

PP 3558
VOL 12/2
NO 14

CONTENTS

Number 14

Published fortnightly in Russian, German,
French, Chinese, Spanish and English.

1. The Influence of Socialist Construction in the U.S.S.R. on the Workers in Capitalist Countries. By Harry Pollitt. 635
2. Practical Experiences on the Struggle of the Communists for the United Front (Part I). By O. Platnitsky. 642
3. The Shifting of Class Forces in Germany (Part I). By Fuchs. 651
4. The Victory of the Collective Farm System. By A. Uralsky. 658

THE 15TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE 2ND CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

5. The 15th Anniversary of the 2nd Congress of the Communist International. By Y. Tsitovitch. 664

AUGUST 1ST.

6. Manifesto of the 10 Communist Parties. 674
7. The United Front for Peace and Against War. By Bela Kun. 676
8. Our Struggle against Chauvinism and Imperialist War. By Wilhelm Pieck. 678
9. The Anglo-German Naval Agreement and the Growth of the War Danger. By L.I. 685

POLITICAL NOTES.

10. The C.P.G.B. and the Jubilee. By P. Kerrigan, R. White and Jack Cohen. 692
11. The "Communist Review," World Congress Discussion Number, reviewed by P.K. 698
12. Lenin. Selected Works, Vol. I., reviewed by T.B. 699

THE INFLUENCE OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION ON WORKERS IN CAPITALIST COUNTRIES

By HARRY POLLITT.

The October Revolution and the International Proletariat.

THE October Revolution in Russia in 1917 sent an electric thrill through the war-weary workers of the world.

In our lifetime, the taunt of the capitalist such as Churchill that the workers are "not fit to govern," has been hurled back at them with a rebound that day by day is having its revolutionising effect all over the world.

On the ruins and decadence of Czardom—out of a backward agricultural country, workers and peasants, under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, led by Comrades Lenin and Stalin, have built up a new powerful Socialist country that has to be reckoned with by every capitalist government the world over.

This transformation has been wrought despite every conceivable obstacle and difficulty, from famine, to carefully prepared wrecking, organised and financed by counter-revolutionaries from abroad. It has been done on the unshakable basis of loyalty to revolutionary principles and faith in the working class.

It was but natural that the October Revolution should have exercised a tremendous influence on the world labour movement. The contrast between the revolutionary conquest of power in Russia, where alone the Bolsheviks, under Lenin's leadership, had a consistently revolutionary line against the imperialist war, was in such marked contrast to the policy of the reformist leaders in other countries.

The formation of Communist Parties out of the scattered revolutionary sects, the creation of the Communist International, giving for the first time a centralised leadership to the class struggle all over the world; the impetus to national revolutionary struggles in the colonial countries—these were events of historic importance. But the influence of the social-democratic leaders was still strong, and their cunning and demagogy knew no bounds. Platonic references to the Russian Revolution were the order of the day, and always with the aim of dampening down and diverting the revolutionary struggle in their own countries into the safe capitalist channels of parliamentary democracy, and the denial of the armed conquest of power and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Social-democracy referred to the fact that Czarism was reactionary; there was no freedom, no legal labour movement in Russia; revolution

was the only course for the workers to take. Not so in the western capitalist democratic countries. There, Parliament stood waiting to be captured, and through this, Socialism could be built.

This "easy path" to Socialism prevailed with decisive sections of the masses, while, at the same time, their readiness to defend the Soviet Union was undoubted. This was clearly seen in the Hands-Off Russia movements that exercised great influence in the capitalist countries, in the strike of London dockers on "The Jolly George," and in the international solidarity displayed during the famine of 1921-22.

The early struggles and difficulties in consolidating the Proletarian Dictatorship were anxiously watched. World-wide interest developed not only amongst the working class, but among the more far-sighted of the intelligentsia, in what was popularly described as "the great Russian Experiment." A growing number of workers watched and noted how every difficulty in the birth of Socialism was exploited by enemies of the Soviet Union, and especially by the leaders of social-democracy.

A powerful political rôle was played by the early workers' delegations that came to the Soviet Union. They noted at first hand the enormous size of the country, which is not grasped until one travels in it; they noted the extent of the problems that had to be conquered, and they saw for themselves how the proletariat of the U.S.S.R., led by the Communists, proposed to grapple with them.

As the first stages of Socialist Construction began to develop, as it became clear that the Revolution was not going to be defeated, there developed amongst the capitalists and the leaders of social-democracy great opposition to such delegations. It became the fashion to speak of "conducted tours," of "Potemkin villages and show places," but still the workers' delegations continued to come, and they, of course, saw defects and things unaccomplished that could be criticised, but everywhere they saw and understood the significance and scope of the big thing—the never-ending new construction that was going on. It was this fact that was spread around in these vital conversations that took place when the delegates returned to their own countries and talked to their comrades in factory, trade union branch, workers' club and street.

2. The International Significance of the Five-Year Plan.

But, great as the early influence of the October Revolution was, it is true to say that the announcement of the first Five-Year Plan had even greater effect, especially amongst the more thoughtful workers and intelligentsia.

Here, for the first time in history, the Bolsheviks were announcing and mobilising the resources of the country to carry out a Five-Year Plan of Socialist Construction.

Its magnitude and aim staggered the world. It was laughed and scorned at by the capitalists and social-democratic leaders. But amongst the workers, hopes for its success ran high because the mass of the workers realised that whilst the Plan involved heavy sacrifices, these were justified and necessary.

Rank-and-file workers now visiting the Soviet Union in this period saw the giants of Dnieperstroi, Magnitogorsk, Stalingrad, etc., under construction, and they understood and supported what was being aimed at—the making of the Soviet Union economically independent of any other country in the world, and strong enough to defend every inch of its own territory.

These workers' delegations naturally contrasted all this new construction, this never-ending productivity, this development of the productive resources, with the restriction of production, the destruction of machinery, raw materials and food-stuffs in the capitalist countries. The contrast between the two worlds began to take a positive character that struck even the most hardened social-democratic worker.

THE PERIOD OF THE SOVIET UNION'S GREATEST PROGRESS SYNCHRONISED WITH THE PERIOD OF CAPITALISM'S GREATEST CRISIS. But who can forget in the spring and summer of 1929 how lyrical became the capitalist and social-democratic statesmen about the virtues of "organised capitalism." The paeans of praise about "Ford replacing Marx," the phrase so eloquently coined by Fimmen of the Amsterdam International and the Social-Democratic Party, seemed unending. It is indeed instructive to quote an extract from the speech of Hilferding as typical of the attitude of social-democracy everywhere.

"The Communists are going under. This can only be a matter of time. . . . The Communists have already lost all significance for the socialist movement; they are lost.

"A great victory of social-democracy is possible . . . I say once again: we know the path; we know the goal. If we conduct our struggle under the slogan of faithfulness to socialist principles, of unswervingness in the struggle for our aim—the winning of state power—but with freedom to manoeuvre in our tactics, then the possibility of victory will become reality." (Hilferding, Kiel S.D.P. Congress, 1928.)

The laughter, scorn and satire about the first Five-Year Plan soon turned to wonder. The interest of the working-class increased to a

very great extent, under the influence of the comparisons made between the developments and expansion in the U.S.S.R. and the stagnation and restriction in the capitalist world. To placate the masses, "planning" became the order of the day. There were to be bourgeois Five-Year Plans for this, that and the other, but it became clear to growing numbers of the workers that, on the basis of capitalist economy, there could be no planning, and the political conviction intensified that the revolutionary path of struggle alone could give the masses the power to commence constructive Socialist Planning.

The abolition of unemployment in the U.S.S.R. ensured an especially salutary effect on the workers in the capitalist countries. The removal of this social cancer was a socialist triumph, which the Communist Parties have not made sufficient concrete use of amongst the masses to draw them closer to Communism. It was a Bolshevik victory over a scourge that every working class family in every capitalist country has dreaded, and it was achieved at the very moment when unemployment in the capitalist world was beginning to increase at an unprecedented rate. It was a triumph that interested all progressive people, especially those who had followed the social-reformists, who spend so much of their time trying to alleviate the worst effects of unemployment, and the fact that it had been conquered in the U.S.S.R., drew this section of the population closer in sympathy with the U.S.S.R.

No one any longer doubts that the success of the first Five-Year Plan in the Soviet Union opened up a new era in world politics, and when it was quickly followed by the early successes of the Second Five-Year Plan, by the complete destruction of the last exploiting class in the village, the destruction of the right opportunists and the remnants of the counter-revolutionary Trotskyists and Zinovievites, the power of the Soviet Union and its rôle in every phase of international politics increased immeasurably. It is sometimes said that figures are dry facts, but at least a tale is told in the following table that is plain for all who are not wilfully blind:

INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT IN COMPARISON WITH 1929
(1929=100).

	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934
U.S.S.R.	130	162	185	202	239
U.S.A.	81	68	54	65	67
Gr. Britain ...	92	84	84	88	96
Germany ...	88	72	60	69	86
France	101	89	69	77	71
Italy	92	78	67	74	80
World Total (without the U.S.S.R.) ...	85	74	62	71	76

This comparison has compelled the attention of people hostile to Bolshevism, that is to say, Marxism-Leninism, as for example, the eminent British Liberal Lord Lothian, when he was forced to pay tribute to doctrines which he has spent his whole life in fighting.

"Is there not more truth in the Marxian diagnosis of the ills of modern society than we have been accustomed to think? I confess that the prophecies of Marx and Lenin are being realised with the most uncomfortable accuracy. When we look round on the western world as it is, and the persistence of its troubles, is it now obvious that we must probe into the fundamental causes far more deeply than we have been in the habit of doing? And, in so doing, I think that we may find a good deal of the Marxian diagnosis is true." (Lord Lothian, London School of Economics, Annual Oration, June, 1931.)

Not only workers have been impressed by the achievements of Socialist Construction in the U.S.S.R., but all sections of the intelligentsia, authors, scientists, doctors, lawyers, dramatists, musicians, teachers, all these have noted that, whilst in their professions in the capitalist countries, there is stagnation, decadence, restriction, dampening down of inventive genius and creative initiative, in the U.S.S.R., there is a mighty development of Socialist culture. This contrast has served to increase the sympathy of important sections of the middle strata as Friends of the Soviet Union.

Mention must also be made of the important effects created by the rescue of the crew of the ice-breaker "Cheliuskin," which went down in the Arctic. It was only the daring, courage and heroism of the aeroplane pilots and mechanics, it was the fact that, when Comrade Stalin gave the order that the crew of the "Cheliuskin" must be rescued, it was an indication of the deep interest in the welfare of the members of this scientific expedition, and the fact that the Soviet Government would spare nothing to effect this rescue. It was an event and a spirit that roused the admiration of even hostile elements.

What a contrast to the attitude of capitalist governments in mining disasters, such as Gresford in England, or the attitude of the National Government in the case of the earthquake at Quetta, where the rule was: "British first; natives take care of themselves." Who will ever forget the callous abandonment by fascist Italy of General Nobile and his colleagues in the Arctic expedition, who were also rescued by the Soviet Government's ice-breaker, the "Krassin," or forget either the difference in attitude of Comrade Schmidt, who refused to leave any of the members of the Cheliuskin expedition, ill though he was, and that of the fascist Nobile, who, to save his own wretched skin, willingly abandoned his comrades.

It is the whole difference between Bolshevism and fascism, and its significance has not been lost on the working class, or certain circles of the intelligentsia.

Socialist Construction in the U.S.S.R. and International Social-Democracy.

For international social-democracy, the continued progress of the Soviet Union has been a heavy blow. The social-democratic leaders have been eloquently silent on the achievements of the Soviet Union. They have been loudly vocal on the difficulties of Socialist construction—difficulties that the rank and file social-democratic workers never failed to put in their proper perspective.

What now becomes of the vainglorious boasts of these capitalist lackeys in the camp of social-democracy, for example, the ineffable Sir Walter Citrine, Knight of the British Empire, a "dignity" bestowed on this creature for services rendered to the British Empire? How supercilious he was at the Swansea Trades Union Congress in 1928 about the revolutionary path meaning only heavy civil war, violence and bloodshed, and how cocksure he was that Mondism, with the full participation of the T.U.C., would lead to an "improvement in the standards of living of the people."

Or Arthur Henderson, in the Clay Cross bye-election in 1933, asking the British workers to "turn their eyes to the west," and watch Roosevelt, "the only constructive statesman in the world."

The French, Polish, Czech and American social-democratic leaders in the same way called on the workers to peacefully collaborate with capitalism and tried to discredit the example of the U.S.S.R. The political line of the whole of the Second International was expressed absolutely in the rhapsody written by Karl Kautsky, in the *Vorwaerts* on May 1, 1929, on the occasion of the Forty Years' Anniversary of May Day.

"Here we want to mention only the two biggest of the advanced capitalist countries of Europe, Germany and England. In Germany, the Hohenzollerns were at the peak of their power at that time; the social-democracy, as an organisation, lay shattered and completely outlawed through the Anti-Socialist Law. To-day, we have a republic; and in Prussia the Premier is a social-democrat, and in the Reich a social-democrat is Chancellor.

"And in England there was no Labour Party forty years ago—only a few small unimportant socialist sects. To-day, we have a tremendous Labour Party there, which is now facing an election campaign that will most likely make it the biggest party in the country, and possibly the governing party.

"True enough, this does not yet mean the conquest of full political power by the proletariat. For that we need not merely a socialist government, but also a socialist majority in Parliament, and behind Parliament, a socialist majority in the population—a majority primarily composed of organised, disciplined, educated and inde-

pendently-thinking proletarians, whose nature puts its own stamp upon all social life.

"Nowhere have we reached this stage as yet, least of all in the country of the so-called proletarian dictatorship. In Soviet Russia the proletariat had been systematically corrupted, deceived and disorganised during the past decade. The Russian proletariat will arise once again only when it gains democratic freedom of motion." (Karl Kautsky: *Forty Years of May First*, Vorwaerts, May 1, 1929.)

The blood-bath, which the German Social-Democrats carried out on May Day, 1929, against the Berlin workers provides its own apt comment on what Social-Democracy stood for, and the example it gave to Hitler, an example he has not been slow to emulate.

The temporary triumph of Hitler is the result of the policy of Social-Democracy. It proved the accuracy of the analysis often made by the Communist International, i.e., that there was no easy path to Socialism. This lesson is to-day written in the blood, executions, torture and concentration camps of Germany, Austria and Spain. To-day, millions of German workers who accepted the words of Dittmann that

"there is more socialism in Germany than in the U.S.S.R." and Wels that

"if there is to be a dictatorship, then let it be our dictatorship."

words spoken at the Magdeburg Congress of the German Social-Democratic Party in 1929, now know from bitter experience how false they were.

The sharp lesson taught the working class by the mighty growth of Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union on the one hand, and the temporary triumph of Hitler, due to the policy of Social-Democracy, on the other, was not lost upon the masses. The contrast between the revolutionary conquest of power by the workers and peasants, led by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the "easy path" to power through Parliamentary Democracy, promised by German Social-Democracy, was plain for every worker to see.

There can be no doubt about the rapidity with which this lesson has been learned. It was quickly revealed in the armed resistance of the Austrian and Spanish workers to the Fascist dictatorship; in the February days of 1934 in France; and in the continued growth in membership and influence in the Communist Parties of France, Britain, America and Czecho-Slovakia. At the same time, the effect of the example of the land of the Proletarian Dictatorship is undoubtedly one of the most important factors in the revolutionary struggles to defend and extend the Soviet districts of China.

The New Epoch of Soviet Democracy.

It has been a stock-in-trade argument of the Social-Democratic leaders that, under Proletarian Dictatorship, there is no freedom, and they have

set up against the land of the Proletarian Dictatorship the world of capitalist democracy. But recent events in every capitalist country have done much to destroy the picture painted by Social-Democracy. Fascist dictatorship, either in an open or concealed form, destroys or reduces to a minimum the liquidation of the kulaks as a class, the Socialist re-making of the masses of the peasantry by means of Collectivisation, have created the preconditions for a great extension of workers' Soviet democracy. A new epoch of Soviet Democracy has begun.

It is not some sudden change that has been made in the Soviet Constitution; the strengthening and extension of Social Democracy has been a consistent policy that has been applied by the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet government, as the position of the Soviet Union became stronger and stronger, as more and more millions were drawn into the task of Socialist Construction. The Soviet system is the most democratic and free system. Nowhere in the world have the toilers had such rights nor have they such rights now as in the Soviet Union.

In the Soviet elections, year by year, more and more voters have taken an active part, until, in the 1934 Soviet elections, 91,000,000 people took part, or 85 per cent of the available voters. This at a time when elections have been completely abolished over a large part of Europe. The position of the Soviet Union is, however, becoming so strong that Comrade Molotov could report to the 7th Congress of Soviets:

"While more and more bourgeois countries are abolishing the remnants of the election rights of the population, THE SOVIET UNION IS COMING EVER CLOSER TO THE COMPLETE ABOLITION OF ALL LIMITATIONS ON UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE."

We can be quite sure that these contrasts are being well pondered over by millions of workers in the capitalist countries, who are seeing before their very eyes the foulness of the Social-Democratic slanders about Proletarian Dictatorship, and who are being revolutionised in the school of bitter experience, for they also note how, in the Fascist countries, all education and culture are stifled, books and libraries burned, but in the U.S.S.R. the schools cannot be built up fast enough; teachers are at a premium; the printing presses cannot print the papers and books fast enough; there is a demand for education and knowledge never before known in history, in order more effectively and efficiently to build up and extend Socialist Construction.

The Influence of the Peace Policy of the U.S.S.R.

Alongside all the developments indicated in this article, there has naturally also taken place a similar growth in the international influence of the U.S.S.R.

Those capitalist statesmen, who, a few years ago, were plainly declaring that "they would never shake hands with murder," are now glad to enjoy friendship with the U.S.S.R. Every month some important capitalist country sends its ambassadors to Moscow to discuss foreign policy, to sign Non-Aggression Pacts, or such landmarks in international diplomacy as the Franco-Soviet Pact.

The power and strength of the Soviet Union, its firm desire for peace, the knowledge that has now penetrated deeply into the consciousness of millions and millions of people the world over that the Soviet Union has no interest in war, and genuinely stands for peace, and this mass pressure, combined with the contradictions in the ranks of the capitalist class, has compelled several capitalist governments to make concessions to the peace policy of the U.S.S.R.

The influence of the Soviet Union upon all those who hate and fear war is immeasurable.

Millions of people formerly hostile to Communism now support the Peace Policy of the Soviet Union is not only a gain for peace, but an important factor in winning or neutralising the intermediary sections of the population in the class struggle within the capitalist countries themselves.

The Communist Parties have hitherto not made sufficient use of the Peace Policy of the Soviet Union. It is to-day the strongest weapon in our hands, especially if it is accompanied by the popularisation of our whole revolutionary policy and programme.

The peace policy of the U.S.S.R. has had and continues to have a tremendous influence on the growth of the confidence of the wide masses of toilers in the Communist Parties of their respective countries. This is clearly to be seen in the recent elections in France and Czecho-Slovakia, where important advances have been made by the Communist Parties in votes and members, whilst the votes of Social-Democracy have either declined or remained stagnant. Similar good results can be achieved everywhere if there is a bold and unconditional popularisation of the Peace Policy of the Soviet Union. **ESPECIALLY IN GERMANY AND BRITAIN MUST THE COMMUNIST PARTIES DO MORE EFFECTIVE WORK AMONGST THE MASSES IN SUPPORT OF THIS PEACE POLICY.**

UPON THE REVOLUTIONARY MASS WORK OF BOTH THESE PARTIES TO A CONSIDERABLE DEGREE DEPEND THE ISSUE OF PEACE OR WAR.

It needs to be more convincingly realised that all the indignation of the masses at the prospect of war needs and can be organised by the Communist Parties against war. At the same time, the Communist Parties, whilst explaining and

popularising the Peace Policy of the Soviet Union, must especially guard against pacifist illusions, and placing one's whole trust in the League of Nations, in Pacts and Covenants.

The only final guarantee for the abolition of war is Revolution, and the establishment of the Proletarian Dictatorship.

Of course, these successes of the peace policy of the Soviet Union have not pleased the leaders of Social-Democracy. They are more interested in taking the murderers of Comrade Kirov under their wing than in recognising the services to international Socialism which the whole political line of the Bolsheviks is rendering. When they speak at all about the Soviet Union, it is to try and prove that "Russia has changed its policy"; "Russia is now sacrificing world revolution for Russian nationalism." These are the phrases common to the lips of every Social-Democratic leader with a lifetime's record in betraying the revolutionary struggle of the working class within their own countries.

It is instructive to note the zealotry of some Social-Democratic leaders in trying to use the Soviet Union's diplomatic manoeuvres as the pretext to cover up their treachery to the working class and ignoring everything else that the Soviet Union stands for. For one fact is becoming increasingly clear—the path of Bolshevism is the path to power and working class victory. The path of Social-Democracy is the path to fascism and working class defeat.

Comrade Lenin's *Letter to American Workers* is perhaps more applicable to the line of Social-Democracy and the Soviet Union at the present moment than it was even at the critical time it was written. How well Lenin flayed these traitors who dared to accuse the Bolsheviks of selling out to German imperialism, just as now the same voices are heard accusing the Soviet Union of selling out to France.

"The beasts of prey of Anglo-French and American imperialism 'accuse' us of coming to an 'agreement' with German imperialism.

"O, hypocrites! O, scoundrels who slander the workers' government and shiver from fear of that sympathy which is being shown us by the workers of 'their own' countries. But their hypocrisy will be exposed. They pretend not to understand the difference between an agreement made by 'socialists' with their own bourgeoisie (native or foreign) AGAINST THE WORKERS, against the toilers, and an agreement for the safety of the workers, who have defeated their bourgeoisie, with a bourgeoisie of another colour for the sake of the utilisation by the proletariat of the contradictions between the different groups of the bourgeoisie."

And, after relating negotiations with the French officer, de Labaux:

"To throw back the rapacious advancing Germans, we made use of the equally rapacious counter-interests of the other imperialists, thereby serving the interests of the Russian and the international Socialist Revolution. In

this way, we saved the interests of the working class of Russia and other countries; we strengthened the proletariat and weakened the bourgeoisie of the whole world; we used the justified practice of manoeuvring, necessary in EVERY war, of shifting and waiting for the moment when the rapidly-growing proletarian revolution in a number of advanced countries had RIPPENED.

And if the situation had been reversed, and danger had come from Anglo-French troops, Lenin goes on:

"I WOULD NOT HESITATE A SINGLE SECOND TO COME TO THE SAME KIND OF AN 'agreement' with the German imperialist robbers, should an attack upon Russia by Anglo-French troops demand it.

"And I know perfectly well that my tactics will meet with the approval of the class-conscious proletariat of Russia, Germany, France, England, America—in a word, of the whole civilised world.

"Such tactics will lighten the task of the Socialist revolution, will hasten its advance, will weaken the international bourgeoisie, will strengthen the position of the working class which is conquering it."

(Lenin's Letter to American Workers, August, 1918.)

Comrade Lenin's words:

"and I know perfectly well that my tactics will meet with the approval of the class-conscious proletariat . . . of the whole civilised world,"

are a thousand times more correct to-day. The masses of the workers, and all who are against war, are to-day unreservedly behind the peace policy and diplomatic tactics of the Soviet Union.

There is No Third Way.

The U.S.S.R. is to-day a stronger fortress of the world revolution than ever before in its history. Its revolutionary influence grows daily. Its challenge to every sincere and serious-minded worker anxious to see Socialist Construction begun in their country, becomes more insistent and more formidable. It allows of no burking of the issue, which path will you choose?

Its creative work in the task of Socialist Construction in industry and agriculture; its scientific and cultural achievements the whole-hearted support given by the vast millions of the Soviet Union, when contrasted with the situation in the capitalist countries, have given a practical demonstration to millions of workers and oppressed colonial peoples.

The U.S.S.R. calls upon them finally to decide once and for all which way they are going to choose—the capitalist or Socialist way; economic and political slavery, or the ending for ever of exploitation of man by man, the ending of wars and colonial oppression, the ending of capitalist dictatorship, and the beginning of Workers' Democracy in every sense of the term.

It is the choice between the chaos and anarchy of capitalism, and the ordered progress and planning of Socialist economy.

It is either the path of Bolshevism, or Social-

Democracy, which leads to Fascism, to war, to colonial slavery and unheard-of exploitation.

There is no third course. One or the other is the path that historical experience now points out to the toiling masses. The 7th Congress of the Communist International has the task of so overcoming the weaknesses and shortcomings in the work of its sections as will enable them more effectively to win the leadership of decisive sections of the working class and lead them on the path to the successful conquest of power.

The U.S.S.R. is the strongest and mightiest weapon that the Communist Parties have in their armouries.

It cannot be said that the Communist Parties make use in full degree of this tremendous and invincible weapon for the defence of the Communist banner. The Communist Parties are far from always correctly estimating the special character of the point in connection with the final and irrevocable victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. This special character consists particularly of the fact that as distinct from the previous period, the bourgeois press and journals are no longer in a position to fill their pages with complete inventions and slander, but devote much space to the successes of the Soviet Union, accompanying their forced recognition of these successes with such "fine" commentaries as serve their aims no less than their all-round slander did previously. But the interest in the tremendous construction taking place in the Soviet Union and the completely new life being developed there, is rising from day to day. The wide masses of readers do not find sufficient material in the Communist press, and so they satisfy their interest in the U.S.S.R., by swallowing tremendous quantities of the stuff produced by authors hostile to the U.S.S.R. THE EXTENT AND THE SCOPE OF THE WORK DONE BY THE COMMUNIST PARTIES IN THIS SPHERE MUST BE MADE TO CORRESPOND TO THE COLOSSALLY DEVELOPING DEMANDS OF THE MASSES. This special character further consists in the fact that the entire SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC press, which out of fear of the masses is not in a position to spatter the Soviet Union and the dictatorship of the proletariat with dirt to the same degree and in the same form as previously, is actually engaged in a CONSPIRACY OF SILENCE with regard to the U.S.S.R., and is limiting itself to merely dry official facts regarding the international policy of the U.S.S.R. The new stage which arises out of the triumph of Socialism in the U.S.S.R., requires of the Communist Parties that they proceed to a NEW AND HIGHER LEVEL in giving publicity to Socialist construction, and in defending the very idea of Socialism. The Communist Parties must make use of the tremendous popularity of the U.S.S.R.

among the Social-Democratic workers and the growth of the united front, to raise the masses for the struggle against this conspiracy of silence, and to put an end to it.

We cannot, of course, limit ourselves to merely informing the masses of the most important facts of the tremendous construction of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. Now, the task of passing on the MOST IMPORTANT EXPERIENCE IN THE HISTORY OF MANKIND, namely, that of the proletarian dictatorship in the U.S.S.R., to the working class throughout the world, assumes a new light. This task demands a very highly qualified acquaintance with all the varied and complicated problems of the construction of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. It requires just as highly-qualified an explanation in principle of these problems, FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE TEACHINGS OF MARX, ENGELS, LENIN AND STALIN. It requires an understanding of the tremendous PERSPECTIVES of this construction and of the inevitable difficulties facing it, difficulties which arise primarily out of the fact of its capitalist environment. It requires, finally, a profound study and a correct solution of the TASKS OF, AND THE WAYS AND FORMS TO BE TAKEN BY THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN EACH SEPARATE COUNTRY, for although the inestimable experience of the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. to a tremendous degree enriches and lightens the struggle of the proletariat in each country, this experience, however, cannot be simply transferred mechanically to each country. THE TASK OF DEFINING ALL THE PECULIAR FEATURES OF THE PATH TO SOCIALISM IN EACH SEPARATE COUNTRY IS A TREMENDOUS TASK FACING THE COMMUNIST PARTIES ON THE THRESHOLD TO THE NEW ROUND OF REVOLUTIONS AND WARS.

After the 6th World Congress which adopted the programme of the Comintern, a number of Communist Parties took the first serious step in the solution of this tremendous task. The programme of action of the Communist Party of Germany, the programme of the Communist Party of Poland, the programmes of action of the Communist Parties of France, Spain, Austria, etc., represent the first contribution to the ideological fund of the entire Communist International on the road to the mobilisation of the masses for the struggle for Soviet power and for the victory of Socialism. These programmes have played a tremendous rôle in the class struggles of the seven years that have passed. However, has sufficient account been taken of the historic past of each country, of all the peculiarities arising out of the history of its class struggle, of its proletariat, of its petty bourgeoisie, and of its difficulties? This work can only be regarded as the PRELUDE to the new stage of the more profound political, ideolo-

gical and organisational work directed towards utilising the experience of the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. to arm the proletariat of each given country with clear Bolshevik perspectives, which represent one of the decisive conditions in the struggle.

In the same way, a new light is assumed by the question of resisting all attacks and foul slander, which, it is true, in face of the victories of Socialism which are obvious to the whole world, have taken on slightly other forms and dimensions, but have not ceased — on the contrary, in some countries (Germany, U.S.A., Japan, Poland) — they have assumed an exceptionally monstrous character and scope during the last year. Here the new point is that the living example of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. has sufficiently armed the Communist Parties with inexhaustible arguments, that the Communist Parties should not in fact be, in the future as in the past, in the position of constantly being faintheartedly on the defensive. They now have at their disposal all that is needed so that they may from day to day in their press, in their agitation and propaganda, and by word of mouth, PROCEED TO UNDERTAKE A DECISIVE OFFENSIVE, and carry it on from day to day with growing aggressiveness. In the new stage, we must no longer depend merely on the Moscow correspondents of the Communist press when refuting all the lies spread by the innumerable enemies of the U.S.S.R. The work of the correspondents plays a very big rôle in informing the readers of the Communist press daily of living Soviet reality. However, it is impermissible for such a situation to exist when the editorial boards of our papers merely await material from their Moscow correspondents so as to refute some foul slander. The reason for this abnormal situation is that even among the leading cadres of the Communist Parties (and still more so among those working in the editorial offices) there are EXCEPTIONALLY FEW PEOPLE WHO ARE REALLY ACQUAINTED WITH THE PROBLEMS OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE U.S.S.R., which problems cannot be covered without being acquainted with the entire complicated struggle of the C.P.S.U., not only at the present moment, but also with its mighty past. One of the serious tasks which arise out of the new stage in the sphere of utilising the victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. in the work of each Communist Party is the establishment of FIRM GROUPS OF PARTY WORKERS WHO ARE ACQUAINTED NOT IN A DILLETANTE FASHION, BUT FUNDAMENTALLY WITH THE PAST AND PRESENT HISTORY OF THE C.P.S.U. OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION, WITH THE GREAT TASKS FACING THE FIRST AND SECOND FIVE-YEAR PLANS, with all the new phenomena of the Socialist reality of the Land of the Soviets, and with all the difficulties that still face

the U.S.S.R. The task is to establish cadres who have clear perspectives as to what will arise tomorrow in the tremendous constructive work being carried through by the millions of active and conscious builders of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.

The existence of such cadres is a necessary precondition for really being able to make correct use on a wide scale of this invincible weapon which

the international proletariat and primarily its Communist vanguard have received as the result of the final and irrevocable victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. We must see that the 7th Congress insists upon all sections of the Communist International fully utilising this weapon and hastening on the success of the World Revolution.

PRACTICAL EXPERIENCES OF THE STRUGGLE OF THE COMMUNISTS FOR THE UNITED FRONT (PART I)

By O. PLATNITSKY.

BEFORE the war, the question of the united front was never raised in the working class movement of the biggest capitalist countries of Western Europe. This is to be explained by the fact that at that time there were no two parallel political parties drawing their support from the proletariat, nor parallel trade union organisations in one and the same country. Prior to and during the war the working class movement of the West-European countries were dominated by the Social-Democratic Parties and reformist trade unions which had the support of the majority of the working class.

In Tsarist Russia, before the war, the united front was practised, although the term "united front" itself was not used. The united front was actually put into operation in the enterprises, factories and workshops, where the revolutionary parties which then existed carried on their work, or tried to. It was put into operation in the factories, although not as the result of agreements made between the organisations which existed in the enterprises. Usually, the workers of various political currents took part in all the strikes that took place. But when big events took place, the united front was operated not spontaneously but by means of definite agreements made between the different parties. I will give only a few examples. In Moscow, on December 7, 1905, the call issued by the Soviet of workers' deputies for a general strike and uprising was signed by the Bolshevik, Menshevik, and Socialist-Revolutionary Party Committees. The same thing took place in a somewhat different form in Leningrad, then St. Petersburg. The Executive Committee of the Soviet contained representatives of all the then existing revolutionary parties, and all the most important questions dealt with at the sessions of the Executive Committee and of its presiding council were discussed in the presence of representatives of these parties. Thus, many of

these decisions were, at bottom, adopted on a united front basis.

In several towns in 1905, the Bolsheviks issued the call for demonstrations and strikes together with the Mensheviks, Socialist Revolutionaries, the Bund and other parties which had influence of one kind or another over the workers.

The United Front on an International Scale.

The united front tactics as a method of struggle in the capitalist countries began to be adopted by the Comintern and its Sections after the war,

(1) when a split took place in the ranks of the working class in consequence of the treachery of Social-Democracy and the reformist trade unions which took the side of the bourgeoisie during the war and supported the bourgeoisie after the war; (2) when Communist Parties and red trade unions were formed in a whole number of countries alongside the Social-Democratic Parties and reformist trade unions; (3) when after the revolutionary storms had abated (the revolutions in Germany and Austria, the huge strikes in France, England and in America, the unrest in the armies, the risings in the colonies, etc., after the war) the bourgeoisie took the offensive and began to deprive the working class of their political rights and the economic improvements they had won by revolution.

Many communists in a number of countries (Italy, France, Spain, Germany and Austria) did not understand these united front tactics: they declared that the revolutionary workers had left the Social-Democratic Parties and the reformist trade unions because the Social-Democratic Parties and the leaders of the reformist trade unions by entering into agreements with the bourgeoisie, had betrayed the interests of the working class; these revolutionary workers joined the Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade unions; how then, was their argument, can we now form a united front with traitors to the cause of the working class?

These Communists only saw before them the leaders, and not the masses of workers; they did not notice how the Social-Democratic Parties and

the reformist trade unions had made advances to the Communist International and the Red Trade Union International during the stormy years of the first round of wars and revolution under the pressure of their members and the masses of workers who were against the policy of the leaders, the policy of conciliation with the bourgeoisie, and were in favour of the revolutionary methods of struggle employed by the Russian workers, led by the Bolsheviks. It is common knowledge that the Second Congress of the Comintern and the First Congress of the Profintern, were attended by representatives of Social-Democratic Parties and of reformist trade unions who were driven by their members to ask to be accepted into the Comintern and the Profintern—Frossard, Crispin, Dittman, Serrati, Darragona, Pestania, and others. (In order to safeguard itself against this influx of non-revolutionary parties, the Comintern was forced at that time to adopt its twenty-one points for acceptance into the Comintern.) These Communists did not understand that under the influence and pressure of the workers and members of the Social-Democratic Parties and reformist trade unions, the latter (and even a section of their leaders) would have been compelled to undertake joint united front action with the Communists and the Red trade unions, had these been successful in explaining clearly, stubbornly, on a wide scale and in a popular manner the full importance and necessity of the united front.

Even before the Communist International issued its manifesto on the united front—January, 1922—the United German Communist Party (which originated out of the fusion of the "Spartacus" League and the Left independents), on the instructions of the Comintern, addressed an "Open Letter" on January 8, 1921, to all the then existing trade unions, namely, the German National Organisation of Trade Unions, the Association of Free Clerks' Union, the General Labour Alliance, the Free Labour Alliance (syndicalists), the Social-Democratic Party of Germany, the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany, and the Communist Labour Party of Germany, calling upon them to participate in joint struggle against the growing reaction and the capitalist offensive against the working class.

In this "Open Letter" it was proposed that (1) a joint economic struggle be undertaken to raise wages, benefits, and pensions; (2) a struggle be undertaken to secure that measures be adopted to reduce the cost of living by distributing cheap foodstuffs to workers and clerks . . . and that a census be taken of all living apartments with the right to cut down surplus living space and to evict; (3) that control be instituted through factory committees over the stores of raw materials, coal and fertilisers and over the production of foodstuffs and articles of prime necessity; (4) a joint struggle be under-

taken to bring about the immediate dissolution and disarmament of the bourgeois defence organisations, and the establishment of proletarian self-defence organisations, as well as the declaration of a universal political amnesty, and the abolition of the prohibition of strikes; (5) that a struggle be developed for the immediate establishment of trade and diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia."

The attitude of all the parties and trade-union organisations to whom this "Open Letter" was addressed was a negative one, but the workers' meetings held in several towns of Germany approved of it.

The draft theses on tactics presented to the Third Congress of the Comintern contained the following statement regarding this first united front appeal: 'German Communism, thanks to the tactics of the Communist International (revolutionary work in the trade unions, the OPEN LETTER, etc), (my italics—O.P.) has been converted from the political current which it was during the January and March battles of 1919, into an important revolutionary mass party.' The German, Italian and Austrian delegations to the Third Congress demanded that no mention of the "Open Letter" issued by the United German Communist Party should be made in the theses. Comrade Lenin strongly objected to this line in his speech of July 1, 1921, delivered in defence of the theses on tactics introduced on behalf of the Russian delegation to the Congress. Lenin objected to a number of amendments made by the above-mentioned three delegations, and in connection with their amendment concerning the "Open Letter," said the following:

"Then comes the following amendment: (he quotes the amendment of the three delegations.—O.P.) that 'On page 4, column 1, line 10, the words 'Open Letter' should be deleted.' I have already heard a speech to-day in which I found the same idea. But there it was quite natural. That was the speech of Comrade Hempel, member of the German Communist Labour Party. He said: 'The Open Letter was an act of opportunism' . . . But when at the Congress . . . the 'Open Letter' is declared to be opportunist, it is a shame and disgrace! And then Comrade Terrachini appears on behalf of three delegations and wants to delete the words 'Open Letter' . . . The 'Open Letter' is an exemplary political step . . . It is exemplary as the first act of the practical method of drawing in the majority of the working class."

* Lenin. Vol. XXVI., pages 442-443. Russ. Third Edition.

At the first Enlarged Plenum of the E.C.C.I., which took place in February, 1922, the French, Italian and Spanish delegations voted against the resolution on the united front.

In connection with the ever growing intensity of the capitalist offensive against the conquests of the working class, during the economic crisis which had begun, the Comintern and the Profintern at the suggestion of Lenin, made a proposal in January, 1922, to the working men and women of all countries that a united front be established

against the capitalist offensive, war and war-debts, etc. In this manifesto we read:

"The Executive Committee of the Communist International and of the Red Trade Union International (Profintern) has examined . . . questions connected with the conditions of the international proletariat and with the world situation in general, and has arrived at the firm conviction that these conditions demand that all the forces of the international proletariat be united, that a united front be established for all parties which derive their support from the proletariat, regardless of the differences which exist among them, in so far as they desire to fight in unison for the immediate, urgent needs of the proletariat. The Executive Committee of the Comintern . . . calls upon the proletarians in the ranks of all other parties to do all within their power to influence their own parties in the interests of common action . . .

"The Communist International calls upon all Communist workers, all honest workers in general, everywhere—in the workshop, at meetings—to unite into one single family of toilers which will be capable of standing up for itself and repulsing all the attacks made by capital at every difficult moment. Forge the iron will for proletarian unity, against which every attempt to disunite the proletarians will smash to smithereens, from whatever quarter it may come. If you, proletarians, grasp hands in the workshop and in the mine, all the parties that draw their support from the proletariat and make their appeals to you will find themselves compelled to unite for joint defensive war against capital? Only in this case will they be compelled to break off the alliance with the capitalist parties."

The Second and Two-and-a-half (the so-called "Vienna") Internationals did not respond to this appeal made by the Comintern and the Red Profintern.

On April 10, 1922, the International Economic Conference opened in Genoa to discover means for the "economic restoration of Central and Eastern Europe," but chiefly, of course, to solve the "Russian" problem. In the minds of the imperialist sharks, this conference was to thrust a system upon Soviet Russia that would convert it into a colony of Western European capital.

The Communist International proposed to the Second and Two-and-a-half Internationals that, as against the Genoa conference, an international labour congress of all working class organisations be called to establish a united fighting front against the capitalist offensive. The representatives of the three internationals came together in Berlin at the conference held between April 2—5, 1922, to discuss the questions of the possibility of calling such a congress.

As soon as the conference opened a struggle began about the agenda. The representatives of the Comintern proposed that the following questions be placed on the agenda:

(1) defence against the capitalist offensive; (2) the struggle against reaction; (3) preparations for the struggle against new imperialist wars; (4) help in the restoration of the Russian Soviet Republic; (5) the Versailles Treaty and the restoration of the devastated areas.

The Second and Two-and-a-half Internationals proposed that the question of Georgia be included

in the agenda. The point was that the Socialists of all shades who supported the Russian, and in particular, the Georgian Mensheviks advanced the slanderous accusation against the Bolsheviks of "annexing" Georgia. In their efforts to use the united front for the purpose of legalising Menshevik and S.R. (socialist-revolutionary) organisations on the territory of the U.S.S.R., they proposed that the question of the trial of the Central Committee of the S.R. Party, which had made an attempt on the life of Comrade Lenin and had murdered Comrades Volodarsky, Uritsky and others, should also be discussed at the conference. They demanded that the death sentence should not be brought in against the accused, and insisted upon representatives of the Second International being allowed to act as counsel for the defence to the socialist-revolutionaries. Finally, they raised the question of the impermissibility in general of arresting S.R.'s and Mensheviks in Russia, people who were engaged in struggle against the Soviet Government arms in hand.

After long altercations as to the agenda, the conference nevertheless passed a resolution which called for mass demonstrations during the sessions of the Genoa conference in the following terms:

"The conference calls upon all toilers in all countries to undertake united mass demonstrations during the Genoa conference, namely, on April 20, 1922. Where this is impossible for technical or organisational reasons, there should be demonstrations on May 1 on behalf of the eight-hour working day, for the struggle against unemployment, which has increased without measure thanks to the reparations policy of the capitalist states; the demonstrations should also be in support of the Russian revolution, for starving Russia, for the restoration of political and economic relations between all states and Soviet Russia, and for the creation of a common proletarian front on a national and international scale."

Then it was decided to set up an organisational committee of nine members to prepare for a broader conference.

However, despite the fact that the representatives of the Second and Two-and-a-half Internationals voted for the resolution that was passed, the parties of the Second and Two-and-a-half Internationals neither on April 20, nor on May 1, demonstrated together with the Communist Parties. The Second and Two-and-a-half Internationals did their utmost to hinder the preparations for the calling of a broad international labour conference. What is more, the French, Belgian and British Social-Democratic Parties decided on May 21, 1922, to call an international congress in the Hague in which the Communists would not participate.

The Social-Democratic Parties replied in the negative to all the proposals made by the Communist Parties regarding the operation of a

united front during the relative stabilisation of capitalism. Social-Democrats in all countries helped the bourgeoisie to carry through capitalist rationalisation. They were full of solicitude about the ability of their own bourgeoisie to compete with other capitalist countries.

When rejecting the proposals made by the Communist Parties that the united front be operated during the strike struggle in the period of the economic crisis, the Social-Democrats pointed, incidentally, to the alleged fact that during a crisis it is altogether impossible to wage a strike struggle. But practical experience showed that during the last crisis, there were no fewer strikes in many countries than there were prior to the crisis. During that period, approximately 20 million persons took part in strikes, and together about 300 million working days were lost.

The difficulties which the Social-Democratic Parties and the leaders of the reformist trade unions actually placed in the way of the establishment of the united class fighting front called forth dissatisfaction among the members of the reformist trade unions and the Socialist Parties. They were gradually drawn into the strike struggle led by the Communists, and began to listen to what they were told by the Communists and the revolutionary workers supporting them.

The Fascist coup d'etat in Germany introduced severe changes into the ranks of the working class. The fact of the betrayal committed by the biggest Social-Democratic Party, which was actually in power in Prussia, and which handed over the reins of power to the fascists without a fight, elicited still stronger discontent and alarm in the ranks of the members of the reformist trade unions and of the Social-Democratic Parties. The united front proposals which the Communists systematically made in different countries, the partial realisation of the united front against the will of the leaders of the Social-Democratic organisations and the reformist trade unions, the growing understanding among the Social-Democratic workers, alarmed at fascism, of the correctness of the criticism levelled by the Communists, of the rejection of the united front by the Social-Democratic leaders,—all this compelled a number of the parties of the Second International and some of the Socialist Parties not affiliated to the Second International, in reply to the proposals made by the Communist Parties that a united fighting front against fascism be established, to make proposals to the Communist Parties that "pacts of non-aggression" be concluded (that the Communists should cease to criticise them).

This was the main theme of all the demands made by the Socialists, and exposed the true reason for their proposals. Even the Second

International was compelled to resort to the same proposal regarding the cessation of "possible attacks" by the Communists. The following was stated in the manifesto of the Second International to the workers of all countries on February 19, 1933:

"We call upon the German workers, the workers of all countries, in view of the tragic danger which confronts them, to cease all possible attacks and to fight together against fascism! The Labour and Socialist International is always ready to enter into negotiations with the Communist International concerning such unity of struggle, as soon as the latter expresses its readiness to do so."

To this manifesto, the Comintern replied on March 5, 1933, in a manifesto which pointed to the need for a united fighting front against the offensive of capital and fascism, and to the fact that it was prepared to cease attacks against the Socialists if they together with the Communists, would fight against the offensive of capital and fascism. Here are the three chief points in this manifesto:

"(a) The Communists and Social-Democrats commence at once to organise and carry out defensive action against the attacks of fascism and reaction on the political, trade union, co-operative and other workers' organisations, on the workers' press, on the freedom of meetings, demonstrations and strikes. They shall organise common defence against the armed attacks of the fascist bands by carrying out mass protests, street demonstrations and political mass strikes; they shall proceed to organise committees of action in the workshops and factories, the Labour Exchanges and the workers' quarters, as well as to organise self-defence groups.

"(b) Communists and Social-Democrats shall commence at once to organise the protest of the workers, with the aid of meetings, demonstrations and strikes, against any wage reductions, against worsening of the working conditions, against attacks on social insurance, against the cutting down of unemployment benefit, against dismissals from the factories.

"(c) In the adoption and practical carrying out of these two conditions the E.C.C.I. considers it possible to recommend the Communist Parties, during the time of common fight against capital and fascism, to refrain from making attacks on Social-Democratic organisations. The most ruthless fight must be conducted against all those who violate the conditions of the agreement in carrying out the united front, as against strikebreakers who disrupt the united front of the workers."

The Second International very quickly, three days later, responded to this manifesto in order to reject it. In the reply of the Secretariat of the Second International it says that what is lacking in the manifesto of the Comintern is a readiness to negotiate on an international basis, for the Comintern appealed not directly to the Second International, but gave instructions to its Sections in all countries to begin negotiations with the Social-Democratic Parties as to the establishment of a united front on the basis of these three points. The Second International saw in this clear and definite proposal a "manoeuvre" on the part of the Comintern. Here is an exact excerpt from their reply:

"This readiness to negotiate on an international basis is lacking in the manifesto of the Communist International. It is satisfied merely to recommend that negotiations be carried on in individual countries. But experience unfortunately shows that the Communists find no difficulty in endowing such negotiations in separate countries with the character of manoeuvres, thus bringing about a worse situation, and that they do not lessen, but deepen the distrust in the ranks of the working-class movement. Therefore we consider it our duty to propose that the Parties affiliated to the Labour and Socialist International refrain as far as possible from discussing this sort of Communist proposal in individual countries until the Executive Committee of the Labour and Socialist International states its opinion concerning the new platform of the Comintern."

Thus, the proposals which the Communist Parties made to the Socialist Parties on the basis of the manifesto of the Comintern, were rejected by the Social-Democratic Parties on the pretext that the Comintern had not appealed direct to the Socialist International. Yet the Second International itself in its manifesto of February 19, 1933, did not appeal to the Comintern, but to the workers of all countries!

As shown by the experience of the subsequent appeals of the Comintern to the Second International regarding the establishment of the united fighting front on an international scale, this was merely the prelude to the rejection of the united front.

The United Front in Different Countries.

FRANCE. The events in Germany, the armed struggle of the workers and of the Schutzbundlers in Austria, the united front of the Communists, Schutzbundlers and members of the Social-Democratic Party during the armed struggle in Austria, were of tremendous importance for the working class of all capitalist countries. These events showed sections of the workers that Communist criticism of the reformist tactics is well founded. It helped the Communists to come closer to the Social-Democratic workers and the members of reformist trade unions, and lightened the task of establishing the united fighting front in a number of countries. Under the influence of the economic crisis and of these events, the desire for unity among the working class for the struggle against fascism has increased. Above all, this desire has manifested itself among the French workers.

During the period which passed between November, 1922, and the time when the united front pact was signed on July 27, 1934, the Communist Party of France made united front proposals on 26 occasions to the French Socialist Party. In 1923 it proposed that they should act jointly against the occupation of the Ruhr. After that it proposed that a joint amnesty campaign be organised, that an agreement be arrived at during the second round of the elections, and

that a joint struggle should be conducted against Italian fascism, etc. Finally, it proposed that a joint struggle should be waged for the disarmament of fascist bands. All these proposals were invariably rejected by the Socialist Party of France.

In May, 1932, Henri Barbusse and Romain Rolland made a proposal to the Socialist and Communist Parties of other countries to take part in the anti-war and anti-fascist congress convened by them. The Communists, of course, immediately agreed to take part in the Congress, but the Socialists replied to this proposal by later excluding from the Party all members of the Socialist Party of France, who subsequently took part in this congress.

Thus, so long as the German fascists had not crushed the political and economic organisations of the working class, so long as the workers of France were not convinced of the fact that the Socialist Party of Austria was following in the footsteps of the German Social-Democratic Party in capitulating before fascism, the united front in France between Communists and Socialists was not established. In February, 1934, the French fascists made their first serious sally by organising a demonstration to Parliament on February 6 demanding the resignation of the government. The fascists made use of the hullabaloo that was raised at the time in connection with the financial *affaire Stavisky*, and demagogically demanded that all the corrupted, all the thieves, etc., should be punished, knowing full well that their leaders were also mixed up in the affair. The so-called "Left" government of Daladier sent troops against the fascist demonstrations. They fired on the fascists, among whom there were victims. When the workers heard of the fascist demonstration to parliament, they also went to parliament, in the majority of cases of their own accord and in some localities at the suggestion of the local organisations of the Communist Party, and demonstrations began throughout the whole of Paris.

The Communist Party of France took account of the mood of the working class. On February 7, 1934, it called upon the French proletariat to demonstrate on February 9. When the manifesto of the Communist Party containing the call to demonstrate was published, the Socialist Party called for a general strike of "folded arms" on February 12 (i.e., a strike to cease work without any demonstrations, meetings, etc.). The Socialists intended by their appeal to prevent the workers from taking part in the February 9 demonstrations. The reformist trade unions, at one with the Socialists, proposed to the workers that they should not demonstrate in response to the appeal of the Com-

munist Party because, they said, there would certainly be bloodshed. The reformist leaders of the trade unions even had big notices pasted round the town to this effect.

The Communist Party of France acted correctly when it declared that it would also call upon the workers to take part in a general strike, but not a "down tools" strike. It called upon them to go on strike and demonstrate. But at the same time the Party did not give up its call to demonstrate on February 9. The workers of Paris demonstrated on February 9 at the call of the Communist Party. The Place de la Republique in Paris was occupied by the police and the troops, but the demonstrators were successful in breaking through to the streets bounding the square and thus won the streets for themselves. Usually it is not allowed to arrange street demonstrations in Paris, and in the majority of cases they take place out of town, primarily in parts where there are Socialist and Communist municipalities. But broad sections of the masses joined the demonstration on February 9, 1934, at the call of the Communist Party alone, against the will of the Socialists and the leaders of the reformist trade unions, and not only in Paris, but in all the industrial towns of France as well. The strike on February 12 was very successful also; about four million workers took part in it. This strike, which was called separately by the Socialists and the Communists, did much to establish the united front in France.

On May 21, 1934, the French anti-war and anti-Fascist congress took place in Paris. At the same time, in Toulouse, the Congress of the Socialist Party of France took place. The anti-Fascist congress made a proposal to the Socialist Party Congress that it should join in the anti-war and anti-Fascist movement. The press at that time wrote much about this proposal and about the position of the Socialist Party. The proposal of the anti-Fascist and anti-war congress was put to the vote at the Socialist Party Congress, and rejected by a majority of votes. There were 2,437 votes cast against the proposal of the anti-Fascist and anti-war congress and 1,286 votes in favour (in the Socialist Party of France there is a system of representation by which one delegate can have several mandates). After the proposal had been rejected, one section of the delegates to the Socialist Congress, with 1,301 mandates at their disposal, made a proposal that "a delegation be sent to Moscow to discuss with the Comintern the conditions for unity of action between the Socialist and Communist Parties." But this proposal also was rejected by a majority of 2,324 votes.

However, under the influence of the somewhat strong minority which made itself felt at the

congress and demanded that a united front be set up (this minority consisted primarily of delegates from industrial centres), the Congress of the Socialist Party empowered its Central Committee (administrative commission) to establish a united front with the Communists, but only for a definite time and only on one question. The Communist Party of France made use of this decision, and on May 27, 1934, proposed that the Central Committee of the Socialist Party of France organise a united front for the defence and release of Comrade Thaelmann. No answer was forthcoming to this proposal of the Communist Party. On June 5, 1934, the Communist Party repeated its proposal and this time it was met with a refusal. Then the Paris organisation of the Communist Party approached the Socialist Party on June 22, 1934, with the same proposal, and it was accepted. Thus, an agreement was arrived at in the Paris region between the regional organisations of the two parties for joint action in defence of Comrade Thaelmann.

In June, 1934, the Party Conference of the Communist Party once again proposed to the Socialists that they should conclude a united front pact. Taking into consideration the fact that the representatives of big industrial regions at the Socialist Party Congress were in favour of establishing a united front, and that the Paris organisation, one of the biggest, had concluded a united front with the Communists over the heads of the Socialist Party leaders, the C.C. of the Socialist Party was compelled to declare that it would call the National Council (conference) of the party to discuss the proposal made by the Communists. In July, 1934, a united front pact was concluded between the Communists and Socialists. The Communists proposed that the platform for the united front should be the struggle against the Fascists, against war, and assistance in organising the economic struggle. The Socialists agreed to the first two points, but refused to conduct a united front on the question of the strike struggle, because, as they said, it was not a question within their competence, but was the business of the trade unions. This, of course, was simply an excuse, as the Socialists are actually against the strike struggle. For their part, they put forward a third point demanding that the Communists declare that they would fight and defend all democratic rights. The Communist Party of France agreed to this demand.

From this time onwards the united front has been officially established in France. In what way has it been expressed hitherto, and what are the results of it? It has been expressed chiefly in the organisation of joint demonstrations, meetings, indoor meetings against the fascists and against

the emergency decrees of the government. On the anniversary of the events of February 6, a Fascist attack was repulsed by the Communists and Socialists. When the Communist and Socialist Parties discovered that the Fascists had occupied the Place de la Concorde, in Paris, they put forward the slogan that everybody should go to the same place. From all corners of Paris, from all the Metro stations, the workers came in masses to the square and forced the Fascists out of it. This was a big event for France.

The united front in France was furthermore expressed in the fact that during the second round of the municipal and Canton elections, the Communists and Socialists supported each other. If a Communist in any locality obtained more votes than the Socialist during the first round of voting, then the Socialists voted for the Communists in that place, and vice versa. This gave some positive results. There were places where the Communists and the Socialists were successful by this means in defeating the candidates of the Fascists, and of winning new seats and even whole municipalities.

A national French anti-war and anti-Fascist committee was formed which organised 1,400 local committees; a women's national committee was also formed for struggle against war and Fascism, covering about 500,000 members, affiliated through their organisations, according to official data. This figure is very likely an exaggerated one, but even if the committee covers only half of the number given, the result is a good one; a vigilance committee of the anti-Fascist intelligentsia has been organised, to which about 6,000 professors, lawyers, writers and other intellectuals of the liberal professions belong; there has also been organised the Paris regional committee of unity of action against Fascism, which covers about 500,000 affiliated members through their organisations. The Socialist and Communist sports federations of labour have joined forces. This already is not a united front, but organic unity; a united Central Committee of ex-Service men has been formed, which covers 28 organisations; an agreement has been arrived at between the General Confederation of Toiling Peasants (Communist) and the National Confederation of Peasants (Socialist) on the subject of unity. Negotiations are going on at present and it is possible that in the near future they will unite. In Toulouse a national committee was created to render assistance to the victims of Spanish Fascism. This Committee covers nine Socialist departmental federations, nine regional organisations of the Communist Party of France, seven reformist trade union organisations, 14 unitary trade unions, five federations of the League of the Rights of Man and Citizen, etc. This

committee constitutes a broad organisation connected with the masses. At the congress organised by this committee 800 delegates were present, representing 300,000 anti-Fascists. Finally, there is a central anti-Fascist committee in Lyons, which unites 31 organisations, committees of united anti-Fascist action; in the department of Cher (20 organisations), in the department of Herault (20 organisations), and in several other departments and towns. There is also a National Committee of Struggle of the Youth against war and Fascism (350 local committees). It should be noted that the united front against war and Fascism was conducted by some organisations apart from and against the will of the leaders of the Socialist Party (anti-war and anti-Fascist committees, women's national committees, etc.).

The existence and functioning of such comparatively mass organisations which in the majority of cases were created on the initiative of the Communist Party of France, thanks to the popularisation and application of the united front tactics in the struggle against French, German, Austrian and Spanish Fascism, could not but have raised the authority of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France in the eyes of the workers, clerks and peasants, and increased its influence over them. This has inspired some of the leaders of the Socialist Party to seek reasons for breaking down the united front brought about with the Communists.

On February 20, 1935, a session of the C.C. of the Socialist Party of France took place. As has transpired, the question of the united front evoked differences at this session. Several members of the C.C. demanded that the united front be broken, while members of the C.C. from the big industrial centres, more closely connected with the working masses, declared that if the united front were broken down, it would still be carried on over the heads of the party committees of the Socialist Party. We find the following in the decision passed on this question at the session of the C.C. (as we learn from well-informed circles in the Socialist Party): (1) To propose that the Communist Party call a conference of all proletarian parties (i.e., with the participation of the Right Wing "Pupists"* and the followers of Deriot—O.P.) to discuss questions of organisational unity. (2) To demand that the Communist Party cease all criticism not only of the Socialist Party but also of the International. (3) To get closer to the radicals in view of the coming municipal elections, so as to show the Communist Party that the Socialists can manage quite well without it. (4) To demand that

* P.U.P.: "Partie Ouvrier et Paysan," Workers' and Peasants' Party, renegades from Communism.

the Communist Party dissolve its auxiliary organisations like, for example, the Amsterdam committee against war, etc., with an indication that the committee to co-ordinate action between the Communists and Socialists is enough for the anti-Fascist struggle. (5) To demand that the Communist Party make a declaration of neutrality both as regards the C.G.T. (reformist trade unions—O.P.), as well as in respect to the C.G.T.U. (revolutionary trade unions—O. P.). By their last point the Socialists wanted to get the Communist Party to make a declaration agreeing to relinquish the leadership of the revolutionary trade unions.

These decisions of the C.C. were to have been proposed to the national council (conference) of the Socialist Party. But at the conference the mood of the delegates from the localities was, apparently, such that the leaders did not risk insisting upon these proposals. The conference passed another resolution by means of which they nevertheless hoped to break the united front. This resolution of the conference runs:

"The National Council recognises that the political conditions which at one time justified the conclusion of unity of action with the Communist Party still exist to-day, and, consequently, unity of action should continue...

"The National Council, anxious to obtain the maximum chances of the workers being successful in their struggle against capitalism and bourgeois fascist reaction, is convinced that the surest method of achieving its ends is to bring about organisational unity to the utmost...

(1) The organisation of the proletariat into a class party for the conquest of power and for the socialisation of the means of production and trade, i.e., for the reorganisation of capitalist society into a collectivist or Communist society.

(2) The actions of the party will be determined by the party itself at its national congresses, after consultation with its organisations in the localities and in the districts."

Some of the leaders of the Socialists reckoned that the Communists would give a refusal to this proposal to unite, and that they would then have an excuse for breaking the united front. It was clear to the Socialists that the Communists would not agree to unity with the Socialists without the necessary pre-conditions. They reckoned, therefore, that the Communists would reply refusing to open negotiations on the subject of unity, and that then they, the Socialists, would be able to launch a demagogic campaign against the Communists by speculating on the desire of the workers for unity. They would then depict the Communists as splitters of the working class, etc. But the Communist Party of France upset all their calculations. It agreed to send its representatives to the commission to discuss the question of organic unity. Moreover, the Communist Party of France put forward the Communist programme—the most important points in the programme of the Comintern—as the platform around which unity

should take place. It has become possible for wide sections of workers who are carefully following the correspondence between the two Parties on the question of the united front, and the demands they put forward, to acquaint themselves with the programme of the Communists, with which they have not hitherto been acquainted.

Not so long ago, during the recent municipal and Canton elections (May 5 and 26, 1935), the Communist Party of France was able to test the attitude of the workers towards itself. These elections had two rounds. The first round of the municipal elections took place on May 5, and the Communist Party of France took part in them quite independently in the main, with its own programme; the second round took place on May 12, and in the second round the Communists entered into an agreement with the Socialists. Although the Central Committee of the Socialist Party had decided on February 20 to participate in the municipal elections together with the radicals, which was far more advantageous to them than to come to an arrangement with the Communists, the workers brought such pressure to bear upon the leading organs of the Socialist Party that it was forced, with heart pangs, to come to an agreement with the Communists, and only in a few unimportant regions did the Socialists enter into a bloc with the radicals.

As a result of the municipal elections, the Communists obtained a majority in 52 new municipalities, losing the majority in 9 municipalities out of a total of 47. The Communist Party of France now has a majority in 90 municipalities (the Socialists in 168 instead of 175 as formerly). In the Seine department, the number of municipalities led by Communists has increased from 9 to 26. In the Seine and Oise districts, the Communists obtained a majority in the municipalities of over 20 industrial towns. In the North and the Pas de Calais region, the number of municipalities won by the Communists increased from 17 to 50. In the Paris municipality the Communists were only represented by Comrade Marty previously, whereas now the Communist Party of France has secured the election of eight comrades.

The Communist Party of France adopted flexible tactics at these elections. In Bondé, the Communist Party included Socialist workers in its list and thus defeated the joint lists of the Socialists and anti-Communists.

In Saint Victor (part of Paris), the reactionaries were 20 votes short of an absolute majority. The Communist Party obtained 700, the Radicals 600, and the Socialists 500 votes. The Communist Party proposed that an anti-Fascist candidate be put forward against the reactionary candidate. The Radicals and Socialists agreed to the proposal made

by the Communist Party, and as a result of the united anti-Fascist front, 150 votes more were cast for the anti-Fascist candidate than the three parties received altogether in the first round of elections. The reactionaries thus lost 150 votes.

The Communist Party was the only party that won at these elections. All the remaining parties lost the majority in several municipalities. The majority of the municipalities won by the Communists were from the bourgeois parties. Only in the textile and coal districts were they won from the Socialists.

No less important was the victory of the Communists at the Canton elections in the Paris region. Hitherto the Communist Party of France has had four councillors in the Paris region; now it has 25. Together with the eight Paris councillors, the Communist Party of France now has 33 representatives out of 140 in the General Council of the department of the Seine (this General Council is composed of 90 councillors of the Paris municipality, and 50 councillors elected in the areas around Paris). The Communist Party of France, the Socialists and the Radicals, have 73 councillors together, the reactionary parties 67, whereas hitherto over a period of 50 years, the latter have had the majority in the General Council of the Seine department.

The results of the elections testify to the success and the increasing influence of the Communist Party over the masses.

I will give another example which speaks of the growth of the influence and popularity of the Communist Party:

On May 19, 1935, the anniversary of the fall of the Paris Commune, a tremendous demonstration of the Paris workers took place in the Père la Chaise cemetery. These demonstrations have been usually arranged for May 26, but in view of the fact that the canton elections were

taking place, the Communist Party called the demonstrations for May 19. The Communist Party of France did not consult the Socialist Party concerning its appeal, and the latter objected to the demonstration being arranged at the Père la Chaise. It proposed that the demonstration be organised in another place against the Fascists, who were celebrating Joan of Arc Day. The Socialist organisation of Paris agreed to demonstrate with the Communists, and afterwards, the next day, the "Populaire" also was compelled to call for a joint demonstration with the Communists. The demonstration lasted for 5½ hours, and about 250,000 persons took part. When the demonstrators passed the Central Committee of the Communist Party, near which the Socialist leaders were standing, they greeted it with cries of "Long live Comrade Stalin, long live the French Communist Party, long live Soviets everywhere!"

This demonstration showed that the Communist Party is already a big force in Paris. The same cannot be said of the North or of other industrial centres of France, where the Communist Party of France is weaker than the Socialist Party. The Socialist Party has about 100,000 members. The trade unions which support it unite about 600,000 members. The Communist Party now has 53,000 members, and there are approximately 220,000 members in the revolutionary trade unions.

Thanks to the work of the Communists in conducting the united front, broad masses are now aware that the Communist Party is not only fighting actively against Fascism and war and for democratic liberties, but that it is heading this struggle.

Tremendous tasks face the Communist Party of France connected with the task of consolidating its growing influence.

(To be continued.)

THE SHIFTING OF CLASS FORCES IN GERMANY

By FUCHS.

THE decisive prerequisite for determining our policy, tactics and organisational methods of work is to correctly estimate the correlation of class forces in Hitler Germany in correspondence with actual reality. The statistical data however, necessary for this purpose are worked up by the official government departments of the "third empire," and in most cases have a very definite bias (particularly where they pertain to the conditions of the working class). The National Socialist press maintains complete silence about the real sentiments of the working masses, and the class struggles taking place. For this reason, when characterising the correlation of class forces in Hitler Germany, we must base ourselves mainly on our own calculations, computations, experience and the scanty information from the local party organisations.

Nevertheless, a correct estimation of the correlation of class forces is possible if we succeed in giving ourselves a correct idea of the relative importance of the opposition movements, and of the numerous economic and political struggles in the enterprises and in the localities (the information which reached us covers only an insignificant part of these struggles), while taking into account the brutal terror carried out by Hitler and Co. as well as their unrestrained demagoguery.

The Wages Movement of the German Workers.

Has the standard of living of the working-class improved in connection with the recognised revival of German economy (the special kind of depression) by comparison with 1932 (the lowest point of the crisis)? Since Hitler came to power, more than 2 million German workers have again been drawn into the production process (but there are still 3½ million unemployed—not counting those who are partially disabled because of age or other causes—whose benefits have been considerably decreased). But the average nominal wages of German workers have decreased. This situation is not altered by the fact that there has been an increase in the wages of a very narrow stratum of highly qualified workers, of whom there is a shortage and who are badly needed by the war industry. According to the calculations made by Comrade Varga, the average nominal wage of the German worker has been cut by 40 marks per person, or 5 per cent., each half year during the Hitler dictatorship, including 1934.

An important factor in the lowering of the nominal wage, a factor of which we have taken

too little account, and which some comrades have seriously underestimated, is the deductions which are regularly made out of the wages of every worker, and which, of course, do not figure in the wage statistics. These deductions from the wages amounted to on the average 8-12 per cent. prior to the advent of Hitler to power. In 1934 they amounted to 18-25 per cent. This means, that a worker who, for example, earns 30 marks a week—a wage which exceeds the average level—actually brings home 23-25 marks. In place of the money not received, the worker finds receipts in his pay envelope which show the amounts paid for him as taxes, insurance contributions, membership dues for the "Labour Front," special contributions, etc. We can judge of the colossal extent of this concealed robbery of the workers' wages by the income of the organs of insurance against sickness, invalidity and unemployment, or such organisations as "Winter Relief," "Unemployment Relief," and finally, the "Labour Front." As far as the insurance bodies are concerned, only an insignificant part of their income is returned to the workers and employees in the shape of sickness and unemployment benefits, etc. During the recent years colossal sums—amounting to billions—have been placed at the disposal of the government by these insurance bodies to finance the "Programme for providing work" or armaments and other ever-growing state expenditures.

The income of the "Labour Front" is a special item. At the present time it is the most powerful organisation in Germany, judged by its capital—the pennies of the workers flow into this organisation in a mighty torrent. In 1933 the "Labour Front" received over 200 million marks as dues from the workers; in 1934 the fascists began to deduct these dues directly from the wages. In this way the income of the "Labour Front" has grown to still greater dimensions and has become a method of reducing the wages of workers and employees wholesale.

Let us assume that formerly 5 million workers and employees (not including government officials) were members of trade unions and voluntarily paid membership dues. Since that time the number "organised" in the "Labour Front" has grown to over 12 million. We assume that it would be incorrect to challenge this figure, cited by Ley, since the workers of the large and average sized enterprises are organised in the "Labour Front" to the extent of over 90 per cent. It is true that the majority joined only in order not to lose their right to receive benefits from the

mutual aid funds of the former trade unions. The membership dues in the "Labour Front," amount, on the average, to 2½ marks a month (the dues are strictly in accordance with the amount of wages). In this way dues from workers and employees amount to 30 million marks a month, or 360 million marks a year. Here we must also take into account the special contributions made to the "Strength in Joy" organisation affiliated to the "Labour Front."

When analysing the movement of wages in Germany, we must also take into account the fall in the real, hourly wage. New rationalisation measures are being carried through almost exclusively at the expense of the intensification of labour. The workers are complaining of this everywhere. The striving towards the greatest possible intensification of labour, is one of the reasons prompting Hitler and Co. to squeeze the unqualified workers out of the enterprises to an ever greater extent, and to substitute them by qualified and experienced workers (their labour, of course, being paid for as unskilled). These workers adapt themselves more quickly to conditions, are more productive, more adroit and therefore are better material for exploitation. But after June 30, 1934, not only have nominal wages decreased, but the real wages of all categories of workers have decreased to a still greater extent. Beginning with that time, prices of the most important articles of wide consumption — clothing and foodstuffs began to rise slowly but surely, Fascist statisticians admit that retail prices have increased by 8 per cent. on the average since the beginning of 1935. And even the fascist press has been forced to report an increase in the prices of articles of wide consumption—foodstuffs and clothing—by 18-25 per cent. In October-November, 1934, the dissatisfaction of the masses in connection with this expressed itself at the weekly markets held in different cities in the shape of active demonstrations against the high cost of living, in which even the petty traders themselves participated, and in mass protests of small butchers and vendors of various food products, coal, etc. In spite of the increase of prices, these petty-traders gained considerably less than before, and, in addition, were the first to be subjected to the attacks of the disgruntled masses. The super profits resulting from the rise in prices, passed entirely into the wide pockets of the big landlords, industrialists and the treasury. The appointment of a commissar to conduct a "struggle" against price increases was intended to divert the dissatisfaction of the masses from the real culprits responsible for the running up of prices, and to set the masses against the petty traders, a considerable number of whom were

even subjected to temporary arrests and had their shops closed. The fascist authorities extorted money from many of them, and, for bribes, refrained from arresting them and closing down their stores.

Various Methods of Directly Reducing Wages.

Up to the present time, only in rare cases has there been a decrease in nominal wages for a more or less considerable body of workers (for workers of an entire factory or branch of industry simultaneously). The efforts of the fascists have been directed to ensuring that on every occasion direct lowering of nominal wages should apply only to a narrow stratum or group of workers, in order to avoid united resistance on the part of the whole body of workers of the given enterprise. Most frequently piece rates have been decreased, for which purpose work was "stopped" for a short period and then the norm of production was increased. In addition, the workers have been deprived of many small material achievements, such as pay for time required to clean up; they have been compelled to provide their own tools or to pay for the repair of tools; the most varied forms of fines for spoilage have been introduced; even in those cases where the spoilage is due to the poor quality of raw material, etc. But on the whole, this lowering of the nominal wage has mainly touched wages earned on overtime work. Here we must call to mind the fact that the wage rates based on the wages agreements were so low that a very large number of German workers, especially the skilled workers have for many years worked overtime. Let us cite a few examples.

In the Beuler Engineering plant at Leipzig, lathe hands and fitters were earning from 50 to 70 marks a week on piece work. According to the wage agreement the basic piece wage was 35 marks. At the beginning of 1934 a representative of the management came, and, stop-watch in his hand, checked up the work on the job, and ordered a 25 per cent. cut in piece work rates.

Moulders in the Meyer and Weigelt firm in Leipzig on a number of occasions have come home after a week's work with 10-15 marks in their pockets because of deductions for spoilage, caused mainly by poor quality raw material.

In the Heimnitz Textile Factory a highly skilled spinner formerly spun 5 kilograms of material an hour. This material was later replaced by a poor quality substitute, and she was able to spin only one kilogram an hour. According to the piece rate pay, she received 20 pfennings per kilogram, and in this way her earnings decreased from 1 mark to 20 pfennings an hour.

The Character and Significance of the Struggles of the Workers Against the Robbery of Their Wages.

Most of these struggles—the sending of delegations to the Confidence Councils and to the manager of the enterprise, passive resistance, short strikes on the job, walk-outs—where these struggles took place in large enterprises, embraced the workers of only one department. This was because, as we have already stated, up to the present general attacks on the nominal wages of an entire enterprise have been very rare occurrences. And where these attacks did occur, they usually led to a general movement of resistance. The strikes of 6,000 workers of the Wanderer plant in Chemnitz and of the workers of N.S.U. in Stuttgart serve as striking examples of this. Since the end of 1934, the workers of the Wanderer plant have not allowed any reduction of piece rates by the introduction of rates “according to productivity.” The workers answered any new attempt in this direction by strike action.

The movement of protest against deductions from wages (for the winter relief fund, contributions to the aviation fund, contributions to the “Labour Front”) also covered entire enterprises and even entire branches of industry in various regions as a rule. This expressed itself concretely in votes of protest against the deductions, in the collection of signatures to written protests, in passive resistance or strikes. Here are a few of many examples.

In the “Queen Louisa” mine in Upper Silesia a general meeting of the miners was called to discuss the question of the automatic deduction from wages, or dues to the “Labour Front.” Most of the workers sabotaged the meeting by not appearing, and the remaining negligible minority agreed to the deduction. On the basis of this the management proceeded to automatically deduct dues for the “Labour Front” from the wages. Immediately two-thirds of the workers presented a written protest against this, and in this way they succeeded in securing the annulment of the automatic deduction of dues. Similar struggles took place in almost all of the mines and metallurgical plants of Upper Silesia.

The management of the Rosche Firm in Neigersdorf began an attempt to deduct from the wages payments into the winter relief fund. This provoked great discontent among the workers. Many of them came into the Confidence Council and protested against the deductions. The attempts of the management were not successful.

One of the most important movements of protest against deductions from wages was the strike of the Berlin workers of AEG-Brunenstrasse (electrical trust) directed against deductions from wages, of so-called “contributions” for the needs

of aviation. At the same time, this strike was a splendid demonstration of the real sentiments of the working masses against the preparations for war. The fact that it was just here, in the AEG, that such a collection of contributions for the needs of aviation was made had its particular reasons. On May 1, 1934, the Minister of Aviation, Goering, marched to the airdrome in the ranks of the workers of the AEG-Brunenstrasse, later he also displayed particular interest in this enterprise and was apparently absolutely sure that he had gained popularity among the workers of the AEG. However, the strike showed just the contrary: the workers succeeded in achieving victory.

In separate cases the workers have already carried on a struggle for an increase in wages to correspond with the growing increase in prices. For example, shortly before Christmas a six hour strike took place in one of the Krupp warehouses under the slogan of a 2 pfennings an hour increase in wages. The workers were successful in winning the satisfaction of this demand. Struggles for wage increases take place mainly in the textile industry and auto-transport.

In what way do these movements arise, and what influence do they exert on the general development of class forces in Hitler Germany?

The unleashing of these movements is stimulated by various forces which spur the growing dissatisfaction of the workers on to action.

We know that among the supporters of Hitler, if we speak of the proletarian elements, there are also unemployed workers. These are mainly those unemployed who were previously engaged in workshops or in the small retail commercial enterprises of their relatives, or themselves were small artisans or traders and later became victims of the economic crisis, or those who, on account of the extreme poverty of the small and middle peasantry were compelled to leave their families, to seek work in the factories from which they were later driven out by the crisis. In addition to these, among the Hitler adherents are a considerable number of the unemployed commercial and technical employees. All these constitute a petty-bourgeois stratum whose class-consciousness has not yet been developed or only to a small extent. The unrestrained demagogic agitation of Hitler, both prior to and after his advent to power, up to 1934, maintained wide illusions among these masses. They believed that Hitler would improve their conditions. Many of them (particularly the Storm Troopers) returned to the factories during the first year of the Hitler dictatorship. But only a few of them were successful in obtaining good posts in the enterprises. The overwhelming majority of them, and among these

the so-called "old fighters," on account of their lower qualifications were compelled to be satisfied with a very meagre wage. And they were witness of the mad race of the employers for profits, and the way a whole stratum of cream-skimmers of the "national socialist revolution" flourished. Dissatisfaction among these adherents of Hitler grew ever stronger, and this was already evident prior to June 30. And the bloody events of June 30 still further strengthened their disappointment. A considerable section of the national-socialist workers became more receptive to the agitation of the Communist and Social-Democratic workers, and gradually the first beginnings of class consciousness began to awaken among the national socialist masses.

These strata feel the offensive of the employers against wages most painfully. For they believed that "the national socialist revolution" had welded the whole of the people together—the toilers and the employers—into a body united by common interests and needs—into a "community." Conscious that they, the national socialists were in power, they considered that it was not only their right, but also their duty to struggle against the actions of the employers, which conflicted with the attempts to create "national unity." First they began their protest by handing in their complaints against the employers to the labour representatives, the leaders of the N.S.B.O. (the national socialist factory organisations) the fascist party and the "Labour Front." But when they did not receive any support from them, in many cases they proceeded to take more active measures, and went as far as agitation for collective action.

Further, the former trade-union workers of the Communist, Social-Democratic and Christian unions, to the extent that the dissatisfaction of the masses grew, and a turn became evident among many adherents of national socialism in the factories, also began to take up the immediate demands of their comrades in the factory, to broaden these demands, to point out to their comrades how to struggle against the reductions in piece rates, compulsory deductions, etc. With the certain enlivenment of German economy, the first to return to the factories were many qualified workers, those who previously gave the highest percentage of members of the trade unions, and most energetically defended their economic interests. The overwhelming majority of these workers are hostile to national-socialism. With few exceptions, most of them were compelled to return to work at much lower wages than in former years, when they were discharged. And many of them were taken back to work as unskilled workers, frequently not even receiving the wages paid to their comrades who received em-

ployment on similar work at an earlier date. But it is very difficult to live on 18 to 26 marks weekly in Germany in face of the constantly rising prices. The growing profits of the employers, and the arrogant, glaring luxury of the ruling classes could only facilitate the growth of ever greater dissatisfaction with their conditions among the class-conscious workers.

The most important points characterising the situation which has developed in the factories in Hitler Germany (particularly in the large plants and factories) may be reduced to the following—there was an increase in the number of the most conscious workers — Communists, Social-Democrats, former members of the free-trade unions, in the shops and factories in the course of 1934. Many of these workers, particularly the Communists, on their own initiative carry on revolutionary work among the workers of their enterprises, at times not even being connected organisationally with the Communist Party. The activities of the Communist factory cells have also increased, although slowly, and extended in the course of 1934. The anti-fascist and fascist forces in the enterprises are intermixing more and more, and many adherents of fascism are becoming anti-fascist.

Minor battles and struggles particularly facilitate the development of this process of the unification of the factory workers, and create serious prerequisites for the awakening and deepening of class-consciousness among the deluded workers. For it is these militant activities which provide the pretext for numerous discussions in the factories—arguments, which, as has been already proven by many examples, do not limit themselves only to the direct actual questions of the given enterprise, but touch upon the most important problems of the class struggle of the proletariat. In the process of these militant struggles, the Communist and Social-Democratic workers are coming closer to each other.

This process is also clearly manifested in the growing number of struggles undertaken against the fascist terror. Under the pressure of the passive resistance or strikes of the workers, the police have at times been compelled to refrain from making arrests at those enterprises where the workers defend those members of the Confidence Council who try to defend the interests of the workers. On the other hand, this process was also clearly manifested in the preparations for and the carrying through of the elections to the Confidence Councils as set by Hitler and Co., in the attempt to create a narrow stratum of a labour aristocracy and labour bureaucracy, which could be capable of winning influence over the

working masses, and together with this, changes in the course of the "Labour Front."

The Elections to the Confidence Council.

In preparing for the Confidence Council elections Hitler and Co. used every effort to stir up chauvinistic sentiments among the ranks of the workers and to put forward as candidates for the Confidence Councils, not only the "reliable" Nazis but also former trade-union workers (officials in the free and christian trade-unions), Social-Democrats and even Communists. Hitler was compelled to resort to this under the pressure of the growing dissatisfaction of the masses, and of the increasingly active resistance and accelerated process of unity and the welding together in the enterprises of the former national-socialist adherents and the class-conscious workers.

Why was such tremendous chauvinistic propaganda under the slogan of "Everything for Germany" developed? Why did Hitler and Co. put forward as candidates for the Confidence Councils former trade union workers, Social-Democratic and Communist workers and officials? Not only so as to get as many votes as possible and to clearly demonstrate "the growing solidarity of the masses of the workers with national socialism." Here, an attempt was made to divert into the channel of national chauvinism the process of the welding together and intermixing of the anti-fascist and fascist forces, which was taking place in the factories on the basis of the struggle for the daily economic and political interests of the working masses.

With the same purpose in mind the Hitlerites decided to give minor concessions to some sections of the working class such as of extended holiday periods, "beautification of the factories," etc. the censure and even temporary arrest of certain owners of average sized enterprises who adopted a particularly crude and arrogant attitude, and by certain manoeuvres to attract and encourage the narrow stratum of labour aristocracy which exists in Germany and which is hostile to fascism. At the same time the Fascists intensified the terror against the revolutionary workers and their organisations.

In the instructions of the C.P. of Germany on the preparations for the elections to the Confidence Councils account was taken of the well thought out manoeuvres of the Fascists. The Communist Party of Germany, correctly estimating the sentiments and the processes taking place among the masses, addressed an appeal to the factory workers on February 1. In this appeal the Party proposed that the workers should demand the calling of a meeting at which the old Confidence Council should submit its report, this

report to be followed by free discussion; that they propose their anti-fascist candidates for the Confidence Council and strive for the inclusion of their candidates on the ballot papers, even if they had to appear on these ballot papers alongside the candidates put forward by the employers. Further the appeal proposed that the demand be made that the lists of candidates be recognised as not valid if these lists did not include the real representatives of the workers; it further proposed that the demand be made that the employers' candidates should be excluded from the ballot papers, if they were on the list alongside the representatives of the workers, and to strive for the election of all the candidates on the ballot paper where this was made up of representatives of the workers. And finally, the appeal recommended that the workers should everywhere strive for the secret ballot in the elections.

The results of the elections officially published were obviously manipulated, as has been demonstrated by numerous examples. But even the results published by Hitler show that, particularly in the most important branches of industry there was a high percentage of those who voted against the Nazi lists. We shall limit ourselves to citing only some of the most characteristic examples of the outcome of the elections.

In two enterprises in Saxony there were two lists proposed by the fascists and the workers respectively. In the X. works, the fascist ballot ticket received 168 votes, and the workers' ticket—198 votes. Thus the workers list won. In the Y. factory 144 ballot papers were spoiled, 405 were for the fascist ticket and 400 for the workers' candidates. In addition, 16 ballot papers were declared invalid.

At one of the mines in Upper Silesia the workers were successful in placing their candidates on the official ticket. Ninety per cent. of all the workers voted for this list. In another enterprise, also in Upper Silesia, the employer and a Fascist representative were put forward as candidates. At a general meeting the workers opposed these candidatures, and proposed other candidates, which, however, were rejected by the employer and the Nazi representative. The workers, however, continued to struggle for their candidates and wrote their names on the walls. During the voting 240 votes were cast for the Fascist ticket and 319 workers voted against. Then the employer, without appealing to the Labour representative, withdrew the candidates he had put forward and recognised as members of the Confidence Council the candidates proposed by the workers, for whom in reality 319 workers voted, thus defeating the employer's list.

In the Bosch factory in Stuttgart, on 1,600 ballot papers, the name of the former chairman of the Confidence Council, a fascist official, was crossed out. In another—the Württemberg plant—the leaders of the "Labour Front," under the influence of the great number of votes cast against their ticket, were compelled after the elections to replace the individual they put forward as their representative by another candidate more acceptable to the workers.

In the Leuna works in Halle-Merzeberg the fascists themselves recognised that one-third of the workers voted against the fascist ticket or abstained from voting. In the "German Wharf" in Kiel, 43 per cent. voted against the Nazis. In the Zwickau mines, the Nazis, after counting the votes three times, were compelled to recognise that 58 per cent. of the workers voted against their ticket or abstained from voting. Thus, the Labour representative was himself compelled to appoint the Confidence Council. In the Breslau tramway system, according to the data issued by the Nazis, 1,100 votes were cast for their ticket, while 1,700 voted against or abstained. As regards the Linke-Hoffman-Busch firm in Breslau, the Nazis assert that 80 per cent. of the workers voted for the fascist ticket. In reality, only 40 per cent. attended the elections. In the City water and gas plant of Breslau, the results of the elections were so miserable for the Nazis that the participants were obliged (twice under the oath) to maintain secrecy.

We succeeded to a certain extent, by our tactics, in breaking down the manoeuvre cooked up by Hitler and Co. In order to do this, the Party used every means to point out to the masses the need for winning posts in the Confidence Councils so as to use them for revolutionary purposes.

We succeeded in obtaining a whole series of places in the Confidence Councils for class-conscious workers. This is a considerable step forward in comparison with 1934 when the Communist Party limited itself to propaganda and agitation for the rejection of the ticket as a whole.

The Prague Central Committee of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany and a number of leaders of the group of "revolutionary socialists" this year also clung on to these pseudo-radical tactics, and thus hampered the struggle to win posts in the Confidence Councils and the struggle against the manoeuvres of Hitlerism. In addition, the Prague Central Committee refused to declare in favour of joint action by the Communist and Social-Democratic workers in the preparation and carrying through of the elections. But the reactionary laws regarding the regulation of national labour, and the elections and duties of the Confidence Councils, can only be rendered harmless

if the revolutionary workers are able to penetrate into the factory organs provided for by these laws and transform them from fascist into anti-fascist bodies, deriving support from the militant struggles of the workers at each given enterprise.

The Fascist System of Payment According to "Productivity," and Chauvinism.

In the disputes which have taken place up to the present time on the question of the payment of labour according to productivity, it was justly pointed out that the reformist trade union leaders formerly also insisted on differentiated pay. The wage-agreements concluded at that time provided for different rates of pay in various economic regions and localities, depending on the enterprises, various age categories, on sex, etc., etc. But, the differentiation of wage rates put into effect by the Nazis by means of pay according to productivity bears a different character, and it cannot be considered, as some of the comrades do, merely as a continuation of the former policy of the reformist leaders.

The Nazis approach the differentiation in pay mainly from the point of view of the need for adapting the pay to the productive capacity of separate enterprises and the productivity of labour of the individual worker. By adapting the wages of the productive power of the different enterprises, the fascists are trying to smooth over the harmful influence of monopolistic prices on the competitive ability of the less productive establishments (so as not to lose their petty-bourgeois supporters). By adapting wages to the productivity of labour of the individual workers, the fascists are trying to destroy the solidarity of the workers, to set the workers against one another, to get a worker to set the pace for the others, and in this way to introduce discord and break up the forces of the working class. All this is done in order to create a chauvinistic, nationalistic, militaristic hierarchy in the factories, which is necessary in order to permanently suppress the masses.

For this reason, the introduction of the principle of the payment of wages according to productivity leads not only to differentiation in the wages in different branches and professions, to a differentiation between the wages of skilled and unskilled men, women and youth, but also to differentiation within each one of these categories of labour.

The attempt to introduce wages on the basis of productivity is connected with the all-round political inculcation of a spirit of chauvinism, nationalism and militarism in the workers. The Nazis proclaim the slogan of "Honour and first place to the most capable, higher wages—to the most capable. He must be the first one to receive all the privileges of the 'cultural efforts' of

national socialism." Who, according to the Nazis, is the "most capable"? Not only he who produces most, qualitatively and quantitatively. The Nazis are trying to give first place on the job, higher wage rates, honours of all kinds and "cultural enjoyments" to those who have proven their loyalty to the national socialist state, to those who recognise their "race purity," and hence, according to national-socialist ideology, their superiority over others.

The operation of the principle of payment according to productivity is indissolubly linked up with the attempts to militarise the factories in Hitler Germany. What the organisational structure of the factories should be in Germany is well known according to the fascist ideas. The factory owner or director is the "leader" of the establishment; the leaders of the department are considered officers; the foremen, non-commissioned officers, while the rank and file workers are soldiers in the army of labour, or the "retinue of the leader."

The relation between those in charge and the subordinates are regulated by the rules of military discipline. As a means of educating the workers in the spirit of nationalism and to receive complaints, a check-up takes place every morning in army fashion.

Any comrade who has served in a capitalist army knows by experience that the officers and non-commissioned officers would not be able to imbue the rank and file with the "military spirit" and unquestionable discipline, without the assistance of a certain number of soldiers who are stupefied by nationalism and chauvinism, and who from the capitalist point of view are more capable and reliable. These soldiers are held up

as examples to their comrades, and they are given all kinds of petty privileges such as increased vacations, and lighter work, thus inciting them to support order and discipline in their detachment. But when necessary, the officers do not stop at even the most violent and callous measures to make informers etc. out of them.

Herr Ley, the one who is mainly responsible for carrying out this line in the labour policy of the Fascists, openly expressed his opinion on this question at a rally of the Silesian representatives of the "Labour Front" in Breslau ("Deutsche," November 6, 1934), where he declared the following:—

"If the leaders of enterprises and their subordinates march together to-day, they will not be able to-morrow to struggle against one another. This is the very profound meaning of all these meetings and rallies. (This refers to the meetings, rallies and check-ups in the factories and mills, M.F.) Generally speaking, there is no more favourable soil for real socialist thinking than the barracks."

In the factories the Fascists are trying to create a narrow stratum of the fascised labour aristocracy. With this end in view such workers are guaranteed their jobs, efforts are made to attach them to the factory by the provision of living quarters, and by the prospect of receiving sick and old age pensions from the factory social insurance.

Efforts are made to give individually some paltry additional pay for special work. They are flattered, exalted for their "race purity," for the creation of military discipline, for unquestionable obedience to those higher-up, for their rough treatment of those beneath them; they are given all kinds of rosy perspectives for the future, etc.

(To be continued).

educated numerous new cadres who are supremely devoted to Communism, and capable of giving their whole lives, to their last drop of blood and the last breath in their bodies, to the cause of the world proletarian revolution.

The capitalist world is entering upon a period of new revolutionary crisis, a period in which a new round of revolutions and wars is being released.

The imperialist bourgeoisie are seeking a way out of the present crisis of capitalism in fascism and war, for a new re-division of the globe.

The urge towards the fighting united front against the capitalist offensive, against fascism and the danger of war is growing among the widest masses of the toilers in connection with the world historic victories of socialism in the U.S.S.R., on the one hand, and in connection with the establishment of the open fascist dictatorship in Germany, Austria, and in the increase in the threat of fascism in the other countries, on the other.

The Second Congress took place in the period of the first round of wars and revolutions, which ended in the victory and consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Soviet Russia and

the defeat of the proletariat in a number of capitalist countries. This defeat was primarily the result of the treacherous tactics pursued by the Social-Democratic leaders and also of the fact that there were no mass Communist Parties in being in a number of countries, or were not in existence at all.

The Seventh Congress of the Communist International is coming together on the threshold of the mighty battles of the second round of revolutions and wars, in a situation which is more profound than was the case in the first round of wars and revolutions. At a time when the Second International is undergoing a crisis, and when "the idea of storming capitalism is maturing in the consciousness of the masses" (Stalin) and when the will to undertake the decisive battle for the overthrow of capitalism is becoming stronger.

In this historic conflict between the classes, the Communist International, led by Comrade Stalin, the mighty strategist and tactician, is the only force which will lead the international proletariat to victory in the struggle for its historic aim, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for Communism.

AUGUST 1st

AGAINST THE THREATENING IMPERIALIST WAR

(Manifesto of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of France, Great Britain, Germany, China, Poland, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Austria and Hungary).

TO the Working Men and Women of all Countries!

To Working-Class Youth!
To all Friends of Peace and all Enemies of War!

It is only a few weeks to the twenty-first anniversary of the outbreak of the great world war. And to-day the nations stand on the threshold of another war, far greater than even that war. The introduction of conscription, the militarisation of youth in Hitler Germany and the unceasing provocations of German fascism threaten the world with another international massacre. The fascist rulers of the newly-armed German imperialism are more and more openly preparing for an attack on other nations, and especially for a war on the Soviet Union, hoping by a new world war to achieve a redistribution of the world. They are feverishly searching for new allies. After Japan and Poland, they are now attempting to enrol fascist Italy in the war front of fascist states. In the Baltic Hitler's agents are intriguing to destroy the independence

of the small Baltic states and to use them as a jumping-off ground in a war against the Soviets.

The Japanese imperialists are extending their military occupation of China. In the Pacific the danger of a war is again imminent. In a few weeks Mussolini will have completed the deployment of Italian forces for a colonial war of conquest against the Abyssinian people; the sanguinary African adventure is scheduled to begin in early Autumn. Thus the imperialist warmongers are steadily at work to set Europe and the world on fire.

The Soviet Union stands in the midst of a world of capitalist enemies as an iron sentinel of peace. The Socialist Soviet state, with its non-aggression pacts, with its mutual assistance agreements, with its struggle to create a system of collective security, is serving the cause of peace and the interests of the workers of all countries.

The fascist states, headed by Hitler Germany, leave no stone unturned in order to frustrate the consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union. Hitler openly declares that he is opposed to the Eastern

fact and the creation of a system of collective security; in this he is supported above all by the anti-Soviet section of the British ruling class. The fascists hate the Soviet Union not only because it is the home of socialism, but because it is a bulwark against fascism, a citadel of peace and a defender of all small and weak nations.

The armament race and the international traffic in arms, which this year surpass in extent those of the three preceding years, show the armament international, the hyenas of the battlefields at their bloody trade. The biggest exponents of the international armament business, the French firm of Schneider-Creuzot, the German firm of Krupp, the British firm of Vickers, the Czech firm of Skoda and others have recently concluded an international agreement in Biarritz with a view to jointly increasing their profits.

The capitalist world is loaded with combustible material; any minute can bring the outbreak of war.

On the eve of the twenty-first anniversary of the imperialist world slaughter the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of France, Great Britain, Germany, China, Japan, Poland, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Austria and Hungary call to working men and women of all countries: form the international united front of the proletarians of all countries for the defence of peace against the conspiracy set on foot by Hitler Germany and her allies, Japan and Poland! Support the peace policy of the Soviet Union!

Men, women, youths of the working class, to whatever party you may belong, demonstrate on August 1, the anniversary of the outbreak of world war; show your whole-hearted and unanimous determination to preserve peace and to fight against all those who set the nations against each other, who are preparing for war and attempting to unleash another international massacre.

The united action of all militant workers on a national and international scale can oppose a barrier to the national incitement of one people against another; it can obstruct the armament race of the imperialists and the preparation of an imperialist war.

United action in every capitalist country, united action inspired by proletarian internationalism, will enable the working class of the world to beat back the attack of the warmongers on the lives of the workers of all countries.

The united front of militant workers, if it is able to win all workers for the fight against war and fascism, can secure a victory for the peace policy of the Soviet Union in the capitalist countries and stop the bloody machinations of the warmongers.

The undersigned Communist Parties appeal to all Socialist Parties, to their leading bodies and all their organisations: faced with the imminent danger of another terrible massacre, make up your minds at last to join in united action with the Communist Parties against imperialist war and fascism! The Executive of the Labour and Socialist International has twice declared that it leaves it to the discretion of its sections to conclude united front agreements with the Communist Parties. The Labour and Socialist International, in the resolution of its enlarged Bureau adopted on May 6/7, 1933, declared: "We observe with satisfaction the collaboration of European democracy with the Soviet Union for the prevention of war." The L.S.I. further stated that it was "aware of the grave dangers threatening the peace of the world." It stressed the fact that "one of the most important tasks in the struggle against war consists in mobilising the public opinion of the whole world against the Hitler dictatorship by every means at our command."

But these important statements have sense and value only if they are followed by corresponding action. They have a practical significance for the working class only if the L.S.I. takes serious practical steps to establish a united fighting front of Socialist and Communist Parties and organisations. We Communists have already made a number of suggestions to the L.S.I. and its sections in our numerous united front proposals concerning the joint struggle against Hitler Germany and her allies, the chief warmongers.

To-day, on the eve of the twenty-first anniversary of the outbreak of the great war, we repeat our offer of a united front. We declare that we are prepared to consult with the socialist parties concerning the methods, forms, time and all other problems arising in connection with joint action on the twenty-first anniversary of the outbreak of world war.

Away with all obstacles in the way of the united action of all militant workers against imperialist war and blood-stained fascism!

Communist and socialist workers! Trade unionists in the reformist and militant unions! Men and women who have passed through the horrors of imperialist war! Mothers who are required to sacrifice your sons for cannon-fodder! Youths, who are the chosen first victims of the war! All you who hate imperialist war and want to prevent it! All who want peace!

Unite for the joint struggle against the threatening massacre, form united front committees, committees against war and fascism, prepare joint demonstrations on August 1 in every locality:—

Against the imperialist armament race, for a system of collective security!

Against Hitler Germany and her imperialist allies, the chief warmongers!

For the defence of the independence of small nations!

Against imperialist conquests!

Against Italian fascism, for the defence of the Abyssinian people!

Against the Japanese imperialists, for the defence of China from dismemberment by the imperialist robbers!

For the preservation of peace, for the peace policy of the Soviet Union, for the defence of our Soviet fatherland!

Proletarian united front against chauvinist hatred between the nations, for proletarian internationalism, for Socialism, which alone can safeguard peace!

The Central Committees of the Communist Parties of France, Great Britain, Germany, China, Japan, Poland, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Austria, and Hungary.

THE UNITED FRONT FOR PEACE AND AGAINST WAR!

By BELA KUN.

THE instability of the international situation is increasing at a rapid rate. No matter how much effort and energy the Soviet Union spends to maintain peace and hinder the outbreak of hostilities, the activity of the warmongers, ESPECIALLY THE GERMAN FASCISTS, keeps on growing steadily. By selling the Chinese Eastern Railway the Soviet Union demonstrated how a Socialist state can solve international conflicts in the interests of peace. Japanese imperialism, however, makes use of the fact that it has obtained a free hand in the Soviet Far East for increased brutal oppression of the Chinese people by further developing the robber campaign in North China. The two mutual aid pacts which the Soviet Union concluded with France and Czechoslovakia in the interests of maintaining peace are followed by the pact between Germany and Great Britain regarding further naval armament, which is plainly directed against the Soviet Union, but also against France and Italy. There is a truce in the war between Paraguay and Bolivia for Chaco, but in Africa, Italian imperialism is advancing towards a bloody war of plunder against the Abyssinian people.

Competition in armaments for a new imperialist massacre of the people is proceeding at a greater pace than ever before, and even in the present situation on the eve of war, is already throwing overboard all the experiences of the past world war. The professional diplomats and the special plenipotentiaries of the warmongering countries, such as Goering, Hess and Ribbentrop, no longer ride in express trains when making their trips to recruit allies, but use very fast airplanes. Of all the sciences which the research of mankind is developing, the science of the preparation and conduct of war is most encouraged and popularised in capitalist countries. The manu-

facture and sale of arms is the only flourishing branch of capitalist world economy. The profits of the munition industry and especially of the chemical industry are soaring at a gigantic pace. The net profits of the British Chemical Trust increased from 3.4 million pounds in 1931, to 6.3 million in 1934.

The German fascists have developed to the utmost the preparations for war, both in the technical and the political sense. In the two years of the Hitler dictatorship the subsidies to the German chemical trust were multiplied fivefold. A whole network of agencies of German fascism is being organised and financed by the Hitler government throughout the world. In Czechoslovakia there is the Henlein Party, in France the reactionary leaders of the U.P.R. of Alsace and Lorraine, in Belgium the section of the Flemish movement which inclines towards fascism, the Mussert fascists in Holland, the Quissling fascists in Norway, the Furgard fascists in Sweden, the Iron Guard and the Goga fascists etc., in Rumania, the Frontists in Switzerland and similar movements in the United States and South America, and not least of all in the Baltic countries.

The fascists, the militarists and the men who back them—the trust magnates, the big landowners and the munition kings, who, as Bause, the national-socialist theoretician of Teutonic rage (*Furor teutonitus*) said, "I do not want to know anything more about the ludicrous dream of humanity as a whole"—increase the rate at which a new world massacre is being prepared, from week to week and from month to month.

Can there be a more sacred task for any worker than to join THE STRUGGLE AGAINST WAR AND DEFEAT THE EFFORTS OF THE WARMONGERS IN THEIR DAY TO DAY PREPARATIONS FOR WAR AND TO DO ALL

IN HIS POWER TO FRUSTRATE THE ADVENTURIST PLANS OF THE IMPERIALISTS?

Ten Communist Parties of capitalist countries have issued an appeal to men and women workers all over the world, to the toiling youth, to all friends of peace and opponents of war. They call upon everyone to arrange united, joint demonstrations on August 1st, the 21st anniversary of the imperialist war, against the preparation of a new holocaust of the peoples. The straining of the international situation, the direct danger of the outbreak of a new imperialist world war, especially a counter-revolutionary war against the fatherland of the toilers, the Socialist Soviet Union, urgently demands that the appeal of the ten Communist Parties—the C.P.s of France, Great Britain, Germany, China, Japan, Poland, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Austria and Hungary should meet with a stirring response among the broadest masses. The organisation of mass meetings and demonstrations for August 1, for peace, against chauvinism, against war incitement and armaments, is the more important daily task of all friends of peace and opponents of war.

The appeal is addressed to all those who are interested in maintaining peace and preventing war. This year, however, it is especially addressed to ALL SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTIES AND ORGANISATIONS TO FINALLY DECIDE TO WAGE A JOINT STRUGGLE TOGETHER WITH US AGAINST THE COMMON ENEMY, AGAINST THE IMPERIALIST WARMONGERS.

The united front between the Communist and Social-Democratic Parties and organisations, on a national and international scale, really to fight against the war danger would mean successful and effective encouragement of the correct and persistent peace policy of the Soviet Union. Such a united front would become a real rallying ground for everybody—for the petty-bourgeoisie, the farmers, the intellectuals—even for those sections of the population which to-day still reject Socialism or are not prepared to fight for it, but who want to support Socialism in the Soviet Union which has such an effect upon the preservation of peace. Such a united front could be a magnetic force to draw all the toiling sections into the fighting front against imperialist war, against the massacre of the peoples and against its cause—capitalism.

Are there any beginnings in the parties of the Second International and above all in the Social-Democratic national and district organisations for the establishment of the united front?

There is no doubt about it.

What do the experiences of united action by the Communist and Socialist Parties in France show? What does the last Congress of the Socialist Party of France in Mulhouse show?

These are proofs that the masses who follow the Socialist Party of France have, on the basis of their own experiences, become convinced that the united front, unity of action of the fighting proletariat, is the best means for a widespread mobilisation of the masses against the common class enemy and its warmongering efforts. The experiences that the French working class has had with unity of action also show that unity of the militant workers can draw the petty-bourgeois peasant masses into action—e.g., the followers of the Radical Socialists—in common struggle against the common enemy.

What does the speech of Marteau, the Left Social-Democrat, at the meeting of the Brussels organisation of the Belgian Labour Party show? It is no accident that a Left Social Democrat, one who is a responsible official in his party, declared that in view of the present international situation with the present state of war preparations, the best and the most effective guarantee of peace is the Red Army of the Soviet Union. The sentiment expressed in this speech is the sentiment of the masses, upon which unity of action of the Social-Democratic and Communist organisations can be based.

What does the joint struggle of the Italian Socialist Party and the Communist Party against Mussolini's robber campaign in Africa show? It shows that the united front of both parties which to-day increases the self-confidence of the working class in the struggle against the fascist murderers of the masses, have, in a number of Italian towns, transformed the spontaneous movements against war and fascism into mass actions against the war of plunder.

Under these circumstances, should the assertions of the Enlarged Bureau of the Socialist and Labour International regarding the gravity of the danger menacing world peace, should these important declarations that "one of the most important tasks of the struggle against war consists in using all the means for mobilising public opinion of the whole world against the Hitler dictatorship," remain without consequences?

The most important problem in fighting against preparations for imperialist war, in the given stage, is the extension of the front against imperialist war preparations, concentrating it against the chief instigators of war, the German fascists, their allies, and the men who are backing them in Poland, Japan and Great Britain, and the organisation of genuine mass action against the sale and transport of arms to Germany and Japan.

What reason, formal or otherwise, can be important enough to hinder the establishment of the united front of militant workers, on a national

scale, against the preparations for an imperialist war in their own country, and international unity of action of the working class against the chief instigator of war, against German fascism? There are not and cannot be such reasons!

The leaders of the Socialist and Labour International again declared on April 14 that the parties affiliated to it have the right to conclude united front agreements with the Communist Parties in their own countries. Just as unfounded as was the Second International's refusal to organise joint mass meetings and demonstrations for May 1st, so the new step taken by the ten Communist Parties to again call upon the Social-Democratic Parties and organisations for united militant action against the imperialist war, and especially against the German fascist chief instigators of war, was justified and timely.

The tragic day of August 4, 1914, the day of class betrayal by international Social-Democracy in connection with the outbreak of the imperialist war, the day of the shameful collapse of the international organisation of the working class at that time, must not and shall not be repeated. The larger the numbers of the masses of workers who fight for peace before the outbreak of the new imperialist war and support the peace policy of the Socialist Soviet Union by deeds, the broader

the united front of the Socialist and Communist organisations that organise this struggle in the capitalist countries against the preparations for war, the smaller the number of workers and toilers who will fall a prey to the chauvinist incitement of the warmongers and succumb to the terror of the bourgeois state which has been placed on a war footing, the sooner will the struggle to convert the imperialist war into civil war be crowned with success.

In the present strained international situation, in view of the struggle between the peace policy of the Soviet Union and the extreme warmongering of the leading fascist states, the Social-Democratic workers and their organisations will have to give an answer as to which road they will continue to take:

The road which the *Daily Herald*, the organ of the British Labour Party, proposes—"an agreement with Hitler who is in power," or the road which leads not to an agreement with Hitler, but to an agreement with the steadfast fighter for peace, with the Soviet Union.

The question has been put and the answer will be given in the joint struggle of the Social-Democratic workers and organisations together with the Communists.

OUR STRUGGLE AGAINST CHAUVINISM AND IMPERIALIST WAR

WITH every day that passes, Hitler fascism more and more excites chauvinistic sentiments among the masses of the people of Germany. Hitler fascism needs to find support for its war policy, which is dictated by the interests of the big capitalists and landlords, in order to use the masses as cannon fodder during the coming war.

The introduction of conscription by the Hitler government on the basis of the law of March 16, 1935, serves the same ends. The policy of the Hitler government is weighty proof of the correctness of what Comrade Stalin pointed out in the following passage:

"Chauvinism and preparation for war as the main elements of foreign policy, bridling the working class, and terror in the sphere of home policy as a necessary means for strengthening the rear of future war fronts—this is what is particularly engaging the minds of contemporary imperialist politicians." (Stalin, speech at the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.)

The source of the rampant, chauvinist, war dance in Germany is to be found in the expansionist strivings of German imperialism and the difficulties which the fascist dictatorship is en-

countering inside the country. Ever since German imperialism recovered from the defeat it encountered during the war and became strong again, during the years of relative stabilisation, the struggle for new foreign markets has meant, for German Imperialism, the question of a new re-partition of Europe. It is impatient to solve this problem as quickly as possible. But since this is impossible of achievement without a new war, it is preparing for war might and main. Whether the plans of German imperialism will be successfully realised or not, however, all depends upon whether it is able to break down the resistance of the proletarian masses organised by the Communist Party of Germany. This is forcing the bourgeoisie to exert all its energies, at the same time, to crush the Communist Party. This is why it entrusted the setting up of a fascist dictatorship to its own offspring, to the most extreme nationalist party—the Hitler party.

Even before he obtained this task from the hands of finance capital, Hitler had succeeded by means of his nationalist agitation in poisoning the minds of large sections of the petty-bourgeoisie

and peasantry with chauvinist dope. The situation which arose in Germany as a result of its military defeat was in his favour. The Versailles Peace led not only to the two-fold exploitation of the toiling masses of Germany by home and foreign capital, but also to their national dignity being incredibly lowered. Besides the profits of the German capitalists and the rents of the big landlords, billions more were wrung out of the toiling masses of Germany on behalf of the ruling classes of the victorious powers. Germany was deprived of valuable raw materials and means of production, coal and timber, as well as the best locomotives and coaches. She even had to give up the best part of her dairy cattle, while young infants perished in thousands because their mothers were utterly exhausted and there was a shortage of milk. Almost the entire economic life of the country, its finances and railways, were controlled by the victorious powers. As a result of the defeat of imperialist Germany during the war of 1914-1918, the toiling masses of Germany also suffered national oppression at the hands of the victorious powers. Great masses of the people were possessed of a violent hatred of the foreign oppressors.

This created favourable ground for the German bourgeoisie to conduct ideological preparations for the realisation of their imperialist plans of expansion. They were successful in placing the Hitler party, which combined chauvinist ideology with unrestricted social demagogy and deception, at the head of the mass movement. The nationalist uproar developed by the Hitler party served to comfort the German petty-bourgeois to some extent, fanning the flames of his desire for revenge upon national oppression. The chauvinism which penetrated deeper and deeper into this mass movement was possessed of a magnetic power which drew in more and more new sections of the wavering petty-bourgeoisie. It was precisely this circumstance that inspired German finance-capital to entrust Hitler with the setting up of a fascist dictatorship.

Immediately upon the signing of the Versailles Treaty, the Communist Party of Germany began a determined struggle against national oppression. In the course of this struggle it developed into the only revolutionary mass party. It confronted the masses with the mighty task of destroying the Versailles system, simultaneously overthrowing the German bourgeoisie, of breaking the Versailles fetters, at the same time destroying all oppression and exploitation at the hands of the bourgeoisie once and for all. The Communist Party set proletarian internationalism and the class struggle against the nationalist ideology and the national strife fired by chauvinism. How-

ever, the reformist policy of social-democracy and its class collaboration with the bourgeoisie led to a split in the working class. Therefore the Communist Party of Germany did not succeed in leading the majority of the working class into this struggle and winning the sympathy of the petty-bourgeois masses for the proletariat. The results of the social-democratic policy of coalitions and the measures of the so-called Weimar governments which threw the masses into ever-increasing poverty, brought forth tremendous disappointment among the masses. It was on this background that the Hitler party launched its struggle against Marxism. The struggle which the Weimar governments, including social-democracy, waged against the Communist party helped to make the fascists successful in this respect, and thus paved the way for fascism.

During the two and a half years of its existence, the fascist dictatorship has met with some success. Both the results of the Saar plebiscite and increased armaments and the intensification of the war preparations of German imperialism come in this category. The policy of the Western-European imperialist states, which are bound by their imperialist contradictions and contradictions at home, assisted Hitler fascism in the achievement of these successes. The fact that the Hitler government violated the articles of the Versailles Treaty concerning the restriction of Germany's armed forces, and introduced universal conscription became possible chiefly in consequence of vacillations in the policy of British imperialism. Hitler fascism is making use of all this to excite chauvinism with a view to drawing the attention of the masses away from the internal difficulties in Germany itself. The disastrous position of the toiling peasants and middle sections of the population in the towns is forcing them to adopt a more sober attitude towards the social demagogy of Hitler fascism. It is becoming quite clear that these sections of the people are withdrawing their support from fascism. Fascism is trying, by means of chauvinist propaganda to prevent its mass base from contracting. This is what menaces it to-day. But it is not in a position to mitigate the class-contradictions inside the country, and it will not be successful in penetrating deeper among those sections of the working class who are called upon to play the decisive rôle in the class struggle.

We have proof of this in the outcome of the elections to the Danzig parliament on April 7. In spite of the fact that a national-socialist government was in existence in Danzig, and for two years pursued a policy of "unification," the national-socialists were only able to obtain 60 per cent. of the total number of votes cast. In spite of the violent terror, the basic masses of the workers of

Danzig voted against the national-socialists. This again confirms the fact that the decisive sections of the proletariat are still, as before, hostile to the Nazis. German fascism denies the existence of classes and of class contradictions trying to entangle the masses of the people in their famous ideology of "national unity," so as to prevent them from struggling against capitalism. But all the measures adopted by the capitalists clearly emphasize the fact to the toiling masses that class contradictions do exist between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The masses will inevitably see more clearly the contradiction that exists between the policy of finance-capital pursued by the Hitler government and the interests of the toiling masses, a contradiction which exposes the social demagoguery of the fascists and the fiction of "national unity."

These are the causes which are compelling the fascists to resort to nationalist chauvinist slander, to draw the toiling masses over to their side. The Nazis are trying to persuade the masses that fascism is defending the national honour of the German worker. More than this: they are trying to assure the German workers that they are better off than the French, English and Russian workers. On the basis of their racial theory which, at bottom, also only serves the interests of the war policy of German imperialism, fascism declares that the German people is the "ruling race" which needs new territories for its further existence. Moreover, it cunningly flatters their national feelings, as can be seen, for example, from Ley's speech at the Leipzig Congress of the "Labour Front," when he declared that "The German will never be a coolie." But this by no means prevents the fascists from driving the German workers into forced labour and converting them into the slaves of the employers, deprived completely of all rights. The funds collected for the "Strength of Joy" organisation by means of deductions from the wages of the workers are used for the purpose of nationalist propaganda by the fascists.

The fascist theory of a "superior race," in the words of Comrade Stalin, "is as far removed from science as heaven is from earth."* But it serves the fascists to achieve their concrete aim of making the toiling masses an obedient tool of the imperialist war policy and of preparations for war.

Fascism is trying to persuade the toiling masses that their interests are allegedly linked up with the realisation of the aims of finance capital, of the expansionist plans of the imperialists. "A people without a territory!" howl the warmongers, pointing to the territories of the East.

* Stalin's speech at the XVII. Congress of the C.P.S.U.

There are tremendous estates in the Eastern part of Germany which belong to big landowners. By the alienation of these lands it would be possible without imperialist war to obtain more than enough territory to satisfy the requirements of the German people. But as far as the fascists are concerned it is by no means a question of giving land to the toilers. Their demand for "territory in the East" is nothing but support for the rapacious strivings of German imperialism and for the preparation of war against the Soviet Union.

Fascism is trying to incite the working masses to support the war plans of the German bourgeoisie, by appealing to their direct economic interests. The slogan "War Means Work" serves this end. The fascists have tried to make the introduction of universal conscription more palatable to the workers by pointing out that owing to the fact that young men are conscripted into the army, room will be made for the older workers in the factories, and that the tremendous requirements of the new army will afford work to hundreds of thousands of people. This is no new argument, fascism has borrowed it from the reformists who in just the same way justified their own policy of armaments and of the building up of the army. It wants the workers to be reconciled to a violation of their class interests in exchange for concessions of a temporary character. This method of "affording work" to the unemployed contradicts the class interests of the proletariat. Not to mention the fact that expenditure on armaments is paid almost entirely by the toiling masses; millions have to pay with their lives on the field of battle in exchange for the employment afforded to the workers in this way. The fascists want to draw the minds of the proletariat off their international class tasks and to force them to serve the class interests of the bourgeoisie. Simultaneously the bourgeoisie are consolidating their apparatus of violence in order to suppress the working class.

One of the most important tasks facing the Communists to-day is to expose the military plans of the bourgeoisie before the masses and to show up the whole aim of the chauvinist propaganda of the fascists. The masses are still very little aware of the class essence of fascist ideology. Therefore there is a great danger that the fascists will really succeed, by means of chauvinism, in doping the masses and driving them into war. Thus the struggle against chauvinism and against the war policy of Hitler fascism constitutes one of the most important tasks which face us to-day.

Hitler fascism is trying to win definite sections of the workers to support the policy of armaments and war preparations which it is pursuing in the interests of finance capital; and the method it

adopts to this end is to give these workers certain privileges as compared with the rest of the workers.

These special privileges or, at any rate, this separation of some workers from the rest, consists in higher wages for work done by the highly skilled workers of definite categories, with a relatively sure guarantee that they will remain in work, with grants to them of vacations and an opportunity to travel (by means of the "Strength of Joy" organisation), etc. Without doubt, the fascists in this way exert an influence over these strata of the workers. The latter will require to have a high level of class-consciousness if they are to remain true to their class duty and continue the struggle against fascism. The aim of these measures on the part of the fascists is to strengthen their influence among the labour aristocracy, and also to create new sections of the bureaucracy out of their own supporters whom they send into the factories. This is particularly dangerous in view of the direct preparations which are being made for war. The fascists are trying to get these sections of the workers interested in their war policy by assuring them that they, as well, stand to gain by it.

Chauvinism serves the fascists as a means of winning the support of the toiling masses for imperialist war and particularly for counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union, or, at least, as a means of weakening the anti-war struggle of the masses. The masses are poisoned daily with chauvinist dope by means of speeches and newspaper articles written by fascist leaders, who, although they never cease to emphasise their peaceful intentions, do so only in order to conceal their real intentions from the masses. True, the masses of the people are very much afraid at the idea of the coming war. As a result of the development of military technique, aviation, and the use of poison gases to destroy the enemy, the front of the future war will not be limited to the direct theatre of war operations, but penetrate far behind the rear of the belligerent countries, devastating towns and villages and causing an unprecedented destruction of human lives and material wealth. This prospect is too terrifying not to inspire the people with horror. The fascists themselves know this, of course, and so they emphasise the fact of their own "peaceful intentions." But their own chauvinist propaganda reveals their bellicose designs. We must not, nevertheless, close our eyes to the fact that this propaganda is having some effect upon the masses, especially the young toilers. To-day the fascists are trying for their own ends to distort the meaning of the treaty of mutual assistance concluded between the Soviet

Union and France to consolidate the cause for peace. The fascists are exciting chauvinist feelings, and urging on the toiling masses of the people that this treaty is a military alliance directed against Germany. But the fascists say nothing about the fact that Germany has been invited to join in this treaty.

On the other hand, it is perfectly obvious that the pact between Hitler and Poland is clearly directed against the U.S.S.R. To further the realisation of its plans for a military drive against the U.S.S.R., the Hitler Government forbears even to make mention of the important territorial articles of the Versailles Treaty, according to which Germany was sliced into two parts by the Polish Corridor and deprived of Upper Silesia. Even the question of the struggle to get these two parts of Germany back again is not raised as is done in the case of Schleswig-Holstein, Memel and Eupen-Malmedy, etc.

There is an extremely great danger that the toiling masses will be seized with chauvinist fervour and get caught up in a wave of war psychosis when war is provoked by the Hitler Government. In this respect it is worth while calling to mind the July and August days of 1914. Then also masses of the people had a panic-stricken horror of war. In the meetings of protest organised by the Socialists in all countries against the danger of war, millions of workers, peasants and artisans from the towns took part. But when the thunder of war rolled, a torrent of chauvinism washed away not only the fear of war, but also all protests and objections and even the entire Second International. Millions of honest proletarian class fighters were led astray by the treachery of the Social-Democratic leaders and became victims of chauvinist intoxication.

Social chauvinism appeared as the continuation of opportunism, which, like social chauvinism itself originates in class collaboration and presupposes that the bourgeoisie and the proletariat have common interests. Social-Democracy at that time, on the eve of war in 1914, did not conduct a struggle against chauvinism and imperialist war. It could not conduct such a struggle because it rejected the class policy of the proletariat, and so arrived at the policy of defence of the fatherland. This policy enabled the bourgeoisie in a number of capitalist countries to use the proletariat to defend the profits of the capitalists, to set the workers against each other by compelling them to destroy one another on the field of battle. The cost of the war fell to the lot of the toiling masses of all the capitalist countries which took part in the war, while the profits went into the pockets of the capitalists alone. There is no com-

munity of interests between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The workers will only defend their fatherland when they have destroyed the oppressors and exploiters in their home countries, munity of interests between the bourgeoisie and set up the dictatorship of the proletariat in place of the rule of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat. Only then will the country really become the fatherland of the toiling masses. For the toiling masses throughout the world, the Soviet Union is the best and only example to follow. Only the united efforts of the proletarians of all capitalist countries based on proletarian internationalism can prevent war, and, if war begins, can convert it into civil war for the overthrow of their own bourgeoisie in each country, and thus bring about the victory of the proletariat. If the bourgeoisie should achieve victory in the war, it will only lead to the further enslavement of the proletariat and their greater exploitation can only lead to new wars. This is the conclusion which is terribly obviously self-evident to the proletariat from the experience of the world war.

Chauvinist propaganda in Germany has assumed dimensions such as were never known before the imperialist war of 1914-1918. By preparing a strong foundation for itself in case of war, German imperialism is trying to mobilise big ideological reserves among the masses of the people by means of ideological drilling so as to ensure the realisation of their war plans. This ideological preparation for war is a warning of the immediate danger threatening peace. The position to-day is such that war may break out suddenly just as it did in August, 1914.

The task facing the Communists is to fight might and main against the flood of chauvinism, and to spread wide the banner of proletarian internationalism before the masses. This is no light task. We must bear in mind the difficulties connected with its realisation. The Saar plebiscite has already shown us the sort of difficulty we are up against. But there it was merely a question of voting, in connection with which we tried to explain to the Saar population that in view of the situation that had arisen as a result of the Hitler dictatorship in Germany, it was the duty of the toilers to vote against the Saar being joined to Hitler Germany, that the victory of Hitler would mean a blow at the proletariat and would bring in its train increased oppression, terror and exploitation, and even military provocation. The trend of events since the Saar plebiscite have fully confirmed this forecast made by the Communists. But at that time we did not succeed in convincing the toiling masses and in preventing Hitler's victory.

The question is considerably more serious in

connection with the menace of war. And it is not only that we Communists will be branded and persecuted as traitors to the fatherland for advocating the defeat of our own bourgeoisie, not only that the whole governmental apparatus of the fascist bourgeoisie will persecute us more ferociously than ever before: the point is that the wave of chauvinism will sweep the masses along with it if we are not successful in swimming against the tide and dragging the masses from the grip of chauvinist fervour.

Proletarian internationalism demands not only the proclamation of international proletarian solidarity — it was proclaimed in words by the Second International before 1914—but demands first and foremost that the struggle against the bourgeoisie at home and their military preparations should be organised and conducted, that the crisis of the bourgeoisie which rapidly ripens in the period of war, should be used to overthrow the domination of the bourgeoisie and that proletarian revolution should be prepared for and brought about. The betrayal of proletarian internationalism by the Second International consisted in precisely the fact that it not only failed to set this task, but did just the opposite; instead of intensifying the class struggle it concluded civil peace with the bourgeoisie so as to render possible the realisation of their military designs and rapacious plans of expansion.

Unlike the reformists, who, although they do not deny the existence of classes and the class struggle, sabotage this struggle and try to prevent it, the fascists deny that society is divided into classes, and set "class unity" in the place of the class struggle, and put forward the assertion that the proletariat and the bourgeoisie constitute one national whole to which the state corresponds. Of course, this ideology fully satisfies the interests of the bourgeoisie and the plans of expansion of imperialism, because it is only with the help of this ideology that imperialism can use the toiling masses as cannon fodder in the war which they will carry on in their own interests.

Hence the conclusion inevitably follows that we can carry on our struggle against chauvinism only under the slogan of "Class against Class." It is, however, not enough to explain to the toiling masses the existence of classes and class contradictions, and also the class nature of the Hitler dictatorship. We have to organise this struggle of "class against class." The measures pursued by the Hitler Government, at the dictates of finance-capital, create favourable conditions for the fulfilment of this task. The class character of the Hitler dictatorship is clearly reflected in the fact that the employer has been declared to be leader of

the factory, the unrestricted potentate dominating over "all those subordinate to him," in the decision which provides that the leadership of the "Labour Front" is entirely in the hands of the employers, in the fact that Schacht is pursuing his anti-labour policy. The organisation of the struggle of "class against class" must consist in organising resistance to the employers in factories and workshops, in the creation of the united front of the working class for the struggle against all measures adopted by the Hitler Government, against reductions in unemployment benefits, against the abolition of social insurance, and in the struggle to restore the free trade-unions.

In striving to establish this united front, we must do our utmost to establish contact with the masses of workers, especially with the Social-Democratic workers, by working in the fascist mass organisations, among the "Hitler youth" and, chiefly in the factories and workshops, and to draw these workers into our struggle. We must also include the allies of the proletariat—the toiling peasantry and middle strata in the towns—in this struggle of "class against class," and in the anti-fascist national front. This can be achieved on the basis of a struggle for the day-to-day interests of these sections of the people against Hitler fascism. Only a struggle on these lines can counteract the chauvinist poison, can counteract the practice of setting one people against another; only through this struggle can we fight against imperialist war and create the necessary pre-conditions for the overthrow of Hitler fascism, for the prevention of war or for its conversion into civil war against the bourgeoisie inside the country.

The toiling masses will only be able to defend their fatherland in the way that Lenin recommended to the Russian workers in December, 1914:

"... you cannot, in the twentieth century in Europe (even in far-eastern Europe) 'defend the fatherland' in any other way than by fighting by all revolutionary means against the monarchy, the landlords and the capitalists of your own fatherland, i.e., the worst enemies of our fatherland." (Collected Works of Lenin, Vol. XVIII, p. 82, Russ. Ed.)

Two-and-a-half years of the Hitler dictatorship have done enough to show that fascism—the dictatorship of finance capital—is the worst enemy of 95 per cent. of the German people. We must make the toiling masses conscious of this fact. This is the best means of offering resistance to chauvinism and imperialist war and of preventing the working class, the young workers, from falling for the bait of "national unity," from allowing themselves to be used to suit the military aims of the bourgeoisie. We must explain to the masses that Hitler is not the saviour of the German

people but their worst oppressor, who acts upon the instructions of finance capital and brings only misery and unhappiness to the masses of the people. Although Hitler may boast that he has violated the Versailles Treaty as regards the restriction of Germany's armed forces, although he has openly brought about Germany's "equal right" with other countries to arm herself, this by no means signifies the "national liberation" of the masses of the German people. These measures go hand in hand with the most monstrous social oppression of the masses by their own bourgeoisie. Not satisfied with this, German imperialism is striving to oppress other peoples, all the cost in connection with its "equal rights" to arms being laid upon the shoulders of the toiling masses, whose standard of living is falling and who have to sacrifice their health and their lives to the blood-thirsty monster of war.

German chauvinism directed against the U.S.S.R. is particularly keen. For whole months and with increasing force the campaign of lies and slander has been conducted against the Soviet Union. The desire to attack the Soviet Union is openly expressed in the agitation to extend Germany's "territories in the East," in the agitation which has been going on for a long time by Rosenberg, Hitler's closest adviser. In his last speech, Hitler, hiding behind the slogan of "localising war," openly advanced the demand that he be given freedom to undertake a counter-revolutionary, anti-Soviet war. Of course, German imperialism is interested in the conquest of Soviet territories chiefly as sources of raw materials and selling markets. But to no less extent another factor is urging it to undertake war on the Soviet Union; namely, the danger which menaces fascist domination as a result of the victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R., of the universal growth of the welfare of the toilers in the U.S.S.R., and the realisation of Soviet democracy. German fascism is horror-stricken at the influence which these victories are having upon the toiling masses of Germany, is horrified at the growing sympathy of the latter for the Soviet Union, and the increasing desire to follow the example of the Russian workers and peasants. The German imperialists, like the rulers of other capitalist countries, understand the danger threatening them from this quarter, especially in the realisation of their war plans. The imperialists understand how colossal a force is the Soviet Union with its Red Army and the armed masses of its people, they understand how enormously important is their factor in stimulating the revolutionary upsurge of the masses, who may rise in revolt in order to put an end to war by means of proletarian revolution.

Hitler fascism is trying to justify its armaments by pointing to the increase in the defensive power of the Soviet Union, to the might of the Red Army, fleet, and air force. Fascism is trying to persuade the masses of the people that the Soviet Union constitutes a menace to their safety and that the only guarantee against attack is to increase the armed forces of Germany which will allegedly serve to defend the German people.

German fascism is purposely striving to gloss over and hide from the masses the difference that lies between the Red Army of the Soviet Union and the brown Army of Hitler Germany. The introduction of conscription in Germany by German imperialism and its Hitler Government, the tremendous armaments, the establishment of air squadrons, the building of gigantic warships and submarines, will consciously serve the ends of a war of aggression, will serve to bring about the realisation of Germany's plans of expansion. The German people are plunged into starvation and want; all expenditure on social insurance has been reduced to a minimum; in the interests of war economy, the peasants are compelled to accept the most unfavourable conditions as regards the sale of their agricultural produce; the middle strata in the towns are being ruined as a result of the policy of the Hitler Government. But at the same time billions of marks are being expended on armaments. For the billions invested in armaments must bring in profits! And this can happen only if there is war, only if foreign territories are conquered.

The Red Army of the Soviet Union serves exclusively to defend the Soviet frontiers. There is no need to prove that the Soviet Union is under the serious menace of attack. The collaboration between German and Japanese imperialism is for the express purpose of attacking the U.S.S.R. If the attack has not yet been made, it is partly because German imperialism has not yet finished its preparations for war, and chiefly because the defensive power of the U.S.S.R. has grown so much that it has now become an extremely risky undertaking to undertake an attack upon its territory. But imperialism is not guided by rational considerations, and is not inclined to take account of the interests of the masses of the people; the increase in the difficulties inside all the capitalist countries is forcing the imperialists to look upon war as the only way out. This is why the danger of counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R. is becoming greater and greater.

The entire foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. proves its firm intention of maintaining peace. At the Disarmament Conference the Soviet delegation in-

troduced a proposal for complete universal disarmament, and when this was rejected, for partial disarmament. The U.S.S.R. has joined the League of Nations and concluded pacts of non-aggression with several capitalist countries. All these facts, as well as the draft for an Eastern pact and, finally the treaty of mutual assistance with France, are concrete proof of the fact that the U.S.S.R. is desirous of peace. All these are real facts and not the empty declarations of peace with which Hitler unceasingly deafens the whole world, while his deeds proved that fascist Germany is the chief instigator of war. The treaty concluded between the Soviet Union and France which guarantees the frontiers of both countries, is not a military treaty and constitutes no menace to the integrity of German frontiers but safeguards it. For this to be so, all that is required of the Hitler Government is that it joins in the treaty. But it refuses to do so, and it is precisely here that we can see expressed the strivings of German imperialism for war.

The defence of the Soviet Union by the international proletariat is the supreme duty of proletarian internationalism. The struggle against the rampant propaganda of chauvinism in Germany must be carried on first and foremost in the consciousness of this duty. If the German Communists are successful in forming a fighting united front of the proletariat and an anti-fascist national front in defence of the Soviet Union against the counter-revolutionary military designs of German imperialism, this will constitute the best defence of the toilers of Germany. Only in this way can war be prevented, only in this way can the German people maintain peace. If the U.S.S.R. were to suffer defeat, it would lead to an indescribable intensification of reaction, of the oppression and exploitation of the toilers in all countries and to the crushing of the revolutionary movement for long years to come. The interests of the Soviet Union are closely linked up, even coincide, with the interests of the toiling masses in capitalist countries. In defending the Soviet Union they are defending their own vital interests. The victory of the Red Army means the liberation of the toilers from the chains of fascism slavery, from capitalist exploitation, from the horrors of war prepared for them by the imperialist aggressors. The victory of the Red Army means at the same time the establishment of Soviet Power and the liberation of all peoples who are subjected to social and national oppression. This can be seen from the example of the tremendous successes and victories of the Red Army in China. The toiling masses in capitalist countries must fight, therefore, for the victory of the Red Army, for the defeat of their own government, for the conversion of

the class armies of the bourgeoisie into the class army of the proletariat.

If we want to maintain peace, we must by means of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat put an end to the chauvinist slander of the masses of the people. Friedrich Engels wrote in his time that when the masses are swept away by chauvinistic sentiments, it is impossible to maintain peace. In his letter to Marx about the chauvinism that was reigning among the masses of the French people through the efforts of Louis Bonaparte Engels wrote:

"So long as this chauvinism is not beaten, and beaten thoroughly, peace between Germany and France will be impossible."

These words are also applicable to the policy of the Hitler government: so long as fascist chauvinism is not thoroughly beaten, no peace is possible in Europe. But this can only be done by overthrowing Hitler's dictatorship and destroying German imperialism through proletarian revolution.

In his *Notes on the Question of the Tasks of the Delegation to the Hague "Peace Conference,"* in 1922, Lenin put the following task before the Communist Parties:

"We must tell the masses the real facts about the profound secrecy in which the governments make their plans for war, and how impotent are the ordinary labour organisations, even those that call themselves revolutionary, in the face of impending war.

"It is essential again and again, and as concretely as possible, to explain to the masses what the situation was at the time of the last war, and why that situation was inevitable."

"It is particularly necessary to explain to the masses the significance of the fact that the question of 'national defence' is becoming an inevitable question, which the enormous majority of the toilers will inevitably decide in favour of their own bourgeoisie." (Reprinted in *Attitude of the Proletariat to War.*) (Collected Works of Lenin, Vol. XXVII., p. 372, Russ. Ed.)

Hitler fascism raises the question of "defence of the fatherland" in a chauvinist way. All the greater, then, is our duty to fight to the utmost against chauvinism, guided by the slogans which Comrade Thaelmann put forward for this struggle:

"We must hold high the banner of internationalism of our Party . . . Against chauvinist slander we set our own slogans of struggle against world imperialism, our demand that not a single nation should be subjected to oppression. We are the only Party in the world, the only Party capable of solving all the fundamental questions of German and international politics without conquests, without enslaving other nations, and without menacing them."

THE ANGLO-GERMAN NAVAL AGREEMENT AND THE GROWTH OF THE WAR DANGER

By L. I.

THE Anglo-German Naval Agreement is a fact of tremendous political importance, and points to very important changes in the relations between the imperialist states. At the same time it implies by no means a mitigation, but on the contrary, a growth of imperialist contradictions, and will be a new stage in the sphere of the day-to-day armaments race and the speeding up of the preparation for new wars. An analysis of the factors which have elicited this agreement, of the motives which gave rise to it, both from the side of German imperialism as well as of British imperialism, is of first rate importance if we are to correctly forecast and elucidate the perspectives of the international political situation for the next period.

As far as Germany is concerned, the naval agreement with Great Britain is to be a new measure calculated to facilitate the further rearming of German fascism and the preparation of war, primarily in the East, i.e., against the Soviet Union. The entire development of the foreign policy of fascist Germany and the furious speed of its armament are unequivocal testimony to this. Germany began to rearm itself in violation of the

conditions of the Versailles Peace Treaty more than three years ago, and has consistently followed this path through three main stages. Whereas prior to the advent of Hitler to power, the violation of Part 5 of the Versailles Peace Treaty was undertaken in a masked form, secretly, and on a comparatively limited scale, after the establishment of the fascist dictatorship, however, it assumed such a scope that it clearly became a direct and the main threat to European and general peace. During the course of the first year of Hitler in power, the preparations for the establishment of the future mass army was instituted chiefly with the aid of "substitutes" which replaced the conscription prohibited by the Versailles Treaty. These were the Storm and Defence Detachments of German fascism, which served as an addition to the regular professional army, the Reichswehr, and as a weapon of political terror against the working class at the same time. Parallel with this the preparation of German industry for the mass production of various up-to-date armaments, prohibited by the Versailles Treaty, took place. These include war planes, tanks, heavy artillery, and means for carrying on