen of reaction, the sons of the German master-class, who rallied to oppose the democratic movement. Hence the struggle between freedom and oppression in part took on a national character: the Czech democratic popular movement was opposed by the German princes and the high clergy.

The infamous betrayal of John Huss by the German Emperor Sigismund brought the struggle to a head. In the year 1414 the great Synod, which was to deal with the vicious struggle between the three rival popes and to decree a reform of the church, met in Constance. Huss declared that he was prepared to defend his teachings in front of the Synod if the Emperor granted him safe conduct. The Emperor guaranteed that Huss would suffer no hurt either in life or limb. Huss traveled to Constance through Germany and met with the greatest sympathy on the part of the people during his journey.

This obvious sympathy shown by the German people to the Czech champion of religious freedom confirmed the German princes in their determination to do away with Huss. The German Em-

peror infamously broke his word; Huss and later Hieronymus, his companion in the struggle, were arrested and sentenced to death. Despite the mighty movement of protest of the Czech people, despite the urgent representations of the Bohemian and Moravian nobility, this death sentence was put into execution. The Emperor himself gave it as his opinion that the two spiritual leaders of the Czech people should be burned alive. When the attention of the Emperor was called, not to his act of perjury, but to a grammatical mistake in his speech, he replied: "We as King of Rome stand above the rules of grammar." One can well understand the admiration of Hitler for such a monarch who, though he was not master of his own language, made up for this defect by outstanding ability in breaking his word. Huss and Hieronymus died at the stake like heroes. Cardinal Bracciolini, himself a humanist, said candidly:

"Hieronymus proved himself a man of courage and unshaken convictions. . . . I greatly admire this man who deserves to be forever remembered. Of course I cannot approve his criticism of many institutions of the church, but I must admire his great erudition, his profound thinking, his eloquence, his mildness in peroration and his wit in repartee."

Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, another Cardinal, who was later elected Pope, said, full of admiration:

"No philosopher on his deathbed ever showed such courage as these men bore at the stake."

The spiritual leaders of the Czech people were dead but the flames which consumed their bodies kindled the fire of revolution in Bohemia. Led by a consistent democrat, Nicholas of Husinec, and the brave soldier Ziska, the popular masses rose against their perjured and blood-stained masters. The perjured German Emperor put the excommunication launched by the Synods against the followers of Huss on the statute book, and turned the German empire into a policeman of ecclesiastic

reaction. He set his German executioners and German soldiers on the democratic movement of the Czech people and by so doing drove a wedge between Germans and Czechs. The progressive professors of the University of Prague and all those who had interceded for Huss were persecuted, tortured and imprisoned at the instance of the German theologians.

The bloodhounds of the Inquisition were unleashed and those of the Emperor kept them company. Husinec and Ziska entrenched themselves in a fortified camp (which later became the city of Tabor) and there rallied the boldest and most resolute among the Hussites for the struggle against the blood-stained rule of the medieval Gestapo. The oppressed and impoverished masses, the peasants, miners and artisans hurried to Tabor and formed a democratically united invincible popular army. Ziska had been a captain of the German Knights in Eastern Prussia. He combined great military experience with the unshakable firmness of a great revolutionary leader of the people. *For the first time in Europe an army was formed based on entirely new principles—the principles which later carried the iron ranks of Cromwell, the American army of liberty and the armies of the French revolution from victory to victory.* This was no imperial mercenary army, not a troop with gentleman officers and soldiers without rights, but a true army of the people welded together by the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity. There were no differences of rank in this army, peasant, miner or gentleman were all addressed as brother. The ablest became commanders and it did not matter whether they were only peasants or miners. The democratic rights of the combatants were fully guaranteed. Infantry and light artillery were the decisive arms. The ponderous cavalry and the clumsy artillery of the German Emperor were unable to cope with this force. An iron discipline was enforced in battle but between battles there were feasts, good cheer and democratic gatherings, but without the

drinking bouts and gluttony customary in that period of history. *This army was never defeated.* There was no match for it in Europe. It incarnated the tremendous superiority of a revolutionary democratic system to every reactionary machinery of oppression.

Against this people in arms the Pope declared a crusade. Against this people in arms the Emperor dispatched army after army. Against this people in arms was directed the hatred of the German big landowners and the merchants, who regarded the Czech peasants, artisans and miners as slaves without rights. But among the German peasants, artisans and miners there was profound sympathy with the Czech struggle for freedom, which they rightly regarded as a general fight for liberty. True, the German lord often succeeded in deceiving the German common people and inciting them against their Czech brothers, but very often the German workers fraternized with the Czechs. It was with reluctance that the soldiers of the German Emperor and of the German princes made war on the Czech champions of liberty. Whenever they could they threw their weapons away, and demonstrated by desertion their disapproval of the war, foisted upon them.

In the year 1418 Ferdinand of Lucca, Papal legate, and inquisitor, proclaimed a crusade against the Hussites. The German princes and bishops had insisted on this so-called crusade because practically all German cities and villages were beginning to show Hussite tendencies. The Emperor put himself at the head of this so-called crusade and suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of Ziska. The German burghers and peasants, led in the field by their princes, ran and dispersed.

In 1420 the German Emperor suffered a second terrible defeat at the gates of Prague and in 1421 Ziska drove the Emperor right out of Moravia and proclaimed in Prague the program of the movement, the religious creed which he set up against that of the church.

In September, 1421, Ziska marched against the united armies of the Electors

of Mayence and Brandenburg and of the Margrave of Meissen. This army was encamped near Saaz; but before the battle could begin in real earnest, the German soldiers ran away; shortly afterwards the army of the Duke of Austria was beaten and dispersed.

In January, 1422, it was the German Emperor again who, for a change, suffered another smashing defeat. In revenge, the Emperor burned the city of Kuttenburg, and massacred its inhabitants. The Hussites now took the offensive everywhere and victoriously drove back the troops of the Emperor and of the princes. The war was bloody and cruel, as were all wars of that time, but the ruthlessness of Ziska in warfare was merely an echo of the treachery of the German Emperor and the atrocities committed by his troops who invaded Bohemia, burning, looting and massacring all they could find.

Ziska, one-eyed, and in the end totally blind, died in 1424. This great popular leader and military captain was deservedly praised in history and song, and that not only by Czechs. The Austrian poet Lenau devoted a series of passionate ballads to his memory. In tumultuous verse he praised this hardy hero of liberty as a kinsman of spring.

The death of Ziska was a severe loss, but the revolutionary democratic people's army of the Hussites survived it. The German propagandists of the time voiced abroad that the Czech popular army had covered a war drum with the skin of Ziska, in order still to hear the voice of their dead general in battle; these propagandists failed to understand that the voice which led the invincible army of the Hussites forward was the voice of liberty. Yes, this nation in arms was invincible. Led by Procop the Great and Procop the Little they again destroyed a German army near Aussig in 1426.

In 1427 they beat an army of the Electors of Brandenburg and Saxony so decisively that it fled in panic and disorder. The Hussites now carried the war into Saxony, Bavaria and Austria, they entered Dresden, Breslau and Magdeburg, advanced towards Vienna, and

reached the Baltic in the north unvanquished and invincible, because the princes had nothing of equal worth to oppose to their revolutionary audacity, their democratic unity, and their fresh popular force. *They knew what they were fighting for, and their military superiority was merely a result of their political superiority. Their army was the first army of free workers in Europe.*

Staggering from the blows of the Hussites, the German tyrants gradually began to understand that they were unable to subdue this movement by violence. They were finally compelled to make concessions, give up their so-called crusade, and conclude an agreement which, had it been signed years ago, would have prevented the war and with it much bloodshed and the shameful defeat of the German armies.

The Czechs are justifiably proud of having been the pioneers of the great democratic movements in Europe. They are justifiably proud of the invincible Hussite champions of liberty. And if the German fascists today launch a campaign against the spirit of the Hussites they show themselves to be worthy descendants of the reactionary German princes of the fifteenth century, who were so soundly beaten by the Hussites. At that time the German princes deliberately provoked a war because they were afraid that the spirit of the Hussites, the spirit of the democratic popular movement, might spread to Germany. It is the same fear which now inspires not only the German fascists, but also their reactionary English and French abettors. In order to quench this spirit, they are ready to sell the peoples of Europe to Hitler.

The spirit of the Hussites was invincible, it marched in advance of the German peasants in their revolutionary struggles, it led English democracy to victory, it unfurled the banner of the American war of emancipation, it revived again in the great French revolution. It is the spirit of democratic development which overcomes all obstacles; the spirit which enables the democratic nations to defeat fascism.

The Conference of the Bishops in Fulda

THIS year's German Episcopal Conference was held some weeks ago in Fulda and its agenda dealt mainly with the situation of the Catholics under the Hitler regime.

The facts are well known. The Catholic educational system has been destroyed, the religious and social mass organizations of the Catholics have been dissolved, the Catholic press persecuted and suppressed, practising Catholics slandered, Catholic priests and laymen arrested in great numbers, and the rights, solemnly guaranteed to the Catholics by the concordat, infringed. The conference of the bishops in Fulda was the center of some interest. The reason for this was that a certain, even though very small, section of the clergy in Germany showed a tendency to surrender under the pressure of the Nazis. A few churchmen in the higher ranks of the clergy, whose connections with imperialism, with the moneybags, with the armament magnates were closer than the bonds uniting them with the people, were prepared to hoist the white flag, make their peace with the Nazi regime and turn the pulpit into a branch of the Nazi Brown House. The results of the Fulda Conference, so far as they have become known, show that this minority represents neither the people nor the German clergy.

The conference of the bishops was strongly impressed by the fascist outrages on Bishop Sproll, Bishop of Rotenburg in Württemberg. This Bishop had refrained from registering his vote on April 10 of this year when Hitler called upon the people to "vote" its approval of the invasion of Austria. This was the signal for such a ferocious cam-

paign against the bishop that he was compelled to leave the country and spend several months abroad in Rome. When he returned he was the object of "spontaneous" demonstrations. Demonstrations marched to the Episcopal residence, sang the anti-Catholic song *Stand Up the Priests Against the Wall*, smashed the doors and windows, burned the furniture and insulted and jostled the priests. The police allowed the rioters to carry on unhindered for several hours before they intervened and cleared the palace. Following upon this incident an injunction was issued against Bishop Sproll forbidding him to remain in Württemberg.

These events, which caused great indignation among the Catholic masses, were a fresh indication of what the Catholics can expect at the hands of the fascists. The pastoral letter issued by the conference of the bishops, and read from the pulpit in all Catholic churches of Germany at the end of August, alluded to this in the following terms.

"As for the new obstacles encountered by the Catholics, many German Catholics are now anxiously asking themselves whether they . . . no longer enjoy the same rights as their fellow citizens. . . ."

The pastoral letter rejects the false tenets of the Hitler fascists, *i.e.*, their racial theories and their "myth of the blood," and concludes with the assurance that the Catholics would not give up the struggle.

The pastoral letter of the Fulda Epis-

* Quotation retranslated from the Italian and German.

copal Conference throws a glaring light on the conditions existing in Nazi Germany. It unmasks the Brown vandals who destroy all freedom of religion and conscience and who would like to make their totalitarian barbarism the standard of behavior for all Germans. The pastoral letter shows again very clearly that fascism is driving the religious sections of the nation more and more into the ranks of the opposition.

The Catholic bishops of Germany have not yet reached the stage when they can draw clear and general conclusions from the events. They have not reached the stage where they recognize that fascism is their enemy, in whatever disguise it appears.

Italian fascism, while it readily claimed the assistance of the Catholics for the pirate raid on Ethiopia, is now dealing them blow after blow, is compelling them to swallow anti-Semitism and the fascist race theories, violating their conscience and provoking them by crude attacks on the Pope.

Nor can the Spanish agents of Hitler and Mussolini, who like to style themselves "defenders of the faith," be regarded as anything of the kind. A recently published document entitled *War and Religion*, well worth reading, gives a few facts about this, although its material is by no means complete. According to this document fifteen priests were shot, 137 imprisoned, 263 deported and over 300 subjected to disciplinary measures in the Basque country alone. Jacques Maritain, a practicing Catholic and editor of the well-known Catholic daily *La Croix*, accuses Franco of setting Moslems against Christians and of having established a cruel regime of White terror in that part of Spain which is under his control.

Fascism has introduced gangster methods into public life. Fascism is trampling human dignity under foot. Fascism is the watchdog guarding the safes of

big business, in whose interests it suppresses all decent human feeling. Fascism is driving the world towards a cataclysm of slaughter at which the boldest imagination quails. Fascism in preparing this massacre stops at no crime.

The pastoral letter of Fulda shows that the masses of the Catholics in Germany are in ferment and are well aware of the great values German fascism is out to destroy. They know that only close unity can erect a barrier against fascism. When the pastoral letter was read the churches were so overcrowded that the masses overflowed into the churchyard. According to the *Osservatore Romano* many church goers burst into tears at the thought of the fate to which Germany is doomed under the yoke of Hitler fascism. They thought of the tens and hundreds of thousands languishing in the prisons and concentration camps, they thought of all the sufferings to which Germany is now a prey.

The class-conscious workers, the consistent anti-fascists are profoundly in sympathy with those who are being persecuted by the fascists because of their faith. They feel themselves one with them in the defense of the freedom of conscience, in the resistance to fascist misdeeds, in their struggle for the right freely to practice their religion. The class-conscious workers are stretching out their hands to the masses of the Catholics with whom they desire to act in concert for the joint protection of peace, for the joint struggle to regain the right of self-determination for the people, for a common effort to overthrow the bloodstained and bestial rule of fascism and for the common building up of a free and democratic Germany. The class-conscious workers are justified in expecting that the Catholic section of the people will accept their outstretched hand and unite with them to oppose fascist violence.

Anti-Semitic Savagery

A FRIGHTFUL tragedy is taking place in Germany today. That violent and brutal band, which has concentrated into its own hands the machinery of power of a land of seventy million people, is carrying on hourly and daily a vindictive, cruel war against the 390,000 Jews who reside in Germany.

Jews are continuously being harassed in commerce and trade; their businesses stolen from them by the fat Brownshirt bosses; Jewish doctors and lawyers deprived of their practices; Jewish chemists driven out of the profession; Jewish engineers deprived of the right to work; Jews are not allowed to frequent certain health resorts, and may not enter certain parks and public gardens; nor may they use public swimming baths set aside for Germans.

Jews in fact, are treated as lepers. They are deprived of all civil rights, and are subjected to the exceptional laws, the infamous Nuremberg Jewish laws. Thousands of Jews are being sent to prison without cause, sent to perish in concentration camps, or dispatched to work on demolition jobs as forced, unpaid labor. They are slandered, outlawed, subjected to filthy abuse. Today in Germany it is the open season for hunting Jews.

Those who take part in this hunting are the highly-placed "personalities" of the fascist regime. It is the ministers of the Third Reich, Mr. Chamberlain's protégés, who are responsible for having caused this shameful mistreatment of the Jews. It is the district leaders of the Nazi party who harass the Jews. It is the former criminals now elevated to official positions who daily practice this infamous hounding of the Jews. It is the human scum which now rules

Germany that employs its time in tormenting defenseless beings. Cunning thugs, now promoted into official positions, whose very existence is a stain upon the Germany of Lessing and Schiller, are in command of the pogrom bands, organize the outrages, stage the crimes. Such is the Nazi regime in Germany, towards which the London *Times* has been so friendly of late.

In Vienna, Jews were compelled to lie down on the pavements while Nazi storm-troopers marched over them with their heavy field boots. In Breslau, hundreds of terrorized Jews spent the night in the Jewish cemetery, to avoid a pogrom. In all of Germany's towns and villages, the Jews are being hunted, raids are organized, Jewish homes are destroyed, Jewish lives rendered impossible. It is an unceasing, sinister, brutal, cunning and bloody war, waged against 390,000 human beings.

In the earlier days, Jews and non-Jewish Germans together built up a common culture. It was the Jews who carried German culture far abroad, made it widely known, increased its fame, and helped to convert it into the possession of all mankind. Goethe acknowledged the great influence which the Jewish philosopher, Baruch Spinoza, had over him. Lessing was a close friend of the great Jewish philosopher and writer, Moses Mendelssohn, whose greatness he embodied in his play, *Nathan the Wise*. Heinrich Heine, a Jew, has served as an inspiration and model to generations of German poets. The natural sciences, medicine, physics, mathematics, chemistry, literature, painting, music—the entire realm of Germany's social and cultural life was cultivated by the Jews to

the glory and fame of Germany and the benefit of progressive humanity everywhere. But the fascist convulsion which has overcome Germany will not tolerate this mutual interest in the furtherance of German culture.

The Brownshirt rats who are devouring Germany's vitals have stolen much Jewish wealth with impunity. The "Aryanization" of Jewish firms is a most lucrative affair for the Nazi bosses. Racialism certainly pays; by means of it the Nazi leaders acquire fortunes and the defenseless Jews are stripped to their shirts.

The present rulers of Germany are not ordinary thieves who merely break into a house in order to acquire loot, but are only too glad to keep quiet about it. They are not even like the ordinary unbalanced sadistic murderer, who delights in his victim's agonies, but acts in secret. No, the present criminals who rule Germany like to sanctify their bloody deeds by "philosophical" justification. Their knives are dipped in the poison of their "philosophy." The coffins of their murdered victims are lowered amidst panegyrics on the "racial theory." Their treatment of the Jews is an example and a warning to the world of what their "racial theory" teaches them in their relations with any race or people whom they choose to consider as "inferior." The cold-blooded extermination of 390,000 Jews in Germany is merely the application of their theory of "Nordic" supremacy. It is that "German peace" of which they boast and which they are imposing upon the Jews who are in their clutches.

This, then, is a warning to the whole

world. Just as they are treating the Jews today, so will they treat the Czechs, the French, the Belgians, the Dutch, the Danes, the Poles, the Swiss tomorrow. They already have the Jews in their power, and they are torturing them to death. They hope, with the help of British imperialists, to get other peoples into their power and to do the same with them.

It is the Nazis themselves who supply the comment to their own "racial theories." They have already informed the peoples of the earth as to the tasks which the "superior race"—the Germans—will allot them. The Nazis themselves have proclaimed to the world that their conception of race implies war and plunder. Their anti-Semitic savagery is a token of the unwritten "peace treaty" to which they will force weaker peoples to become parties.

Let the peoples of the world understand the signs of our times. Let them realize that this vile eruption of anti-Semitism in Germany represents a tyranny which can also be directed against them. Let them not be deceived by any lies regarding peace which emanate from Nazi barbarians. The ruination and slow murder of 390,000 Jews in Germany, carried on deliberately by the German Brownshirts, and with a ruthlessness such as has never been equalled—this should be a warning to all. The fate of the defenseless German Jew should be a rallying call and a warning to the whole world. The peoples must draw together in unity, so that a *cordon sanitaire* be drawn around the brutes, so as to isolate them and rescue their victims.

Westarp and the Opposition to Fascism

NAZI judges in Berlin recently sentenced 74-year-old Count Westarp, former leader of the German Nationalist People's Party, to fifteen years' imprisonment. Other leaders of this party, which has been dissolved by Hitler, were jailed at the same time.

In imperial Germany Westarp was a conservative deputy. In 1919 he founded the German Nationalist People's Party, whose ranks gave refuge to all who hated the new regime and loved the old—landlords, industrialists, conservative officials, aristocrats and officers. Like the Imperial Eagle, emblem of the German monarchy, the party had two wings and a head; one wing was industrial capital, the other the great feudal landlords; the head was Count Westarp. But industrial capital pushed the underling Hugenberg up into a position equal to the leader of the party, and soon above him. By means of cunning and graft, Hugenberg made himself the dictator of the party. He moved towards the Harzburg Front and a fighting alliance with Hitler and the fascists.

This was too much for Westarp, who knew and despised Hitler for what he was, paid spy of the army, treacherous and reactionary putschist, servant of industrial magnates, who gave him money to build his party. Westarp had watched the development of the National-Socialist Party, an unsavory story of murders, treason, and broken promises. He was a conservative patriot, he was reactionary, but aboveboard, and he revolted against the criminal methods of the fascists.

In 1930 he, therefore, left the German Nationalist Party and founded the conservative People's Party, together with

Treviranus. They fondly hoped to rally to the new party the scattered conservative elements, but this proved impossible; in the newly-elected parliament Westarp's party could claim only three seats. When Hindenburg appointed the gangster Hitler Chancellor, and delivered Germany up to a ruthless dictatorship, Westarp disappeared from the political scene. When he tried to come back into public life, he soon found himself in jail.

Hitler and his fascists assert to Germany and the world that they represent the interests of the German nation, but at the same time they can maintain their power only by fierce repression of each and every section of the people. In 1935, at the Seventh World Congress, Comrade Dimitroff said:

"Fascism undertakes to overcome the disharmonies and antagonisms within the bourgeois camp, but it makes these antagonisms even more acute. . . .

"In a fascist country the party of the fascists cannot preserve its monopoly for long, because it cannot set itself the aim of abolishing classes and class contradictions. It puts an end to the legal existence of bourgeois parties. But a number of them continue to maintain an illegal existence."*

Westarp and those of his parliamentary associates sentenced with him were hardly "contaminated with Bolshevism," but that they dared, despite terrorism, to go into opposition, is evidence of the extent and the depth of the bitterness felt even in conservative circles against the Hitler regime.

Slowly but surely strong forces are

* Georgi Dimitroff, *The United Front*, p. 26. International Publishers, New York.

drawing together to form a conservative opposition to Hitler. Men in the various agricultural, administrative and military positions, civil servants, officers, local government officials, all these are watching with growing anger and disgust the dissipation of the nation's resources under the corrupt rule of conceited and ignorant Nazi bosses. Members and leaders of the old Christian Trade Unions and the German nationalist employees' organizations fell into line in 1933; now they are disappointed and embittered, and are turning against fascism. Members and leaders of the old German nationalist military organization, the Stahlhelm, former defenders of petty-bourgeois, peasant, even of Junker rights, have found themselves deceived, dispossessed, pushed aside by swaggering S.S. men. Today, in the fight to destroy these hated upstarts and to win a new life, a spirit of comradeship is being aroused in all these people.

Many owners of small and medium-sized estates are turning against Hitler. They are, it is true, sitting tight on their land, and taking advantage of the cheap labor available to fill their pockets and their wine cellars. But the positions of political power in the countryside, in the civil service, and in the army, are being filled with friends and protégés of the new fascist state machine. These brutal brown-shirted bosses, the scum of the party, have no use for decency or learning; they rule their little offices in the same arbitrary, autocratic way as the highest bosses rule from Berchtesgaden. They use their unlimited authority to swindle proprietors, as well as laborers and peasants.

Local meetings have been deprived of their powers, and replaced by an incompetent bureaucracy, which decides arbitrarily whether a road needs repairing, whether timber is ready to be felled, whether land is worth cultivating or not. The building of a barn is as much the work of the state as is the formal assembly of the laborers to hear official announcements. Everything is super-

vised, spied upon, forbidden, punished—to slaughter cattle, to eat butter, to chop down a tree that does not fall under a clause of the new forest legislation, to paint a summer house (because the use of oil paint must be “officially sanctioned”), to go to church, to stop work for lunch, to speak on the telephone, to write a letter, to go to a harmless gathering.

Youth is taken from the ball fields and conscripted for labor service and for the army. The Junker has his best cowman dragged off from cowshed to concentration camp because he has been denounced as an underground Communist; incompetent, but “politically reliable,” people must be employed instead. Only the “licensed hunter” may go out shooting—never the peasant, and not even the landowner, if he forgets to invite the successful place-hunter, who is also the local fascist game-preserving official, to share the finest venison of the district.

Thus even some of the conservative squires come up against the arbitrary administration of Hitler's brown-shirted bureaucracy, where gangsters and thieves become ministers, not to mention party officials, great and small. Under the fascist yoke, civil servants, officers, members of the Christian Trade Unions, conservative white-collar workers, former members of the Stahlhelm, owners of small and medium-sized estates—all these have begun to think. Westarp and Treviranus founded their conservative People's Party before fascism came to power, and got little support. Hitler's rule has driven many more to support their program, which is, in the present situation, primarily democratic rather than conservative.

Germans today are asking one question, and their voices cannot be completely stifled. “Is Hitler leading us to war?” they ask. Westarp and his conservative friends themselves were partly to blame for those four years during which the people were slaughtered for king and country.

Today they are part of a movement

which surmounts barriers of class and ideology in its opposition to Hitler's crazy policy of an aggressive war. They understood the present alignment of forces, and knew that war against the democratic powers would inevitably mean defeat. They realized that Hitler was leading the nation towards a catastrophe. Their courage grew with their anxiety as to the fate of the German nation, and they decided to reopen old political and personal connections, to pool their forces with those of the middle-class opposition, and tie Hitler's hands.

"Hitler wants war! Hitler means war!" says an illegal leaflet of the middle class Freedom Party. "These bankrupts would prefer to plunge the country into the disasters of war, rather than face the other course, which is to withdraw from the scene of their crimes. . . .

"Realize how much suffering this man has caused you. Resist! Unite to fight this gang. Get together—bourgeoisie, peasants, workers, soldiers, officers, priests, officials and clerks. Realize that freedom's day is near."

Hitler boasts of the "unity of the peo-

ple," but in fact he fears each step towards unity which the German people take, because each step is another nail in his coffin. This was why he stormed at Nuremberg against the "cowards" who opposed his war plans and against members of the "upper class" who, in a matter concerning Germany's vital interests, for the first time want the same thing as the mass of the people. Hitler totters when classes which used to be the deadly enemies of democracy unite with the workers, the peasants, and the middle class to save Germany. Westarp represents this alliance, which is unprecedented in German history. He desired the unity of the nation against war and fascism. To him fell the honor, together with other political prisoners, of personifying this growing unity. Thaelmann, Niemoeller, Westarp—long divided by birth, class, policy and ideals, today they are united in prison, and united in their determination to free the German people from the fascist yoke. They are symbolic of the widespread opposition among the German people to Hitler and fascism.

Who Is the Chief Enemy of Peace?

THE *Social-Demokraten*, central organ of Swedish Social-Democracy, published on August 29 last an election speech by Mr. Sandler, the Swedish foreign minister. Mr. Sandler is one of the spokesmen of Scandinavian "neutrality"—the repudiation by the Scandinavian countries of collective security, of the defense of their national independence against Hitler Germany.

In the September issue of *The Communist International*,* we described the fatal consequences of this policy for the future freedom of the Scandinavian peoples. In the meantime, a discussion arose in the Scandinavian press as to who really is responsible for the conference in Copenhagen of the "Oslo states" at which the "neutrality" policy was announced.

The Swedish foreign minister claims that the Norwegian government demanded the convocation of the conference, but the Norwegian press denies the accusation, asserting that it was the Danish government which originated the meeting. It would appear to us that a query lodged in Berlin might well elicit the identity of the prime mover in this matter.

In any event, this dispute among newspapers and politicians has at least made it clear that the policy of Scandinavian "neutrality"—which the Hitler government characterized as "excellent"—has begun to arouse well-justified disquiet among the Swedish and Norwegian people. The frequent visits of German fascist emissaries, the close relations between Swedish large-scale capitalists and the German war industries, and be-

tween some Swedish army officers and Hitler's army, the unannounced flights of German military aircraft over Swedish territory, and the overrunning of Sweden by German spies and agitators—all this has materially contributed towards increasing this sense of unrest.

It is true that, not long ago, Mr. Sandler assured us that Sweden had no enemy in all the wide world, and should not act as though an enemy could exist. But the mass of the people are thinking of Hitler Germany with ever greater anxiety. Although they are not yet sufficiently aware of the danger threatening from Germany, they can see that German fascism is the chief enemy of world peace. And they feel that the threat to world peace is a threat to Scandinavia, and that declarations of "neutrality" afford no protection whatever against the fascist warmongers.

Therefore Mr. Sandler took it upon himself to still the fears of the people with a gentle political lullaby, and to distract the attention of the Swedish workers from the identity of the chief enemy of peace. But this enemy was not German fascism or its like. It was—But let us listen well, my children, to what our foreign minister so profoundly stated:

"It is man who is Peace Enemy Number One. Yes, I have in mind a very simple fact which, like many others, deserves that we recall it every now and then.

"It is this: Guns do not go off by themselves. It is not the bombing-plane which drops the bombs. Hand grenades do not travel through the air of their own accord. In spite of all mechanization, with all respect for the tremen-

* See p. 830.—*The Editors*.

dous armament technique, the fact remains that it is human beings who make war."

Mr. Sandler's audience must surely have been breathless at these revelations. The discovery that guns do not discharge themselves, nor hand-grenades fly through the air of their own accord to wreak their evil, is truly sensational. Had Mr. Sandler only added that the foreign policy of states does not perform somersaults of its own account, but needs for this purpose cabinets and foreign ministers, he might at least have said something which the electors could turn to good advantage.

Millions of people are fighting the fascist warmongers without realizing Mr. Sandler's "simple fact" that it is not the fascist aggressors who are the chief enemy of peace, but "man," man in general, without any closer definition. Obviously it is not fascism which has invaded Spain, but just "human beings" in general. It is not Japanese militarism which is carrying on a war of conquest in China, but "man" in general. Apparently it was not the German fascists who marched into Austria and Czechoslovakia, but "man" in general.

Then Mr. Sandler proceeded to a further exposition of this theory, as follows:

"Man himself is and remains the destructive instrument Number One who sets the fateful apparatus in operation. Consequently, it is not the guns, nor the bombing planes or the hand grenades, but man who is Enemy Number One of peace."

It is hard indeed to credit that even one single Swede has ever believed that guns can achieve independence and carry on a war on their own; but Mr. Sandler emphasized this characteristic of the gun—which prefers to degenerate into old iron rather than shoot of its own accord—in order to draw the following conclusion:

"This is to say, then, that, among the factors contributing to the risk of war, one must stress above all others that

human unreason, human malevolence and human ambition which are capable of producing incredible heroism and self-sacrifice—after they have set the world afire."

After this exposition, Mr. Sandler might just as well have turned over his office as foreign minister to the Salvation Army, for this body can probably preach even more heart-rendingly against human malevolence than can he.

But Mr. Sandler was only pretending to be a moral missionary in order to make his hearers forget that "among the factors contributing to the risk of war" fascism must be stressed as the chief one; and the factor second in importance is the cowardice of certain democratic governments which, by their non-resistance or compliance, encourage fascism to fresh provocation and warlike adventure.

By means of his argument that the danger of war consists in "human unreason" and "human malevolence," Mr. Sandler sought to convince his hearers that neither collective security nor a strengthening of the League of Nations nor a close peace front of the peoples would be of any use against these "factors," and that therefore there is no need of such things. He said this with the object of concealing from his hearers the fact that nowadays peace is threatened only by those states in which inhuman baseness has been elevated into a system of government, namely, the fascist states. And no one can dare assert that it is only "human unreason" which causes Chamberlain and Daladier to betray the peoples of Europe to fascism.

One thing is clear, at any rate. When Swedish large-scale capitalists fraternize with German fascism in order to destroy Swedish democracy, and, when occasion arises, to let the German army into Sweden, it is certainly something worse than "human unreason."

Mr. Sandler is seeking to hide in a damp mist the hard fact that fascism is the chief enemy of peace, in order to confuse all distinctions between agres-

sor and victim, and to make it appear to be a matter of indifference as to whether "neutral" Sweden shall supply guns and hand grenades to the fascist bandits or to the defenders of peace. He proceeded to state:

"The real dividing line is not between those who want war and those who want peace. After the outbreak of a war, one would be in a position to confirm that the war was being virtually carried on only by friends of peace. No, the genuine and significant dividing line runs between those who, in the community of states and peoples, completely and without equivocation choose the path of negotiations, and those who seek to realize political aspirations by means of force even if thereby the international order of law be violated."

No, Mr. Sandler, this is nothing but juggling. The real dividing line is between those who want war and those who want peace; between the fascist warmongers and those states and peoples which wish to preserve peace. Peace is not broken by "friends of peace" but by fascist aggressors. Every friend of peace is in favor of negotiations—but not of dishonorable and treacherous surrender before the fascist blackmailers' threat of war. Whoever offers the thieves and murderers only subservience instead of resistance, whoever negotiates endlessly with them "completely and without equivocation," like Messrs. Chamberlain and Daladier, is not serving the cause of peace but is aiding the war-makers.

With regard to fascism and war, there is only one question to be put squarely up to every government and every statesman: Will you stand on the side of the peace powers in order to strengthen the peace front, and thus make clear to the fascists that for them a war would be hopeless; or are you weakening the front of peace by concessions to fascism under the cloak of "neutrality," thus encouraging the fascist powers to new aggression against peaceful peoples and against world peace?

This is a concrete question which cannot be met by unctuous pronouncements on the nature of mankind in general, human unreason and human malevolence. This is not a question of moral contemplation of the "evil in mankind"; it is a question of a political decision. If, because of a policy of pandering to the fascists, the independence of the Scandinavian countries were increasingly endangered, so that the Swedish people were one day to see a German fascist army of occupation upon their soil, it would console them but little to be told that this was owing to the "malevolence and unreason" of mankind.

It is necessary, therefore, instead of philosophizing over the nature of mankind in general, to make known the true nature of fascism and promptly to resist it, and to mobilize the peoples by an impregnable system of collective security, an invincible peace front, in order effectively to prevent the fascist guns from firing and the fascist bombs from falling.

To Help Spain Is To Help Our Own Cause

BY G. FRIEDRICH

THE world is in a state of war tension such as has never been experienced before. Fascism is unrestrainedly threatening the liberty and peace of the peoples. The policy of the reactionary circles in Britain and France has increased the appetite of the fascist aggressors to such an extent that today they can, with impunity, decide on the ruin and destruction of whole peoples.

The Spanish and the Chinese people have refused to capitulate to the fascist bandits. They are defending their national independence and at the same time the freedom and peace of all peoples against the savage aggressors. Therein lies the historical importance of the heroic struggle of the people in these two countries. Spain and China have plainly proved to the working people, the democrats, progressive men and women and all anti-fascists that it is possible to offer successful resistance to fascism. Fascism is strong only by reason of the weakness of its opponents. It is to the everlasting credit of the Spanish people that they have shown humanity how one must manfully, courageously and resolutely oppose fascism. The historical achievement of the Spanish people is that they have held up the attack of the fascist barbarians on one front and thereby prevented fascism from being able to carry out its further plans without meeting resistance.

The Spanish people are facing their third winter campaign. The republican

army has fought great battles. It has defeated technically superior and better-armed troops. The fight on the Ebro front has shown the whole world that the republican army is determined to fight and is capable of fighting until final victory is achieved. The sympathies of all progressive-minded men and women are on the side of republican Spain. But more than this sympathy is needed. The help of the peoples, active, effective continual help, is needed.

The aid of the peoples for the fighting Spanish republic, it is true, was accorded right from the beginning, but it has fallen short of what it should have been. In order to conduct its fight victoriously, republican Spain needs more than ever international aid, constant firm and active solidarity of the broadest masses. More than four months ago the General Secretary of the Communist International, Georgi Dimitroff, once again issued the call to realize the unity of the proletariat in the campaign to aid the Spanish people. Dimitroff's reminder "The working class—master of the fate of millions—has not yet uttered its final word," is more significant and more valid today than ever, in view of the approaching winter campaign.

Republican Spain lacks milk, sugar, vegetables and meat. In a few weeks the weather will be cold, but there is a shortage of coal. Here a well-organized collecting and transport campaign can render great help. The campaign, however,

must be so organized that the broadest masses of the population—parties and trade unions, peasants' organizations, women, the youth, the intellectuals, charitable organizations, etc.—are drawn into relief activity for republican Spain. The campaign must be so organized that anyone can take part in it in any way he likes.

What great possibilities exist, how varied the aid can be, is shown by examples from different countries.

In the United States a campaign for sending a food ship was carried out in only a few weeks. The ship's cargo, which included 5,000 tons of food, clothing, surgical instruments and medicines, amounted in value to \$250,000. Artists, writers, prominent personages in the political and trade union world, took part in the campaign. Alvarez del Vayo could rightly describe this American relief ship as "a symbol of the ties connecting the freedom-loving Americans with the defenders of freedom and democracy in Spain."

The workers' organizations in France are displaying great activity for the carrying out of the winter campaign. On one Sunday the Spanish Relief Committee in Ardennes collected 4,781 francs, more than 200 kilograms* of potatoes, and more than 500 kilograms of various kinds of food, as well as clothing and shoes. In one small village, in Attigny, 702 francs were collected, as well as 1,200 kilograms of vegetables, groceries to the value of 300 francs, and clothing and underwear to the value of 500 francs. The collecting campaign for tobacco and cigarettes in the district of Villejuif has already brought in 450 packages of cigarettes, cigars and tobacco. The aim is 700 packages. The crew of the steamship *Gouverneur General Grevy* collected 560 francs; that of the *Cap Pinede* the sum of 598 francs, and that of the *Perros Guiroe* 1,370 francs. The office staff of the shipping company "Franco-Naviga-

tion" at Marseilles has undertaken the task of getting everyone of the staff to contribute one franc a day. This will amount to about 1,000 francs a month, and up to now 10,000 francs have been collected. The district organization of the trade unions of Nice and the neighborhood has undertaken to maintain a number of wounded Spaniards, fifteen of whom are at present in the Cap d'Ail convalescent home. The boot and shoe workers' trade union is continuing its campaign to supply strong shoes for the Spanish people's army. Everyone who collects and hands over 70 francs for the purchase of a pair of shoes receives a certificate. Thus the Paris union of tannery workers has collected 1,000 francs, the Paris union of boot and shoe workers 10,000 francs, the national committee of the boot and shoe workers has granted the sum of 10,000 francs; every trade union secretary and every trade union employee is giving 70 francs.

The International Children's Relief Committee points out in an appeal that milk is needed for 405,000 babies, and calls for a collection and shipment of dried milk. In response to the last appeal the National Committee of Argentina sent 50 tons of dried milk, Cuba and Norway 10 tons each; Belgium and the United States are collecting more than 100,000 francs each month and apart from the monthly contributions an extra collection raised 36,000 francs. The Children's Committee is planning to ship 200 tons of dried milk.

From the great number of replies to the appeal of the Children's Relief Committee to collect money for the purchase of dried milk we select a letter from two Paris children. In their letter, which was sent to Professor Wallon, the President of the Children's Relief Committee, they say: "We are sending you 20 francs, which we have taken out of our penny banks, for our unfortunate Spanish brothers.—Jeanine and Paul."

The Amalgamated Engineering Union of Great Britain has decided to raise a fund of £50,000 for Spain by a voluntary

* One kilogram equals 2.20 lbs.

tax on its members. Workers in a factory in southwest London are collecting for an ambulance. The Swedish Relief Committee for Spain some time ago dispatched 200 pairs of boots to Spain, and is preparing to send similar shipments in the near future. In Switzerland the Social-Democratic leader, Leon Nicole, proposed that credits be opened for Republican Spain for the wholesale purchase of condensed milk, chocolate, cheese and other milk products.

One could quote many other examples, all showing how manifold are the possibilities of giving aid.

What conclusions can we draw from the above examples? That it is possible immediately to develop a broad mass campaign in all democratic countries to grant credits for the purchase of food and clothing for the people of republican Spain, under the slogan: *Grant credits to feed the heroic people of republican Spain!* It is necessary immediately to aid the women and children whom the Italian and German fascists wish to exterminate by starvation. Republican Spain does not want things gratis, it is willing to pay for them. To get the blockade of republican Spain lifted it is necessary to exercise pressure on the governments. By motions in parliament, by decisions of trade unions, cooperative societies and other mass organizations, and by public meetings the necessary pre-conditions for this can be created.

This campaign can achieve success only if the specific conditions in each country are taken into consideration; if in each country credits are opened for Republican Spain for the purchase of such articles of food as the country produces in abundance. In every country there is a surplus of certain kinds of food, and the knowledge that this food is rotting in the warehouses while in Spain children are dying of hunger is unbearable.

In France the masses can raise the demand that the gold which the Bank of France is unlawfully withholding shall be handed over to the government

of republican Spain in order that it can purchase food. At the same time, a campaign can be conducted demanding that a part of the surplus grain be sold to the Spanish government at the same prices as those which are paid by the distillers. In England republican Spain can obtain credits for the purchase of blankets, material for warm clothing, for the purchase of preserves, etc. In the United States, in Canada and Argentina one can agitate for the sale of grain, preserved food and frozen meat on credit to republican Spain. In Mexico it is possible to secure the granting of credits for the purchase of dried vegetables, peas and beans, etc.; in Holland for the purchase of milk, cheese, etc.; in the Scandinavian countries for the purchase of dried and tinned fish.

Not only the governments but also big cooperatives can grant credits, especially in Britain, Belgium, and France.

It is also possible to mobilize broad masses by issuing an International People's Loan for republican Spain with subscription bonds of not less than one dollar. At the same time the Spanish government must be asked to guarantee these loans by promising to pay them after the victory of the Spanish republic.

The Communists, who everywhere are at the head of the relief campaign for Spain, should now take the initiative and introduce a special contribution by all Party members on behalf of republican Spain. In all trade union organizations the proposal to fix a monthly relief contribution for republican Spain will certainly meet with approval and acceptance. A monthly contribution amounting to two hours' wages can be proposed, while the higher-paid workers will willingly contribute half or a whole day's wages.

In some countries the workers are turning over their overtime money to the relief fund for republican Spain. A contribution book for the "Friends of Republican Spain" and the issuance of special stamps for monthly contributions

will promote the carrying out of the relief campaign.

We have seen that the masses of the peasants are also expressing their sympathy for republican Spain in the form of practical relief. In order to collect the gifts in kind contributed by the peasants it is advisable to organize special storerooms in the agricultural districts, as is being done in France, for instance. A special campaign for collecting grain, dried vegetables, etc., should be instituted.

Time presses. Winter is rapidly approaching. A winter campaign under the slogan: "Five million pounds sterling by Christmas!" does not impose any excessive demands. For this purpose, however, it is necessary to adopt measures in every country to strengthen the special campaign for the immediate dispatch of ships with food to the center of republican Spain. At the same time it is necessary to obtain material for making warm clothing. These articles of clothing can be produced in Spain in factories in which women are working. It is of enormous importance to increase the patronage work for children who are homeless or orphans, whose parents have fallen victims to the bombardments or the terror of the fascists. The International Relief Bureau has adopted special measures for housing, feeding and educating children, but it is necessary to win the participation of the broadest circles in meeting the expenditure for the maintenance of children's colonies.

The International Solidarity Week for Spain held last year, as well as the "Self-Denial Week" held by the French Youth in September last, gave rise to the plan to hold an International Solidarity Day on November 6 this year. However, relief work for Spain cannot be confined to this one international solidarity day. The Christmas holidays offer further possibilities in that one can organize special Christmas festivals for republican Spain in the week from December 19 to 25.

The great relief work for Spain calls for the exertion of every effort. In order

to unite and strengthen the aid for the Spanish people in every country, it will be necessary to hold national conferences for the relief of republican Spain. Here the forms and the means for each individual country can be discussed and decided upon. The sending of special delegations of the People's Front, as well as special trade union delegations, delegations of scientists, artists and scholars in various countries, will contribute much to strengthen the political and material aid for Spain if delegates from Spain are included in these delegations. It is necessary to use the press and all other means of agitation and propaganda in the service of this relief work. Special films could be prepared in Spain for showing in the cinemas.

This campaign for providing the Spanish people with foodstuffs cannot and should not replace or weaken the campaign for the *political defense of the Spanish people* against the German and Italian interventionists, who are supported by the reactionary elements among the English Conservatives and French nationalists. The international working class and all anti-fascist forces of the world must fight persistently in order that the League of Nations shall apply sanctions against Germany, Italy and Japan. The mobilization of public opinion must result in the fascist aggressors being deprived of all credits, their being cut off from all sources of raw material, trade with them being stopped, and their economic, financial and political bankruptcy accelerated by every means. The development of the boycott of German, Italian and Japanese goods in all countries, and the mobilization of the transport and dock workers to prevent the transport of weapons and goods to the aggressor countries, will help to achieve this aim. At the same time the mass movement must be strengthened in order to break the boycott of republican Spain by the capitalist governments, in order to open the frontiers and give the Spanish people the possibility of buying the necessary weap-

ons and obtaining credits under favorable terms for raw materials and food.

The masses of the Spanish people have taken up the fight against fascist barbarism; they are in the front line trench in the fight for freedom and progress, and against war and oppression. But they are waiting for the help and support of their brothers and sisters in other countries. Therefore, everything must be done in order to support this fight in every way. The appeal issued by *Georgi Dimitroff* must arouse a tremendous response. In his article, "Two Years Heroic Struggle of the Spanish People,"* Comrade Dimitroff declared:

"Everything must be done to ensure the victory of the Spanish people, for as Comrade Stalin, the great leader of the working people, pointed out in his telegram to José Diaz, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Spain:

"The liberation of Spain from the oppression of the fascist reactionaries is not the private affair of the Spaniards but is the common cause of all advanced and progressive mankind.' •

"To fulfil *this common cause* of ad-

* Also published in a pamphlet under the same title by Workers Library Publishers, New York.

vanced and progressive mankind—the liberation of Spain from the yoke of the fascist reactionaries—means, in the present international situation, not only to render aid to the Spanish people, to assist most decisively in defending Czechoslovakia against German fascism, and in achieving victory for the Chinese people over the Japanese invaders. It means also to bar the way to further acts of aggression and slaughter by barbarous fascism, it means to maintain world peace."

The Munich slave agreement is being put in operation; the Czechoslovakian people is being torn to pieces, brutal fascism is raging in the districts occupied by it, and fascism is already lying in wait for its second victim—Spain. The gentlemen who have deceived their people with the Munich agreement believe that this crooked game will succeed a second time. But Chamberlain and Daladier must not be allowed to get away with a second "Munich." Republican Spain *must* be saved. The interests of the mass of the people of all countries demand this. The courageous fighters of republican Spain, the whole of the Spanish people demand and have the right to demand this from us. *Therefore help for Spain means help for our own cause.*

Are There Progressive Tendencies in Fascism?

BY KURT FUNK

ONE would have supposed that the experience of nearly six years of fascist domination in Germany and Germany's obviously imperialist aggressions would leave no doubt as to the arch-reactionary character of fascism. But the more aggressive the actions of fascism abroad, the more consistently fascism subordinates the whole life of the working people of Germany to the preparation of imperialist wars of conquest, the more energetically do some German and Austrian Social-Democratic politicians strive to find explanations to demonstrate, so to speak, that fascism is fulfilling a historically progressive role.

They discovered "progressive traits" in the annexation of Austria by German imperialism. It is true they held aloof from the "methods" with which fascism completed this union, but set forth the annexation itself as a "progressive act." In this respect these Social-Democratic politicians went still further than those representatives of the wavering opposition in middle class circles who on their part agreed to the proclamation of general military service and the remilitarization of the Rhineland. With their line of "development of fascism to socialism" (*Freies Deutschland* [*Free Germany*] No. 31, 1938), these Social-Democratic intellectuals approach the standpoint of certain opposition fascist groups which is summed up in the slogan: "Beyond Hitler to Socialism." Common to both is the supposition that Hitlerism con-

tains "anti-capitalist" and "socialist" tendencies which must be encouraged and further developed.

This seeking for "progress" in fascism, this supposed "realistic," pseudo-Marxist attitude to fascism has already had fateful consequences in Germany. The "theory" that it is necessary to pass through the stage of fascism on the way to socialism penetrated even into the ranks of the working class in 1931-32. The conception of fascism as the "forerunner of socialism" occasioned a destructive fatalism which hindered the fight for the defense of democratic liberties against fascism. Moreover, the fascist rule, during its life so far, has been able on several occasions to profit from such "theories." Over and over again, for that reason, unity between anti-fascist forces has not been achieved because of contradictory estimates of certain features and measures of fascism. It is clear that whoever is of the opinion that Hitler, by this or that measure, is unwillingly doing preparatory work for the working class, cannot be won over to the day-to-day struggle against fascism.

In German Social-Democracy there are neither unified nor clear ideas as to the nature of fascism. This party, since 1933, has developed countless contradictory currents and tendencies. The attitude of the Executive of the German Socialist Party favors revisionist tendencies and groupings which—more or less trimmed and clipped—throw over-

board such Marxist luggage as they still carried and which, with the help of borrowing from bourgeois nationalism and its variants, or from the coalition policy of Social-Democratic Parties of other countries, seek to equip themselves anew. The extreme Revisionists, the so-called "People's Socialists" develop a conception which in the main comes down to an idealist cover for the old swindle of the People's Community of "Greater Germany," and at the finish contributes to the support of this idea. Another group of Revisionists masquerades as "Marxists," attacks with sharp "Left" criticism the earlier policy of the German Social-Democrats and represents the thesis of the "development of fascism to socialism." This group (and it is not the only one that does this) gives practical opposition to all direct anti-fascist work in the country, opposes the struggle for democratic liberties and is a declared opponent of the workers' united front.

In the organ of this group, *Freies Deutschland (Free Germany)* there is seized on with obvious joy an unfinished article of Otto Bauer's which is used by a number of German and Austrian Social-Democrats as the foundation for a new assessment of fascism. These people assert that the development of the fascist states shows the superiority of the social organization of industry over capitalist anarchy.

Under fascism "production is socially organized" so that if there should develop any contradiction between the process of production and the private ownership of the means of production this can be settled in two ways:

"Either private ownership can break the fetters of the public control of the process of production, whereupon society would revert to the phase of liberal capitalism; or public control of the productive process can abolish the restrictions of private ownership of the means of production whereupon society progresses from the government direction of capi-

talist industry in the service of imperialism to a socialist organization of industry serving the purpose of satisfying common needs."

Friedrich Stampfer in the *Neue Vorwaerts (New Forward)*, No. 270, 1938, represents in the main this position. He is concerned about the "maintenance of the state as the giver of orders to industry." He says that it would be necessary, even after the collapse of fascism, to preserve this compulsion of industry, and to avoid "political struggles with unpredictable consequences." Friedrich Stampfer also gives, within the framework of a critical consideration of the Weimar Republic, some data for what he considers to be "strong" in fascism and what a future republic must take over from fascism. According to Stampfer, the working classes under the Weimar Republic possessed not too few but too many liberties. Therefore, in a future constitution it would be necessary to "build in elements of a strong, legal orderliness." For Friedrich Stampfer there is obviously no class-conscious valuation of the content of constitutions. He admires the "strong power of the Reich" which fascism has concentrated. He tries to reveal in fascism strong tendencies which are anti-capitalist and transcend capitalism.

All these Social-Democratic theories and inventions are at bottom nothing but an application of the "theory" of capitalism to socialism through fascism. Let us keep to Kautsky so as to avoid having to quote the statements of Tarnow, Hilferding, etc. Kautsky wrote:

"The prospects of socialism do not depend on the possibility or necessity of a coming collapse or defeat of capitalism but on the expectations we may foster that the proletariat will grow sufficiently strong, that productive forces will be sufficient to provide plenteous means for the nourishment of the people, and that in so doing the productive forces will take forms that make simpler the public organization of their use, finally that the necessary economic knowledge and con-

science grows in the working classes so that a fruitful employment of these productive forces may thereby be realized; these are the necessary preconditions for socialist production.”*

At another point in the same work (p. 591) Kautsky again sums up:

“The more the capitalist method of production blossoms and flourishes, the better are the prospects for the socialist regime which replaces the capitalist.”

In a third quotation from Kautsky's work we see how the capitalist state, apparently, gradually ceases “to be merely a tool of the exploiting classes.”

“State apparatus begins now to turn against these, that is, to function in direct opposition to its former activity. It becomes, from being a tool of oppression, an instrument for the liberation of the oppressed.” (Pp. 598-99.)

Let the reader forgive this digression to Kautsky's book. It was unavoidable in order to lay bare the roots of the new “theories.”

The novelty of the revelations made by Otto Bauer and Friedrich Stampfer in *Freies Deutschland* consists only in the fact that everything that Kautsky said about the gradual growth of socialism under the conditions of bourgeois democracy is now repeated under the conditions of fascism. Bauer and Stampfer follow in Kautsky's footsteps and arrive at the conclusion that fascism proves the “superiority of social organization of industry over capitalist anarchy” and that today, “to a certain extent,” the principle is realized that “capitalist industry for profit will be resolved into socialist production for use.”

The admiration paid to the fascist war industry corresponds closely to the enthusiasm with which during the imperialist World War, Cunow and other “Socialism-to-which-we-look-forward” people regarded things. But the industry of today, directed as it is by a few all-power-

ful monopoly undertakings, has as little socialist character as the food cards of those days had to do with socialism. The capitalist class character of the state today is more clearly shown under fascism than under bourgeois democracy.

The “structural changes” of which *Freies Deutschland* writes are in fact changes in the direction of concentrating the power of finance capital but not towards the “socialization” of industry. The contradictions of which Bauer has written carry an entirely opposite character: there are contradictions and competitive struggles between the most reactionary finance capitalist classes and the mass of urban middle classes and small owners, anti-capitalist features are more pronounced among the agricultural classes and lower middle classes which are in opposition to the fascist regime. But the fascist regime in no way represents anti-capitalist factors.

The fascist state apparatus is the instrument of power in the hands of finance capital, but it is not an implement, standing above classes, for the “social control of the process of production.”

Hence arises the necessity for the working classes in the fascist state to seek out their comrades among those classes of people which under fascism are oppressed, discriminated against and driven to dissatisfaction, that is, the working classes must struggle in a direction directly opposite to that recommended by Bauer, Stampfer and others.

HAS DEMOCRACY BEEN OUTDATED BY FASCISM?

The Communist Party of Germany wrote in a resolution of May, 1938:

“The overthrow of Hitlerism is the most momentous task for the fulfillment of which all friends of freedom and democracy, all Communists, Social-Democrats, democrats, Catholics, Protestants and other opponents of Hitler must unite in common struggle.... In order to achieve this unity in the struggle against Hitlerite fascism it is most important that the following question should be

* Karl Kautsky, *The Materialist Concept of History*, Vol. II, p. 562.

understood: What will come after Hitler?"

"Next to the will to ensure peace, the will for freedom and democracy moves the German people deepest. This will is expressed in the demand for a truly democratic republic."

The Communist Party, which has never concealed the fact that it fights for socialism, expresses openly its intention to fight in Germany, together with all opponents of Hitlerite fascism, for a democratic republic. It says without any beating about the bush that the class interests of the proletariat require the overthrow of fascism and the setting up of a truly democratic republic. In this aim, the class interests of the proletariat are in agreement with those of the majority of the German people.

The Communists do not thus become apologists for the bourgeois democracy but the Communists know the difference between the working class struggle under democratic and under fascist conditions. They appreciate the losses that the proletariat has suffered from fascism and do not regard them as "secondary," "unimportant" as is the case with the Social-Democrats of *Freies Deutschland*. What setbacks has the working class suffered from fascism, by which its struggle has been made much more difficult?

Above all, they are the following:

1. Working class organizations and the press have been suppressed and destroyed.

2. Their democratic liberties as citizens have all been destroyed.

3. Living and working conditions have deteriorated as a result of the reintroduction of conditions from feudal and primitive capitalist times.

4. The power of capitalist monopolies has been increased. Military and police organization has been tremendously increased and is used entirely for the oppression of the workers.

5. The whole machinery of state, and all so-called "cultural" and "social" organizations, have as their sole object racial agitation in the service of im-

perialist interests and the development of unrestrained chauvinism.

Under these conditions, among sections of the working class itself there arises an ideological confusion which at times drives the youth, in particular, into the arms of bourgeois nationalism. The fascist regime seeks to wipe out the experience which the working class has won in decades of struggle. Though it is true to say that fascism makes new opponents for itself by the actualities of everyday life, it is important, on the other hand, to recognize that the working class can advance and lead forward the mass of the workers only in the day-to-day struggle for democratic rights, struggles however small.

He who—by new "theories" of the "development of fascism into socialism" or concerning the change of fascism into socialism—diverts the working class from the fight for the improvement of working conditions in industry and the struggle for democratic liberty, however small, imperils the whole arduous struggle for the overthrow of Hitlerism.

In his lecture on "The State" Lenin explained the importance of the democratic republic for the development of the working class:

"The democratic republic and general franchise were a great step forward in comparison with the feudal system; they made it possible for the proletariat to reach the present degree of unity and decision and to build those well-organized and disciplined ranks which lead the systematic battle against capital. There was nothing similar to it among the feudal peasants, to say nothing of the slaves. The slaves . . . rose up, mutinied, led civil wars but could never form a class-conscious majority or party to lead the struggle, could never clearly understand towards what goal they were striving and in the most revolutionary moments of history proved themselves to be always like chessmen in the hands of the ruling classes. The bourgeois republic, parliament, general franchise, all these represent enormous progress from the standpoint of the universal develop-

ment of society. Humanity advanced towards capitalism and capitalism itself, thanks to urban culture, first made it possible for the oppressed classes of the proletariat to become conscious of themselves and construct their international workers' movement—those millions of workers throughout the whole world who are organized in parties, those Socialist Parties which consciously lead the struggle of the masses. This development of the working class would have been impossible without parliamentary systems or the right to vote.”*

If it is true that the primary aim of fascism is to stop this development of the working class and reduce it to the level of slaves, then the most immediate task of the workers' parties which have been driven into illegal activity is to lead the struggle for the restoration of democracy.

In order to carry on the fight for socialism the working class needs conditions which are not present under fascism. It is at the present day necessary, instead of regaling the working class with “theories” that fascism will develop into socialism, to lead them in the struggle for genuine democracy. The working class, which fights to achieve socialism, needs democracy. But it is very characteristic of the Social-Democratic politicians, who formerly set up bourgeois democracy as the alpha and omega of socialist policy, now to seek in fascism a means to develop socialism “without conflict.”

Now, as then, these politicians ignore the immediate problems of the working class. Today its task is the struggle for democracy. The democracy for which the German proletariat together with the working masses must fight does not need the titivating that Friedrich Stampfer recommends, for it can only arise out of the struggle of the workers for their own immediate interests and demands. Nourished in conflict under the hard conditions of fascism, ennobled by the

superhuman sacrifices and experiences of the German workers, the German democratic republic will not exhibit those failings which, through the sins of its fathers and the pitiful policy of its Social-Democrat members, clung to its predecessor of Weimar.

Democracy and parliamentarism were not played out for the German workers as experience has shown. How then could it become played out after its development had been thrown back by the fascist counter-revolution?

The “strong elements” which Freidrich Stampfer discovers in fascism and regards with envy are in fact just those features which contribute most to undermine and shake the mass support of fascism. It is just these features which repel many disappointed petty bourgeois and bourgeois adherents and sympathizers of fascism.

Let us take first the “Greater Germany” nationalism, *i.e.*, the imperialist expansion drive of German fascism before which a whole row of German and Austrian Social-Democrats capitulated. It will not be long before the mass of people in Germany realize that they can expect no improvement in their standard of living because of annexations. They get to know rather by personal experience that every addition of territory under German fascism brings with it a direct worsening of conditions for the German workers and certain classes of the bourgeoisie, because new demands are made for armaments, fortifications and development of industry, etc., which are all put on the shoulders of the people.

In addition to this is the fact that in the districts annexed, the feeling of the population turns against fascism. In Austria the urge to national independence strengthens under the tread of the Prussian jackboot. Even in such districts as the Sudeten area, in which fascist demagogy has been successful, there will arise before long, besides disillusion arising from fascist reality, certain tendencies in favor of national indepen-

* V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. XI, p. 392.

dence. The "national unity" imposed from above and artificially cultivated is not of long continuance. The German working class, if it does not give way to the surrender policy of certain German and Austrian Social-Democrats, has important allies within the nationalist independence movements inside "Greater Germany."

Secondly, let us consider the "strong administration of the Reich," *i.e.*, the absolute central, "totalitarian" concentration of the power of the state in one hand. In the face of this central power, Social-Democrat politicians think mournfully on the many concessions which they made formerly to reactionary and sectarian movements (*e.g.*, to the Prussian Junker local administrators) while they were most careful to prevent progressive tendencies from taking shape in any state in Germany (*e.g.*, in Saxony and Thuringia). But is the centralized government used by German fascism a model for the new German democracy? By no means.

This kind of centralism does not correspond to the real need to allow the German states a certain amount of individual life and responsibility for themselves which is theirs by right of their traditions and peculiarities. Fascist centralization is one of many internal measures of preparation for a war of imperial conquest. It arises from the consideration that any customs or other independence of the states—even under fascist rule—would hinder totalitarian war measures. Under the pressure of the central dictatorship there arise in the states opposition tendencies which at first are not sustained by any conscious opposition to fascism. It is in the interest of the German working class that these tendencies should develop further and lead to a weakening of the fascist central government.

In this connection it should be pointed out that the fascist throttling of self-government of communities, both in the city and in the country, leads to the arousing of opposition forces which must

be encouraged and pushed forward. In this case one is concerned with forces which are not originally anti-fascist in alignment.

Let us then consider briefly the measures taken by the fascist dictatorship in industrial politics, of which the false estimate by certain Social-Democrats has already been considered. It is just this "regimenting" and "regulation" that run up against the opposition of the masses of peasants, small shopkeepers, skilled workers and small and middle merchants. It is in the interests of the German working class to find allies among these forces. In practice, in the daily opposition struggle in Germany just this kind of close connection develops between the workers and the members of the middle classes.

It is an urgent task of the workers' parties to encourage and accelerate this process.

The hymns of praise to the "state-controlled" industry which was here the case in point are anything but suited to strengthening and deepening the alliance between the working class and the middle classes.

So we see borne out in practice what Georgi Dimitroff said about the "stability" of fascism.

"Thus fascism, which appeared as the result of the decline of the capitalist system, in the long run acts as a factor of its further disintegration. Thus fascism, which has undertaken to bury Marxism, the revolutionary movement of the working class, is, as a result of the dialectics of life and the class struggle, itself leading to the further development of the forces that are bound to serve as its grave-diggers, the grave-diggers of capitalism."*

But it is not possible to reconcile the new "theories" with such a revolutionary view. It is to be expected that, among the ranks of the Social-Democrats, too, there will be voices raised

* Georgi Dimitroff, *The United Front*, p. 30. International Publishers, New York.

against these new manifestations as already has happened in the case of the surrender of certain Social-Democratic leaders to "Greater Germany" nationalism. In the *Neue Vorwaerts* (No. 273, 1938) C. G. wrote on this theme:

"Every, even apparent, approach to the 'Greater Germany' aims of conquest of the Third Reich must for that reason be avoided as firmly as the appearance of recognition of the frontier alterations which the Third Reich has made by force, with the object of a new and far-reaching use of power methods."

The working class of the fascist coun-

tries, on which lies the pressure of domination by force and which is exposed to the barrage and the poison of fascist propaganda, needs for its orientation and organization clear analysis and unambiguous slogans. "Theories" about the "further development of fascism into socialism" are practically nothing more than expressions of retreat, signs of surrender and consequences of the decay which fascism carried into the ranks of the workers' movement. By such "theories" the working class is held back from the fulfilment of its present tasks and dragged along in the wake of fascist currents.

TWENTY ONE YEARS OF PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

"On this, the twenty-first anniversary of the October Revolution, the Soviet Union stands more than ever before as the greatest bulwark of peace and democracy; its world authority heightened; the ally that all peace-loving peoples need to combat the menacing consequences of the Munich betrayal, to halt the aggressors in Central Europe, in Spain, in China, and to fight effectively pro-fascist reaction at home.

"Hail the firm, indissoluble alliance between a united international working class and the great Soviet people!

"Hail the collaboration and friendship between the American and Soviet peoples for progress, democracy and peace!"—Alex Bittelman, *The Communist*, November.

The Fifteenth Anniversary of the September Rising in Bulgaria

BY A. VLADIMIROV

FIFTEEN years ago, in September, 1923, the anti-fascist working people of Bulgaria rose in arms to ward off the attacks of fascism. The Bulgarian Communist Party took the lead in this rising of the people.

The armed rising of September gave forceful expression to the democratic feeling existing among the mass of the Bulgarian people. The issue was: *at the expense of which class* and by what means should the first post-war crisis be overcome?

Against the fascist plan envisaging the complete enslavement of the mass of the people and the transfer of all burdens imposed by the peace treaties and the capitalist stabilization onto their shoulders, against the barbaric excesses of the fascist terrorist gang led by Zankoff, who had seized power by means of a military conspiracy, the masses, led by the Communist Party, rose in arms in September, 1923, in order to impose their own plan and their own program for a way out of the crisis.

This plan included the overthrow of the Zankoff regime, the establishment of a workers' and peasants' government, the complete restoration and extension of the democratic rights and liberties of the people, the transfer of the burdens connected with the liquidation of the effects of the war and the crisis to the shoulders of the big bourgeoisie, and generally the creation of conditions which would guarantee the Bulgarian people a free and peaceful development.

The masses of Bulgaria, united through hard experiences, took up the struggle resolutely against the onslaught of barbarous fascism. This circumstance makes the September rising an event of extraordinary importance. It was the first armed struggle of the masses of the working people against the aggression of fascism.

The September rising gave the working population of Bulgaria a place in the ranks of the progressive nations fighting heroically against fascism for freedom, for peace and for bread.

In the September rising the best fighting traditions of the Bulgarian people were reawakened—the traditions of the struggle against the Bulgarian feudal lords, against the Turkish Pashas and Beys, against the reactionary and lawless rule of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie. The workers and peasants of Bulgaria are justifiably proud of their September rising.

Five years ago, on September 23, on the tenth anniversary of the rising, the best son and leader of the Bulgarian people, the courageous and ardent proletarian tribune, Georgi Dimitroff, called to the world from the platform of the Leipzig trial: "I am proud to be a son of the Bulgarian working class! I am proud of the heroic September rising!"

Yes, the Bulgarian Communists, and with them all workers of Bulgaria, are like Georgi Dimitroff, filled with a feeling of national pride when they remember their rising. They are proud of the

workers and peasants who, following the revolutionary traditions of the past, rose in arms against fascism in the name of freedom, peace and culture. They are proud that their Party dared and was able to lead the masses in the armed struggle against the fascist obscurantists, that it was able to unite workers and peasants in the fire of the struggle, and consolidate their fighting alliance. They are proud that their Party proved itself worthy of the great Communist International of Lenin and Stalin.

The Bulgarian Communists, and with them all Bulgarian workers, may well pride themselves on the devotion and heroic courage of the sons and daughters of the people, who fell like heroes in the armed struggle against fascism. And on this fifteenth anniversary of the rising they lower their flags in remembrance of the unforgettable heroes of September, and in honor of the memory of Gavrail Genoff, Samfir Popoff, Dimitri Itsoheff, Peklivanoff, Boris Chatshi, Sotiroff, Azeff, Lezischeff, and Zvetanski—the memory of all the members of the Bulgarian Peasants Union who fell in the struggle and of the many known and unknown martyrs of the rising. Their memory will live forever in the hearts of the people.

The example of unity established in September, 1923, between the workers and peasants, indicates more than ever today the correct road which the working masses of Bulgaria should follow in their anti-fascist struggle.

In Bulgaria the danger of fascism was imminent as early as 1920. Big business, the most reactionary forces of the bourgeoisie, began to organize fascist forces against the working masses. Their first blow was directed against the Stambolisky government.

The petty-bourgeois Stambolisky government, representing the Peasant Union, which came to power in the spring of 1920, began to introduce a number of reforms demanded by the powerful peasant movement and directed against the interests of big business. Thus a law was passed establishing a

monopoly for the export of agricultural products and the exercise of these monopoly rights put into the hands of the agricultural cooperatives. By so doing, the Stambolisky government deprived the big commercial and financial interests of a substantial part of their profits and transferred these profits to the big and medium farmers. Further, the government put a tax on unlawfully acquired wealth (*i.e.*, wealth acquired during the war by profiteering and by plain robbing of the treasury), prosecuted profiteers and in the large cities expropriated the big houses of the rich landlords.

Finally, the government introduced a bill according to which the lands belonging to the state and to the church and land acquired from landowners was to be transformed into a "land fund," no landowner being allowed to retain more than thirty hectares. This land fund was destined to supply peasants possessing very little or no land with holdings which they could repay in the course of twenty years.

With the growth of the movement which demanded that the burdens of the peace treaties and of all consequences of the war should be put upon the big capitalists, the Stambolisky government was compelled to introduce further measures directed against urban big business. By declaring aloud that it was about to establish a "peasant dictatorship" and that Stambolisky would "rather hand over power to the Communists than to the parties of the big bourgeoisie," the Stambolisky government gave the capitalists a bad fright. In spite of this, however, the Stambolisky government did not hesitate to suppress brutally, in cooperation with the reactionary parties of the big bourgeoisie, the general strike of the transport workers at the end of 1919 and beginning of 1920. Nor did it fail to persecute the Communists with the greatest ruthlessness at all times. (It was precisely in these years—1919-20—that Comrade Georgi Dimitroff was compelled to work underground.)

Big business supported Stambolisky in his struggle against the Communist

Party, but at the same time feared him and distrusted him. The foreign policy of Stambolisky, aiming at a close alliance with Jugoslavia, led to the dissolution of the Macedonian Revolutionary Organization and to the persecution of its leaders. This again was little to the liking of the big bourgeoisie, who regarded the armed bands of the Macedonian Organization as their storm troops in the struggle against Stambolisky himself.

But what big business regarded as the main danger was without a doubt the growth of the mass movement and the mighty development of the Communist Party. On the eve of the upheavals of 1923 the Bulgarian Communist Party was the strongest party in the country after the Peasant Union and was still continually growing.

Frightened by the movement of the working masses, damaged in their interests by the reform of Stambolisky, the most reactionary section of the big bourgeoisie chose the method of a fascist upheaval.

At the end of 1920 a secret organization, "Narodni Sgovor," was formed with Professor Zankoff at its head. The big banks gave generously to finance this organization. At the same time big business formed the so-called "constitutional bloc" which covered the fascist movement with a veil of legality. The old bourgeois parties joined forces to fight the peasant government. The reactionary and fascist press launched a campaign against the "Bolshevik peril," against the government and against its reforms.

What were the forces at the disposal of fascism in Bulgaria when it thus took the offensive? It completely lacked a mass basis. What it had was first of all the "Narodni Sgovor" secret organization with only about 100 members but with some influence among the officers of the army; further, the organization of reserve officers and the nationalist organization of the Macedonians. The conspirators relied above all on the officers discontented with the policy of the Peas-

ant Union and on the support of certain foreign states.

The working people in part backed the Communist Party and in part the Peasant Union. The majority of the working class followed the lead of the Communist Party. The Socialist Party had some influence among the railwaymen and post office officials, but in the rest of the working class their influence was negligible. The balance of forces was obviously in favor of the democratic front but the danger of a fascist coup was not to be underestimated.

When this danger became evident, the Communist Party was the first to raise the alarm.

On May 24, 1921, in Sofia, a group of fascist agents-provocateurs protected by the police smashed up and burned the People's House belonging to the Communist Party. That was the first signal of ill omen. The Communist Party did not disregard this warning. It began to prepare the organization of mass resistance to fascism on an extended scale.

It was, as we know, at the Second Congress of the Communist International in the summer of 1921 that Lenin set out the tactics of the united front. The first hesitant steps toward applying these tactics were made in Bulgaria. But the Communist Party still had considerable sectarian traditions and trends to overcome. It rejected on principle the united front with the Social-Democrats and obviously underrated the influence exercised by the Socialists over a section of the working class. In fact, the Party regarded the united front merely as a means to recruit unorganized workers to the Communist Party.

But when in March, 1922, the danger of a fascist coup became very great, the Communist Party undertook a serious step toward establishing unity of action with the Peasant Union, then in power. A conspiracy had just been discovered in which were found to be involved the "constitutional bloc" and the remains of the army of General Wrangel who, defeated by the Red Army in Soviet Russia, had found an asylum in Bul-

garia. The discovery of the fascist plot was entirely due to the activities of the Communist Party, which launched a magnificent mass campaign against the conspirators. During this campaign a factual unity of action was established between the Communist Party and the Peasant Union, although the leaders of the latter were unwilling to admit this openly and put serious obstacles in the way of unity.

Still, the Communists thus came into contact with even wider sections of the peasantry and won their sympathies because the mass of the peasants hated the conspirators and saw in the Communists courageous and steadfast fighters against the plotters.

Thanks to the vigilance and activity of the Communist Party, thanks to the establishment of real, even though temporary, unity of action with the Peasant Union, the plans of the fascists were quickly frustrated and the government compelled to deport the Wrangel gang from Bulgaria and take steps against the rest of the plotters. The resolute struggle which the Communist Party had waged for the immediate needs and interests of the masses enabled the Party to mobilize these masses for the defense of the national independence of their country against the fascist danger.

But the fascists did not abandon their schemes. They waited for a favorable opportunity. In September, 1922, the "constitutional bloc" announced that it would hold a rally of its organizations in Tirnov. This was an open challenge. The Stambolisky government took up the challenge and called upon the followers of the Peasant Union in all parts of the country to assemble on the same day in the same town. The Communist Party also mobilized all its forces on a national scale. The rally of the constitutional bloc in Tirnov was broken up. The leaders of the bloc were beaten up and arrested. A mighty popular movement began throughout the country against the plotters and those who had been guilty of plunging Bulgaria into the war. The masses took up the slogan launched by

the Communist Party, demanding that the conspirators and those guilty of having involved Bulgaria in the war be tried. The peasant government was forced to hold a plebiscite on the demand that proceedings should be taken against all members of the government which had declared war in 1915. During this plebiscite, held in November, 1922, the Communist Party formed a bloc with the Peasant Union. This was a further serious step toward putting into practice the tactics of the united front. The plebiscite ended with a splendid victory for the united mass of the people.

The Communist Party had succeeded in mobilizing the overwhelming majority of the Bulgarian people against the danger of a fascist upheaval and in teaching the people eternal vigilance to frustrate machinations of the fascist adventurers. During the year 1922 various plans of the conspirators were successfully frustrated. Closer contacts between workers and peasants became a mass phenomenon. The united front was born in the struggle of the working people against the onslaught of fascism. It seemed as if the mighty anger of the people would crush the slightest further attempt of the fascists.

* * *

And yet on the night of June 9, 1923, a handful of conspirators assisted by the army and the Macedonian organization could overthrow the government of Stambolisky and seize power. The masses of the people came into motion. In many places the workers and peasants rose in arms against the putschists. Everyone was waiting for the Communist Party to give the signal for the struggle, but the Communist Party suddenly declared that it would remain "neutral." . . . The workers and the great mass of the peasants, who had already taken up arms and occupied the town of Plevna, were left leaderless and were soon defeated. Stambolisky was murdered by the fascist bandits and most of the leaders of the Peasant Union were thrown into prison. A ferocious terror began first

against the Peasant Union and then against the Communist Party. The achievements of the working class and of the peasants won in a long and arduous struggle, at the cost of tremendous sacrifices, were destroyed one after the other. Big business openly took the offensive.

How could this happen?

It could happen because at the time of the fascist upheaval there was nobody able to unite the workers and peasants and to draw together all the forces of the people hostile to fascism and prepared to fight it to the death, and form them into a mighty fighting force. Only the Communist Party would have been able thus to rally all forces. But on June 9 and the following days the Party was paralyzed by sectarianism of the worst description and therefore it was unable to act. This was what the conspirators had been waiting for. The whole situation, both domestic and international, was more favorable than ever for energetic action on the part of the people and there can be no doubt that this action of the people would have crushed the enemy within a few days.

Unfortunately, at the end of 1922 the tactics of united action of Communists and members of the Peasant Union, successfully pursued during the course of the year, were no longer being pursued in the same way. Fearing the increasing influence of the Communist Party in the countryside, and believing that the constitutional bloc was now finally destroyed, the government of the Peasant Union increased the persecution of the Communists. The Communist Party for its part misconceived the situation, began to withdraw and allowed its relations with the leadership of the Peasant Union steadily to worsen. When at the beginning of December, 1922, an armed band of the Macedonian organization occupied the town of Kistendil, the Communist Party, instead of acting in cooperation with the government, directed all its attacks against it, failing to understand that the occupation of Kistendil was merely a trial of strength and a

reconnaissance on the part of the conspirators.

In the first half of 1923 the struggle between the Peasant Union and the Communist Party grew more and more embittered. This, of course, benefited only the conspirators and no one else.

The general elections of April 23, 1923, resulted in an overwhelming majority for the Peasant Union. Despite strong terroristic measures of the government, the Communist Party could also register a magnificent electoral victory. The Peasant Union and the Communist Party together had obtained an overwhelming majority of votes in this election and the Constitutional bloc suffered a crushing defeat. Stambolisky flattered himself that the constitutional bloc was done for once and for all, and was content to rest on his laurels. The Communist Party for its part, although it continually declared that the fascist danger was not over, directed its main attacks against the peasants' government, which it regarded as identical with the bourgeoisie.

Despite the growing rift between the leadership of the Peasant Union and the Communist Party, relations between the rank-and-file Communists and Peasant Union members were becoming increasingly cordial. This was undoubtedly due to the untiring work of the Communists among the masses.

Why, one might ask, did the Communist Party deviate from the serious steps taken in 1922 toward the establishment of the united front? The answer is that until June 9 the Communist Party had not fully understood the essence of the united front as developed by Lenin. It was sectarianism, in the first place, which hindered the establishment of a *fighting alliance* between workers and peasants in Bulgaria. Sectarian ideas about the road of the proletarian revolution in Bulgaria and about the united front tactics outlined by the Communist International, and described as the means to a proletarian revolution, shackled the Party. It was unable to combine a Leninist staunch adherence to principles, with the greatest elasticity.

It did not understand that the Party sometimes had to pursue a round-about course and be prepared to accept revolutionary compromises provided it always remained with the masses and always led them.

Dead routine, dogmatic conceptions and a sectarian lack of understanding the live dialectics of the tremendous changes in the alignment and clash of the class forces were preponderant in the leadership of the Party and prevented it from making use of the favorable opportunity to establish the fighting unity of the workers and peasants, and thus bring to their completion the united front tactics initiated in 1921. But the June defeat was a bitter lesson to the Communist Party.

The fascist Zankoff gang, having seized power, rained blow upon blow on the Peasant Union, and then threw itself with the whole weight of the state machinery on the working class organizations and especially on the Communists. Punitive expeditions were organized with feverish haste. The army was purged of anti-fascists. The government press opened a furious drive against the "subversive elements" and demanded the smashing of the Communist organizations. The Zankoff government was well aware of the fact that its June victory could by no means be regarded as final.

Wide sections of the urban and the rural population openly expressed their dissatisfaction. The villagers, in their great majority followers of Stambolisky, detested the fascist usurpers and were preparing for new struggles. The working class, always foremost in the struggle against reaction and now exposed to a fierce onslaught of big business, was waiting with clenched teeth for a signal from the Communist Party, ready to throw itself into the struggle, ahead of all the other workers. The urban middle class adopted a waiting attitude. The easy victory won by Zankoff in June without a doubt impressed them, but the decisive struggle was still outstanding and they therefore remained sitting on the fence.

At the beginning of August it was already evident that the country was rapidly and inevitably progressing toward a new armed struggle against fascism.

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The lesson of the June defeat and the criticism by the Executive Committee of the Communist International of the tactics adopted by the Communist Party in the June days did not remain without effect. True, the Party could not regain the positions lost in June. But it recognized correctly that in the struggle against fascism it must always march forward and a repetition of the June days would be tantamount to death for the working class movement and the Communist Party.

The tremendous services rendered to the Communist Party of Bulgaria in 1923 by Comrades Dimitroff and Kolaroff consisted in their having worked from the beginning of August to bring about a wide popular movement against Zankoff fascism, a movement which was not to stop at armed resistance against the fascist offensive.

This move toward the necessity of armed resistance to the fascist offensive and toward the broadest unity of all democratic forces required for such a resistance not only saved the reputation and unity of our Party but also opened up the prospect of the establishment of firm unity within the working class itself and of a fighting alliance between the workers and the peasants.

In August, 1923, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria appealed to the central leaderships of the Peasant Union, the Social-Democratic and the Radical Parties, and to all sincere men and women in the country who were prepared to fight against the Zankoff government, and proposed to form a common front of struggle against fascism. The central organ of the Party, the *Rabotnicheski Vestnik*, published the famous articles of Comrade Georgi Dimitroff on the united front. Very clearly and convincingly Georgi Dimitroff showed in August, 1923, that all

democratic forces of the Bulgarian people must unite for the struggle against fascism. In one of these articles Comrade Dimitroff wrote:

"... The masses of the working people and the working intellectuals are not organized and brought together in a united political party. In addition to that mighty section of the workers found in the ranks of the Communist Party and marching under its banners, there is another important section of the workers in the Peasant Union and a third in the Social-Democratic Party. A fourth group, although only a minority of the workers, forms the majority of the Radical Party....

"A diversity in the program and the demands of the parties does not and cannot be an obstacle making joint work, a joint struggle and a united front for the defense of the working masses in these fateful days impossible—provided that the other parties in the same way as the Communist Party really have the interests of the working masses in view and renounce their cooperation with the capitalist parties which is contrary to the interests of the people. . . . The united front does not in practice mean that the parties must deviate from their general principles and obliterate their specific character, but simply means the adoption of a joint practical platform for the defense of the working masses and the joint struggle for the realization of this platform."

The Communist Party took certain practical steps in order to effect a rapprochement of the Communists to the members of other democratic organizations. The Central Committee also appealed to the leaders of the Macedonian Revolutionary Organization and proposed united action.

However, an actual agreement was reached with the Peasant Union only. The Social-Democrats and the Radicals rejected the Communist proposals. The leaders of the Macedonian organization promised not to put any obstacles in the way of the struggle against the Zankoff government. Later, however, that organization, as we know, supported Zan-

koff. In spite of all this, the struggle of the Party for the formation of a united fighting front against fascism was of tremendous importance both in principle and in practice.

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Needless to say, the Zankoff government lost no time in proscribing the Communist Party. September 12 marked a beginning of a war of extermination. More than 2,000 Communists were arrested and the Communist and other working class organizations outlawed in fact if not in word. Martial law was proclaimed throughout the country. The Zankoff government broadcast the slanderous statement that the Communist Party had planned an armed rising on September 17 with the object of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. An official announcement of the government, dated September 12, stated:

"The government has received information according to which the Communist leaders had decided to make a first attempt to seize power by armed force on September 17 of this year. The government has therefore arrested all the Communist leaders today, September 12, at 6 A. M., and is holding them in order that they may receive their just punishment in the event of an attempt being made of an armed rising."

The allegation of the government that all leaders of the Communist Party had been arrested was a lie. Of the members of the Central Committee only Comrade Kabakchieff had been arrested. The Party organizations, warned in good time by the Central Committee, took the requisite steps for the protection of the leading cadres of the Party. Therefore the government did not succeed in paralyzing the Party, although it did succeed in dealing it a heavy blow.

The Zankoff government quite openly went about the business of unleashing civil war. The Communist Party at this moment was faced with a very difficult decision. The anti-fascist bloc was as yet in a nascent stage and within the

Party itself no complete clarity had as yet been reached on the incorrectness of the tactics pursued on June 9 and on the necessity of a resolute struggle against the opportunist elements. What is more, a violent dispute on the political line of the Party was raging within the leadership of the Communist Party itself. The opportunist wing wanted to hold back the Party and sabotage the preparations for armed resistance to fascism. But after September 12 it had become quite obvious that the Communist Party was faced with this choice: either to take up the struggle and bring about a widespread rising of the people, to overthrow the Zankoff government and set up a democratic workers' and peasants' government—or to surrender unconditionally to the fascists.

The Communist Party of Bulgaria chose the first method. The Central Committee rejected the opportunist proposal of surrender and decided by an overwhelming majority, led by Comrades Dimitroff and Kolaroff, to attempt an armed rising of the working masses against the Zankoff government on September 23. This decision was the only correct one in the situation as it was then. It was taken in agreement with the leadership of the Peasant Union. From the very beginning the rising against the Zankoff government was planned to be a broad, popular movement. The object was to regain, with the cooperation of all anti-fascist forces, the democratic rights and liberties destroyed by the fascists, and after the victory of the rising to form a new government which would confirm and extend these rights and liberties. From the beginning the Communist Party regarded the Peasant Union as its chief ally in the struggle against fascism. The fighting alliance with the mass of the peasantry was now a fact.

What were the objects for which the Communist Party in cooperation with the Peasant Union attempted an armed rising against fascism?

The first objective was, of course, the overthrow of the Zankoff government.

"Fascism must be crushed," "Mobilize all forces of the people to overthrow the fascist government and establish a workers' and peasants' government," such were the main slogans of the Party. The Party estimated the position very soberly and knew that only these slogans could unite the masses and that only they corresponded to the interests of the masses at that period.

The new government was to be a consistently anti-fascist government, composed of representatives of the workers', peasants' and other democratic organizations united on the basis of a democratic program. This democratic program included the transfer of the burdens of the peace treaties to the shoulders of the big bourgeoisie: reduced taxation for workers, poor peasants and the middle classes, combined with an increased taxation of big business; further nationalization of some of the largest banks and capitalist enterprises and, finally, measures to prevent the exploitation of the masses by the financial and commercial interests. State credits were to be granted the poor peasants and artisans, agricultural and industrial cooperative societies were to be developed, foreign trade was to be made a state monopoly, and landless peasants and peasants with insufficient holdings allotted additional land. The program further contained a number of measures destined to satisfy the demands of the working people for better wages, housing, social services, etc.

In the political sphere the program demanded the complete restitution and the extension of the democratic rights and liberties of the people, such as complete freedom of organization, speech and assembly, freedom of the press, the disarming and dissolution of all fascist organizations, the distribution of arms to the workers for the defense of democratic order against fascist conspiracies, votes for women, etc. Especial stress was placed in the program on the desire for peace with all nations and for fraternal relations with the Soviet Union.

Such were the objects for which the

Communist Party in September, 1923, rallied the forces of the people to overthrow the Zankoff government and raise the banner of an armed rising. The program was in complete accord with the hopes and interests of the mass of the people. The masses were ready to fight for this program. As Comrades Dimitroff and Kolaroff wrote after the defeat of the rising, in an open letter addressed to the Bulgarian people:

"The struggle was waged not for the establishment of the dictatorship and of Soviet power, as the present government asserts, knowing it to be untrue. It was directed against the ferocious military dictatorship and its aim was a broad democratic government to be formed out of the representatives of the working population, who form the immense majority of the Bulgarian people. And wherever the insurgent people seized power it established not a Soviet government, as the government falsely alleges, but merely organized joint revolutionary committees of a workers' and peasants' government."

The plan of the rising provided for coordinated action of the workers and peasants throughout the country. The workers in the cities were to rise up in arms and the peasants were to come to their assistance. This plan, however, was not carried out.

Both in the capital and in the provinces the opportunist elements sabotaged the rising by every means at their command. Wherever they could they countermanded the directives of the Central Committee to resort to arms; several district committees (Burgas, Russe), flatly refused to carry out these directives. This of course seriously hampered the carrying out of the rising throughout the country. In many great working class centers, the capital city Sofia, among them, there was no rising at all.

On August 23, 1923, the working masses in the Northwestern and Southeastern districts of Bulgaria, and in several other localities rose in arms with enthusiasm and unity. Wherever the local organizations of the Communist Party

and of the Peasant Union called the masses to the struggle, and led them, the masses responded. Armed with whatever they could lay hands on, men, women, old people and even children marched into battle against the fascist plotters.

In Northwestern Bulgaria where Comrades Dimitroff and Kolaroff led the rising the participation of the masses was greatest of all.

The rising began there in the night of September 23. In the early hours of the morning the bloc of workers and peasants had already seized power in many villages of the districts of Ferdinand, Lom and Berkovica. In organized detachments, in most cases led by Communists, the peasants marched to the cities. On September 23 they occupied the town of Ferdinand where the revolutionary committee established its headquarters. It must be mentioned here that the revolutionary committee was to include a representative of the Peasant Union.

On the evening of September 23 the insurgents occupied the district of Berkovica (but not the town of Berkovica), the districts of Ferdinand and Lom (but not the town of Lom which, however, was surrounded by peasant detachments) and parts of the districts of Orohov, Beloslavinsk and Vratsa. About 2,000 rifles, five machine guns and a field gun fell into the insurgents' hands. The revolutionary committee made every effort to take the towns of Vratsa and Berkovica. The detachments advanced against Vratsa with red and orange banners, orange being the color of the Peasant Union. No attack was made on the town, however, for the forces had to be withdrawn and sent to the assistance of another detachment which had been attacked by strong government forces. The two forces met near the Voichenovica station and a fierce battle ensued in which the forces of the government suffered a crushing defeat. The insurgents took four hundred rifles, six machine guns, two field guns and several railway trucks of ammunition in this engage-

ment. After three days of hard fighting the insurgents had occupied almost the whole of the Vratsa district. More than 20,000 workers and peasants took part in this struggle. But the towns were still in the hands of the government. In the next two or three days the revolutionary detachments made vain efforts to take them. In an unequal struggle against numerically far-superior government forces the revolutionary detachments were defeated on September 28 and 29.

In other parts of Bulgaria the rising took an approximately similar course. There were armed struggles in the district of Stara Zagora, in the towns Stara Zagora, Kasanlyk, Chirpan and in the districts Paloviz and Petrich (where the insurgents took a barrack) and in the district of Sofia. Even the enemy had to admit the mass character of the insurrection. Wherever a rising was attempted the Communists and the members of the Peasant Union fought together in fraternal unity, and workers and peasants died for liberty side by side. In the local democratic organs of government, set up by the insurgents, representatives of the Communist Party, of the Peasant Union and in some cases representatives of other democratic organizations worked in cooperation.

The greatest weakness of the rising consisted in the fact that the biggest working class centers in the country took no part in it. It was this circumstance which led to the defeat of the rising.

In his famous Leipzig speech Comrade Dimitroff said this about the main reasons for the defeat of the rising:

"I regret . . . that at that time my Party and I were not yet genuine Bolsheviks. Therefore we were unable to organize and lead successfully this historical popular rising headed by the proletariat.

"Our insufficiently Bolshevik organization, policy and tactics, our lack of revolutionary experience, and especially our opportunist attitude of so-called neutrality towards the military fascist upheaval of June 9 considerably helped the butch-

ers of the Bulgarian people, the usurpers of its seats of government to carry out the bloody work of crushing the rising."

Among the reasons leading to the defeat of the rising Comrade Dimitroff placed special stress on the opportunist attitude of the Communist Party on June 9. The opportunist irresolution and the defeatist tendencies existing in the Party during the rising were some of the reasons why the plan of a simultaneous rising throughout the country was not carried out. The fact that the Central Committee, although it was directing its efforts towards an armed rising, did not condemn the attitude taken up on June 9 hampered the struggle against opportunism within the Party.

It must be repeated once again that the reason why the big working class centers did not participate in the rising is due in the first instance to the sabotage of the decisions of the Central Committee on the rising by the opportunist leaders of the Party organizations in towns such as Sofia, Plovdiv, Russe, Verna, Burgas and others. After the arrest of the revolutionary committee in Sofia on September 21 the remaining leaders of the local committee countermanded the order for a rising on the night of September 22. By so doing they caused confusion in the ranks of the organization and prevented a rising altogether. The same thing happened in Plovdiv, Burgas and other places. This opportunist sabotage was one of the main reasons for the defeat of the rising.

It must also be said that the Party, having after June 9 begun to carry out the tactics of the united front in the correct way, had only a very short time at its disposal for the extension and strengthening of work in this sphere. The approach to the Social-Democratic workers was as yet in its initial stages and so was the approach to the Macedonian organizations. As already mentioned, no agreement whatsoever had been reached with the Social-Democratic Party and although the conclusion of an agreement with the Peasant Union was a great achievement, it must not be left

out of account that the events of June 9 had considerably weakened the Peasant Union organization ally.

But even in localities where the rising flamed up in full force the lack of revolutionary experience, "our insufficiently Bolshevik organization and tactics" made themselves felt. Hesitation and delay, slowness in taking decisions, and a dispersion of forces, instead of an energetic concentrated attack, also contributed a great deal to our defeat.

The brutal fascist bandits of Zankoff ran riot after their victory. Close on 20,000 men, women and young people were shot or hanged. The atrocities committed by the fascist barbarians defy description, but in spite of everything they failed to achieve their object, which was to annihilate the Communist Party and to turn the masses away from the anti-fascist struggle. It was a Pyrrhic victory.

The rising ended in a defeat. Zankoff remained in power but he still felt insecure. The masses of workers and peasants did not follow him nor did they follow the old bourgeois parties, but more than ever before regarded the Communist Party and the Peasant Union as their only representatives. One month after the rising, that is, at the time when the Communist Party and the Peasant Union had to carry on their work deep underground, three hundred and fifty thousand votes were cast at the general election for the workers' and peasants' bloc. That was a mighty anti-fascist demonstration of the working people and it showed clearly the attitude taken by the masses towards the defeat of the rising and the way in which they assimilated its lesson. The crushing of the rising greatly increased the hatred of fascism among the Bulgarian people. The rift between the government and the masses grew ever wider. The reason why it has up to now been impossible to establish a fascist dictatorship in Bulgaria with a social mass basis is to be found in the first place in the mass rising of 1923. The reply of the masses and the reply of the Communist Party to the

defeat of the rising was the immediate preparation of new struggles against fascism on the basis of the lessons drawn from September, 1923.

From the point of view of the working masses and the Communist Party of Bulgaria the most important results of the September rising were the establishment of the fighting alliance of the workers and peasants, the fraternal unity of the Communist Party and the Peasant Union in the struggle against fascism. It is safe to say that the foundations of the anti-fascist traditions which are so firmly anchored in the Bulgarian people and which constitute one of the most important factors in the present political life of the country, as well as the foundations of a joint struggle of workers and peasants, were laid down by the September rising.

Thus the most important results of the September rising were that, despite the fiercest persecution of the Communist Party and of the working people, Zankoff did not succeed in consolidating the fascist dictatorship in Bulgaria. His attempt at uniting all bourgeois parties in one fascist party and the setting on foot of a fascist mass movement was a complete failure. At the beginning of 1926 Zankoff himself had to resign from the cabinet. The government was compelled to give up the Zankoff program and grant certain democratic rights even though only ostensibly. In 1931 this government was swept away by a wave of popular anger and a democratic government of the so-called "popular bloc" established in its place.

In 1934 a petty-bourgeois organization calling itself "Sveno," attempted to establish a fascist system on the Italian and German model. With the assistance of the army they seized power, dissolved all political parties, suspended the constitution and attempted to set up a corporative state. This attempt was again doomed to failure.

The present government, headed by Kosevianoff, is attempting to find a way out of the deadlock without touching the privileges of the big capitalists and still

withholding political rights from the overwhelming majority of the Bulgarian people. This government set up a sort of "parliament" elected by an arch-reactionary electoral system. However, of a hundred and sixty members of this parliament sixty are in opposition to the regime, although there are no political parties in existence officially and although Kosevianoff has done his best to devise an electoral system in such a way as to prevent any opposition candidates from getting into parliament. Surely that is ample though indirect proof of the fact that the fascist dictatorship has been unable to win a mass basis. One might also point out that the state-maintained trade unions, set up by the government to keep the workers from going on strike, are now organizing and leading strikes themselves.

The anti-fascist traditions of the September rising, deeply rooted in the masses, live on with unabated vigor, and this is the rock on which the followers of Hitler and Mussolini experiments in Bulgaria have more than once been wrecked.

Furthermore, the rising and the events following upon it have left a strong impression on the Social-Democratic Party. During the September rising the Central Committee of the Social-Democratic Party in fact supported Zankoff. This gave rise to much discontent among the rank and file and a Left wing began to crystallize within the party. The idea of the united front was meeting with increasing sympathy among the Social-Democrats.

The contacts between the Communist Party and the organizations of the Peasant Union grew firmer and broader and the relationship of mutual confidence was established between them, a most important result of the September rising. The Bulgarian Communists are well aware that this relationship and this confidence are of the greatest value in the joint struggle of the workers and peasants for a free and happy Bulgaria. The Bulgarian Communists understand that they must guard the alliance of the workers and

peasants like the apple of their eye, that they must widen and strengthen it and protect it from all attack.

Finally, the September rising was of the very greatest importance to the Party itself. The Communist Party, leading for the first time an armed rising of the workers, was steeled in this struggle as the fighting party of the Bulgarian workers and as the leader of the working masses. The Party gained a revolutionary experience of its own. In the fire of the rising it came to know its own weaknesses and deficiencies, began to overcome them and began to turn itself into a real Bolshevik Party. The September rising was for the Communist Party of Bulgaria an experience bloody but glorious.

"The Party, however, drew from this rising a bloody lesson and has been able to profit by it. Today the struggle for the emancipation of the Bulgarian workers and peasants is going inflexibly on until the first victory led by a Communist Party enriched by the great experiences of the September rising." (Georgi Dimitroff.)

The experiences of the September rising have by no means been sufficiently exploited as yet. On the 12th anniversary of the rising, Comrade Dimitroff wrote to the Bulgarian Communists:

"The rich positive and negative experiences of the September rising should be studied; the Party and especially the young generations of the working class and of the working peasants of Bulgaria must be educated in the spirit of the September rising, in the spirit of the fighting alliance between the proletariat and the rest of the working people, directed against the common class enemy. This would be a truly worthy celebration of the heroic September rising of which we, our Party and the whole of working Bulgarian people are justly proud."

An exhaustive study of experiences of the September rising based on the great teachings of Lenin and Stalin is an urgent duty for the Bulgarian Communists and for the Communists in the other Balkan states.

Women Under Hitler's Yoke

BY M. LODE

WHEN the German fascists set out to do everything to get the power in Germany into their hands they regarded the women as an important factor for success. They approached the women with the methods of the political marriage-broker to arouse their hopes of a better life in the Third Reich. Their slogans for the women were calculated chiefly on the yearnings of petty-bourgeois women. "In the Third Reich every woman will get a man," pompously declared Hitler.

In Germany there were not nearly enough men for this promise to be fulfilled, with the customs and morals of today—but what is that to a marriage broker?* The majority of the votes for fascism in the Reichstag elections of March, 1933, were women's votes. Women were taken in by the marriage brokers. The *Myth of the Twentieth Century*, in which Rosenberg wrote that "nordification" and the domination of the Germanic people would never have been possible without polygamy and therefore probably would never be possible, was known to them.

Another slogan of the fascists was "Woman's place is the home." This slogan also was painted in the most rosy colors, so that among many women there arose a picture of their own home and home comforts. That is not surprising for at that time in Germany (according to some English statistics) there were twelve million unmarried women. In the early days of their coming to power, the

fascists carried through a few social measures, as they were called, in order to strengthen the illusions they had created. For example, loans were given to newlyweds so that they could furnish their own house. That seemed very attractive and some young couples who had not been able to get married because of financial reasons changed their plans. But the loan had to be paid back in such a short time that what was left of their wages was not enough to live on.

Women were squeezed out of the factories and offices, the civil service and the professions. In their stead men were employed. This very quickly made it possible for the Nazis to speak of a "reduction in unemployment." This reduction in the unemployment figures was achieved at the cost of the women, who were simply eradicated from the list of the unemployed and had to be looked after either by the husband or by relations who were working. But what happened to the girls just out of school, or those who were unmarried and could not be supported by their parents? They had to learn "service." Service meant being shunted here and there in the compulsory labor service for women introduced by fascism.

Even as far back as 1932 the National-Socialist magazine *Welt und Heim* (No. 48) dealt in detail with the idea of compulsory labor service. Among other things it stated that subjection, organization, work without profit and severe discipline are the aims to which the youth are to be trained. The idea of compulsory labor service for women, already developed in 1932, received its legal

* In 1932 there were about two million more women than men in Germany.

confirmation in the further course of events. In connection with the Nuremberg Congress of 1937 the *Voelkische Beobachter* of September 12 wrote:

"The Fuehrer and Chancellor issued a decree after the last Party Congress on September 26, 1936, which reads:

"1. Labor service for young women, at present voluntary, must be further developed in preparation for compulsory labor service.

"2. The strength of the labor service for young women must be raised to 25,000 by March, 1938. With this the first step will have been taken for the carrying out of the general compulsory labor service for young women laid down in the Reich Labor Service Law of July 26, 1935."

In 1932 compulsory labor service for women was recommended in principle; in 1935 it was already laid down as a basis; in 1936 the first step was taken for carrying out general compulsory labor service and in 1937 there was strong enforcement even for women.

Labor service received little support. Even at the previous congress of the fascists the Reich's leader Hierl had to deal with the opposition to labor service for young women. He attacked the idea that labor service for women was flourishing among the youth on the land. "Education," he said in his speech, "is especially necessary for our youth on the land as a counter to peasant egoism and materialism." He agreed that the essence of labor service is "not learning the technique of work with spade and hoe," but "education in the labor ethic of National-Socialism and in the spirit of the community of labor." The growing opposition to fascist labor service is compared, by Hierl, to "weeds." He says: "If they are not to grow again, every year the weeds of the class spirit and the materialist conception of labor must be exterminated."

But that is easier said than done. Parents and daughters together resist compulsory labor service. Attempts to secure exemption from labor service become more and more frequent. New ways are being continually sought and found

for avoiding compulsory labor service. At the Nuremberg Party Congress of this year the so-called leader of the Reich women found herself forced to sound a warning to all mothers. In spite of this, girls continue to avoid labor service which they regard not as "honorable service to the nation" but as just forced labor.

The struggle has already begun for a wage scale, for leave, and for sufficient leisure, against military forms of work and against compulsory wearing of uniforms. The young women in the labor service camps and on the labor parades are learning fast that they are being exploited in the worst possible way and that their "training," carried out with the greatest "care and supervision," by means of "uniforms, banners and music," is training with an eye to regimentation in the event of war. In Germany the preparation of women for war is everywhere to be observed.

When the introduction of conscription withdrew male labor from industry and agriculture the fascists could no longer use the slogan, "The woman's place is in the home." Fascism needed female labor again. And the employers who profit even more from female than from male labor were quite satisfied with this turn of affairs. They welcomed the slogan, "The woman must work with the nation as a whole." Fascism supplied them with an ideology for the ruthless exploitation of women. The so-called leader of the Reich women, Scholtz-Klink, stated in her report for 1937 that:

"... 11,500,000 women are skilled and professional workers in German businesses, in offices and salesrooms, in hospitals and schools and in many other positions. Their work is no negligible part of the total activity of our nation. We have always maintained marriage and motherhood to be the highest fulfillment of a woman's life. But we know, too, that this fulfillment does not depend alone on the desire of the woman—but that it is destiny. Thousands of German women, to whom this fulfillment is denied, follow their profession with the strength of their spiritual motherhood, and, as a service to the whole commu-

nity, have made this part of their lives."

It is an impudent lie that these eleven and one-half million women who drudge in the factories have no children at home or that they satisfy their "spiritual motherhood" in the war industries by making hand grenades and poison gases. It is not only the childless women who have to toil ten hours a day in the Germany of today, it is, above all, those who were once forcibly dismissed, whose unemployment money had been taken away from them; it is those who do not know how they are going to fill hungry mouths with the scanty earnings their husbands bring home, it is the women of the German working classes who were forced to go to work to help keep the family, and slave for foreign profits.

In 1937, eleven and one-half million women went back to work. Today the figure is notably higher. Women are put to work especially in the important war industries. In the airplane engine factory of the Daimler-Benz Company, women have recently been replacing even skilled laborers. In this factory alone there are 2,000 women workers out of a total of 6,000 workers. Women get scarcely half of a man's wages. Similar reports come from many other large industrial undertakings in Germany.

We get an interesting picture of women's work in Germany from the German textile industry in which 70 per cent of the workers are women. The *Statistical Yearbook of the German Reich* for 1937 provides the following figures:

Year	Skilled Workers	Assistants	Women (Unskilled)
1929	101.1	79.4	52.7
1932	81.6	68.8	43.9
1936	78.3	62.2	43.4

We must not forget that these fascist statistics give so-called "average rates" but by no means the lowest wage rates. The real facts of these so-called average rates may be gathered from the official organ of the Reich Ministry of Labor, *The Reich Labor Department*, No. 9. There one can find a new scale of wages for the textile industry of Rhenish West-

phalia district, which contains the following illuminating figures:

WORKERS ON TIME RATES IN SPINNING
FACTORIES

(Wages in pfennigs)

	Men	Women
Over 23 years ..	58.5	48
20 to 23 years ..	54	42.5
<i>Skilled Workers</i>		
	Men	Women
Over 23 years ..	60	49.5
20 to 23 years ..	55	45.5
<i>Assistants</i>		
	Men	Women
Over 23 years ..	52	40.5 to 42.5
20 to 23 years ..	48	29.5

In the textile industry, not one woman worker reaches the so-called "average wage" for women and unskilled workers. The proportion of workers of both sexes in textile factories is more than 12 per cent of the total number of German workers. At the same time one must not forget that the wages of girls under twenty are even more scanty and run to about 10 to 12 marks a week.

According to the report of Frau Scholtz-Klink for 1937, women workers are all organized in the National-Socialist Women's Organization and in the Guild of German Women. What these organizations require from the women outside working hours may be gathered from the following compulsory duties which every member must fulfil:

1. It is the *duty* of every member of the youth group and of the women's group to take part in a Motherhood Instruction course and to obtain a certificate in the three sections of the motherhood school work. This measure is intended to prepare and qualify young girls to be able, in case of necessity, to help in the neighborhood in the evenings or on Sunday.

2. It is their *duty* to take a course in First Aid with the German Red Cross. It is not enough therefore for women to toil day after day in the factory and care for the household and the children in the evenings. It is also part of their *duty* to take courses in motherhood and

first aid and serve as "help" for the neighbors. In other words, if the wife of a Nazi boss living in the neighborhood does not wish to look after her own house the over-worked working women from the German Women's Organization must rush to fill the breach.

The exploitation, oppression and loss of rights of the German women are made much worse by the monstrous underestimation of women under a fascist regime. Women are not active in any profession which requires certain technical knowledge or long training. Women are practically not admitted as students. They have no means of rising in their work. They are, and remain, under fascism, "women auxiliaries."

How different is the life of women in the Soviet Union!

"Women in the U.S.S.R. are accorded equal rights with men in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social and political life."

This is stated in Article 122 of the Stalin Constitution. In 1936 there were 8,492,000 women workers and office employees in the Soviet Union. But of these there were, in heavy industry alone, 82,300 women engineers and technical workers, and in the building industry there were 7,400. On July 1, 1936, 1,012,100 women worked in agriculture. Of these, 6,100 were agricultural experts and personnel of the engineering and technical staff; 12,423 women were heads of collective farms and 24,319 executive members of collective farms.

In 1936, 198,503 women studied at universities and colleges, making up 39 per cent of the total number of students. In the various technical colleges there were 288,967 women (43 per cent of the total number of students) and in the evening schools were 88,503 (35.8 per cent of all students).

Women play an important part not only in industry and agriculture, but also occupy important posts in the field of culture and education. In 1936 there were 11,838 women working in institutions for scientific research alone; 42,353 practised as doctors (46.7 per cent), *i.e.*,

twenty times more than in pre-war days.

Up to January 15, 1937, 1,033 women were decorated by the Soviet government; 349 women wear the highest distinction of the Soviet Union, the Order of Lenin.

In the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., 77 of the 569 delegates are women. In the Soviet of Nationalities, 110 women are members out of a total of 574. The active part played by women in the national life of the Soviet Union is apparent in these few figures. In the Soviet Union, woman has become a free person. She can determine for herself the kind of life she shall lead and is in every respect a full and equally privileged citizen of the great Soviet state.

Under fascism, women have no rights at all—but only duties, duties and still more duties. She had to leave her work when the fascists so desired it, but is once again subject to exploitation now that the fascists require it. Apart from this she has to be, like the men, organized in the Air Defense, attend courses, go on parades and take part in Air Defense exercises. She is ruthlessly being drilled for war.

But the more openly the German fascists prepare for war the stronger grows women's opposition to war. German women fight against compulsory membership in the Air Defense, against compulsory courses and against parades. The so-called "People's Gas Mask," which they are almost compelled to buy, has found very little market. Women have recognized that when things become serious, *i.e.*, in wars, these gas masks provide no protection against gas attacks. German women are making greater demands for gas-proof cellars to be built at the expense of the town and parish authorities.

The German housewives, too, daily run up against the enormous war preparations and the war economy of German fascism. For almost two years there has been an intensive propaganda drive for the using up of all rubbish, including food scraps from individual households. An organization has been set up for collecting and sorting rubbish of all

sorts. The entire Hitler Youth organization was mobilized to gather up all old bones, vegetable refuse, potato peelings, coffee grounds, old wrapping paper, etc., from every house. Collecting stations for rubbish were set up in the schools. Every day, through the newspapers, the housewives received instructions on how to collect and dispose of all this refuse. But the German housewives can hardly follow all these directions. In Germany there are not nearly enough dust-bins. In Germany, butter, fat and pork have a long time been insufficient to meet demands. There is a great scarcity of other foodstuffs. Every day the regulations and restrictions concerning the food problem increase and the foodstuffs available decrease. Even onions have become a rarity in fascist Germany.

There are cases where women of the frontier districts go into the country over the border in order to buy a few onions. But they bring these onions only as far as the German frontier station. There, not only the onions but also the frontier-passes are taken away.

The only way the fascists undertake to solve the food problem is to tell the women not to be forever asking for products that at the moment are not on the market but take rather what is available. They must "kindly" understand that Germany must "starve itself to greatness."

To the food difficulties are added the difficulties in the clothing industry: synthetic wool, synthetic cotton, synthetic linen and synthetic leather, etc.

These are the "delights of life" that German fascism has brought to the women. But it is not satisfied only with this. It demands that the German women, "with faith in the greatness of Germany," shall shoulder still more burdens. For Frau Scholtz-Klink says freely and openly: "The more the people carry the burdens with a willing heart, the lighter the burdens become." This "faith" that they are now trying to force on the German women is intended to increase the readiness of German women to make sacrifices and go to war. They pretend that "No sacrifice is too great

for this faith in the greatness of Germany."

Are not the German women sacrificing enough? Is it no sacrifice when German mothers must see how thousands of their children are collapsing by undernourishment? Is it no sacrifice when the German mothers have to send their boys and girls to the Labor Service, when the girls often come back ill or pregnant? Is it no sacrifice when they continually have to give up money from their wages or from the housekeeping money for the fascist collections? There are plenty more such sacrifices.

German fascism requires from women not only material sacrifices but also sacrifices of blood and life. Thousands of German husbands and sons were sent to Spain in order to make war against the Spanish people. Many German soldiers today lie buried in Spanish earth and mothers are being informed that their sons or their husbands have been killed accidentally while on a "maneuver." Many wives and mothers gasped when they learned that their husbands and sons were marching into Austria with artillery and tanks. The mobilization of two million Germans to attack Czechoslovakia increased enormously the fear of war in the women. How great was this fear was expressed especially when the reservists were called to the German maneuvers and many thousands were requisitioned for work on the frontier fortifications.

Under the title "Twilight Over Hitler," the English newspaper *The Daily Herald* reported on August 26:

"Enthusiasm has waned. Instead there is a restless anxiety, disquietude, a depression of spirit, a loss of confidence in the leader, a dread as to whether his leadership is taking the nation. . . .

"The calling up of reservists for the maneuvers caused something near panic. There are innumerable reports of 'incidents' . . .

"At Spandau women and girls went to the station and stood on the line to prevent the train with their men from leaving. They had to be removed by force.

"At another town near Berlin the men themselves refused to entrain."

Another report says:

"On the occasion of the taking away of 600 conscripted laborers who were going to be transported on August 8 at 12:15 P.M. by passenger train No. 6,734, from the Potsdam station to the Saar district for work on building fortifications, there developed a great demonstration of protest. The workers put on the emergency brake to hinder the departure of the train. Women present on the platform turned the farewell scenes into loud demonstrations against the sending away of their husbands and against the war preparations of the government. The train was able to depart only after a two-hour delay, after the railway police had been called and had cleared the platforms. Some women were arrested. After the departure of the train the demonstrations continued in the neighborhood of the station, especially in the Leipzigerstrasse."

There are many such reports. What have the Nazis to offer against this fear of war? The Reich Minister of Finance declared August 21, at Koenigsberg:

"Nobody will suffer any delusions over the fact that the National-Socialist government will deal severely with any attempts, however small or ineffectual, to disturb our mighty work of construction, *even if they are the result only of someone succumbing to a fear psychosis.*"

That is quite clear. Not only "disturbance of the work of construction" is to be punished but also "succumbing to a fear psychosis." Up until now the bestial terrorism of the Brown gang was directed mainly against anti-fascist men and women. Now the terror is going to reach much further than the anti-fascist movement. Suppression, persecution, concentration camps, tortures, prison and death have not been able to bend the anti-fascists in their fight against the Hitler regime.

More than once the fascists have sent the ashes of murdered anti-fascists to their wives and mothers by post. The postman who brings to wives and mothers the remains of their husbands and sons is a dreadful symbol of the contempt which German fascism ex-

presses for wives and mothers.

To German women after the postmen with the urn of ashes comes the executioner. Liesel Hermann, who had to spend two and a half years in a fascist prison, was executed by the fascist executioners on June 20, 1938. Liesel Hermann was still young, only twenty-nine years old. She was the mother of a boy, now four years old, whom she never saw again after her arrest. What crime had Liesel Hermann committed? She was a true anti-fascist and Communist. She wanted peace and freedom in Germany. That is all. But fascism makes of that high treason and betrayal of the nation. The so-called People's Court in Stuttgart sentenced her to death.

Hitler loves to speak with great sentimentality of women and children and to be photographed with children. It was in his power to grant a young German mother her life. He did not do this in spite of countless petitions and protests against the death sentence. He ordered the murder of Liesel Hermann in cold blood. By this bestiality he showed his true countenance to German women. German women under the yoke of Hitlerism may not be paid like men, may not study at universities, may not rise to higher professions or hold any public office—only in the presence of the executioner are their privileges equal to men. Only the fascist executioner's axe makes no distinction between the sexes—with one dreadful, characteristic exception. Hitler, who always approves death sentences, has sometimes stayed the executioner's axe—when the Court has sentenced the murderer of a woman to death. In Hitler's Germany it is less of a crime to murder a woman than to pass out an anti-fascist leaflet.

Liesel Hermann was a victim of the fascist regime. But the struggle of German women against fascism goes on. All anti-fascists must now, more than before, consider the misery of women under Hitler's yoke, and more than ever support their fight against fascism. Fascism could achieve power only with the help of the women. Only with the help of women can it be overthrown.

The Special District of China in the Struggle Against the Japanese Aggressors

BY SO FEI

THE Special District of the Chinese Republic, the former Soviet districts of Shensi, Kansu and Ningsia, play a special part in the struggle of the Chinese people to defend itself against the Japanese aggressors. Although only 500,000 to 600,000 people inhabit these thinly settled districts, they are, thanks to the hardy and untiring work of the Communist Party of China, an example for the struggle of the whole Chinese people. The inhabitants of the Special District have gone through the school of the Communist Party. They have been tested in hard struggles and fear no difficulties. They are determined to continue the struggle against the Japanese aggressors until victory is achieved.

Even foreign observers must admit the strength and determination that the Special District radiates to all parts. In July the arch-reactionary London *Times* published three articles about the Special District in which it was forced reluctantly to recognize the splendid achievements of the Communist Party of China and of its Eighth Army. The article, published on July 26, says:

“Yenan stands for a good deal more than the headquarters of the Eighth Route Army. To Young China it is an El Dorado, the land of all their dreams, and to it are traveling young men and women from every province in China, from Malay and the Philippines, Java and America. There is a waiting list of 50,000. This is the first and most lasting impression of a visit to Yanan.

“The city is in North Shensi, three hundred miles from Sian, and is reached

in three days by car over what must be one of the worst roads in the world. It goes straight over precipitous hills, runs along narrow ridges and down into valleys where rivers in flood after rain have to be forded or crossed on rickety bridges or punts. When it rains the road is impassable. All along this road, nine stages by foot from Sian, go the processions of students. In the three days I was on it I must have passed 200 trudging painfully along, carrying a heavy load of bedding, clothing, enamel wash-basin, and all other personal possessions. The Sian office said they were receiving 700 a week, giving them seven cents a day for food and starting them off on this arduous ‘first lesson’ of the university course. . . .

“Part of the lure of the Eighth Route Army has always been its call to hardship. Like Garibaldi it offers hunger and cold, wounds and death, and for ten years thousands of the most thoughtful youth have been glad to enroll. . . .

“After training there is a variety of work open to the students. A large number go back to their own provinces, where they can get jobs in some of the many schemes for national reconstruction, and the building up of militia and mobile units. The Eighth Route Army is employing an increasing number to go north to the villages behind the Japanese lines and set on foot self-defense corps and other activities already described. The best of them are picked out for further training in the Resist-Japan University. The pay of these young organizers is about 50 cents a month and their food. In the college the cost of food and tuition for each student is only one dollar a month, surely

the cheapest university in the world. . . .

"The Resist-Japan University has a longer history and is really the training school for the officers for the Eighth Route Army, 80 per cent of its graduates going up to the front line. It is organized on military lines with more military discipline and gives more than half its time to military subjects. The political subjects include Technique of Revolution, Economics of Chinese Life, Schools of Philosophy, Chinese Questions, the Theory and Practice of the United Front. The military subjects are Technique of Offensive, Practice of Fighting, Guerilla Warfare, Mining and Fortification. The students have dug more than 1,000 caves and dug-outs, they have target practice, and practical work in agriculture. It is the only institution I have met in China where the servants have half a day's vacation a week, the students doing their work by turn. The students are given their uniform and allowed 1½ pounds of millet and 7 cents a day for other food. When they graduate the best of them are picked out for further military training at the Military Academy or more political work at the Marx-Lenin Academy, neither of which is now in Yen-an. The others go up to the front and beyond. . . .

"Here is clarity of aim, a set of well-tried methods, and a coherent philosophy behind it; a combination of theory and practice, narrow and doctrinaire perhaps, but very satisfactory with young people, without much previous education and with a necessarily limited knowledge of present-day conditions. Here is work to do, the direct work for the fatherland that youth craves, work with adventure and danger in it. And here are leaders, one at least a great man, who have a great tale of years of fighting and hardship in pursuit of their ideals. It would indeed be strange if these ideas did not grip young China and it would be stranger if, in the years to come when China can call her land her own again, these ideas, spread so widely and implemented so boldly, did not have a decisive influence on Chinese political development."

In the article of July 27 it says:

"Yenan is rapidly becoming a center of artistic and intellectual life. Since

the Japanese occupation of Peiping and Greater Shanghai, many progressive intellectuals are coming up to Yen-an, where a place is found for their contribution to the national struggle. . . .

"The educational system is under the direction of a very famous writer, and high praise is due for the textbooks he has had prepared. It is interesting to see the sound psychology and educational practice that have gone to the making of them. There are 700 schools in the region and 20,000 home-reading circles where the school children pass on their knowledge to their families. And all this is done on about £250 a month. The rural schools give instruction in reading and writing, in the facts of the Japanese invasion and Chinese nationhood, in simple hygiene and defense against airplane and gas attack. The children are organized to go around to the homes of men who have gone to the front and assist in household and agricultural work. . . .

"The Yen-an child begins his literary career by reading that his father plows the field with a buffalo, and his brother looks after the sheep. But in the third lesson the wolf comes to attack the sheep, and in the fourth the Japanese is worse than a wolf, a hundred times worse. . . . The books are roughly printed but well spaced, with clear illustration. I read them carefully, looking for 'Communist propaganda,' but I did not find it; only the oft-repeated demand that all classes and parties in China should unite to oppose the invader.

"It will be asked, of course, what the Eighth Route Army has really done for the welfare of the people, and how the people view its activities. Farmers and workers with whom I spoke praised highly the conduct of the troops. The remitting of taxes, cancellation of debts, and sharing of the land in places where this has taken place have given a fresh start to the peasant. . . . For centuries the Chinese farmers have looked on any army as a plague of locusts, and here they seem at last convinced that the Eighth Route Army has their welfare at heart. . . .

"A reading-room with books and papers has been opened in the village; there is a free hospital and clinic for all, and plays are given two or three times a week in the village temple. Most of the temples are being used for soldiers or

political purposes, but the people are allowed to go in for worship at feasts and festivals. . . .

"Yenan is not utopia, but there is a dream at the heart of it. Its attraction for youth was partly explained for me after an informal conversation with the man who seemed to be the mainspring of all this activity—Mao Tse-tung. . . .

"And what is your vision of new China?"

"Every man has food to eat and clothes to wear. Every man understands the rights and duties of citizenship and has a fair chance of education and amusement. The marriage customs are to be reformed, roads built, industry developed, a six-hour day established. There is no foreign aggression. No man oppresses another. There is equality and freedom and universal love. Together all build the peace of the world."

In the Special District there is a democratic government and a progressive army. In this area, government, army and people are intimately bound up with each other. The masses of this region are filled with a high national consciousness. For a long time they have been leading an organized life. The masses of the populace have long since united in various mass organizations which fight against the foe and for the salvation of the homeland, for example, the society for supporting the battle against the Japanese aggressor, the trade unions, the youth group for saving the homeland, the women's organization, the peasants' union, the cultural society for saving the homeland, etc.

The Self-Defense Corps and the Youth Guard, which can look back on rich experience in partisan struggle, had been organized for a long time. There is a strong organization of the Communist Party of China which fears no difficulties and no sacrifices and which fights with unshakable steadfastness for the liberation of the Chinese nation.

The mobilization of the masses for the defensive war was made easier in the Special District by the fact that many mass organizations existed in which there was political education. By this means the masses became conscious of

the necessity for active armed struggle against the Japanese invaders. Moreover, the masses have enjoyed for a long time freedom of speech, of assembly and of the press. They have long since been organized and armed. Enemy attacks produce no confusion. The government of the Special District itself, under the conditions of the war of defense, cares unceasingly for the improvement of the lives of the people and the raising of their cultural level. Special care is taken of those families whose members are at the front fighting against the Japanese invaders. The government has conceded them certain privileges and favors and they live in secure circumstances. Therefore all men, and women too, fight at the fronts without worrying about their families.

When the enemy presses deeper into the country he runs against insurmountable hindrances. The foe's mechanized divisions—the air force and the artillery—are at a great disadvantage in the mountainous districts of the Special District. The Chinese Army can maneuver easily there. The further the Japanese army penetrates into the interior of the Special District the greater become the difficulties in providing food for the troops, difficulties which for them are almost insurmountable. Although the enemy can occupy a few roads or take a few urban districts, the irregular divisions, in cooperation with the maneuvering tactics and positional warfare of the regular army, bring him into such a position that he has no rest by day or night and eventually can undertake no offensive action.

When the Japanese undertake an offensive with the help of soldiers from the puppet states, the fighters of the Special District address themselves to these with such slogans as "Chinese, do not fight against Chinese," "Chinese, Mongols and Moslems, unite in the struggle against Japan, for the liberation of the Chinese, Mongolian and Moslem people."

Recently the Chinese Communists have accomplished a great work in mobilizing the masses to take part in the armed

resistance to Japan, for the defense of the Special District.

Especially careful attention was given to political propaganda. The success of all work of mobilizing the masses depended on how deeply political propaganda could be instilled into the masses. On the other hand, a definite fight was conducted against recruiting the masses for defense by administrative measures and by commands instead of by the method of political propaganda. In the work of the Communist Party the methods of broad political agitation are always used, especially among the officials who do mass political work but also among Party members and among the masses themselves. The work is done at the meetings of parties and mass organizations and by means of spoken and written propaganda (posters, leaflets, pamphlets, organized meetings, songs, agitation groups, lectures, talks, etc.). This is necessary so that everyone may clearly recognize that the defense of the Special District against the Japanese is of particular importance, that the Special District must be defended until final victory is achieved.

In mass agitation and Party propaganda a definite battle is fought against irresponsibility and easy optimism, against frivolous and liberal attitudes to the foe, against panic-mongering and against the disbelief in the possibility of victory over the enemy.

The Communists say: We must take to heart the tradition of our bitter and heroic struggles of the past, we must fear no difficulties and must be confident that we shall overcome all difficulties.

It is by the political agitation of the Communist Party that all citizens of the Special District, men and women, old and young, will be gotten to take an active part in the resistance to Japan and in the defense of the Special District, to employ all their strength and ability in the struggle against Japan and for the achievement of the ultimate victory.

The Communist Party published a program and a series of other aids to propagandists for carrying out political propaganda. Meetings were held of all

parties and of all organizations of the government, the army, or the masses, at which the problems of mobilizing the masses were carefully worked through.

The forms and methods of organization and work of all official, military and people's organizations were suited to wartime requirements. One must reckon with the fact that in different districts the war can occasion different situations. Some districts can be suddenly occupied by the enemy and others can be isolated for a time; it is necessary to make preparations for all these possibilities, to separate districts, to work out forms of organizations, to determine what work is required by war conditions and to prepare cadres for this. In all districts that can be occupied by the enemy the cadres must be prepared for illegal work and for the creation of illegal organizations. In the districts which might possibly be occupied by the enemy, cadres will be prepared able to continue the work independently. In the districts which stand directly in the way of the armed attack of the enemy, there are cadres for leading guerilla activities. These cadres must be organized in a unified military and political council of the leaders of Party, government, military and people's organizations. All the leading functions of the Party, government, military and people's organizations must establish the closest connection with the armed forces, to provide for common action with them.

War strategy in the Special District consists of exhausting the enemy power by long and tough resistance and finally in destroying him completely. It is therefore necessary for the whole population of the Special District to be armed and to carry out its tasks in cooperation with the activity of the regular Chinese troops. It is necessary to secure mountain passes and in depending them to hold off the enemy by maneuvering. It is necessary to mobilize the mass of the population and supporters so that they can attack the enemy from all sides. The methods of flank attacks and attacks in the enemy's rear must be employed, the most important point must be occupied by sudden assaults and the enemy's re-

treat cut off. The enemy must be brought into such a situation that every inch of soil costs him dear.

On the approach of the enemy, food-stuffs are removed and ways and approaches made impassable. All useful objects are destroyed so that the enemy obtains nothing.

In the whole of the Special District the Chinese Communist Party educates the people to be especially vigilant. The consciousness of every citizen of the Special District is aroused to the fact that the country is at war, that the Special District is one of the strongest and most important areas and that it is hated by the Japanese enemy more than all others. In the pay of the Japanese invaders there are traitors and Trotskyites ready to sell the interests of their nation. They are thrown into the Special District in order to agitate, to spread lying rumors, to sow disorder and to murder those who take an active part in the anti-Japanese struggle. The Japanese invaders take bandits into their service and organize special divisions for attacks on the Special District. The traitor Tsi Si-gun, who was shot, carried on spying under the guise of a soldier of the Eighth Army. He photographed plans for the Japanese, he spoke against the unity of the Kuomintang with the Communist Party and tried to undermine the authority of Chiang Kai-shek. How base the Japanese agents are is to be seen from the fact that they spread the malaria germ in the Special District.

With the beginning of the Japanese attack on the Special District, bandits appeared in many places and were active in the interior on the instructions of the Japanese. These bands can be destroyed only by the closest cooperation between the army and the government.

Under the slogans "Resistance to Japan before everything," and "All for the resistance to Japan" the people's organizations in the Special District mobilize all inhabitants to take part in the work which is necessary to the resistance to Japan. The masses not directly taking part in the war are recruited to help the government and the army by organ-

izing ambulance and transport corps. They organize brigades for sewing and laundry, they set up organizations of nurses for first aid, companies of road guards, divisions for repairing technical tools, for work in recruiting fighters, for collecting food and supplying food to the army, for sheltering wounded soldiers and refugees, organizing services of observers and messengers and for the fight against bandits and against traitors, everything that depends for the most part on people's initiative.

As the enemy pressed forward on the bank of the Hwang Ho (Yellow River) it was important to ensure safe transport. This was a problem to be solved by the inhabitants of the districts of Yan-Shan and Wu-Nin. Through the Self-Defense organization the masses were mobilized. After a short meeting there came more than 4,000 people, bringing with them more than 1,000 horses. Under the leadership of the bands and squads the whole task was organized and very quickly accomplished. In other districts also great transport divisions were organized which fulfilled their task without delay.

Although the Special District is continually exposed to the attacks of the Japanese, intensive work is done in industrial and cultural development, especially in those departments where this is closely connected with the supplying of war necessities. The most serious problem is how to increase the number of working cattle since more than 2,500 beasts were destroyed in an epidemic; how to provide the peasants with agricultural implements, which are lacking in many districts, and how to recruit labor for those families from which men went to the army to fight against Japan. The Agricultural Department in the district government, in agreement with the Provincial government at Sian and with the approval of Chiang Kai-shek, has opened a credit of \$200,000 to help the peasants in North Shensi. This credit is to be used to supply the necessary working cattle. Apart from this, brigades have been organized whose task is to plow over the

land; brigades of women, children and old men perform various light tasks. In this way the labor power which is lacking is brought to those families which have members at the front.

The Department for Culture and Education has decided to increase the number of primary schools from 500 to 700 and the number of pupils from 10,000 to 16,000. There are already seven seven-year schools. The Department for People's Education in Yen-an has also strengthened its work in political propaganda for mobilizing the masses for armed resistance to Japan.

Financial problems are the most difficult to solve during wartime. Since the Special District is a district of small productive capacity, there is not only a marked lack of the most important commodities but also of foodstuffs. In the long periods of defense against Japan these difficulties may grow still greater. But they can be overcome. The Communists, in the midst of war, have begun to develop industry.

The most important task is to unite all the anti-Japanese forces of the population of the Northwest, including all nationalities, for the defense of the whole of the Northwest and the whole of China.

The Communists, therefore, strive unceasingly to strengthen the national united front and to effect close mutual connections between administrative officials, the army and the local divisions of the Self-Defense Corps of the Northern district. They endeavor with the greatest patience to overcome ill-humor and hostile attitude in officials, to correct bad relations of the officials with the masses and to help them in the solution of all problems. They try to achieve unity of plan in all military questions. Together with the Party members of the neighboring districts they mobilize the people to support the Party, the government and the army in the armed resistance to Japan. They strive with all their power to regulate the relations between the government and the people so that the provocations of Japanese and of Trotskyite traitors remain ineffectual. All mass organizations and the whole

people's movement are required and bound to work openly and lawfully and to support the government and the army.

The troop formations of the Eighth Army and of the armed divisions of the Special District which operate on the territory of neighboring districts complete all their activities in agreement with the Party, the government and the army of the district in question. They govern themselves according to the principle of: Accomplish everything through the national united front, subordinate everything to the national united front. In districts which the Japanese had already occupied but which had been reconquered by the Eighth Army or by the local armed divisions new local governments are organized when the old ones no longer exist. Such measures are immediately reported to the superior authorities of the district concerned so that they may take over its administration. The government and the army of the Special District set an example for the unification of the masses. By these means they make known that they really support the Central government and subordinate themselves to it.

The Communists regard it as one of their most important tasks to abolish the disunity which the Japanese have sown among Mongols, Moslems and Chinese and to win the Mongols and Moslems to the common fight, with the Chinese people for their independence. It is therefore important that the Kuomintang, the Central government and the Supreme War Command of the Northwest help the nations of Inner Mongolia to achieve the right of self-determination and self-government. The close alliance between Chinese, Mongols and Moslems is of the first importance for a victorious struggle against the Japanese invaders.

The way in which the government and the army of the Special District set about solving the great problems of the Chinese people is an example for the whole of China. To the English reporter it seems that a "visionary light" lies over the Special District. In truth, this is the light of the new Chinese reality, which shines strongest in the Special District.

Comments on the Report of a Greek Socialist

BY S. TODOROV

IN THE supplement, "Documents and Discussions," issued with the journal *International Information* (No. 3, July 28, 1938), published by the Labor and Socialist International, we find a report on the political situation in Greece. The author is a Greek Socialist and the report itself is preceded by an editorial note to the effect that owing to the present situation in Greece it was difficult to ascertain whether the facts quoted by the author were correct. In spite of this, the editorial board decided to publish the report because of its interesting content.

The "interesting content" of the report consists mainly of slanderous attacks on the Communist Party of Greece.

The report states that the Communist Party had in the past occupied a position of monopoly in the political working class movement but had now compromised itself in the eyes of the masses. Owing to this circumstance favorable opportunities of development were offered to the Greek Socialist Party, which was, however, hampered in its activities by the dictatorship existing in the country since August, 1936. The rise of this dictatorship is also due to the inability of the Communist Party to set up a revolutionary program of its own in the face of the crisis confronting bourgeois policies.

According to the report both the Communist and the Liberal Parties had suffered a complete political shipwreck under the dictatorship. This left the democratic elements of the Liberal Party, the workers in the Communist Party, the

trade unionists and the peasants no option but to turn to Socialism. The dictatorship must, however, be overthrown from the outside, thinks the Socialist author, and hence his hopes are directed towards the democratic countries of Western Europe and the L.S.I.

Such is in brief the "interesting content" of the report published by the Labor and Socialist International despite its own admission that the allegations of the author were open to doubt. The editor of *International Information* was obviously so thrilled by the anti-Communist, provocative tone of the report that he failed to notice that the honorable author had omitted to mention by a single word the heroic struggle of the Greek working class against the dictatorship. Even the Labor and Socialist International ought to be able to find out without too great difficulty that this struggle is being carried on energetically and persistently and that it is causing increasing alarm among the dictators. The Labor and Socialist International, having found this out, ought to ask: who is leading this struggle? Who is at its head? What are the objects of this struggle and what program of action are the masses attempting to put into practice? What forces are taking part in the struggle and what is the part played by the honorable author of the report and his party colleagues in this struggle against the dictatorship? All these questions might possibly interest the Labor and Socialist International. But as it apparently does not know the answer to them we propose to give an

answer and inform the international working class in brief outline of the heroic struggle of the Greek workers against the dictatorship.

**THE WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT BECOMES
A SERIOUS POLITICAL FACTOR**

The growing force of the Greek working class since 1932 has been revealed in the increasing number of labor disputes. In 1932 80,000 workers went on strike; in 1935, in about ten months the numbers of strikers was 200,000. Many of these strikes were of a political character and had wide popular support. These mass struggles were led by the Communist Party of Greece which had been waging a successful war on sectarianism, especially after the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International. Thanks to its persistent efforts to bring about a united front in 1935 it succeeded in conducting more than half the strikes under the joint leadership of the unitary Confederation of Labor and the reformist General Workers Federation. The working class was now a serious factor in the political life of Greece.

This fact was causing increasing alarm among the more reactionary sections of the bourgeoisie. The political crisis was sharpened by profound dissensions within the camp of the bourgeois parties. The struggle between the two largest bourgeois parties, the Republican Liberals (Venizelists) and the Monarchist Popular Party threatened to degenerate into civil war. At the end of 1934 the big bourgeoisie in its struggle against the democratic popular movement put forward the demand for the unity of all reactionary forces and a government of the strong hand. The restoration of the monarchy and a military fascist transformation were imminent.

The Communist Party of Greece recognized the danger in time and began to sound the alarm. In October, 1934, it addressed an open letter to the peasant party (Voyasis), the Socialists and other democratic parties proposing to unite all democratic forces in a united anti-fascist front. A contact committee was

formed, but the anti-fascist front was wrecked by the vacillation and shortsightedness of the democratic leaders.

In March, 1935, the Venizelists rose in arms against the threatening restoration of the monarchy. The Paldaris-Kondylis government was the winning side in a bloody civil war; Venizelos fled abroad and the re-establishment of the monarchy was under way. Again the Communist Party of Greece appealed to all democratic parties to unite in the struggle against reaction. The elections to the national assembly in 1935 decided the fate of the republic. The democratic parties retired from the struggle with the excuse that they wanted to boycott the elections.

In spite of this, the Communist Party and a few basic organizations of the democratic parties succeeded in mobilizing considerable mass support and polling 100,000 votes for the united front. When, after the elections, the Communist Party again proposed the formation of a "democratic anti-fascist bloc" to ward off the fascist menace, the leaders of the Socialist Party and of the reformist trade unions replied that they were prepared to fight the monarchist menace but were not prepared to join the anti-fascist bloc.

Popular indignation at the attempts of the reactionaries to restore the monarchy found vent in a mighty strike wave. In July a general strike of protest in the town of Kamnae-Kreta developed into armed resistance. The cruel persecution of the insurgent workers and others roused a storm of indignation throughout the country. On August 13, an agreement was made between the unitary and reformist trade unions and a two-hour general strike of protest carried out throughout the country. In September of the same year 50,000 peasants in the southern part of the Peloponnesus rose in arms against the reactionary bloodhounds.

In October, Admiral Kondylis seized power by a monarchist putsch. Again the Communist Party appealed to the democratic parties to organize a common struggle against the anti-popular mon-

archist clique. The reformist leaders replied that they were "neutral" with regard to the issue—Monarchy or Republic. The oldest and largest republican party, the Liberals, surrendered to the monarchy. Venizelos, in London, signed an agreement with George, King of Greece, as the latter was preparing to return to Greece. The anti-fascist republican democratic front did not materialize.

When the monarchist government of civil servants under Demerjis appointed a general election for January 26, 1936, the Communist Party proposed to the anti-monarchist parties that they participate in the election on a joint ticket. Only the peasant party replied to this proposal. The leaders of the Socialist Party and of the reformist trade unions preferred their candidates to run on the tickets of bourgeois parties.

Comrade Zaxharidis, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece, wrote:

"We met the leaders of the Socialist Party and several leaders of the agrarians dozens of times, discussing and agreeing upon various matters, but the net result of all these negotiations is still just nil. The responsibility for this rests entirely with them."

In spite of all this the ticket of the people's front polled 75,000 votes and secured fifteen seats in parliament. The parliamentary group of the popular front announced that it was prepared to support any government which would undertake to fulfil the fundamental democratic demands of the people.

When a Cabinet was formed in which the putschist General Metaxas played first fiddle as War Minister, a new wave of strikes swept the country. We recall only the demonstration of unemployed on the Island of Mytilini, drowned in blood, the strike of 20,000 workers and small traders in Kavalla, in which barricades were erected and defended, the demonstration of peasants, small traders and workers in Drama with 30,000 participants, the mighty peasant movement for a debt moratorium, etc.

In order to stem the advance of reaction the Communist Party promised to support a government of the Liberal Party under certain conditions. In February, 1936, an agreement was concluded with the leader of this party. However, the Liberals surrender to Metaxas, who now began systematic preparations for establishing a dictatorship by force of arms. Of 261 members of parliament present, only sixteen (the deputies of the popular front) voted against the programmatic statement of Metaxas, four sustaining. On May 8 and 9, bloody clashes occurred in Salonika and barricades were erected. Twenty workers were killed and about 400 wounded. Although Metaxas turned the whole of Northern Greece into an armed camp, the funeral of the Salonika victims on May 10 was the occasion of a tremendous demonstration of the people. One hundred and fifty thousand workers took part in this demonstration. As a sign of protest against the bloody events of Salonika, the Unitary General Confederation of Labor and the General Workers Federation proclaimed a 24-hour general strike throughout the country which involved half a million industrial and other workers. On August 4, Metaxas proceeded with his long-prepared coup and proclaimed a dictatorship.

THE STUBBORN STRUGGLE OF THE MASSES OF THE PEOPLE AGAINST THE DICTATORSHIP

The main blow of the dictatorship was directed against the Communist Party. No effort was spared to provoke the Party, to isolate it from the masses and to destroy it. The dictatorship often boasted that it had put an end to Communism in Greece. In September, 1936, Metaxas was asked by a correspondent of the Nazi *Voelkischer Beobachter* whether "one could say that Communism was already exterminated in Greece?" Metaxas replied, "Yes, one can safely say that it is."

Facts, however, bear witness to the contrary. Sometimes even the newspapers of the dictatorship must admit the facts, even though in veiled form. The

semi-official *Messenger d'Athenes*, published in Athens, in French, in its issue of May 5, 1938, wrote about the activities of the Communists in Greece (representing completed facts as "attempts") :

"... They (*i.e.*, the Communists) tried to create an 'anti-dictatorial' or 'anti-fascist' front, to organize a congress of Communists and also a pan-Grecian congress of the anti-dictatorial League of Youth."

The same newspaper of the dictatorial regime further enumerated nine illegally published Communist newspapers and admitted that the published list of newspapers is by no means complete even so far as Athens is concerned. Another paper of the dictatorial regime, the *Eleftheron Vima* of May 6, 1938, declared that the "Communist Party was the backbone of the united resistance to the dictatorial regime." And, in fact, after the Metaxas coup the Communist Party redoubled its efforts to unite the forces of the working class and all democratic and anti-fascist forces for the struggle against the dictatorship.

Risospastis of November 12, 1937, published a report on the Sixth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party which contains this passage:

"All efforts of the fascists to conquer positions in the mass organizations of the people and of the working class have up to now been unsuccessful."

The resolution of the Central Committee on the results of the May Day campaign in 1937 says:

"During the May Day campaign dozens of demonstrations against the fascist dictatorship took place throughout the country, in the factories and working class suburbs of the towns. Literature was distributed in several hundred thousand copies. That is mainly due to the active work of the Communists and those trade union officials who have remained true to the working class. . . ."

In nearly every city committees of the working class united front have been set up, composed of representatives of the Communist and Socialist Parties and the trade unions.

At the end of 1937 a central committee was formed coordinating all these local committees. In all big cities and later in many rural localities local committees of the popular front have been established. At the beginning of 1938 a central committee of the popular front for all Northern Greece was formed. This committee publishes a paper of its own.

A similar committee exists in Crete. In Athens a contact committee has been formed of representatives of all anti-dictatorial parties.

The "Anti-Dictatorial Youth Front" which also publishes a paper (*Floga*), embraces Republican, Liberal, Socialist, Communist, Catholic and other youth. Dozens of anti-dictatorial papers of the united front and popular front are being published. An illegal paper, *The Red Star* of March 30, 1937, published an appeal of the popular front committee of the Kokinyu district of Piraeus which was signed by representatives of the Liberal, Communist, monarchist and democratic parties and which said:

"To the population of Kokinyu! Liberals, Democrats, Communists, Monarchists! The demand of the hour for us all is the overthrow of the dictatorship!"

The illegal anti-fascist papers publish numerous reports of the increasingly frequent demonstrations of a mass character organized by the workers and other sections of the laboring population against the dictatorship. Thus the newspaper *Risospastis* of May 12, 1937, could announce that in Salonika within a period of three months 15,000 workers were involved in strike struggles.

Elwyn Jones, English author who visited Greece, wrote an article about his impressions in the Paris journal *Vie Européenne* in which he says:

"Symptoms of increasing resistance are already in evidence: for example, on March 14 at the memorial meeting for Venizelos, cries were heard 'Long Live Freedom and the Constitution.' Fifty persons were arrested. Similar demonstrations have taken place in Crete. An illegal journal called *Republican Action* is widely read. The Communist Party is

carrying on active though illegal propaganda and its newspaper *Risospastis* is being successfully distributed."

The armed rising, which broke out at the end of July, 1938, on the Island of Crete and for the suppression of which the dictatorial government in mortal fear mobilized its airfleet and navy, has shown what forms the struggle of the people against the detested monarchist, fascist tyranny is beginning to assume.

The Communist Party, rightly regarded by the dictatorship as the "backbone" of the whole anti-dictatorial front, is still the target of the most cruel persecution. The dictatorship is spending enormous sums on its machinery of spies and provocateurs. In this the dictatorship enjoys the support of the Trotskyites, who call themselves "Pan-Marxists" in Greece. With their assistance the police ministry has worked out a special set of instructions for the agents of the state police. The set of instructions is headed: "How to get into the Communist organizations and how to work in them." The Trotskyites supply the secret police with trained agents. Quite recently the state police in cooperation with the Trotskyites thought out this provocation: first, they arrest a few Trotskyites, long ago expelled from the Communist Party, and then all the newspapers of the government begin to publish in large type on the front page the declarations of these "repentant Communists." The declarations, of course, contain everything the police wish them to contain.

The *International Information* published by the Labor and Socialist International declares that they are unable to check up on the allegations of their correspondents. We suggest that the publishers, if they are unable to get serious information and material from Greece itself, should read the Greek anti-fascist newspaper *Empros* of New York. In this paper a Greek officer of the reserve wrote on June 24, 1938:

"The dictatorship has at present even less sympathies among the people than it had on August 4, the day of its seizure of power. This is due in the first place

to the activities of the Communist Party, which is carrying on a consistent struggle against the dictatorship. To the honor of the Party be it said that it pursues no narrow Party aims, but with a rare spirit of sacrifice is straining every nerve in the general struggle against the dictatorship which is so contrary to the interests of the people."

* * *

In the light of these facts one must ask the question: What words would aptly describe the biased and thoroughly untrue report given by a Greek "Socialist" to the Labor and Socialist International? Is this report the result of incorrect information or of a deliberate falsification?

Why does this Socialist so obstinately deny that a united front of the Communist Party, Socialist Party and trade unions has been established in Greece? Why does he so persistently pass over in silence the fact that the anti-fascist and anti-dictatorial parties have begun to join forces in a popular front? Why does he say nothing about the struggle waged by the industrial and other workers against the dictatorship, about those struggles increasing in frequency and in intensity, which developed into an armed rising in Crete? Why does he look only to "external factors" to effect a transformation in Greece? Why does he mention only "disruption" in the anti-fascist ranks and says not a word about the increasing anti-fascist activities which strike even bourgeois tourists?

If the Labor and Socialist International is not in a position to check up on events in Greece, it might at least check up on the author of such "interesting" reports. Of course the Labor and Socialist International has an evident preference for Trotskyites, but if this unauthenticated correspondent is a Greek Trotskyite—and there are many indications of this—then he is also an agent of the Greek police. Of course a report of the Greek secret police might also be very "interesting" but one might expect that it would not be published in the bulletin of the L.S.I. with the recommendation of the editor.

Socialism Is Justice

THE SECOND SESSION OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE SOVIET UNION

BY I. CLAIRE

THE sound of shooting over Lake Khasan had scarcely died away. The whole world was following on tenterhooks the course of negotiations between Litvinov and Sigemitsu. The Japanese allies of the Rome-Berlin war axis were still counting their dead and wounded, and looking terror-stricken upon the breaches forced by the Red Army in this war front. Anyone who had spent those days of August, 1938, in the Soviet Union, would have been acutely aware of the difference between the reaction of the Soviet country to these events, and that of capitalist Europe.

Not a trace of nervousness, not a sign of the dismayed uneasiness which flooded capitalist Europe in its blatant confusion. The most critical eye could discern nothing of that kind in the Soviet Union.

The pulse of the nation beat, as before, rhythmically and calmly. All eyes were turned upon the Far East. People awoke, worked, and went to bed, their thoughts always with those who, 10,000 kilometers away from the heart of the country, were defending the Soviet frontiers. With the Red Army in mind, the Stakhanovite workers achieved new marvels of industrial output. With the Red Army in mind, the combine and tractor drivers held competitions for the quickest and best quality harvesting achievements. With the Red Army in mind, every transport worker in the U.S.S.R., improved his work. Collectively and individually, all were ready at the first word to relieve the fighters.

In this intense patriotism of the Soviet nation there was no wavering, and no fear. When the press could give no reports of the events of the Hill of Changkufeng, it did not occur to anyone to make pessimistic prophesies and, what particularly astonished visitors from Europe, no rumors were spread about. In the Soviet Union there is no stock exchange. Panic-mongers are hated by the Soviet people. One does not find in the Soviet Union any reporters and journalists in search of the sensational. Calm consciousness of their strength, and the absolute conviction that the Soviet government will leave no stone unturned, and that the people themselves determine their own destiny, are what lie at the back of this impressive dignity. Everyone wants peace, but no one is afraid of war. The nation puts trust in the strength of the Red Army and in the prudence and good faith of Soviet diplomacy.

At this time the Supreme Soviet met for its second session. By then the Red Army had already cowed the Japanese warmongers and won a victory for peace against war. But, during the speeches of the deputies, it was vain to listen for bombastic phrases or thunderous assertions. The second session ran its course like the first, quiet, dignified, without idle gossip, and devoid of the parliamentary partisanship which is inevitable in capitalist countries. As at the first session, there were no stage managers or men behind the scenes to pull secret

wires and hold invisible sway, and no puppets recording approval or disapproval to order. The Soviet parliament has its own way of working: with dignity, practicality, simplicity, and the tradition among the delegates to refrain from showy behavior.

At its second session the Soviet parliament made decisions such as only a socialist parliament can make. Collective farmers and intellectuals, commissars and teachers, workers and actors, old Bolsheviks and non-Party people, all appeared on the tribune of the Supreme Soviet; they criticized the reports given and the work of the Soviet administrative organs, suggested improvements, voiced the interests of their republics and of the Union, and reported progress from their collective farms, factories and universities. The deputies were not there merely to *attend* the sessions of the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities, but had to *decide* the most urgent questions for their state.

With what can one compare this way of working? Its amazingly practical nature, its precision and straightforwardness to enable one to aim only at what is real and to disdain all striving after effect, are simply incomparable. The Soviet parliament is our first example of *a complete democracy, of complete government by the people.*

* * *

The second session of the people's parliament answered the intensified war danger by approving the budget of the U.S.S.R., which reflects every primary task of the Soviet state.

The foremost task is to see to the well-being of the people. For this reason the second session voted 47,000,000,000 rubles—the largest item of expenditure—to the further expansion of socialist industry and agriculture.

The second task of the Soviet state is the education of the people, their health and their cultural development. Therefore the second session voted 37,269,000,000 rubles to the guaranteeing to every Soviet citizen the right to study, to

recreation, and to sound physical and moral development.

The third task is the defense of the peaceful work of the Soviet nation from capitalist warmongers. For this the Supreme Soviet, the highest governing body in the country, voted 27,000,000,000 rubles, double the sum of last year, to the extension of national defense during 1938. Thus 27,000,000,000 rubles from the national exchequer of the Soviet Union for the Red Army is a valuable contribution to the defense of world peace which is in such danger.

Here was the calm and dignified reply of the Soviet nation to the war provokers. In voting this national budget, each deputy to the Supreme Soviet cast his vote against war, for democracy; against fascism, for culture; and against fascist barbarism.

* * *

In the capitalist world it has become the fashion to regard freely signed treaties as scraps of paper and to compete with fascism itself in repeatedly breaking one's word and forsaking one's honor. The country of socialism has powerfully opposed this destruction of all international law.

The second session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. confirmed in law the inviolable word of the Soviet Union in all her international obligations, and the absolute preservation of national rights throughout the Union.

"All over the world, the division of labor among nations has meant that some states become aggressors, while others hedge and expect 'ratifications and stipulations.'" (Litvinov.)

Soviet diplomacy stands alone in both honoring the trust of its people and consistently defending peace. Only in the Soviet parliament could a deputy declare, as did Otto Schmidt, Deputy to the Supreme Soviet, on the subject of ratifying and honoring the international treaties concluded by the U.S.S.R., that:

"International treaties ratified by the presidium of the Supreme Soviet are not

mere paper. Our country has never, on one single occasion, forsaken a treaty to which it put its signature."

What representative, in what parliament and in what country, would be right in making a similar claim? No one else can speak, like the Soviet citizen, in the name of a state which covets not an inch of foreign territory, yet will yield not an inch of its own; in the name of a state whose word of honor is guaranteed by a workers' and peasants' government, by the nation itself, by a united people of 170,000,000; in the name of a state which possesses a guardian of its international rights and its frontiers, as true and unflinching as the Red Army.

* * *

However, the second session did not constitute only a triumph for the rights of peoples and for international law and order. It was a triumph for the principles of right and law in general. The second session adopted the law dealing with the legal system in the Soviet Union. Never before have a state and a people brought a legal system, brought justice and the administration of justice, to such a high level. Lenin said:

"Bourgeois law pretends to be the champion of law and order. But in reality it is a blind and excellent tool for the heartless suppression of the exploited, and for the protection of the interests of the moneybags."

Fascism spurns even this "blind and excellent tool." It has coolly let fall one mask after another and raised lawlessness, crime, and the uncurbed rule of crazy wilfulness, to a system of state. It derisively blasts the very foundations of the bourgeois administration of justice, and does not even pretend to any objective administration of justice. The state police, offspring of fascist brutality that they are, who play themselves up as judges and state lawyers, are the wielders of power. In their hands the defendant is a simple plaything, to be annihilated as the mood and

the fun of the business take them. In Germany and Italy, under Franco and in Japan, the law means the mere formal carrying out of decisions taken at the pleasure of greater and lesser "leaders." "What the leader commands is right"—that is the candid basis of fascist "justice-dealing."

From what source does the new socialist justice spring? From the will of the people! Genuine people's rule—this lies at the root of the whole Soviet administration and of the whole legal system in the U.S.S.R. The second session realized historically Lenin's directive:

"We ourselves must govern. Every citizen must participate in dealing the law and in conducting the affairs of state."

Under the earlier laws which operated in the Soviet Union, from 1924 onwards, only those who had worked for a certain period on legal bodies were eligible to become judges and people's advocates. Today, with the ratification by the second session of the new laws of the socialist state, based on the Soviet Constitution, every franchised citizen can be judge or lawyer. That is complete democracy. In electing the people's judges there are no restrictions as to heredity, race or nationality, no distinctions drawn on grounds of religion, social standing, possession of property, education, or former record. The nation will elect as judges and people's assessors those people whom it holds to be most worthy of its trust. The judges and assessors will be elected by universal, direct, equal and secret suffrage.

At the second session of the Supreme Soviet the Supreme Court and the people's assessors for the Supreme Court were elected. Who are these people? Russians, Tadjiks, Uzbeks, Ukrainians, Jews—workers, collective farmers, Red Army men, intellectuals, teachers. In the highest court of Soviet law the well-known Stakhanovite worker Smetanin will sit—to give effect to the people's will, representing both the interests of the workers' and peasants' state and those of the citizens in this state; like-

wise Alexei Stakhanov's best friend and his companion in all his records, the miner Miron Dzukhanov; the teacher Olga Leonova, and the famous Georgian engine-driver Ziklauri; Alexander Ognev, the young engine-driver who threw all the "maximum output theories" of the wreckers on the scrapheap, and is today director of one of the largest railways; Maurer Orlov, known throughout the Soviet Union as the man who showed how to apply Stakhanovite methods in the construction of houses and bridges. The judges elected by the delegates to the Supreme Soviet are sons of the people, saturated through and through with their cares and joys, with their needs and with their sense of justice.

The Soviet court is a *public* court. Except in cases which touch upon state secrets or where moral offenses are concerned, every citizen of the U.S.S.R. can attend the sittings of the court.

Legal proceedings are conducted *in the language of the autonomous or federal republic within whose boundaries the court sits*. Every citizen of the U.S.S.R. is provided with an interpreter if he does not know the language in which proceedings are conducted. What a gulf there is between this legal system and the fascist system in Italy, where prison sentences and fines result from a refusal to use the Italian language!

In the U.S.S.R. the judge is independent and responsible only to the law. This is stated in the Soviet Constitution. And it is no mere statement. Soviet judges and people's assessors need never be faced with the dilemma of whose interests they shall favor—those of the state or those of the individual citizen, for in the Soviet Union these interests coincide in every respect. State justice in the U.S.S.R. cannot possibly be separated from justice for the individual. How, for example, can the legal defense of the right to private property be something apart from that of socialist state property, when all the land, all natural wealth, the factories and all means of production are the property of the people as a whole? Here is the basis of the

well-being of each individual toiler. The law protects the right to private property for it is obtained by the personal work of each Soviet citizen.

For his work the judge receives payment from the Soviet state like every other worker. The peoples' assessors, who are expected to perform their duties in order of rotation, in accordance with the principle of drawing in all citizens, receive during their term of office the same wage or salary that they have been drawing as workers, officials or collective farmers.

The law states that the Soviet people "*in passing sentence do not simply punish the offenders, but aim to educate and reform them at the same time.*"

The whole world knows that this also is no empty boast, or merely a smart phrase. The whole world knows that the Soviet courts and penal institutions have actually reformed tens of thousands of notorious criminals, who had become criminals under the rule of tsarism. How and in what way has Soviet law reformed them? By work, by useful work in the world of socialism, by honorable work with every chance of rising and gaining distinction. The Soviet legal system has re-educated the criminals and given them a new life—by its whole social form of government, by its concern for the human being even when he has gone astray, by giving him the chance of becoming a new man. But this is not the same thing as "charity"—the method of the Salvation Army. On the contrary, it is a recasting of men through socialism. Ordinary men have invented socialism. Socialism transforms people day by day and hour by hour. It eliminates parasitism, avarice, and our animal instincts, and fits men for a productive and creative life.

It is for this reason that only the Soviet law, the law of socialist society, can undertake this practicable and noble task:

"By its whole activity the law guides the citizens of the U.S.S.R. in a spirit of devotion to their homes and to the cause of socialism, in a spirit of strict

and unwavering obedience to the Soviet laws, of painstaking defense of their socialist inheritance and of their working discipline, of honorable performance of their state and social duties, and of respect for the laws of their socialist commonwealth."

This is Soviet justice. He who at home—in his own country—establishes law and justice, bringing up every citizen to respect the law and life of the community, will also respect the rights of other peoples and honor national rights. But he who at home replaces right by the law of the jungle must also come to resemble a wild beast in his dealings with other nations.

The enemies of socialism try to destroy Soviet justice from within. The Krylenkos, Pashukhanises and other Trotskyite "Right-wingers" in the U.S.S.R. rendered their fascist masters good service. With their "theory" that there is no such thing as Soviet justice, but only bourgeois justice, that Soviet science does not recognize national rights and that justice must "wither away" like the state, they tried to permeate the officials and the legal system with a false conception of Soviet justice. They used this

to lower the authority of the Soviet power, to cover up the illegal machinations of the Soviets' enemies, to provoke dissatisfaction with Soviet power among the collective and individual peasants and working people of the U.S.S.R. But the enemies of Soviet justice are beaten, and Soviet justice itself has triumphed.

At this difficult time, when peoples who defend their national independence and their right to exist as a state are sacrificed to fascist aggression and betrayed by the so-called "democratic" governments, when the rights of peoples collapse and the law of the jungle raves at large, the second session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. raised high the flag of socialist justice, of revolutionary law and order, of respect for the rights of peoples and states.

When the day comes for those men who are now kindling the flame of war—bathing Spain and China in blood, enslaving Austria and falling upon democratic Czechoslovakia—to stand before a people's court, the peoples of the world will follow the example of Soviet justice, which knows no pity for the enemies of the common people, of peace and democracy.

France's Mission in the World

BY A. MAKAROVSKY

THIS book* deals with the report delivered to the Ninth Congress of the French Communist Party by its General Secretary, Maurice Thorez.

The title of the book is the very essence of the entire report—France's mission in the world. In presenting his report, Comrade Thorez said:

"In this dark hour, when our people are weighed down by the double threat of civil and foreign war, when war has already started and rages in several parts of the world, the French Communist Party must loudly proclaim the *progressive and peaceful mission of the France of the People's Front.*

"That is the object of my report." (P. 11.)

The struggle for social progress, for liberty and peace—in these few words, filled, however, with a deep significance, are expressed the tasks presented to the People's Front by its creator and inspiration, the Communist Party.

The People's Front was born in France as a response of the vast masses to fascism's plots, both at home and abroad. On the appeal of the Communist Party, the working people of France united, in order to bar the road to reaction and fascism. The results of this unity began speedily to be felt. At the parliamentary elections in May, 1936, the People's Front, and the Communist Party within it, secured a brilliant victory. As Thorez

says, the elections confirmed the fact that the French people "heard, approved and followed us." (P. 10.)

From the day of the People's Front's victory until the Ninth Congress in December, 1937, one and a half years had passed. What had the People's Front given to the working people of France during this space of time? Thorez replies to this question in detail. The results are substantial and striking. A rapid improvement in the standard of living for all sections of the population of France which work for a living—workers, peasants, state employees, intellectuals, master craftsmen, small business men—this was the main result. The People's Front introduced measures such as the forty-hour week, paid vacations, obligatory collective agreements, the setting up of shop delegates elected democratically, wage and salary increases. The People's Front raised the salaries of state employees and the pensions of disabled veterans. In order to ameliorate the situation of the peasants, it raised the price of grain and wine, and granted extensions of time to indebted peasants. It improved credit facilities for small shopkeepers, artisans and small industrialists. Many other measures were taken. As Thorez said:

". . . On the whole, we can say that life is happier, finer and freer in our France. With the exception of the Soviet Union, France has regained first place in the world; it is again becoming a land of liberty and progress." (P. 33.)

Thorez compared the position of those

* Maurice Thorez, *France of the People's Front and Its Mission in the World*, Workers Library Publishers, New York. 20c.

who work in France with workers in fascist Italy and Germany. What a contrast! What a revealing comparison! In France, a consolidation and development of democracy, improvement in the material conditions of the workers, and great cultural progress. In the fascist countries, the sanguinary dictatorship of the most reactionary clique of finance-capital, an unchecked exploitation of the workers, ruin, misery and hunger among the people; and in the domain of culture, a return to barbarism.

Thus, actual practice, indisputable facts, prove the superiority of democracy over fascist dictatorship. And this proof has been provided by the People's Front of France, which put new life into democratic forms and proceeded to develop them further. The significance of the victories of the French people had an effect on the working people in all countries and became the most effective propaganda on behalf of the Communist platform of: "A united People's Front for the struggle for bread, liberty and peace, against fascism and reaction."

This truth even seeped through to the peoples of Italy and Germany, penetrating the fogs of fascist abuse, lies and distortions. It showed clearly the way towards liberation from the fascist yoke. As Thorez said:

"And it is because their peoples turn with hope to the France of the People's Front that the fascist dictators lash out furiously against our country.

"The greater the repercussions throughout the world of the social and political victories won by our people on democratic soil, the greater becomes the hatred of fascism for democracy and for the ideals of the Great French Revolution." (P. 50.)

The bourgeois-democratic system gives the workers, and to all those who labor, certain limited possibilities for the defense of their interests, for the struggle against their oppressors. Herein lies the value of bourgeois-democracy for the workers. And similarly it is for this reason that fascism hates democracy. Because fascism, as Thorez said:

". . . the open, brutal and bloody dictatorship of capital is indeed a backward march toward the barbaric past. Contemptuous of moral and intellectual values, fascism tends toward the complete enslavement of the individual, body and mind, it wishes to reduce man to the level of the brute; it aspires to reign over a miserable flock, mute and resigned, submissive to the omnipotence of a Fuehrer or a Duce." (P. 48.)

The fascist leaders strive to elevate their hatred of democracy into a "principle." Such, they declare, constitutes the "historical mission" of fascism: the destruction of the democratic principles of 1789.

What irony of history! In the period of the decline of capitalism, the bourgeois dictators find necessary for their existence the destruction of those very principles of freedom under which, one hundred and fifty years ago, the bourgeoisie marched to power! Is not this one of the most crushing proofs that the bourgeoisie has long ago completely played out its historical role?

But, if fascism is the enemy of democracy, all those who toil—with the proletariat in the lead—are its defenders. The proletariat did not obtain democratic liberties as a gift from the bourgeoisie. No, it had to win these rights for itself in the course of a hard and obstinate struggle—which endured for many decades—against both feudalism and the bourgeoisie itself. And the proletariat will protect democracy with all its strength against the attacks of both foreign and native fascism.

Thorez gives a brief but rich historical survey of the causes of the Revolution of 1789 and its importance in the history of Europe, and sums up as follows:

"The ideas of 1789, the ideas of the Great French Revolution, thus deeply stirred Europe in the nineteenth century. Democracy there played a necessary, progressive and beneficial role." (P. 63.)

Then Thorez continues by asking: "Is this role played out?" His reply is of the

utmost significance in order to understand the policy of the French Communist Party, the progenitor of the People's Front:

" . . . The existence of the People's Front and its record of achievements answer the question we have asked ourselves. They prove that *the role of democracy is not played out.*

"For the People's Front has not only made possible the defense of the previous gains of the toiling masses; it has brought them new gains in the economic, social and cultural fields.

"The People's Front has not only enabled us to defend democratic liberties; it has extended them, notably by the recognition of the unions *in fact* and the establishment of shop delegates.

"The People's Front is therefore a new step forward for democracy. That is why the fascist dictators madly rage against democracy, against France of the People's Front.

"That is why Mussolini shouts his defiance: *tomorrow Europe will be fascist.*" (P. 65.)

And in reply to this defiance, Thorez says, in the following moving terms:

"No indeed! Let us answer calmly and firmly: *'No! Europe will never be fascist! Democracy will again be victorious in Europe and will bestow its benefits upon all peoples, united in peace.'*

"And once again it is democratic France, the France of 1789, today the France of the People's Front, which will guide the peoples of Europe in the path of progress, liberty and peace." (Pp. 65-66.)

It is in this that the Communist Party sees the mission of France of the People's Front.

In order to accomplish this mission, says Thorez, *democratic* France must pursue a *democratic foreign policy*. This policy should benefit by the support of the masses of the French people and of the peoples of all other countries. It is the support from which France will derive her strength and firmness. A foreign policy of this kind—a democratic policy, comprehensible by, and closely related to, the masses of the whole

world—is the policy of peace. It is directly opposed to the policy of fascism. The policy of fascism is "freedom to plot in preparation for freedom to stab," it is to oppose to the security of the peoples the security of the aggressor. The policy of fascism is preparation for war, it is war itself. The policy of the democracies is one of faithfulness to written agreements, it is respect for the Covenant of the League of Nations, it is the clear principle of the indivisibility of peace and of international solidarity against war. The policy of the democracies is the organization of collective security by the method of pacts of mutual assistance, "according to the principles of the Franco-Soviet Pact as stated in the People's Front program." (P. 71.)

It is this policy, says Thorez, that the government should follow, with the support of the People's Front. It is a policy which is democratic and at the same time *genuinely French*. It is French because it alone can guarantee real security for a France which is confronted by the fascist menace. Furthermore, this policy obtains security for France through the organization of security for all peoples of the world. We see, therefore, that this is a French policy also because it is the only one which allows France to fulfil the high mission incumbent upon her: that of bringing peace to all peoples. Any other policy would be fatal for the freedom and security of France; it would destroy the achievements of peace, benefit the fascist aggressors, and constitute a refusal by France to accomplish her great mission.

But the various French governments which have had the support of the People's Front have not expressed the hopes and desires of the French people in their foreign policy. But France's greatest "shortcoming in her mission," as Thorez says, is expressed in the policy of so-called non-intervention in Spain. As Thorez points out, this policy has dealt a heavy blow at republican Spain, at the cause of French security and of peace in general.

Over ten months have passed since

December, 1937, when Thorez made this report. International events, which have occurred during this period, have drastically confirmed the fact that the Communist Party of France—whose viewpoint Thorez was expressing in this report—was profoundly right. What has been the result of a policy of condonation, of concessions, and of retreats before the aggressors—a policy conducted by the French government under the pressure of the reactionary British Conservatives? It has led to a weakening of the peace front, to the strengthening of fascist intervention in Spain, to the annexation of Austria and the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia by Hitler. It has led to the lowering of French prestige to an extent hitherto unknown, to the disruption of her system of foreign agreements; it has led to France now being threatened by isolation and extinction.

Yes, Thorez is right.

“. . . a *democratic and French* foreign policy for the organization of peace. That, it seems to us, is the mission which France of the People's Front must set itself in the world.” (P. 86.)

It is not concessions and surrender which will assure France's security, any more than that of other countries; on the contrary, it is the strengthening of collective security and the organization of a peace front which will provide this assurance. War may be avoided. The forces of peace are immeasurably greater than those of war. The task before us is to unite all those who desire peace; to maintain the closest cooperation with the Soviet Union, the most powerful bulwark of peace; and, in the first place, to secure the unity of the French people in a great People's Front. This is the path pointed out by the Communist Party of France.

To everyone who can see and think honestly and clearly, it is now obvious that it is not the bourgeoisie, but the working class which defends the true national interests of its country. The working class does this by grouping

around it the people of the country, under the banner of the People's Front.

We see, on the contrary, that the policy of the capitalist oligarchy is everywhere a policy of the betrayal of the people, of betrayal of the national interests of its country. This is true of the reactionary British Conservatives who are conducting a policy of close agreement with the fascist aggressors, encouraging and supporting them. It is true of the French reactionaries, of all those “nationalists” whose activities border on high treason. Quite justifiably, Thorez compares them with the emigres of Coblenz. Not unlike those emigres, who during the French Revolution placed themselves at the service of foreign tyrants, in order to fight their own people, are these lackeys of the German fascists who hate France. The British and French reactionaries conspire against the People's Front, exerting every effort to break it. In their hatred and fear of the movement of the people, and in order to satisfy their narrow, rapacious class interests, they come to an understanding with the fascist murderers, thus betraying the interests of their own countries.

Above all, the fact arises, unmistakably in its truth, that patriotism and the love of country have ceased to be attributes of the bourgeoisie. It is the masses, with the proletariat at their head, who are the patriots. This applies to all countries, including France.

Everything the working people of France have obtained has been through their unity in the People's Front. In unity lies the strength of the working class, of the whole people. Thanks to their unity, they have been able victoriously to bar the way to fascism in France. It is for this reason that the enemies of the working class and of the people generally—the fascists, the British Conservatives, the French reactionaries—are exerting every effort to disrupt the People's Front in France. As Thorez says:

“The class enemy multiplies the obstacles, concentrates all its weapons

against the working class and the Communist Party." (P. 123.)

The capitalists are endeavoring to obstruct the social legislation of the People's Front, creating financial difficulties, arming the fascist bands of Doriot and de la Rocque, conniving with the foreign enemy, organizing plots (like those of the Cagoulards), and utilizing for their undermining activities the Trotskyites, agents of the Gestapo. Their main effort is directed against the Communist Party. This is because they realize that it is precisely the Communists—the faithful sons of the French people, the defenders of the interests of the working class and of all the laboring people of France who are the originators and the inspiration of the People's Front, that it is they who really unite the French people.

This is the reason why Thorez defines their central and most important tasks as follows:

"We must unite still more closely all workers, all democrats, all Frenchmen worthy of the name." (P. 88.)

He goes on to point out how this may be done: through the full application of the People's Front program, with the object of raising the standards of living of the people.

"... the fate of *democracy* is bound up with the *vital* demands of the workers; the struggle for liberty is inseparable from the struggle for bread." (P. 101.)

We must increase our vigilance against the plots of the enemies of the People's Front, Thorez says. The unity of the people in the People's Front must be consolidated. And we must continue ceaselessly the consolidation of the unity of the working class—the motive force of the People's Front.

"The defeat of fascism, saving the working class by saving democracy and peace." (P. 126.) Thus does he define the principle tasks of the hour.

* * *

These words of Thorez were addressed to the French Communists, to the French people. But in reality they apply to the people of all countries. For they deal with questions which are the most real, the most acute, for the people of every country—except the U.S.S.R., where they have finished forever with capitalism, with the system of exploitation and oppression. These words reveal how we can bar the way to brutal fascism, how we can assure to the peoples progress, freedom and peace, how a country may be rendered free and happy. It is for this reason that all those who are concerned with the destiny of democracy and of all the achievements of humanity, which the beast of fascism is attacking, will be able to draw from Thorez's report—as brilliant in form as it is profound in content—lessons of great and vital importance.

Czechoslovakia and the World Crisis*

BY MAXIM LITVINOV

MR. PRESIDENT, ladies and gentlemen: We are discussing now the annual report of the Secretary-General, of the League's work during the past twelve months. Quite naturally and rightly, however, the speakers so far have dealt not with what the League has done during this year but what it has not done this year or in previous years. Evidently everyone recognizes that the League of Nations was not set up for the activities recorded in the report presented by the Secretary-General of the League.

One does not forget that the League was created as a reaction to the World War. Its object was to make that the last war, to safeguard all nations against aggression and to replace the system of military alliances by the collective organization of assistance to the victims of aggression. In this field the League has done nothing.

Two states, Ethiopia and Austria, have lost their independent existence in consequence of violent aggression. A third state, China, is now a victim of aggression and foreign invasion for the second time in seven years; and a fourth state, Spain, is in the third year of a sanguinary war owing to the armed intervention of two aggressors in its internal affairs. The League of Nations has not carried out its obligations to these states.

* This is the complete text of the speech by Commissar Litvinov before the League of Nations Assembly in Geneva on September 21, 1938, which was broadcast to the United States and other countries.

At the present time, a fifth state, Czechoslovakia, is suffering interference in its internal affairs at the hands of a neighboring state and is publicly and loudly menaced with attack. One of the oldest, most cultured, most hard-working of European peoples, which acquired its independence as a state after centuries of oppression, today or tomorrow may decide to take up arms in defense of that independence.

I am sure, ladies and gentlemen, that the sympathies, if not of all governments, at any rate of all the peoples represented in this Assembly, go out to the Czechoslovak people in this, its terrible hour of trial.

We all remember the most active part played by Czechoslovakia and its president M. Benes, in the organization of the League of Nations, and all our thoughts are so occupied with the events in Czechoslovakia and around it that we delegates find it difficult to give necessary attention to the Assembly's agenda, in which Czechoslovakia is not mentioned.

"THE LEAGUE IS STILL STRONG"

There is nothing surprising therefore in the fact that the general discussion has centered on what the League of Nations ought to have done but did not do. Unfortunately, it has not been limited to the recording and explanation of the League's blunders and mistakes, but has included attempts to justify them and even legalize them for the future.

Various arguments have been used, among them the most favored being a reference to the absence of universality.

The fallacy of this argument has been pointed out more than once. The League of Nations has never been more universal during the first twelve years of its existence. From the outset it lacked three of the largest powers and a multitude of smaller states. Furthermore, some states left it, others joined it, and after the first case of aggression it never crossed any one's mind, at all events no one expressed such views in the League, that the League could not fulfill its principal functions and therefore that its constitution should be altered, and those functions, the functions of guardianship of peace, be eliminated.

Moreover, no one has yet proved and no one can prove that the League of Nations refused to apply sanctions to the aggressor in this or that case because some countries were absent from its ranks and that this was the reason why sanctions applied in one case were prematurely brought to an end.

Even today the League of Nations is still strong enough by its collective action to avert or arrest aggression. All that is necessary is that the obligatory character of such actions be confirmed and that the machinery of the League of Nations be at least once brought into action in conformity with its Covenant. This would require only the good will of the states that are members. For there are no objective reasons of such a character as to prevent the normal functioning of the League; at any rate, no such reason as could not be foreseen by the founders of the League and by those states which later joined it. If the complaints of lack of universality be carefully examined they will be found to reveal considerations of quite a different nature.

THE OPPONENTS OF SANCTIONS

One may reason this way: When the League was being set up or when it was receiving new adherents, no one seriously anticipated that any state would defy Articles X and XVI and undertake aggression and that there would arise the necessity of applying those articles in

practice, thereby disturbing one's own tranquility as a state and sacrificing one's immediate interest.

But now that aggression has become a reality, it is apparently necessary to eliminate collective methods of combating aggression, in order to avert it from one's self. A fire brigade was set up in the innocent hope that by some lucky chance there would be no fire. Things turned out rather differently. Fires have broken out in defiance of our hopes.

The case presented by the opponents of sanctions will reveal yet another argument. Aggression has raised its head too high. Its forces have been multiplied and are growing daily. The exponents of aggression today are several and fairly powerful. Moreover, they have joined forces in mutual defense, or rather for mutual attack, and they have gone far, principally with the help of printer's ink and the radio.

These facts cannot be contested. The aggressor states have grown immensely during the last three years. They have formed a bloc in order to defend the principle of aggression and will defend and justify one another even when one of them is infringing upon the rights and interests of another. There are cases, too, of joint aggression.

The responsibility, ladies and gentlemen, for these regrettable facts lies with those states who restrained the League from resistance to the aggressors when they were still weak and divided. They have since attempted to break the peace, and, thanks to the impunity with which they have been allowed to break one international treaty after another, to the propaganda for aggression, and thanks to the policy of concession, negotiation and backstage intrigue with them, they have since grown strong.

There is no room for bargaining or compromising. They can be restrained from carrying their evil designs into effect if at the least attempt to carry out aggression in practice there will be an appropriate measure of retaliation, according to the capacity of each mem-

ber of the League for collective action provided by Article XVI.

RESOLUTE ACTION NECESSARY

In other words, the aggressor should be met with the program laid down by the League covenant, resolutely, persistently and without hesitation. Then the aggressor himself will not be led into temptation.

There is, however, another conception, which recommends as the height of human wisdom, under the cover of "pacifism," that the aggressor be treated with consideration and his vanity be not wounded. It recommends conversations and negotiations to be carried on with him, that he be assured that no collective action will ever be taken against him, and, even though he enters into collusion with other aggressors, that compromise agreements will be concluded with him and his breaches of former agreements be overlooked and that his demands, even the most illegal, be fulfilled. And that one state after another be sacrificed to him and that, if possible, no question of his activity be raised at the League of Nations because the aggressor does not like it, he takes offense and sulks.

Unfortunately, this is just the policy that has been pursued toward the aggressor. Three wars have threatened to bring down on us a fourth. Four nations have already been sacrificed and a fifth is next on the list.

In view of such lamentable results of this policy, we have the right to expect that there should be recognition of the mistaken character of this policy and of the necessity of replacing it by some other policy. Instead we hear proposals here to make the old policy permanent.

The aggressor previously reckoned with the possible reaction of the League of Nations. He showed a certain hesitation in preparing his aggressions, carrying them out gradually and in proportion to his growing certainty that there would be no reaction at all. But now we are asked to reassure him beforehand that he need not fear anything under the League and that the League hence-

forth will not apply to him military or economic or financial sanctions. At the very worst, he is threatened with moral condemnation, and that, in all probability, will be couched in appropriately cultured diplomatic forms.

SANCTIONS A POWER FOR PEACE

I have already had occasion in another place to point out that Articles X and XVI, with the latent threat of international sanctions contained in the latter, constitute a powerful potential for peace. It is now suggested that we destroy that potential because, in spite of the paralyzing of the League, in spite of its failure to carry out its obligations in many cases, the aggressor still might fear that the moment would come when the League would nevertheless do its duty. The aggressor nations, therefore, carry on a tireless campaign against Article XVI through their friends inside the League. They need fear no obstacle as far as Geneva is concerned.

If anyone should wish to realize the importance to aggressor countries of the proposed nullification of Article XVI, let him study the comments of the press of a certain country on the speeches made in this Assembly on the subject and the praise lavished on the speakers.

Furthermore, we know that certain small countries have been subjected to direct pressure by one aggressive state, which by threats and promises was endeavoring to persuade them to join the movement for the abolition of Article XVI.

I shall probably hear the reply that no one has any designs on Article XVI or even on sanctions, and that all that is proposed is to eliminate their obligatory and automatic character. I hope my colleagues will forgive me if I tell them that such a reply can only be taken seriously by very naive people.

Is it not obvious that the whole value of Article XVI lies in its obligatory character, that is, in the objective character of sanctions which enable every member of the League to rely on universal aid if he is attacked? But if such

aid is to depend on a separate decision in each individual case, if assistance is to be granted to some states and not to others, there can be no question of a feeling of security. Who will agree to make sacrifices and to grant altruistic aid to another state if the latter declares beforehand that it is under no obligation of reciprocity?

Will anyone pay premiums to an insurance company if he is not guaranteed the automatic payment of benefits in cases provided for and if that payment depends on the quite arbitrary decision of the management of that company? Yet we are flatly told that every member of the League is to judge for himself whether his participation in the sanctions coincides with his own interests.

THE PRINCIPLE OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY

But to grant aid to another state in one's own interests requires no League of Nations. It was the practice long before the League existed. Did not twenty-five states combat the central powers during the World War because their interests coincided? Did not private alliances serve the same end of the joint defense of their common interests by groups of states? But we were told the League of Nations was to put an end to the system of private alliances and agreements and to replace them by the principles of collective security based on the common interests of all people in the maintenance of peace.

We are also put off with assurances that the measures proposed will be of a purely temporary character, that in some indeterminate future it will be possible once again to return to the obligatory and automatic character of sanctions. No indication is given of what conditions will be necessary for such a change.

If the reason for the *modus operandi* now proposed is the absence of universality, why must we think that the League of Nations, completely withered away as to its contents and retaining a mere shell outside, will present any attraction to new members or that those

states which remain outside the League on account of the compulsory character of sanctions will enter it in order to restore that compulsory character once it has been abolished?

If, on the other hand, the obligatory application of sanctions is considered impossible because aggression has appeared on the political horizon, what grounds have we for believing that the phenomenon will disappear? If it does disappear there will be no need of sanctions. Is it true that the present masters of world destiny cannot yet rise to the heights of international solidarity, but that in the future they themselves or their successors will reach that elevated level?

We know, however, that those heights were reached by founders and first leaders of the League of Nations, and that the people who have replaced them are trying to bring about a revision of the original intentions of those who founded the League. Here, too, consequently, it is rather a case of retrogression. I fear we must draw the conclusion that it is not a question of a moratorium for the League but of a logical change in its character.

The bitter taste of the remedy we are offered seems to be realized by the doctors themselves, since they propose to dilute it with syrup in the shape of a suggestion that the unanimity rule be abolished in respect of the paragraph of Article XI dealing with what the League must do in the event of war or threat of war. Such a suggestion might have been welcomed if Article XVI were maintained with its list of practical measures which the League can take. Now when we are asked to nullify Article XVI, the aggressor will not be frightened by Article XI, which makes it possible only morally to condemn him.

One of those who spoke here against Article XVI had the courage to tell us that his statement applied equally to Article X. That position seems to me perfectly logical. After all, if we are to renounce collective measures for combating aggressors, Article X, which speaks of the undertaking to respect

and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League, is therefore deprived of all practical significance.

Supporters of what amounts to the abolition of Article XVI, in various speeches from this tribunal, assured us of their loyalty and continued devotion to League principles. I may be permitted to ask: If the principles of collective security and joint struggle against attacks on the territorial integrity and political independence of the League members are eliminated from the League, to what other principle is the League pledging its loyalty?

Is it possible for the League to exist just to make decisions regarding the drug traffic, assistance to refugees, establishing an international system of signaling at railroad crossings, or the results of statistical and other researches of various commissions? But what have all these questions, important as they are in themselves, in common with the maintenance of peace, with that main object for which the League was set up?

Could not these be considered by some organization of more modest and less pretentious title? Is it for these things that the taxpayers of various countries have to spend large sums totaling 30,000,000 Swiss francs a year? Now, if we are to be realists and declare the League of Nations to be ready for dissolution, then there is no need to create new illusions because that will deceive nobody.

THE MORAL RESPONSIBILITY OF STATES

Ladies and gentlemen, I am not saying this at all because I am trying to convince those governments and statesmen who have adopted decisions reflected in some of the speeches we have listened to in this assembly. The mistakenness and harmfulness of those decisions for the whole of humanity, and, first and foremost, for those states which have attempted to defend them, will be shown by history.

But at the moment when mines are being laid to blow up the organization in which were fixed the great hopes of our generation and which stamps a definite character on the international relations of our epoch—at the moment when, by no accidental coincidence, decisions are being taken outside the League which recall to us the international transactions of pre-war days, which are bound to overturn all present conceptions of international morality and treaty obligations—at the moment when there is being drawn up a further list of sacrifices to the god of aggression and the line is being drawn under the annals of all post-war international history with the sole conclusion that nothing succeeds like aggression—at such a moment, every state must define its moral responsibility before its contemporaries and before history.

That is why I must plainly declare here that the Soviet government bears no responsibility whatsoever for the events now taking place and for the fatal consequences which may ensue.

THE U.S.S.R. AND THE LEAGUE

After long doubts and hesitations, the Soviet Union joined the League in order to add the strength of its 170,000,000 people to the forces of peace. In the present hour of bitter disillusionment, the Soviet Union is far from regretting this decision, if only because there would undoubtedly have otherwise been attempts to attribute the alleged impotence and collapse of the League to its absence.

But having entered the League, it has been unflinchingly loyal to the League obligations which it undertook and has faithfully performed and will endeavor to continue to carry out all the decisions and recommendations of the League directed to preserving peace and combating aggression, irrespective of whether those decisions coincided with its immediate interests as a state.

That was its attitude during the attack on Ethiopia.

The Soviet nation has invariably insisted that the League should do its duty

to Spain, and it is not the fault of the Soviet government that the Spanish problem was withdrawn from the League of Nations and transferred to the so-called London Non-Intervention Committee which has, we all know, considered its object to be to avoid intervening in the intervention of the aggressor countries in Spanish affairs. The activity of the Soviet government in relation to the Spanish events, both in the London committee and outside it, has been penetrated with the spirit of the League of Nations, its principles, and the established standard of international law.

The same can be said likewise of the Chinese question. The Soviet delegation always insisted that the League of Nations should afford the maximum support to the victim of Japanese aggression, and those modest recommendations which the League of Nation adopted are being fulfilled more than loyally by the Soviet government.

Such an event as the disappearance of Austria passed unnoticed by the League of Nations. Realizing the significance of this event for the fate of the whole of Europe and particularly Czechoslovakia, the Soviet government, immediately after the "Anschluss," officially approached the other European great powers with a proposal for an immediate collective deliberation on the possible consequences of that event in order to adopt collective preventive measures.

To our regret, this proposal which, if carried out, could have saved us from the alarm which all the world now feels for the fate of Czechoslovakia, did not receive its just appreciation.

THE U.S.S.R., FRANCE AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Bound to Czechoslovakia by a pact of mutual assistance, the Soviet Union abstained from any intervention in the negotiations of the Czechoslovak government with the Sudeten Germans, considering this to be the internal business of the Czechoslovak state.

We have refrained from all advice to the Czechoslovak government, consider-

ing it quite inadmissible that it should be asked to make concessions to the Germans, to the detriment of its interests as a state, in order that we should be set free from the necessity of fulfilling our obligations under the treaty bearing our signature. Neither did we offer any advice in the contrary direction.

We value very highly the fact that the Czechoslovak government up to the last few days did not even inquire of us whether we would fulfill our obligations under the pact, since obviously it had no doubt of this. It had no grounds for doubt. But when, a few days before I left for Geneva, the French government for the first time inquired of my government as to its attitude in the event of an attack on Czechoslovakia, I gave the French representative in Moscow, in the name of my government, the following perfectly clear and unambiguous reply:

"We intend to fulfill our obligations under the pact, together with France, to afford assistance to Czechoslovakia by the way open to us; our War Department is ready immediately to participate in a conference with representatives of the French and Czechoslovak War Departments in order to discuss measures appropriate to the moment. In an event like this, we shall consider desirable that the question be raised in the League of Nation, if only as yet under Article XI, with the object, first, of mobilizing public opinion, and, secondly, ascertaining the position of certain other states whose passive aid might be extremely valuable."

We said further that it was necessary to exert all means of avoiding an armed conflict and we considered one such method to be immediate consultation between the great powers of Europe and other interested states, in order, if possible, to decide on the terms for a collective demarche. This is how our reply was framed.

It was only two days ago that the Czechoslovak government for the first time addressed a formal inquiry to my government, whether the U.S.S.R. is prepared, in accordance with the Soviet-

Czech pact, to render to Czechoslovakia immediate and effective aid if France remains loyal to her obligation and renders similar assistance, and to this inquiry my government gave a clear answer in the affirmative. I believe it will be admitted by you ladies and gentlemen that that was both the reply of a loyal signatory to an international agreement and of a faithful servant of the League.

HOW TO SAFEGUARD PEACE

It is not our fault if no effect was given to our proposal, which I am convinced could have produced the desired results. It was in the interest of Czechoslovakia and the interests of all Europe and general peace.

Unfortunately, other steps were taken which have led, and which could not but lead, to such a capitulation as is bound sooner or later to have quite incalculable and disastrous consequences. To avoid a problematic war today and make certain

one of tomorrow is the price which the insatiable aggressors ask.

To allow the destruction or mutilation of several states is certainly not to act in accordance with the Covenant of the League of Nations. To grant bonuses for saber-rattling and resort to arms for the solution of national problems, in other words, to reward and encourage aggressive super-imperialism, is not to act in the spirit of the Briand-Kellogg Pact.

Ladies and gentlemen, the Soviet government takes pride in the fact that it has not acceded to such a policy and has invariably pursued the principles set forth by the League of Nations, which were approved by almost every nation in the world; nor has it any intention of abandoning them for the future, being convinced that in the present conditions it is impossible otherwise to safeguard a genuine peace and genuine international justice. It calls upon other governments likewise to return to this policy.

THE SOVIET UNION—BULWARK OF PEACE

“The Soviet Union stands out in world affairs today as the only firm support of peace against the fascist aggressors. This position is the consistent development of the entire history of the Soviet Union. On the occasion of the twenty-first anniversary of the rise of the Soviet power, which we observe on November 7, it is particularly appropriate to remind ourselves of this long and sustained struggle for peace, and to study again some of its main lessons.”—Earl Browder, *The Communist*, November.

Chronicle of Events

IN THE past few weeks humanity has been witness to a betrayal and disregard of obligations freely assumed, which is unexampled in the history of the world. The Chamberlain government—which in the past made hypocritical statements that in the event of “unprovoked attack” on Czechoslovakia it would openly join the front against the aggressors—unmasked itself by its open support for Hitler, in fact, in its own declarations, as a government which was playing a game of collusion with the aggressor Hitler Germany.

The government of bourgeois-democratic France not only left its ally, Czechoslovakia, in the lurch, but took an active hand in its partition. The reports of the honorable gentleman Lord Runciman, now published, reveal that it was he who egged on the Henlein fascists to make constantly increasing demands, including the cession of the Sudeten districts.

Chamberlain and Daladier, the sanctimonious friends of the League and of peace, sat at a table with the criminal aggressors Hitler and Mussolini, and accepted Hitler’s memorandum to the last letter. They even went so far in their task of love for the aggressors as to undertake the dismal job of forcing the Czechoslovak government immediately to concur with the dictates of Munich.

The Czechoslovak government, under the combined pressure of the German war menace and of the shameful treachery of the Western powers, agreed to cede the Sudeten districts. The natural state boundaries, which have stood for a thousand years, and Czechoslovakia’s entire line of defense, are swept away, and areas which form each a single eco-

nomic unit are torn to pieces. In the Czechoslovak republic the Sudeten Germans were free to speak their own language, to adhere to their customs, and to practise the same democratic rights as every other citizen of the republic. With the annexation of the Sudeten districts hundreds of thousands of Czechs and Sudeten Germans are delivered up to the totalitarian tyranny and oppression of fascism.

The French government took upon itself to agree to this outrage, instead of making an energetic stand against Hitler’s shameless demands and so forcing the British government to change its pro-fascist policy directed against the peace and freedom of the peoples. Hitler found himself in a *cul-de-sac*. He could not wage war against a peace front of France, Britain, the Soviet Union, the U.S.A., and the Little Entente states. Faced with such a peace front he would have been forced to capitulate. To prevent such an incalculable defeat for German fascism, to curtail the people’s movements for freedom, and to isolate the Soviet Union, the reactionary cliques of the British and French ruling class made Czechoslovakia a sacrifice.

They worked up a terrific war scare so as to pose, with unheard-of hypocrisy, as “saviors of peace.” Yet the safety that they pretend to have won by this action is a chimera. The next weeks and months will show how the results of the betrayal will rebound upon the betrayers. In its frenzy for power the Hitler government will now pursue its plans all the more irresistibly at the expense of the Western democracies.

The Czechoslovak people had shown during the past few weeks, by their unity

and discipline, by their calm operation of general mobilization, that they were firmly resolved to defend peace along with the rest of the democratic world, and to enter the front line in this struggle. The betrayal by Chamberlain and the surrender by France induced them to bow to the ultimatum, in order not to expose their women and children to Hitler's relentless destruction, and in order to preserve their strength for the future. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has told the Czechoslovak people:

"Keep watch against provocateurs. Do not let your spirits droop, be firm and resolved in the knowledge that the supreme fight for the republic still lies ahead. Only thus can we prepare ourselves to hold off the attack which is being made upon us. Therefore fight today in this way: Unity, resolve, combined with clear thinking."

It is necessary to recount briefly here the separate stages in the betrayal of the Czechoslovak nation, and with it that of democracy and peace. First the Western powers declared that they desired a solution of the Sudeten German problem within the framework of the Czechoslovak state. That was thought to be the declared aim of the Runciman mission. The lengthy game of negotiations with the Henlein party began. When Chamberlain's reactionary clique saw that the right moment had come, it declared through the *Times*, that the best solution would be the cession of the Sudeten districts to Germany. That was the password for which German fascism was waiting. The Carlsbad demands of the Henlein party were given a new interpretation. At the Nuremberg Party Congress Hitler directed the most furious attacks at the Czechoslovak people and President Benes, demanding so-called "self-determination" for the Henlein party. Hitler's speech in turn was the signal for the putsch and provocations to civil war by the Henlein party, while at the same time German troop movements towards Czechoslovakia assumed vast proportions.

Then came the first meeting of Chamberlain and Hitler and the Anglo-French proposals, which already envisaged the separation of the Sudeten districts from Czechoslovakia. In desperate fury at the idiotic blunder of the Henlein putsch, the German fascists let loose a press and wireless campaign against Czechoslovakia, compared with which the atrocity tales of World War propaganda read like an idyll. Egged on and worked up by the Hitler government, the other fascist vultures also put their demand on record. Poland and Hungary earmarked their share of the booty.

The People's Commissar of the Soviet Union, Comrade Litvinov, at the Council of the League of Nations at Geneva, relentlessly criticized the fickleness and treachery of the democratic governments. He affirmed with great emphasis that the Soviet Union would honor her obligations under all circumstances, and that she was determined to give Czechoslovakia every possible help. At this stage the Soviet government at once sent a note to the Polish government, to the effect that she would regard the non-aggression pact with Poland as dissolved were Polish troops to cross the Czechoslovak frontier. This determined stand of the Soviet Union made a deep and lasting impression on the whole world, and encouraged the forces of peace to resist the fascist war conspiracy.

In France the working masses and peace-lovers raised their voice against the capitulation of the Daladier government. The example of the leader of the French Ministry Mission in Prague, who placed himself at the disposal of the Czechoslovak government, awakened a strong response among the French people. In Britain, mass demonstrations against Chamberlain's policy gave expression to the real will of the British people, and far-sighted British politicians warned the nation of the disastrous outcome of the pro-fascist policy.

The past few weeks have also shown how the indecisive attitude of certain leaders of the Second International and of the International Federation of

Trade Unions made it possible for Chamberlain and Daladier to take part in the fascist plot against Czechoslovakia. When Chamberlain announced his first visit to Hitler, Blum greeted this step, and when the proposals for the separation of the Sudeten districts became known, the leaders of the Socialist Party of France would have liked to cover up their monstrous consequences. Not until the fascist minions of Germany, Poland and Hungary openly and cynically declared the complete destruction of Czechoslovakia to be their aim, did they think twice. In Britain the National Council of Labor, during the Trades Union Congress in Blackpool, adopted a resolution favoring the defense of Czechoslovakia's independence and inviolability. Yet the organ of the Labor Party, the *Daily Herald*, likewise greeted Chamberlain's visit to Hitler, and its only grouse during the following days was that the separation of the Sudeten districts was to follow not on the basis of a "friendly agreement" but under the threat of force from Hitler. Citrine and Company have in the past few days again shown themselves true lackeys of Chamberlain. It was due to their influence that the British Trade Union Congress failed to adopt a policy of active struggle against the Chamberlain government and its pro-fascist line. They put themselves all out to tone down the Labor Party's declarations for Czechoslovakia, in the interest of Chamberlain's policy.

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In Spain the troops of the intervention and of Franco have still, in the past month, not been able to retrieve the terrain won by the republican army on the Ebro. In their constant attacks the rebels and interventionist troops have suffered prodigious losses in men and materials. British Conservative papers came to the conclusion that Franco lacked good infantry. The truest thing one can say is that the peasant youths mobilized for Franco's army do not want

to fight against the Spanish republic, and the fascist troops of intervention will not willingly expose themselves to danger. The spirit and will to victory of the mass of the Spanish people provide the opposition to the huge imports of material by the intervention. The resumption of the republican offensive on the Ebro and the further gains of territory show how much it means in war when an army is inspired by the just cause in which it is fighting. In order completely to expose the farce of non-intervention the Spanish government has meanwhile announced that all foreign volunteers fighting with the Spanish army are to be discharged from service. With Negrin's recent government changes, which were necessary in order to knit every force in the country more closely together for the waging of the war, the fascist press in all countries again gave itself up to voicing unfounded hopes. Recent events on the fronts have shown that the government changes have considerably strengthened the attacking power of republican Spain. In the parts of Spain occupied by the fascists, support is growing for the demand that the German and Italian invaders be expelled.

* * *

In France, Daladier's speech against the forty-hour week was a very significant event in home politics, and led to the resignation of two Ministers. At the command of reactionary finance capital and under the excuse that they wished to increase the production of armaments, Daladier's government tried to make breaches in the law of the forty-hour week, and in particular to repeal the wage clauses regarding payment for overtime. These attempts met with the unanimous opposition of the C.G.T. and the workers' parties. It is thanks to this defensive front that the realization of the plans against the forty-hour week has been prevented. In Paris a general strike of building workers broke out, while in Marseilles the dockers went on

strike. These strike moves are in answer to the increase in prices. A strike of textile workers in the Somme district, by which some 10,000 men and women workers were affected, was successful in preventing the wage reductions demanded by their employers.

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In Britain the meeting of the British Trade Union Congress was faced first and foremost by questions of armament and foreign policy. In its report the T.U.C. General Council tried to justify its opposition to a Conference of the Labor Movement, the purpose of which would be to deal with the international situation, and particularly with the war in Spain. This justification is in line with the categorical resistance of the reactionary bureaucracy to every attempt to lead a fight in earnest against Chamberlain's policy. Citrine's speech at the congress contained a wordy acknowledgement of collective security against the aggressors, but only as a cover under which to support the work of armament which is being effected by the Chamberlain government.

It was clear that every support for Chamberlain does in fact further the policy of the fascist aggressors. In discussion this policy of the General Council of the British T.U.C. was criticized. Mr. J. Little, the leader of the Engineering Union, opposed the negotiations with the government which aim at hastening the process of armament at the expense of the trade union rights of the workers. He also declared that he had given the Minister for Coordination of Defense to understand that his union would negotiate on questions of rearmament if the government would pursue a different foreign policy and, in particular, raise the ban on arms to Spain. But the reactionary leaders of the British trade unions did their utmost to prevent congress from using the power of the unions in the way indicated by the Engineer's leader to achieve any alteration of Chamberlain's policy. For this the reactionary

leaders earned praise from the Conservative press, especially from the pro-fascist *Times*.

The discussion on the question of international trade union unity, *i.e.*, the affiliation of the Soviet unions to the I.F.T.U., did not work out as the reactionary leaders wished. In view of the feeling of the Congress, Citrine did not indulge in his usual inimical accusations against the Soviet unions. He shielded himself, in his opposition to the affiliation of the Soviet unions to the I.F.T.U., behind the reactionary trade union leadership of other countries, which had threatened to leave the I.F.T.U.

Although the Trade Union Congress could not bring itself directly to oppose the attitude of the British delegates at the I.F.T.U. Conference at Oslo, it accepted at the close of the debate a resolution instructing the General Council to continue their efforts for unity with the Soviet unions. This shows plainly that the mass of members of the British trade union movement want international trade union unity and joint struggle with the workers of the Soviet Union.

The Congress scarcely dealt at all with the most urgent questions of British home policy—the fight against high prices and growing unemployment. As the organ of the Communist Party of Great Britain rightly points out, the General Council's report to congress, while giving a picture of great activity in many fields of work, proposes no practical measures to combat the direct and indirect lowering of real wages by means of cuts, mounting unemployment, and the rising cost of living.

In mid-September there was held the National Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain. The report to Congress of the Central Committee, registering a growth of membership to 15,750 compared with 6,500 in 1935 and a considerable increase in propagandist activity, was dealt with at length even in the bourgeois press. The Conservative press ill concealed, behind disparaging remarks on the united front and people's

front campaign of the Communist Party, its disquiet at the echo raised by the call of the Communist Party for a united struggle of all progressive forces against the policy of Chamberlain.

The liberal *Manchester Guardian* made special note of the many-sidedness and effectiveness of the Communist Party's propaganda work. The Nazi press itself took notice of the report, though but with the transparent object of goading British reaction to fight the growing influence of the Communist Party of Great Britain. At the Congress Comrade Pollitt described in his speech the suicidal effects of the Chamberlain policy as regards world peace, and showed the necessity for a wide people's movement against this policy. On problems of home policy, such as the protection of the civilian population from air attack and the undermining by the Chamberlain government of social services and democratic rights, he laid the basis of a detailed program of action for the struggle of the working people of Britain.

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In Germany the Nazi party staged its wonted frenzy for the occasion of the party congress. The speeches of the Nazi leaders were cut to a single pattern: threats of force and war upon the rest of the world, and especially against the democratic states. Hitler and Goering took the greatest pains to impress upon the German people how marvelous life was in Hitler Germany, and Goering told his audience that economically Germany was able to wage a thirty years' war.

But the lying assertions of the Nazi leaders regarding Germany's economy could not kill the impression created by the sudden headlong collapse of the Berlin stock exchange. Even pro-Nazi capitalist newspapers abroad gauged this sudden collapse as a sign of the weakness of the German "autarchy" economics. Apart from the total subjugation of German economics to the needs

of war, and the growing burden of taxes, this collapse is traceable to a mounting flight of capital, by which means the capitalists and Nazi leaders tried to protect themselves against any disaster to the Hitler regime. Meanwhile the Nazi government is attempting to safeguard itself from the revolt of the working people by incarcerating all who are suspected of the slightest opposition. Typical of this are the mass arrests extending even into the ranks of Hitler's body-guard.

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In Switzerland, the reactionary Federal Council has begun a quarrel with the Canton of Basle over the right of cantons to take independent measures against Nazi intrigue. The working class parties of Basle have set in motion a powerful people's movement for the suppression of Nazi organizations, which is finding a response in the other Swiss cantons as well. Even bourgeois press opinion is opposed to the support which the Federal Council gives to the Nazi organizations by its attitude.

* * *

In Sweden, the provincial and communal elections brought big new successes to the working class parties. According to the available results of the provincial and urban elections (those of the rural communal elections will not come in for several months yet), Social-Democracy with 1,305,800 votes has obtained an absolute majority (50.6 per cent) of all the votes registered. Despite a more limited participation, the Communist Party as an independent party has been able to increase its total vote compared with the last parliamentary elections.

Heavy losses were suffered by the reactionary Conservative Party. The fascists lost their only two seats. The Communists won eleven new seats (now 26), the Social-Democrats 245 (now 864). The most striking result of these elections, apart from the heavy losses of the reac-

tion, is the decimation of the Trotskyite party, which lost nearly two-thirds of its votes and out of 21 seats only retained three.

* * *

In Jugoslavia, the political feature is the fusion of the Serbian and Croat opposition against the Stoyadinovich government. The joint resolution of the leader of the Croat Peasant Party, Dr. Macek, and the representatives of the Serbian opposition parties, demands that the autocratically imposed constitution be abolished and that a constituent assembly be called. In foreign policy the resolution calls for an alliance with the bourgeois-democratic states.

* * *

In Japan, increasing economic difficulties have found expression in mass arrests of traders and small producers, who are accused of infringing the regulations regarding textile raw materials; also in lively press complaints about the introduction of Nazi methods of compulsion in Japanese economy, and in dole-

ful assurances by Ministers and organs of the press that the economic shortage will persist even after the conclusion of military operations in China.

Small traders and producers, unable to function because of the raw material shortage and who are struggling against having to take up proletarian occupations, are met in the press with the sad truth that it will be a very long time before Japan can produce enough raw materials in Manchuria and China to do away with the existing dearth.

The Japanese police have had a stroke of genius—that the Japanese people will bear their economic troubles the easier, the less chance they are given of enjoying themselves. A police offensive has been launched against popular entertainments—dance halls, phonographs and geishas. At the same time a conference of police prefects has ordered further measures to combat “dangerous thinking.” One government paper remarks that public morals will not be raised by police action of this kind. The military setbacks of the Japanese militarists are now beginning to take effect in Japan itself.

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