

THE



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International

<u>SPEECH TO STAKHANOVITES</u>	<u>STALIN</u>
<u>FREE THAELMANN</u>	<u>W. PIECK</u>
<u>THE ITALO-ABYSSINIAN WAR</u>	<u>ERCOLI</u>
<u>JAP AGGRESSION IN CHINA</u>	
<u>POLITICAL NOTES : ELECTIONS IN BRITAIN</u>	
<u>BOOK REVIEWS, ETC., ETC.</u>	

VOLUME XII

20

NOVEMBER, 1935

THREEPENCE

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

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COMRADE STALIN'S SPEECH AT THE FIRST ALL-UNION CONFERENCE OF STAKHANOVITES

1. Significance of the Stakhanov Movement.

COMRADES! So many good things have already been said about the Stakhanovites at this conference that there is really very little left for me to say. However, since I have been called upon to take the floor, I shall have to say a few words.

The Stakhanov movement cannot be regarded as an ordinary movement of working men and working women. The Stakhanov movement is such a movement of working men and working women as will enter the history of our socialist construction as one of its most glorious pages.

Wherein lies the significance of the Stakhanov movement?

First of all, in the fact that it expresses a new upswing of socialist competition, a new, higher stage of socialist competition. Why a new, why a higher stage? Because the Stakhanov movement, as an expression of socialist competition, is distinguished favourably from the old stage of socialist competition. In the past, about three years ago, during the period of the first stage of socialist competition, socialist competition was not necessarily connected with new technique. To be sure, at that time we really had practically no technique. The present stage of socialist competition—the Stakhanov movement—on the contrary, is necessarily connected with new technique. The Stakhanov movement would have been unthinkable without the new, higher technique. You see before you people, such as Comrades Stakhanov, Busygin, Smetanin, Krivonos, Pronin, the Vinogradovas and many others, new people, working men and women who have fully mastered the technique of their job, have broken it to the saddle and driven it forward. We had no such people, or practically no such people, three years ago. These are a new, special kind of people.

Further, the Stakhanov movement is such a movement of working men and women which aims to overcome the present technical norms, to overcome the existing projected capacities, to overcome the existing production plans and balance sheets. To overcome, because these very norms have already become old for our days, for our new people. This movement breaks down the old views on technique, breaks down the old technical norms, the old projected capacities, the old production plans and demands the creation of new, higher technical norms, projected capacities, production plans. It is destined to cause a revolution in our industry. This is the reason why the

Stakhanov movement is fundamentally a deeply revolutionary movement.

It has already been said here that the Stakhanov movement, as an expression of new, higher technical norms, represents a model of that high productivity of labour which only Socialism can produce and which capitalism cannot produce. This is perfectly true. Why did capitalism smash and overcome feudalism? Because it created higher norms of labour productivity, because it enabled society to obtain an incomparably larger quantity of products than under feudalism. Because it made society wealthier. Why can, why must, and why will Socialism certainly triumph over the capitalist system of economy? Because it can produce higher examples of labour, a higher productivity of labour than the capitalist system of economy. Because it can give society more products and can make society wealthier than the capitalist system of economy.

Some think that Socialism can be strengthened by making people equal materially on the basis of a poor man's life. This is untrue. This is a petty bourgeois conception of Socialism. In reality, Socialism can triumph only on the basis of a high productivity of labour, higher than under capitalism, on the basis of an abundance of products and of all sorts of articles of consumption, on the basis of a well-to-do and cultured life for all members of society. But in order that Socialism might achieve this object and make our Soviet society the most prosperous society, it is necessary to have in the country such a productivity of labour as exceeds the productivity of labour of the foremost capitalist countries. Without this, it is useless even to think of an abundance of products and all sorts of articles of consumption. The significance of the Stakhanov movement consists in the fact that it is such a movement which breaks down the old technical norms as inadequate, which exceeds in a number of cases the productivity of labour of the advanced capitalist countries and thus opens a practical possibility of the further strengthening of Socialism in our country, a possibility of converting our country into the most prosperous country.

But this does not cover the entire significance of the Stakhanov movement. Its significance consists also in the fact that it prepares the conditions for a transition from Socialism to Communism.

The principle of Socialism consists in the fact that in socialist society each works according to

his abilities and receives articles of consumption not according to his needs, but according to the work which he has performed for society. This means that the cultural-technical level of the working class is still not high, the difference between mental and manual labour continues to exist, productivity of labour is not yet sufficiently high to insure an abundance of articles of consumption, so that society is forced to distribute articles of consumption not in accordance with the needs of the members of society, but in accordance with the work performed by them for society.

Communism represents a higher stage of development. The principle of Communism consists in the fact that in Communist society each works according to his abilities and receives articles of consumption, not in accordance with the work performed by him, but in accordance with the needs that a culturally developed person has. This means that the cultural-technical level of the working class has become sufficiently high to undermine the foundation of the difference between mental labour and manual labour, that the difference between mental labour and manual labour has already disappeared, and the productivity of labour has risen to such a high degree that it can insure a complete abundance of articles of consumption so that society is able to distribute these articles in accordance with the needs of its members.

Some people think that the difference between mental and manual labour can be eliminated by means of a certain cultural-technical levelling of the workers engaged in mental and manual labour on the basis of lowering the cultural-technical level of the engineers and technicians, the workers engaged in mental labour, to the level of the workers with medium skill. That is absolutely wrong. Only petty bourgeois prattlers can think in that way of Communism. In reality the difference between mental labour and manual labour can be eliminated only on the basis of elevating the cultural-technical level of the working class to the level of the workers engaged in engineering-technical labour. It would be ridiculous to assume that such elevation cannot be achieved. It is quite realisable in the conditions existing under the Soviet system, where the productive forces of the country are freed from the fetters of capitalism, where labour is freed from the yoke of exploitation, where the working class is in power, and the younger generation of the working class has every opportunity to secure for itself a sufficient technical education. There is no ground whatever for doubting that only such cultural-technical advancement of the working class can undermine the foundations of the difference between mental labour and manual labour, that only it can guar-

antee the high labour productivity and the abundance of articles of consumption which is essential in order to commence the transition from Socialism to Communism.

The Stakhanov movement is remarkable in this connection in that it contains within it the beginnings, which, it is true, are still weak, but are nevertheless, the beginnings precisely of such cultural-technical advancement of the working class of our country.

Indeed, look at the Stakhanovite comrades. What sort of people are they? They are primarily young or middle-aged working men and women, people with a cultural and technical preparation, giving examples of punctuality and accuracy in their work, capable of valuing the time factor at work, having learned to calculate time not only by minutes but also by seconds. Most of them have passed the so-called technical minimum and still continue to widen their technical education. They are free of the conservatism and stagnation of some of the engineers, technicians and managers; they march boldly forward, break the obsolete technical norms and create new and higher ones, they amend the projected capacities and economic plans drawn up by the leaders of our industry, they constantly supplement and correct the engineers and technicians, they frequently teach and push them forward, because they are people who have fully mastered the technique of their trade and who are able to squeeze the most out of what can be squeezed out of a machine. To-day the number of Stakhanovites is still small, but who can doubt that there will be ten times as many to-morrow? Is it not clear that the Stakhanovites are innovators in our industry, that the Stakhanov movement represents the future of our industry, that it contains within itself a kernel of the future cultural and technical advance of the working class, that it opens before us the road upon which alone can be achieved those higher records of labour productivity which are essential to the transition from Socialism to Communism and to the elimination of the difference between mental labour and manual labour?

Such, comrades, is the significance of the Stakhanov movement in the sphere of our socialist construction.

Did Stakhanov and Busygin think of this great significance of the Stakhanov movement when they commenced to break the old technical standards? Of course not. They had their own worries; they were striving to lift their enterprise out of a production break and to overfulfil the economic plan. But in achieving this aim they had to smash the old technical standards and develop a high productivity of labour, excelling the advanced capitalist countries. It would, how-

ever, be ridiculous to assume that this circumstance can in the slightest minimise the great historical significance of the movement of the Stakhanovites.

The same may be said about those workers who for the first time organised in our country Soviets of Workers' Deputies in 1905. Of course they did not think that the Soviets of Workers' Deputies would serve as a basis of the socialist order. They were merely defending themselves against tsarism, against the bourgeoisie, when creating the Soviets of Workers' Deputies. But this circumstance does not in the least contradict the indisputable fact that the movement for Soviets of Workers' Deputies, commenced in 1905 by the Leningrad and Moscow workers, ultimately led to the smashing of capitalism and to the victory of socialism in one-sixth of the world.

2. Roots of the Stakhanov Movement.

We are now at the cradle of the Stakhanov movement, at its sources.

It would be necessary to note several characteristic features of the Stakhanov movement.

What strikes one first of all is the fact that it, this movement, began of itself, as it were, almost spontaneously, from below without any kind of pressure on the part of the administrations of our enterprises. Moreover, this movement originated and began to develop in a certain measure against the will of the administrations of our enterprises, even in a struggle against them. Comrade Molotov has already told you what suffering Comrade Musinski, a lumbermill worker in Archangel, had to live through, when he, secretly from the managing organisation, secretly from the controllers, worked out new, higher technical norms. The fate of Stakhanov himself was not better, since he had to defend himself in his forward movement, not only against some officials of the administration, but also against some workers who ridiculed and badgered him for his "innovations." As for Busygin, it is known that he had almost paid for his "innovations" by nearly losing his job in the plant, and only the interference of the chief of the shop, Comrade Sokolinski, helped him to remain in the plant.

As you see, if there was some kind of influence on the part of the administration of our enterprises it was not to welcome the Stakhanov movement, but to oppose it. The Stakhanov movement, then, was born and developed as a movement coming from below. And it is precisely because it originated spontaneously, precisely because it comes from below, that it is the most vital and most irresistible movement of modern times.

It is necessary, further, to dwell upon another

characteristic feature of the Stakhanov movement. This characteristic feature consists in the fact that the Stakhanov movement has spread all over our Soviet Union, not gradually, but with a kind of unprecedented swiftness, like a hurricane. With what did this matter begin? Stakhanov raised the technical norm of the output of coal five or sixfold, if not more. Busygin and Smetanin did the same thing, one—in the field of machinery, and the other in that of the shoe industry. The newspapers reported about these facts. And suddenly, the flame of the Stakhanov movement enveloped the whole country. What has happened here? Whence this speed with which the Stakhanov movement spread? Perhaps it is because Stakhanov and Busygin are great organisers with big connections in the provinces and districts of the U.S.S.R. and have organised this matter themselves? No, of course not! Perhaps it is that Stakhanov and Busygin have pretended to be great figures in our country and have themselves carried the sparks of the Stakhanov movement throughout the country? This also is not true. You have seen Stakhanov and Busygin here. They spoke at the conference. They are simple and modest people, without any pretensions whatsoever to win the laurels of people of All-Union fame. It even seems to me that they are somewhat embarrassed by the sweep of the movement which has developed in our country against their expectations. And, if, notwithstanding this, the matches thrown by Stakhanov and Busygin turned out to be sufficient in order that the whole of this thing should burst into flame, it means that the Stakhanov movement is something which has matured fully. Only a movement which has matured fully and awaits an impetus in order to break free, only such a movement could spread so swiftly and accumulate like a snowball.

How are we to explain that the Stakhanov movement turned out to be something that has matured fully? What are the causes of its having spread so swiftly? What are the roots of the Stakhanov movement?

There are at least four causes.

1. First of all, the radical improvement in the material condition of the workers is the basis of the Stakhanov movement. Life has become better, comrades, life has become more joyous. And when one lives joyfully, work hums. Hence the high norm of output. Hence the heroes and heroines of labour. Herein, first of all, lies the root of the Stakhanov movement. Had there been a crisis in our country, had there been unemployment—the scourge of the working class, had we lived poorly, wretchedly, not joyfully, then there would have been no Stakhanov movement

in our country. (Applause.) Our Proletarian Revolution is the only revolution in the world which has succeeded in showing to the people not only its political results, but also material results.

Of all the workers' revolutions we know only one which has gained power. This was the Paris Commune. But it did not exist for long. It is true, it tried to break the chains of capitalism, but it did not have time to break them, and the more so, it did not have time to show to the people the beneficial, material results of the revolution. Our Revolution is the only one which not only broke the chains of capitalism and gave freedom to the people, but also succeeded in giving the people the material conditions for a well-to-do life. Herein lie the force and the invincibility of our Revolution. Of course, it is good to drive out the capitalists, to drive out the landlords, to drive out the tsarist officials, to take power and to gain freedom. This is very good. But unfortunately, freedom alone is far from sufficient. If there is not enough bread, not enough butter and fats, not enough cloth, if housing is bad, you will not go far on freedom alone. It is very difficult, comrades, to live with freedom alone. (Exclamations of approval, applause.) To be able to live well and joyfully, it is necessary that material benefits should be added to the benefits of political liberty. The characteristic peculiarity of our Revolution consists in the fact that it gave to the people not only freedom, but also material benefits, also the possibility of leading a well-to-do and cultured life. This is why life in our country has become joyful, and it is on this soil that the Stakhanov movement has grown up.

2. The second source of the Stakhanov movement is the absence in our country of exploitation. People work in our country not for exploiters, not to enrich idlers, but for themselves, for their own class, for their own, Soviet society, where the best people of the working class are in power. It is for this reason that labour in our country has social significance, that it is a matter of honour and glory. Under capitalism labour has a private, personal character. If you have worked more, you receive more and live for yourself as you know best. Nobody knows you or wants to know you. You work for capitalists, you enrich them? And how otherwise? It is for that you were hired, to enrich the exploiters. You do not agree with this—then join the ranks of the unemployed and eke out an existence as best you can—we shall find others more tractable. It is for this reason that the labour of people is not highly valued under capitalism. It is comprehensible that in such conditions there cannot be a place for a Stakhanov movement. It is a different matter in the condi-

tions of the Soviet system. Here the man of labour is held in honour. Here he works not for the exploiters but for himself, for his class, for society. Here the man of labour cannot feel himself neglected and alone. On the contrary, the man of labour feels himself in our country to be a free citizen of his country, a sort of public figure. And if he works well and gives to society what he is able to give—he is a hero of labour, he is surrounded with glory. It is comprehensible that only under such conditions could the Stakhanov movement arise in our country.

3. The third source of the Stakhanov movement should be regarded as being the presence in our country of a new technique. The Stakhanov movement is organically connected with the new technique. Without the new technique, without the new factories and mills, without the new equipment, the Stakhanov movement could not have arisen in our country. Without the new technique one could raise technical norms once or twice, but no more. If Stakhanovites raised the technical norms five times and six times, it is because they base themselves solely and entirely on the new technique. It thus works out that the industrialisation of our country, the reconstruction of our factories and mills, the presence of new technique and new equipment, have served as one of the causes which gave birth to the Stakhanov movement.

4. But with new technique alone you will not go far. One can have first-rate technique, first-rate factories and mills, but if there are no people capable of mastering this technique, your technique will remain bare technique. For the new technique to give results, it is necessary further to have people, cadres of working men and working women capable of leading technique and advancing it. The birth and growth of the Stakhanov movement mean that such cadres have already risen in our country among the working men and working women. Two years ago the Party said that in building new factories and mills and in giving our enterprises new equipment, we had done only half of the work. The Party then said that the enthusiasm for construction of new factories should be augmented by the enthusiasm for their mastery, that only in this way could the work be finished. Clearly, during these last two years there have been a mastering of this new technique and the birth of new cadres. It is now clear that we already have such cadres. It is comprehensible that without such cadres, without these new people, there would be no Stakhanov movement in our country. In this way, new people from among the working men and women, who have mastered new technique, have served as the force which

gave form to and advanced the Stakhanov movement.

Such are the conditions which gave birth to and advanced the Stakhanov movement.

3. New People—New Technical Norms.

I said that the Stakhanov movement did not develop gradually, but like an explosion which blows up a dam. Apparently, it had to overcome some obstacles. Somebody hindered it, somebody suppressed it, and then, having gathered strength, the Stakhanov movement blew up these obstacles and flooded the country.

What is the matter here; who, in reality, interfered?

The old technical norms and the people standing behind these norms interfered. Several years ago our engineering-technical and economic workers drew up certain technical norms applicable to the technical backwardness of our men and women workers. Since then, several years have passed. People during this time have grown and become technically grounded. And the technical norms have remained unchanged. It is clear that these norms are now antiquated for our new people. Now all speak badly of the existing technical norms. But they did not fall from the sky. And the point here is not that these technical norms were drawn up in their time as reduced norms. It is a matter, first of all, that now, when these norms have already become antiquated, attempts are being made to uphold them as modern norms. People hold on to the technical backwardness of our men and women workers, orientate themselves upon this backwardness, base themselves on this backwardness, and things finally reach a point where they begin to play at backwardness. Well, and what is to be done, if this backwardness becomes a thing of the past? Surely we are not going to bow before our backwardness and make of it an ikon, a fetish? What is to be done if the working men and women have already managed to grow and become technically grounded? What is to be done if the old technical norms have ceased to correspond with reality, and our working men and women have already managed in actuality to surpass them five times, ten times? Have we ever sworn allegiance to our backwardness? We have never done so, it seems, comrades. (General laughter.) Did we proceed from the belief that our working men and women must remain for ever backward? It would see as if we did not proceed from this. (General laughter.) What is the matter, then? Is it possible that we do not possess sufficient courage to break down the conservatism of some of our engineers and technicians, to break down the old

traditions and norms and to give scope to the new forces of the working class?

They talk about science. They say that the data of science, the data of technical reference books and instructions contradict the demands of the Stakhanovites for new, higher technical norms. But with what sort of science are we concerned here? Data of science have always been tested in practice, in experience. Science, which broke its ties with practice, with experience—what sort of science is that? Had science been such as it is described by some of our conservative comrades, it would long have been lost to humanity. The reason why science is called science is that it does not recognise any fetish, does not fear to raise its hand against that which is outlived, old, but listens attentively to the voice of experience, of practice. Had things been different, we should have had no science at all, should have had no astronomy, for instance, and we should still have played about with the dilapidated system of Ptolemy, we should have had no biology and we should have still comforted ourselves with the legend of the creation of man, we should have had no chemistry and we should still have played about with the prophecies of the alchemists.

That is why I think that our engineering-technical and managerial workers, who have already managed to fall a good deal behind the Stakhanov movement, would be doing well to stop clinging to the old technical norms and to readjust themselves properly, scientifically to the new Stakhanov system.

All right, we may be told. But what are we to do with technical norms generally? Does industry require them or is it possible to get along without any norms?

Some say that we no longer need any technical norms at all. This is not true, comrades. Moreover, this is foolish. Without technical norms a planned economy is impossible. Technical norms are necessary also in order that the backward masses might be brought up to the advanced. Technical norms are a great regulating force which organises the broad masses of workers in production around the advanced elements of the working class. Hence, we need technical norms, though not those which we have now, but higher ones.

Others say that technical norms are needed but that they should be raised at once to the level of the achievements of the Stakhanovs, Busygins, Vinogradovas and others. This is also wrong. Such norms would be unreal for the present time, since the working men and women who are less technically grounded than the Stakhanovs and Busygins would not be able to produce such norms. We must have technical norms such as

would pass somewhere in between the present technical norms and those norms which the Stakhanovs and Busygins have achieved. Take, for instance, Maria Demchenko, the well-known "500-cr" in beet. She has secured a beet crop per hectare of 500 and more centners. Can this achievement be made a crop yield norm for the entire beet-growing industry, say, of the Ukraine? No, it cannot. It is too early at present to speak of it. Maria Demchenko has achieved 500 and more centners per hectare while the average beet crop in the Ukraine, for instance, was equal this year to 130 to 132 centners per hectare. The difference, as you can see, is no mean one. Is it necessary to give a beet crop-yield norm of 400 or 300 centners? All those who know the business say that it is too early as yet to do this. Apparently it will be necessary in 1936 to give a crop-yield norm in the Ukraine of 200 to 250 centners per hectare. And this norm is not a small one, for in the event of its fulfilment it would give us twice as much sugar as in 1935. The same should be said about industry. Stakhanov exceeded the existing technical norm some 10 times or even more, it seems. To proclaim this achievement as a new technical norm for all those operating a pneumatic hammer would be unwise. Apparently it will be necessary to give a norm which passes somewhere halfway between the existing technical norm and the norm achieved by Comrade Stakhanov.

One thing in any case is clear: the present technical norms already do not correspond to reality, they are behind the times and have developed into an impediment on our industry, and in order not to impede our industry they must be replaced by new, higher technical norms. New people, new times—new technical norms.

4. Immediate Tasks.

From the point of view of the interests of the Stakhanov movement what do our immediate tasks consist of?

In order not to spread out the matter let us reduce it to two immediate tasks.

First. The task consists in aiding the Stakhanovites to develop the Stakhanov movement further and to spread it through the length and breadth of all provinces and districts of the U.S.S.R. On the one hand, we have this. On the other hand, we have to harness all those elements among the administrators, engineers and technicians who stubbornly cling to the old, who do not wish to move forward and who systematically impede the development of the Stakhanov movement. In order freely to expand the Stakhanov movement throughout our country, the Stakhanovites alone will, of course, not

suffice. It is necessary that our Party organisations join this cause and assist the Stakhanovites in carrying the movement to the end. In this respect, the Donets Province organisation indisputably displays great initiative. The Moscow and Leningrad Province organisations work well in this respect. But how about the other provinces? They, apparently, are still "getting into the swing." Somehow we do not hear, or hear very little, about the Urals, for example, although the Ural Province, as you know, is an enormous industrial centre. The same may also be said about West Siberia, about Kuzbas, where from all indications they have not yet succeeded in "getting into the swing." Incidentally, we need not doubt that our Party organisations will set themselves to it and will aid the Stakhanovites in surmounting difficulties. As to the other phase of it, the harnessing of these stubborn conservatives among the administrative, engineering and technical personnel, here the matter will be somewhat more complicated. In the first place, it will be necessary to persuade, to convince patiently and in comradely fashion these conservative elements in industry of the progressiveness of the Stakhanov movement and of the necessity of readjusting themselves along Stakhanov lines. But if persuasions do not help, it will become necessary to take more effective measures. Take, for example, the People's Commissariat of Railroads. In the central apparatus of that Commissariat, not long ago there was a group of professors, engineers and other experts, among them also Communists, who assured everybody that 13 to 14 km. of commercial speed per hour is the maximum, beyond which it is impossible to go if one does not wish to clash with the "science of railway operation." That was quite an authoritative group which advocated its views by way of mouth and the press, issued instructions to the corresponding organs of the People's Commissariat of Railroads, and generally was the "master-mind" among the railroad operators. We, laymen, on the basis of proposals made by a large number of experienced railway men, argued, on our part, with these authoritative professors that 13 to 14 km. cannot be the maximum, that under a certain organisation of the work, this maximum may be enlarged. In reply to this the group, instead of heeding the voice of experience and practice and revising its attitude on the matter, leaped into a fight against the progressive railway elements and intensified still more the propaganda of its conservative views. Naturally, we have to give these esteemed people a bit of a blow and remove them politely from the central apparatus of the People's Commissariat of Railroads. (Applause.) And what followed? We have now

an approximate speed of 18 to 19 km. an hour. (Applause.) It seems to me, comrades, that in extreme cases, it will be necessary to resort to this method in other spheres of our national economy as well, if, of course, the stubborn conservatives will not stop impeding and throwing spokes in the wheels of the Stakhanov movement.

Second. The task consists in aiding in the readjustment and in heading the Stakhanov movement on the part of the managers, engineers and technicians who do not want to hamper the Stakhanov movement, who sympathise with this movement, but who have not yet been able to readjust themselves, have not been able yet to head the Stakhanov movement. I must tell you, comrades, that we have quite a few such managers, engineers and technicians. And if we assist these comrades we shall undoubtedly have still more of them.

I think that if these tasks are fulfilled by us, the Stakhanov movement will develop to the full, will embrace all districts and provinces of our country, and it will show us miracles of new achievements.

5. Two Words.

A few words about the present conference, about its significance, Lenin taught us that only such leaders can be genuine Bolshevik leaders who not only can teach the workers and peasants, but also can learn from them. These words of Lenin were not to the taste of some Bolsheviks. But history shows that Lenin proved to be fully 100 per cent. correct also in this respect. Indeed, millions of toilers, workers and peasants, toil, live, fight. Who

can doubt that these people do not live in vain, that, while living and fighting, these people are accumulating colossal practical experience? Can there be any doubt that leaders who ignore this experience cannot be regarded as real leaders? It follows that we leaders of the Party and Government must not only teach the workers but learn from them. I will not try to deny that the members of this conference have learned a thing or two at the conference from the leaders of our Government. But neither can it be denied that we, the leaders of the Government, have also learned from you Stakhanovites, from the members of this conference. So then we thank you comrades for the lesson, many thanks. (Stormy applause.)

Finally, two words on the question as to how to mark this conference. The presidium here conferred and decided to mark this conference of the Government leaders with the leaders of the Stakhanov movement. We came to the conclusion that from 100 to 120 people have to be given the highest award.

Voices: Correct. (Stormy applause.)

STALIN: If you comrades approve, we will do it.

(The Stakhanovites of the conference give Comrade Stalin a stormy, roaring ovation. The hall is shaken by the applause, a mighty "hurrah" shakes the hall. Countless voices greeting the leader of the Party, Comrade Stalin, come from every corner. The ovation culminates in the mighty song of the "International." The 3,000 participants of the conference sing the proletarian anthem.)

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN COMRADE GEORGE DIMITROV AND THE SPANISH SOCIALISTS

LETTER TO COMRADE GEORGE DIMITROV.

Valencia, 22/11/35.

DEAR COMRADE.—The Socialist youth, and with them the entire Spanish proletariat, followed the work of the 7th Congress with extreme interest, and have read your report on the question of working-class unity against the bourgeoisie and fascism, with tremendous satisfaction.

Red October in Spain was a demonstration of the revolutionary spirit which inspires the Spanish proletariat, and of their determination to fight shoulder to shoulder for the common cause of all toilers. This revolutionary spirit, Comrade Dimitrov, is still stronger now, and we entertain the hope that unity between the Communist and Socialist comrades will soon become a living reality, and that

it will help in the near future to bring about the desire expressed in your report—a desire which seems to us to be profoundly correct, and is the result of a clear understanding of all the questions which concern the toilers throughout the world.

At the same time as the 7th Congress of the Comintern was in session, which so aptly elected you General Secretary of the Communist International, the Fourth Congress of the Valencia Provincial Federation of the Socialist Youth took place in Valencia, at which a fraternal delegation from the Young Communist League was present. At this Congress the youth passed a unanimous resolution, greeted with stormy applause, which expressed the desire of the young Marxists of the province of Valencia, and of the whole of the rest of

Spain to issue a joint number of the organ of the Socialist youth of Valencia, the "Adelante" ("Forward"), and of the organ of the Communists, the "Verdad" ("Truth"). This number is to appear on the 22nd of this month, and will be devoted to the 18th anniversary of the glorious Russian Revolution. We are therefore addressing the request to you that you will send us a few lines together with your autograph, and also an article for this number, which will also contain articles written by the most prominent Party comrades and members of both youth organisations.

We hope, dear comrade, that you will not refuse to encourage us in the task we wish to achieve in issuing this special number of the "Adelanta-Verdad."

Please give Comrade Stalin, the worthy leader of the proletariat of the Soviet Union, an expression of the sincere admiration, the great love which we, Spanish revolutionaries, feel towards him and towards the whole of the proletariat of Soviet Russia, for the tremendous socialist construction which they are carrying through with such self-sacrifice.

Once more we wish to express our tremendous respect and devotion to you, Comrade Dimitrov.

Devoted to you and to the cause of the working class,

I am,
Signature : HUSTO AMUTIO.
Editor-in-Chief "Adelanta-Verdad."

REPLY TO SPANISH SOCIALISTS BY G. DIMITROV.

Comrade Husto Amutio,

Editor "Adelanta-Verdad," Valencia.

Many thanks for your friendly letter. The fact that the Socialist youth and the entire fighting Spanish proletariat—as you say in your letter—followed the work of the 7th Congress of the Comintern with extreme interest, and have read the reports on working class unity against the bourgeoisie and fascism with tremendous satisfaction, is a new proof of the fact that in its decisions, this historic Congress

really expressed the common interests and common desires and longings of the working class of all countries. I am extremely glad that you, advanced Spanish proletarians, Socialists and Communists, are seriously getting down to fulfilment of the great task of uniting the working class and all toilers for the struggle against fascism, war and the capitalist offensive. I am sure that the toilers of Spain who have, on more than one occasion, displayed brilliant examples of revolutionary heroism, will succeed in barring the way to fascism by establishing a firm united fighting front of the working class and the people. The road to victory over fascism and over the forces of reaction and counter-revolution in Spain lies through unity between the Socialist and Communist youth, through the realisation of united action between the Socialist and Communist Parties, through the liquidation of the split in the trade union movement, and the spread and consolidation of workers' and peasants' alliances throughout the whole country.

Only a united struggle of Communists, Socialists and Anarcho-Syndicalist workers, marching shoulder to shoulder in the front ranks of all the toilers of town and country will secure the victory of the working class over their common class enemy. The successes of the movement in favour of unity in Spain constitute a big step forward along the road towards the establishment of international working class unity.

I wish you success, dear comrades, Socialists, Communists and Anarcho-Syndicalist workers, in boldly, shoulder to shoulder, overcoming all obstacles to the establishment of unity raised by the splitters of the working class, whether conscious agents of the bourgeoisie or misled opponents of the united front.

I wish you every success in achieving this militant unity, so that the Spanish people will not have to experience the horrors which the German people are now undergoing under the yoke of the barbarian fascist régime, and so that, in the long run, the victory of Socialism will be assured in Spain. Fraternal, Bolshevik greetings.

26/11/35.

G. DIMITROV.

REPORTS OF THE SEVENTH CONGRESS COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

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THE STRUGGLE FOR THE LIBERATION OF THAELMANN IS A FIGHT AGAINST FASCISM AND WAR

By W. PIECK.

FOR two years and nine months the Hitler government has been collecting "materials" for the trial of Comrade Thaelmann, the leader of the Communist Party of Germany, languishing in jail since March, 1933. Just recently an American news agency has flashed from Berlin that the trial of Thaelmann is to begin in November. For the moment there is no official confirmation of this. We must reckon with the possibility of the Hitler government beginning the trial suddenly, to catch public opinion in all countries unawares. The Ministry of Propaganda (headed by Herr Goebbels) is carrying on agitational preparation for this trial. There is a continuous tirade against Bolshevism, lying reports of terrorist acts allegedly committed by Communists, are circulated. Communists have been tried in Neukoln on trumped-up charges, accompanied by much noise about the "intellectual responsibility" of the leaders of the Communist Party — all of which, together, are to create the pre-conditions according to Hitler's plans for the sentence of death on Ernst Thaelmann.

The fascist prosecution has required two years and nine months for the concoction of the indictment. It is true that the product of this activity has not yet been published. But the National Socialist press has already reported on several occasions, that the purpose of the indictment is to fix the moral and juridical responsibility for terrorist acts (allegedly committed by Communists against the National Socialists) in the years prior to the advent of Hitler to power, on Comrade Thaelmann. The fascist executioners wish to deprive the German proletariat of its best head. The life of Ernst Thaelmann is in tremendous danger!

The liberation of Thaelmann from the clutches of the fascist executioners is the cause, not only of the German proletariat, but of the proletariat throughout the world. It is just two years since the international working class developed a huge campaign for the liberation of the great proletarian revolutionary, Comrade Dimitrov. By his splendid Bolshevik behaviour before the Leipzig court, Comrade Dimitrov evoked a wave of sympathy for himself and the cause he was defending so heroically throughout the world. At that time, without compacts, without any written agreements, a powerful united front of the workers and toilers of the world came into being for the liberation of Dimitrov, and against the fascist incen-

diaries of the Reichstag. Now, when the united front movement has achieved considerable successes in many countries, the campaign for the liberation of Thaelmann must assume still more powerful dimensions.

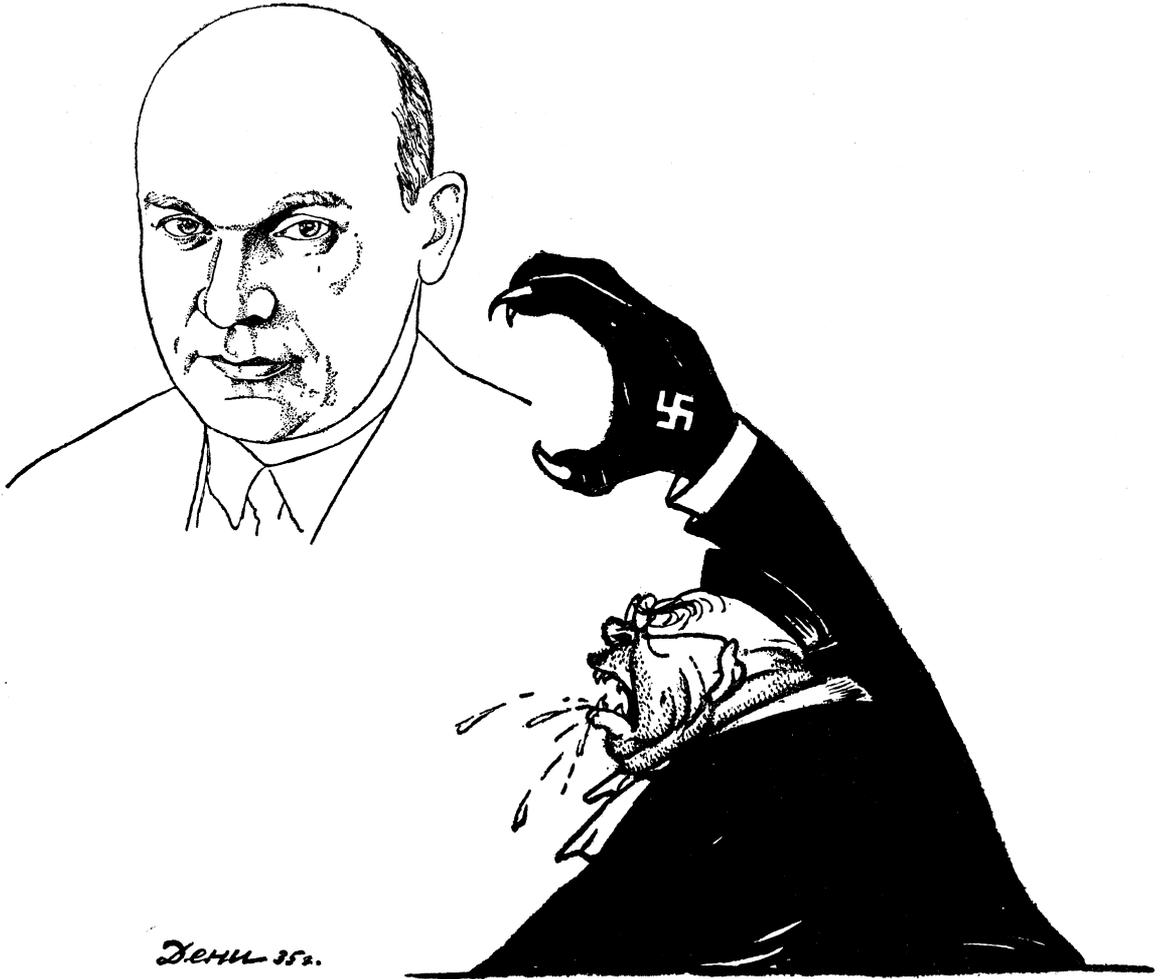
The liberation of Ernst Thaelmann is the cause of all supporters of peace and liberty throughout the globe.

The struggle for the liberation of Thaelmann is a struggle against Hitler fascism which is threatening the German working-class, and the entire world, with its armaments and its military acts of provocation, destroying the culture of an entire people and trampling liberty and rights under foot. The struggle for the liberation of Thaelmann has been carried on hitherto, but must reach its highest point now, when the Hitler government is preparing to deal a blow at Comrade Thaelmann. Writers, scientists, artists and jurists of world renown are devoting all their strength to this battle and publicly branding the Hitler dictatorship with shame for its bloody terror and obscurantism. It is now essential, in all countries throughout the world, to establish a broad fighting front of workers, urban toilers, peasants and intellectuals, for the struggle to secure the liberation of Ernst Thaelmann.

* * *

The Hitler government has long been trying to select a suitable moment for the trial of Comrade Thaelmann. It has been compelled to postpone the beginning of this trial time and again, because it is afraid, after its experience at Leipzig, that the trial of Thaelmann might lead to the further shattering of the authority of the fascist government. But world public opinion is indignant that Thaelmann has been languishing in jail for two years and nine months and is demanding of the Hitler government that it liberate him. In such circumstances there is a grave danger that the Hitler government may begin the trial unexpectedly to prevent public opinion having time to sound the alarm in all countries.

It is true that the situation in Germany to-day, as far as the Hitler government is concerned, is very unfavourable for the conduct of the trial. The dissatisfaction of wide masses of toilers with the fascist régime is growing from day to day. The food shortage and the high cost of living have brought about a sharp deterioration in their standard of living. The toiling masses are faced with a winter which is threatening them with hunger



and want. Added to this, there is the monstrous oppression and impoverishment of the population and the menace of imprisonment and terror for every free word uttered. The brazen habits of the Brown bureaucrats, their degenerate mode of life and haughty behaviour, are a source of indignation to every freedom-loving citizen. The peasants are resisting the fascist "regulation" of the market, which is undermining the foundation of their existence. The handicraftsmen and traders in the towns are becoming more entangled in debts. All the promises made to them by the fascists are deceit: no reference must be made to these promises, unless you wish to find your way into a concentration camp.

It is becoming more clear to the masses that the food shortage, of butter, eggs, meat, fats and vegetables are not only the result of a bad harvest, but also of the fact that the Hitler government has cut down the import of all these products from abroad to the very minimum, so as to make use of the currency for the import of raw materials for armament purposes. There is a shortage of produce in Germany because too many guns, tanks and aeroplanes are being manufactured for war. By no means the least important reason why there is a food shortage is the fact that the peasants are holding back the sale of their produce, because the prices they are paid by the state do not correspond to the sharply increased prices of cattle fodder.

Among the workers employed in industry there is a rise in the desire to offer resistance to the arbitrary behaviour of the employers, for united action against wage cuts, against the reduction of their standard of living as a result of the shortage of food supplies, and the high cost of living. The worker and his wife can see that the purchasing power of wages is falling, that their money purchases a decreasing quantity of articles of general necessity. A new economic line is being introduced by the government to secure a greater worsening of the conditions of the workers, and further increase directors' fees and bonuses.

The growth of the resistance of the workers in the factories, and dissatisfaction of the remaining groups of toilers at the same time constitutes a serious danger for Hitler fascism. The demagogic manoeuvres of Hitler fascism, designed to deceive the masses, soothe them and distract them from the real causes of their poverty, are proving less effective. This is the explanation of the new monstrous wave of terror, whose purpose is to spread an atmosphere of fear among the masses, and to draw the first shots of the anti-fascist resistance of the masses which is beginning.

For this reason Hitler fascism is once again intensifying the terror against the Communists

and all those Germans oppositionally inclined towards fascism. All organisations not under the direct domination of the fascists represent a menace, and are subject to suppression. The smallest resistance offered to the fascist régime is immediately punished by acts of the most ferocious terror. But fascism is not able to hold up the rise of the revolutionary movement in Germany in this way either. Thanks to the heroic work of the Communist cadres in Germany, the united front of the working class against the fascist dictatorship is beginning to be built up. The possibilities of the establishment of the anti-fascist people's front are growing.

Hitler fascism is attempting to hinder this movement for the establishment of the anti-fascist people's front, for the unification of all toilers oppositionally inclined in a joint struggle, by slandering the Communists. The trial of Thaelmann, in the view of the fascists, is also meant to serve this purpose, the direct preparation for which was the trial of the Communists at Neukoln. The Reichstag fire, organised by the National Socialists, was, according to their plans, to represent the Communists as the cast-offs of the human race. In the same way, the Neukoln trial is an attempt to throw the blame for the shameful deeds committed by the National Socialists themselves on the Communists. The Hitler party terrorised the masses of workers by acts of the foulest individual terror. It was responsible for making a system of individual terror, armed raids on working-class living quarters, and political murders. Hundreds of the best German workers were murdered by the fascists. The Hitler dictatorship made this terror the foundation of its state régime.

The Communist Party and the revolutionary workers who fought under the leadership of Ernst Thaelmann, always rejected individual terror as a means of political struggle. When the fascists (in 1931 and even earlier) proceeded to make systematic raids on working class living quarters, and the workers were compelled to resist them to defend their lives, their families, their honour and liberty against the fascist bands, and when sentiments arose in the ranks of the working class in favour of repaying the fascists in their own coin, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany declared itself, in a number of programme statements, against individual terror.

On November 10, 1931, the Central Committee of the C.P. of Germany published a resolution in which it sharply condemned individual terror, and declared the ideological defence and use of such terror to be incompatible with membership of the Communist Party. In December, 1931, Ernst Thaelmann wrote the following in the *Inter-*

national (see also the article "Mistakes in Our Work," etc., in the December, 1931, *Communist International*—Ed.), the theoretical journal of the C.P. of Germany:

"Those workers who, as a result of the systematic acts of provocation of the National Socialists go so far as to defend such methods of individual terror, depart from the principle of Marxism-Leninism in relation to the proletarian struggle for liberation . . . It is superfluous to declare that we Communists are supporters of violence, without which no historical revolution is possible. But this has nothing in common with individual terror . . . Class-conscious workers who allow themselves to be diverted in this way from carrying out the tasks of mass work, supplant the weapons of Leninism by the methods of the Socialist-Revolutionaries of the days of the Tsarist régime, methods condemned by the history of the working-class movement."

On November 10, 1931, Thaelmann wrote the following regarding the resolution of the Central Committee of the C.P. of Germany:

"The decision of the C.C. of the C.P. of Germany dated November 10, against individual terror, however much the bourgeois press tries to disconcert the workers, is by no means a mere tactical manoeuvre, allegedly not to be taken seriously, and only designed to prevent the Party being suppressed. On the contrary, the main reason which has influenced the C.C. of the C.P. of Germany to adopt this extremely important decision was precisely their conviction that any under-estimation of the Bolshevik struggle against individual terror, and any attitude of conciliation towards the latter would only be of assistance to the National Socialists, and would thereby help the whole of the bourgeoisie to divert the working-class from the decisive revolutionary tasks of the mass struggle."

This political act of the C.C. of the C.P. of Germany was quite unequivocally directed against individual terror. Individual terror, murder and acts of provocation are methods of struggle used by the National-Socialist Party, a party of a dying class doomed to destruction. Marxism-Leninism, with which the Communist Party is guided in its work, has been carrying on a stubborn struggle against individual terror as a method for decades.

Therefore, the attempt of the Hitler government to make Ernst Thaelmann, the leader of the Communist Party, responsible for the fact that workers defended themselves against raids made upon them by the National-Socialists, and that on these occasions several National-Socialists paid with their lives, is the grossest demagogy. In nearly all the trials held under the Hitler régime, at which workers have been condemned to death or to long periods of imprisonment, it has been a case of conflicts between workers and National-Socialists, provoked precisely by the latter. And the National-Socialists honour as heroes just those bandits on whose consciences lies the responsibility for the greatest number of workers murdered by them.

On orders from Hitler, the heads of the government and the leaders of the National-Socialist

Party, a justice of vengeance, guided by blind ferocity, is directed against the revolutionary workers.

* * *

Ernst Thaelmann is to be tried and condemned by a so-called "People's Court." It will, however, be no people's court, but a court of the National-Socialist Party. The "judges" will be two officials of the fascist storm or defence detachments, and side by side with them, so as to camouflage the party National-Socialist character of this court, there will be a jurist. Such "people's courts" have already passed a number of most foul and bloody sentences against German workers. These tools of the Hitler government do not stop at any juridical crime. Ernst Thaelmann, deprived of almost all rights of defence, and given over to the arbitrariness of the Brown court officials, is to stand before such a "court." This is how the fascists wish to seal his lips. False documents, bought witnesses, and the foulest lying accusations are to constitute the "evidence."

Two years ago a similar trial took place in Leipzig, in what was, at that time, the imperial court. The great revolutionary and fighter for Communism, George Dimitrov, was accused of a crime committed by themselves, namely, of having allegedly set fire to the German Reichstag building. This fascist act of provocation was used as the grounds for the unheard-of terrorist persecution of Communists and other revolutionary workers. And the Leipzig trial was, late in the day, to justify the murder of hundreds of workers committed by the fascists. To this end the Hitler government set in circulation the lying story to the effect that the Reichstag fire was allegedly to have served as a signal for the Communists to undertake an armed uprising, and that it had saved Germany from this catastrophe.

But the fearless struggle of Comrade Dimitrov for Communism transformed the Leipzig trial into a serious defeat for the Hitler government. Dimitrov succeeded in exposing the real secrets of the Reichstag fire, and its organisers. Every question set by him was like powder which exploded the indictment composed of lies and slanders; every question of his exposed the bought witnesses of the prosecution as miserable tools of the fascist régime. In the great conflict between Dimitrov and Goering, the fascist vermin exposed his full baseness, against the indomitable force of Socialism in the person of Comrade Dimitrov. Every speech of his was a powerful blow at the fascist régime, and a programme document of Communism.

In his first speech before the court on September 23, George Dimitrov, in the following words, took

up an attitude of principle against individual terror.

"It is perfectly true that I am in favour of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat . . . the victory of communism is, without any doubt, the whole substance of my life. I should like to live at least another twenty years for communism and then quietly die. But precisely for this reason I am a convinced opponent of the methods of individual terror and the instigation of putsches.

"And this not from any sentimental or humanitarian considerations. In agreement with our Leninist theory, and with the decisions and discipline of the Communist International, which for me and for every true Communist are the supreme law, I am opposed to individual terror and to putschist activities from the standpoint of revolutionary usefulness, in the interests of the proletarian revolution and of communism itself."

* * *

The Leipzig trial, thanks to the behaviour of Comrade Dimitrov, was not only a defeat for fascism, but also a powerful means of mobilising the masses in Germany and throughout the world. The campaign for the liberation of Dimitrov and the other accused covered millions from among all sections of the people. This was the first attempt at establishing a world front against Hitler fascism. For the first time Social-Democratic and Communist workers met on the basis of joint struggle for one and the same task. For the first time after the establishment of the fascist dictatorship, the workers in Germany were enthused by the common idea of the struggle against fascism, and filled with the will to carry on this struggle.

The words uttered by Dimitrov in the law courts spread like electric sparks through the minds and hearts of the workers. Far beyond the walls of the law courts, far beyond the bounds of Germany, Dimitrov's behaviour met with endorsement and sympathy even in the ranks of the National-Socialists, in the ranks of their armed Storm Troopers and Defence Detachments. The man who was threatened by death after many months of heavy confinement, stood dauntlessly before the fascist judges. Not for one moment was he disturbed as to his own fate, but day in and day out he fought for the cause of the world proletariat, for Communism. The masses, confused and terrorised by fascism, listened carefully when the speeches of Dimitrov, even although cut down and partially distorted, reached them through the newspapers and the radio.

Hitler fascism now wishes, at the trial of Thaelmann, to secure its revenge for its defeat at Leipzig. But it does not take the risk of hearing this case in the imperial court; it wishes to condemn Ernst Thaelmann by a fascist "people's court." The fascist leaders, especially Goering, have, in their time, quite openly expressed their dissatisfaction at the way the professional judges

carried on the trial in connection with the Reichstag fire. In spite of the fact that these judges terrorised Comrade Dimitrov in the most unheard-of fashion, and had him removed from the court several times for his speeches, none the less, in carrying through the trial, they preserved some judicial formalities, thanks to which the accused had some possibility, even though limited, of speaking, and thereby of attacking fascism. Therefore, in the trial of Thaelmann the fascists wish to arrange things differently, and for this reason Thaelmann will be tried by a "people's court."

* * *

Among the working class and other sections of the toilers in Germany, the state of mind before the trial of Thaelmann is not that which existed prior to the Leipzig trial in connection with the Reichstag fire. Whereas at that time the working class was still under the direct influence of the defeat of January 30, 1933, while wide sections of the toiling people still believed the promises made by the Hitler government, and expected that it would improve their material conditions, now, on the other hand, these illusions are rapidly vanishing. The masses are clearly beginning to be roused. And among the most active section of the German working-class the consciousness of the need for the proletarian united front is ripening. The opposition among all sections of the German people already feel that a joint fighting platform is lacking.

In the two years and nine months that have passed, the German people has already accumulated much bitter experience. The entire country, a great and cultured country with mighty traditions in the struggle for liberation, has been transformed throughout into a concentration camp. Forced labour, the limitation of the right to move about, persecution of every free thought, ferocious torture applied by the shameful band of the Gestapo (State Secret Police), bans, all this has seriously lowered the prestige of the German people in the eyes of world public opinion. Among the German people there are many already who have a sharp sense of this shame, and are seeking ways of ending it. The united front against the fascist dictatorship has not yet been established, and for the time being only a minority are convinced of the need for struggle, and are engaged in active struggle. But thanks to the heroic struggle of the Communist cadres, thanks to the bold directions of Comrade Dimitrov given at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, ever wider masses are being drawn into the struggle; the united front and the anti-fascist people's front against the fascist dictatorship will be established.

The Leipzig trial regarding the Reichstag fire,

gave rise to the development of the proletarian movement for the united front which has been growing ever greater since that time.

The struggle for the liberation of Ernst Thaelmann, the struggle against the bloody trial begun by the fascists, must give a new spurt to the inclusion of millions of people in the fighting anti-fascist front; it must give a decisive spurt to the establishment of a united front between the Social-Democratic and Communist workers, to the fulfilment of proletarian united action in Germany. The question is more serious than ever before. The struggle for the liberation of Ernst Thaelmann demands of the German and international proletariat a still greater exertion of forces than did the struggle for the liberation of Comrade Dimitrov in its time. The menace of war is more serious than ever before, and the military provocations of Hitler fascism are stronger than ever before. A tremendous menace from the side of the fascist dictatorship threatens the urgent vital interests of the German working class, and the question of their defence is more serious than ever before. The blow which the Hitler government is anxious to deal at Ernst Thaelmann, is directed against the German working class, against the international proletariat. The pogrom agitation against Bolshevism in the speeches made by Hitler and Goebbels at the Nuremberg Congress of the National-Socialist Party was directed against the Soviet Union, the land where Socialism is victorious. The Hitler government hopes to make use of the trial of Thaelmann for new slander against the Soviet Union, and hopes thereby to draw other imperialist states into the front of war preparations against the Soviet Union.

Why was Thaelmann arrested, why has he been languishing in jail for two years and nine months, why must he appear before a bloody fascist court, and why is he tried? There are questions which millions of workers in Germany and throughout the world are raising.

Ernst Thaelmann is a worker who has devoted his whole life to the struggle of his class. He always defended the interests of his comrades, the interests of the workers. It is precisely for this reason that, long before the war broke out he was subjected to persecution by the employers, and was compelled to move from one factory to another, and was often without work or bread.

In the first days of the last world war, Ernst Thaelmann, together with millions of his fellow workers, was conscripted into the army, and was in the trenches in the firing line on the Western front. But during all this time he remained true to his class and to proletarian internationalism,

and carried on an unceasing struggle against the imperialist war.

In the revolutionary years of 1918-1919, Ernst Thaelmann was in the vanguard of the struggle of the revolutionary workers of Hamburg, whose confidence he had in the days before the war. He became the recognised leader of these workers in all their struggles against the employers, against the bourgeoisie.

For more than ten years, Ernst Thaelmann stood at the head of the Communist Party of Germany, which became a mass party under his leadership, with more than 300,000 members, and with more than 6,000,000 supporters. Such a mass movement, filled with the spirit of the teachings of Marx and Lenin, is not an organisation of plotters, carrying on the struggle by methods of individual terror, but a revolutionary Party, which will win the majority of the German proletariat for the mass struggle against fascism, capitalism and imperialist war, and thereby create the preconditions for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship and the establishment of a free Socialist Germany.

The Communist Party has, for two years and nine months of the Hitler dictatorship, undergone a baptism of fire. From the very first days of the dictatorship it has stood firm as a rock. Closely bound up with the factories and working-class quarters, the C.P. of Germany represents the hope of the German proletariat. The best and most self-sacrificing sons of the German working class are united in the C.P.G., and are carrying on an heroic struggle against the fascist dictatorship, for the interests of the toiling people. These are the cadres established by the C.P. of Germany, under the leadership of Ernst Thaelmann, cadres who have saved the honour of the German proletariat, and are the guarantee of their victory.

* * *

Hitler and Thaelmann represent two worlds, two banners. The banner of Ernst Thaelmann is the fighting banner of the masses of the German workers and of all toilers in town and country, the banner of the struggle for liberty, peace and well-being. The banner of Hitler is that of all enemies of the toiling masses, the banner of capitalist exploitation, fascist oppression and war.

German fascism is the advance guard of world reaction, the chief instigator of a new world war, and of a counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union. The struggle of the Communist Party in Germany and of all German anti-fascists against Hitler fascism is therefore the cause of the entire world proletariat. Ernst Thaelmann is the embodiment of the international anti-fascist struggle. The masses in all countries throughout the world are fighting for his liberation and are demanding that Thaelmann be freed.

The Seventh Congress of the Communist International elected Ernst Thaelmann as its honorary chairman. The need for the international struggle for his liberation could not be better stressed than in the words of Comrade George Dimitrov, in a talk with representatives of the press, when he said the following:

"I shall never tire of repeating again and again that it is a question of honour for the proletariat of every country to make every possible effort, to exert all its forces, in order to deliver the leader of the German working-class, Ernst Thaelmann, from the hands of the fascist executioners." (Page 148, "Signed G. Dimitrov.")

This call of Comrade Dimitrov must be heard throughout the world. It is the duty of all people throughout the world who respect freedom and civil rights to fight for the liberation of Thaelmann. His conviction and execution would stimulate the fascist bands throughout the world to undertake new onslaughts on the toiling masses. The Hitler government must be faced with a solid front of the whole world. The struggle to liberate Thaelmann is a struggle of the united front of the world proletariat, a struggle of all supporters of peace and liberty against fascism and war. Let a storm of protests and demands that "Thaelmann must be liberated!" rise from all countries, towns and villages, and from all factories.

A special rôle in this struggle falls to the lot of the German working class. The struggle for the liberation of Ernst Thaelmann is the cause of the German workers themselves. This task must rally all German workers, and first and foremost all Social-Democrats and Communists. The united front in Germany must now be brought about with a mighty impulse. Anyone who refuses to participate in the united front, or who fights against it, must be shown that he is thereby helping the fascist dictatorship to fulfil its criminal plans.

The trial of Thaelmann, the leader of the German proletariat, is an act of vengeance against him by the fascist executioners. The fascist rulers are responsible for the cowardly murder of thousands of Communists and active Social-Democratic party workers. Tens of thousands of revolutionary fighters are being subjected to the most ferocious torture in jails and concentration camps, and to physical and moral destruction. The criminal band who are operating the fascist dictatorship in Germany, who have besmirched themselves with the blood of the German workers, wish to "try" Thaelmann.

"Free Thaelmann"—this call must become the fighting slogan of all Germans who love liberty. At the same time this call marks a struggle against

fascist license, against the unbearable conditions of the deprivation of rights and of defencelessness in which each German now finds himself. This call marks the struggle against the operation of death sentences passed. It implies the struggle to destroy the concentration camps, a struggle for an amnesty for all the opponents of Hitler who are languishing in jails, a struggle against the "third degree" system, for freedom to defend those who are prosecuted, the right to freely select counsel for defence, and for humane treatment for prisoners. This call implies a struggle against fascist servitude, for liberty and rights.

"Freedom for Thaelmann." This call of George Dimitrov must be the fighting call in every factory, in every working class district. It is a question of liberating Ernst Thaelmann, of a great struggle against German fascism. Workers, office employees, urban toilers, intellectuals and peasants—all must unite for this cause in Germany and throughout the world.

In his pamphlet "Save Thaelmann" (millions of copies of which have been distributed) Comrade Dimitrov writes the following:

"This is how things stand, and no other way. Every thinking person must decide whether he stands on the side of Hitler or of Thaelmann; there can be no neutral position in this question.

"Anyone who remains neutral, either willingly or unwillingly helps the hangman, Hitler.

"Anyone who does not wish to raise a finger to save Ernst Thaelmann, either willingly or unwillingly bears part of the responsibility for the criminal behaviour of the rulers of Germany.

"Anyone who stands aside from the movement for the liberation of Thaelmann, either willingly or unwillingly assumes part of the blame for his sufferings in jail, for his physical and mental suffering and for his possible murder.

"All for the struggle to secure the liberation of Ernst Thaelmann!"

The trial of Thaelmann must, if help is forthcoming from the toiling masses throughout the world, lead to a still greater fiasco for German fascism than the Leipzig trial did. Thanks to the bold behaviour of George Dimitrov, Ernst Thaelmann has not remained alone in his struggle for the Communist Party of Germany, for the cause of the German toiling people. A front of millions of people must be rallied around him in Germany and throughout the world, and must wrest him from the claws of the fascist executioners.

The words of our great friend, the recently deceased Henri Barbusse, that "We must win Ernst Thaelmann like a battle!" must be transformed into the cause of the proletariat of the entire cultured world.

Freedom to Ernst Thaelmann!

THE TASKS OF THE UNITED FRONT IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

By ERCOLI.

ONE of the problems upon which the 7th World Congress of the Comintern concentrated its attention was that of imperialist war and the struggle against the war danger. For the solution of this problem the Congress gave us most precise instructions, on the basis of a profound analysis of the situation in which the danger of a new imperialist war becomes more acute every day. The events which have unfolded during the last two months make it possible to verify the correctness of the prospects foreseen in this sphere by the 7th Congress, and at the same time to reveal the fact that there are a number of defects and weaknesses in the anti-war struggle being conducted by the international proletariat and wide sections of the toiling masses, which must be overcome without delay.

The Congress of the Comintern, which took place in August of this year did not limit itself to merely pointing out the serious danger which menaces the cause of peace, and exposing the fascist countries as the obvious instigators of a new imperialist war. It also emphasised the need to unite the workers of all political currents for the effective struggle against war as being a most urgent task. If we are able to fulfil this task—our Congress declared—then, the position being what it is, there is a hope that we can prevent the outbreak of a new imperialist war, or at least delay it considerably.

Now, after the expiration of these three months, everyone is convinced that our estimation of the objective situation has been confirmed in all respects. A NEW IMPERIALIST WAR HAS BROKEN OUT in the shape of the armed attack of Italy upon the Abyssinian people.

It has led to a new sharpening of the entire international situation, and we have already been within a hair's breadth of an armed conflict between two great imperialist powers—Italy and England. Such a conflict would have meant the beginning of a new world war. All the facts speak with horrifying clarity—they are far more eloquent than discussions and theses.

But does the resistance and struggle of the working-class against war correspond to the tasks imposed on us by these facts which are of such tremendous importance? No, far from it! With the exception of a few countries, no unity of the working-class has yet been developed in the anti-war struggle. There has not yet been achieved

the degree of mobilisation and activity of the working masses which is essential in order to fight against the war that is in being, and prevent it from spreading further to horrifying dimensions. In this respect we are wanting to a serious and alarming degree. It is to this that we must primarily draw the attention of all revolutionary workers and Communists, and also of the workers of all other political currents and of all those who are in favour of peace. We must as quickly as possible unite all our forces so as to eliminate this weakness and so that the broad sections of the toiling masses who loathe war will not be caught unawares. These masses can avert or postpone the outbreak of war by the struggle they carry on. But if we are to achieve this, we must LEAD this struggle of the masses against imperialist war and thus prevent the instigators of war—the fascists—from bringing their foul, provocative work of preparing for a new world war to a successful conclusion.

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Perhaps some people will object that we are exaggerating the danger of world war, and that all this is not so terrible. They will say that the war that Italian fascism has undertaken for the conquest of Abyssinia is only a new colonial campaign, a "little" war on the lines of those which both before and since the world war have drowned the so-called "backward" continents in blood, and the consequences of which the great imperialist robbers have always been able to regulate between themselves. But we assert that this point of view is absolutely wrong.

In actual fact the African adventure of Italian fascism is the result of the policy which fascism has been pursuing for many years now of preparing for and provoking war on a European and on a world scale. Italy's African adventure is closely connected with all the other burning problems of international politics. Ever since its advent to power, Italian fascism has been pursuing a policy of imperialist expansion, dictated by the interests of the most reactionary and chauvinistic circles of the bourgeoisie, and in direct contradiction to the interests of the proletariat and the peasantry.

In Italy itself this process was based upon an extremely rapid process of concentration and centralisation of industry, the reorganisation of the whole of the national economy for the purpose of obtaining the maximum independence for Italy

from foreign countries, and of facilitating her war adventures.

At whose expense was this reorganisation of Italian economy brought about? At the expense of the workers whose wages were relentlessly reduced, at the cost of mass dismissals from the factories, at the expense of the unemployed who were deprived of material assistance and doomed to rely upon charity, at the expense of the small and middle peasants who were subjected to growing impoverishment and pauperisation in consequence of the fact that the large agricultural farms and big capitalist associations which had secured control of the agricultural market were put under the care of the state.

Now, more clearly than before, the full meaning of the economic policy of fascism is revealed as one which paves the way for imperialist aggression. In order to bring about these preparations, the reactionary bourgeoisie had to abolish all the liberties and conquests of the working-class and the people. In Italy the creation of the objective factors necessary for imperialist aggression could not fail to bring about a sharpening of class contradictions, and this in turn demanded the establishment of a régime of more open reaction. And after five years of devastating crisis, of ever growing economic difficulties, mass unemployment, of a tremendous decline in wages and an acute agrarian crisis, when, despite all the increased demagoguery of the fascists, the discontent of the masses who have been forcibly driven into fascist organisations and subjected to the totalitarian régime for seven long years, is beginning to be felt even in the fascist organisations themselves—now fascism is proceeding to realise its war plans.

The policy of Italian fascism, inside the country, to prepare the war it has initiated, is quite a clear one. Equally clear are the conditions and the causes which arise out of the internal situation in Italy which have inspired Italy to begin her war of expansion **JUST AT THIS MOMENT**. But these conditions and causes are operating with just the same relentlessness, and in other cases with even greater force, in an entire group of European countries, which are oppressed by fascist dictatorship and first and foremost in Germany. The war path taken by fascist Italy is the same path as that which National Socialist Germany is preparing to take. Germany has already gone so far along this road, and continues to proceed along it at such a furious rate that the war which is being kindled by the National Socialists threatens to be a much more monstrous and dangerous explosion than that provoked by Italian fascism.

Italian fascism has undertaken her military adventure just now not only because her home policy and the situation inside the country drove

her to do so, but first and foremost because of the international position of Italy, the extreme instability of her situation, and also the growth of contradictions, the solution of which Italy hopes to find in war alone.

Italian fascism has always pursued a "revisionist" policy on the international arena by doing its utmost to find feasible excuses for starting a war for the redivision of the globe by force of arms. German National Socialism is pursuing the same policy.

Italian fascism has been pursuing many different aims in Europe. The chief objects of its imperialist longings were the Balkans and Central Europe. Even now it does not relinquish these plans. But it has changed its front and has concentrated a considerable part of its energies upon realising its aggressive plans in Africa. Moreover, this change of front took place at a time when Italian fascism had become convinced of the fact that it would meet with the most energetic resistance in Europe from its rivals, if it should try to realise its aggressive plans, and that these plans could not, therefore, be achieved immediately. Thus, from the international point of view, the Italian adventure in Africa should be regarded as the first stage of armed conflict, brought about by many years of struggle in Europe on the part of the more aggressive imperialist powers, first and foremost of Italy and Germany, who are striving for a new division of the world, without which, as they have declared, they cannot exist; in other words, they are striving for a new war.

The war which has been begun by Italy has such deeply rooted causes and is on such a broad scale that it should be obvious to everybody that it will not remain in its first stages. Since it is first and foremost the result of furious competition between rival imperialist powers, enacted primarily on the European arena, the Italo-Abyssinian war can not be regarded as an ordinary colonial adventure which is taking place somewhere far away in Africa. This war makes European problems more acute. Its influence is felt primarily in Europe and affects the entire European situation, which is already sufficiently complicated and unstable. War in Abyssinia is causing new complications, the whole seriousness of which cannot be fully defined as yet. But it can be said even now that these complications are the most serious that have arisen in the international situation since 1914.

THUS, THE WAR OF ITALIAN FASCISM AGAINST ABYSSINIA CANNOT BE CONSIDERED AN EPISODE OF SECONDARY IMPORTANCE, AS JUST ONE OF THE "ORDINARY" COLONIAL WARS AND EXPEDITIONS WHICH HAVE ABOUNDED DURING THE POST-WAR YEARS. IT IS MUCH MORE CORRECT TO APPRAISE THIS WAR AS THE

CULMINATION OF THE PERIOD OF "LITTLE" WARS, SIGNIFYING THE ADVENT OF A PERIOD OF "BIG" WARS, I.E., OF WARS BETWEEN THE GREAT IMPERIALIST POWERS FOR A NEW DIVISION OF THE GLOBE.

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This conclusion is confirmed by the charges which the international situation has undergone in connection with the Italo-Abyssinian war, and in consequence of it.

During the 7th Congress of the Comintern, in characterising the international situation we not only pointed to its extremely complicated and unstable character, but also emphasised the extreme aggressiveness of the group of fascist powers, and the fact that two fascist countries—Germany and Japan — are openly preparing a counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union. What is more, we added that there are capitalist states which are interested, at the present moment, in defending the status quo and maintaining peace, and we stressed at the same time the extremely dangerous part being played by British imperialism, by directly and indirectly supporting the aggressive policy and anti-Soviet intrigues of German National Socialism.

It cannot be said that the Italo-Abyssinian war has radically altered the position, but it must be recognised that it has already brought about such a regrouping of forces and raised new problems with such rapidity, that radical and fundamental changes may arise extremely rapidly and suddenly which will lead us into a new war.

England's hostile attitude to Italy's aggression in Abyssinia could have been foreseen. Any state that dares more or less openly to raise the question of a revision of the map of the world for the purpose of redistributing colonial plunder, will inevitably find itself confronted with this hostile attitude.

By defending the status quo in the colonial world, British imperialism defends its own key positions in Africa, the Near East and the Indian Ocean; it defends its own great communication routes, it defends its domination over the largest section of the colonial world. The only thing that can surprise us is that England's resistance revealed itself with such force that it almost led to an outbreak of war in the Mediterranean and war in Europe, and THAT THIS WAR NOT ONLY RAISES THE PROBLEM OF GAINING POSSESSION OF ABYSSINIAN TERRITORY HITHERTO INDEPENDENT, BUT ALSO RAISES THE TREMENDOUS PROBLEM OF A NEW DIVISION OF THE WHOLE WORLD BY FORCE OF ARMS. This problem is not one that is specifically "African," "English," or "Italian." It is a European, a world problem. And the Italo-Abyssinian war is showing that the imperialist robbers can no longer

delay the solution of this problem, but are preparing to solve it at whatever cost.

It is not a question as to whether Italy and England can temporarily solve their African conflict, and on what basis. The Italian and English robbers have, of course, plenty of opportunity of arriving at an agreement about the Abyssinian people. But the point must be stressed that the African adventure undertaken by fascist Italy has shown British imperialism that henceforth its own safety is menaced by the aggression of the fascist states. Will the British bourgeoisie draw the conclusion from these experiences that it is more advantageous for them to fight on the side of those countries which are defending the cause of peace, with the Soviet Union, to fight on behalf of collective security which would be an obstacle in the way of the fascist aggressors? There is no foundation for replying to this question in the affirmative. True, British statesmen have conducted their entire struggle against Italian imperialism under guise of defending the League of Nations; but this by no means signifies that the wolf has been changed into a lamb. There is not a single fact which can be brought in to testify to any change in the policy of the English bourgeoisie.

Yet it is just this policy which the peoples of Europe have, to a considerable extent, to thank for the fact that Germany has rearmed itself, that a military and naval agreement exists between England and Germany, and that German National Socialism is growing more and more aggressive. The differences in the English and French camp in connection with the Abyssinian war, on the contrary, have encouraged the strengthening of the ties between British imperialism and German imperialism, and have helped to strengthen Germany's position in the conduct of her policy of aggression and war.

On the other hand, the policy of supporting the League of Nations and its statutes, as pursued by British imperialism has strengthened England's position throughout the continent of Europe. To-day, however, this on no account constitutes a factor making for peace. It more likely encourages the success of all those elements which are more or less hostile to the peace policy of the Soviet Union and are trying to create a new situation in Europe which will best guarantee the successful realisation of the plans to "localise war in the East," i.e., attempts to find the road to the solution of the imperialist contradictions, in war against the Soviet Union. The reactionary bourgeoisie of England look upon "localising war in the East" as a good way of getting out of the present position, in face of the direct menace which threatens her colonial empire.

In actual fact, up to the present, the most obvious effect of the Italo-Abyssinian war upon the European continent has been the consolidation of the position of German National Socialism. The National Socialist war instigators were compelled to retreat a few months ago under the powerful pressure of the active peace policy of the Soviet Union, France and Czechoslovakia, and because of the resistance offered by the masses; but now they have once more increased their activities and taken a series of steps which can cause serious disquiet among the friends of peace and which have already led to some alarming successes of a partial nature.

The plans to create a bloc of reactionary states around National Socialist Germany in the centre of Europe, with a view to preparing and beginning war on the Soviet Union, are taking on a more and more definite and menacing shape. Signs of a new German orientation by Austrian fascism on the international arena are beginning to make their appearance. The war has also made it possible for a change to take place in Italian policy in the direction of a renewal of collaboration with Germany. National Socialism is spreading its intrigues to several new countries, like Belgium, for example. And all this is taking place at a time when the reactionary forces hostile to the peace policy of the Soviet Union are being mobilised in all countries. The furious campaign of the Fascists and their patrons in France, the campaigns in France, Rumania, and other countries against the peace policy of the Soviet Union, and several other facts show that throughout Europe there is a mobilisation and growth of the military parties which are urged on by the prospects of an immediate explosion, opened up before them by the Italo-Abyssinian war. The change in the government of Czecho-Slovakia is, to a certain degree, a reflection of the same tendencies.

But why examine only what is taking place in Europe? In the Far East, the Italo-Abyssinian war has freed the hands of the Japanese militarists still more, and they are proceeding along the road to conquering the whole of China with more determination than ever before; they are more and more openly displaying their aggressive intentions in relation to the Mongolian People's Republic, and are only waiting for Europe to give the signal for them to begin an advance against the Soviet Union. Any day now the whole of China may find itself enclosed in a new, tremendous conflagration.

And so, war has begun in Africa, and all the resources of a big power like Italy have been thrown into the abyss of war. Europe is shaken

from top to bottom by the adventure undertaken by Italian fascism. The Far East is in conflagration. The forces which are making for a new world war are growing with menacing rapidity, and a situation is being created which more and more favours criminal intrigues directed both openly and covertly towards organising an attack upon the Socialist fatherland of all toilers. Are not all these facts enough to cause the alarm to be raised?

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The 7th Congress of the Comintern most energetically confirmed and emphasised the fact that the possibility exists of barring the road taken by the instigators of imperialist war, and that the struggle for peace is not doomed to failure; that it is possible to postpone and, under certain conditions, to prevent the outbreak of war against the Soviet Union. These fundamental declarations were, and still remain, correct even in conditions to-day, when war has already begun between Italy and Abyssinia. At the same time the Congress pointed out that the cause of peace can be saved only if certain conditions are fulfilled, the first and foremost of WHICH IS THAT UNITY OF ACTION BY THE WORKING-CLASS BE ACHIEVED IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM.

It is this unity of action by the working-class which can and should mobilise in defence of peace all the non-proletarian sections of the people who are against war, namely, the peasants, the women, the youth, the intellectuals, the masses with pacifist inclinations. This is why the Executive Committee of the Comintern, fulfilling the decisions of the Congress, did everything possible to bring about unity of action in the struggle against war, as soon as the danger of war took definite shape, and twice made proposals to the Executive Committee of the Labour and Socialist International to set up a united front, while still not too late, between the Socialist and Communist workers on an international scale. In the eyes of working-class public opinion throughout the world we have quite definitely established who is responsible for the fact that the united front has not been achieved on an international scale. The responsibility lies with the Right wing of Social-Democracy which still continues to prefer unity with the bourgeoisie to unity with the proletariat; the leaders of the Right wing acted like strike-breakers. We must act energetically against those who jeer at our assertion that working-class unity can prevent the outbreak of war or at any rate postpone it. The arguments of these people can be reduced to the statement that a meeting between a few Socialist and Communist leaders in some European town or other will not stop either

the guns of Mussolini or the cruisers of the English. But it is not a question of a meeting of this kind. Such a meeting is merely a means of setting in motion ALL the forces of the working-class, organised and unorganised. It is enough to take a look at the results of united action in France, which has already profoundly influenced the whole trend of politics in the Third Republic, and yet has not achieved everything that it might. True, it is more difficult to influence the policy of a fascist country than of a democratic country, but this circumstance should not lead us to reject action altogether, but, on the contrary, should make us double our efforts so as to influence the policy of the reactionary dictatorship.

Anyone who sneers at the united front does so in the interests of the bourgeoisie, the fascists, the war instigators. The position of the international bourgeoisie was considerably improved by what took place on the eve of the African war, when the working masses confidently awaited the establishment of the united front, which was rejected in Brussels, as a consequence of which their forces were demobilised. The bourgeoisie felt that the working-class was still weak because they could still be prevented from establishing militant proletarian unity. From this time onwards the fascist war instigators raised their heads and began to operate with more confidence in all countries. What happened on the eve of the Italo-Abyssinian war is a horrible menace to the working-class. We will say quite frankly that the working-class is faced with the menace of another August 4; and the danger is approaching from the same direction, namely, that of the reactionary wing of Social Democracy. If the forces of the European working-class are united, if the masses of the workers will fight together, then it will be possible to prevent war in Europe. But as long as the forces of the working-class in Europe are scattered, and a big international organisation like the Labour and Socialist International continues to subordinate itself to the Right leaders, who in turn are the lackeys of the bourgeoisie, the intrigues of the war instigators in Europe will continue to grow more and more.

In the face of this serious danger, we consider it our duty to utter a serious warning, in addition, to those leaders of Social Democracy who express great concern, in words, about the situation that has been created for the European proletariat, but who, in actual practice, do not at all help to further the success of international unity, either through the influence they enjoy, or by their activities. A typical example of this sort of leader is Otto Bauer. Before the advent of the

fascists to power in Austria, Otto Bauer first and foremost tried at every stage to turn the workers from the road of effective mass struggle. But the articles he always wrote in this connection were very "Left" in form. With all these "Left" trappings, Austrian Social Democracy nevertheless suffered a defeat, as a result of which Otto Bauer lost both his army and his prestige. Now he lays claim to teaching the proletariat of Europe at large, and writes articles still more "Left" than the previous ones. He talks in them of the need for unity. But in order to bring about unity, the resistance of the Rights must be broken down, and the line of fire directed against them in particular. Bauer actually, however, directs his line of fire against the Lefts, just as he tried, above all, before the February days, to smash the Austrian Communists and to isolate them, although they alone were pointing to the right road of struggle. In directing his fire against the Communist policy—the only policy which has been proved correct in actual practice—Otto Bauer is extending his hand to counter-revolutionary Trotskyism, the arch enemies of the united front, and the U.S.S.R. (the base agents of the bourgeois counter-revolution), whose profession it is to disintegrate the working-class movement.

What interpretation can we put upon Bauer's solemn and pathetic declarations in favour of unity, after all this? The world situation is shaping in such a way that the problem of defending the Soviet Union is becoming more and more acute. But can you prepare the working-class to defend the Soviet Union against an onslaught by the fascists by spreading the foul calumny of counter-revolutionary Trotskyism among the Social Democratic workers? And what can we say about the other leader of "left" Social Democracy, PAN FOR, who just at this moment refuses to see any difference between the alliances and secret agreements which the fascists make use of in preparation for war, and the international pacts concluded by the Soviet Union for the purpose of maintaining peace? Can it be denied that by writing such articles, Pan For adds grist to the mill of the reactionaries who want to turn France away from the policy of peace, and to lead her into an adventure which will rapidly culminate in war?

We are sure that whatever happens, the cause of united action against war will be victorious, for the working-class will be able to make its will manifest. But we would be evading our duty if we restricted ourselves merely to calling for unity, without conducting the most determined struggle among the working-class to bring about this unity against all their enemies. The guarantee that

unity will quickly be achieved lies in our struggle against the reactionary Right wing of Social Democracy, and in our criticism of the inconsistency and vacillations of the Left elements.

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The tactical problem in the anti-war struggle of the proletariat which is second in importance to the problem of the international united front, is that of the attitude to be adopted to the activities of the League of Nations—THE PROBLEM OF SANCTIONS.

The decisions of the VII Congress of the Comintern and the estimate of the international situation outlined above, provide us with the key to the solution of this task. The VII Congress pointed out that in the struggle for peace, the proletariat should not refuse to attract temporary allies, even those that are not very reliable and who waver, and should make use of the contradictions which exist between the bourgeoisie of different countries. The Congress recognised that the League of Nations can to a certain extent, serve as an obstacle to the realisation of the plans of the war instigators. On the basis of this, as soon as the question of action by the League of Nations became a concrete one, the Comintern came to the conclusion that the proletariat should demand and support the application by the League of Nations of effective economic sanctions against the fascist aggressor. But at the same time the Comintern considers it wrong, firstly, to demand military sanctions and, secondly, to restrict the anti-war activities of the proletariat to mere demands for sanctions and support for the sanctions applied by the League of Nations.

The demand for military sanctions would lead to the working-class being towed along in the wake of British imperialism which is preparing for war against Italy under the pretext of "military sanctions."

The statesmen of the English bourgeoisie became converted to the League of Nations, and became ardent defenders of the full application of the statutes of the League of Nations, when they say the possibility of using the League of Nations and its statutes as a weapon of imperialist policy against their Italian rivals. But we have not for a moment forgotten the past; we remember how British imperialism sabotaged the League of Nations and its statutes when it was in its interests to give Japan a free hand in Manchuria and to urge Germany to restore its army on land, air and sea. Only bold and relentless democrats can think that the defence of peace can be furthered by British imperialists. But let bygones be bygones. Is it not the plan of the most reactionary section of the English bourgeoisie

to-day to make use of the demand for sanctions to strengthen their influence and undermine the position of France in the League of Nations with a view to preparing for a change in the whole of European politics in the direction of isolating the Soviet Union, by giving ever more determined support to the aggressive aspirations of National Socialism? And ought we not to expect that after the recent Parliamentary elections in England, the influence of this most reactionary section of the bourgeoisie will be felt still more in Europe?

Therefore if the proletariat were to limit themselves only to the demand that the League of Nations adopt economic sanctions, it would be a serious mistake, capable of undermining the revolutionary struggle against fascism and war. We reject such a line of tactics.

The experience of the last few months does not speak in favour of the League of Nations. It was shown that the possibility of the League of Nations taking action is extremely limited because there are deep-rooted differences of opinion inside the League of Nations itself, and chiefly because, with the exception of the Soviet Union, there is no group of states yet in Europe which will fight consistently to bring about a system of collective security.

Will such a group of powers be formed, and will it be able to create a system of collective security capable, at least, of postponing war, of prolonging the existing situation for a period of time? The fate of the League of Nations will most probably depend largely upon the answer to these questions. Moreover, this is of tremendous importance for the cause of peace. Therefore the working-class must state their views on all these questions. But the working-class will not be able to do so if the questions themselves remain hidden from them, thanks to the policy which forces them along in the wake of the League of Nations and British imperialism.

THUS, THE REVOLUTIONARY LINE MUST INCLUDE SUPPORT FOR THE MEASURES ADOPTED BY THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AGAINST THE AGGRESSOR. BUT THIS QUESTION MUST OCCUPY A SUBORDINATE POSITION, WHILE THE CENTRAL QUESTION MUST BE THAT OF INDEPENDENT ACTION BY THE WORKING-CLASS, THE IMMEDIATE STRUGGLE BY THE WORKING-CLASS ORGANISATIONS DIRECTED TOWARDS ISOLATING THE FASCIST AGGRESSORS, TOWARDS MAKING IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR THEM TO CONTINUE WAR, AND FORCING THEM TO CEASE MILITARY OPERATIONS AND RESTORE PEACE. ONLY IF INDEPENDENT ACTION BY THE WORKING CLASS IS MADE THE CENTRAL POINT CAN WE COUNT ON SUCCESS IN COMPELLING THE BOURGEOISIE OF DIFFERENT COUNTRIES TO REFRAIN FROM INTRIGUES WHICH LEAD TO WAR. ONLY IN THIS WAY IS IT POSSIBLE TO INFLUENCE THE

POLICY OF THE BOURGEOISIE IN THESE COUNTRIES AND STIMULATE THEM TO PARTICIPATE IN AN EFFECTIVE SYSTEM OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY IN EUROPE.

In each of the European countries, the main fire must be trained in a definite direction; in France—against the fascists and the policy of violating the obligations undertaken in the pact with the Soviet Union; in England—against support for the war plans of National Socialism; in Czechoslovakia—against the intrigues of the reactionaries who are paving the way for the fascists and want to change the foreign policy of the country; in Germany and Austria—the aim must be to create a mighty opposition of the people to fascism; in Italy, to defeat Mussolini in his criminal adventures, etc., etc. But all that, in definite spheres, can and must be co-ordinated into one big struggle for peace, to be carried on by the UNITED forces of the working-class on a European scale.

Thus we return once more to the need for bringing about united action, TO THE NEED FOR THE UNITED FRONT ON AN INTERNATIONAL SCALE. This question cannot be avoided, and we shall return to it again and AGAIN UNTIL WE ARE ABLE TO SOLVE IT. THE FATE OF THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE DEPENDS UPON THIS.

Finally, and this is by no means of little importance, we must say that the work of the Communist vanguard of the working-class has not yet risen to the heights of the tasks with which the struggle against war confronts us to-day.

First and foremost, the struggle against the Right wing of Social Democracy which is sabotaging the united front has not been sufficiently developed among the working-class or among the rank and file masses of the Social Democratic workers. In consequence of this, the pressure upon the whole of Social Democracy, with a view to forcing it to take the road of unity of action, has also been weak. Secondly, we have not made full use of the opportunities at our disposal of developing the independent struggle against war by the working-class and broad masses of the toilers. We must draw the attention of all our comrades to these two points.

Eight days before the outbreak of military operations, Comrade Dimitrov, on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, made a proposal to the Labour and Socialist International that the question of the best way of applying the measures worked out by both Internationals in defence of peace be discussed.

We expected, that in view of the fact that the situation was a serious one, demanding most rapid and determined action, the Labour and Socialist International would overcome all pre-

judices and obstacles, and break down the resistance of the reactionary Right wing, and would accept the proposal made by Comrade Dimitrov. We considered the acceptance of this proposal to be of the greatest importance. But we never have thought that our struggle against war should be limited to merely sending a proposal to the Labour and Socialist International, and that the acceptance of this proposal is an essential condition for the development of an independent struggle by our Parties in defence of peace. The dependent action by our Parties, and the struggle for the united front do not contradict each other. They supplement and consolidate each other. It is chiefly thanks to our independent struggle against fascism, and to the successes of this struggle, that we have been able to bring the pressure to bear upon a number of parties in the Labour and Socialist International, which has forced them to choose the road of unity of action. A refusal to undertake mass action against war or to restrict this struggle, because the Labour and Socialist International returned an answer in the negative, would be one of the most inconsistent things to do, and one of the most serious mistakes to make. On the contrary, we should take as our basis the fact that in spite of the decisions forced upon them by the Right leaders, the number of Social Democratic workers prepared to fight against war is considerable and continues to grow, and we must find means of carrying on the struggle together with them. On the other hand, in many countries the forces which support our parties are already of a mass character. We can muster these forces around our own slogans, and by doing so, very broad sections of the masses can be brought into the struggle.

This is why the manifesto against the war in Abyssinia issued by the Executive Committee of the Comintern when the Labour and Socialist International dallied with their answer to the proposals made by Comrade Dimitrov, says quite openly that we must begin to organise a mighty movement of all TOILERS against the war. In this manifesto the Communist International openly appeals to the Socialist workers, and to all their organisations and parties, to leave aside all differences in opinions and to act together against the fascist war instigators.

Obviously, we considered it essential, and could not do otherwise, that our struggle for united action with the Labour and Socialist International should be accompanied by independent anti-war action on the part of the Communist vanguard, and that these actions should be sufficiently energetic to win the support of wide masses of workers of all political currents, and to exert a

strong effect upon the situation. The struggle against war was started by our parties, but it was not sufficiently energetic and systematic, and at the decisive moment it almost came to nothing. We must now make up for lost time. We must set to work with all our energies, in all countries and on all fronts—AND FIRST AND FOREMOST AMONG THE WORKERS ORGANISED IN THE TRADE UNIONS, so as to isolate the fascist aggressor by STOPPING ALL CARGOES DESTINED FOR FASCIST ITALY AND HER COLONIES, AND BY MOBILISING THE WORKING-CLASS AND THE WHOLE OF PUBLIC OPINION IN GENERAL ON AS BROAD A SCALE AS POSSIBLE AND IN EVERY POSSIBLE FORM, AGAINST ITALIAN FASCISM, AGAINST THE

WAR INTRIGUES OF NATIONAL SOCIALISM, AND AGAINST JAPANESE AGGRESSION IN CHINA.

We want to remind all our comrades and all revolutionary workers, that resolutions were adopted at the VII Congress which are being justified by events every day, and which are of historic importance. But this alone is not enough. Unless the Communist vanguard carry on a stubborn and persistent struggle these resolutions will not be carried out and the great cause of united action against fascism and war will not meet with the successes it should, nor as QUICKLY as the growing danger of world imperialist war demands.

THE RESULTS OF THE SEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Report of Comrade Manuilsky at Meetings of Leading Party Workers in Moscow and Leningrad.

(PART 2)

V.— A Congress Which Summed up the Lessons of Armed Battles.

OUR Congress was a CONGRESS WHICH SUMMED UP THE RESULTS OF THE ARMED BATTLES which have been fought during the past years: the armed struggle in Austria in February, and that in Spain in October, 1934; the numerous heroic battles for the Soviet power waged by the Red Army of China.

The fact that the Social-Democratic workers, even if belatedly, took to ARMS in order to resist fascism is of tremendous historical significance. The armed struggles of the Austrian and Spanish workers are evidence of the bankruptcy of the policy of Social-Democracy; they are evidence of the change that is taking place in the temper of the broad masses of the Social-Democratic workers; they show that considerable strata of Social-Democratic workers and party officials, who for a number of years have been trained in the spirit of class collaboration and of waiting passively for the victory of fascism, are now turning towards the policy of the class struggle, to the policy of actively influencing the progress of events.

These struggles teach us Communists the irrefutable truth that there are hundreds of thousands of proletarians in the ranks of the Social-Democratic parties who will fight equally with the Communists for the cause of the working class, that if these proletarians are not yet in our ranks we are partly to blame for that, for we have not been able to approach these militant people

properly and prove to them that our Party is right and that the Party to which they belong is wrong.

One cannot speak without emotion of the miracles of heroism displayed by the SCHUTZBUNDLER in the February days in Austria, by the miners of Asturias during the October battles, and by the brave defenders of Oviedo. The names of Munichreiter, Koloman Wallisch, Weisel and Aida Lafuenta will be remembered forever by the working class. Nor will the working class forget the thirty Red Guard prisoners whom the government troops in Asturias put at the head of their column to screen them from the fire of the workers. They will not forget their proud cry: "Don't hesitate, comrades, shoot, the fascists are behind us!" The whole of the world proletariat bow their heads in respect to the memory of the numerous unknown heroes who rushed forward to storm the white-guard strongholds with dynamite in their hands and lighted cigarettes between their lips, preferring to die rather than retreat.

Why, then, in spite of this self-sacrifice and devotion to the cause of the revolution, did not the workers of Asturias and the SCHUTZBUNDLER of Austria achieve victory?

In his report at the Seventh Congress, Comrade Dimitrov pointed out with striking clarity that the working class can stand in the path of fascism and prevent it from coming into power. The example of France in this respect is very instructive. But in order to avert the victory of fascism the following four conditions are required: (a) the

militant activity of the working class itself and the consolidation of its forces in a united proletarian front; (b) the existence of a strong revolutionary party which shall properly lead the struggle of the toilers against fascism; (c) the pursuit by the working class of a correct policy towards the peasantry and the urban petty bourgeoisie; (d) vigilance towards fascism, the aiming of well-timed blows against it and the maintenance of the initiative in the struggle against fascism. Were these elementary conditions for the successful struggle against fascism observed in Austria and Spain? No, they were not.

The first condition: THE FIGHTING CAPACITY OF THE PROLETARIAT AND THE UNITED FRONT. What was the position in regard to that? Did the Spanish and Austrian Social-Democrats pursue a policy of developing the fighting capacity of the proletariat?

The Austrian and Spanish Social-Democratic leaders not only failed to strengthen the fighting capacity of the working class; they actually weakened it in every possible way. The Spanish Socialists, as is well known, joined the coalition government which passed an anti-strike law, restricted the rights of the trade unions, introduced the so-called Protection of Public Order Act under which Social-Democratic workers who took part in the October battles are now being tried; they did everything to lull the vigilance of the workers towards the monarchist and fascist elements. The Austrian Social-Democratic leaders pursued an even worse policy during the whole of the post-war period, the policy of systematically retreating before the bourgeoisie and fascism.

From 1918 to 1930 the Austrian Social-Democrats were in the government. They then had arms at their command, the arsenals; they held strong positions in the army, in the police force and in the municipalities; they had the SCHUTZBUND at their command as an organ of defence. But during these thirteen years the Austrian Social-Democrats gradually surrendered all these positions. They subdued the anger of the Viennese proletariat in July, 1927. Like cowards, they signed the notorious Guttenberg pact by which the fascist trade unions were recognised to have the same rights as the free trade unions. The rank-and-file Socialist workers who demanded that the constant retreating should be stopped were admonished by their Social-Democratic leaders and reminded of the "Linz programme." And as is well known, this programme prescribed waiting until the bourgeoisie struck the first blow; in other words, taking action only when the bourgeoisie had become strong and when the proletariat had become weak. This is exactly what happened in February, 1934.

The situation in regard to the united front and consolidating the forces of the proletariat for the struggle against the bourgeoisie and fascism was bad. In Spain, where the working-class movement is split up more than in any other country, where, in addition to the Socialist and Communist Parties, the influence of anarchism is strong, where there are three Confederations of Labour, the Socialist leaders stubbornly fought against everything that would help to unite the forces of the proletariat. They opposed the formation of factory committees, although factory committees in the hands of the proletariat would have been powerful instruments of trade union unity and the organised representatives of the whole of the working class. They, like the anarchist leaders, refused to enter into any negotiations for trade union unity, although trade union unity was a decisive condition for the successful struggle against fascism. They opposed the formation of Soviets, although the Soviets would have been a means of organising and consolidating the forces of the proletariat and the peasantry against the bourgeoisie and the landlords, against fascist reaction, they would have been organs of struggle for the revolutionary seizure of power. Instead of honestly working to establish a united proletarian front embracing the organised as well as unorganised masses, they manoeuvred and proposed a united front of the Workers' Alliance in the form of a coalition of the leading bodies of several working-class organisations. The Right-wing elements in the local branches of the Socialist Party sabotaged the entry of the Communist organisations into the Workers' Alliance, and they sabotaged the carrying out of the Communists' proposal to transform the Alliance into elected workers' and peasants' organs of struggle for power.

In Austria things were much worse. The Social-Democratic leaders simply spurned every attempt on the part of the numerically small Communist Party to create a united front on the spurious plea that the "unity" of the proletariat was already achieved within the Social-Democratic Party.

In Spain and in Austria the leaders of the Social-Democratic Parties prepared for the armed struggle, not as for a mass people's movement, but as if it were the business of exclusive party groups operating behind the back of the masses. They failed to understand that "in order to be successful, insurrection must be based, not on a conspiracy, not on a party, but on the advanced class."*

The result of this policy—which was not intended to unite the working class but to keep it divided—was that in Austria, it was not the

*Lenin, Collected Works, Volume xxi., Book 1, page 224.

working class that rose in armed rebellion, but only a small section of the workers (the SCHUTZBUND); that the Social-Democratic leaders did not even call for a general strike; that while the SCHUTZBUND was fighting, the rest of the workers in Vienna went to work in the usual way, while the railway men calmly transported military reinforcements from the provinces for the Dollfuss government.

In Spain, while the miners in Asturias were bravely engaged in a life and death struggle, the Right-wing Socialist leaders in Biscay persuaded the workers who were marching to Bilbao to disperse to their homes because everything was "all over"; and in Barcelona, the anarchist leaders broadcast a message from the government radio station calling upon the workers to resume work.

Such was the position in regard to the first fundamental condition for the successful struggle against fascism.

The second condition: THE EXISTENCE OF A STRONG REVOLUTIONARY PARTY WHICH SHALL PROPERLY LEAD THE STRUGGLE OF THE TOILERS AGAINST FASCISM. Did the Spanish working class have such a party? No. The Communist Party of Spain pursued a correct policy, but it was not strong enough to lead the struggle of all the anti-fascist forces in the country. The line pursued by the leaders of the Socialist Party, however, was fundamentally wrong. It was wrong because from the very first days of the revolution the Social-Democrats did not strengthen the positions of the proletariat, but weakened them. The Socialist Party did not strike with all its might against monarchist and fascist conspirators; it struck its blows at the Left-wing of the working-class movement. It did not confiscate the land of the big feudal landowners and the Church in order to destroy the economic base of the counter-revolution, but actually protected these reactionary forces from the agrarian revolution. It did not dissolve the *Guardia Civil*, which was hated by the people, but strengthened it by forming a "Storm Guard" on the fascist model. It did not purge the army of the reactionary officers; and provided them with pensions in addition. This was not the policy of a revolutionary party; it was the policy of a party that was preparing for the victory of the counter-revolution.

Such also was the policy of the leaders of the Austrian Social-Democratic Party, which, step by step, retreated before the onslaught of the Austrian bourgeoisie and fascism. Did the Austrian Social-Democrats in February, and the Spanish Social-Democrats in October, 1934, know whither they were leading the workers? Did they know what the object of the armed fighting was? Was it to seize power? This is what the workers wanted, but the Socialist leaders did not pursue that aim.

They wanted to frighten the bourgeoisie and compel it to be more compliant in their negotiations with them.

Hence it follows that neither the Austrian nor the Spanish Social-Democrats could have pursued a CORRECT POLICY TOWARDS THE PEASANTRY AND THE URBAN PETTY BOURGEOISIE, i.e., they could not fulfil the THIRD CONDITION necessary for the victorious struggle against fascism.

The urban petty bourgeoisie is a vacillating class. In the majority of cases it inclines towards the side that impresses it with its determination and strength. Like the peasantry, it follows those who know where they are going, why they are going, what they want to achieve by going there, and what the peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie can gain from it. But the party which is afraid of the working class achieving victory, which fears the revolutionary activity of the masses as its own shadow, can never lead the toilers to victory. And it is precisely because the Spanish Social-Democrats were afraid of the victory of the workers' and peasants' revolution in Spain, that, although in the government, they not only failed to insist on the big latifundia being transferred to the peasantry, but on the contrary, they suppressed the peasant movement for the seizure of these lands. That is why the sons of the peasants in the Spanish army did not actively support the Spanish workers in October; that is why the fascist agitation against the Republic carried on by Gil Robles meets with response among the Catholic peasant masses.

And now about the fourth condition: VIGILANCE TOWARDS FASCISM, THE AIMING OF WELL-TIMED BLOWS AGAINST IT AND THE MAINTENANCE OF THE INITIATIVE IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM. It is evident from all that has been said above that there was no vigilance towards fascism in Austria and Spain; there was a systematic lulling of this vigilance by calls upon the workers to remain "on the legal ground of the Constitution." There were no well-timed blows against fascism; there was an armed struggle under conditions least favourable for the proletariat and most favourable for the ruling classes. Social-Democracy surrendered the initiative in the class battles to the bourgeoisie. This is what Social-Democratic leadership of armed struggles looks like.

But take another country where the armed struggle of the toilers has been going on, not for several days, but for several years; where there has never been a Social-Democratic Party and no strong Social-Democratic mass organisations; where the working class never had the long training and organisation which the workers had in Spain, and particularly in Austria; where the working class itself is not large, and, numerically,

is submerged in the peasant sea. And yet the workers and peasants of this country have for seven years victoriously repelled the attacks of the militarist reaction, have routed the armies of the enemy, have been arming themselves at his expense, are creating new Soviet regions and are achieving new successes, because THEIR STRUGGLES ARE BEING LED BY COMMUNIST-BOLSHEVIKS. I speak of that wonderful page in the annals of modern colonial revolution, of the struggle for the SOVIET POWER IN CHINA.

Chiang Kai-shek's six campaigns against the Red Army ended in military and political failure. And although in the autumn of 1934, the Chinese Red Army, surrounded on all sides by superior enemy forces, was obliged to abandon the Central Soviet Region of Kiangsi, to-day, units of the Red Army occupy large regions in six provinces of China: Szechwan, Kwai-chow, Kansu, Shansi, Hunan and Hupeh. Guerilla units are operating in the province of Kiangsi, which the regular troops of the Red Army had abandoned. The Red Army's fighting front extends for a thousand kilometres, and this, thanks to its splendid manoeuvring ability, makes the Red Army almost invulnerable to the attacks of the enemy.

The fabulous march of the main forces of the Red Army under the command of Chu Te and Mao Dze-tung from Kiangsi to Szechwan, a distance of three thousand kilometres, mostly at night, or in pouring rain, in order to avoid Chiang Kai-shek's heavy bombing planes, during which the Red troops had to cross inaccessible mountains and wide rivers, without pontoons, and without the necessary stores and transport facilities, testifies to its HIGH DEGREE OF CLASS-CONSCIOUSNESS, its super-human stamina and FIGHTING SPIRIT which no Chinese militarist army can break.

The successes of the Red Army are also evidence of the INSEPARABLE TIES it has with the broad masses of the toilers of China, who render every possible assistance to the Red forces in their struggle against Chiang Kai-shek; they are evidence of the correct tactics pursued by the Communist Party of China, which LINKS THE STRUGGLE OF THE ARMY WITH THE MASS PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT, one of the forms of which is the GUERRILLA WARFARE carried on in the rear of the enemy; they are evidence of the fact that the commanders of the Red Army skilfully UTILISE THE ANTAGONISMS in the camp of the militarists; they are evidence of a military strategy which does NOT ALLOW THE INITIATIVE in military operations to pass to the enemy, but which, by a WELL-TIMED counter-attack, repels his offensive and politically demoralises him.

But the Soviet movement, which up to now has

developed outside of the main industrial centres, is setting itself bigger tasks at the present stage of development of the Chinese revolution. The Communist Party of China is striving to make the Soviet movement the POLITICAL CORE OF A UNITED CHINA; it is striving to take the lead in the struggle of the masses of the people of the whole of China against Japanese imperialism, to establish effective contact in the struggle against the imperialist invaders with all the military groups which are prepared to defend their country against aggression. For the purpose of creating such a broad anti-imperialist front the Chinese Communists offer to enter into an agreement with any and every political or military group with a view to joint action against the imperialist invaders on the following conditions: CESSATION OF MILITARY OPERATIONS AGAINST THE RED ARMY AND THE SOVIET DISTRICTS; ESTABLISHMENT OF POLITICAL LIBERTIES; ARMING THE PEOPLE AND THE ORGANISATION OF A POPULAR WAR against the imperialist conquerors.

This programme for the formation of an anti-imperialist front of struggle of the Chinese people proposed by the Communist Party of China is not a manoeuvre. It would be a crime to manoeuvre in connection with the defence of one's own people against imperialist pirates. One may manoeuvre against an enemy but not against a people whose national liberty and life the Communists are heroically defending. And if it is true that the Communists, and the Communists alone, have the right in all countries of the world to speak IN THE NAME OF THE PEOPLE — for they alone are the real FRIENDS OF THE PEOPLE, for they alone pay with their lives and liberty for the part they take in the cause of the people— then it is still more true in regard to the Chinese Communists who are the sons of a people who are more oppressed and suppressed by world imperialism than any other people in the world. The glorious deeds of the Chinese Communists and their programme of national liberation are evidence of the profound understanding of the great political responsibility that the Chinese Soviets bear BEFORE THE WHOLE PEOPLE who are fighting for national liberty, the profound understanding of the responsibility which the Communist Party of China bears before the WORKERS OF THE WHOLE WORLD for the fate of the Chinese revolution. And only such a Bolshevik combination of the interests of one's people with the interests of the toilers of the whole world, only such a bold application of the people's anti-imperialist front, only the leadership of the Communist Party of China which has been tried and tested in the fire of battle, can push the Chinese revolution forward, EMANCIPATE the Chinese people from the YOKE OF IMPERIALISM, restore the INTEGRITY

AND UNITY OF CHINA and establish the SOVIET POWER over the whole country.

VI.—A Congress of a New Tactical Line.

The experience of the struggle for the united front in France, the lessons of the armed struggles in China, Austria and Spain in the midst of the process of revolutionisation of the working-class, have stimulated the Communist International, at its Seventh Congress, to adopt a new tactical line.

It is said that, in this connection, all the opponents of the Communist International and the enemies of our movement rejoice and say: "The Comintern is changing its tactics."

What astonishing news! The tactics of a political party are not the spectacles of a musty keeper of archives who never takes them off, even when he goes to bed. Tactics, which are the sum total of the methods and means of struggle of a political party, are precisely intended to be changed if changed circumstances require it. We Communists are a live, active party, and not archive rats who fail to see the political and social changes that take place in the life of the people. We are not like the British diehards, for example, who obstinately repeat the slanderous fables about the U.S.S.R. although glaring facts daily refute their foolish fables. The Communists least of all want to resemble the wiseacre who, in reply to the reproach that his arguments were contradicted by the facts, said: "All the worse for the facts!"

But, say our opponents, the new tactics of the Communist International contradict the old tactics. Well, even if they did, what's wrong with that? The tactics of the workers' party in imperialist wars, for example, "contradict" its tactics in national wars. Only hopeless pedants would now declare that the tactics of the workers' party in national wars were wrong. Right tactics become wrong tactics when they are applied in concrete historical conditions other than those for which they were intended.

Tactics remain correct for the period and for the conditions for which they were intended, even though they are unsuitable for the new conditions. That is why we emphatically repudiate the clumsy attempt of the reactionary section of the Social-Democrats to make it appear that the old tactical line of the Communist International was wrong. Was the Communist Party of Germany right in waging an irreconcilable struggle against the Social-Democrats when the bourgeoisie in Germany with the aid of the Social-Democrats carried on capitalist exploitation and ruled the country? It was absolutely right. Is the Communist Party of Germany right to-day, when Social-Democracy as a political party is smashed and when the Social-Democratic workers are turning towards the

position of the class struggle, in concentrating its fire on fascism as the bitterest enemy of the working-class? Absolutely right. This is an obvious contradiction, is it not? But it is a contradiction only in the minds of those who do not understand a scrap about the living dialectics of the class struggle.

And here is another contradiction: formerly, we are told, the Communists did not pursue a united front policy; now they are pursuing it. But if the Communists did not pursue a united front policy before, it was because the Social-Democrats systematically rejected every proposal for a united struggle. That is what happened in Germany on July 20, 1932, when, in retaliation to von Papen's dissolution of the Prussian Social-Democratic government, headed by the Prussian Social-Democrat Braun, the Communists proposed that they and the Social-Democrats jointly call upon the masses to fight. That is what happened on January 31, 1933, when, on the eve of Hitler's accession to power, the Communists proposed to the Social-Democrats and to the reformist unions that a general strike be organised jointly. That is what happened in France, when, from 1922 onward, the Communist Party, on various occasions, proposed a united front TWENTY-SIX TIMES and met with a refusal each time. That is what happened to the proposal made by the Communist International on March 5, 1933, when the fascists seized power in Germany. That is what happened to the Communist International's appeal to the Second International on October 10, 1934, in connection with the events in Spain and the heroic struggle of the Asturian miners. This is what happened only the other day to the communication sent by the Communist Party of France to the British Labour Party inviting the latter to take the initiative in convening an international conference of all workers' organisations for the purpose of deciding on effective measures to combat the Abyssinian adventure. That is what happened . . . and because that happened there was no united front. And because this is still happening in most capitalist countries, the united front, which was started in France, cannot be extended. And because it SHOULD NOT AND WILL NOT HAPPEN, the Communist International is changing its tactics. And if the Social-Democrats could oppose the united front in the past it was because the pressure of the working-class in favour of united struggle was not sufficient. This will not happen in the future, because the defeat suffered by the whole international working-class as a consequence of the bankruptcy of the policy of German Social-Democracy is causing the proletarian masses of the whole world loudly to demand united action, and they are universally

supporting the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International.

It is said that the UNITED FRONT TACTICS contradict the "CLASS AGAINST CLASS" TACTICS. But as Comrade Dimitrov has quite rightly said, the "class against class" tactics are not the tactics of the struggle of one section of the working-class against another, but the tactics of mobilising the forces of the proletariat as a class against another class—the bourgeoisie, on the basis of the united front. If in the preceding stage the "class against class" tactics were transformed into a struggle, not only against the bourgeoisie, but also against Social-Democracy, it was because Social-Democracy had entered into a BLOC with the bourgeoisie against the revolutionary section of the working-class, because it had coalesced with the apparatus of the capitalist state, had introduced the fascist type of arbitration in strikes, had undertaken police functions (Zörgiebel, Grezinsky, Severing) because after the general strike in Great Britain it had said: "Never again!" had supported the policy of Mondism, etc. And by still persisting in this policy so fatal for the working-class, as in the Scandinavian countries, for example, Social-Democracy hinders the application of the "class against class" tactics on the basis of the united front. But the "class against class" tactics which the workers and their vanguard united in the Communist International want to apply do not preclude the united front; on the contrary, they presuppose it. That is how the Ninth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. conceived the "class against class" tactics. The resolution adopted in February 1928 clearly speaks of the necessity of proposing a united front, both national and local, "in so far as considerable strata of the masses of the workers still follow the reformist leaders."

Such is our reply to our enemies. And now about the doubts expressed by our friends. Some think that the present attitude of the Communist International towards Social-Democracy is in crying contradiction to the position of BOLSHEVISM, which throughout its history has waged a ruthless struggle against the Mensheviks. They argue as follows: "It is well known that the Bolsheviki fought against the conciliators who tried to unite the Mensheviks with the Bolsheviki. Is not the Communist International, with its unity of the working-class movement slogan, slipping into the position of CONCILIATION with the Mensheviks? The Bolsheviki did not win the masses by organising a UNITED FRONT with the Mensheviks but by exposing the Mensheviks as agents of the bourgeoisie, and thereby won the workers away from the latter's influence. The Bolsheviki appealed DIRECTLY to the masses and led their movement

WITHOUT, AND OVER THE HEADS OF, THE MENSHEVIKS. NEITHER in 1905, NOR in the years of reaction, nor in 1917 did the Bolsheviki ADVANCE THE SLOGAN OF A UNITED FRONT GOVERNMENT, and least of all did they advance the slogan of a PEOPLE'S FRONT. How is it possible to do this now?"

It is true that Bolshevism fought against Menshevism, and against the conciliation with it, as determinedly as the Communist Party of Germany, for example, fought against Brandler and the German conciliators. But it is also true that at various stages of its development Bolshevism fought the Mensheviks in various ways. In 1910, for example, the Bolsheviki entered into a BLOC with the Party Mensheviks* for the purpose of fighting against the Right and Left liquidators. Did this BLOC imply that the Bolsheviki laid down their arms before Menshevism, that the Bolsheviki began to adopt a conciliatory attitude towards the Mensheviks? Not in the least. By means of that BLOC the Bolsheviki split the ranks of the Mensheviks, and, by helping one section of them to come over to the Party position, they struck a blow at Menshevism as a trend which served as the channel of bourgeois influence in the ranks of the proletariat. The fact that the Bolsheviki adopted a DIFFERENT approach towards different trends among the Menshevik Social-Democrats did not make them conciliators. The conciliators were those who obscured the principles underlying the disagreements between the Bolsheviki and Mensheviks, who called upon the Bolsheviki to cease their struggle against Menshevism on the ground that the latter was a "legitimate" trend in the working-class movement, and who denied that Menshevism was harmful to the interests of the proletariat; they were the ones who actually tried to get Bolshevism to capitulate before Menshevism.

Only downright scoundrels can assert that in fighting for the unity of the working-class, the Communist International is obscuring the fundamental differences that divide the Communists from the Social-Democrats, i.e., the question of class collaboration, of the proletarian revolution, of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of Soviet power, of defence of the bourgeois fatherland, etc.

It would be sheer madness to obscure these disagreements now that the bankruptcy of the Social-Democratic policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie is revealed, now that the whole progress of events has proved the correctness of the

* i.e., those Mensheviks who were in favour of preserving the underground Party organisations during the period of reaction as against those who demanded the dissolution of the underground organisations and the pursuit of purely legal activities.—ED.

line of the Communist International, that the masses are turning to the Left precisely because their own experience has convinced them that the class struggle is necessary. Only hopeless idiots can think that by helping the Social-Democratic workers to come over to the position of the class struggle by means of the united front tactics we are facilitating the capitulation of Communism to Social-Democracy. If the Bolsheviks adopted a different approach towards the various trends of Menshevism in the years of reaction, there is still greater justification for the Communists doing this to-day in the capitalist countries when great changes are taking place in the ranks of the whole working-class. Only by abandoning the view that Social-Democracy is one reactionary mass will the Communists be able actively to influence the process of revolutionisation of the Social-Democratic workers, without waiting for a spontaneous turn towards Communism.

Moreover, it would be wrong to think that the working-class movement in capitalist countries to-day, in the epoch of the incipient proletarian revolution, must traverse the same path of development, down to its minutest detail, that was traversed by Bolshevism, which took political shape under different historically concrete circumstances from those that exist now. It must not be forgotten that in the pre-war working-class movement the Russian Bolsheviks were the FIRST party of the new type, which laid a road for itself without past experience and precedents to go by. Since then, Bolshevism has become a world trend which has found its organisational embodiment in a world Bolshevik Party—the Communist International. Since then, Bolshevism, in conjunction with the working-class, has conquered one-sixth of the globe, and has acquired a mighty instrument for influencing the world proletariat such as the STATE OF THE PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP AND THE VICTORIOUS CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM. Bolshevism's rich thirty years' experience, which is accessible to the international working-class movement, in its turn, shortens the latter's road compared with that traversed by Russian Bolshevism in the course of its development. That is why, in applying the experience of the tactics pursued by the Russian Bolsheviks to the working-class movement of to-day, a "discount" must be allowed for the changed social-political situation.

Secondly, it will be impossible to understand the present tactics of the Communist International if the specific features of the working-class movement abroad, which distinguish it from the Russian working-class movement prior to October 1917, are ignored. Social-Democracy has far deeper roots among the masses in modern

capitalist countries than the Mensheviks had in Russia, for capitalism in those countries is stronger than Russian capitalism was. The working-class in those capitalist countries is better organised than the Russian proletariat was before the revolution; but it is organised in mass Social-Democratic Parties and in mass reformist trade unions. It received a long reformist, political and organisational training and became a conservative force which hindered the penetration of new ideas among the masses of the workers. In the overwhelming majority of capitalist countries Communism has not had the asset of revolutions (1905-1907) in which Russian Bolshevism became steeded; it had, however, to overcome a very strong Social-Democracy and strong reformist trade unions.

In its advance among the masses, Communism could not avoid Social-Democracy and the reformist trade unions, nor could it exercise such direct influence upon the working-class as Russian Bolshevism exercised upon the fresh, revolutionary human material it had to deal with, which had not yet become saturated with reformist influences. The spontaneous element plays a less important rôle in the mass movement in modern capitalist countries than it did in pre-revolutionary Russia, for example, where the reformist trade union movement was weak, and where the political and organisational positions occupied by the Mensheviks in the working-class movement were weak.

In modern capitalist countries, however, it is not only the proletariat, but also other strata of the toiling population, that are better organised.

In those countries, the seeds of revolution have not fallen upon the virgin soil of the maturing agrarian revolution, as was the case in Russia. Communism in those countries found a peasantry, and an urban petty-bourgeoisie, among which the process of political differentiation had taken place, which were organised in various forms of co-operative societies, mutual aid societies, etc. It was extremely difficult for Communism to force its way directly to these allies of the working-class over the heads of all these organisations. It would have been ridiculous, to say the least, to wait until all these organisations had automatically fallen to pieces so that the Communists could with their unsoiled hands collect the "deserted" masses which had abandoned all petty-bourgeois prejudices.

A revolutionary situation in which the masses change their views, and old organisations break down with amazing rapidity, does not yet exist in the overwhelming majority of capitalist countries; but neither do the masses regard the line of demarcation between the various political parties as rigidly as they have done up to now. The masses have now begun to move; they are already

REBELLING against the bankrupt policies of their old organisations; but THEY ARE NOT YET PREPARED TO ABANDON THEM. They are, however, BRINGING PRESSURE TO BEAR UPON THE LEADERS OF THEIR ORGANISATIONS and are demanding a DIFFERENT policy, based on the CLASS STRUGGLE, and not on CLASS COLLABORATION. They are demanding from their old leaders, who are as obstinate as bulls which refuse to leave their stalls, the establishment of unity of action in the struggle against capital between all organisations who want to fight against it. It is to this period in the growth of class-consciousness and activity of all the toiling masses—who are on the road leading from the policy of class collaboration to the policy of class struggle, from supporting the bourgeoisie to supporting the proletariat, from reformism to Communism—that THE TACTICS OF THE UNITED WORKERS' FRONT, WHICH SERVES AS THE BASIS FOR THE GENERAL PEOPLE'S FRONT, CORRESPOND.

Often, efforts are made to find historical analogies and parallels with the past. These are very valuable, but they will be of little use to us if we fail to grasp the vital thing in the specific features of the present world situation. Taking advantage of the crisis, capital has clutched the toilers by the throat in a deadly grip. The fight is such as has never before been witnessed in the history of the working-class movement. Nor have we witnessed such a political régime, such a terrorist régime, as German fascism. The imperialist wars which the bourgeoisie is preparing for the toilers will also be FASCIST WARS, i.e., wars in which there will be no distinction between front and rear, between belligerent armies and peaceful populations, wars waged at a distance, wars waged with machinery, gas, and bacteria. No matter how zealously we search the pages of text-books on history, we shall not find in them a situation analogous to the present, in which revolution, war and fascism have become so interwoven in the development of mankind. Consequently, we must not base our tactics on analogies, but on a concrete analysis of the relation of class forces at the given moment.

Is the relation of class forces to-day such as enables us to say that the conditions have matured for the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship in modern capitalist countries? No. These conditions have not yet matured, because, in a number of countries the proletariat has not yet torn itself away from the influence of the bourgeoisie, nor has it thrown off the influence of Social-Democracy. In the overwhelming majority of capitalist countries the Communists are still too weak to lead the masses directly into the fight for the establishment of the proletarian dictator-

ship. The working-class itself is split up, and therefore, is unable to take the lead of the other strata of the toilers who in some countries are still inclining towards fascism. What would you want the parties which do not want to engage merely in PROPAGANDA for the proletarian dictatorship and the Soviet power to do under such circumstances? Wash their hands and repudiate responsibility for the situation which the policy of the reactionary elements of Social-Democracy has led to?

But the working-class is demanding much more from the Communists; it is calling upon them to say what it must do TO-DAY, WITH THE PRESENT RELATION OF FORCES, in order to withstand the onslaught of capital, to save itself and its people from fascism, and to save itself and the whole of mankind from war.

The desertion of Social-Democracy by the masses, which has now begun, and the victories of Socialism in the U.S.S.R., and the beginning of the passage of the Social-Democratic workers to the position of the class-struggle are transforming the Communists into a force which cannot rest content with merely the propagandist repudiation of capitalism, with merely criticising the inadequate political maturity of the movement to-day. In order to utilise the growing power of the working-class to the utmost, the Communists must actively intervene in the present mass movement and strive to raise it to the level of the central task of the working-class movement, viz., the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship. That is why the Communists are now working unceasingly to restore the unity of the working-class movement, the militant unity of the trade unions, political unity, as the fundamental condition for the successful struggle against the capitalist offensive, fascism and war, for without this concrete struggle of the present day, the fight for the proletarian revolution and for the proletarian dictatorship is impossible.

We are fighting to TRANSFER THE BURDENS OF THE CRISIS TO THE SHOULDERS OF THE RULING CLASSES, FOR THE DISSOLUTION OF FASCISM AND THE FASCIST MOVEMENT (disarming the fascist gangs, expulsion of fascists from the state apparatus, dissolution of their organisations, suppression of their press, arrest of their leaders), FOR THE RESTORATION OF THE LIBERTIES OF THE WORKING-CLASS AND ITS ORGANISATIONS, FOR PEACE, AND AGAINST WAR. But we Communists are practical revolutionaries, we know that the present bourgeois governments will not grant our demands. These demands, however, may be met as a result of the pressure brought to bear by the masses upon a government which can arise out of a powerful united front movement that will grow into a general people's front.

Such a government will not be a coalition government, a government of collaboration between Social-Democracy and the bourgeoisie. The coalition government was a government which fought against the Left-wing of the working-class. THE UNITED FRONT GOVERNMENT, HOWEVER, IS THE GOVERNMENT OF CESSATION OF CLASS COLLABORATION WITH THE BOURGEOISIE, THE GOVERNMENT OF COLLABORATION BETWEEN THE WORKERS' ORGANISATIONS WHICH HAVE SEVERED THE BLOC WITH THE BOURGEOISIE, THE GOVERNMENT WHICH FIGHTS AGAINST FASCISM AND NOT AGAINST THE WORKING-CLASS. One government paved the way for the fascist dictatorship; the OTHER government MUST PAVE THE WAY FOR THE VICTORY OF THE WORKING-CLASS.

Nor will this government be a Social-Democratic government, like those which, as experience has shown (Great Britain, Sweden, etc.), have been pursuing the policy of the bourgeoisie, and not the policy of fighting the bourgeoisie, not the policy of fighting fascism. The united front government will be a government of the workers' organisations, a government of the people's front, a government consisting of representatives of the political organisations of other classes which stand on a common platform with that of the workers' organisations to fight against the capitalist offensive, fascism and war. It will not be a government of normal times, but a government of the period of POLITICAL CRISIS.

But the united front government will not be the government of the proletarian dictatorship; it SHOULD, however, be a government that must prepare for the establishment of the power of the working-class. IT SHOULD BE THAT. But whether it will be so, or not, depends on a number of things, and primarily, on the solidarity of the working-class, its fighting ability, its determination and readiness not to be satisfied with results achieved, but to push on with its offensive against the ruling class right up to the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship.

Is it essential for us to pass through the stage of the united front, or people's front, government in order to establish the government of proletarian dictatorship? No, it is not essential. Our tactics are not a cut and dried scheme into which we must artificially stick the whole development of the revolutionary struggle of the working-class without consideration for the variety of its conditions and forms. On the whole, the tactical line of the Seventh Congress corresponds to the RELATION OF CLASS FORCES in the present period, it corresponds to the present LEVEL OF THE MOVEMENT AND STRENGTH OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES, as it is to-day, and will be in the immediate future.

These tactics are being operated in earnest and for a long time. Tactics, generally speaking, may change, but the general line of the Communist International and its course aiming at the proletarian revolution on the basis of the consolidation of the forces of the working-class remain firm and unalterable.

VII.—A Congress Which Rallied the Forces of the Communists on the Basis of the Correct General Line of the Communist International. A Congress of Frank, Bolshevik Self-Criticism.

The Seventh Congress confirmed the correctness of the general line of the Communist International. It was not the bourgeoisie, its scholars, its economists and its statesmen; it was not Social-Democracy, its theoreticians and its politicians, who proved to be right in their estimation of the world situation and of the prospects of development of the capitalist world; it was the Communists—who employ the unexcelled method of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin in examining such phenomena—who proved to be right.

The bourgeois economists declared that an epoch of "eternal prosperity" had set in. The Social-Democrats talked about the epoch of "organised capitalism."

The Communists disagreed with this and said that since the World War of 1914-1918 the capitalist world had entered into a period of general crisis.

Facts prove that the Communists were right.

Capitalist stabilisation has been established for ever, asserted the bourgeois and Social-Democratic "scholars."

Stabilisation is relative; it is temporary and transient, retorted the Communists.

Facts prove that the Communists were right.

There will be no more crises. The capitalist world has entered the stage of non-crisis economy, was the forecast made by bourgeois and Social-Democratic science.

Under capitalism crises are inevitable, retorted the Communists.

The world economic crisis which broke out in 1929 proved that the Communists were right.

The capitalist world is entering a period of subsiding class antagonisms, of the gradual improvement of the material conditions of the working-class and the masses of the toilers, of the establishment of "Socialism" by means of bourgeois democracy and social reforms—this is what the progressive bourgeois, and the reformists of all shades, thought.

The Communists thought differently. They said: the whole world is not marching towards the abatement, but towards the unprecedented intensification, of class antagonisms. If the working-class does not tear itself away from the influ-

ence of reformism and come over to the position of the class struggle, its conditions, and the conditions of all the toilers, will steadily grow worse under capitalism. Bourgeois democracy is not paving the way for Socialism, but for fascism, and it is abolishing all the social gains the working-class achieved by many years of struggle.

Events of the last few years have proved that the Communists were right.

Kautsky said that in the epoch of "super-imperialism" the big states subordinate the weaker nations ECONOMICALLY, and therefore there is no need for the former to wage wars. Imperialism becomes almost tame and peaceful.

To this the Communists replied: the imperialist stage of the development of capitalism is inseparably connected with the outbreak of new imperialist wars, more monstrous than any that have occurred up to now. If the proletariat is not able to overthrow the bourgeoisie, the Communists added, the bourgeoisie will drive the proletariat into the abyss of war.

Facts prove that the Communists, and not people of the type of Kautsky, were right. The Communists were right in the question of the proletarian revolution, in the question of the paths of development of the proletarian dictatorship, in the question of building Socialism in the U.S.S.R.; they were right on all the fundamental problems of the world working-class movement, which lay at the basis of the programme, strategy and tactics of the Communist International, and which determined its Leninist-Stalinist general line.

Does this mean that the Communists were infallible in applying this correct line to the concrete conditions of the working-class movement in the various countries? No, it does not mean that. We had many cases in which the correct line was distorted; these distortions were mainly of a sectarian character, and frustrated the Bolshevik mass policy of the Communist Parties.

The seventh Congress struck hard at these distortions. There have not been many Congresses in the history of the Communist International at which there has been such stern Bolshevik self-criticism as there was at the Seventh Congress. It would be wrong to think that the Communists committed more mistakes in the period between the Sixth and Seventh Congresses than in any other period of the development of the Communist International. What is true is that the Communist Parties have grown a head taller, that they have learned to appraise the path of their struggle more critically, and to see more clearly the "Left-wing disorders" of their growing and adolescent stage.

The Seventh Congress revealed weaknesses in

the Communist movement which formerly the Communists failed to see, ignored. Take, for example, an ailment we suffer from such as the MECHANICAL application of the experience of the Communist movement of one country to that of the Communist Parties in other countries. There is much here that we overlooked; we were unable to separate the tares from the wheat, and the "wheat" was the absolutely correct task of INTERNATIONALISING the experience of our movement. But, while ostensibly carrying out this necessary and proper task we often approached the problems of our movement mechanically and imposed the same tasks upon the weak Communist Parties as we imposed upon the stronger sections of the Communist International. Not infrequently, we failed to take into account the specific features of the movement in the various countries, its political level, and the degree of its revolutionary maturity. And from this grew up the "tares," the mistakes.

Or take the question of Communists working in the fascist mass organisations. The Communist International cannot be reproached with not giving timely instructions on this question. But these instructions were too general; they should have been worked out more concretely. We shall make no progress by merely repeating commonplaces about it being necessary to work in the fascist mass organisations. The principal question is: HOW IS THIS WORK TO BE CARRIED ON? This is not an easy task. Here two dangers lurk for the Communists: the danger of being crushed by the enemy at the very outset, or the danger of their adapting themselves to the conditions to such a degree as to degenerate into liquidators. We have not much experience to go by in this work yet, and it is a difficult matter to sum it up PUBLICLY; for although this would help to train our cadres, it may disclose our methods of work to the enemy, and thus help him in his struggle against the Communists.

The Bolsheviks' experience of underground work under tsarism is extremely valuable, but it does not help to solve entirely the problems which now confront the Italian and German Communists, for example, who are working under conditions of exceptional terror. It must not be forgotten that fascism has another side besides the terrorist side; it has the side of social-demagogy, which stupid and incompetent tsarism did not have. It must not be forgotten that fascism learned from defeated tsarism how to prevent the Communists from "utilising legal possibilities," and that it has surrounded its mass organisations with an espionage system of such wide ramifications as the tsarist secret police never succeeded in organising. It must not be forgotten that the

whole apparatus of the modern capitalist state is ever so much stronger than the state apparatus of the tsarist autocracy. The underground experience of our Party is not sufficient to meet all our requirements to-day.

And yet, mental laziness, and an inclination to adopt stereotyped forms, prevented us from penetrating more deeply to the core of the subject. Instead of trying to understand the specific situation in which the Communists in fascist countries have to work, we preferred to explain everything by the fact that the Communists failed to carry out decisions.

And for years this explanation for the failure of our mass work in the fascist countries was accepted without noting that the very explanation itself had become stereotyped. At the Seventh Congress, Comrade Dimitrov thoroughly trounced a number of cut and dried schemes, and he trounced this one too.

The Communist Parties in the fascist countries, and the Italian and German comrades in particular, will have to rack their brains quite a bit to work out the appropriate forms of Bolshevik work in the fascist mass organisations. In order to achieve success in this work it will be necessary to draw a more strict distinction between the "legal" and illegal work of the Communist Parties in fascist countries; more decentralisation will have to be introduced so that the lower organisations may be less dependent upon the higher organisations, while at the same time, the underground leadership of the Party will have to exercise more effective control over the comrades who are carrying on "legal" work in the fascist mass organisations. Organisational forms must be devised by which to develop the initiative of rank-and-filers engaged on open mass work; and cadres of "legal" workers in the revolutionary working-class movement must be created who must penetrate into the fascist mass organisations. In short, we must decipher the "Trojan horse" tactics referred to by Comrade Dimitrov. This work will give political training to a cohort of practical mass workers, of great practical revolutionaries, to whom will fall the great honour of overthrowing fascism.

The Congress also criticised our weaknesses in trade union work. On this question also the Communist Parties in the past have adopted excellent resolutions, but these have not been carried out. Why? Was it the evil intent of the Communists which prevented these resolutions from being carried out? Of course not.

The gulf between desire and deed was created because those who drew up the resolutions paid little attention to the real possibilities of carrying them out. Often these resolutions were some-

thing in the nature of a collection of general instructions applicable to the most favourable conditions for carrying them out. But concrete reality was altogether different; it created difficulty after difficulty in the work of the Communists in the trade unions: the Communists were expelled from the trade unions, they were discharged from the factories, they were strangled by the noose of unemployment, etc.

The conditions under which these resolutions were drawn up changed, but people kept on repeating the same old words, and thus the gulf between word and deed became wider. This disorganised the Party workers, taught them to treat adopted resolutions with insufficient respect, weakened their determination to fight even for easier and more modest tasks.

How much talk has there been about the need for Communist fractions in the trade unions? And yet no progress was made because, by forming our own small unions, we kept the Communists away from the masses, doomed them to stew in their own juice, doomed them to work where complete unanimity reigned, where fractions were a pure formality and their meetings sheer waste of time.

Put the Communists where they will come into daily contact with masses who are not yet ours, where they will have to answer the arguments of our opponents in the presence of the masses, where they will learn to argue and to defend our position, where they will acutely feel the need for a preliminary discussion and agreement among themselves and their supporters in order to withstand the attacks of the reformist bureaucracy. If you do that you will not recognise them as the people whom to-day we accuse of not being able to work in the trade unions. In addition to all other advantages, trade union unity, for which the Communists are now fighting, has the advantage that it **CREATES THE CONDITIONS** for the growth of our Communist cadres, for training real mass leaders.

But does this mean that in criticising sectarian mistakes the Seventh Congress underestimated the danger of Right opportunism? No, it does not, comrades.

Large masses of Social-Democratic workers are beginning to turn towards Communism. They will add fresh power to our movement. In a number of fascist countries, in Austria, for example, they have already given the Communist Party good cadres whose fighting qualities are not inferior to the original Communist cadres. At the same time, we must not forget that the masses who are coming to Communism will not become Communists overnight. The complete elimination of Social-Democratic views requires time.

The survivals of Social-Democratic ideology will continue for a time to burden the minds of the new Party members, and this increases the danger of Right opportunism.

This danger becomes all the more serious because we are on the eve of great shocks to the capitalist world, of a great turn in events, of big class battles, which people with insufficient political stamina and weak nerves will be unable to stand. Comrades, remember what Comrade Stalin told us about the fishermen who were caught in a storm. Some reefed their sails still closer, their boat cut through the waves, and they swept boldly forward in the teeth of the gale. Others, however, crouched in the bottom of their boat, covered their heads in fear and allowed themselves to be tossed about at the will of the waves. We want the Communist Parties to be fishermen of the Stalin school and not fishermen who fear the storm. That is why it is particularly necessary at the present time to increase our vigilance towards Right opportunism. Are there already fishermen of the Stalin type in the Parties of the Communist International? Yes, comrades, there are.

VIII.—A Congress of Mature Bolshevik Cadres.

The Bolsheviks in the capitalist countries have given us immortal examples of heroism. John Scheer, August Lütgens, Fiete Schulze, Chu Chupo, Sallai, Furst, Iwata, Yosimitsi, Watanaba, Massanosuke, Lutibrodsky—scores and hundreds like them—people who from the scaffold issue their last call to the masses and hurl their last challenge at the enemy. With head proudly raised they marched, and are marching to-day, to the scaffold, filled with love for the people, hatred for the enemy, and contempt for death. In the twilight of dawn in capitalist towns and villages one hears the muffled steps of men and women going to their death; and every day these muffled steps rouse millions, rouse them to a similarly indomitable and fearless struggle. When the as yet triumphant hounds and hogs of capital say to a rank-and-file German Communist whom they have tormented and beaten nearly to death: "We have knocked Communism out of your head," they hear the reply from almost numbed lips: "You have knocked it in more deeply." And this unknown hero of the German people is right. Torture and execution are knocking Communism deeper into the hearts and heads of men and women. And the love and confidence of the masses of the people towards the men and women of the Stalin stamp, towards those who are waging a life and death struggle against slavery and oppression, are growing and spreading all over the world.

The Communists have shown their mettle. They have shown that they cannot be exterminated any

more than their class, its will to fight and to conquer, can be exterminated.

And day after day these people are mastering more and more the hidden secrets of Bolshevik science: the ability to establish strong, inseparable ties with the broadest masses; the ability to keep one's head at critical moments and quickly and independently find one's bearings even in the most difficult situation; the ability to combat vacillation and hesitation; the ability to observe Party rules and discipline.

And precisely because reliable Communist cadres have been and are growing up in the capitalist countries, the Congress very materially CHANGED THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL'S METHOD OF LEADING ITS SECTIONS. The Congress emphasised the fact that the Executive Committee of the Communist International should concentrate more on working out the main political and tactical line, and that it should, as a rule, refrain from interfering in the internal organisational affairs of the Communist Parties. This wise decision was not accidental; it was dictated by the fact that the Communist movement in the capitalist countries has become strong and bolshevised!

A Bolshevik, Stalin Guard has arisen in the lands of capital! And we are proud of the fact that from the ranks of this Stalin Guard in the capitalist countries has arisen a man who hurled his bold challenge at the enemy even while the executioner's axe was hovering over his head, a man who by his courage gave a powerful impetus to the anti-fascist movement all over the world—I refer to the people's tribune, Georgi Dimitrov. When this indomitable revolutionary rose to his full Bolshevik height in his passionate struggle against fascism, the whole world realised the strength of Communism, the strength of the Stalin cohorts. It was to him that the Congress entrusted the helm of the Comintern. In electing the leadership of the Communist International the Congress elected those who will pursue the new tactical line, not merely out of consideration for discipline, but because they are convinced it is a correct line; and because it was absolutely sure that with Georgi Dimitrov at the helm it will be a loyal, tried, steeled, Stalin leadership.

But the significance of the Bolshevik cadres which have grown up is not confined to organisational conclusions concerning the personnel of the leadership of the Communist International, or to the change in the methods of leadership. The existence of STRONG BOLSHEVIK CADRES is one of the MOST IMPORTANT GUARANTEES OF THE SUCCESS of the Communist Parties in their struggle for the proletarian revolution. The victory of the revolution depends not only on the objective conditions which facilitate it, but also on the men and women who

make this revolution. It will be impossible to determine the prospects of our movement correctly if we do not take into account the state of the available cadres of the Communist Parties.

IX.—A Congress of Great Prospects.

The Seventh Congress indicated GREAT PROSPECTS for the world working-class movement, PROSPECTS OF BATTLES AND VICTORIES.

In this respect it met the requirements of the millions of workers who have tasted the bitter fruit of defeat, *viz.*, it has pointed to the way out of CUL-DE-SAC into which the policy of Social-Democracy has led them. It has shattered the Social-Democratic legends about the omnipotence of capital and the impotence of the workers. It has smashed the fatalistic view that the standard of living of the masses must inevitably be reduced during a crisis, that fascism must inevitably be victorious, that a new series of imperialist wars is inevitable, *i.e.*, that the triumph of the armed bourgeoisie and the defeat of the unarmed proletariat are inevitable.

The Congress, pointing to the experience of successful mass strikes in a number of capitalist countries, showed that even in the conditions of a crisis it is possible to hold up the capitalist offensive. Pointing to the living example of the anti-fascist struggle of the French proletariat, the Congress demonstrated to the whole of the international working class that by establishing a united workers' front, which grows into an anti-fascist people's front, it is not only possible to stand in the path of fascism, but even to start an offensive against it. In popularising the peace policy of the U.S.S.R., which is supported by the anti-war struggle of the international working class, the Congress showed that more than once it has been possible by the united efforts of the U.S.S.R. and the toilers in the capitalist countries to frustrate the bellicose plans of imperialist governments. And finally, the Congress showed that the growing might of the Land of Soviets, of the first proletarian state of the world working class, gives the toilers in the capitalist countries the assurance that they, too, have at their command an important material force with which to face the bourgeoisie which is arming against them.

The clear and distinct prospects outlined by the Seventh Congress are not those waiting passively for the "spontaneous" development of events, not the line of capitulation based on the expectation of the automatic collapse of the fascist dictatorship, but prospects of struggle with increasing chances of victory.

This victory is inevitable; but the road to it may be LESS OR MORE arduous for the toilers. Of all

the paths to victory, however, the most arduous will be that of the continued split in the ranks of the working class, and inadequate activity of the toilers in the struggle against the ruling classes.

Even if the capitalist world succeeds in emerging from the present world economic crisis it will not remove the revolutionary prospects. Every improvement in the economic situation will be utilised by the working class in order to pass to the counter-offensive, in order to win back from capital their modest gains that were annulled by the bourgeoisie as a result of the world economic crisis. The proletariat will not become reconciled to the colonial level of existence, with the monstrous disfranchisement which the ruling classes have imposed upon it on the plea of saving capitalist economy from collapse. Everywhere a huge wave of strikes will break out which will serve as the starting point for great popular movements against the reign of starvation, poverty and fascist terror. The living, striking example of the growing well-being of the masses of the people in the U.S.S.R. will have a particularly strong effect under such conditions.

What can the ruling classes put up against this example? Capitalism in its fascist cloak? But the ruling class are greatly mistaken if they think that the establishment of the fascist dictatorship will take place in every capitalist country as smoothly as it took place in Germany. German fascism has upset the game of the fascists in other countries. By its bloody practices it has raised a wave of anger against fascism all over the world. The anti-fascist movement in France and the armed battles in Austria and Spain have shown the bourgeoisie in other countries that the attempt to establish the fascist dictatorship will meet with the stubborn resistance of the toilers. The bourgeoisie stands the risk of losing its head if it rushes headlong towards its goal. Its fight for fascism will be the starting point of great class battles which may end in the overthrow of capitalism.

At the same time, where the fascist dictatorship is already established, so much class hatred is accumulating against fascism that the revolutionary movement, even if its development encounters greater difficulties than in other countries, will assume the form of ruthless civil war.

Lenin wrote:

"The school of civil war does not leave the people unaffected. It is a harsh school. And its complete curriculum inevitably includes the victories of the counter-revolution, the debaucheries of enraged reactionaries, the savage punishments meted out by the old governments to the rebels, etc. . . . This school teaches the oppressed classes how to conduct civil war, how to bring about a

victorious revolution; it concentrates in the masses of present-day slaves the hatred which is always harboured by the downtrodden, dull, ignorant, slaves, and which leads those slaves who have become conscious of the shame of their slavery to great historic exploits.”*

The bankruptcy of fascist policy is becoming more and more evident to those masses which supported the fascists before they came into power. The peasantry and the urban petty-bourgeoisie are displaying increasing dissatisfaction with their position. A large section of the big bourgeoisie is alarmed by the approaching economic catastrophe. The social base of fascism is shrinking more and more. At the same time, the success of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. has been exercising, and will continue to exercise, a revolutionising influence, not only on the proletariat, but also on the petty-bourgeois masses which have been the social prop of fascism. Crises in the fascist dictatorship, like the Matteotti crisis in Italy and that of June 30 in Germany, are not only inevitable, but, on the basis of past experience, will be utilised more and more actively by the masses in order to strike a decisive blow against fascism. Never in history has terrorism saved régimes that were doomed to collapse.

And the Land of Soviets, against which German fascism intends to mobilise the whole capitalist world, will grow and become stronger, and will win the peoples to the side of Socialism in spite of the frenzied bourgeoisie. If the capitalist world leaves the Land of Soviets in peace, if it refrains from attacking it and allows it to develop for several years, this land, by its achievements, will convince millions of people all over the world of the advantages of Socialism over capitalism. It will transform the “peaceful” people who are outside of all politics into anti-capitalist revolutionaries; it will transform yesterday’s opponents of Socialism into its ardent friends who will be willing to lay down their lives in order to achieve its triumph, it will attract to Socialism the best human

* INFLAMMABLE MATERIAL IN WORLD POLITICS. SELECTED WORKS. Volume IV., p. 298.

minds, the flower of the nations and peoples, and the oppressed masses of all races and all colours.

Socialism would not be the great all-conquering idea that is being realised on one-sixth of the globe if it did not possess the mighty power of setting mankind in motion. And it is precisely because Socialism needs no wars for its triumph, that the world proletariat and its state, the U.S.S.R., are the most consistent and sincere fighters for the cause of peace. And precisely because capitalism is doomed, the bourgeoisie is trying to save this system, which has become a shame and a curse to mankind, by new imperialist wars, and primarily by an attack on the Land of Socialism, the fatherland of the toilers, the U.S.S.R.

But an attack on the Land of Socialism will unleash the forces of the proletarian revolution. And, as Comrade Stalin has said, as a result of such a war the bourgeoisie will miss some of its governments. Let the capitalist world dig its own grave! The working class has no reason to be pessimistic about the future. It will fulfil its function of grave-digger of the capitalist system under any circumstances. And it was with this conviction that the whole of our Congress, the Congress of the IMPENDING VICTORIES OF THE WORKING CLASS, THE CONGRESS OF PREPARATION FOR THESE VICTORIES, WAS IMBUED.

The Seventh Congress laid down a distinct and clear course for the masses; it demonstrated the correctness of the line of the proletarian revolution. We have a world Communist Party which will pursue this course and carry out this line, *i.e.*, the Communist International, the International of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. We have the guarantee that this course will be properly pursued and this line carried out in the General Staff of the Communist International, guided by its great steersman, Comrade Dimitrov. We have the guarantee of victory in the fact that the army of the toilers of all countries is being led by the great leader of all the exploited and oppressed, Comrade Stalin.

Long live the Seventh Congress of the Communist International!

Long live the great Stalin!

JAPANESE AGGRESSION IN CHINA

By E. YOLK.

THE demands recently presented to China by Japan leave no doubt that Japanese imperialism is energetically advancing towards her cherished desire of converting China into a colonial appendage of the Japanese Empire.

These demands, which are being advanced under the guise of "conditions of Japano-Chinese friendship," can be divided into three groups:

Firstly, the demands connected with already conquered Chinese territory. Japan is striving to secure the recognition of Manchukuo by the Nanking Government, considering this to be the shortest road to the international legislation of her requisitions. At the same time Japan is organising a "movement for the independence" of Northern China, a movement for "independent Mongolia," demanding that the Nanking government should recognise the "autonomy" of the North Chinese provinces and also that Northern China is "a special sphere of Japanese interests." The mercenary politicians of the old "Anfu" Japanophile clique placed at the head of an "autonomous Northern China" would be as obedient marionettes of the Japanese robbers as Pu Vi and his "Manchurian government" are in Manchuria.

The second group is composed of Japanese pretensions to the control of the home and foreign policy of China. The Japanese demands which deprive China of even the existing remains of her independence are the "liquidation of all anti-Japanese agitation in Central and Southern China, joint struggle against the Chinese Red Army, the refusal by China to accept the help of European powers, America and the League of Nations, and a Japano-Chinese military alliance." The demand for a "joint struggle against the Chinese Communists" expresses Japan's desires not only to liquidate the Chinese Soviet movement, but also to set up direct control over the armed forces of the Nanking Government.

The third group is composed of the following economic demands which aim at securing monopolist domination by Japan over the national economy of China: reduction of import duties upon Japanese goods, abolition of export duty on cotton, coal, iron ore, and other goods exported to Japan, the grant of rebates in taxation for Japanese employers, and the formation of Japano-Chinese mixed companies, etc.

Enormous efforts need to be made and considerable time to be spent by Japanese imperialism for this new programme of aggression to be fulfilled. Meanwhile, the present international

situation in the Pacific, which is favourable to Japanese expansion, may change in a short time. Inside China national-revolutionary forces are maturing and taking shape which will, in time, be able to organise devastating resistance to the Japanese conquerors.

All this is forcing Japan to hasten forward the realisation of her plans. Therefore, what now distinguishes Japanese aggression is the extremely rapid rate at which it is going on. Manchuria and the Jehol province have been appropriated in the course of four years. During 1935 alone the whole of Northern China has come under Japanese control. Thus during the course of several years, Japanese imperialism has acquired over 110 million colonial slaves.

The task has now been set of binding the Central Chinese Government with a chain of obligations which, firstly, will guarantee Japan unlimited control over Northern China and, secondly, will strengthen the hegemony of Japanese imperialism in Central and Southern China for a long time to come.

Japan is seeking to obtain these conditions not only for the sake of securing direct political and economic gains, but also for strategic purposes. It is essential for the Japanese General Staff to secure its rear on the mainland for the war which is being prepared against the U.S.S.R. North and Central China must supply coal, iron ore, cotton, labour power, and, perhaps, auxiliary army corps for the anti-Soviet front. North and Central China must, by the time of the Japano-Soviet war, be so far subordinated to Japan, that all possibility of an anti-Japanese movement or of attempts at reprisals on the part of Chinese nationalists, is ruled out.

There are a whole number of facts which go to prove that every step which deepens Japanese aggression in China is at the same time a step towards the preparation of war against the U.S.S.R. Hardly had the Japanese consolidated their position in Peiping and Kalgan, than they began preparatory work on the territory of Inner Mongolia for the equipment of a base of operations against the Mongolian People's Republic. Repairs which have increased the transport capacity of the railroad by several times have been executed on several sections of the Peiping-Suiyuan railway. In the Suiyuan province, the Paotow-Ningsia railroad track is under construction, and telephone communication is being installed in a western direction from Paotow to Huyang. Aerodromes have been prepared in Kalgan and Paotow.

Increased agitational work is being carried on among the Mongolian princes, and with the most influential of them—Devan—for the purpose of organising an “autonomous” Mongolian Government in the near future as a counterblast to the Mongolian People’s Republic and as a basis of intrigue against it.

The Japanese imperialists do not conceal this connection between war in China and the future war against the U.S.S.R. which they are preparing.

In the Japanese organ, *Goven Joukar*, which is published in Tientsin, in the Chinese language, a certain Nasiki points out that the economic development of Soviet Siberia is a “tremendous menace” to Japanese interests.

“The most effective means of counteracting this menace” continues Nasiki, “is to throw up a barrier against the activities of Soviet Russia in its chief far-eastern revolutionary base, namely, Outer Mongolia. To realise this task, there is no other way for Japan but to pursue her North-Chinese policy. The best region for the realisation of the Mongolian policy is the territory from Sinkiang to Urga . . .”

That the question is not limited to declarations made by Japanese journalists may be seen from the way the construction of a base of operations in Manchuria, Korea and Inner Mongolia has been speeded up, and the provocative behaviour of the Japanese militarists towards the Mongolian People’s Republic, as well as the acts of provocation on the Soviet-Manchurian frontier,—in a word, all the numerous facts which, taken as a whole, are called the “policy of stabilising peace in the Far East,” to use the language of Japanese diplomacy.

The capitulation policy of the Nanking Government facilitates aggression by Japan.

Thanks to this policy, the Japanese have been able to place their own Chinese henchmen in the Central State apparatus and in decisive posts in the provinces. The Japanese Ambassador, Ariosi, and the Japanese Consuls in Shanghai, Hankow and other places are, at bottom, the masters of the situation.

The international situation at the present time also encourages the Japanese offensive. The U.S.A., where isolationist tendencies are strong, is not displaying any activity in its Far-Eastern policy. The furious naval construction that is being developed in the U.S.A., cannot seriously change the relation of military forces in the Pacific in favour of America in the next few years.

Japanese aggression much more seriously affects the considerable and direct British interests in Central and Southern China (British capital investments there alone amount to £200 million pounds sterling). Moreover, the increasing activities of Japan, of late, on the threshold

of India, in Siam, where a party hostile to England and friendly to Japan, has now come to power, are causing anxiety to the English.

It is not surprising, therefore that during the last year the English have been doing their utmost to consolidate their position in Central and Southern China (a British loan of ten million Chinese dollars to a Chinese mining company, the activities of the Hammond Railway Mission, the organisation of an inter-provincial telephone network by the English, and, finally, the Leith Ross mission). But the general instability in Europe, especially the Italo-Abyssinian war and the Anglo-Italian conflict are considerably weakening English positions in the Far East. The English bourgeois press is more and more frequently emphasising the need for England to consider Japan’s dominating position in China as a fact that cannot be eliminated. The “Round Table” stresses the fact that “it is out of the question for the West to arrange its relations with China without taking into account the relations existing with Japan.” The situation which is arising in the Far East is forcing the British imperialists to compromise with Japan, obviously at the expense of China.

Finally, Japanese aggression in China is encouraging the unity of outlook which exists on this question among the ruling classes of Japan. China is the traditional object of the imperialist appetites of the Japanese bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie-bureaucratic group which rules to-day is closely connected with Osaki “business circles,” shipping, and shipbuilding concerns, and the court, which has large financial interests in shipping, and is related directly, socially, with the Okuma cabinet which forced the “21 demands” upon China in 1915. But the rival military-fascist clique is also entirely in agreement with the Chinese policy of the present government. The difference of opinion in the camp of the Japanese bourgeoisie on the question of the rate at which aggression should take place, and the forms it should take against China (the militarists insist upon forcing the pace and on the adoption of more decisive methods, including the extensive use of armed force; the bourgeois-bureaucratic political circles consider it more expedient to use diplomatic pressure primarily, and gradually to assimilate what has been won) are not of such great importance as these differences are on the question of the anti-Soviet war.

What is delaying Japanese aggression? Why cannot Japanese imperialism make use of the end of all the circumstances which favour it, and deal with China as it dealt with Manchuria in 1931-32?

Let us consider the most important factors which restrain it.

In spite of all the advantages which the present international situation affords to Japanese expansion, it nevertheless does not entirely free Japan (as would be the case in the event of a new European war) of the necessity of considering its imperialist rivals! The U.S.A., true, is silent, but only for the time being! The U.S.A. is preparing its fleet and naval bases on the Aleuyut Islands, Hawaii Islands, and other parts, not to mention the colossal economic and financial superiority of America over Japan. England is prepared to compromise with Japan in China, but not to capitulate before it. This being so, Japan cannot make up her mind to declare a formal protectorate over China or to use similar methods, for it fears that it may arouse resistance on the part of its competitors in the Pacific.

A big factor restraining Japanese aggression is the peace policy of the Soviet Union. Japanese imperialism, like every other imperialist aggressor, is compelled to reckon with the fact that the consistent and determined peace policy of the Soviet Union is mobilising mighty forces for the struggle against imperialist war, and is compelled to reckon with the effect which the existence of the U.S.S.R. has upon all the revolutionary and sincerely patriotic forces of the oppressed and weak nations.

The third extremely important reason which to a certain extent hinders Japanese aggression is the position inside Japan itself. We know that a violent agrarian crisis is rife in Japan side by side with a certain boom, chiefly in the nature of military inflation, in the export and war industries. The impoverishment of the peasantry, especially in the chief agricultural region of the North-Eastern provinces, has reached devastating dimensions. The miserable position of the peasantry can be judged from the fact that, according to official statistics, in six pro-fecturates of this region alone 25,000 peasant girls were, in the course of ten months of 1934, sold in the towns "as factory hands, geisha, prostitutes, and domestic servants."* The exploitation of the workers increases not only in the form of cuts in actual wages, but also in consequence of the fact that skilled workers are more and more being thrown into the ranks of the so-called "temporary workers." This category of the lowest paid, destitute, oppressed workers, deprived of out-of-work pay, of medical treatment, etc., has grown during the last two years according to official (incomplete) data, to 300,000, and constitutes no less than 15 to 20 per cent. of the total number of workers engaged in industry in Japan. The growing discontent among the masses which has found

partial expression to-day in the movement for the united anti-fascist front, and in the election victories of the workers' and peasants' groups at the last municipal elections, is causing serious alarm among the ruling circles of Japan, and especially the militarists, who have fears for the political and moral condition of the army. A well-known bourgeois economist, Kodzima Seitsi, gives the following appraisal of the situation inside the country:

"To-day Japan is faced with an economic crisis . . . the conditions of the people and especially of the peasantry are becoming worse, and social discontent is growing. Inflation has reached its height and its further development is threatening. The government and the capitalists will find it worth while to realise that if this is not stopped, a time may come when nothing will be of avail. With a sharp change in the economic situation, THE DISCONTENT OF THE PEOPLE AND THE UNREST MAY CHANGE INTO COMMUNISM."

Japanese imperialism has not sufficient resources to finance its tremendous programme of aggression. In this connection, as we know, a violent struggle is taking place to-day around the 1936-37 budget. If the Minister of Finance, Takahasi, who represents the interests of the Japanese banks and industrial circles, is forced to satisfy the enormous demands of the Military and Naval Ministries for 1,300 million yen, this will require the issue of new loans to a sum of not less than 800 million yen. To-day, when the money market is already satiated with old debts (the internal state debt is about 8,000 million yen to-day), the realisation of the new loans will be saddled with tremendous difficulties and with the danger of a sharp depreciation of the yen. Even now the financial situation of Japan is such that it "temporarily deprives Japan of the possibility of any foreign investments."* Even the Southern Manchurian Railway—the favourite colonial object of capital investments by the Japanese capitalists — is meeting with great difficulties in the realisation of a 140 million loan.

But the conquered territories cannot be seriously assimilated without big capital investments and financial expenditure. Manchuria, where the Japanese conquerers are still far from being stably entrenched, has swallowed up no less than 2,500 million yen in the past, and has not given the economic effect promised to the bourgeoisie. Japanese imperialism possesses a sufficiently powerful military apparatus to rapidly seize colonial territory and to set up its own military-political régime there. But the economic basis of Japanese imperialism itself is too weak to enable it to get a strong footing upon its new, tremendous, conquests, to settle on them and assimilate them.

Thus, the economic weakness of Japanese

* The "Japan Times" of October 1, 1935.

* "The Japan Times" of August 30, 1935.

imperialism and the danger of overstraining Japanese finances, side by side with a simultaneous increase in the danger of big social upheavals inside Japan itself in the event of a further reduction in the beggarly standard of living of the toiling masses, act as a serious factor restraining the development of the Japanese offensive in China.

But there is yet another most important circumstance which makes it difficult for the Japanese imperialists to force the pace of the conversion of the whole of China into another Manchukuo. And that is the danger of bringing about a national-revolutionary outburst in China, which will undermine the position of the Japanese occupants.

The Japanese imperialists are afraid that by too rapidly and too openly enslaving China, national-revolutionary forces inside the country will be let loose which may overthrow the treacherous Nanking Government and cause colossal difficulties to the Japanese robbers. Fear of national-revolutionary indignation on the part of the Chinese masses, together with consideration of international factors, is the chief reason why the Japanese plans to-day are limited to direct control only in Northern China, and the establishment of INDIRECT control in Central and Southern China.

* * *

The experience of Manchuria has shown the Japanese imperialists that it is not an easy task to fetter the Manchurian population which does not want to reconcile itself to the foreign robbers. During the last four years, the Japanese conquerers have not succeeded in liquidating the guerilla movement, in spite of the fact that their army has an overwhelming advantage and has first-class technical equipment. In China Proper the development of the national-liberation struggle threatens the Japanese with immeasurably greater complications. In China — unlike Manchuria—broad masses of the workers and peasants have passed through the experiences of the great anti-imperialist and agrarian revolutions of 1925-27. In China—unlike Manchuria—there is a mass Soviet movement, and an armed organisation of the people in the form of the Chinese Red Army. In China Proper the position of the Communist Party—the most consistent anti-imperialist force—is considerably stronger, and its influence considerably more extensive, than was the case in Manchuria before 1931. China, finally, possesses enormous territories and an economic base to serve a long and effective national-revolutionary war.

Up to now the Nanking Government and the local provincial militarists have been successful in suppressing the mass national-liberation movement. Only the vanguard of this movement —

the Chinese Red Army and the Soviets — have, under the most difficult circumstances, been able to defend their own existence and their rôle of hegemony of the national-revolutionary struggle. The Chinese Soviets and the Red Army have succeeded not only in maintaining, but also in consolidating and increasing their forces, in spite of enormous privations and difficulties.

The main forces of the Chinese Red Army carried through a march from Kiangsi to Southern Hansu, unheard of in the history of the civil war, covering over 3,500 kilometres, and engaged in struggle along the whole route.

In Southern Hansu, the main forces of the Red Army have succeeded in linking up with the IV. Army of Syu Syan Tsian, and a large group of Red forces under Syu Hai Dun in Southern Shensi. At the point where the provinces of Hansu, Shensi, and Szechwan converge, a new Soviet district has been established. In Northern Shensi, the Soviet District covers eighteen counties. On the southern bank of the Yangtse, in northern Hunan, at the point where it touches the province of Kiangsi, a Soviet district is being successfully developed under cover of the Red Army Corps of Ho Lun and Sio Keh. Chang Kai-shek is compelled as hitherto to concentrate his huge forces so as to continue his struggle against the "Red menace."

In connection with the great transfer of the main forces of the Chinese Red Army from Kiangsu to Southern Hansu, it is of interest to learn the appraisal of the forces of the Red Army given by foreign bourgeois eye-witnesses.

"The strength of the Reds in North-West China does not depend upon their military power, but upon the activities of their propagandists who are extremely versatile and are welcomed on all sides by a listening population" . . . "The former Chang Sui-lung troops are not very active in the struggle against the Reds, while Communism is spreading there as rapidly as mushrooms spring up after rain."*

"The soldiers of the government army fight badly. Their sympathies are with the Reds, and not with Nanking."†

The missionary, Thompson, notes:

"In order to prevent the Reds from occupying important strategical positions, armed forces three times superior to the forces of the Reds are required. Their enormous advantage is to be found in their definite singleness of purpose and consistently pursued democracy . . ."‡

In connection with the approach of the Red troops to the direct sphere of Japanese aggression, the NATIONAL-REVOLUTIONARY MEANING OF THE SOVIET MOVEMENT assumes more and more actual importance.

An English bourgeois newspaper notes this side of the question with especial distress:

* "Peiping-Tientsin Times," October 8, 1935.

† "Peiping-Tientsin Times," October 12, 1935.

‡ "Oriental Affairs," October, 1935.

“. . . The position is all the more dangerous in view of the fact that the insurgents are not advocating Communism and social-revolution, but national resistance . . .”

A Chinese bourgeois newspaper, the “Dagunba,” writes:

“Manchuria is forgotten, and Northern China is in a critical position. The soldiers of the government army formerly believed that after the annihilation of the Communists, the government would start reconstruction work. But now both the soldiers and the civil population are extremely disappointed in the inactivity of the government. And therein lies the reason why the soldiers fight so feebly against the Reds. . .”

The Japanese imperialists are most keenly conscious of this side of the Chinese Soviet movement. The entire Japanese bourgeois press is sounding the alarm about the “Communist danger” in Northern China:

“If Northern China and Inner Mongolia are affected by Communist influence, it will constitute a serious menace to Japanese interests and our security on the Asiatic mainland,” writes the “Hotsi.”

In the utterances of responsible Japanese military-men one invariably feels the real alarm which is being felt about the success of the Soviet movement in North-West China also. (No small part in these utterances is played by the desire to use the successes of the Chinese Red Army to justify Japanese aggression in the north-westerly direction.) The Japanese imperialists understand full well that the only really consistent anti-imperialist force inside the country is the Chinese Soviets, which openly advocate a real programme of struggle against Japanese slavery. The national-revolutionary importance of the Chinese Soviets is still further increased to-day by the fact that under the guidance of the Communist Party of China they are becoming the **KERNEL OF A BROAD, NATIONAL, ANTI-IMPERIALIST FRONT.**

Besides the Soviets which represent the working class and the peasantry, there are other forces in China capable of participating in the struggle against the foreign yoke. The attempt made on the life of Wan Tsin Whei, the most consistent representative of the Japanophile policy of the Nanking government, testifies to the extent to which tremendous indignation has accumulated among the masses of the people, against the capitulatory line of the leaders of the Kuomintang. The Chinese students, intellectuals, and other petty-bourgeois sections of the town population, are not only hostile to the Japanese interventionists and the treacherous line of Chang Kai-shek, but are already definitely sympathetic with the Chinese Communist Party and the Soviet movement which are **ACTUALLY** leading the struggle against Japanese imperialism and its Chinese representatives. Even certain sections of the national-reformist bourgeoisie, and individual generals and officers, are inclined towards the idea

of a united front with the Chinese Soviets in the struggle against Japanese imperialism.

The Chang Kai-shek terror suppresses all manifestations of the national-liberation movement inside the country. The Kuomintang censorship hushes up all information of the revolutionary processes taking place among the masses of the people. However, in spite of all the efforts of the censorship, certain facts become known.

A new party has been formed in Shanghai — “The Chinese National-Revolutionary League” — led by Generals Tsai Tin-kai, Chen Min-shu and other former leaders of the 19th army which fought against the Japanese in Shanghai in January, 1932. This party is putting forward a programme of determined struggle against Japanese imperialism, the establishment of a united front with the Chinese Soviet movement, a policy of peace and friendship with the Soviet Union, democratisation of the government, and arming of the masses, etc. The government troops which mutinied recently in Kweichow (the former troops of General Van Tsia-le) have declared that they do not want to fight against the Communists. In Hankow recently anti-Japanese placards were discovered in the barracks, and on the garrison shooting-butts the soldiers and officers used targets depicting Japanese and inscribed with the words “revenge.” On July 9, in Shanghai, at the trial of Tu Tsun-Yuan, the editor of the “New Life,” who printed an “insulting attack against the Japanese Emperor,” a group of students held an anti-Japanese demonstration with the slogan of “Down with Chang Kai-shek, traitor and hound of Japanese imperialism!” The famous anti-Japanese manifesto issued by Sun Tszi-lin, the widow of Sun Yat-sen, has now become a document, the signing of which is considered a question of honour for every honest Chinese patriot. The number of persons expressing a wish to append their signatures to the document, grows every day. Among them are prominent professors, business men, generals, etc.

We have witness of the state of mind of the Chinese intellectuals in the new book by Doctor Lin Yu-tan, the editor of the “China Critic,” in which, incidentally, the author writes:

“The optimism and joyful idealism of the year 1926 has changed to the cynicism and disillusionment in 1935 . . . all decency is lost, for national self-consciousness is lost . . . A land is indeed insane if a General, who hands over a whole province (Jehol) without a single battle, and at the same time uses 200 military lorries to evacuate his concubines and treasures, enjoys the favours of the National Government.”

The author compares China with the Soviet Union:

“Russia has freed itself of its old shell and has become the youngest in the family of peoples; it shines with hope and energy.” (“Asia,” October, 1935).

In one of his lectures, Professor Ukan of the Canton University, appealed to the students to fight for the creation of "a government of national defence." Chang Chen-san, of the Peking University, made a speech in which he called for national unity, for the organisation of national defence against the Japanese militarists, and for an alliance with Soviet Russia. Sensing the spirit of the times, General Fin Yu-san has written a book in which he advocates the formation of a "Committee of National Defence," and active national resistance to the Japanese offensive.

A recent discussion on the question of "The Lessons of the Brest-Litovsk Peace" is extremely edifying. The discussion is interesting because actually, in a veiled literary form, the capitulatory policy of the Nanking Government was subjected to violent criticism. As we know, Chang Kai-shek and Wan Tsin-wei justify their policy of concessions by references to the example of the Brest Peace. These servitors of Japanese imperialism assert that China is in a similar position to that of Soviet Russia in 1918, and that "tactics of temporary retreat need to be resorted to, so as to gain a breathing space." Dr. Tin Ven-tsan, who made a speech in August of this year, giving a "theoretical" basis to this official viewpoint, declared that the Chinese Government ought to be prepared to retreat even as far as the Chinese "Kamchatka," namely, the provinces of Kweichow and Yunnan. Tin's views, and thereby the views of the Nanking leaders, were subjected to sharp criticism. Professor HUSHI, a prominent Chinese bourgeois thinker, stressed the point that the chief lesson that China should draw from the history of Soviet foreign policy is the "Leninist idea of the need to defend one's own territory to the last drop of blood." Replying to Tin, the writer, Sui

Gun-da, points out the following:

"The leaders of China should take from Lenin his invincible will to struggle, his determination to offer deadly resistance to the enemy."

Yui Chen writes:

"We must lead the struggle against imperialist aggression to a victorious conclusion, after the example of the heroic leaders of the Soviet Union. If Mr. Tin resorts to historical analogies, then why not take the example of the Abyssinian people who are fighting for the common cause of the emancipation of the weak, oppressed peoples. Our only way out is to struggle against the foreign oppressors together with all the oppressed nations and with all states whose attitude towards us is that of equals . . ."

A well-known writer, Men, criticises Tin, and calls to mind the fact that "the Japanese become more arrogant, the more we retreat. Their aim is to seize the whole of China."

In this discussion we can easily feel the national-revolutionary leanings of a considerable section of the Chinese intellectuals. There are enormous social forces inside the country which are prepared to take up the national-liberation struggle. The widespread anti-imperialist sentiments and feelings have not yet to a sufficient extent developed into action. An honourable historic task lies upon the shoulders of the Communist Party of China, namely, to organise this growing and mighty national-revolutionary upsurge, on the basis of a united anti-imperialist front.

"WHAT WE WANT MOST OF ALL IS TO SEE CHINA A NATION WHERE COMMUNISM CANNOT GET A FOOTHOLD"—recently declared General Isogai, the Japanese Military Attaché to Nanking. We quite understand the fears of the Japanese general. The successes of the Communists in the creation of a united national front is the only real means of saving China from its conversion into a Japanese colony.

REPORTS OF THE SEVENTH CONGRESS COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

6.	D. MANUILSKY.	The Victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.	2d.
7.	„	Report to the Active members of Moscow organisation on 7th Congress	2d.
8.	„	Engels in the struggle for revolutionary Marxism	2d.
9.	O. KUUSINEN.	The Youth	2d.
10.	WAN MIN.	The Colonial Peoples	2d.

(a) THE STRUGGLE OF THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY AGAINST THE IMPERIALIST WAR IN ABYSSINIA

By BATISTA.

FROM the very beginning of the hostile activities carried on by fascism against Abyssinia, the Communist Party of Italy has done its utmost to explain to the masses the rapacious, aggressive, imperialist character of this war, and has refuted Mussolini's cynical lie about "Italy bringing the age-long civilisation of Rome to the desolate land of Ethiopia." In its propaganda the Party has shown that what fascism is bringing to Abyssinia is not civilisation, but death and destruction, and the bloody annihilation of an almost defenceless population. The enemy of the Italian people is not in Addis Ababa, but in Rome, is not the Abyssinian people who are defending their own independence and their own land, but fascism, which is increasing the distress and oppression of the masses of the people of Italy for purposes of imperialist expansion, and is leading the country into catastrophe. The defeat of Italian imperialism in this bandit war will make it easier for the masses of the people of Italy to overthrow the fascist yoke.

The Communist Party of Italy has been working and is still working to organise mass revolutionary action against the war. In the manifesto headed "Save our country from catastrophe," and distributed by the Central Committee of our Party throughout Italy in tens of thousands of copies, it says:

"Form revolutionary groups in the barracks, on board ships and in the air force units. Explain to the soldiers the rapacious aims of this war, which are directed against the Italian people. Organise the struggle to improve your living conditions and against the intolerable discipline. Organise collective refusal to be despatched to Africa. Remember that your duty at the front is to fraternise with the Italian troops, to organise collective refusal to go into battle, and to desert from the front with your weapons. Use the weapons you have, for the fight against those who oppress Italy."

The manifesto appeals for an increased struggle inside the mass fascist organisations, to make use of the smallest legal possibilities to carry on the struggle for increased wages and pensions to the families of the mobilised soldiers, and for the right to freely elect representatives to the trade unions, and leaders of local trade union organisations; every possible means must be used to organise

protests and demonstrations to prevent the despatch of troops to Africa.

* * *

Of course, the fact must not be ignored that in the course of thirteen years of fascist dictatorship and nine years of the totalitarian régime, fascism has succeeded in arousing chauvinist feelings in certain sections of the population. But the fascist press lies when it asserts that the army and the Italian people are enthusiastic in entering the war, and that if the fascist government were to refuse to make war, "200,000 rifles in Africa would begin to shoot of their own accord."

The war in Abyssinia has already brought new restrictions and privations to the Italian masses, in the shape of the appropriation of agricultural products, increased taxation, and incredibly high prices for foodstuffs. The war is depriving families of their breadwinners, is hurling thousands and tens of thousands of young men to their death, and inflicting epidemics and privations upon them. It is increasing all the existing class contradictions to an enormous degree, is causing discontent, and is consequently driving ever-increasing masses of the people into political action.

Even foreign correspondents who sympathise with fascism cannot hide the unpopularity, displayed in Italy, of the war against Abyssinia. Contrary to the assertions of the fascist press, those who are mobilised do not set out for the front with songs on their lips at all, but they are collected by the gendarmes at their homes or their places of work, without any preliminary notice being given to them, they are put in cars and driven to the military districts, without any opportunity of taking leave of their families. The population offer the following explanation for this kind of mobilisation: during the last war, despite the fact that anti-government parties existed legally, those who were mobilised were allowed a few days to spend with their families, but now that the fascists are in power, those who are mobilised are despatched to the front like prisoners, because the Communists are carrying on propaganda against the war.

If the fascist newspapers are to be believed, then

the conclusion can be drawn that the Italian workers are thinking of nothing else but how quickly to join the volunteers and go to the war. Actually the situation as regards how the volunteers join is as follows: Meetings of the militia, the fascists and the fascist youth are arranged behind closed doors and in the presence of the local authorities. One of the fascist leaders asks those present: "Do you love Italy?" And having obtained an answer in the affirmative from all those present, the leader invites each of them to send in an application to join the volunteers. As only a few join up even after this, each of those present at the meeting is sent a written invitation from the authorities on the following day asking them to join the volunteers; the invitation is delivered by a policeman, who waits while the signature to join is given. All that remains to be done is either to sign or to suffer persecution. However, in spite of all compulsion and threats, some are to be found who refuse to sign. This, of course, does not signify that there are no members of the militia and the fascists who join up voluntarily, but in these cases their "voluntary action" is primarily dictated by poverty and the hope of securing bread for their families, etc.

There are ever more frequent cases in different localities of outbursts of hatred against the imperialist war which is smouldering among the masses of the people.

In this article we cannot give even a short description of the tens and hundreds of actions undertaken by the people, or of the actions of the soldiers and militia against the war, which have taken place of late. We shall mention only the more important ones.

For example, in Milan, after an incident had occurred with the fascist militia who had invited a large group of soldiers to sing fascist songs, the latter began to sing the revolutionary, proletarian song, "Bandera Rossa" (Red Flag). In Milan, Turin, and many other towns, there have been demonstrations of conscripts. At one of the Milan railway stations, the conscripts beat up the station master, a fascist. In Parma, women and children lay down on the railway track to prevent a train carrying soldiers from leaving the station. In Bergamo a conflict occurred between departing militiamen and fascists; some were wounded and one killed. In Caltanissetta the workers of the sulphur mines called a strike for a few days and organised a stormy demonstration to prevent the departure of conscripts; in Naples there was a fight between soldiers and gendarmes, as a result of which four gendarmes were killed. In one of the barracks the soldiers beat up a captain for his abusive conduct. One captain who killed a soldier with the butt of a rifle was thrown over a precipice a few days later. At the front, soldiers

refused to get into tanks and tens of them were shot. In Florence, Ascoli Picceno and other localities, the soldiers protested against their terrible conditions. In Milan, students of the Lyceum demonstrated against compulsory military training in schools. In Massawa (Africa), workers demonstrated in the square against the Italian authorities on account of the terrible conditions and demanded to be despatched back to Italy. Not a day passes but in one place or another demonstrations and protests take place against war; there are frequent cases of desertion among the Italian soldiers.

The Secretary of State for Propaganda called a special meeting of foreign press representatives for the purpose of refuting the information which had filtered through to the outside world about the discontent in Italy. Nevertheless, the correspondent of the *Petit Parisien*, who published this refutation, pointed out also that in Genoa, Spezia and other towns, demonstrations took place which were immediately suppressed.

Even the most primitive forms of protest against war cause the dictatorship serious disquiet. It is enough to point out that one trader was arrested for the sole reason that he hung a notice on the door of his shop: "Closed on the occasion of the death of my son in Africa."

The military and civil authorities seriously warn soldiers and workers returning from Africa on sick leave on no account to speak about the living conditions of the workers and soldiers in Africa. Every sick man returning from Africa is a source of protest against the war, even if he does not indulge in any agitation. Fascism is so much afraid of the "infection" spread by those returning from Africa that the sick are sent for a time to Rhodes Island and not to Italy.

The Italian Communist Party has done much, and is still doing much, to carry on anti-war agitation among the masses. The local organisations have improved their work. Besides distributing the central Party press, the organisations of the Communist Party themselves in some localities, on their own initiative, reprint and distribute leaflets and poems against the war; petitions of protest against the high cost of living and the war are drawn up in factories and workshops and also in the workers' homes. They are signed by tens and hundreds of workers, women, Socialists, Catholics, and fascists. The petitions are sent to the podesta, to the prefect, and to Mussolini himself.

Several demonstrations demanding increased wages have taken place recently in factories in big industrial centres. The workers have successfully defended their demands by making use of the representatives of the fascist trade unions, and through trade union meetings.

For example, 70 per cent. of the workers of one big factory took part in a trade union meeting; a commission was elected there which obtained the following increase in the hourly wages: repairers from 1.72 lira to 1.80; solderers from 1.72 to 1.80 and from 1.80 to 1.90; apprentices from 1.16 to 1.20 and 1.50. Overtime wages were increased by 25 per cent. and piecework rates by 10 per cent.

Forty-three workers were fined in one undertaking in the course of one day, and in reply, 500 workers collected at the gates and forced the management to rescind the fine and change the watchmen.

In another factory, after several protests had been made to the Board of Management and to the trade union, the young workers obtained an increase in wages.

In yet another factory the workers called a strike twice and then went to the trade union; as a result they obtained an increase in wages of 6 lira a day. At a big metal works an increase in wages of from 18 to 25 centesimes per hour was obtained for the skilled workers. In many other factories wage increases have been obtained for groups of skilled workers. In some places it has been possible to get some results in the *Dopo Lavoro*, in the war invalids' organisations, in Catholic organisations, and in anti-war work among the troops.

The war which has only just begun is increasing the discontent of the masses. The increase in the cost of living, the suffering, poverty, sickness and death, are causing discontent in the ranks of the fascists themselves, and calling forth spontaneous indignation against the war.

We should mention a few serious shortcomings in the mass movement against the war and in the work of the Communist Party.

The protests against war are still mainly of a spontaneous character; they are few in number and only limited numbers of soldiers and of the civil population take part in them. The petition movement covers a narrow circle of people; the demands set forth in the petitions are not supported by workers' commissions and the masses when they came before the authorities to whom they are addressed (podesta, prefect, etc.). Only limited numbers of workers take part in the actions inside the factories for the observance of agreements and for increased wages, and the wage increases obtained almost always affect only the most skilled section of the workers; only in rare cases are there increases in the wages of the lower-paid categories of workers, such as unskilled workers, women and the youth. These actions are not linked together, and are of a purely economic character.

The chief reason for this, besides increased fascist reaction (the introduction of severe discipline

in the factories, constant arrest of anti-fascists, and attempts to revive the famous fascist storm detachments), is that our Party is weak. The work of the Party still bears the strong impress of the sectarian position which was for several years adopted by the Party in its mass work, especially in connection with using legal opportunities of work inside the fascist trade unions and other mass organisations. Although the Party work has on the whole improved, it is still far from satisfactory both in quality and quantity.

The pact for unity of action concluded a year ago between the Communist Party and the Socialist Party has provided the members of the Communist Party with the opportunity of establishing living contacts, true, with a still limited number of Socialist workers. True, in the factories and in the fascist trade unions our comrades are, in many cases, working side by side with the Socialist workers, but sectarianism and insufficient work in the "Dopo Lavoro" organisations, the co-operative societies, and other organisations, are responsible for the fact that the united front has not yet become the vital force capable of drawing the toilers who are still backward in the political sense into the struggle and setting them in motion. We must also mention the fact that although the Socialist Party did sign the united front pact, it has done very little to put it into actual practice.

We have succeeded in obtaining big results in setting up an anti-war united front among the emigrants, both with Socialists and with other anti-fascist currents. Together with the Socialist Party, the Communist Party took the initiative in organising a congress of Italian emigrants on October 12th-13th in Brussels. All Italian organisations and anti-fascist currents took part in this Congress (with the exception of *Giustizia e Libertà*), as well as numerous literary organisations and men of letters.

• An organisational committee was formed at the congress which was entrusted with the task of doing everything necessary to increase and develop the struggle in Italy against the war.

The anti-war movement against fascism and Mussolini which is developing in different countries is of tremendous importance. Our Party must use all its political authority to direct all forces capable of facilitating the revival of the mass struggle, towards concrete work inside Italy.

The slogan: "Peace with Abyssinia!" "Down with Mussolini!" will become popular among the broad masses in Italy and also among the masses who support the fascists, if the Communists by a correct policy and untiring efforts among the population and the army, in the fascist trade unions and in all mass organisations, succeed in standing at the head of all the discontented, of all the friends of peace.

(b) THE STRUGGLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN AGAINST THE ITALO-ABYSSINIAN WAR

By PETER KERRIGAN.

THE Communist International Manifesto of October 7th declares:—“British Imperialism under cover of suspicious concern about the ‘independence’ of Abyssinia, is preparing for war with Italy for the possession of Abyssinia. The British Navy is prepared for action.”

This policy of British Imperialism in the Italo-Abyssinian conflict is mainly determined by the following:—

Firstly, the successful conquest of Abyssinia by Italy would immensely improve the strategic position of Italian Imperialism and would directly menace Britain’s control of the Mediterranean and the Suez Canal, the Red Sea route to India, the East, and Australia.

Secondly, it would directly threaten Britain’s position in the Sudan and Egypt by putting the control of Lake Tsana, the source of the Blue Nile in Italian hands, leaving the cotton crop in Egypt and Sudan at the mercy of those who control this source of irrigation. There is an even wider danger for British imperialism here of the possible seizure of Egypt and the Sudan by Italy. This is made clear in an article in the “Daily Telegraph,” semi-official organ of the British Foreign Office, on July 25th, 1935, which states:

“If the Duce (Mussolini) grasps Abyssinia and amalgamates Eritrea and Italian Somaliland he would attempt to realise his vision of re-establishing the Roman African Empire by joining Abyssinia and Libya via the Sudan and Egypt. Those who hold this view are sure that Britain will use every resource to thwart such a scheme and that America will help behind the scenes.”

Thirdly, the effect of Abyssinia’s national war of liberation not only on the African people but on other colonial peoples throughout the world is bound to influence the situation in Britain’s colonies, especially in her extensive African colonies. That Britain is aware of this and concerned about it is shown in the article of the “Daily Telegraph” for October 7th, which says, after reporting on the precautions being taken by Britain in Egypt:

“Egyptians are becoming impatient with the humiliating position to which the present relations between Egypt and Britain condemns them, particularly at a time like the present.”

We should also note the stormy strike movement in Kenya Colony, and the stormy

demonstrations in support of Abyssinia in the West Indies.

At the same time the National Government, utilises the situation to drastically increase the British armed forces, and stages a lightning election campaign with its foreign policy and re-arming as its main programme, astutely utilising the chauvinism which it has created, and the confusion of the Labour Party to win another long term of office and rapidly complete its war preparations.

Bearing in mind the situation that has arisen, let us consider the policy of the Communist Party of Great Britain in its struggle for peace, for the defence of Abyssinia, and against the imperialist National Government. The Communist peace policy right up to the beginning of Italy’s war attack on Abyssinia was embodied in the eleven points dealt with in Comrade Pollitt’s article in last month’s *Communist International*, and its whole campaign was directed towards developing the utmost working class action for these points. Alongside these concrete demands the Party endeavoured to mobilise such a movement as would force the National Government

(1) to renounce the Anglo-German Naval Agreement; (2) to abandon all forms of support to Hitler; (3) to give full support to the Franco-Soviet Peace pact; (4) to sign a peace pact with the Soviet Union; (5) to renounce its own imperialist conquests, concessions and mandates.

In carrying through this policy the Party has had to consistently struggle against the Trade Union and Labour Party leadership, which has been one of “unflinching support” for the foreign policy of the National Government.

The manifesto adopted by both Labour Party Congress and Trade Union Congress, without in any way criticising the policy and motives of the Government declares that “Congress pledges its full support of any action consistent with the principles and statutes of the League to restrain the Italian Government.” In addition to the support to the British Government’s line the manifesto proposed the international exploitation of the backward regions. Furthermore, the Labour leaders’ support for British imperialism was shown by statements in the *Daily Herald*, reassuring continental socialists that Britain had no imperialist aims in Abyssinia!

The Communist Party of Great Britain laid special stress on showing that effective mass action of the workers is the main and best way of assisting the Abyssinian people. Only through this mass pressure could the National Government also be forced into supporting the Soviet Union's fight at the League of Nations for peace, thus ensuring the operation of collective sanctions against Italy. That this was the only way of ensuring peace, especially if it was accompanied by the most bitter fight against the National Government, exposing its war aims, and making clear its responsibility for the present situation. It is necessary to use all efforts to unify the workers' forces to achieve the maximum independent actions of the trade unions and working class organisations for stopping of supplies for Italy. A fine example of the state of feeling amongst the workers on this point is the DECISION OF THE BOOT AND SHOE WORKERS' UNION TO INSTRUCT ALL ITS WORKERS TO REFUSE TO WORK ON ANY ORDERS FOR BOOTS FOR THE ITALIAN Army. This decision has been circulated to all its branches and to all the employers in the industry. The Party specially featured this in its press and campaigns, raising the question of similar action by the workers in the transport and other war industries. The REFUSAL OF LONDON DOCKERS TO LOAD THE ITALIAN STEAMER "BOCCACCIO," AND THE PROTEST DEMONSTRATIONS OF MANCHESTER AND CARDIFF DOCKERS AGAINST THE LOADING OF ITALIAN SHIPS, TOGETHER WITH THE APPEAL OF THE LONDON TRADES COUNCIL TO THE T.U.C. TO TAKE ACTION TO PREVENT THE TRANSPORT OF WAR MATERIAL TO ITALY, show the extent to which feeling amongst the British workers is rapidly developing. These actions have been accompanied by demonstrations many thousands strong in London, South Wales, and many important centres. At the same time extremely broad Peace Councils were elected at Conferences representing Labour Parties, Communist Parties, Peace Societies, Trade Union branches, churches, youth organisations, etc. An important incident in the campaign was the London demonstration of friendship and solidarity to the Abyssinian people, which went to the Abyssinian Embassy. The Abyssinian Minister, on behalf of his Government, received a deputation organised by the London Communist Party and thanked the British workers for their warm support. The Party published an Abyssinian special which sold upwards of 100,000 copies, whilst a pamphlet explaining the Abyssinian situation issued by the League Against Imperialism, reached a circulation of 120,000 copies, with eight reprints.

However, there have been weaknesses in carrying out this anti-war campaign. In the early stages there was weakness in showing that the policy of the Labour Party and Trade Union leaders was one WHICH STRENGTHENED THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT BY ITS EMPHASIS ON SUPPORT FOR THE GOVERNMENT AND ABSENCE OF EXPOSURE OF THE GOVERNMENT'S MOTIVES. At times we tended to place the question of sanctions in too formal a way, and not to show it as dependent on the whole of our line being applied, especially the line of independent action by the workers against the war. In our criticism of the line of the I.L.P. and their attack on our policy, we tended too much to remain on the defensive, instead of showing how their policy indirectly meant support of fascism and was terribly dangerous to the British workers, hindering the maximum unity in action. The Communist Party also, it seems, has not been able to maintain the high level of struggle against the Fascist attack by organising additional mass actions against goods for Italy, on the basis of the widest united front; apart from those mentioned above.

We have now reached the period in which the fascist offensive has taken place in Abyssinia and the war is on. The Communist Party of Great Britain must continue and intensify its fight for peace. It must be ready to adapt its line to any sharp changes in the situation, fighting the attempts being made to come to a thieves' bargain with Italy at the expense of the Abyssinian people.

In Britain we struggle to carry into life the call for "the establishment of unity of action by all workers' organisations and all friends of peace in all countries so as to isolate and curb the fascist instigators of war." Especially inside the Trade Unions we must exert every effort to build up unity of action to multiply the actions of the London, Cardiff and Manchester dockers, and shoulder to shoulder with all toilers, with all who are for peace, develop such a mighty stormy movement as will ensure not a single train, not a single ship in support of the Italian war in Abyssinia. Every conceivable effort will be made by our Party to develop this movement to such a stage as will sweep away the hated National Government, and in the words of Com. Pollitt, "SECURE THE RETURN OF A LABOUR GOVERNMENT ON THE BASIS OF THE UNITED STRUGGLE FOR THE PRESERVATION OF PEACE, THE DEFENCE OF DEMOCRACY, AND THE IMPROVEMENT IN THE CONDITIONS OF THE WORKERS." In this way a most tremendous change can be made in the direction of greatly strengthening all the forces making for peace in Europe and the whole world.

(c) THE ANTI-WAR STRUGGLE IN FRANCE

By K. S.

THE struggle between the two camps, the camp of war and that of peace, the struggle between those supporting Italy's robber plans and those opposed to Italy's war of aggression in Abyssinia has become extremely acute in France. The struggle has been directed not only against Italian fascism, but also against the war instigators in France itself, i.e., against the French fascists. The increase in the activity of the fascist bands has of late once more shown that the fascist danger is still far from overcome, and has sharpened the struggle between the forces of peace and liberty and those of war and slavery extremely.

The Communist Party and the people's front, in their struggle for peace, have to fight not only against the fascist leagues which have insolently put forward the slogan: "Long live Mussolini!" They have also to fight against the enormous force represented by the "Comité des Forges," which is seeking a way out of the crisis in war, which in its turn is the more profitable to it, since it is being waged by another country.*

They have to fight against the section of the bourgeoisie which is using all its efforts to paralyse action by the League of Nations, and which is organising pro-Italian demonstrations of fascists and an Anglo-phobe campaign in the French newspapers. Finally, inside the people's front itself they have to fight against the renegade Doriot whose political compass on all questions is his hatred towards the Soviet Union and Communism.†

Having advanced the slogan: "Sanctions mean war," the fascist organisations and fascist press are trying to arouse the population against the application of the pact of the League of Nations. The fascists are very skilfully camouflaging the

nature of their activities, and attempt to hide behind the slogan of peace. They are depicting the war of Italian fascism in Africa as simply a colonial expedition which must be merely winked at, and which can have no consequences for the world situation.‡

And in their thirst for "neutrality" these freshly baked "pacifists" go so far as to provoke world war by proposing that England and Italy settle their accounts between themselves.§

But by trying to camouflage their real plans, the French followers of Mussolini and Hitler are doing their utmost to wipe off the disgraceful brand "Fascism is war," which the masses have laid upon them, and are making furious attacks upon the Communist Party and the People's Front, accusing them of stirring up war by their demand that economic and financial sanctions be adopted against the aggressor.

The most reactionary section of the French bourgeoisie are obviously reckoning upon the establishment of fascism in France. This is why, without mentioning their international policy, which amounts to an attempt to remove the menace from the direction of Hitler Germany by an agreement with the latter, and by violating the mutual assistance pact between France and the U.S.S.R., the reactionary bourgeoisie itself would consider the fall of fascism in Italy a blow. This fear was clearly expressed in the "Echo de Paris." Italian fascism, writes Henry de Kerillis plays the rôle of anti-toxin in Europe, as a barrier against rising Communism. "The overthrow of fascism," he continues "would, from now onwards, be of advantage only to Italian Communism." And the fascists want to prevent this at all costs, even at the price of civil war. The "republicans" of the "Echo de Paris" and the monarchists of the "Action Francaise" threaten in

* In the radio-chronicle of the "Society of Economic Study and Information" (i.e. of the same "Comité des Forges), transmitted by wireless on October 17 from the Eiffel Tower, it was pointed out that the war operations of Italy in Africa can provide an excellent market for French industry. On the other hand, we read in the supplement to the newspaper "l'Usine" (the organ of industry and metallurgy) of October 19: "We are still hoping that thanks to the acumen and wisdom of our Government, international agreements against war will be observed, and at the same time France will maintain friendly relations with different countries interested in the given problem (i.e. will prevent the application of economic and financial sanctions against Italy. K.S.). If, as can still be hoped, we achieve this end, there is no doubt that the result will be an unexpected business boom which, perhaps, WILL BE ASTOUNDING IN ITS DIMENSIONS AND RATE OF DEVELOPMENT."

† The French fascists say: "Moscow wants war."

Doriot writes: "The present policy of the Soviet Union is a policy of war." The French fascists justify Italian aggression by stating that Italy also has a right to colonial expansion. M. Doriot gets up at a meeting and says that he considers "the demand of a big and thickly-populated country which is unable to feed her land" is quite legitimate. "Emancipation," of October 26, 1935.

‡ The "Patriotic Youth" organisation, for example, distributed the following leaflet: "Some say that Mussolini is right. Others assert that Mussolini is to blame. What business is it of ours? But sanctions mean war. And the French youth want peace!"

§ In this deep strife between two great peoples, it is our duty to say to them: "Fight nobly, but we cannot participate in your struggle." (Declaration of the fascist DARQUIER DE PELPOIS, at a meeting in the "Wagram" hall in Paris on October 5. "Ami du Peuple" of October 6, 1935).

chorus that: "The adoption of sanctions against Italy would mean civil war in Paris and throughout France."

Italian fascism can be satisfied with the activities launched by its French agents. The Turin "Stampa" writes, in its issue of October 26:

"So long as there are 300,000 'Fiery Crosses' ready for action in France and several thousand members of the 'French Solidarity' Movement as well, the ominous plans of the radical Freemasons in relation to Italy cannot be realised."

In the face of the war frenzy of the reactionary and fascist bourgeoisie, the Communist Party has launched an ideological struggle to show the masses of the people who is hostile to the real interests of the country, and who is defending them. The Communists declare that the question facing the French toilers is not that of defending British imperialism, whose sudden solicitude for the "independence" of Abyssinia is only a veil for the imperialist policy it is steadily pursuing, neither is it a question of fighting against the Italian people who are suffering from the fascist dictatorship, and trying to get rid of it. It is a question of maintaining peace and of defending the independence of the Abyssinian people. By starting its war of aggression in Africa, Italian fascism menaces the whole world. For in the present tense situation, the smallest spark may cause an explosion, and convert both hemispheres into a gigantic field of fratricidal war. Consequently, the interests of maintaining peace demand the immediate cessation of war in Abyssinia. By what means? First and foremost, by unity of action on the part of the masses themselves, on a national and international scale, with a view to surrounding the fascist aggressor in an iron ring of proletarian struggles. In the interests of maintaining peace, the Communists are prepared to utilise all means. This is why they support the economic and financial sanctions adopted by the League of Nations, and demand that they be applied.

By fighting against the application of economic and financial sanctions against Italy, the French fascists are lining up with the rapacious plans of Mussolini. It is not the interests of the French people that they have at heart when they advocate France's "neutrality" and declare that "sanctions mean war." They are not thinking of peace when they want to free the hands of Italian fascism, for peace is indivisible and the slightest crack in it may pave the way to beginning of a world war.

The French fascists assert that they love their fatherland, yet they are working on behalf of Mussolini, and, in the long run, on behalf of Hitler. By fostering the development of Italian fascist aggression, they are urging France on to

the road to agreement with Hitler so as to make it possible for him to attack the U.S.S.R., after which Hitler, as he has himself declared in his book "My Struggle," would, if he could, attack France. On the other hand, the Communists, by fighting against the instigators of war in France, by helping the Italian people to get rid of the fascist dictatorship, by supporting the policy of the U.S.S.R.—the main force engaged in the struggle for peace in an environment which is armed to the teeth, are really defending the interests of the French people and at the same time the interests of the entire international proletariat.

Such are the arguments put forward by the Communist Party as against the war agitation of the fascists. The Communist Party has organised numerous meetings throughout the country which have gained the interest of considerable masses of the people and have resulted in a rise of the sentiments of the masses against the war instigators. The struggle for unity of action among the peasantry has also attracted the bourgeois peasant organisations into the anti-war struggle. The Party press is conducting an energetic campaign to mobilise the masses; in particular "l'Humanite" is playing the chief rôle in unmasking the benevolent policy towards Mussolini which Laval wants to force upon the French government.

The Party and the revolutionary trade union organisations have shown to the toilers the means they should use to fight for the application of proletarian sanctions. Thus, the Communist Party has called upon the workers' organisations and all the workers employed on the railroads, at the ports and in munition works to establish "vigilance committees" to expose the dispatch of war materials destined for Italy, and to mobilise the masses to prevent all loading and despatch of ammunition or any other cargoes to Italy. We have to admit, however, that these correct instructions are still not put into practice sufficiently. The Party has not yet been able to secure the general application of proletarian sanctions against Italian fascism on a broad scale. True, on September 4, the Marseilles dockers were able for a time to stop the loading of Italian steamers. On October 25, the dockers in Port St. Louis held up the loading of hay on an Italian ship for two hours, and arranged an anti-war demonstration in the town. At the Gnome et Rhone works in Paris, where motors for Italian aeroplanes are produced, petitions were circulated round the works protesting against fascist aggression in Abyssinia, and about 800 signatures were obtained. Other such facts could be quoted, but they are all only isolated unconnected actions.

The Communist Party has stubbornly striven to increase unity of action so as to organise the struggle against war. It is a pity that these efforts met with no response among the leaders of the Socialist Party. At the end of August, just before the Italo-Abyssinian war began, when it was necessary to organise a powerful united movement against the war, the leaders of the Socialist Party turned their backs upon the proposals of the Communist Party. At that moment, instead of concentrating their efforts upon organising a joint struggle of the masses, the "Populaire"—the organ of the Socialist Party—laid all its hopes upon a diplomatic regulation of the Italo-Abyssinian conflict. The fact that the leaders of the Socialist Party were not sufficiently prepared to organise a joint struggle only damped the enthusiasm of the masses at a moment when action on their part might still have prevented the aggression. True, the Communist Party was able later to get the leaders of the Socialist Party to make a joint appeal to the masses. But not everything necessary was done to get the decision which had been passed jointly, put into practice. The Socialist leaders took no steps to call upon their organisations to consolidate militant contacts with the Communist organisations. They did not support the proposals for joint struggle made by the Communist International at the right time. The Socialist workers had a better understanding of the serious position which had arisen and the need for international unity of action. It is enough to point to the numerous resolutions passed by local

co-ordination committees, demanding the immediate realisation on an international scale of the united front against the war.

We all know, however, that these measures alone will not prevent a war conflagration. The preservation of peace is in the hands of the toilers themselves, and it will triumph only as a result of energetic action on the part of the broad masses against the instigators of war.

It is also quite clear that the united actions of the masses can only be endowed with a more militant character by consolidating the united front between the Socialists and Communists. And here, in turn, the resistance to, the sabotage of, decisions passed jointly can only be overcome by increasing the activity of the Communist organisations. And it is in this direction that all the efforts of our comrades must be immediately concentrated.

Militant unity of action at the present moment is the only means of strangling all the forces which are unloosening the hounds of war, and of maintaining peace.

Therefore, we must state quite clearly to all the friends of peace, that the moment through which we are passing to-day cannot be solved either by wavering or by postponement. Every minute lost is made use of by the instigators of war. To-day there is still time to act, but to-morrow may be too late. The cause of peace demands the urgent mobilisation of the broad masses of the people. He who postpones this mobilisation to-day will bear a heavy responsibility before history.

(d) NOTES ON THE STRUGGLE FOR ABYSSINIAN INDEPENDENCE IN THE UNITED STATES

By D.

IN the U.S.A. the large Negro population of over 12 million and a large Italian emigration of over 3½ million were factors making the campaign in the support of Abyssinian independence especially stirring. The campaign of solidarity with Abyssinia, struggling to defend its independence assumed extensive proportions and evoked great national interest.

Many newspapers, not only the "Daily Worker" (Central Organ of the C.P.) but even well-known bourgeois papers took a clear-cut position, although not all to an equal degree, "We stand with Ethiopia!"

The position of the United States Government as expressed in its "neutrality" stand, placed an embargo on all actual war supplies to both Italy

and Abyssinia. Our Party has carried on a strong agitational campaign against this position, pointing out that such "neutrality" can only help Italian Fascism. Instead, we raised the slogan, "stop shipments of munitions and all war supplies to Italy," and "give all aid to Abyssinia." The U.S. Government has even prevented its citizens from sending war supplies to Abyssinia for which private citizens were willing to pay by popular subscription. The Party slogans are very popular and especially many trade unions have responded to them. The Seattle Central Trades Council passed a motion supporting the stand of the Marine Unions not to load any ships with goods for Italy. The National Convention of the American Federation of Labour has taken a

position against the Italian aggression, declaring it "outlaw."

At the time of writing the Socialist Party has not officially acted on the proposals of the Central Committee of the Communist Party for a united front in defence of Abyssinian independence. However, in many localities the Socialist Party have joined such united front actions.

The Communist Party has raised the following slogans:

For unity of world labour and all opponents of war!
For the defence of peace! For the defence of Ethiopia!
For the stopping of all arms shipments to Fascist Italy!

For the barring of loans and credits to Fascist Italy!
For united action of all nations to prevent war on Ethiopia!

For direct support to Ethiopia and to the anti-Fascist masses of Italy.

For support to the peace policy of the Soviet Union!
Socialists, Communists, Trade Unionists, all opponents of war, unite for peace and against fascism!

Forms of Activity.

On July 3rd, the Central Committee, C.P., U.S.A., issued an appeal to join in a united front demonstration on August 3rd, in Harlem and in defence of Ethiopia. Speakers were sent to all kinds of organisations. One hundred thousand Negro and white people marched in this demonstration in the heart of New York's negro population in Harlem. On the same day, demonstrations also took place in the following cities: Baltimore, Cincinnati, New Brunswick, Buffalo, St. Louis, Passaic, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, San Francisco, and other cities.

On August 31, ten thousand Negro and white workers joined in a united front demonstration in Chicago. Two thousand police broke up the meeting and slugged the workers. McKenna and Haywood, the leading Communist organisers, were badly beaten and arrested.

On September 11, on behalf of all Communists and sympathisers, the "Daily Worker" took a position for immediate practical aid to Ethiopia, by issuing an appeal supporting the American Medical Committee for the Defence of Ethiopia. That same week, there was instituted day and night picketing of Italian consulates by the American League Against War and Fascism sections in a number of cities. In some cities the police did not permit such picketing.

In Detroit a mass picket line picketed for one hour in front of the Italian Consulate after which it was broken up by the police. The picket line was organised by a united front Provisional Committee for the Defence of Ethiopian Independence.

Some of these forms of activity, such as the measures for practical aid, were not planned out

and proposed by our Party, but were initiated by various groups. The Negro organisations especially, reacted to the attack against Abyssinia. Even the Negro churches began to swing into the movement and join "Hands Off Abyssinia Committees." On September 17, a united front conference at Shiloh Baptist Church, under the auspices of the Philadelphia Committee for the Defence of Ethiopia, set into motion the machinery for establishment of "Hands Off Ethiopia" Committees. The following week, the New York Committee for Ethiopian Independence held a united front indoor meeting at Madison Square Garden, with twelve thousand present. The Negro bourgeois reactionaries did everything they could to confuse the issue chiefly by (a) making it a race question, Negro versus Italian, by closing Italian shops with flying squads, etc. In N.Y. and New Jersey there were small riots between Italian and Negro people, and (b) slandering the U.S.S.R. to be a supporter of Italy. Thus, in June, a Negro renegade from the C.P. by the name of Mackawain, tried to discredit the Communist Party with the Negro population in Harlem by misrepresenting and misinterpreting the actions of the Soviet Union at Geneva as playing Britain and France's game of imperialist manoeuvring. All the actions of the C.P. gave the lie to these accusations and largely made them futile, but especially useful was the September 30 feature in the Central Organ of the Communist Party, the "Daily Worker," of an interview at Geneva between Teclé Hawariate, Ambassador of Ethiopia, and James Ford of the Communist Party, in which Hawariate praised the stand taken by the Soviet Union.

The support to our Party position on this question was well illustrated when on October 10, a huge Madison Square Garden meeting, with eighteen to twenty thousand people present, heard Comrade Browder's report on the 7th World Congress of the Comintern and also a report on the Ethiopian situation and amidst a great demonstration pledged support for the defence of Ethiopian independence.

During October, the character, growth and problems of the movement can be best shown by these outstanding examples:

October 5th. Huge united front demonstration in Harlem, New York, of Negro and white workers against Mussolini. City places 1,250 extra police at corners and on rooftops "to keep demonstration in check."

October 8th. Communist Party Central Committee calls for support of the collection of twelve million signatures in the United States for a people's mandate against war. The campaign is being conducted under the auspices of the

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

October 9th. Ten thousand workers demonstrate under Communist Party leadership in front of the Italian Consulate in Philadelphia. Harry Wicks, Communist candidate for Mayor, speaks from second-story window of hotel opposite Consulate and scatters thousands of leaflets. Police broke down door, slugged Wicks and arrested many.

October 11th. One thousand at Chicago mass conference held in the Community Memorial Church under the auspices of the Joint Conference for Defence of Ethiopia, plan to aid Ethiopian Defence. Decide to raise "John Robinson Defence Fund to Aid Ethiopia" (John Robinson is a Chicago Negro flyer who is now in service of Ethiopia troops).

October 12th. At the Columbus Day Celebration at Columbus Circle, New York, which the Fascists tried to turn into a pro-Italian demonstration, a tremendous opposition struggle developed amongst the audience and Governor Lehman of the State of New York, and Mayor LaGuardia of the City of New York had to retire from the main platform to a nearby park to speak, while anti-fascist demonstrators won the support of most of the audience.

October 26th. Seventy-five thousand people participated in a united front march and open-air demonstration in New York led by many A.F. of L. progressive leaders, including Gorman of the textile workers' union, Negro reformist leaders and leaders of the Communist Party.

The above are only some of the main examples of our activity. In addition, thousands of meetings have already been held on the streets in neighbourhoods all over the country. Hundreds of workers have been arrested in demonstrations,

picket lines, etc., and have turned the court trials into tribunals against Italian Fascism and imperialist war.

The campaign for the defence of Ethiopia and to popularise the revolutionary and pro-people's position of the Soviet Union is now assuming broad proportions.

If there is anywhere a weakness in the activity it can be said to be in the comparatively weak work among the Italian population. Especially strong is the agitation of the pro-Fascist groups that the Italian people have no other way out of the crisis, but through war. Especially weak is our concrete answer to these arguments. Of course, we can answer in a general way, "the Communist Way Out" but there is a concrete practical and understandable programme necessary that every Italian worker in the United States can grasp.

In this connection, the "Daily Worker" published a full-page statement of the C.P. in Italy, explaining its position on Ethiopia, although the statement had a significance not only among the Italian masses.

It must also be noted that the demagogy of the "civilising influence" of Italy has been received with great scorn in the U.S. by all classes of the population, and that this made the development of the movement for the defence of Ethiopian independence easier. Italian aggression can be said to have no support anywhere among the masses. Even the reactionary press, which looks with favour on the adventure, present it to their readers in the cautious style of simply printing Mussolini's statement.

All these things give our Party the opportunity of widening the anti-war movement to newer and hitherto unmoved sections of the population and to raise the anti-war movement to a much higher level.

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THE PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION IN GREAT BRITAIN

(a)

W. GALLACHER

The First Member of the British Parliament Elected Upon a Communist Programme.

COMRADE GALLACHER, a metal worker, the first M.P. elected upon the platform of the C.P.G.B., is one of the old militant workers who constitute the most precious capital of the Communist Party in Great Britain.

Gallacher was born on December 25th, 1881, in Paisley, the great cotton-thread centre of the Coats' Thread Combine. A brass-finisher by trade, he has been closely connected all his life with the working masses of Scotland and England.

At ten years of age he began work as an errand boy to a provision store. He became an apprentice brass-finisher and, on finishing his apprenticeship, joined the trade union. Since then he has been an active fighter in the labour movement.

In 1904, he joined the Social-Democratic Party, which became the British Socialist Party in 1911. He was closely connected in all this period, up to and during the War, with the Scottish school-teacher and revolutionary, John MacLean.

Gallacher, in 1914-1918, fought courageously against the imperialist war, and particularly against Henderson, Barnes and the other social patriots of the Labour Party and Trade Union Congress. His struggle against the War was never confounded with the blatant pacifism of MacDonald and the I.L.P.

During the first strike movements on the Clyde, Gallacher was an active participator and was elected chairman of the Labour Withholding Committee, the precursor of the famous Clyde Workers' Committee and the Shop Stewards Movement—the revolutionary current in the British working-class movement during the War.

As a result of an anti-militarist article which appeared in "The Worker," the official organ of the Clyde Workers' Committee, Gallacher, with the editor and printer, was arrested and sent to prison for a year.

In 1917 he actively participated, with the late Comrade Arthur McManus, and with Comrade Tom Bell, in the Leeds Convention to set up a Workers' and Soldiers' Council.

In 1919, during the 40-hour strike movement in Scotland, Gallacher was in the front ranks of a monster demonstration in Glasgow. The police savagely attacked the demonstrators, and Gallacher was badly smashed over the head with a policeman's club and had to be carried into the municipal

chambers. He was subsequently arrested and sentenced to three months in prison.

From the first days of the October revolution Comrade Gallacher has been a staunch defender of the U.S.S.R. He attended the Second Congress of the C.I. in 1920, representing the revolutionary current of the Shop Stewards, and polemised with Comrade Lenin on the question of the rôle of the trade unions and the Party, and the question of the participation of Communists in Parliament. Lenin referred to Gallacher in "Left-Wing Communism," as a comrade "imbued with noble proletarian hatred for the bourgeois class politicians."

On his return from the Second Congress, Gallacher fulfilled his pledge to Comrade Lenin to unite with the young Communist Party of Great Britain, formed on August 1st, 1920. In 1921 the Communist Labour and "Left" groups were united with the C.P.G.B. and Gallacher was elected to the Central Committee. Since then he has remained a member of the Central Committee and the Political Bureau.

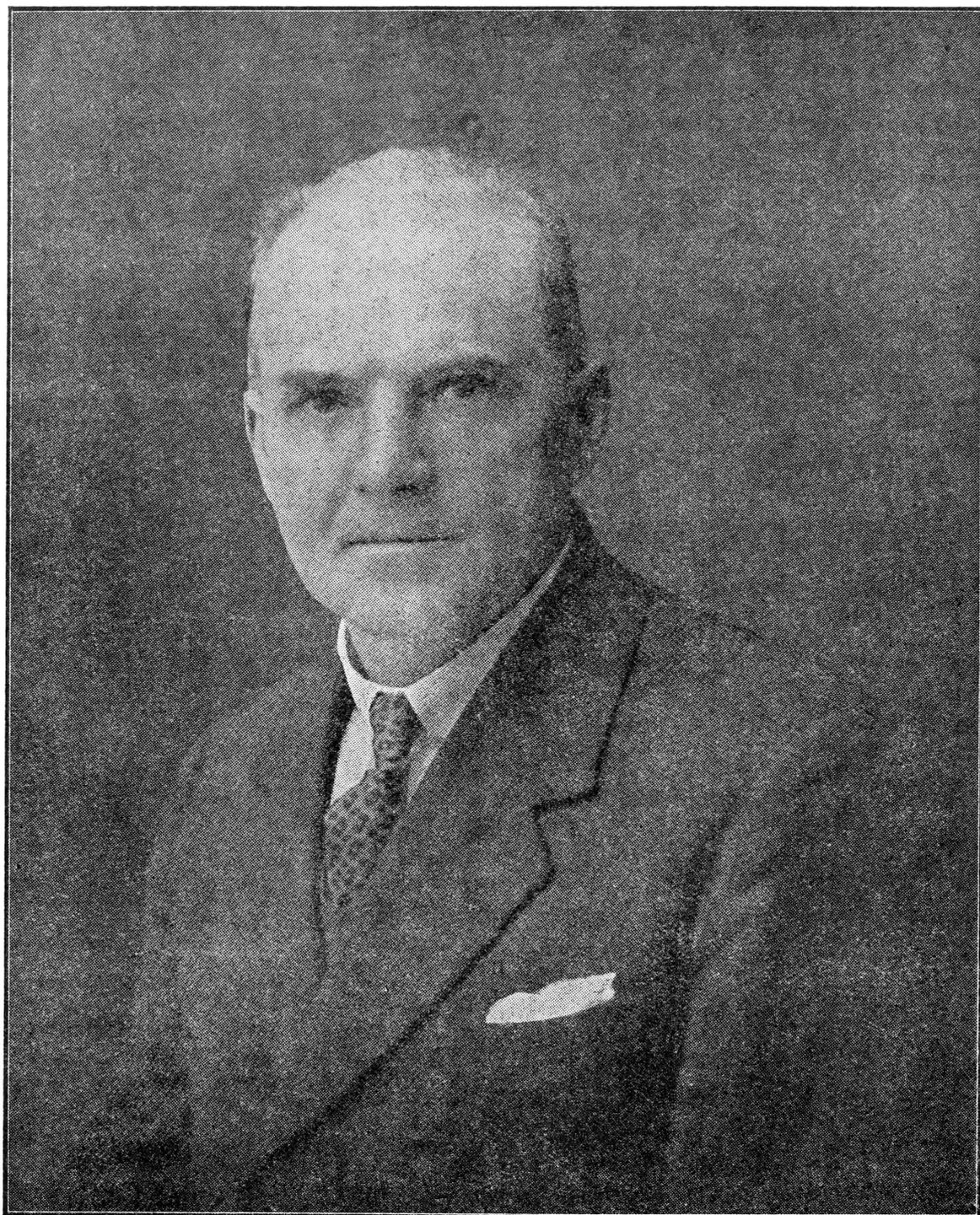
In 1923 Gallacher was again arrested for an agitational speech in the Bull Ring, Birmingham, and sentenced to three months' imprisonment. In October, 1925, he was one of the twelve Communist leaders arrested, and was again sent to prison for twelve months.

Comrade Gallacher has attended several Plenums of the E.C.C.I. and has been elected to the Executive Committee of the C.I. several times. At the 7th Congress of the C.I. he was elected as a candidate to the Presidium of the E.C.C.I.

With the election of Gallacher to the British Parliament the voice of the British workers, and especially the revolutionary miners of Scotland, will be heard in Westminster, for Gallacher has the reputation of always having his ear to the ground and quickly sensing the vital needs of the workers.

Worker, fighter for Socialism in the Party's ranks for thirty-one years, also good trade unionist (A.E.U.)—such is the representative of our C.P.G.B. in Parliament.

So, faced with a ferocious and powerful imperialism, the British workers will find in Gallacher one who will raise his voice in defence of their deepest aspirations, the demand for bread, for peace and freedom; for the united front of all workers and oppressed toilers, and for the proletarian revolution.



WILLIAM GALLACHER, M.P.

(b) THE GENERAL ELECTION IN ENGLAND

A Few Good Examples of Our Party's Campaign.

WE give here a few good examples from the activities of the Communist Party of Great Britain in connection with the general election campaign in West Fife, where our Comrade Gallacher has been elected.

In the first of these documents we see that our Party approached the miners in an extremely concrete fashion. The special appeal to women deserves particular mention, in that it shows very clearly the conditions in which the children live in West Fife, and reveals how the National Government that wants to spend £200,000,000 on guns, bombs and poison gases, does nothing at all for the children. It also raises most concretely the question of the demands of the women of West Fife.

Equally clear is the third appeal which gives the reply of the Conservative candidate as to his attitude to wages, the Means Test and the abolition of Mining Royalties.

"BLOW AT REACTION"—Gallacher.

From the "Daily Worker," November 16th, 1935.

"I regard my splendid vote and victory in West Fife as a condemnation of the policy of the National Government and a striking blow to the forces of reaction which are preparing for war and new attacks upon the workers.

"It is an outspoken expression of the demand for working-class unity in the fight for peace and the improvement of working-class conditions.

"The result is a tribute to the big support for the Communist policy. I will gladly undertake to carry out this policy to the credit of my Party and for the advancement of the working-class movement as a whole.

"The big factor responsible for my election is the hatred of the Fife miners for the policy of the National Government, and their determination to go forward for united national action for an increase of 2/- per day.

"The great task now confronting our Party is to win the solid support of all workers for the demands of the miners, to get into closer contact with the Labour and trade union and Co-op. organisations, and to build working-class unity against this National Government.

"I must also point out that I have never been in an election campaign with such a splendid team of

Then, in the special appeal to the miners and their wives, our Party denounces in a most concrete fashion the position not only of the National Government, but of the Labour candidate, who, in all his activities, splits the miners' organisations of the district and helps the mineowners.

We consider it useful to give extracts from these documents, for they show how our Party, in one district of Great Britain, has given a good interpretation of the instructions of the 7th Congress of the Communist International, particularly in connection with the defence of the immediate demands of different categories of workers, with the concrete campaign against war, and the struggle for united action in unmasking the enemies of the workers and the right reformist leaders who are always sabotaging the workers' struggle. These examples can also serve to help our Parties.

ANDRE MARTY.

active workers, men and women, who spared no effort in striving might and main to ensure a victory. Without this loyal band it would not have been possible to get such a result.

"The United Mineworkers of Scotland was a tower of strength. Its activity in building unity in the pits and leading the fight of all miners has won the admiration of everyone who supports the miners' demands.

"IT WAS AN INSPIRATION TO WORK WITH THE U.M.S. COMRADES, AND ITS SPLENDID RECORD AMONG THE FIFE MINERS WAS A BIG FACTOR IN THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN.

"Everything is now in our favour for building the unity of the Fife miners along the lines already proposed by the U.M.S. The Fife miners have shown that they want unity, and I pledge myself to throw all my energy into the job of building this unity as part of the great united movement throughout the country as a whole against the coalowners and the National Government."

**TO THE ELECTORS OF WEST FIFE.
MILLIONS FOR PEACE AND PROGRESS.
NOT A PENNY FOR WAR.**

The National Government is trying to make a "scare" election. In 1931 "Honest" Philip Snowden was used to create a panic about the collapse of the

pound ("The pound won't be worth a farthing"); in 1935 "Honest" Mr. Baldwin is trying to make a panic about the collapse of the Navy.

Big Business wants Big Profits, and Baldwin and company want to spend hundreds of millions on armaments in order to satisfy them.

Fifty nations, we are told, are working at Geneva to maintain peace; but at the same time we are told that we need more war preparations.

This is a policy of madness.

If fifty nations are co-operating for peace—this should mean a decrease in armaments.

More millions for Armaments means more Economies at the expense of the workers.

Working Class Unity the Key to Progress.

We can get these things if we have working-class unity. To achieve unity of all the forces of the workers, and to defeat the hated National Government, we are supporting the Labour Party in all parts of the country.

In this constituency (West Fife) we put before the Divisional Labour Party and Mr. Adamson a proposal for a selection conference to decide on a candidate against the National Government. They have refused this offer.

We appeal to all members of the Labour Party. In this critical situation, when the fight for 2s. a day, the fight of the unemployed, and the fight for peace are at stake, it is NOT ENOUGH TO GET RID OF the representative of the National Government. This must be done. Milne represents millions for the armament makers and increased poverty for the workers.

At Valleyfield he made the following replies to a series of questions:—

Are you in favour of the 2s. increase for the miners?
Answer—No.

Are you in favour of the abolition of the Means Test?
Answer—No.

Are you in favour of the abolition of Mining Royalties?
Answer—No.

NO MINER CAN VOTE FOR MILNE.

But it is also necessary to advance the cause of the workers. We say with the utmost seriousness to ALL WORKERS, Mr. Adamson will not strengthen the Labour Party as a force fighting on behalf of the workers. Mr. Adamson will be a drag on the wheel of the Labour Government.

Gallacher is, and has always been, a fighter for the working class. His return will mean a strong force driving the Labour Government forward.

The Issue Before All.

This is the issue: Drive out the National Government—which stands for Big Business and Big Profits, which stands behind the Mine-owners.

Work and vote for a real Workers' candidate who will use the Parliamentary platform as a battleground against the enemies of the workers.

GALLACHER FOR WEST FIFE MEANS A REAL VICTORY FOR THE WORKERS.

TO THE WOMEN OF WEST FIFE.

Fellow Electors,

I wish to make a special appeal to you in connection with the coming election for Parliament. There is no section of the community that has a greater interest in the questions that are being raised than the womenfolk.

If wages are low—and they are—if rents and prices are high, the burden of carrying on falls on the wives and mothers.

If housing is bad, and the medical and social services scanty, it is the mothers and children who have to bear the suffering in ill-health and bodily diseases.

In the County of Fife the Medical Officer reports:

"3,576 children were born alive during 1934. 150 babies were 'dead-born.'

"There were 145 premature births, chiefly due to the poor health of the mothers. 224 of these babies died before they were twelve months of age.

"They died mainly from pneumonia, bronchitis and diarrhoea, due to lack of warmth and the prevalence of damp living conditions, combined with inability to digest the food. The latter due mainly to undernourishment of the mothers."

The National Government proposes to spend £200,000,000 on guns, bombs and poison gas.

AGAINST THIS EVERY WORKING-CLASS MOTHER MUST VOTE.

Millions can be obtained, millions spent, but not for profits for the armament firms.

We can spend millions raising the wages and making the pits safe for the miners. When the men go out, mothers, wives and sisters wonder if they will ever come back. THIS STATE OF AFFAIRS CAN AND MUST BE ALTERED. THE PITS CAN BE MADE SAFE IF WE SPEND THE MONEY. EVERY MINER'S WIFE AND MOTHER SHOULD VOTE FOR THIS.

We will spend millions rebuilding the mining villages and making the homes secure for the mothers and children.

We will spend millions on extending medical and social services to guard the health of every worker, young and old.

We will spend millions to provide adequate Old Age Pensions at sixty, so that all old people will be relieved from care and worry.

We will abolish the Means Test, which makes life a constant dread for thousands of working-class families, and spend millions in providing work at Trade Union rates for the unemployed.

We will withdraw the unfair taxation imposed by the National Government on the Co-operative.

We will oppose by every means the dark forces that, through slander and abuse, are trying to penetrate the coalfields with the intention of spreading discord through attacks on religion and nationality.

We will do everything to unite the forces of the workers, men and women, in such a way that a great future full of hope and happiness can be opened up before us.

With hard work, fighting for a better life, we can win. But this means making a real fight in Parliament.

The National Government candidate represents your enemies.

The Labour nominee refuses to support the Valleyfield miners, as he refused to support other sections, against the Fife Coal Company. He can be of no service to the working class.

I APPEAL, THEREFORE, TO ALL WORKING-CLASS WOMEN, TO ALL WIVES AND MOTHERS, TO GIVE ME THEIR SUPPORT ON NOVEMBER 14TH, FOR A REAL FIGHT TO END THE HARD CONDITIONS AND THE TERRIBLE SUFFERING THAT HAS BEEN IMPOSED ON SO MANY WORKING-CLASS FAMILIES.

Yours fraternally,
WM. GALLACHER.

TO THE MEN AND WOMEN OF WEST FIFE.

Fellow Electors,

The National Government, taking advantage of the International situation, has decided on a snap General Election. They hope by this to take the people off their guard and so, in the name of defence, get a mandate for a new expenditure of millions for armaments in preparation for new imperialist wars.

The National Government is not interested in or concerned with the defence of the people of this country. A Government that fails to defend the people in time of peace will not defend them in time of war.

What effort has there been to defend the miners? During the past year there were almost 1,400 miners killed in the pits of this country and close on 200,000 injured. Mr. Ebby Edwards, Secretary of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, has rightly stated that the miners' occupation is the hardest and most dangerous in the country and the poorest paid. The miners' demand for 2/- a day increase and the terrible exposure of the conditions in the pits and mining villages of the country has broken through all the sham and hypocrisy of the National Government and its claim to be interested in the defence of the people.

The miners' fight against the mine-owners and the National Government—which stands behind the

mine-owners—for the 2/- per day and safety in the mines is one of the outstanding issues in this election. This is especially the case in West Fife, where the general well-being of the community is so closely associated with the standard of living of the miners.

Agricultural, Railway and Other Workers.

We cannot fail to take note of the large number of agricultural workers in this constituency and the neglect from which they have always suffered. Time and again, when questions affecting the agricultural areas have been under discussion in the House of Commons, the landlords and big farmers have always been well represented and the greatest care shown for their welfare, but all too little consideration for the smaller farmer or agricultural labourer. The recent discussions around the Beet Subsidy were a glaring example of the attitude of the last Parliament to the different interests in the agricultural areas.

As with agricultural workers, so with the railway workers. The big companies have their interests continually watched over and guarded in the House of Commons. At the present moment, when the railway workers are demanding a restoration of the 1931 cuts, they should vote only for those candidates who will use the parliamentary platform to advance this and all other demands of the railwaymen.

This applies also to the workers in all other industries. They are all affected by the general low standard of living and the insecurity associated with the present conditions of industry. Low wages and high rents make for maternal mortality and malnutrition, the terrible scourge of all working-class areas.

Unemployment.

The appalling poverty and hardship that has been imposed on millions of our fellows—men, women and children—should be sufficient to condemn the National Government in the eyes of all intelligent men and women.

Not only the imposition of the criminal Means Test, but the attempt to introduce an actual starvation scale of relief at the beginning of this year, is the clearest proof that the National Government is not the defender, but the destroyer of the people. If the National Government is returned a new attack on the same lines will be made on the unemployed. With all my strength I will fight for the abolition of the Means Test, for increased Winter Relief, for Work Schemes at Trade Union rates, or full maintenance for the unemployed.

The Co-operatives.

Just as all shopkeepers and professional workers are dependent on the general prosperity of the working class, so also in a still greater degree is the Co-operative movement. Progress and well-being

amongst the workers means progress in the Co-operatives as well as amongst the general distributive trades and professional classes. A visit to any of the Distressed Areas will show that the distributive trades and professional workers are all seriously affected by the terrible poverty that affects these areas.

The Co-operative, as a great working-class movement, has been attacked by the National Government and will be subject to further attacks if it is returned. As a life-long Co-operator I will assist in every way to develop the Co-operatives and to defend the movement from all attacks, whatever be their source.

War and Peace.

The people of this country want peace. This was evident by the support given for the Peace Ballot. But the National Government wants to use this election to prepare for war. Even while it gives lip-service to the League of Nations and to collective security, it sends its fleet, its war planes and its army to the Mediterranean and Egypt. I stand for the peace policy of the Soviet Union, embracing as it does a policy of complete disarmament. I stand for the nations who are for Peace operating economic and financial sanctions for the defence of Abyssinian independence and against the wanton imperialist aggression of Fascist Italy.

But the operating of the League machinery in the interests of peace does not demand more armaments: on the contrary it demands a continual reduction of armaments. The National Government spends millions every minute on the weapons of destruction. We want to spend every penny and every minute on progress and construction. Bright, hygienic homes at moderate rents within the reach of all. Large, well-equipped schools, with efficient restaurant accommodation where adequate school feeding can be undertaken. Rest homes in the country, Maternal and Child Welfare Centres—for such things as these, with adequate pensions at sixty, I will be prepared to fight at all times.

Not big armies and big navies, but healthy mothers and happy children—this should be the aim of every elector in West Fife.

To ensure the defeat of the National Government, the Communist Party, to which I belong, is giving general support to the Labour Party throughout the country for the return of a Labour Government based on the will of the people for peace and progress.

My Party stands for the uniting of all working-class and peace forces against the National Government. With this end in view, we put before the West Fife Labour Party a proposal for a Selection Conference to decide on the candidate to oppose the National Government representative. This they have refused. That the constituency was won for

the National Government at the last election was only made possible by the character of the representatives that obtained for many years prior to 1931.

The so-called "Labour" representative showed himself time and again, as he continues to do, more concerned with friendship for the mine-owners than for the welfare of the miners. The Valleyfield, Kingseat, and other disputes in the area provide abundant proof of this.

West Fife must get rid of the representative of the National Government, but there can be no going back to what obtained before. The long traditions of West Fife, the part played in winning the shorter working day, in maintaining wage standards and in safety inspections at the pits, all demand a change in representation that will carry with it the promise of a real fight on behalf of the working class.

Steps in this direction have already been taken by my Party comrades, Abe Moffat, Jimmy Stewart, Alex. Moffat, John M'Arthur, Bob Eadie and others in the fight against the mine-owners and the economy measures of the local authorities in Fifeshire.

My long association with West Fife and my participation in the many struggles during the past twenty-five years, as well as my record in the working-class movement as a whole, is a guarantee that I will not fail you if I am elected.

With the full support of my Party I will devote myself to the service of the working class and to the cause of peace with which the interest of the workers is so closely associated.

Yours faithfully,

WILLIAM GALLACHER.

TO THE MINERS OF WEST FIFE AND THEIR WOMENFOLK.

**ABE MOFFAT
GIVES TELLING EXPOSURE OF COALOWNERS
AND THEIR FRIEND ADAMSON, AND CALLS FOR
YOU TO WORK AND VOTE FOR
WM. GALLACHER.**

The desperate plight of the miners can be summed up in a statement made by Professor Moss when dealing with the high sickness rate amongst the miners, especially in Scotland, arising from low wages. This Professor, not in any way sympathetic towards the miners, declares that an investigation into the amount of food consumed by a miner revealed that almost one-half of the food consumed consists of bread, margarine, dripping and butter—bread alone representing one-third. He further stated that a miner can only maintain his output at

the expense of undermining his health—either that or he had to get sufficient food to maintain his output at the expense of his wife and family. According to Professor Moss, it is not surprising to find disease, malnutrition and a general decline in the health standard of the miners and their families. For example, in Fife, the Medical Officer of Health reports that half of the children attaining the age of five years suffer from some disease or defect.

Poverty Versus the Coalowners' Profits.

In spite of this acute poverty, the coalowners in Fife and in Scotland continue to extract huge profits, although they claim that "the pits are being run at a loss." Eleven coal companies in Scotland, out of almost a hundred companies, declared a net profit alone of £704,611 in 1934, clear of income tax, depreciation and directors' fees.

The Fife Coal Company declared a profit of £120,194; the Coalness Iron Co. (Blairhall), £144,849; Wilsons and Clyde Coal Co. (Glenraig), £24,656. The Fife Coal Company covers most of the Fife pits, and the Wemyss Coal Company comes next.

HOW CAN THE COALOWNERS CONTINUE TO DRAW PROFITS WHILE THEY DECLARE A LOSS? From the net proceeds from the selling price of coal at the pit-head, after meeting all costs other than wages, 85 per cent. goes towards wages and 15 per cent. towards profits (this is an extortionate sum to be guaranteed to the coalowners under the Agreement). Should the 85 per cent. of the net proceeds towards wages be insufficient to make the miners up to an 8/- minimum wage, then it is permissible to take a share of the coalowners' 15 per cent. profits, and add this to the miners' share. For example: it may require 5 per cent. of the coalowners' share to be added to the wages portion of 85 per cent. to make the miners up to the 8/- minimum.

This leaves the coalowners with 10 per cent. of the net proceeds, but the fact that they have not received their full 15 per cent. enables them to declare a "loss." So that, under the existing Agreement the coalowners can be drawing profits and at the same time declare a "loss." This is how the miners and the general public are swindled and deceived into believing that the mining industry is unable to meet the wage demands of the workers.

The average selling price of coal at the pit-head in Scotland is 12/- PER TON—but before it reaches the consumer, say in London, the selling price of a ton of coal is as high as £2 8s. Huge profits are extracted from coal from the time it leaves the pit-head and reaches the consumer, but the miners' wages are determined by the selling price at the pit-head only, and they do not get a share of the profits after it

leaves the pit-head. This again reveals how the miners are robbed and the general public misled as to the miners' wages compared with the selling price of coal.

Then we have the by-product plants belonging to various coal companies. Coal is supplied very cheap to those subs subsidiary concerns, thereby making for enormous profits. But profits of by-product plants or subsidiary companies are not taken into consideration when discussing miners' wages. Owners pocket the profit and the miners get nothing.

The British coalowners have made profits of £14,391,742 since 1930-1934, despite the fact that these were the worst years in the crisis of the mining industry. Outside the coalowners' profits, and to those who say there is no money in the Mining Industry to grant the 2/- wage increase, we direct their attention to the following:—

1. The financiers in Britain extract £22½ millions per year in interest from this sweated industry, which could provide work for 150,000 miners at £3 per week.
2. Royalties draw £5 million per year, which could provide work for 40,000 miners. As a means of reducing the heavy toll of deaths and accidents in the pits, the following measures could be put into operation:—
 - (a) The 7-hours' day would absorb 60,000 unemployed miners;
 - (b) The abolition of overtime could absorb 20,000 men;
 - (c) To employ an additional ten men at each pit for safety precautions in Britain would absorb 20,000 unemployed miners.

Therefore, on the present basis of production and with the elimination of all the parasitic burdens on the industry, the miners can have their 2/- wage increase and more, and the whole of the unemployed miners provided with work immediately.

To obtain this we must defeat the National Government and all its candidates who stand solidly behind the coalowners, the financiers and royalty owners.

Adamson Not Capable of Representing the Miners.

Without going into a long history of Adamson . . . we need only direct the attention of the miners to the fact that he held the seat in West Fife from 1910 to 1931. The reason why Milne, National Government candidate, won this seat in 1931 was due to the policy pursued by Adamson. . . .

This . . . policy carried on by Adamson led to

a situation wherein the majority of the miners became so disgusted that they refused to vote for Adamson any longer, and in consequence he paved the way for Milne, the spokesman of Big Business, being elected as member for a working-class constituency. WITH A WORKING-CLASS REPRESENTATIVE SUCH AS WM. GALLACHER THIS WOULD NEVER HAVE HAPPENED.

Some Facts Regarding Adamson's Policy During the Past Year.

(1) In 1934 the Fife Coal Company imposed wage cuts upon the Kelty Brick workers varying from 6d. to 1/- per shift. At the time this happened Adamson attended a banquet of the Fife Coal Company in Kelty, in connection with the opening of a new brickworks, and gave the toast to C. C. Reid, general manager of the Fife Coal Company, who had imposed the wage reductions on the Kelty brickworkers. . . .

(2) SAFETY AND WORKMEN'S INSPECTORS ARE A VITAL QUESTION FOR THE MINERS. While Adamson never at any time carried out inspections on behalf of the miners, he came out along with the coalowners to oppose every ballot vote of the miners to prevent the appointment of workmen's inspectors.

(3) In February this year he failed to hold one meeting of protest in the West Fife constituency against Part II of the Unemployment Act—despite the fact that this notorious Bill affected thousands of employed and unemployed workers in West Fife. He definitely refused to associate himself with the united front, even at the request of his own loyal supporters. Had it not been for the united front at that time, the plight of the unemployed and employed would have been considerably worse than it is to-day.

(4) During the "Dubbie" Miners' Strike, Adamson openly stated in the capitalist press that the miners were wrong and had acted illegally in breaking their contract with the owners. In spite of this . . . the U.M.S. were successful in defending the miners in court, and showed to Adamson and his friends, the coalowners, that the "Dubbie" miners were right in taking action to defend their conditions.

(5) The latest development at Kingseat Colliery last month is the greatest condemnation against Adamson, and exposes him as the true and loyal friend of the coalowners. At Kingseat Pit the miners are working for a starvation wage—lower than the vast majority of the pits in Fife. Adamson agreed, along with the Kingseat Miners, to take a ballot vote for the lodging of fourteen days' notice to compel the Company to pay strippers, brushers, etc., a wage of 9/6 per shift, and 8/- to oncost workers. The miners responded well, 197 voting in favour of lodging notices and 27 against—7 to 1 of a majority.

This so surprised Adamson that a few days later he went back to a meeting of the Kingseat miners and advised them to withhold lodging their notices because, since taking the ballot vote, he had met the Coal Company, gone over their books with them and found that the "poor" coalowners were running the pit at a loss of £150 per week. By the use of this . . . statement he got a small vote of the men—31 in favour and 19 against—delaying lodging of the notices.

Fortunately, the United Mineworkers of Scotland made inquiries into the financial position of the Kingseat Coal Company and ascertained the follow-facts:—

(a) That the capital invested in the Kingseat Coal Company was £8,000.

(b) That from 1924-1934 they had made profits of £27,000—three and a half times more money than was invested; and that during the same period the Company had laid aside a Reserve Fund of £29,000 for a "rainy day."

(6) Now we have the VALLEYFIELD STRIKE, which has continued for three weeks, against the imposition of a "dirt scale." In reality, a further wage cut for the Valleyfield miners. Adamson has endeavoured, both prior to and during the strike, to get the "dirt scale" accepted. Before the Valleyfield miners took strike action, Adamson negotiated with the Coal Company, and the result was a 44 lb. dirt scale on each tub. The miners came out on strike against this dirt scale.

Since the strike commenced, Adamson has employed his union law agent to go and address the Valleyfield men to persuade them that the coalowners were within their legal rights in imposing this "dirt scale." In spite of all this, however, THE VALLEYFIELD MINERS HAVE STOOD OUT TO A MAN AGAINST THE "DIRT SCALE."

Not satisfied with this, Adamson got his Executive Committee to decide that the Valleyfield miners return to work and allow negotiations to proceed, despite the fact that his negotiations had already been the means of a "dirt scale" of 44 lbs. per tub being introduced.

It is not surprising that the Valleyfield miners and the local committee of Adamson's union took a decision "not to allow Adamson to negotiate any longer on their behalf in the present dispute."

This policy pursued by Adamson both at KINGSEAT AND VALLEYFIELD runs counter to the policy of the M.F.G.B. In answer to the demand for the 2/- flat increase for all miners, the coalowners claim that "the industry cannot afford it"—the same argument as put up by Mr. Adamson at Kingseat.

The attitude of Adamson, therefore, undermines the whole campaign of the M.F.G.B., and assists the coalowners and the National Government in their present stand of callously refusing to consider any wage increase for the miners.

Compare Gallacher's Policy and Record with that of the Other Candidates.

Contrast the policy of Wm. Gallacher with the policies of the other candidates. In all the Fife miners' struggles GALLACHER, along with his Party comrades in WEST FIFE, has been on the side of the miners and against the coalowners. In 1931 Gallacher was fighting against the illegal 8-hour day. In 1932, when Bowhill and other West Fife miners were threatened with wage cuts, Gallacher was at the pits agitating on behalf of the miners. Early this year, when Adamson refused to fight against Part II of the Unemployment Act, Gallacher was in the constituency addressing meetings and marching with the miners and their wives.

To-day, in the fight for peace, Gallacher offers his services to the peace movements in Cowdenbeath and Kirkcaldy, to speak on their behalf. . . .

On this basis and examination of the different candidates standing in West Fife, the workers, in loyalty to themselves, their women and children, and to their own class, can ONLY VOTE FOR GALLACHER as the REAL WORKERS' CANDIDATE, who will carry the banner of working-class struggle right into the House of Commons.

FORWARD TO A RECORD VOTE FOR
NATIONAL ACTION TO SECURE THE 2/-
PER SHIFT INCREASE.

FORWARD TO THE DEFEAT OF THE
NATIONAL GOVERNMENT CANDIDATE
AND THE RETURN OF THE WORKERS'
CHAMPION.

WM. GALLACHER FOR WEST FIFE.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(a)

"THE PREFACE TO PEACE"

By M. TAMARA.

IN connection with the feverish preparations for imperialist war for a new division of the globe, the actual beginning of this war in the Far East and Africa, the increasing and open military preparations on the part of German fascism, a differentiation and regroupings are taking place among the pacifists and the masses who are pacifist in sentiment.

A conference recently took place in Paris in defence of the Abyssinian people, which brought together representatives of over 120 anti-war and anti-fascist organisations of different countries under the slogan of a struggle for peace. Side by side with the most prominent leaders of the Italian anti-fascist movement and representatives of organisations fighting for the people's front in France, the well-known English pacifist writer, Norman Angell, also took part.

Norman Angell, who is one of those who sway the minds of the masses of England with pacifist inclinations, has up to now stood aloof from mass anti-war action. That he has now joined the militant anti-war

front is witness not only of changes that have taken place in his own outlook, but also of the profound changes that have taken place in the minds of the masses of pacifists whose moods he expresses. The following question naturally arises: what is the ideological standpoint with which Norman Angell has come to the mass anti-war movement? His last book: "Preface to Peace,"* which appeared a few months ago, gives the answer to this.

The main dividing lines along which differentiation is taking place to-day among pacifists are the following questions: Are they prepared to pass from general propaganda of peace to a concrete struggle against the concrete instigators of war. Are they prepared to support the peace policy of the Soviet Union, to the point of defending the idea of collective security and military measures against the aggressor? Those pacifists who to this day continue to stand for an abstract condemnation of all violence, and of all use

* Norman Angell, "Preface to Peace—a Guide for the Plain Man," London, 1935.

whatsoever of weapons, even though directed against obvious violators of the peace, are actually HELPING the fascist war instigators who are also not above camouflaging themselves behind "peace-loving" phraseology to suit the mood of the masses.

In view of the direct danger of war, Norman Angell has begun to understand that the prescriptions for pacifying mankind which he advocated formerly are now not enough. Whereas in his previous books Norman Angell considered the "democratisation" of the League of Nations, the mitigation of the conditions of the Versailles Treaty which were so onerous for Germany, and the planned organisation of economic collaboration between the peoples to be the most hopeful weapons against war, we find that in his new book he is a convinced, passionate supporter of the system of collective security which includes military measures against violators of the peace.

"Collective defence means any method by which the general or collective power of civilised nations — power which may be diplomatic, political, economic, financial, as well as military or naval—shall stand for the defence of each member of the community of states by resisting in common the warmaker." (Norman Angell, "Preface to Peace," p. 253.)

Most of Norman Angell's book is devoted to proving the need for this system of "collective defence," as the most actual barrier against the war instigators.

In all his previous books, written over a period of almost thirty years, Norman Angell has constantly appealed to the "reasonableness" of capitalist governments, tried to persuade the capitalists that war is inexpedient and unprofitable. But the acuteness of the present pre-war situation has compelled Norman Angell to change his line in this respect also; in his last book he appeals to the "plain man," to the rank-and-filer, John Smith, to each one of the millions of people who are menaced by a new world slaughter. Norman Angell displays considerable ability in the art of writing popularly, adapting all his arguments to the level of understanding of the most poorly qualified reader. It is this extreme simplicity of style which, to a considerable extent, explains the secret of the success of the book, the first edition of which was sold out in a month.

And, indeed, any John Smith can understand and feel, for example, the short, simple characterisation of the world economic crisis as given by Norman Angell.

"Brazil burns coffee, Canada burns wheat, but neither burns the coal of the British miner, who goes without both the coffee and the wheat." (Norman Angell "Preface to Peace," p. 180.)

The miserable position of the masses in so-called peace times is to a considerable extent, as Norman Angell explains, conditioned by the fact that in peace

times the economics of capitalist countries are already subordinated to war aims.

"War is important, not merely because of what it does in time of war (though that is evil enough), but much more because of what it does in times of peace." (Norman Angell, "Preface to Peace," p. 51.)

Norman Angell tells how the menace of fascism is inevitably connected with the preparation for imperialist war, how the prospects of world war signify the perspective of the further fascisation of capitalist states:

"... The type of national organisation most fitted to wage war, which must inevitably be brought into being if the competition in war-waging capacity is to continue, is the totalitarian type, alike on its economic and moral side." (Norman Angell, "Preface to Peace," p. 57.)

Fascism is war. Norman Angell, who immediately after the world war defended Germany, the victim of imperialist Versailles, and foretold that the Versailles robbery was fraught with economic and military complications for Europe in the future, now (unlike the other pacifists "in principle" who in fact justify the arming of Germany under the pretext of the need for revising Versailles), condemns fascist Germany as a war instigator which is striving to force a new system of rapacious agreements upon the world:

"The Germans if victorious won't make a better treaty than that of Versailles; they will make a worse." (Norman Angell, "Preface to Peace," p. 171.)

Norman Angell emphasises the point that the greatest danger of war comes from Hitler Germany and military-fascist Japan. (The "Preface to Peace" was written before Italy began her attack upon Abyssinia.)

While defending the system of collective security as a real means of fighting against war, Norman Angell at the same time does not by any means defend existing boundaries at all:

"Our collective guarantees do not guarantee the status quo; they guarantee that the status quo shall not be changed by war. This is a vital difference." (Norman Angell, "Preface to Peace," p. 269.)

Many of the theses of the author of the "Preface to Peace" are fully acceptable to revolutionary workers engaged in the struggle for peace. But alongside the correct ideas which are proof of the positive evolution of the view of the author, the book is not free from several survivals of his old pacifist ideology which may objectively be used by violators of the peace for their own ends.

In his previous works ("The Great Illusion") Norman Angell stubbornly strove to prove that war is actually only a product of human stupidity and short-sightedness, that it is advantageous only "to an infinitely small group of capitalists," and disadvantageous "to the entire nation," including the capitalist class as a whole, for the wealth of a nation does not consist in its territorial conquests, but in well organised and profitable foreign trade. This conception, which undoubtedly has its roots in the

actual interests of a definite section of the English bourgeoisie, has sown harmful illusions, since it has hidden from the toilers the true culprits guilty of making war, and concealed the true causes of imperialist wars from the masses.

Norman Angell has not given up this harmful conception even now. What is more, he now "proves it" by the experience of the post-war period. Since the world war did not safeguard the victorious countries from crisis, unemployment and economic chaos, is it not clear that war is of no more advantage to the capitalist class as a whole than, say, a big fire in London which would set right the affairs of certain magnates in the building industry.

Norman Angell starts from a wrong idea of the harmony of interests of the ruling class and "the whole nation." It is true that the war which enriched the capitalist robbers brought great misery to the toilers not only of the defeated countries but also of the victorious countries, and what is of advantage to this handful of plunderers is disadvantageous and disastrous to the overwhelming majority of the people. But all that is obvious from this is that the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people are directly opposed to the interests of the class (and not only "an infinitely small group") for which war is an advantage. And so Norman Angell is absolutely wrong when he declares, without thinking, that "the ordinary man" is to blame for war :

"In the last analysis war is caused, not by governments, nor capitalists: nor armament manufacturers, nor by nature, nor by fate, nor by accident, but by men: the average human being, the man in the street. It takes place, not because the average man wants it, he does not; nor from any particularly evil motive on his part, his motives are usually of the best; but because men in the mass—the mass who in parliamentary countries make or unmake governments — insist on policies (particularly policies of defence and those inherent in unqualified nationalism) the intention behind which may be peaceful enough, but the result, the inevitable result of which, is war.

"This does not mean that armament manufacturers or other capitalist groups have no interest in war and may not intrigue actively to promote it, nor that it is not useful to expose their intrigues, but that they would be impotent for mischief were it not for the willing acquiescence of the average man in policies and ideas which serve their evil purpose. The 'arms racket' is an evil thing, and needs exposure,* but it would be powerless if it were not for the ease with which John Smith can be persuaded to vote for policies which necessarily mean ever-increasing armaments.

"When we are told that fifty munition makers 'force' fifty millions or five hundred millions to go to war, the words are meaningless. Fifty cannot 'force' fifty millions, the force, the overwhelming force, is on the side of the millions." (Norman Angell, "Preface to Peace," pp. 76-77).

* And this present writer, for one, trusts that what the Senate inquiry into the arms traffic has been doing for America will be duplicated in some form for Great Britain.

But why is it, nevertheless, that millions of toilers are obedient to the hundreds of capitalists directly interested in war? Norman Angell forgets to mention that these hundreds of capitalists have control of the state power, the army, the police, the courts and the press, that they have in their hands a mighty apparatus which allows them to fool the masses, to sow illusions along them . . . and that in this apparatus not the least rôle is played by some subjectively honest advocates of peace, who in spite of themselves, hold back millions of "ordinary people" from the class struggle.

Norman Angell considers himself to be an opponent of imperialist policy. Why, then, does he justify the colonial policy of British imperialism by declaring that the relations which exist between the different parts of the British Empire may well serve as an example for the whole world of a federative organisation of states? Why is it that in his plan of collective security, as the above quotation shows, he makes the characteristic reservation about it being necessary for "civilised nations" to take part in it? How can we reconcile this tolerant attitude to the colonial expansion of his own, British imperialism with the struggle against the robber adventure of ITALIAN imperialism in Abyssinia?

And, finally, when Norman Angell deals with the international forces interested in maintaining peace he only cursorily mentions the Soviet Union among all the other states.

However pacifistic the sentiments of John Smith, for whom the book was written—the Lancashire textile worker, the Sheffield metal worker, or the London clerk—he knows full well that it is precisely thanks to the peace policy of the Soviet Union that it has been possible up to now to avert imperialist war. And if he, John Smith, during the recent Peace Ballot, cast his vote in favour of the League of Nations, it was to no small degree because the League, which the Soviet Union has joined, inspires more confidence. If John Smith voted in favour of applying sanctions towards the aggressor, it was to no small degree because the Soviet Union in its foreign policy is striving to carry out the principle of joint defence against the aggressor. And if Norman Angell has forgotten how the Soviet Union, from the tribunal of international conferences, has been fighting for universal disarmament, how it has patiently and worthily repulsed the innumerable acts of provocation on the part of the warmongers, from whatever country these provocations have come, very many rank-and-file John Smiths at any rate remember this quite well, and understand that a real struggle for peace is out of the question without active and unconditional support for the peace policy of the Soviet Union.

Whither does Norman Angell want to lead the

“ordinary men” with the help of his “guide”? The tendencies in his book are contradictory. First he points out the right road to John Smith, and then leads him away from that road. He is right when he emphasises the need for sanctions against the aggressor; he is also right when he says that the question as to whether there will be a new world war or not depends upon millions of “ordinary men.” But by avoiding the question as to why it is that the war instigators have as yet been successful in inflicting their will upon the millions, he does not give any reply to the question as to HOW John Smith can influence international politics, how, IN SPITE of the war instigators, he can realise his own desire for peace.

Norman Angell lays great hopes upon the League of Nations. But with the exception of the Soviet Union capitalist states are represented in the League of Nations. Even though many of these governments are not interested in war to-day, can honest supporters of peace rely upon these capitalist governments ALONE? Obviously not. Even Norman

Angell himself admits this, otherwise he would not appeal to the millions of “ordinary men.” But how must these millions act?

Norman Angell’s book was written several months ago. During the time which has passed since then, many sincere opponents of war have learned much by their own experiences, and possibly Norman Angell himself has learned much also.

The pacifistically inclined toilers in different countries are, on the basis of their own experiences, coming more and more close to an understanding of the fact that the decisive factor in the struggle against war is their own mass action, directed against the concrete violators of peace. Without mass action of this kind, the opponents of war will not be able to force the League of Nations to take real action against the aggressor; without independent mass action of this kind, they will not really be able to stop the war which is being conducted at the present time. Only international unity of action by the toilers who are supporters of peace is in a position to save mankind from the horrors of a new world slaughter.

(b) “OUR ENGLISH FRIENDS”*

REVIEWED BY L. SCHIEFF.

TELESIO INTERLANDI, the author of the pamphlet, “Our English Friends,” sets himself the special task of refuting all the arguments of the British press which condemn the Italian adventure, expressing some bitter home-truths to Italian Fascism in the process.

Through the entire 72 pages of this highly-vitriolic screed, is the one thought that, throughout its entire history British imperialism merited the reproaches now levelled by the British press against fascist Italy for its attack on Abyssinia to a far greater extent.

In the first chapter the author reminds British colonial politicians of all the horrors of the Boer War, when the British General Roberts starved tens of thousands of men, women and children to death in concentration camps. Thus, the fascist author warns the English imperialists against the use of arguments against the Italian plans of enslaving Abyssinia which may react upon themselves. Interlandi raises the curtain a little here. It appears that the Italian thesis, to the effect that Italy is obliged to liberate the Abyssinians from slavery, is only intended for popular consumption. But in this broadsheet (which costs 5 lire—almost equal to the daily wage of a considerable section

of the Italian workers)—“more serious” arguments may be used so as to immunise the educated middle classes, for whom this book is chiefly intended, to the arguments and reproaches of the British press. Therefore the author very frankly closes this chapter with the following words:

“The glory of the British colonisers rests on whole mountains of human skeletons, and we know the origin of the red colour which covers the ‘Union Jack’ in purple.”

In short, British imperialism has waded through mountains of corpses and therefore it does not become it to reproach us if we behave in a similar way.

The second chapter is devoted to refuting the assertions made by some British papers to the effect that the Italian troops did not cover themselves with military glory either during the Abyssinian War of 1896, or during the war in Lybia, still less during the world war. The author finds it difficult to adduce proof of the opposite. He dodges this way and that, at one point seizing on the Boer War and reminding the Britishers how they had to fight, three against one, against the Boers, and even then only achieved their aims with difficulty. At another point he reminds the Britishers how, during the Boxer uprising in China, their troops looted the summer palace close to Peking and then razed it to the ground. Characteristic of this chapter is the fact that it

* “Our English Friends” by Teslio Interlandi, published by Cremonese, Rome.

shows how a weaker and less successful bandit exposes the foulest deeds of another bandit.

In chapter four, the fascist author continues to denounce the shameful behaviour of British imperialism with a view of showing Italy's "rights" to colonial robbery. At the beginning he once again calls to mind the above-mentioned "heroic deeds" of the Britishers during the Boer War, and the war on China, and during the Conquest of Egypt and India. Interlandi completes this list by calling to mind the bombardment of Copenhagen in 1807, when the British fleet, although war had not been declared, transformed a city, which at that time was one of the biggest in Europe, into a heap of ruins. And then the author makes the statement that:

"A powerful people may act by force, but not be hypocritical."

In other words, Italian fascism is prepared to commit the same kind of shameful act of violence as the author, at this point, accuses the English of, except that he makes an open declaration of his intention of doing so, and herein lies his moral superiority over the English. This, at least, is what the author says, in this way settling accounts with British imperialism.

The remaining five chapters are fundamentally a statement of the British accusations and the Italian replies. The author is an Italian who is prepared to display the darkest sides of British history, one after the other, without the slightest embarrassment. The last quotation which he produces to prove the right of Italian imperialism to seize and rob another country ("for did not the

Britishers behave in exactly the same way?") is the declaration made by Sir William Joynson-Hicks regarding British policy in India.

"It is said that we won India to raise the standard of living of the population. This is incorrect. We conquered India to make it a market for British goods. We conquered India by the sword and by the sword we shall hold it."

This is meant to indicate that we Italians wish to conquer Abyssinia by force of arms, to establish a market for Italian goods there.

The entire wisdom of the fascist author is exhausted in this recognition, in all this argumentation which tries to prove that Italian imperialism has the right to commit the same kind of atrocities as British imperialism did. This is at sharp variance with the main line of the official reasons advanced by Italian propaganda to justify the Abyssinian war. This contradicts the assertion that Italy wants to civilise Abyssinia, and alter the slave system in existence there. But, of course, assertions regarding the civilising rôle of Italy in Abyssinia are produced for the "man-in-the-street" to impel him to go to war, and fill him with the illusion that he is fighting in the African deserts for some noble ideal. But in narrow circles (for the book under review can only reach few people), the imperialists talk quite openly. And by this openness they wish to rouse in the Italian small and petty-bourgeoisie, for whom this book is intended, an appetite for a colonial empire, such as England is, or at least, was.

This is a nauseating whiff of the venomous broth seething in the cauldron of Italian fascism.

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